

SECHABA

OFFICIAL ORGAN
OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS
SOUTH AFRICA



We are at war. We march for Freedom as soldiers, with guns in our hands.



Over 300 years ago the white men invaded our land. Our ancestors fought back bravely but the enemy had guns and we did not.



The white oppressors stole our land and live off the fruits of our labour. They have the riches. We have the back-breaking toil and poverty.



The oppressors have their families, their children and their palatial homes. Apartheid has destroyed and divided our families. Our children die of starvation. Our homes are hovels. We live in misery.

WE MARCH FOR FREEDOM

WITH GUNS IN OUR HANDS

Full text of a pictorial booklet issued by the ANC Underground in South Africa. The full text of the booklet was in English, Zulu, Xhosa, Pedi and Tswana.

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VOLUME 2

NUMBER 9

SEPTEMBER 1968

ADDRESSES

Sechaba may be obtained from the following bookshops, addresses and ANC Offices.

TANZANIA	African National Congress of South Africa P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam	African Bookshop P.O. Box 20837 Dar es Salaam.
ZAMBIA	African National Congress of South Africa P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka.	
ALGERIA	African National Congress of South Africa 5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Algiers.	
U.A.R.	African National Congress of South Africa 5 Ahmad Hishmat Street, Zamalek, Cairo	
INDIA	African National Congress of South Africa A 66 South Extension Part 1, New Delhi 3	
ENGLAND	African National Congress 49 Rathbone Street London W.1.	Callie's Bookshop 66 Charing Cross Rd London W.C.2.
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CANADA	Book World 72 Gerrards St West Toronto.	The Peoples Co-Op Bookstore 341 West Pender Street Vancouver.
U.S.A.	Jefferson Bookshop 100 East 16 Street New York N.Y. 10003.	Modern Book Store Uptown Branch 3230 N. Broadway Chicago, Ill. 60657.

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Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W.1.

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BRITAIN IN INTERNATIONAL SPORT

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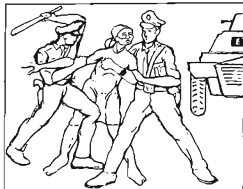
Chris de Brogia of SANROC exposes the role of Britain in the sporting field.

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SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY - JUNE 26



In the land of our birth we have no rights. Under the Pass Laws we are hunted and hounded like animals. No one is safe from white brutality.



The African National Congress has led the people in the struggle for our Freedom and our rights. For over 50 years it has been the sword and shield of our people.



The government fears us! Our organizations were outlawed, our leaders banned, restricted, jailed for life, murdered. But the ANC survives and grows underground!

This year's South Africa Freedom Day was observed all over the world. The struggle of the South African people was remembered, not only among our comrades and sympathizers in Africa, Asia and Latin America, but also in the very strongholds of our enemies, the Imperialist collaborators with Apartheid.

Even more significant, it was observed in South Africa in the most dramatic actions, taken in recent years by the underground movement of the African National Congress and its allies.

ANC BANNERS FLY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Reports reaching Sochaba from inside South Africa demonstrate an unprecedented national underground operation heralding June 26, 1968.

A leaflet entitled "June 26, 1968" was distributed throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. A full text of this leaflet which was received by us is reproduced elsewhere in this issue.

In addition, in every major city, including Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth, 25 foot banners in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC, proclaiming: "ANC FIGHTS" were unfurled from the rooftops of South Africa's skyscrapers. As the banners unfurled thousands of leaflets, which were eagerly snapped up by passers-by, were showered onto the streets below.

PAMPHLETS DISTRIBUTED

Apart from the distribution, thousands of people in every corner of the land, have received by post and by hand, copies of a pictorial booklet: "We Are At War". This booklet sets out in 5 languages — Pedi, Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa and English — the history of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, from the inception of the African National Congress in 1912 to the launching of the armed struggle in 1967. (This pamphlet is reproduced alongside, starting on the cover.)

ANC BROADCAST

Perhaps the most audacious June 26 underground operation was a street corner broadcast. This took place at the peak hour between 5.00 p.m. and 6.00 p.m. in Johannesburg near

Park Station — the converging point of scores of thousands of people to and from Johannesburg and the Rand. The people, mainly African workers, heard an amplified recorded broadcast from a motor car which stated:

"This is the African National Congress!! This is the African National Congress!!

Singing: *Morena boloka sechaba sa heso.* (The ANC National Anthem in Sotho.)

Amandla nga wethu!! Maatla ke a rona!! Power to the People!! Afrika!! Mayibuyel! —

Today is June 26 — our National Freedom Day. Let us on this, our National Day — June 26 — remember the words of our leader, the Acting President of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, when he said, 'Today our men are fighting in Rhodesia, tomorrow the fight will be inside the apartheid Republic of South Africa.'

Today is June 26, 1968. This is the first June 26 since the death of our great leader Chief Albert Luthuli. We mourn his death. This is the first June 26 since we embarked on armed struggle. In the past we have commemorated this eventful day in our history in various ways. On June 26 we have stayed at home; we have defied the Pass Laws and other evil apartheid laws, and suffered imprisonment; we have held demonstrations and rallies in protest against apartheid; we have held the Congress of the People and unanimously adopted the Freedom Charter.

June 26, 1968 finds us at war with the apartheid regime. The African National Congress and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is leading the war against the apartheid regime of Vorster. We pledge never to lay down our guns until we have overthrown the apartheid regime and crushed white supremacy. Our war is a people's war. It is the war of the oppressed people of South Africa against the white minority racialsists and nazis. It is a war to defeat the Pass Laws, Group Areas, Job Reservation, Sabotage and Terrorism Acts.

On June 26, 1968 we pay homage and tribute to our militant fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe who have laid down their lives and to those languishing in Vorster's jails, in the cause of South African Freedom.

Today, the African National Congress calls upon every African, Coloured and Indian man, woman and youth, to join the war against apartheid and racist tyranny. We call upon the progressive and democracy-loving whites to join the freedom forces. We call upon you all to support the fighting men of Umkhonto we Sizwe in every possible way. Let us this day be inspired by our great heroes, Hintza, Makana, Sekhukhune, Moshoeshe, Shaka, Dingaan and Ceshwayo.

Mobilise! Prepare! Mayihlome!! Amandla nga wethu!! Maatla ke a rona!! Power to the People!!

Singing: "Basoph' indod' emnyama Vorster" (Beware of the Black man Vorster.)

UNITED STATES CONGRESSMAN CALLS FOR SOLIDARITY

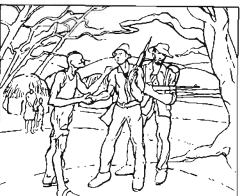
On June 26, Congressman Robert N. C. Nix read onto the Congressional record a tribute to the struggling masses of South Africa, and to the leadership of the African National Congress. He told Congress of an historic resistance to oppression, since the shooting of Africans in the 1919 anti-



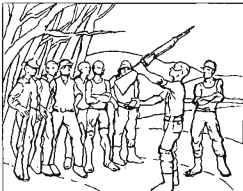
We have always resisted oppression with strikes, pass burning, stay-at-homes. The government answered with police batons and bullets.



Today, we are at war. Our soldiers are meeting the white oppressors bullet for bullet, in the only language they understand. This is a way to win back our country for all our people, to liberate Southern Africa and ensure peace for Africa.



Be prepared to support our fighting men. Make their path easy. Make the enemy's path hard.



Be ready to join in the fight, to make sacrifices. If you do not fight like a man you will live and die a slave.



Our soldiers are skilful. They take the enemy by surprise. Their deeds are brave like the warriors of Shaka, Makana, Sekhukhuni, Moshoesboe, Cetshwayo. We shall win.



Our enemy is isolated. He will be defeated by our power. People throughout the world support our just struggle.

Pass Campaign, the Boelhoeck Massacre of 1921, the Durban beer boycott of 1929, the Rand African Miners' strike of 1946. He told of the intensification of oppression under apartheid, and the response of the people under the leadership of the African National Congress.

This is how Congressman Nix ended his speech:

"On June 26, 1963, Walter Sisulu, an ANC leader now incarcerated on Robben Island, said to the nation over an underground radio:

"We warn the Government that drastic laws will not stop our struggle for liberation. Throughout the ages men have sacrificed — they have given their lives for their ideals. And we are also determined to surrender our lives for our freedom. In the face of violence, men struggling for freedom have had to meet violence with violence. How can it be otherwise in South Africa? Changes must come. Changes for better, but not without sacrifice... We will succeed."

