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His Excellency
Edwin Ogebe Ogbu
Chairman of the
UN Special Committee
on Apartheid



Special
double issue
on UN meetings
in Europe and
S.A. Women's Day
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UNITED NATIONS AND APARTHEID

**Special Committee
on Apartheid Holds Sessions
in Europe**



View of the Presidium at the Berlin Sessions. At the speaker's rostrum is H. E. Oskar Fischer, Acting Foreign Minister of the GDR. Others in the picture from left to right are: H. E. D. Ouattara (OAU), Mr. E. S. Reddy, Head of the Africa Section in the UN Secretariat, Their Excellencies, E. Seignoret, Vice-Chairman of the Special Committee, E. Ogbu, Chairman, Mr. Mazepa, Secretary of the UN Committees, H. E. V. N. Martynenko Vice-Chairman and Mr. N. Valderrama, Rapporteur

The United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid was created to keep watch on developments in South Africa, where the racial situation has been a matter of concern to the world organisation since its earliest days. In the words of the Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim: "So long as apartheid remains, this Committee will continue to play a crucial role in the endeavours of the United Nations to eliminate this evil".

Edwin Ogebe Ogbu (Nigeria), is Chairman of the 16 nation Special Committee.

Eustace E. Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) and Vladimir N. Martynenko (Ukraine) are the Vice-Chairmen; and Nicasio G. Valderrama (Philippines) is the Rapporteur.

Other members of the Committee are Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Malaysia, Nepal, Peru, Somalia, Sudan and Syria.

Since its first meeting, on 2 April 1963, the Special Committee has worked actively to promote concerted inter-

national efforts against apartheid, and its efforts have led to further action by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

It has promoted the arms embargo against South Africa. It has repeatedly drawn public attention to repressive policies and the ill-treatment of prisoners in South Africa. It had initiated discussion and action in the human rights field. It has been the driving force behind the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa, which provides legal aid and relief to the victims of apartheid and their families, as well as others in Southern Africa persecuted for opposition to racial and discriminatory policies. The steadily increasing international awareness and condemnation of apartheid gives the oppressed people of Southern Africa real hope, and has encouraged us in our struggle.

This year, the first year of the **Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination**, the Committee held a special session in four cities in

Europe, in order to seek wider public awareness of the problem of apartheid and of the efforts of the United Nations against it.

Sessions were held in:

Dublin, Ireland

Rome, Italy,

Berlin, German Democratic Republic, and Geneva, Switzerland.

In addition, the Committee held a series of consultations with Governments, specialized agencies and non-governmental organisations during its stay in Europe. Enroute from Rome to Berlin, members of the Committee stopped in Vienna, where they met the Austrian Foreign Minister, Rudolf Kirchschlaeger.

The following extracts from Chief Ogbu's speeches in the course of this session of the Special Committee clearly show the urgent need for concerted international actions against racist South Africa. They also show the wide-ranging activities undertaken by the Special Committee against colonialism and apartheid . . .

OGBU SPEAKS

On International Actions

The Special Committee has emphasized that apartheid is not merely the concern of the Black people of South Africa who are subjected to exploitation, humiliation and oppression in their country. It is, and should be, the concern of all the Governments and peoples of the world who have subscribed to the United Nations Charter. Apartheid is a gross violation of human rights of millions of people, and a challenge to the conscience of the world. It is not only a serious impediment for international cooperation and progress, but constitutes a grave threat to international peace which the United Nations has a duty to avert.

The problem of apartheid should be one of our primary concerns in the observance of the **Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination**, which was launched by the United Nations on December 10, 1973. During this session, we will be visiting Dublin, Rome and Geneva, as well as the German Democratic Republic. We will be meeting with numerous organisations of all ideological and other persuasions.

In all these cities, and in all these consultations, we will stress that apartheid is a matter of universal concern — and that a solution requires action not only by governments but also by the public. We will remind Governments and organisations of our duty to support the people of South Africa in ending racial discrimination and in attaining freedom. We will appeal to all of them to forget their other differences and join with the United Nations in concerted action towards that end.

— Statement at a Press Conference on arrival in Dublin.

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On the Crime of Apartheid

The South African regime has decided to appropriate the riches of the country to the exclusive benefit of the white minority. It treats the great majority of the people as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. In order to maintain this unjust system of oppression and exploitation, it has used the riches of the country to build up an enormous repressive machine to suppress the struggle of the African people for freedom and dignity. The military budget of South Africa has increased ten-fold since 1960.

In our generation, apartheid has meant the forcible moving of a million people from their homes and plans to move another million people in the next few years. It has meant the deaths of hundreds of thousands of African people from malnutrition and disease. It has meant violation of the rule of law and the brutal suppression of all movements for freedom. It has meant the incarceration or the forcing into exile of the leaders of the people.

Apartheid is a crime which has few parallels in the whole history of mankind. It is nothing less than slavery and organised terrorism. How can one have any doubts about the right of the oppressed people of South Africa to struggle for their liberty? How can anyone be unconcerned, or neutral, or equivocal about apartheid? It is rarely, if ever, that I can agree with the so-called Foreign Minister of the racist South African regime. But I read in the South African papers a speech he made in March that the United Nations must "take a firm stand against terrorism".

He continued:

"It should not only be condemned, in unequivocal language, but mercilessly stamped out wherever it occurred."

That is, indeed, the purpose of the **International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid** adopted by the United Nations, which deserves to be speedily ratified and enforced by all States.

* * * * *

On Sports Boycott and Black Apologists

Because the South African regime has made some readjustment of its policies as a result of the sports boycott launched by the **anti-apartheid movements**, they say that sportsmen should now go to South Africa to promote an evolution of the policy of the racist regime. The vested interests in South Africa have even sponsored a tour by an African to propagate this view in connection with the recent rugby tour. I have read in the papers that he went so far as to insult the leaders of the sports boycott as whites who had no right to interfere in South Africa.

I might recall that last year, at the International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid, we found a Black trade unionist from South Africa who was all alone in opposing the resolution unanimously adopted by representatives of 200 million trade unionists of the world.

I would not wish to be unkind to these Black people, coming from that oppressed country, but need I to remind you that in every country during the difficult days of a struggle for freedom, there have been weak-kneed people? There have been individuals who have looked for some improvement in their conditions and ignored the inalienable right of their people to freedom.

As far as South Africa is concerned, no one can speak for the Black people except their liberation movement and its leaders in prison, in restriction and in exile. The very fact that these men and women are persecuted by the oppressors is the firmest evidence that they represent the aspirations of the millions of oppressed people.

I am distressed that right at this time there is a British and Irish rugby team, calling itself "Lions", playing in South Africa. It has even been suggested that the decision of the British Government that the British Embassy should not entertain them in South Africa is some form of cruelty to animals!

I would like to say that they have gone deliberately to play ball with apartheid and with the enemies of Africa. You have seen in the press that the game was not mere rugby: it was attended by the so-called President

Contd. on p. 6



Biographical notes . . .

EDWIN OGEBE OGBU

Chairman
of the United Nations
Special Committee
on Apartheid



Mr. Edwin Ogebe Ogbu, Permanent Representative of Nigeria to the United Nations since January 1968, is also the current Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Peace-Keeping Operations, and Vice-Chairman of the Committee of Trustees of the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa. He was President of the United Nations Council for Namibia in 1971. He was elected Chairman of the Special Committee on **Apartheid** in October 1972 and was re-elected in 1973 and 1974.

Mr. Ogbu served from 1966 to 1968 as Permanent Secretary in the Nigerian Ministry of External Affairs, from 1963 to 1966 as Per-

manent Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Finance, and from 1962 to 1963 as Permanent Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Works.

Born on 28 December 1926, Mr. Ogbu was educated at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida (U.S.), receiving a Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) degree in 1951. He received a Master of Arts (M.A.) degree from Stanford University, Palo Alto, California (U.S.) in 1955.

Subsequently, he held several positions in Nigeria's Public Service. These included the posts of Assistant Secretary in the Ministry of Finance at Kaduna in 1957; Secretary, Students' Affairs, in Nigeria's High Commission in London in 1960;

and Secretary of the Federal Public Service Commission in Lagos from 1960 to 1962.

In addition to serving as Nigeria's Permanent Representative to the United Nations, Mr. Ogbu was also appointed Nigeria's High Commissioner to Barbados in April 1970; High Commissioner to Jamaica in April 1970; High Commissioner to Trinidad and Tobago in October 1970; and High Commissioner to Guyana in December 1970.

In 1971, Mr. Ogbu was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) by his alma mater, Bethune-Cookman College.

He is married and has seven children.



Representatives of Southern African Liberation Movements. From l. to r. Messrs. M. Piliso and M. P. Naicker (ANC), T. Hishongua and D. Shihepo (SWAPO), G. Silundika and S. Ndlovu (ZAPU)

Contd. from p. 4

and the so-called ministers of the racist regime, while the Blacks were even prohibited from watching it. If any one wants to connive with the oppressors, let him do so. We know that the racists have their friends but we have faith that racism will be abolished despite its friends. But let them not try to pretend that they are only playing sports or that they are even helping the Black people.

— from an address to a public meeting of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Dublin

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On the Responsibility of Africa

For me, as an African, the responsibility is clear. But I do not presume to be an expert on the Western World nor do I wish to preach to the peoples

of the Western nations. I can only speak as an African — one who comes from a continent which has suffered the ravages of slavery and colonialism for centuries, at the cost of millions of lives and the depopulation of large regions of Africa. I can only speak as a representative of a segment of humanity which survived these ravages and which has tried to build a new relationship of brotherhood and co-operation with all the nations of the world, including those which were responsible in history for the oppression and plunder of Africa.

I can define the responsibility of Africa, but I will not seek to define the responsibility of the Western World because that is a matter for the peoples of those countries and for their consciences. All I can do is state the minimum that we expect of them as members of the same human family.

I hope that you will bear with me if I have to recall some of the unpleasant episodes of the past. For my intention

is not to condemn, but to make an appeal which can only be meaningful in the context of history.

As an African, I can say that every African has an inescapable responsibility to the Black people of South Africa not only because we belong to the same continent, but also because we were together in enduring oppression during the past centuries, because our struggles for freedom have complemented each other, and because the Black people of South Africa are being humiliated for the colour of their skin and their African origin. Africa's responsibility is to spare no sacrifice to support the struggle of the people of South Africa for freedom and human dignity and to spare no effort to minimise their sufferings in this struggle.

I am proud that Africa has acknowledged its responsibility, through the Organisation of African Unity, by declaring that the struggle of the people of South Africa is the struggle of all the peoples of Africa. It has recogni-

sed that the freedom and dignity of no African is secure until all the people of African origin are free.