"It can be seen that in the struggles launched on June 26 there is a determination to win freedom, a dedication to a national cause and to the principles of unity among the ranks of the majority. June 26 has grown into an international day of solidarity with the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa. It has been adopted and is observed by the peoples of Africa, Asia, and South America, by opponents of racism and minority rule, and by democrats comprising millions of people in many parts of the world. International and other organisations — political, cultural, social — and students' movements have demonstrated their support for the cause of freedom in South Africa by calling on their supporters to observe June 26.

Today I call on you to do so in solidarity with the majority in South Africa; to reflect on the cruel oppression facing the peoples of South Africa and to think on the growing identification of our own Nation with the oppressors."

That was June 26 in the United States — a slap in the face to the £2 million a year propaganda machine of the South African Government.

BRITISH PROTEST

Freedom Day activities in Britain included:

- A poster picket outside the South African Tourist Office in Piccadilly;
- A march in pouring rain by over a thousand people through the West End of London from Hyde Park Corner to Trafalgar Square via the Portuguese Embassy. Among the marchers were several members of Parliament;
- A Mass Rally at Trafalgar Square organized by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and addressed by Comrade Oliver Tambo, Acting President of the ANC, Mr David Steele, M.P., the Reverend Paul Oestreicher of the British Council of Churches, Miss Joan Lester, M.P., Mr Jack Jones, Transport Union Assistant General Secretary and Young Liberal leader George Kiloh;
- A march by over 1,500 from the meeting who surged past South Africa House and Rhodesia House before making finally for No. 10 Downing Street where they handed in a letter for the Prime Minister;
- A Mass meeting in Dublin at which Comrade Tambo was the main speaker and at which several leading Irish trade unionists and politicians participated.

The International Defence and Aid Fund organised a highly successful fund-raising concert with such stars as the Alf Garnett family, Julie Felix, Cleo Laine and Johnny Dankworth. Unannounced and voluntarily, world-renowned artist, Sammy Davis Jnr., made a surprise appearance and sang three songs to the delight of the crowd.

The concert opened with the Rev. John Collins reading a message from Dick Gregory, confined in jail in Washington for participating in the Poor People's March.

Mr Adhkar Marof of Guinea, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, called for solidarity with those people of South Africa, "who have no human rights."

U.S.S.R MEETINGS

At a well attended meeting organised jointly by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, the Soviet Institute of Africa and a committee of South African students studying in the Soviet Union, the Chairman, Gleb Starishenko, Deputy Director of the Institute of Africa, outlining the significance of June 26 said: "Our meeting here is a symbol of full support for your cause."

Other speakers included ZAPU and ANC students and a student from Lesotho.

Mr Tatyana Lomovlev, Vice President of the Soviet Young Communist League, submitted a lengthy report on the history and significance of June 26, to a special meeting of the Central Committee of the Young Communist League.

CANADA

In Toronto, Canada, the Canadian Anti-Apartheid Movement held a South Africa Freedom Day Rally on June 22nd, preceded by a vigil. Leaflets were handed out calling on passers-by to boycott South African goods, and reminding them that 1968 is Human Rights Year, and yet in Southern Africa thousands who dared to demand human rights are wasting away in jail.

GUYANA

The Progressive Party's Youth Organisation held a mass rally on June 26 which was followed by a photographic exhibition showing the life and conditions and struggle in South Africa.

Among the hundreds of messages of solidarity received by the London Office of the African National Congress were from:

INDIA

His Excellency, Dr Zokir Hussain, President of India:

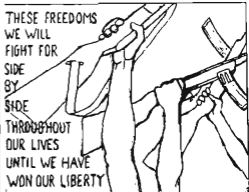
"...We in India have unequivocally expressed our opposition to the policy of apartheid ... India will continue to lend the strongest support to progressive forces seeking to liberate themselves from racial oppression."

His Excellency, Morarjee Dasoi, Deputy Prime Minister:

"...I have no doubt that the historic need for freedom will triumph and the sustained struggle of the African people for freedom and equality will end in a victory for their cause..."



Our demands are stated in the Freedom Charter. We fight for freedom — the right of Africans to rule Africa.



We fight to control all the land of South Africa. We fight to control the wealth of the country. We fight to control our own destiny. Hence our slogan: POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Mabive and prepare! Mabibome! Let your courage rise with your anger! Freedom not scridom! Masta ke a son! Afrika mayibuyee! Amandla ngawetbu! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

His Excellency, Hitendra Desai, Chief Minister of Gujerat:

"...The agony of Africa throughout history has been such that it is not equalled anywhere. The whole world owes it to South Africa to help them achieve freedom in every way..."

All India Trade Union Congress:

"We are confident that the brave freedom fighters of South Africa under the wise leadership of the African National Congress will emerge triumphant and rid the great continent of Africa of imperialism and colonialism forever..."

All India Congress Committee:

"...Apartheid has no place in this age of advanced civilization and those who are fighting it deserve full support from one and all..."

All India Youth Federation:

"...The people and Youth of India who have experienced colonial rule know well the agony and humiliation of slavery ... We are confident that the South African people will win and deal a shattering blow to the forces of racialism..."

Indian Association for Afro-Asian Solidarity:

"...In sending our fraternal greetings and salutations to the African National Congress of South Africa we are aware of addressing ourselves to the oldest anti-Imperialist Movement on the African Continent, a Movement which has scored the signal achievement of uniting all non-white peoples of South Africa — Africans, Indians, and the Coloured people — together with the progressive sections of the white community itself in the sacred fight for freedom and human dignity, against racism and exploitation..."



An exhibition on June 26 mounted by Guyana Youth.

CEYLON

Sri Lanka Freedom Party, Sama Samaja Party, Communist Party:

"...We are aware how every reasonable request, every peaceful protest, has been met with increased arrests, tor-



S.A. Freedom Day Meeting in Guyana: Joe Juron speaking.

ture, imprisonment, exile and executions ... May June 26 soon be celebrated as a National Day of a Free and Democratic South Africa!"

Afro-Asian Solidarity Association of Ceylon and the Ceylon Peace Council:

"...Our members have not merely read of your struggle, they have met many of your leaders, some of whom have visited our country and impressed us deeply. We have the greatest confidence in the ability, discipline, moral stature and heroism of the South African people and their leaders..."

JAMAICA

His Excellency, the Prime Minister of Jamaica:

"...Jamaica's strong stand against apartheid and all forms of discrimination ... is well known. In this international year of human rights it is the duty of us all to work towards the principle that all men should be given equal opportunity to live in freedom..."

CANADA

The Canadian Union of Students:

"...The struggle will be long but victorious in the end..."

The Steelworkers Union of Canada:

"...The total membership of this local Union is approximately 11,000..."

"...Our very best wishes go to you and the many, many friends who are protesting against the regressive human rights policy of the South African and Rhodesian dictatorships..."

CUBA

Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples' of Asia, Africa and Latin America:

"...We wish to express our solidarity ... in your struggle against Apartheid. We honour and support ZAPU and the ANC. They shall be victorious!"

CYPRUS

Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus:

"...It is regrettable that there has been a continued refusal on the part of some countries to respond to the call of world conscience for justice and equality; ...the concern which is widely felt for the continued disregard of human rights is fully shared by the Government and peoples of Cyprus..."

Note: Owing to pressure of space the majority of messages received by the ANC could not be reproduced... Ed.

JUNE 26 1968

Full Text of Leaflet issued in South Africa — referred to in last article

June 26 is our National Freedom Day. A day on which we re-dedicate ourselves to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

June 26, 1968, is the first June 26 since we embarked on guerilla struggle, to overthrow racism and Fascism in Southern Africa.

June 26, 1968, is the first June 26 since the death of our beloved leader, Chief Albert Lutuli.

Our Chief stated in 1964: "... No one can blame brave and just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods."

Today, the Freedom Fighters of the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union are locked in battle against the Vorster-Smith forces in Rhodesia. We salute the brave and skilled sons of South Africa and Zimbabwe for inflicting heavy blows on the enemy in Wankie, Gatooma, Tjototjo, Umvukwes, Bindura, Mazoe, Sinoia, Karoi, Miami, Marabetsland, and near Salisbury.