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On Western Investments

After all that the South African regime has done in the past quarter of a century – the brutality inflicted on millions of people, the rejection of all appeals and offers of assistance by the United Nations – who can have any doubts that the issue in South Africa is a conflict between justice and injustice?

In this context, and in the light of their obligations under the United Nations Charter, we have appealed to the Western Powers and the main trading partners of South Africa to define their positions. They are the countries of origin of the whites in South Africa and have the closest cultural and other links with South Africa. They account for most of the trade of South Africa, and it is they who supply – weapons of destruction to the South African regime. They have thereby sustained the intransigence of the oppressors in that country.

They alone have the power and the influence to facilitate a peaceful solution by persuading the white minority to change its course, by making it clear that this minority will not enjoy the benefits of international intercourse so long as it persists on its short-sighted and suicidal path.

I am convinced that despite the arsenal of weapons it has acquired and the rich resources it has appropriated for itself, the South African regime is vulnerable. It rules in a country where millions of people yearn for deliverance from tyranny. It depends greatly on foreign trade and foreign investment. Tyrannies much more powerful than this have collapsed in the face of resistance.

We have not asked the Western peoples to shed a drop of blood for the freedom of Africans. All we have asked of them is to stop profiting from the misery of the Black people, to stop arming the oppressors and to keep off the confrontation between justice

and injustice. We have asked for no more than that they stop acting as the accomplices in the oppression of the Black people. Above all, we have asked them for truth, for the matching of words with deeds.

The record of the past generation, so far as the Black people of South Africa were concerned, was a continuous story of broken pledges and the dashing of hopes, regrettably because of the actions and attitudes of the Western Powers and the major trading partners, of South Africa. If the Powers which had traditional relations with South Africa, especially the Western Powers, had demonstrated their concern about racism and about the oppression of the African people, this monstrous regime would have disappeared in no time.

But these Powers and the vested interests found that they could make profits under the apartheid regime. They were enticed by its offers to support them in the "cold war" and in the efforts of the colonial Powers to prevent the liberation of African territories. In the Western countries, the appeals of the African people and their miseries seemed to count for little, except among a few honest men, as against the profits of intercourse with the racist regime. There were debates year after year in the UN but nothing came of them except appeals which the apartheid regime knew it could ignore with impunity . . .

In this period (after Sharville-Ed.), the UN, on the initiative of the Afro-Asian States, began to adopt resolutions calling for concrete measures against the South African regime. But we found that the Western Powers either failed to support the resolutions or made such reservations as would make their positive votes meaningless. While the poor countries of the world made sacrifices because of their opposition to apartheid and solidarity with the Black people of South Africa, these richer countries began to supply South Africa with military equipment at handsome profits. Foreign investment began to flow rapidly into South Africa where it earned exorbitant profits.

In these past few years, in direct contravention of the resolution adopted by overwhelming votes of nations, the Western Powers have more than doubled their trade with, and investment in, South Africa. They have enabled South Africa to increase its

Biographical notes . . .

VLADIMIR N. MARTYNEKO

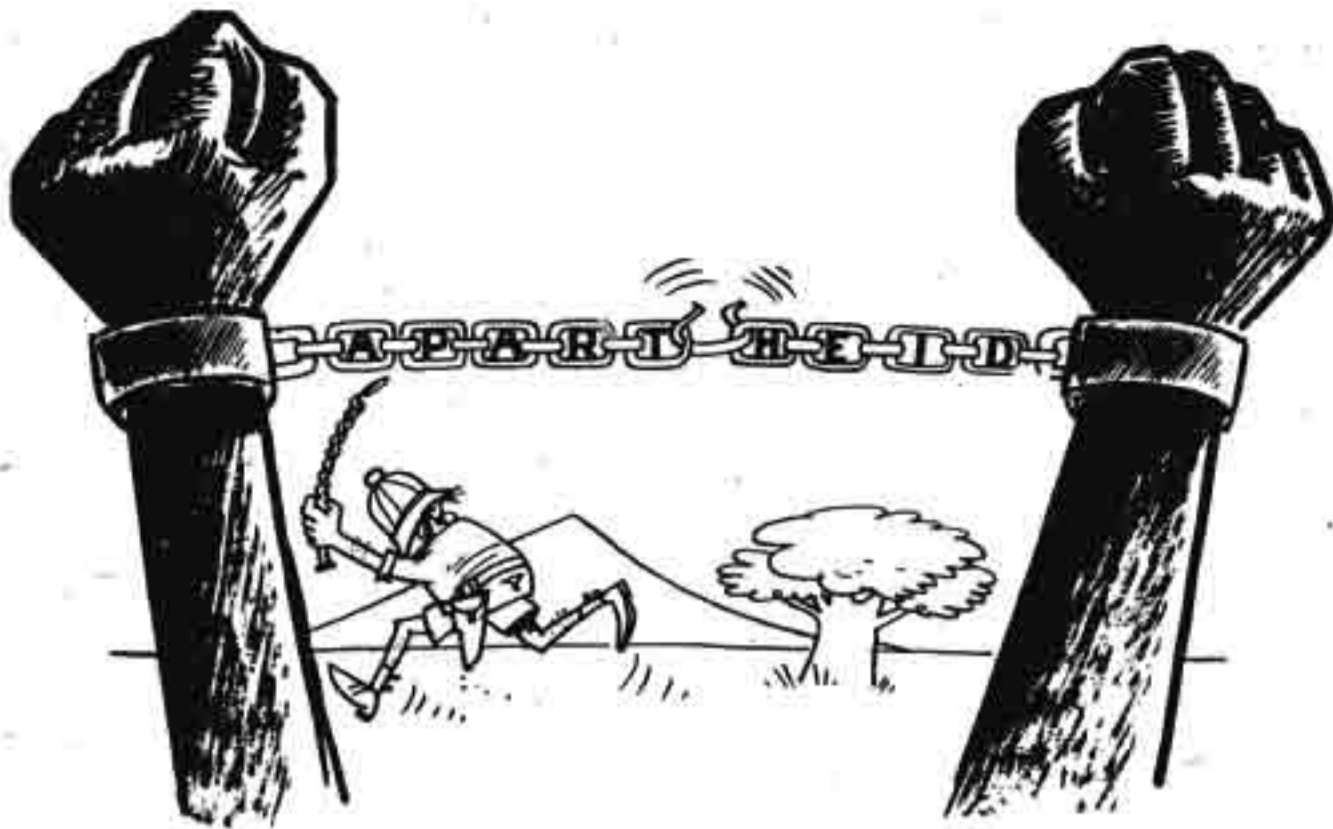


Vladimir Nikiforovich Martynenko (Ukraine) is one of the two Vice-Chairmen of the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid.

Mr. Martynenko has been Permanent Representative of the Ukrainian SSR to the United Nations since July 1973. Prior to his appointment as Permanent Representative, he had served since 1968 as First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukraine. He had been in the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Ukraine since 1956, and from 1965 to 1968 he served as First Secretary in the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Canada. Born on 6 October 1923 in Zhytomyr, Ukraine, he graduated from Kiev State University, and holds a master's degree in the history of international relations.

He has participated in several sessions of the International Labour Organisation, the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD), and other international organizations as a representative of the Ukraine.

Mr. Martynenko is married and has one daughter.



Cartoon by Horst Alisch.

military budget ten-fold and acquire a tremendous arsenal of arms. They have allowed tens of thousands of whites to emigrate to South Africa . . . We will approach the Western Powers as friends. Whatever the past, we do not wish to believe that their peoples can be so insensitive to the oppression in South Africa when they know the facts. We will try by all means to convince them to join us in a concerted effort to end apartheid. We hope that the churches, trade unions, and other organisations, and the informa-

tion media, will help us to succeed — for, what is at stake here is freedom, human brotherhood, and the future of humanity. If we fail, let it not be for lack of trying.

If we succeed, there will be a solution to the problem of racism in South Africa to the benefit of all the people of that country. We would have helped to avert the incalculable dangers to peace and international cooperation. We would have laid the foundations of a new world order in

accordance with the United Nations Charter.

— from a statement to the first meeting of the Committee in Rome.

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On the G.D.R.

We are happy to come to this historic city, on the eve of Africa Liberation Day, to consult with the Government of the German Democratic Republic and a large number of public organisations on international action against apartheid. Even before it joined the United Nations, the Government of the German Democratic Republic has demonstrated its uncompromising opposition to apartheid, and maintained contact with the Special Committee on Apartheid.

It refrained from any diplomatic, consular, economic or other relations with the racist South African regime. On the other hand, it established direct relations with the liberation movement which represents the overwhelming majority of the people of that country and provided concrete assistance in the just struggle for the eradication of apartheid. Moreover,

Biographical notes . . .

Eustace E. Seignoret



Eustace Edward Seignoret (Trinidad and Tobago) is one of the two Vice-Chairmen of the United Nations Special Committee on **Apartheid**, which is holding a special session in Europe from 18 May to 1 June.

Mr. Seignoret has been Permanent Representative of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations since September 1971. Prior to his appointment as Permanent Representative, he was Deputy High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago in London.

He was born on 16 February 1925 in Curepe, Trinidad, and received Bachelor of Science (B.Sc.) degrees in chemistry from Howard University, Washington, D.C., in 1948, and in chemistry and agricultural chemistry from the University of Wales, Bangor, North Wales, in 1953.

Subsequently, he held the following posts: Agricultural Officer, Department of Agriculture, Trinidad and Tobago, 1953–1958; Administrative Assistant, West Indies Federal Public Service, 1958–1960, then Assistant Secretary, 1960, and Deputy Secretary, 1960–1962; Assistant Secretary, Trinidad and Tobago Public Service, 1962; First Secretary, Permanent Mission of Trinidad and Tobago to the United Nations, 1962, then Counsellor, 1963–1965; Counsellor, Permanent Mission of Trinidad and Tobago to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva, 1965–1968; and Minister/Counsellor, Deputy High Commissioner for Trinidad and Tobago in London, 1968–1971.

Mr. Seignoret is married and has two sons and one daughter.



AAPSO delegation – from the right, Joe Nhlanhla (ANC) and Dr. Moursi Saad el Din, Asst. General Secretary

a number of public organisations in the German Democratic Republic have been actively engaged in developing solidarity between the people of the GDR and the South African liberation movement.