Our Freedom Fighters — members of the Umkhonto We Sizwe — are not ordinary soldiers. They are brave and dedicated men whom the ANC sent abroad to learn the techniques of war and the use of modern arms. It was in their first contact with the South African soldiers in the Kopjes of the Tjototjo-Cawunajena area that they displayed this marvellous skill of fighting. In this battle, the South African soldiers suffered severe casualties and, in addition, two aircraft were shot down. Only five Freedom Fighters lost their lives.

TORTURE AND KILLING

Threatened by the increasing striking force of the Freedom Fighters in the hills, valleys and mountains of Rhodesia, the Vorster-Smith regimes have resorted to lies, torture, killing of civilians and hiring of spies. Last year, their radio and newspapers were telling the people that they have smashed the 'terrorists'. In March this year, fighting was taking place in various parts of Rhodesia. The Vorster-Smith regimes were forced to swallow their lies. Ian Smith had to call for more South African soldiers and arms. Vorster had to supply them. Today, thousands of South African white soldiers are fighting in Rhodesia and they now make up a third of the Rhodesian military forces.

PANIC AND DESERTIONS

Because of the fierce battles and the heavy casualties inflicted by the Freedom Fighters, there is panic among the white settlers in the areas of combat. Many of them have fled their farms to sleep in the cities.

Many South African soldiers were killed and injured in Karoi, Mazoe and Sipolilo in March this year. Vor-

ster knows this but he and Smith hide their heavy casualties from the public. Instead they announce a few names, and for the rest, they only inform the individual next-of-kin concerned. This is an old trick. Ian Smith is facing problems in his army. Many African soldiers and police together with some white civilians, are refusing to join the fight against the Freedom Fighters. For this action some have been locked up, others have deserted to Botswana.

Vorster and Smith propaganda claims that the African population is against the Freedom Fighters. In fact our guerillas are being welcomed and supported by the people. In desperation the Smith forces are detaining, torturing and killing African civilians.

TODAY RHODESIA — TOMORROW SOUTH AFRICA

Vorster knows that what is happening in Rhodesia today is going to happen in South Africa tomorrow.

- That is why he is determined to save white supremacy in Rhodesia and pour in arms and soldiers.
- That is why he has intensified the terror against our people and their organizations.
- That is why he is trying to get the weak amongst us to inform on our organizations and act as spies and traitors.
- That is why he has sent spies to our organizations abroad to do the Government's dirty work by spreading lies and slander against our leadership and against our brave men of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

BE ON YOUR GUARD! BE VIGILANT!

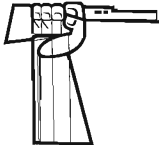
On this day, JUNE 26, 1968:

WE PAY HOMAGE AND TRIBUTE to our militant Freedom Fighters who have laid down their lives, and those languishing in Vorster's dungeons, in the cause of South African Freedom. They have not sacrificed in vain and they shall be avenged.

WE VOW to work with renewed vigour towards the attainment of freedom and human dignity in South Africa, the land of our birth, and for the glorious cause of African Unity.

WE RE-DEDICATE ourselves that so long as our country remains under the iron heel of White Supremacy, we shall devote all our energies and our lives in the determined struggle to liberate our MOTHERLAND.

AMANDLA NQAWETHU! MAATLA KE A RONAL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Comrade Jose Monteiro,
FRELIMO representative in Algeria,
answers questions on the

MOZAMBIQUE REVOLUTION

1. Comrade Monteiro what progress has the liberation movement in Mozambique made in recent months?

The armed struggle was launched in Mozambique in September 1964. Since that time the struggle has been going on in the two northern provinces of Mozambique, Niassa and Cabo Delgado. Our action there has forced the Portuguese into the position of having to confine themselves to isolated military outposts and other weakened positions away from the centre of the areas. Furthermore, their movements from one point to another are severely restricted because of the extent of the action and control of our freedom fighters.

From mid-1967 we have been able to attack these military posts ourselves, due to increased firing power and heavier armament capability. Thus we have not only captured large quantities of material but have also destroyed some posts altogether. In these areas we are now able to create the conditions of real liberated life. About twelve strong positions have been destroyed. The military airport of Mueda, the strongest Portuguese post in Cabo Delgado, has been attacked several times and planes and fuel dumps there have been totally destroyed.

But the most important development in the armed struggle began last March — when the struggle was carried into the Tete province. A glance at the map of the Tete region will show the importance of this front, dissected by the Zambezi river and touching Zimbabwe, Malawi and South Africa. Recent statements by high-ranking members of the South African regime have conceded that the security of the white man and the maintenance of the present system could depend on the Zambezi area in Mozambique. Another important factor is that we are fighting in this province close to Zimbabwe, and thus there exists the capability of much more than moral support and solidarity alone between Frelimo and the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe, and a much stronger connection between the fighting forces in our countries may be created. We feel that in this area the way can be opened to the heart of white Africa and to the kindling of the entire region into a revolutionary situation.

The Tete province front is important not only to us but to the masses of Southern Africa and their militant movements. The Portuguese are planning to build on the Zambezi River a giant dam at Cabora Bassa. It has been calculated that electricity from this power source will be half the price of other supplies — and as South Africa has a financial interest in this project and will benefit directly from it, it means that the Cabora Bassa project will be used by the South African regime not only for their own gain and at the expense of the people — they will also be furthering their aim attempting to gain control of independent African states through economic bribes.

Furthermore, it is planned to settle one million white settlers in the region — and there is nobody who doubts that they would form a bulwark against the independence of Southern Africa.

The Portuguese, as I have told you, have been forced by our military action in the two northern provinces to leave large areas altogether. Furthermore, in areas where they still have posts, they have no control whatsoever over the area and cannot move through it with ease. It is in these areas that Frelimo had to organise a new life and help create new social relationships. It was necessary to build the basis of a democratic society. We are faced with immediate problems, for example the organisation of production and the protection of workers in the fields etc., from Portuguese attacks. We had to provide tools and implements to put the organisation of agriculture on a cooperative basis. A system of exchange of goods had to be organised, and means to carry any surplus production away to markets as trade items.

2. What is being done about the re-organisation of society in the liberated areas, particularly with regard to health, education and economic development?





3. What effects do you think will the struggle now unfolding in Zimbabwe and South Africa, have on your struggle?

4. In the difficult conditions of a black-out of news from Southern Africa, what is Frelimo doing to gain international solidarity for their struggle?

5. What does the future hold for Mozambique and Southern Africa?

Thus in 1966 for example, we imported into the two provinces a total of 9,000 hoes, 9,000 hatchets and 9,000 pangas. In the same year we were able to export 500 tons of cashew nuts, 100 tons each of sesame seed and groundnuts, and 10 tons of capor oil seed.

As soon as the armed struggle begins in any area, the Portuguese authorities order the closure of commercial establishments except for those which directly serve the Portuguese army. Since our people must continue to live as much of a normal life as possible, despite the war, we have established our own shops in as many districts as possible. Using proceeds from exports we import essentials, including salt, oils, textiles and some household equipment, which then pass through our shops to the local population. At the same time we are developing the traditional small craftsmen on an organised basis, and they use local iron, silver, copper and hardwood to produce simple household goods such as hoes, pangas, hatchets, bedsteads, needles, etc.

Sanitation and health services are a major part of our programme. Schools to train nurses have been created with the aim of building a network of health posts throughout the area for the population. An intensive campaign of smallpox vaccination is being carried out, for example, under which already by last year over 100,000 people had been vaccinated.

With regard to schools, we have of course great difficulty in obtaining teachers; we are using people who can read and write to teach others. In the Cabo Delgado province alone, last year's figures revealed that there were over 10,000 children in primary schools. Many young Mozambicans are away receiving higher education and technical training.

The launching of the armed struggle in Zimbabwe is the most important backing we could get from our South African and Zimbabwe brothers. We are faced with an enormous challenge that does not only concern South Africans against Vorster, Zimbabweans against Smith, and Angolans against the Portuguese. We have common borders and common traditions. A large number of Mozambican and Angolan workers go to South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). Some militants have been working with South African and Zimbabwean workers not only through an analysis of the situation but also from the basis of a common tradition. Since the beginning of the national liberation movement, Mozambicans have been concerned with the struggle of the South Africans and Zimbabweans. I feel sure that in the future we will arrive at much stronger co-operation, and our common struggle will be victorious. After all, our enemies are united in oppressing us — and our fight is therefore against them as a whole. There should be no opportunity for them to concentrate their united front forces on a single front only.

We feel that international solidarity is very important for the struggle. But solidarity can only come out of an understanding or knowledge of the problems and struggle in our countries. That is why we attempt at all levels and through all our newspapers and other media, to denounce the Portuguese colonial war and to explain the aspirations of our people to freedom and independence. We publish much information, but a big part of information has to come from the progressive forces themselves throughout the world. Ideally, information must go so relaying centres to be further spread through organisations, media etc. It is particularly important that progressive forces in the West should act to limit their governments' support for the Southern African white regimes.

We have been saying that we really think our future is not determined by the white regimes. It is the sharp contradictions between the peoples' interests and the interests of the white settlers and international imperialism, that is the determining factor. This contradiction is not necessarily solved by the process of "de-colonization", as carried out in other regions of Africa.

The economic and strategical interests of imperialism involved in Southern Africa are important for imperialism, too important for them to let go of Southern Africa easily. They will not withdraw readily.

The struggle will therefore be long and hard. Although we have not had long experience in armed struggle, we can see through the struggle to a successful conclusion. The progressive world and all progressive people are with us. Our cause is just. It is inevitable that, in the whole of Southern Africa, foreign domination and racism will be eliminated once and for all. This I am confident of.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Family Day Not For Africans

The claim that family life among Africans is being disrupted by the Government's laws, is made by the Black Sash in a pamphlet issued on the eve of Family Day, 8 July.

"Every new regulation adds to the ever-increasing destruction of the rights, the security, the family life of the African people", says the pamphlet. "They are endorsed out, removed, pushed around.

"There is no longer any guarantee that any home they may be able to establish in these bleak areas (the resettlement villages) will be permanent. At any time they can once again be moved. No ideology can justify this."

In support of its claims the Black Sash quotes the Cape Synod of the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk. In a report on migratory labour, the NGK said:—"A cancer which so rages in the lives of the African population must necessarily affect the whole social and religious life of all the population groups in our fatherland.

"As a result of the laws of God the Whites will not be untouched by the disease that is destroying the moral life of the Africans."

In its pamphlet the Black Sash says: "Family life is, and has always been, the basis of society the world over. Everywhere people strive to build for themselves a warm and secure family life.

"Our Government recognises this fundamental need of society and has organized Family Week to give expression to its importance.

"But Family Week is not for Africans. Family life is not for Africans. The Government's policy is that all African labour in the Republic shall be migratory. Labour is needed, but the man becomes a labour unit and may not have his family with him. The father lives in a 'bachelors' hostel. His family ekes out an existence in a 'homeland'.

"Even such stable family life as there has been for Africans in the towns is now being destroyed. Influx control has become efflux enforcement.

"Men and women who have lived and worked in a town for many years, sometimes a lifetime, are being endorsed out on technicalities.

"Teenage children are being ordered away from their parents for 'resettlement in the homelands'.

"Old people, after a lifetime of work, may be declared idle and undesirable and may be sent away from their homes to be 'resettled' somewhere.

"Some of those endorsed out of the towns are sent back to their so-called tribal homes. In many cases this place is completely strange to them, and they are unknown and unwanted there.

"There are at least 30 resettlement villages, containing by now at least 100,000 people. It is impossible to obtain exact figures.

"Those living in these villages are mainly old people, women and children. Conditions generally are bleak, arid, grim.

"Many of these villages have no water, no shops, no clinics, no schools, no transport. Opportunities for employment are non-existent. This is why there are so few men in these villages.

"What sort of family life can be established there?"

More Forced Removals

The Bantu Administration Department has moved, in the deep freeze of winter, 400 Africans to Stinkwater, a settlement 35 miles east of Pretoria. They have been given makeshift tents for a period of three months, during which time they are expected to have built homes for their families. The only building materials available are mud and sheets of corrugated iron salvaged from their old slum homes. Corrugated iron is at a premium in the thorny scrub. To mould mud walls needs water, involving a continual fetch-and-carry operation from two boreholes half a mile from the main camp areas. *Building work is left, for the large part, to the women and the old. The men, who are now located so far from their employment that many are home only between 9pm and 3am, have little or no time to spend erecting their homes.*

"We know that these walls will crumble when the rains pour down," say the few despondently trying to provide shelter for their families. "But there is nothing else."

Police to Build Faith

"The spirit of lawlessness and complete contempt for law and order in the world today will never be allowed to spread to South Africa," stated Vorster in Pretoria recently. He was addressing a passing-out parade of nearly 400 policemen at the Police College in Pretoria West. The position the world was in today was largely due to lack of discipline and lack of faith, he told them. It was the task of the police to help build up faith in South Africa.

Rape and Sentence

A young policeman, Petrus Johannes Dirksen Volschenk, was sentenced to six years imprisonment for raping an African woman in Durban. Three years of the sentence has been suspended. The judge in his summing-up stated: "You

have been severely punished because you have let the Force down, and of course, in our mixed racial nation, it adds to the seriousness of the crime when you rape a person of another race."

(The usual penalty for the rape of a White by a Non-White is death — Ed.)

Non-White Guinea-Pigs

Non-Whites in South Africa are providing a particularly rich field for medical research. It is still possible to do research into Kwashiorkor (a disease caused by gross malnutrition), pellagra and scurvy. The Prof Brock has reached international eminence in this field, is really a terrible indictment of the South African society.

Africans or Alcohol

A quarrel has flared up at the NUSAS conference at the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. The Natal University's graduation ball, normally open to all graduates of the University, has been restricted to White graduates. The sale of liquor to a non-segregated ball is forbidden by law — and so the student body was in fact being forced to decide between drinks or the admittance of non-Whites. A resolution was presented to NUSAS (National Union of South African Students) by Mr Mosendane, the non-white representative of Natal University, "condemning the flagrant display of racialism by a supposedly educated and enlightened campus."

'Traditional Outlook'

The University of Cape Town's council recently rescinded its decision to appoint to its staff Mr Archie Mafeje as senior lecturer in Anthropology, when the Minister of Education, Senator de Klerk, made it known that he disapproved of the appointment of an African. Senator de Klerk said he considered it contrary to the "traditional outlook of South Africa". Mr Mafeje has recently completed his Ph. D. thesis at Cambridge University.

Dear Friend,

Tribute to FREEDOM FIGHTERS who died in action, engaged with an enemy. Their death determines the intensity and the size of the war, as against the Press assessment. The more they fall, it is indicative, the worst for the enemy.

— M. Koloi
London.

Dear Friend,

Although I haven't much money nowadays, and don't normally make contributions, I can't resist yours, and accordingly send you as much as I can manage.

— D. Priis
London.

Dear Sir,

I enclose subscription for one year. I will do anything I can to help you. Make it a strong and fruitbearing paper! All best wishes.

— Bertil Malstrom
Uppala, Sweden.

I send you my best wishes for the future. I have recommended your magazine to a lot of interested Norwegians, and I hope that this will give results.

— Tore Linne Eriksen
Oslo, Norway.

Sir,

I find Sechaba a very impressive journal, and I wish to congratulate the ANC for having launched such a good journal in the cause of freedom in South Africa.

— Esau du Plessis
Amsterdam.

Dear Sir,

Thank you for sending me the June copy of Sechaba. It cleared up a lot of points which confused me before. Especially, I think a lot of people have been confused by Smith's lie, backed up by the statements of ZANU, that the Freedom Fighters are merely a little group which passed over from Zambia on March 15th.

(ZANU — the Zimbabwe African National Union — is a splinter group opposed by the major liberation movements in Zimbabwe — the ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES UNION — ZAPU. — Editor.)

I know many progressives distrust and despise Smith's propaganda, but statements by African Nationalists, i.e. ZANU, seem to corroborate Smith's statements. I was quite surprised when some friend in the Anti-Apartheid Movement explained that guerrilla warfare was going on, inside the country, and the freedom fighters were winning successes against the combined forces of Smith and Vorster.

Once again I wish them good luck.

I understand the subscription rate for Sechaba is ten shillings for students. I am still at school at the moment, but I will be working, I hope, before the end of this year. I am therefore enclosing five shillings as the balance of the subscription, and I promise to send you the other rate and more, when I can afford it.

— Lionel Holly
Somerset, England.

SOUTH AFRICA'S DILEMMA

The racist regimes are faced with the dilemma that on the one hand they want to assure the whites that all is well and the 'situation is under control' and on the other they have to ensure that, at the minimum the Whites are fully awake to the 'dangers' and are prepared fully to support the war plans of the racist regimes. So we find talk about the 'terrorists' having been completely routed side by side with talk of the 'communist' plot that threatens 'peace and stability' in Southern Africa.