We were, therefore, delighted to welcome the German Democratic Republic to the United Nations in 1973 as our friend in the struggle against apartheid. Already, the GDR has made a significant contribution as a member of the United Nations. I would recall, in particular, its strong support for all the proposals of the Special Committee, for the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and for the International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. This visit will enable us to acquaint ourselves fully with your work in providing political and material support to the liberation movement. I have already been impressed by the fact that this support comes from the whole population and that many members

of the Solidarity Committee, including academic personalities, trade union and youth leaders and others are devoting much of their time and energy to this work of solidarity . . . We are delighted, that you have totally rejected colonialism, that you have educated your people by telling them the truth about German colonialism in Namibia and other territories – and that you have, in fact, encouraged your people to become the friends and allies of the African people and African States in their struggle against colonialism and racism. I am particularly impressed that you have regarded assistance to the liberation movements as a true act of brotherly solidarity and not as an act of charity. You have recognised, from your own historical experience, that the struggle against racism is a matter of universal concern.
– from a statement on his arrival in Berlin.

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On World Peace

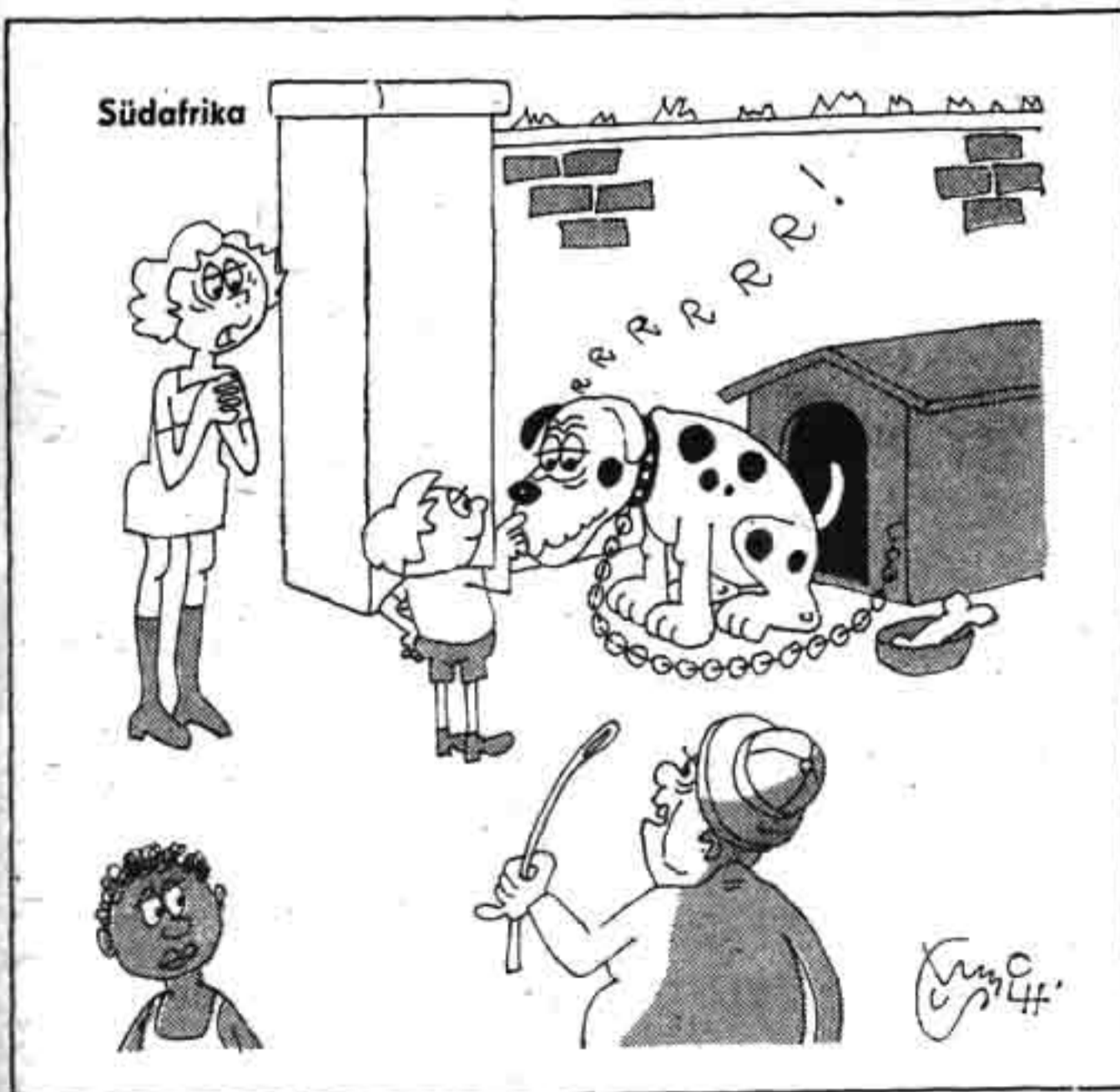
The struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa has been hard and long, because, despite all their appeals and the United Nations resolutions, some governments and corporations have continued to co-operate with the racist regime.

The South African regime has become the bastion of southern Africa. It has illegally occupied the Territory of Namibia, and sent its forces into Zimbabwe and the Territories under Portuguese domination. It has threatened the freedom and security of independent African States which have supported the liberation movements, particularly the Republic of Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania.

The struggle for freedom against apartheid in South Africa is, therefore, at the same time, a struggle for peace and international security.



The call is world-wide: Stop the racists in South Africa.
Cartoon by Kretzschmar



"Don't worry madam, the dog is trained to attack Blacks only."
Cartoon by Erich Schmitt

All those who believe in peace must participate in the struggle against apartheid.

Mr. Chairman, it was a German writer who said many years ago that it makes all the difference whether you put peace first or second in your priorities. I would only add peace, freedom and human dignity.

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On Political Prisoners

In a few days, it will be ten years since Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki and other leaders of the South African liberation movement were sentenced to life imprisonment in the "Rivonia trial".

Their struggle was a struggle for principles proclaimed by the United Nations. As Mr. Mandela declared in his historic statement from the dock on 20 April 1964:

"I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunity. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if need be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Mr. Mandela and his colleagues fought racialism with non-racialism. Because of this, they were joined not only by people of African origin but also by people of other racial origins in South Africa.

One of the colleagues of Mr. Mandela in the Rivonia trial was Mr. Ahmed Kathrada, a young leader of Indian origin who joined the struggle against racism in 1946, at the age of 16, and spent a month in jail even at that early age. I may perhaps recall that as a student in 1951, he led the South African delegation to the World Festival of Youth in this city.

Another accused in this trial was Mr. Dennis Goldberg, a white engineer who identified himself with the struggle of the African people.

The leader of the defence counsel, Mr. Bram Fischer, was himself sentenced to life imprisonment two years later. A famous jurist from an illustrious Afrikaner family, and a winner of the Lenin Prize, Mr. Fischer, now about 70 years old, is still in Pretoria



From l. to r. H. E. V. Martynenko, Mr. Hermann Axen, Secretary of the Central Committee and member of the Politburo of the SED, Their Excellencies Ogbu and Oskar Fischer at a public meeting in Berlin inaugurating the "Week of Solidarity with Africa"

Central Jail, despite his ailing health. He symbolizes the non-racialism of the liberation movement, as well as the courage and spirit of sacrifice that animates the fighters for freedom. All of us have a responsibility for these prisoners because they are in jail for upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter.

* * * * *

On Teachers and Children

It is perhaps symbolic that we are holding this session in the Teachers' Club, since the Committee has always attached great importance to the role of education and of teachers in action to combat racism and racial discrimination. I must say that I have been particu-

larly impressed by the efforts of the teachers of the German Democratic Republic to cleanse the textbooks of racism and to raise the children in the spirit of non-racialism and human solidarity. This, in a country which, only a generation ago, was ruled by a dictator who said:

"The whole end of education . . . is found in burning into the heart and brain of the youth entrusted to it an instinctive and comprehended sense of race."

We can appreciate the great effort that was required to reeducate the people in human brotherhood so that the GDR could host the World Youth Festival and welcome this Committee, which is composed largely of Asian, African and Latin American members. We know that racism is not inherent in man. The child is not born with racism in its genes. Prejudice and hatred are inculcated by ignorant or greedy adults. You have shown that racism can be fought and eliminated by Governments, educators and public

organizations committed to the principles of humanity.

In a few days, on the first of June, you will be observing the Children's Day. As the poem in your second grade reader says - and I have read it in translation:

"Children's Day for every child
Whether he is yellow or brown,

Or black or white.

"All the kids on earth
Want to stand side by side
And the banner of peace
Shall protect their lives."

This is the spirit in which we must struggle for an end to racism and for true peace based on justice.

I might add that I have been moved, during this short stay in your capital, by the active participation of the youth in the observance of African Liberation Day and the Week of Solidarity. I would like to commend the Free German Youth for its great emphasis on solidarity with the youth of the nations struggling against colonialism and apartheid.

Organisation
of African Unity
says . . .

Support Liberation Movement



Mr. Kurt Krüger – Secretary General of the Solidarity Committee of the GDR welcoming guests at a reception given in honour of the delegates attending the Special Committee on Apartheid session in Berlin. On his left are H. E. Ogbu, his interpreter, H. E. Damane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of the OAU and Ambassador Singh of Nepal

Extracts from a working paper submitted to the UN Special Committee on Apartheid session in Europe, 1974, by H.E. Mr. Dramane Ouattara, Executive Secretary of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU)

Since its establishment, the Organisation of African Unity has been committed to the struggle for the elimination from the African continent of colonialism and racial discrimination, and its most vicious form – **apartheid**. This is one of the cardinal principles which occupies a prominent place in its Charter.

The South African regime is another fascist regime. An abundance of facts and data confirm this truth, and there is no longer any need to dwell on it. Suffice it to recall that the policy of apartheid, which is based on the inequality of races, the alleged superiority of one race over another, and the frantic and shameless exploitation of the Black majority by a white minority, is exactly the same doctrine as Hitler preached . . .

The world is sitting on a powder-keg, which may explode at any time. But the international community must prevent such an explosion. It can, for it has the means to do so. It must use all the means available to it to make the South African regime realize that this policy is unrealistic at the



Section of the gathering inaugurating the "Week of Solidarity with Africa"

end of the twentieth century. It must mobilize all the men of goodwill and, above all, every possible resource and place them at the disposal of the oppressed peoples who have rejected the system . . .

The oppressed people of South Africa and the liberation movement have committed themselves to the struggle to recover their legitimate rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They recognize and have affirmed on many occasions that the responsibility for making the necessary changes in South Africa lay primarily with them. Yet the entire world, the international community and all international gatherings have recognized that, for all kinds of objectively just and morally justifiable reasons, it was vital to help the liberation movements in this duty of liberation.

Today, more than in the past, this assistance has become a necessity. It must be multifaceted: political, diplomatic, cultural, economic and material . . .

It is abundantly clear that the attitude of the countries and Governments which make statements condemning racial discrimination and apartheid and do nothing to prevent their expansion and development is comforting South Africa in its intransigence and its obstinacy. The desired isolation must be achieved at the political and diplomatic levels by breaking off diplomatic relations, and at the cultural, sports and artistic levels by refusing to allow South Africa to participate in any international sports and cultural events.

The goal thus sought is to give the Pretoria regime a guilty conscience and to create a situation which will make the healthy elements of the population of the country to react to the ostracism which the international community would thus display towards South Africa. What is true of the cultural sphere is even more true of the economic sphere. It must be admitted that the economic situation is more complex and that any action is difficult because of the nature of the economic relations the Pretoria regime has succeeded in establishing with its traditional allies and with numerous economic interests. But it is precisely in this area that definite action can bear fruit. Here it is important to state emphatically that OAU rejects the myth carefully cultivated by these enemies of the African peoples that foreign investments benefit the Black population and can thus help to produce the necessary changes. It has been clearly shown that apartheid is not a question of low salaries or low levels of economic development. The crux of the problem is political, and it is by political decisions that it will be possible to attain the objectives set by the liberation movements, by the Organisation of African Unity and by the United Nations.

However, while moral, political and diplomatic assistance is necessary and important, it is undeniable that material aid to the liberation movements remains the decisive factor in the confrontation which is taking place between the Pretoria regime and the oppressed peoples of South Africa. Such assistance must come from all sectors – Governments, international agencies, non-governmental organisations or men of goodwill who seek peace and justice in the world. The nightmare and holocaust of the 1940's are looming on the horizon in Southern Africa. It is the duty and the obligation of the international community to spare mankind the horrors of a new world conflagration. It can do so by providing large-scale assistance to help the oppressed peoples of South Africa and their liberation movements to create the conditions *sine qua non* for the advent of an era of peace, justice and human dignity in this part of the African continent.

Southern African Hunter

(According to a report in *The Times*, 17. 8. 1973, at the South African Prime Minister's annual get-together with the world's press, in Pretoria, more than twenty journalists were given an informal plates-on-the-knees dinner of ostrich egg omelette, roasted impala and eland cottage pie, devised by the Prime Minister's wife. The Prime Minister had shot the game himself, he said, and during the meal, he talked about his love of hunting, but only of species in plentiful supply.)

This circumspect hunter,
kitted out to kill,
certainly can't be challenged
by any still-centred
wild life preservationist.

Legal accusation? Murder?
What's that for Smuts' sake?

Our hunter's hands are clean,
his heart as lean as linen,
they'll definitely say
and mean every word of it.

There's more about him, too,
than the mere established
black and white crazy-paving
in his perfect public parks
and in his vast country garden.

His thinking is as direct as bullets;
his preference is to meet, head on,
whatever comes at him: meandering,
dangerous, philosophical animals,
half-cooked, international sanctions,
split-second, trip-wire boycott campaigns,
looming investment nightmares,
or plain shooting trouble
preferably on the Zambezi
rather than on the Limpopo.

He's a southern hunter who knows
his river banks, whatever one says.

And one more thing: he eats well;
he likes a strict, native diet.
He shoots dead straight
(and so do his obedient beaters)
but only at those prescribed targets
moving in the greatest possible numbers:
a warning too late for several millions
swelling, year by year, to several more,
a river of man, which, will, one night
(knowing how long-imprisoned rivers are),
flood the southern hunter's private garden
and his great acreage of deadly-accurate guns.

Andrew Salkey



Extracts from a submission to the Special Committee on Apartheid, by Mr. Mziwandile Piliso, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. This extract deals with the . . .

Mr. M. Piliso

BONN- PRETORIA AXIS

As the Special Committee on Apartheid is well aware, since the second World War, the South African economy has undergone an economic transformation comparable only to the period of the development of the gold and diamond mining industry between 1867 and 1913. Overseas capital played a crucially important role in this economic transformation. It has been estimated that between 1946 and 1955, £700 million was invested in South Africa from abroad. Between 1956, when official figures first became available, and 1969, a further £1000 million was invested. Between 1946 and 1953, overseas capital represented about 23 per cent of the total capital formation in South Africa; it is now about 11 per cent.

While much has been written and said on the investments by Britain and the United States, South Africa's largest trading partners, little is heard of the tremendous and growing investments in South Africa by the Federal Republic of Germany and France. (We shall produce "French involvement in South Africa" in our next issue - Ed.)

This document will, therefore, concentrate on the economic role of these two countries in apartheid South Africa and, in doing so, draws the attention of the Special Committee to other countries notably, Japan, Iran and Italy, which also trade, fairly heavily, with the apartheid regime.

* * *

The Federal Republic of Germany

Since 1970, increasing efforts are being made by West German industry to expand contacts with the South African regime and with the South African mining and industrial interests.

In mid-1970, the "Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie" (the Federal Association of German Industry) to-

gether with the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa (IDC) established a "Secretariat for the Promotion of Private Economic Co-operation between the Federal Republic and South Africa." The IDC is a corporation founded by the South African government to promote industrial development in South Africa. It participates in enterprises, grants credits and is, among others, responsible for export financing.

* * *

The West German firm of MOOG GmbH, producers of electro-hydraulic control devices, maintain a branch in the Republic of South Africa. Apart from exporting electro-hydraulic control devices, hydraulic equipment for the South African Aircraft industry is also exported to South Africa through this branch office.

* * *

Seventy West Berlin companies were participating in exports amounting to a total of DM 18.7 millions in the first half of 1970, as compared with exports worth 11.5 (DM) millions during the corresponding period of the previous year.

The principal articles of export to South Africa are electro-technical products, equipment for the power industry, industrial plants and equipment for the means of communication. The West Berlin plants of the company Siemens AG - with a share of DM 8.3 millions during the first half of 1970 is the most important exporter. This company almost exclusively supplies its South African counterparts: Siemens (Pty) Ltd., Johannesburg. Its two plants in Berlin, supplied equipment and prefabricated parts amounting to a value of DM 2.8 millions, including more than DM 1 million worth of prefabricated parts for manufacturing means of communications as well as components for the final production of telephonic and tele-

graphic equipment. Apart from this 128 carrier frequency sets, 314 transformers, measuring equipment, pneumatic dispatch plants and electrically controlled clocks were exported during this period. Its department producing power circuits and current cables in West Berlin-Gartenfeld, supplied communications cables and armatures totalling DM 2.7 millions during the same period. The factory Dynamowerk in West Berlin, exports electromotors, frequency converters, Lydall equipment, and condensers to South Africa. Apart from high voltage switching equipment, its switching equipment factory also in West Berlin, supplied two leak detectors that are used in nuclear technology.

* * *

For some time, the West German company: AEG-Telefunken has been providing the Republic of South Africa with transmitters and transmitting equipment. During the first half of 1970, AEG-Telefunken exported goods amounting to DM 1.7 millions. The South African Broadcasting Corporation at Judith's Paarl, Johannesburg, has been supplied with two complete 300 watt VHF broadcasting transmitters, types S 3124-r/1 and S 3125-r/1, with one three kw-stage each. The Philips Telecommunications Pty. Ltd., in Germiston, Transvaal, was provided with ten VHF control transmitters, type S Steu 3130/5. AEG-Telefunken has sold to the South African Corporation, Fuchs Electronics Pty. Ltd., Cape Town, one 50 kw long wave transmitter, type SV 1302/5, including fitting material and material for the construction of one aerial installation.

* * *

By order of AEG Africa Pty. Ltd., Johannesburg, the West Berlin company Steffens & Noelle GmbH, 20-22, Gottlieb-Dunkel-Straße, Berlin 42, ex-

ported seven complete iron drumnet-type aerals, including anchoring parts for tower construction, totalling DM 84,200, to Durban.

Extremely close relations exist between Messerschmitt-Boelckow-Blohm GmbH (MBB) Corporation and racist South Africa.

In early 1970, further co-operation was agreed upon between a South African government representative and representatives of MBB. MBB hopes for further co-operation in the field of South Africa's military economy.

Contracts have been concluded between South Africa and MBB for a special project developed by orders from the Federal Ministry of Defence which includes a set of radio intelligence equipment with a computer. MBB further participates in armaments exports to South Africa, among others, as a sub-contractor in the construction of the West German-French combat zone transport aircraft "Transall". In 1970, for example seven "Transall" aircraft, for the greater part produced in West Germany by MBB and VFM-Fokker, were supplied to the South African airforce through the French aviation and space travel company SNIAS. MBB GmbH is making increasing efforts to further expand their contacts with South Africa.

One major military project for South Africa produced by West German companies in recent years has been the project named "Advokaat" which deals in the field of electronics/electrotechnics. The company, AEG-Telefunken AG is acting as West Germany's principal contractor, and the company Siemens AG is also participating in

this contract. The latter at the same time co-operates closely with Messerschmitt-Boelckow-Blohm GmbH, the West German armaments corporation. The two principal corporations in the field of military electronics, Siemens AG and AEG Telefunken AG, have transacted this deal as early as 1968 and are supported by various agencies of the West German Federal Government, particularly by the Federal Ministry of Defence. The total value of the project "Advokaat" amounts to approximately DM 60 millions.

Being an integrated system for communications and information processing, the project "Advokaat" is destined for the South African navy and covers the entire coastal area of southern Africa, including Namibia that has been usurped by the racist regime of South Africa. The centre of this system is installed in Cape Town. Their regional headquarters in Walvis Bay (South-West Africa), Port Elizabeth (East Cape), and Durban (Natal) will be equipped with these communication systems. Apart from this, communication stations will be installed in the South Africa naval ports of East London, Saldanha Bay, Simonstown and Richards Bay. The technical equipment of this military project includes, among others, long and short wave military transmitters, radio relay, telephonic and telegraphic equipment as well as an advanced automatic data processing system.

Since 1969, permanent representatives of the South African armaments agency have been working in West Germany. Senior South African officers are instructed in the Federal Republic of Germany, by the Federal Armed Forces as well as in armaments corporations. They are instructed on

how to operate and maintain these advanced military communication and information processing systems.

The F.R.G. and West Berlin corporations listed below are maintaining economic relations with South Africa. They partially have a military background:

- The West Berlin corporation Standard Elektrik Lorenz AG, Berlin 42, supplied two complete air navigation installations for ground stations, type VOR-D, 25 w, to South Africa. This deal was executed in June 1971, through the Hamburg branch of this corporation, without naming the real customer.
- The company African Explosives and Chemical Industries Ltd., Johannesburg, has, since 1971, maintained relations with the West German corporation DEGUSSA, regarding the construction of a plant for the production of hydrogen peroxide through a special process devised by DEGUSSA. The South African company has been provided by DEGUSSA with the necessary data for the design and construction of this plant, which is to produce 2000 tons a year.