PROPHET

The latest of the prophets is Patrick Laurence of the Johannesburg daily newspaper "The Star". In a two-column article headed 'Gaps in the Guerilla's Strategy' he goes into some details about the theory and practice of guerilla warfare in the course of which he comes to the conclusion that things are all right and that the guerillas haven't a chance. Laurence takes on the mantle of the 'expert', no doubt to soft-soap the whites but it is clear from the article that he is neither an expert nor is he well-informed. It would seem that he, too, is a victim of the South Africa propaganda machine.

We will not go into his lengthy dissertation on the theory and tactics of guerilla warfare. Enough has been written on the subject by people who have actually gone through a guerilla struggle and have formulated general principles as a result of their experiences. Those interested are invited to refer to these genuine experts.

But as far as the war in Southern Africa is concerned Laurence makes some wild and sweeping statements which need to be exposed. Throughout his article he refers to Freedom Fighters as terrorists. This is not unusual except that Laurence pretends to study the question 'scientifically'. He should know that the terrorists are the whites who have usurped our land and kept it with the bullet and the baton. Then he speaks of the 'adroit propaganda' of the 'terrorists'. What nonsense! A people oppressed for centuries do not need propagandists to tell them that they suffer injustices.

He also speaks of bases in Zambia and Tanzania. 'With (inviolable?) bases in Zambia and Tanzania and ample space for manoeuvre, they have at least two factors operating in their favour, but that seems to be all'. We will unhesitatingly state that we have tremendous support from these two independent African countries as we have received from other parts of Africa and from all progressive mankind. But this 'expert' on guerilla warfare should know that such a struggle cannot be waged from bases in other countries; that a people's war must be rooted amongst the people if it is to succeed. This seems to be an obvious attempt to show that we do not

enjoy the support of the people and at the same time, in classic fashion, to find external scapegoats. In this context the question mark after the word 'inviolable' in the phrase 'with (inviolable?) bases' is ominous, for here Laurence is obviously referring to possible attacks on these independent African countries at some future date by the racist South.

INDULGING IN JARGON

Laurence then goes on to 'prove' that armed struggle in Southern Africa cannot be victorious. He states sweepingly: 'The chances of these guerillas evolving into a regular army . . . are infinitesimal. African guerillas have not even reached the "take-off" stage . . .'

Laurence here indulges in jargon to show how 'clever' he is. What does 'take-off' mean in the context of the Southern African struggle? Perhaps he needs to be reminded that White rule survives and is maintained by violence; that below the much-flaunted calm of which we hear so much there is seething discontent; that in the past much less than a trained guerilla force has succeeded in rousing the wrath of the oppressed people. Has he forgotten Sekhukhuni and Zeerust? Has he forgotten Pondoland? — where some of the most gallant peasant struggles have taken place in recent years. Has he forgotten Sharpeville and its aftermath? There are numerous other instances and if there are not even more it is only because for so long we have sought to avoid bloodshed and the legacy of hate that would result. We have now taken up arms with the clear knowledge that there is no other way, that only by the bullet can we attain freedom.

His talk of our not being able to build up a regular army is poppycock and he betrays his ignorance of the strategy and tactics of guerilla warfare by indulging in such delivel. Our regular army is the broad mass of the people, who for too long were being violated against and have today adopted the only effective means of retaliation left to them — to meet armed repression with armed revolt. It is this very thing that Vorster and his fellow fascists fear. Why else would he extend his frontiers to the Zambesi? Why this sudden interest in the struggle in Angola and Mozambique? Why, otherwise, would South African soldiers be permitted to die in Zimbabwe? We have a proud record of struggle and

South Africa is ruled by violence. Only the white minority may own or carry arms. White women join Pistol Clubs and emulate their menfolk. Police shoot first, talk later.





Part of the long row of coffins bearing the dead from the Massacre of Sharpeville — one massacre of many.

sacrifice, our history is replete with heroes who were from and with the masses.

LIES, LIES AND MORE LIES

Thus when he talks of our guerrillas having suffered 'decisive defeats' he is either extremely ill-informed or he is deliberately lying. Any competent journalist based in South Africa should not find it too difficult to unravel the truth from the mass of verbiage dished out by Smith's propaganda department. He speaks of the African soldiers in Smith's army as being 'without compunction or mercy'. This is surely an attempt to portray a lack of support for the People's Army, as is the pseudo-topistry of questioning whether the 'nation' exists along the Zambesi. He goes on to state that the peasant population instead of supporting our guerrillas is informing on them. It is obvious that Laurence in fact has sold out to Vorster's information services and like them has to resort to lies, lies and more lies.

WHITE SOLDIERS RELUCTANT

Reasons of security preclude our going into details about the situation in the 'warfront'. This word is purely for convenience as there is no front except the people as a whole and this is something that makes the fascists very unhappy. The people have welcomed our guerrillas with open arms. Some who have heard of them were waiting for them and recognised them the moment they met. They have supplied food and shelter and a few have already carried out certain tasks allotted to them. With the large number of secret casualties suffered by the racist forces and with the open tension which now exists between Rhodesian and South African soldiers it should be obvious who has suffered decisive defeats. The African soldiers in Smith's army are an anachronism and will not be there for long. They have been forced to go in front of the white soldiers and have therefore suffered the most casualties. They will not tolerate this sort of treatment for very long especially when they see the White Rhodesian soldiers reluctant to go into battle.

Mr Laurence, you and your kind have nothing left but lies and that too you will not have for long.

Nationalist Press on June 26 in South Africa

The South African ruling Nationalist Party's national weekly, *Dagbreek en Landstem*, in a report on June 26 activities of the ANC underground in South Africa, printed the following revealing report in its issue of 7 July 1968:

Subversives — On Rivonia Pattern — Again Active: Provocative Tape Recordings Played in Golden City. (by Chris Vormaak)

"Current events in South Africa show clearly that subversive elements are again actively organizing underground, and that in some of our cities already new organizational units or cells have probably again been created.

It is the old Rivonia pattern. All the activities are geared to the sharpening of and succour for terrorism. The Government is openly and daringly being challenged. The question being asked is whether it is not the work of foreign-trained members of the banned political organizations, because it cannot be argued with certainty that such trained people have not found their way into South Africa.

On Wednesday 26th June, the so-called freedom day which was also celebrated in London by our enemies, an inflammatory tape-recording of the ANC was played in a Johannesburg street. It was full of exhortation to violence. Who made the recording and who was responsible for its playing — under the noses of the police?

Verbatim typed reports of it are now also being distributed by post and other methods. Such things require organization and are obviously the work of more than one person.

The broadcast is the most audacious step the ANC has taken since it was suppressed by the government in 1963—65. This defiant act was accompanied by other developments. Hundreds of leaflets concerning the banned ANC were found in Commercial Road, Durban. A large banner fluttered near a garage in the same street. Senior Security Branch officers have been called in. They say the matter is being investigated.

This is the first time that leaflets of the ANC have been distributed in Durban since that organization was banned.

Simultaneously other leaflets and printed illustrated booklets also made their appearance in South Africa. The propaganda was posted in S.A. but possibly printed in London and smuggled here. There are numerous illustrations of 'freedom fighters' who are attacking South Africa and Rhodesia. There are also several misstatements alleging brutality to non-whites.

The booklet is printed in four Bantu languages and English. The introductory headline, under the flag of the ANC, states: "We Are At War".

Last month two other leaflets with virtually the same content were distributed in South Africa.

The purpose is clear: it is to condition the non-whites in South Africa for an armed uprising and to prepare the way for guerrilla fighters. The Africans are, as it were, being bombarded with more propaganda than they can digest."



THE STRUGGLE FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

First of Three Articles by DUMA NOKWE

Photo: Duma Nokwe, Secretary-General of the African National Congress of South Africa, addresses the Southern African Conference in Berlin in May this year.

Part One. Historical Background

For centuries, the continent of Africa was subjected to colonization and brutal aggression by European and North American countries. Prominent among these were Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Holland, Germany, the United States and Italy. These countries followed different patterns of colonization at different periods of history.

We may distinguish various periods in this colonization and aggression: namely, slave trading (which robbed the African continent of millions of people), mercantile capitalist colonialism, imperialism and colonialism.

The chief characteristic was always rapacity — in robbery of the human and material resources of Africa accompanied by cold-blooded massacres of the indigenous people, and a complete disregard for the human rights and dignity of the indigenous population. This system has left Africa with a heritage of poverty, disease and ignorance.

In some parts of Africa, the colonial system developed (and based itself on) a settled European community which dominated the state and economic, social and cultural life.

Southern Africa

In Southern Africa, the national liberation movements, the MPLA, FRELIMO, ZAPU, SWAPO and the ANC, have a similar development. Its primary characteristic is the unification of the oppressed African people in the struggle against white racism and fascism, imperialism and neo-colonialism, by methods which were originally purely political and eventually became military in character.

Each of these movements has to be surveyed in the light of the specific historical conditions of the country concerned, the nature and history of colonialist domination and the unification of the masses of the people into a resistance and revolutionary movement of the indigenous workers and peasants, aiming at a complete national and social revolution. The realities of the situation were what compelled these organizations to embark on armed struggle.

In these articles I shall concentrate on the development of the national liberation movement in South Africa, on its driving forces and trends of development, seen against the background of the conquest and ruthless oppression of the country by Dutch, British and internally based imperialism. I shall also draw attention to the part played by the working class movement.

Onslaught of Colonization

It was the historical fate of the peoples of Southern Africa to experience the onslaughts of European colonization through

the agency of the most retrogressive, unproductive and barbarous elements of West Europe: the ferocious adventurers and slave-traders of feudal Portugal and the Netherlands mercantile capitalists represented by the Dutch East India Company.

Prior to the advent of the Europeans, the African peoples of Southern Africa had evolved stable societies based on animal husbandry and various forms of agriculture. Various handicrafts had been developed. In Zimbabwe and what is now the Transvaal, an African mining industry had been developed, stimulated by trading contacts with the East and the Arab world. Private ownership of land was unknown. Fundamentally, the economy was of a self-sustaining, subsistence character, without the use of money or any other medium of exchange. There were no acute or antagonistic class divisions. The forms of government were essentially popular and democratic in character, the Chiefs being assisted in their duties of legislation and administration by the general meetings of the people, which are common to traditional South African cultures.

Slave Trade Havoc

The appearance of the Portuguese and the Dutch radically altered the lives of the African people in these areas, prevented the evolution of their societies and subjected them to untold calamities. On the south-western coast of Africa, the Portuguese slave-traders created havoc. Between 1486 and 1641, they took 1,389,000 slaves from Angola — an average of about 9,000 a year¹). In the 18th century, the traffic increased to an average of 25,000 a year.

"The effects of this gigantic slave trade spread further and further inland. Fugitives from slave raids would drive out the inhabitants of inland areas in order to find a refuge for themselves, and then the new fugitives would displace other people further away, setting up a chain of disorder and migration which had repercussions throughout the entire sub-continent."²)

Dutch East India Company

The Dutch East India Company set up a "Refreshment Station" in Cape Town under the command of Jan van Riebeeck in 1652. Its object was to provide fresh meat and vegetables for the Company's ships plying between Holland and Java and other Dutch colonies in the East.

The Dutch East India Company has aptly been described as "a typical creation of mercantile capitalists . . . a ferocious

plunderer which only destroyed and never built.") Sir Stamford Raffles, once the Governor of Java, described the history of colonial administration of Holland as "one of the most extraordinary relations of treachery, bribery, massacre and meanness." The Company's record was one of unmitigated destruction, even of genocide. For example, Banjawangi, a province of Java, had a population of 80,000 in 1750. By 1811, during the Company's administration, the population fell to 18,000. The vast depredations of the Dutch East India Company, however, brought no benefit to the people of Holland, but only to the trading bourgeoisie who dominated the country. Karl Marx pointed out that "by 1648 the people of Holland were more overworked, poorer and more brutally oppressed than those of the rest of Europe put together."

Even before van Riebeeck's party arrived to establish the settlement, Dutch and English ships calling at Table Bay had begun the sickening process of robbing the indigenous people of their cattle, which played such a prominent part in the subsequent history of South Africa.

Van Riebeeck himself recorded in his diary his attitude and that of the Company towards the indigenous people. At one stage the Company wrote to criticize him for being too friendly towards the local Khoisan tribes, whom they called "Hottentots". He replied: "This we did to make them less shy, so as to find hereafter a better opportunity to seize them — 1,100 or 1,200 in number and about 600 cattle, the best in the whole country. We have every day the finest opportunities for effecting this without bloodshed, and could derive good service from the people, in chains, in killing seals, or in labouring in the silver mines which we trust will be found here.")

Seizing Slaves and Cattle

In a further letter, van Riebeeck complained about Company regulations limiting the seizure of cattle: ". . . It is therefore very wrong to see such fine herds of cattle . . . although, were it permitted, we had this day opportunity enough to take from them 10,000 head . . . and we might make prisoners, without a blow, of many savages, in order to send them as slaves to India, as they constantly come to us without weapons.")

The Dutch settlers brought to the Cape during the time of van Riebeeck had, to start with, no land or cattle or other means. They acquired them by a simple process of aggression and robbery from the African peoples in the Western Cape. Not only did they deprive them of their land and their cattle, they enslaved them to work on their lands and seized their womenfolk. This process continued throughout the 18th century. A hundred years of Company rule virtually destroyed the once-flourishing Khoisan communities that existed in the vicinity of Table Bay in the Western Cape. The traveller Dampier wrote: "Those of the *Hottentots* that lived by the Dutch town have their greatest subsistence from the Dutch, for there is one or more of them belonging to every house. They do all sorts of servile work . . . Three or four of their nearest relations sit at the doors or near the Dutch house, waiting for the scraps and fragments that come from the table . . ." Compare this with van Riebeeck's description of the herds of 10,000 cattle belonging to these "paupers" barely a century before.

In addition to its genocidal wars against the Khoisan people, the Dutch East India Company also introduced chattel slavery at the Cape. It appears paradoxical that slavery should have been introduced into the country by a capitalist Company.

As Lawson points out: "The key to this paradox lies in the purely mercantile character of the Company's capitalism, that is to say, it was a capitalism that had not yet penetrated the field of production and therefore could do little more than extend older systems which it found already in existence."

Infiltration into the Interior

Although the Dutch East India Company had brought the original settlers to the Cape as its servants, it neither wished nor was it able over the period of years to control the steady infiltration of the "Boers" (farmers) into the interior of the country. Their methods of extensive farming rapidly exhausted the soil, and armed parties of them were continually moving eastwards and northwards in search of fresh pastures, and undertaking cattle raids against the indigenous people.

It is sometimes sought to present these movements of the "Trek Boers" as if they were some sort of civilizing mission. Eventually they spread far into the interior, to Natal, the Orange Free State and the Transvaal — a chapter of history which is glorified by modern subscribers to the mystique of Afrikaner (Boer) nationalism and the cult of the Voor-trekkers. It is a theme often taken up by apologists for present-day neo-Nazism as exemplified by the Vorster government. Thus the American writer Allen Drury writes: "The achievement, as with the westward pioneers of America, is impressive and moving enough in its own right, filled with great determination, heroism and bravery.")

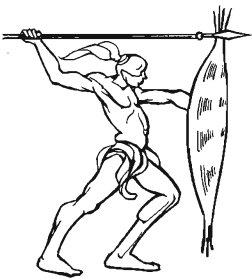
But Lawson puts it more accurately when he says: —

"The trekking movement had begun by the end of the 16th century and continued steadily for almost two centuries. Its peculiar character derived from the fact that it was impelled by poverty. This was no confident advance by a rich and expanding economy; it was a furtive creeping trickle that seemed to transplant its own poverty, ignorance and cultural sterility wherever it went. It sifted rather than destroyed the indigenous societies in its path; it brought no economic advance, no civilization, only stagnation and degradation.")

Opposition by the Xhosa

Towards the latter part of the 18th century, the settler colony at the Cape came up against stronger opposition than that provided by the scattered Khoisan tribes who were not of a warlike character. In what is now known as the Eastern Cape Province, dwelt the people of the Xhosa tribes. Their vast herds of cattle and fertile farmlands aroused the greed of the settlers. But the Xhosas were formidable opponents, well organized and with a military tradition. They were not easily prepared to surrender their cattle and their lands. Thus began the long series of acts of aggression and cattle-raids against the Xhosa people (which White South African historians distinguished by the name 'Kaffir Wars') which lasted for 100 years. Some details given by Lawson indicate the real scale and nature of these wars:

"Early in 1780 two Commandos made a cattle raid and murdered many defenceless people. In 1781 a Commando took 5,330 cattle in two months. In 1788 a Craff-Renne official wrote to Cape Town that 'some of the inhabitants here have already for a long time wished to pick a quarrel with this nation (the Xhosas) in order that, were it possible, they might make a good loot, since they are always casting con-



vious eyes on the cattle the Kaffirs possess.' In 1793 they obtained their object. The first Commando of that year took 1,800 cattle and murdered the owners, another Commando took 2,000 cattle and murdered 40 people, while the third and largest Commando under the 'liberal' Maynier, took no fewer than 10,000 cattle and also 180 women and children as prisoners for slave labour." 1)

It is absurd to describe these cattle-raids as wars. There were no casualties among the Boers: as soon as serious resistance developed they ran away. Invariably, Khoisan troops, coerced by the colonists, were sent in front of the Boer marauders on their cattle raids.