In spite of all opposition, the F.G.R. government is planing to meet the Republic's demand for uranium - after 1975 and well beyond 1980 - from Namibia. The Federal government intends to procure 750 tons of uranium per annum. By doing so, the government in Bonn intentionally disregards the U.N. resolution of June 29, 1970, which bans any governmental promotion of investments in Namibia as long as this country is occupied by the South African racist regime.

(pics by Nkobi, Ndindah an ADN)

From l. to r. Messrs. Piliso, Reddy, Ouattara and Miss Eichler (GDR Peace Committee) relaxing at a reception given by the Foreign Minister of the GDR after the UN Session





Extracts from an address by H. E. Mr. Oskar Fischer, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Democratic Republic, to open the formal meetings of the Special UN Committee . . . In the course of his address, he said that the GDR will continue to . . .

SUPPORT THE ANC

The GDR strictly observes all resolutions of the United Nations to boycott South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. In the same way it complied with all resolutions against the fascist Caetano regime in Portugal. The GDR responded to the appeal of the twenty-eighth General Assembly of the United Nations and without delay signed the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid; the GDR was the tenth country to accede to this Convention and the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic meanwhile ratified it. The GDR does not maintain relations of any kind with the South African apartheid regime. Consequently, it has no representation in the Republic of South Africa . . .

The GDR has for long maintained the closest and friendliest relations with the African liberation movements which are recognised as such by the Organization of African Unity under resolutions of the United Nations. One of these movements is the African National Congress of South Africa.

The GDR holds the view that only these liberation movements have the legitimate right to speak on behalf of their peoples. It recognises the inalienable right of these peoples to achieve their self-determination and their independence by all means available, including armed liberation struggle. The GDR assists the national liberation movements in southern Africa according to its possibilities. Long before it was admitted to mem-

bership of the United Nations, the GDR contributed, as one of the first States to do so, to the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa.

The GDR has received hundreds of the young generations of the peoples of southern Africa to study at universities and technical schools free of charge. GDR teachers have teaching assignments at schools of the liberation movements.

The German Democratic Republic welcomes the Resolution on the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination adopted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council some days ago. It is actively contributing towards preparing the world conference to combat racial discrimination . . .

Only three decades ago fascist Germany also pursued a fanatic racial policy to which millions of people fell victim not only in Germany, but all over Europe and even on other continents. The nazis in their master race barbarity persecuted communists, social democrats and liberals, exterminated every human being of a different colour or creed they could get hold of. The end of that inhuman system is well-known. Freedom came in the person of the Soviet soldiers. This freedom was made good use of in this country, as you can see for yourselves.

In the German Democratic Republic racial policy was uprooted, and this will preclude any recurrence of it for ever. The people of the GDR are

brought up in the spirit of friendship towards all peoples irrespective of race or religion . . .

Upon being admitted to the United Nations, the GDR also pledged allegiance to the anti-apartheid movement and its support for all peoples fighting colonialism and racism. It has honoured and will honour this pledge. The GDR has prepared an extensive programme envisaging both contributions to international measures and domestic activities and functions.

Let me mention some of the GDR's projects:

- compilation of a monography entitled "Racism and racial discrimination as instruments of the imperialist policy of oppression and exploitation";
- publication of a scientific study of the role of transnational monopolies in maintaining racial discrimination in southern Africa;
- production of a documentary film on apartheid to be handed over to the United Nations;
- holding of a scientific conference with international participation on the imperialist nature of racism and racial discrimination, and publication of a compilation of papers on this problem by scientists in the community of socialist States;
- publication of an anthology of literature featuring the struggle against racism and racial discrimination.



Extracts of a speech to the opening session of the Special UN Committee on Apartheid in Dublin by Dr. Garret Fitz-Gerald, T. D., Ireland's Foreign Minister who said that internal instability and external challenge to apartheid will . . .

DESTROY THE EVIL PHILOSOPHY

The world has also learned that racism is more than something which is morally offensive. In our time we have witnessed what horrors racism can perpetrate. The supporters or apologists of apartheid should not forget the accomplishments of its terrible twin brother Nazism which in the name of racial purity in our time was responsible for the greatest deliberate slaughter in history.

As to the Bantustans in South Africa, they are in fact a fraud.

Four fifths of the land of South Africa has been reserved for a white minority who constitute less than one fifth of the population.

When the final carve-up is completed the white minority will be in possession of 87.0% of the country – the areas which contain all the mineral resources, the gold, coal, diamond and other mines; all the industries and commercial undertakings; all the towns and cities; all the sea and airports; and all but a fraction of the work opportunities.

In contrast the 13.0% of the country designated as the Bantu homelands is almost entirely undeveloped,

without jobs for any but a handful of the inhabitants.

The Bantustans are promoted as the means of achieving **Apartheid** – or as it is euphemistically translated "separate development". But the demands of the white economy are such as to preclude this "separate development", for in the white areas cheap African labour is constantly required. The Bantustan device is thus a device for ensuring that that cheap labour is in constant supply and total subjection.

The Bantustans therefore are in reality a system of native reserves which contain the reserve armies of African unemployed from which the white economy is to draw indefinitely.

The separation element in the concept of "separate development" is, though phoney in the way just described, nevertheless tragic in human terms because it involves separation not only between the races but between the African labourers and their dependents, as well . . .

But apartheid, is something more radically evil than political repression – since it is founded on something immutable. A man can change his

politics – he cannot change the colour of his skin. Apartheid offers the black man no hope.

But beyond that, it is an affront to the very concept of humanity by claiming that the accidental factor of skin colour which divides us is more important than the common humanity which unites us and is the basis for our claim to inalienable human rights.

I am convinced that the way forward in Africa as in Ireland is not through violence, but through the individually small but systematic and accumulative successes of peace and persuasion. The White minority governments of Southern Africa can and will be brought to realise through international action that as segregated societies they lack the element of legitimacy which is essential to their stability and survival – and that Apartheid as a system of government will never secure the acceptance nor the tolerance of the international community.

This external challenge to apartheid and the internal instability which it engenders are combining to defeat it as a system of oppression and will inexorably destroy the evil philosophy which sustains it.

CHIEF LUTULI HONOURED

The African National Congress proudly announces that Chief Albert John Mvumbi Lutuli, the late President-General of the ANC will be posthumously awarded the OAU Commemorative Medal.

The medal which were struck on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity will also be awarded to founder leaders of the OAU and some leaders of the National Liberation Movements "in recognition of their revolutionary services to the African continent".





A view of the presidium

West Berlin Solidarity Seminar

Hundreds of young progressive West Berliners attended a weekend seminar recently at Neukoln, a working class suburb of West Berlin. The seminar which was organised by the Association for International Cultural Exchange based in Stuttgart, West Germany dealt at length with the cultural aspects of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The seminar was held on the occasion of the OAU day of Unity and Solidarity with the liberation movements.

The main events of the seminar were the showing of the Black South African

film "Witnesses", followed by the reading of revolutionary poems and playing of songs and music of the liberation movements in Southern Africa.

An analysis of the role of culture in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa was presented by an ANC speaker. The meeting resolved that the West German Government, firms and institutions participated with the racists in South Africa in their attempt to destroy the revolutionary culture of the African people. It was decided to wage a broad campaign reaching all classes of the West German society

against such institutions as the Missionary Societies, Carl-Duisberg Society, German Development Services (DED), Internationales, German South Africa Society, Africa Association etc. The campaign will work in close collaboration with the newly formed West German Anti-Apartheid Movement.

A recording of African freedom songs "Uhuru Wa Afrika" has been pressed by the sponsors of the seminar. The proceeds from the sale of the records will be donated to the ANC.



A section of the participants at the seminar



ART and National Liberation

**Southern African Literature
and the National Struggle
Against Imperialist Aggression
and Racial Discrimination**
A Paper presented to the
Afro-Asian Writers Conference
by Barry Higgs,
a South African Writer

Those writers who have become members of the national liberation movement in Southern Africa, have learnt through their involvement that art and culture are always part of man's struggle to progress. Every revolution, every revolutionary movement, every vital developing system is accompanied by a great upsurge in artistic creation, in these situations the imagination of artists is fired and new thresholds of expression are crossed.

But while the liberation movements

**The Cry, a recent carving
by a Makonde sculptor
from Mozambique**



From the root of an ebony tree, the artist has depicted an antelope and a snake – the snake in Makonde mythology symbolically links the world of the living and the dead

and the political movements express themselves very clearly about their aims and ideals; while the peoples' struggle develops within itself and develops very clear notions about its meaning, this is not always true of art and literature.

The intellectuals, particularly the intellectuals within the imperialist states, have claimed art to themselves. They despise popular expressions of art, they claim that they alone understand true art, they say that art is a universal constant and is above revolutions and change. They shroud art in mystery, they cloud it in metaphysical jargon. The only thing that becomes clear from their literary criticisms is that they clearly do not understand the role of art.

Therefore we must applaud all the statements we have heard from revolutionary organisations concerning art. We must wholeheartedly applaud

and support the correct view, expressed by liberation movements, that art is part and parcel of the struggle, that the role of art at this time is to inspire the revolutionary people and to expose the roles of imperialist aggression and racial discrimination.

We believe this to be true, and we are therefore motivated to examine this view more closely. The closer examination of the relationship between literature and the national struggle will therefore be the main theme of this paper. It is our view that it may not be enough to say: "Literature must do this and that in the cause of the struggle." We must ask ourselves two further questions. Firstly, what is art and literature and is it achieving what we ask it to achieve? Secondly, if it is not, in what way can we direct the artists and the intellectuals towards genuine social expression, towards genuine art?

Stage in National Struggle

If art is to reflect and support the national struggle, it may be useful to compare the stage reached by the national struggle and the stage reached by those who are expressing life today in literature, and to determine if they are at different stages.

In Southern Africa, you will know that the peoples' movements have been in existence for a very long time. The African National Congress, for example, was established early in the century.

For many decades the African National Congress attempted persuasion of the authorities through the few establishment channels that were open to it. Much valiant work was done in presenting the case of the people through formal channels. Much valiant work was done at home and abroad in exposing the role of the white overlords, in exposing the cruelty of sup-

pression in the country, in bringing to attention the misery of the masses of the people.

But this was not enough, all remaining avenues were explored. Peaceful demonstrations and civil disobedience were undertaken by the mass of the people. Finally, the decision was taken to engage in armed struggle for national liberation. Side by side with this decision there developed a strong trade union movement and very recently this has erupted into major workers' actions, the working masses experiencing growing awareness of their power and of their rights.

All this can be expressed in another way. Formerly the movement pleaded their case with the rulers. But in latter years the masses came to realise that this extended the meaning of servility. Consequently, there arose a new feeling, an awareness that one did not ask for one's rights; that one should not have to beg for one's rights. This has culminated in movements which aim to take those rights directly. This awareness may in one sense be termed Black Power, but in a wider sense we could call it Black Positivism because it replaces much that was negative in the old methods.

Stage in Literature

Let us compare the stage reached in national struggle with the stage reached in literature. And we want to say at this point that we include in literature the category known as reportage.

If we look at our writers; if we look at the poets who are supporters of the struggle; if we look at the reporting that the movements undertake, we will find that in some areas literature has still not reached the stage of national positivism. Many writers are still writing as if they were talking to a third party in that party's terms, and not in terms of the masses, for, from or to the masses. Many poems exploit the tragedy of the situation without offering positive inspiration. Much reportage is saying: "Look how bad it is!" Many stories are concerned with portraying the hardship of life but do not extend any further and end by achieving nothing more than a liberal plea to a "liberal conscience". It is a question of attitude. This is not the place to analyse how this "attitude" - the position of the writer in relation to the reader - can be correctly achieved. We merely conclude



Hope of motherhood. The wished-for-child is shown on the woman's head

that in some of the literature and reportage produced by intellectuals who support the movement, the stage has not yet been reached which has been achieved by the national struggle.

Isolation from the People

Of course in discussing this question, we do not wish to belittle our own and others' literary production. We have long produced fine political analysis in South Africa, there is a mass of valuable political and literary material. We wish only to point out lines along which this continuously developing tradition can profitably move.

Also in terms of this discussion, we have so far overlooked the real difficulties that face the development of literature. The same difficulties that face the liberation struggle, will face the art that develops with the struggle and that attempts to inspire the struggle.

In South Africa, all literary expression that springs from the masses; that is



A herd of antelopes

inspired by the masses, is rigorously suppressed. Education, such as it is, is controlled by the white state and only the official writers may be read, only the tame writers will be published.

Some tame writers may never have had anything to say. Other writers who demonstrate talent may be used by the machine; may be "taken up" by the system and separated from their real base, the people. It is "divide and rule" in yet another sphere. The promising writer is separated from the people, he is led to believe that his art has its own "significance". He is misled by the intellectual establishment into the old trap of believing that art is for the few. Liberals will quickly lend support to an emergent artist but they are not so quick to lend a ear to the aspirations and ideals of the working man. Thus the artist is swallowed by the privileged classes.

And it is true that the masses will not readily respond to much that is called "literature". Starved of education,

denied expression, the people are brutalized by the system, as we are all, more or less brutalized. Yet despite this brutalization the people have thrown up their own leaders; have created their own movements which reflect their ideals and aspirations. And no worker will say that bread alone is enough. Every man will say that culture is as necessary as life. But it is peoples' culture that he thirsts for, only peoples' culture can reflect and inspire his aspirations. To the writer who says, "The people cannot understand my art", we can only reply: "Your art is founded on the wrong base. It is not founded on the struggles and ideals of the people. It is you who do not understand the people."

The Underground and the Exiles

Despite the rigorous suppression of popular creative works in South Africa, there has always been an underground welling-up of popular creation. As the liberation movement could never be destroyed, so could the peoples' expression of culture

never be destroyed. There are strong signs in South Africa today of a re-awakening of printed literature among the people. There continues a strong tradition of popular expression, particularly those songs created within the liberation movement. One of the great composers of freedom songs, Vuyisile Mini, a worker, was hung by the fascist regime for his role in the liberatory struggle. His contributions continue.

Peoples' writers in South Africa are denied the means of artistic expression. This problems does not face writers who are in exile, but these exiled writers are challenged by other problems. Because of the situation in South Africa in the sixties, a political decision was taken by the movement to send sections of the leadership into exile. There is now a large exile community, including many writers and intellectuals. There are two problems for these exiled writers. In the first place, for whom are they writing? In the second place, how can they express the aspirations of the masses if they are isolated from them?

The writers who are exiled, or who may have exiled themselves, must not be lost to the movement. Many avenues can be utilised to prevent this.

In the first place, they have a duty to the masses at home to direct their writing at the people of the countries in which they find themselves. In this way they can make use of their freedom to express themselves while at the same time recruiting through their work an international understanding of, and support for, the struggle at home. They also have a duty while in exile to develop their skills, to expand their knowledge, so that when called upon to return they will carry not only their direct contribution to the liberation struggle but also a stronger grasp of their craft, with which they can enrich the culture of the masses.

What can be done about isolation from the masses? In this respect we should note that some liberation movements in Southern Africa have already liberated areas of their countries, and within these liberated areas they have not neglected cultural development. Self-sufficient communities have been set up in the liberated areas, the movements have undertaken programmes of education right in the midst of the battle arena, the peasants and soldiers in these areas are engaged in the expression of popular culture while at the same time they protect their hard-won areas of liberation.

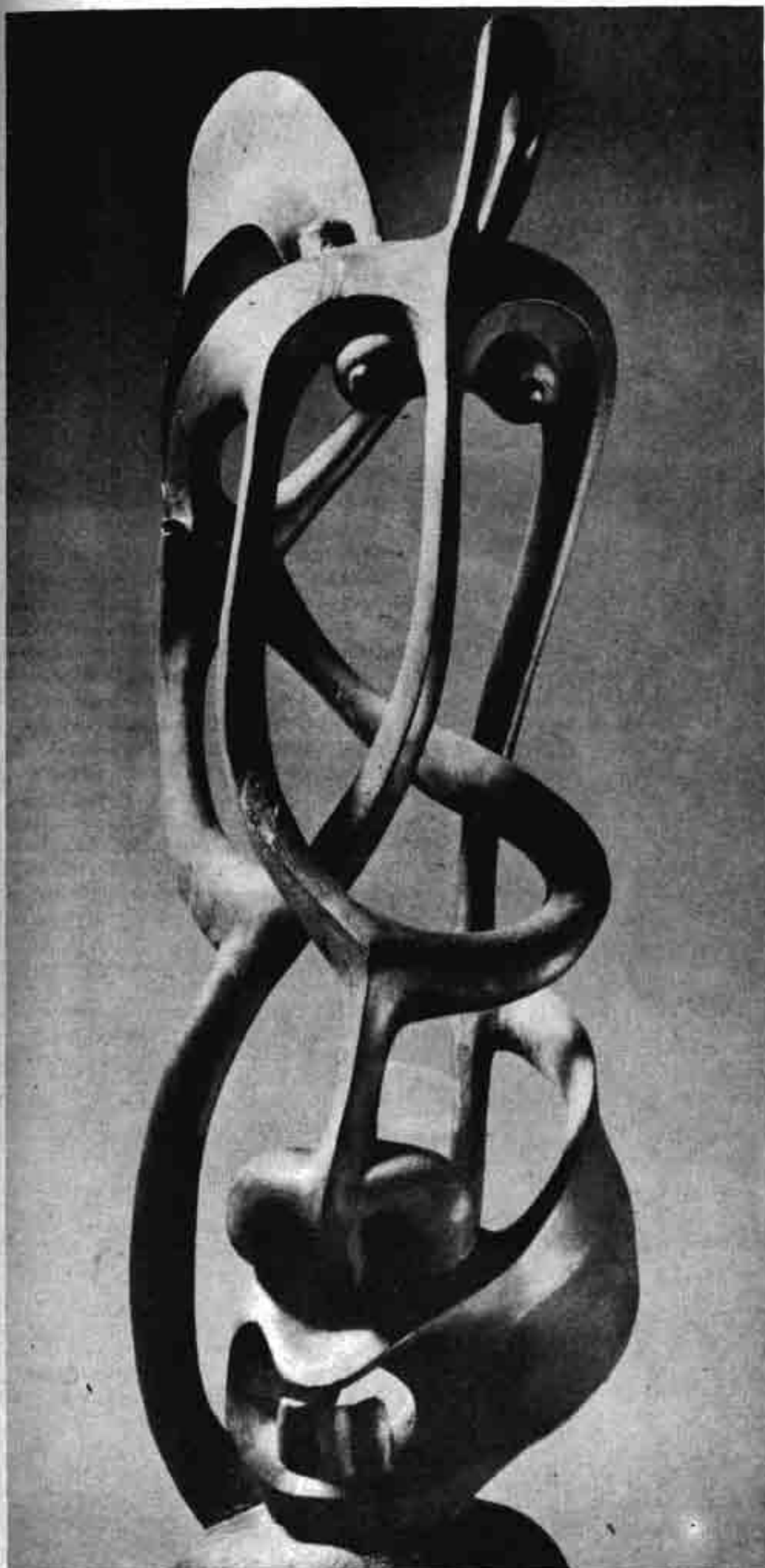
Those writers and artists and teachers who are in the liberated areas, are indeed the most fortunate in that they can learn directly from the people. To those who are not yet in a position to enter liberated areas, let them learn from the guerrillas, from the freedom-fighters who are the forward thrust of the armed struggle. Let them live with the freedom-fighters, who are men coming directly from the people; let them learn what is meant by popular culture.

New Literature

Within South Africa itself at the present time, there is a great opportunity for the development of a true peoples' culture. The nature of the liberation struggle in South Africa is such that it embraces the widest possible sections of the people - workers, students, peasants and middle-class. From such a base can spring a truly popular

Rear and profile views of an embracing couple





culture and literature, but it can only flourish if it goes hand in hand with the national struggle. If it is firmly based in the people it will also contribute greatly to the peoples' struggle. Therefore, because their contribution to the struggle is of such importance, both now and later, we exhort all the writers and the intellectuals of South Africa to channel their energy and their creative ability into supporting, exhorting, interpreting and reflecting the life and struggle of the people. But they must do this from the base of the people. Their efforts can be of little value if they are "in the clouds". The people must teach the intellectuals before the intellectuals can teach the people.

And in a wider context we should say, that while in South Africa we have a great opportunity to develop a new culture out of the old, is this not also true of those countries which have already won their independence? Surely therefore, we are on the threshold of an exciting new development that cannot fail to inspire writers of Africa, Asia and Latin America. We can see that the peoples of these continents are now in the strongest position to take from their own traditional culture what is best, to take from foreign culture what is good and not contaminated; to fuse these with the new understanding of a changing world, to create an art form that is not mysterious, that is not for the few; that will develop with the developing of the nations, that will enhance and inspire that development.

If therefore, we wish to base art in the people, we can only strengthen our ability to do so by working together with others who wish to do the same. We must ensure that we are in a position to develop our knowledge of other national literature. We wholeheartedly support the organization of Afro-Asian Writers. In concrete terms we believe it will lead to the establishment of outlets for peoples' culture and to greater availability of peoples' literature. We believe also that it will lead to an atmosphere in which we can constructively criticise one another so that we ensure that we always remain guided by the struggles of our peoples.