Real War - Common Cause

But in 1799 there was a real war. The oppressed Khoisan slaves arose and made common cause with the Xhosas. On the causes of this war, Governor Young wrote in 1800: "Neither the Hottentots nor the Caffers have been the aggressors but the savage and oppressive conduct of the Dutch Boers, more uncivilized than the others."

In June 1799, a Commando of 300 Boers was defeated on the east bank of the Sundays River by 150 Xhosa and Khoisan warriors. But this defeat did not deter the white cattle-thieves. By 1802, they were stealing again — and in this year they captured 15,800 cattle from the Xhosas.

But the Cape Colony under Dutch rule, whether of the Company or later of the Batavian Republic, was never able to conquer or subdue the Xhosa people. Nor for that matter did the Boers, despite their advantage in being armed, with firearms produced in Europe, ever succeed in decisively conquering any African people in South Africa.

British - Ruthless Colonizers

However, a far more formidable, merciless and destructive power appeared at the Cape at the beginning of the 19th

century. In 1806, the Colony was taken over for the second time by British imperialists. The sporadic cattle raids of the Dutch colonists, conducted by part-time cowboys and cattle-thieves, were replaced by the attacks of a huge army of ruthless mercenaries enrolled by Great Britain for the purpose of conducting total war. In their very first campaign against Chief Ndlambe they took 23,000 cattle.

The British appeared as systematic and highly organized colonizers. They settled large numbers of unemployed English families in the Albany district of Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape in 1820, and built forts wherever they went, manned by full-time professional soldiers. Their object was not merely to steal cattle and seize land, but to destroy the fabric of traditional African society and convert the tribespeople into hired labourers and customers for British manufactures.

Fierce Xhosa Resistance

The Xhosas resisted fiercely. Under such inspiring leaders as the Prophet Makana, they resisted foreign conquest and fought for their independence against the British, and against African collaborators such as Ngqika. In the war of 1818, writes E.R. Roux:

"... there is no doubt that the whites were the aggressors. In December of that year white troops crossed the Fish River, the 'legal boundary' of the Colony. They were joined by some of Ngqika's followers, and Makana and Ndlambe were forced to retreat to the forests. After burning down all the huts they found and capturing some 23,000 cattle, the colonists retired, though first they shared the cattle equally between themselves and Ngqika. But without continued white support, Ngqika could not hold his own. When Ndlambe and Makana attacked him once more, he was hopelessly defeated. "Following the tracks of their cattle" as they said, the Xhosas then crossed the Fish River and carried the war into the Colony. Makana's army advanced in the spirit of a crusade." 2)

In the end, after frightful slaughter of the Xhosa troops who were armed, against the firearms of the British, only with shields and assegais, their attack was beaten, and Makana himself sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. But the resistance of the Xhosa people, under such leaders as Ndlambe, Hintsa and Makana, was an epic struggle which long held up the advance of imperialism in Southern Africa.

Wars in Natal, Transvaal, O.F.S.

In Natal, the Zulu people, making use of the famous battle tactics evolved by the military genius of Shaka and under such leaders as Dingane, Cetshwayo and Bambata, continued to fight for many years against the invasions of the Boers from the north and the British advancing from Port Natal or Durban. Countless thousands perished in heroic advances against fortresses manned by men armed with rifles and cannon, where they had only spears.

In the Transvaal, the Pedi, Tswana and other people resisted the continuous attempts of the Boer Republic to capture their land and take their cattle. Indeed the Republics both of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State were continuously in a state of running warfare with the various African tribes who inhabited these territories.

In his mountain fortress of Lesotho, King Moshohoe I, an outstanding military strategist and diplomat, founder of the

nation, repeatedly repelled onslaughts by the British and Boer forces. He was compelled by the British to cede the fertile areas west of the Caledon River to the Boer Republic of the O.F.S. But the heartland between the Drakensberg and Maluti Mountain ranges, now called Lesotho, remained unconquered and has retained a precarious independent existence until the present day.

Discovery of Diamonds

For some time, the British tolerated the Boers governing the northern parts of South Africa, the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, even though—having left the Cape Colony originally illegally—the Boers were technically 'rebels'. There were complaints from philanthropists in Britain and elsewhere about the brutal ill-treatment of the indigenous people by the Boers, but these, like most matters concerning South Africa, caused little concern in official circles.

At the close of the 19th century, however, dramatic events occurred which completely changed the attitude of the British government. In 1867, huge deposits of diamonds were found in Kimberley. The area was claimed by the British Cape Colony, by the O.F.S. and, justly, by the local Griqua tribe who lived there. However, the British managed to win the legal battle and to establish control over the diamond fields as part of the Cape Colony.

At once there was a rush of capital and immigrants to the country.

Halt to Resistance

In 1877 the battle of Ngqayechibi was fought between the Xhosas and the British. Although the war dragged on for a further two years, this battle in fact ended the hundred years resistance of the Xhosas and their military power was broken. In 1879 similarly, the Bapedi under Sekhukhuni were finally defeated. The mighty Zulu armies which inflicted the biggest humiliation on the British forces in the famous battle of Isandhlwana in 1878, were finally beaten in the battle of Ulundi in 1879. So, by 1880, all the African peoples in what is the Republic of South Africa today, had come under the control of European governments.

Gold — the Boer War

In 1886, gold was discovered on the Witwatersrand and all the process of capitalist development were carried forward at a fantastic speed. Expropriation of African land, poll taxes, hut and animal taxes, pass laws and labour control proceeded apace. The goldminers could not acquire enough labour and immigration was stepped up. For a short period, Chinese workers were introduced to work in the gold mines.

The goldmines were situated within the territory of the Transvaal Republic, which was under the control of the Boer farmers. The British imperialists, who had poured millions in capital into the development of the gold-mining industry, were determined to wrest control of the Transvaal from the Boers. A number of pretexts were found to wage war on the Transvaal Republic. Amongst the most cynical was the claim

of the British that they were waging war on the Boers by reason of the Boers' ill-treatment of Africans.

The British won the war. The Republics of the Orange Free State and the Transvaal were overthrown. The Peace of Vereeniging, signed in 1902, represented a compromise between the British imperialists and the Boers.

Joint Oppression

The old Boer Republican policy towards the African people was endorsed. The seeds were laid for joint Anglo-Boer oppression of the non-white people. In the years after the Treaty of Vereeniging, discussions were held concerning the possibility of establishing a single state uniting all the British colonies in South Africa. Eventually a South African Convention was called which laid the basis for the formation, in 1910, of the Union of South Africa. The non-white people were completely ignored and left out of these discussions and negotiations. The African people had no hand whatsoever in the setting up of the state now known as the Republic of South Africa.

The way to the military conquest of Southern Africa had been paved by white traders and missionaries. The tribal socio-economic structure of African societies was not sufficiently developed to counter the professional soldier of imperialism armed with modern weapons. Above all, the various African peoples were disunited. They never succeeded in establishing a common front against the invader.

Moshochoe indeed envisaged the need for such a front. He sent emissaries to the leaders of the Xhosa and Zulu peoples as well as to the famous Coloured leader, Adam Kok, who had established an independent Republic of Griqualand. But these efforts failed, as indeed they were bound to fail. The oppressed people of Southern Africa had to pass through the fire of the disintegration of their tribal societies, the proletarianization of the masses of the people; they had to absorb advanced modern concepts of national and social liberation before their unity could find an effective realization in a form which could seriously challenge white imperialist domination of South Africa.

NEXT ISSUE: Rise of the National Liberation Movement

Footnotes.