Woman, symbol of fertility
(By courtesy of "The Unesco Courier"
- November 1973)

THE AUSTRIAN - SOUTH AFRICAN AXIS

Trade between South Africa and Austria has been constantly rising over the last decade. Austrian exports to South Africa increased from 269 million Austrian shillings in 1960 to over 780 million Austrian shillings in 1973. Austrian imports rose from 140 million Austrian shillings in 1960 to 740 million Austrian shillings in 1973. (Source: Creditanstalt-Bankverein Brochure SudAfrika, Vienna 1974)

South Africa absorbs about half of all Austrian exports to Africa and one third of her imports from Africa come from South Africa. Austria supplies South Africa mainly with machines, semi-finished steel spare parts, trucks, buses, tanks and trams. Austrian imports are composed of raw materials such as minerals of all types, citrus fruits and fish products. For the purpose of gaining maximum profits, the Austrians are directly investing in the South African mining and farming sectors. The attraction being cheap labour and the possibility of transferring their profit to Austria and very minimum taxation of less than 12 per cent on profits. The Creditanstalt-Bankverein (Austrian Credit Bank Association) finances any Austrian businessman who show willingness to invest in racist South African.

Ex-NAZI heads Chamber of Commerce

In Austrian-South African Chamber of Commerce has been set up in Johannesburg with a well-known Austrian ex-Nazi, **Lothar Puxkandl**, heading it. In a speech published in the Austrian newspaper 'Presse' he said that investing in South Africa was worthwhile as the market was expansive and bring-

ing fantastic gains. (Presse Beilage Sudafrika, Vienna 1972)

Up to a few years ago only Boehler, a gigantic Austrian steel company was represented in South Africa. Today there is a chain of leading Austrian companies in South Africa, among others, Haemmerle, Plasser and Teurer, according to a recent report in the Austrian newspaper 'Kurier'. The state controlled leading Austrian bank "Creditanstalt-Bankverein", apart from being involved in the financing of investments in South Africa, is also financing the South African government's Atlas Aircraft Corporation and some of its armaments factories. Recently the Austrian Company VOEST, entered the South African market. Boehler and VOEST are state-owned companies and the so-called Austrian Socialist Party has leading members on Boehler and VOEST's boards of directors.

VOEST and ISCOR (Iron and Steel Corporation - a state-owned South African company) are jointly operating several ventures in the country. VOEST has managed to attract several European steel companies in these joint ventures, among others, the West German Company: Rheinische Stahlwerke. Among their joint projects are, iron ore mining in the Sishen area and the construction of a harbour at Saldhana Bay near Cape Town. A railway line will connect Sishen to Saldhana Bay harbour. ISCOR's steelworks at Saldhana will produce semi-manufactured steel products for internal use and for export. The estimated income from this steel production from export sales alone will be about 4.8 billion US dollars. The production will be about 1.5 million tons of steel a year of which one

million tons will be sold through long lasting contracts and the remainder will be sold jointly by ISCOR and VOEST. The cost of establishing the steel plant is over 3 billion US dollars and will be taken from share capital and loans. ISCOR will have 51 % of the shares and VOEST together with her allied European companies 49 % in this project. VOEST, taking advantage of unemployment in Austria, has agreed to provide skilled personnel. Final agreements between these two companies were concluded at the end of 1973.

The expanding South African industry needs skilled workers. Since South Africa denies any sort of skilled training to its black people, the Vorster regime tries to meet the problem by importing skilled workers - and Austria is one of his best recruiting places. Advertising campaigns for skilled workers to go to the "land of sunshine" are as popular in the Austrian press as advertisements for Persil and toothpaste. Almost 100 skilled Austrian workers emigrate to South Africa yearly. These immigrants contribute to the stabilization of the apartheid system and reinforce the South African army reservist.

It has to be noted that there are Austrian-South African friendship associations in all Austrian cities. These associations are the major forces in the spreading of South African apartheid propaganda in Austria.

At the UN

The Austrian government's standpoint on various UN resolutions on apartheid varies. For example the Austrian delegate voted in favour of a UN resolution which recognised the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies as the legitimate representatives of the people of these colonies and demanding that Portugal grant independence to Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau and further demanding that NATO states stop their military support for Portugal. Voting in favour of this resolution was easy for Austria since no consequences arose and no Austrian economic interests were endangered. However, the Austrian delegate at the U.N. abstained when confronted by a resolution condemning the South African government for its inhuman apartheid policies and emphasising that economic sanctions were a necessary means of achieving a peaceful solution in

BERRY

RECEPTION



South Africa. The USA, Great Britain, Portugal and South Africa voted against this resolution.

The Austrian Government has put a stop to the distribution of UN anti-apartheid material in schools, technical and vocational training centres and is intensifying its cultural, economic, political and military relations with the Vorster regime.

People Support Liberation

The Austrian press generally is unsympathetic to the problems confronting the Black people in South Africa and distort information about the real situation in Southern Africa. To break through this barrier of silence and to mobilize representative sections of the Austrian population to support the liberation movements in Southern Africa in their struggle for national liberation and independence, the "Komitee Südliches Afrika" (KSA) - Committee for Southern Africa was established by a group of progressive Austrians at the end of last year. The Committee has begun broad propaganda activities in schools, universities, youth and trade union centres throughout the country.

This Committee publishes a journal "Revolutionares Afrika" (Revolutionary Africa), which is widely circulated and contains reports and documents about the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. The Committee organises solidarity campaigns for the liberation movements in Southern Africa with photographic exhibitions and information stands and holds regular solidarity meetings.

Recently the Austrian Government invited a racist South African delegation to Austria to negotiate further extension of economic relations between the two governments. Whilst the members of the delegation, led by the fascist van der Merwe, MP, received medals of remembrance, over 600 workers and students marched through the Ring, Vienna's main street, with banners protesting against the visit and declared their solidarity with the Black South African people and the African National Congress. There was a second demonstration outside the Austrian Parliament when the racist delegation visited there.

Such protests were not confined to Vienna alone. In many other cities in Austria there were protest meetings

and signatures collected against the visit of the racist delegation. After a recent tour by an ANC speaker to many cities in Austria, the campaign for moral and material support to the fighting peoples in Southern Africa has been intensified. In all cities solidarity committees have been founded with a central office in Vienna.

In Vienna a propaganda show organised by Austrian supporters of the racist government in South Africa had to be cancelled after vehement protests by members of the local solidarity committee. In January 1974, when a reactionary student organisation invited the South African Information Attache, Mr. Botha, to a propaganda meeting at the University of Innsbruck, there were 60 people present, while more than 300 progressive students participated in a protest against this racist meeting outside the hall.

More and more Austrians are beginning to participate actively in support for the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and getting organised to fight against the collaboration of their government with the racist regime in South Africa and against racist propaganda in Austria.

In a recent issue of SECHABA we reported on the death of our Comrade Adolphus Boy Mvemve (John Dube), popularly known as J. D. by all his many friends and colleagues.

He was the victim of a parcel bomb.

At the graveside when J. D.'s remains were laid to rest, Comrade O. R. TAMBO, Acting President of the African National Congress and the Honourable Minister of State in the Zambian Ministry of Defence, MAJOR-GENERAL CHINKULI, were the main speakers.

Here we reproduce extracts from both the speeches.

Comrade Tambo said that . . .



J.D. died like a soldier

The man, the brother, the friend, the colleague we have known as J.D. is gone from our midst today, and from the world; and we assemble at this graveside to mourn his death. To do so on our own behalf, and on behalf of those who have been shocked not only by his death, but by its circumstances.

We send our condolences to his parents, his brothers and sisters. We do so in the name of all the people in all the countries in whose work he has been involved.

We have lost him; we feel the loss. But it is only his physical being we have lost. The essence that was J. D. remains with us – what he was to those who knew him, what he meant to them and to their lives and to their efforts, their work. His service to his people and to mankind: that remains, and nothing can destroy it. The essence that was J.D. lives on with us. It lives on with the best and most noble hopes and aspirations of man.

Some people, individuals, groups, associations, institutions, political parties, various combines – national and international – even countries, governments – they see as their mission in this world the persistent exploitation of others; the exploitation and oppression of their fellow men, the preservation and continued practice of colonial and racial domination of others. They believe in the world of a few that lives and thrives on the rest of mankind. Their task is to perpetuate misery and suffering, hunger, starvation, disease, ignorance. This is the imperialist, colonialist, racist group.

But there are others, also, whose mission in life, a historic mission, is the reversal of these practices, the elimination of the causes of pain and suffering; who seek to destroy the system that are basically the enemies of man. These people, individuals, organisations national and international, governments and parties: they have committed themselves and their lives (as I say their lives not meaning their time or energy or intellectual power, but their very lives) to the pursuit of the cause of humanity. They seek to change the world and introduce a new world order that is geared to the happiness, the prosperity, and the peace of all people of the world.

Adolphus Boy Mvemve belongs to this category of person. He gave his time, he gave his energy, he gave all he had: but he had pledged to give more than these: his very life. He has given it for the cause.

Cool and Calm

The world honours him. Until the enemy attack, the world knew that there were many J.D.'s in the world. They had seen them in Vietnam, in the Middle East, in the rest of Africa; but the world did not know this particular one,

whose death is associated with the existence in Southern Africa of the combined forces of white minority rule, racism, colonialism, agents of imperialism – in particular, in this case, the fascists that dominate his motherland.

Adolphus was one of the simplest, most uncomplicated men that I have known. Cool and calm in the face of danger, in any crisis; a man who carried a smile that disarmed and set you at ease in a crisis. A gentle, kind hearted human being, soft spoken, reliable and devoted to the last word. A soldier in the finest sense of that term. He was simple, and yet he was profound.

It is the entire world which has been shocked and outraged by the barbarism of those who sought to kill – to kill nothing, but anything nearby, anything that breathed, anyone whatsoever, woman, child, anything. Evidence of this outrage is provided by the presence here today of liberation movements, who represent the fighting peoples of this continent, themselves targets of barbarism by colonialist and racist regimes. We have here the Party, the Government as well as the people of the Republic of Zambia, who understand what is happening because they themselves have been the victims of this outrage, and continue to be. We have the diplomatic corps, representatives of Africa and of the world who stand opposed to the practices of colonialism and racism in this part of the world. We have the OAU represented: the entire peoples of Africa associate themselves with us in condemning this outrage; families, friends, his own family – there is no one who has not been touched by the vicious murder of Abraham Tiro, of Adolphus Mvemve, of many Zambian civilians, of the victims of Wiriyamu, or those who have been butchered in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and elsewhere.

It is precisely this barbarism that unites people and intensifies their determination to rid the world of the cancer and the scourge which has such a destructive presence, especially on this continent.