1. Basil Davidson, "Africa Awakening".
2. H. Lawson, "Liberation" No. 16, Johannesburg, 16. 2. 56.
3. H. Lawson, *op. cit.*
4. Van Riebeeck's "Journal".
5. *Ibid.*
6. Allen Drury, "A Very Strange Society", Michael Joseph, London 1968.
7. H. Lawson, "Liberation" No. 17, Johannesburg, March '56.
8. H. Lawson, "Liberation", No. 20, Johannesburg, August 1956.
9. Eddy Roux, "Time Longer Than Rope", University of Wisconsin, 1964.

1. SWAPO Fights On

Freedom Fighters, according to Al Venter, London Daily Express correspondent, have attacked an air strip on the South African controlled Capetown Strip, South West Africa.

According to his report: "Some (white) South Africans were killed, and two police helicopters crashed during the chase through semi-desert bush country.

"No details have been released of how many terrorists — who were using Chinese, Russian and East European automatic arms — were killed or captured. "The terrorists are known to be part of the exiled South West Africa Peoples Organization. They attacked a post near South Africa's big airforce base at Karimo Mulilo.

"Another attack was made near the South African administrative centre of Runtu, some miles to the west."

2. Apartheid Rugby Tour

In a lengthy article objecting to the proposed New Zealand All-Black rugby tour of South Africa in 1970, Richard Thompson, lecturer in Psychology at the University of Canterbury, writes in the New Zealand Monthly Review:

"This invitation from the SA Rugby Board does more than merely ask an All Black team, (*All Black is the name of the team — not a racial definition — Editor*) representing New Zealand in Rugby, to tour the Republic. It invites the team to share with them for the duration of the tour, the privileges and claims of apartheid in rugby, the claims of Dr Craven (*Chairman of the SA Rugby Board — Editor*) and the South African Rugby Board, however patently dishonest and however morally offensive in their implications these may be. In the Lions tour of South Africa and Rhodesia, the British Unions are condoning colour prejudice. In accepting the South African invitation the New Zealand Rugby Union has in the same way agreed to condone race discrimination. But 1970 is still some way off: many issues will have to be discussed before then, and much can happen. In the meanwhile, despite Messrs Morrison (*Chairman of the New Zealand Rugby Union — Editor*) and Craven, the tide of World Opinion moves on."

3. Coloured Council Boycott

A warning that there were rumblings in the direction of a boycott of the South African Government's proposed new Coloured Council, was sounded by Abe Bloomberg, one of the Whites who "represent" South Africa's 1½ million Coloureds in Parliament.

Quoting lengthy passages of a pamphlet widely distributed among Coloured people by the Coloured

Peoples Congress (*full text of which appeared in the July Sechaba*) Mr Bloomberg, speaking in the S.A. House of Assembly, said he was convinced that "it's irresponsible notion of the Coloured people is receiving help from outside quarters, and must not be taken lightly."

Among other things, the pamphlet described the Chairman of the Council, Tam Swartz, as speaking "only for himself and his small clique of collaborators".

It also said: "There was a time when we were treated a little better than the enslaved African. Today this is hardly so: the insults and humiliation of separate bus seats, post office queues, train carriages, station entrances, separate parks and benches, can never be accepted..."

Bloomberg called on the government to fulfil its task to assist the Coloured people financially and administratively.

"There are sections of the Coloured people who have declared they will do anything possible to break the government's scheme for the Coloured people," continued Bloomberg.

"These people constitute... a fairly large number of irresponsible men and women, who are determined to make things as difficult as possible."

4. Rhodesia — West German Trade Via South Africa

West German trade with Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) showed a new upward tendency in the first three months of this year. In 1967, West German exports to Rhodesia had already considerably increased. A report in the West German *Handelsblatt* referred in this connection to recent statements in Bonn Government circles, according to which Rhodesian-West German trade was "not bad at all".

Handelsblatt showed that there are considerable differences between statistics released in West Germany and in Rhodesia. West German statistics stated that exports to Rhodesia amounted to 50.4 million Marks last year (about €5 million), an increase of 10% over 1966. Yet Rhodesian statistics stated that imports from West Germany totalled 75.3 million Marks (about £7½ million). This indicates an increase of 46.2% over 1966.

Handelsblatt explains this contradiction by saying that official statistics are only a front. In order to evade the United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia, part of the West German goods for Rhodesia are being supplied through South African territory. West German exports are higher than officially statistized because "Rhodesia receives many West German goods from South Africa", said the paper.

The same method of evasion is being used for the export of important Rhodesian products useful for the West German armaments industry. *Handelsblatt* pointed out that, for Rhodesian copper for example, "a diversion of certain quantities via South Africa may have taken place".

Chris de Broglio of the South African Non-Racial Olympics Committee (SANROC) writes on the Role of

BRITAIN IN INTERNATIONAL SPORT

The world of International Sport is undergoing a great change.

There are two main reasons for this development:

(a) The complexity of modern sports organisations with ever-growing numbers of participants, involving ever-increasing financial commitments.

(b) Increasing Government involvement in the organisation and financing of sport, as the amateur sports organisations find it more and more difficult to cope.

In countries such as Britain, this involvement is taking place gradually — with the sports organisations maintaining a large degree of autonomy, whilst at the same time making greater financial demands on the Government.

In the countries of the Third World where sports organisations were mostly non-existent at the time of independence, we find that sport has automatically been sponsored and organised by the Governments — whilst at the same time autonomous sports organisations were encouraged to develop. At the international level the International Sports Federations are suddenly faced with the same problems — complexity and cost of organising large international gatherings; the greatly increased membership from countries of the Third World who are far more dependent on Government sponsorship.

UNDEMOCRATIC

Britain played a big part in the formation and administration of a number of international sports organisations.

In most cases these organisations were formed with undemocratic constitutions which gave the older members larger voting powers or vested rights. We find British sports officials at the head of a large number of international bodies — in athletics, boxing, tennis, weightlifting, hockey, football etc. Britain therefore has a responsibility towards the rest of the sporting world to ensure that world sport develops along the lines desired by the large majority of sporting nations.

Unfortunately this responsibility is not being discharged. There is ample evidence that officials who represent Britain in these international organisations are actually using their positions to support and protect racist sports bodies from South Africa in defiance of the wishes of the majority of the countries, especially in the Third World.

Recently we witnessed the open support given to South Africa by the Marquis of Exeter in the Olympic Committee. His stand was reaffirmed in most of the British Press and on Television.

When the Marquis of Exeter takes this stand in the Olympic Committee it is Britain which is seen to support racialism in sport. This opinion is reflected in the press all around the world.

This pattern repeats itself in a number of sports where British officials hold controlling positions — to the detriment of the true interests of British sportsmen and the British people in general.

DETERIORATION OF RELATIONS

If this trend continues we shall see a deterioration of the relations between British sports organisations and those of the Third World as well as the Socialist countries.

Last year the Amateur Athletics Association invited a South African team, which was strictly segregated to the U. K. The result was the withdrawal of the Kenya team including the great Keino as well as the Nigerians.

At the Cross-country race in Barry, Wales it was world champion Gamoudi and the Moroccans who withdrew in protest.

In the future more and more countries will tend to withdraw their athletes.

The withdrawal of such stars as Keino has an adverse effect on gate-money and yet the AAA requires higher subsidies every year.

PROMOTING RACIALIST SPORT

Hardly a week passes without mention in the sports pages in Britain of some South African team or individual white South African sportsman competing in the United Kingdom. Since last year there have been rugby teams, cricket teams, athletes, swimmers, hockey teams, badminton players, tennis players, golfers. All of them white South Africans, except for three African athletes who were segregated during their stay in Britain.

The traffic in the other direction is growing even faster more and more teams and individuals are competing in South Africa. They have always complied with what is called South African custom. The teams are all white. Where there is a danger of a coloured British sportsman being included in the team, there is no invitation as in the case of weightlifting or boxing, or the odd player is conveniently dropped from the British team as was the case of the Cardiff rugby tour of South Africa.

All this may appear to be harmless sporting relations except that in many cases sports facilities subsidised directly by the Government or indirectly through the City Councils are being used to promote racist sport.

THE GOVERNMENT MUST ACT

Is it not time for the British Government to step in now and stop this trend among British Sport administrators?

We urge all sportsmen, wherever they may be, to support our just call for a complete boycott of all apartheid sport.

Action by the Government to ban sport against racist teams would be in complete harmony with the Olympic Charter and the statutes of all international sports organisations. It would also follow the latest resolution adopted by the Human Rights Congress in Teheran calling for a total ban on sports relations with South Africa.