We know that assassination, bombings of people, their killings, do not have the result intended by those who practice these crimes. The reactionary forces that we are fighting learn nothing from their own history and from the history of the struggle. Perhaps they do learn something, but that they cannot help themselves in conditions and circumstances of desperation in which they find themselves. What have they learnt from the cruel assassination of Dr. Mondlane, from the brutal murder of Amilcar Cabral? What have they learnt from the murders that have been perpetrated in this country, the elimination of individuals?

What they should have learnt is that, far from even halting

the mounting pace of the revolutionary onslaught, the effect has been to multiply that pace, and they might today well wish that they had not done what they have.

Kill Anyone

Mozambique is being liberated. The blood of those murdered in Zimbabwe is being avenged by the fighting people of that country. They have killed ceaselessly in South Africa and in Namibia, they are killing in this country, but their sun is setting, and they know it. Therefore they must post letters treated with bombs and kill anyone, anywhere, anyhow: this is desperation.

But it is also evidence of our own success, and is the reason why our efforts should be redoubled. We are not losing, there is not even a stalemate, otherwise the enemy would not react the way he does. We are succeeding, and he knows it. Those of us who assemble here today come to bear witness to these facts.

But let us learn ourselves a lesson we need to learn from the very simplicity of the death of J.D., of Adolphus. He was sitting, performing one of the simplest and yet the most — one of the most — essential of duties, handling mail, sitting on a chair; and in the course of this, something happened quickly and suddenly; and then his heart stopped beating, he was gone; his body was a mangled wreck.

That is all that happened. But this was no ordinary stoppage of the beat of a heart. It has brought us here, it has brought reaction throughout the world. It has outraged our people in South Africa and elsewhere. That horrid scene draws our attention to what we are basically: a united people, fighting together against one enemy, for one cause. At the liberation centre, we are separated by walls, which at the moment of the death of Adolphus suddenly vanished, and left us all together with nothing separating us, but only with an awareness of a dangerous enemy. That awareness, and the awareness that we are one, is precisely the guarantee for the success of our revolution. And it is not only those who were in that office, who came from Mozambique, from Angola; who came from Zambia, who came from South Africa; not only those who were in the immediate vicinity, from other parts of Southern Africa; it is the whole of Africa, the whole of the progressive world. It is that world which was hit by this single bomb from this single representative of reactionary forces in the world. South Africa denies being associated with these acts either directly or indirectly. They hardly need to. None questions who is responsible. The world knows. It needs no answers about it. There is only one enemy who stands to gain by these acts, or believes he stands to gain by them.

Lessons to be Learnt

The circumstances in which J.D. died provide us with an important lesson to learn. Not only are we not compartmentalised into separate liberation movements, fighting, apparently separately, against what appears to be separate enemies: not only are we separate countries, some safe from attack, others, like Zambia, the victims of consistent attacks — we are one liberation movement, one fighting people, one people, in a whole sub-continent, in the whole world. This explosion which resulted in the loss of life and in injuries to people, occurred in the office of the African National Congress of South Africa, but it hit everybody else. The divisions, the boundaries vanished. Such an explosion might have occurred in South Africa, resulting in loss of life on an enormous scale, in injury to countless numbers of people; but as this one did not end within the offices of the African National Congress, so would such an explosion in South Africa not terminate on its territorial borders. It would sweep the borders off. There would be one people in Southern Africa, united by an awareness of a dangerous presence in their midst, but the damage would not be confined to South Africa. This is what the OAU has meant when persistently it has warned everywhere, at the United Nations, all over the world, that South Africa is a threat to the peace, not only of Africa, but of the whole world.



Moses Mabhida of the ANC National Executive addresses the gathering

It has taken the death of Adolphus Mvemve to lay fresh emphasis to the fact that, in our midst, as long as white minority rule, with its imperialist backing, exists, we are all in danger; and what this means is that our safety, our future, rests in the elimination of these systems.

And this is a task, not merely of the liberation movements, not only of the African National Congress, not only of the African people in South Africa. The people of South Africa as a whole have a danger in their midst, and that danger is a danger in the midst of the peoples of Africa and the world. The removal of that danger has become a matter of great urgency. We of the African National Congress take special note of this fact.

J.D. has not died in vain. He has died like a soldier, fighting a human cause, a war against the enemies of man. May he rest in revolutionary peace.

* * * * *

'J. D. DIED GLORIOUSLY ...'

- Major General Chinkuli

On behalf of the Acting President and Minister of Defence, His Honour A. G. Zulu, the General Secretary of the United National Independence Party (UNIP), I would like to say that we are all gathered this morning to pay our last respects to one of the beloved and determined fighters for the liberation of Africa, Comrade John Dube, who suddenly met his untimely death.

His death is a glorious and heroic one. It is glorious and heroic because it is death that came out of Comrade John's own conviction to liberate South Africa for the benefit of all, irrespective of their colour, creed, or religion. This comrade who has fallen is a typical example of those great freedom fighters who fell before him. Freedom fighters such as the late Dr. Amilcar Cabral, the leader of the libe-

ration movement of Guinea Bissau; the late Dr. Eduardo Mondlane, founder-leader of FRELIMO; and Comrade Tiro, a leader of the South African Student's Organisation, to name but a few.

To the party, the Government, and the people of Zambia, and to all those who have placed faith in the armed struggle and followed the development of liberation efforts in Southern Africa, Comrade John's departure does not come as a surprise. It has been expected, because we have for some time known that the liberation movements waging these wars have become more and more effective. South Africa in particular has felt the effects, and having done so, the minority white regime has resorted to this cowardly and barbaric act, instead of deciding the issue on the battlefield.

The South African administration must accept the full responsibility for the death of Comrade Dube, who died as a result of a bomb explosion intended for the leader of the African National Congress of South Africa based here in Lusaka (who coincidentally happens to be a relative of Comrade Tiro, who died in a similar manner in Botswana). No reasonable person can accept these as unrelated incidents.

Open Secret

It is now becoming more and more evident to us, and indeed to people the world over, that the liberation struggle is growing apace. Although the minority and fascist regime and their collaborators deny this fact, it is an open secret that the perpetuation of their regimes can no longer be assured as the revolutionary conflict assumes new dimensions. Indeed, as long as the minority regime continues to deny the indigenous people their rightful place in the running of the affairs of their Motherland, the liberation movement will continue to wage a bitter struggle in a concerted effort to regain their freedom and independence.

To members of the liberation movements present here, and to those who have not been able to come, I would like, on behalf of the Acting President, the Party, the Government, and the people of Zambia, to remind you that the struggle for freedom is not an easy one. It is like a winding road, with ups and downs, which nevertheless must take a careful and determined traveller to his destination. Although others of the comrades may fall by the roadside, we, as determined travellers, must not be discouraged. If anything, we should be constantly reminded of the perils which await us on such a difficult road.

In the struggle for independence against minority regimes, your enemies will use every means at their disposal, including the use of spies and informers amidst yourselves who have been hired for a few pennies at the expense of highly priced lives. It is the duty of every freedom-fighter to avenge any loss of any of his comrades. You must be proud followers, who should not retreat in the event of your comrade's death.

To the entire executive of the African National Congress of South Africa, and the relatives of Comrade John Dube, I would like to say that Comrade Dube died while serving an honourable cause. He chose to join the African National Congress in South Africa in order to help bring justice to the oppressed people in that country through the armed struggle. This was a selfless decision, which would be likened to the principles of the philosophy of humanism, through which the Party, the Government, and the people of Zambia see their survival. Let him be an inspiration to all of us.

On behalf of the Party, Government, and the entire leadership of Zambia, I would like to express deepest condolences to the bereaved family and the executive and members of the African National Congress of South Africa on the death of our brave friend.

Finally, I would like to thank the clergy for the lessons given us in the cathedral, and for blessing Comrade John Dube before laying him to rest. May his soul rest in peace.

OBITUARY



Vincent (Mthungwa) Khumalo

The African National Congress regrets to announce the death of our beloved comrade and colleague, Vincent (Ken Mthungwa) Khumalo in a car accident on Lumumba Road, Lusaka on Saturday night, 4 May 1974.

Born on 22 January 1924, Comrade Khumalo has held leading positions in our organisation for over two decades and during all the time he had been entrusted with these important tasks, he proved himself to be supremely dedicated, loyal and a symbol of revolutionary discipline.

When the African National Congress decided to launch armed struggle in 1961, Comrade Khumalo was among the first to volunteer to join the revolutionary armed wing of the African National Congress - Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). He will be remembered by many members of fraternal liberation movements as a tireless functionary of the external mission of the ANC, both as deputy Chief Representative in Lusaka and later as Chief Representative in the Dar-Es-Salaam office of the African National Congress.

When the Government of the Republic of Zambia gave the National Liberation Movements the opportunity to beam revolutionary programmes to their respective countries in Southern Africa on the external services of Radio Zambia, Comrade Khumalo was recalled to Zambia to join the radio unit of the ANC. His broadcasts in Zulu were a popular feature on our programmes. He met his death whilst serving our organisation and struggle in this important capacity.

His remains were laid to rest in Lusaka.

Hamba Kahle Vincent!

Amandla! Maatla!

THE OIL BOYCOTT BITES

South Africa's vulnerability to the oil sanctions imposed by many Arab oil-producing countries is beginning to hurt the racists

For South Africa, an industrially developed country with a high level of energy consumption, oil is an important, if not vital, community.

Since South Africa has no oil fields of her own, oil is therefore one of her most vulnerable spots. Of all the items on the sanction list, oil is the one that is likely to hurt its economy most.

South Africa is an oil-consuming industrial nation. Despite its heavy dependence on coal for power requirements, (i. e., most of South Africa's electricity is the end product of coal fired power stations), oil accounts for 25 per cent of her primary energy requirements, and demand for petroleum and petroleum products is rising steeply, with oil needs growing at a rate of 9 per cent per annum.

Oil Requirements

To meet her industrial and other needs in oil, which is not completely interchangeable with other fuels, South Africa imported 90 per cent of her oil requirements of 90 million barrels per annum, (mainly from the Persian Gulf, according to the *Financial Mail* (1. 12. 1972)). South Africa's national oil needs are over 200 000 barrels a day. Synthetic oil production – the expensive oil from coal process – by SASOL (South African Coal, Oil, and Gas Corporation) accounts for only 8 per cent of normal requirements.

Uses of Oil:

Oil is used mainly in Transport, Agriculture, Manufacturing, petro-chemicals, road building, and other industries.

Transport:

South Africa's estimated annual fuel consumption is:

- 5 000 million litres of petrol;
- 3 350 million litres of diesel;
- 3 100 million litres of bunker;
- 665 million litres of kerosene.

Some motor vehicle statistics (1970)

Total	Motor Cars	Buses	Commercial Vehicles	Motor Cycles
2 247 000	1 653 000	34 000	428 000	132 000

Civil Aviation:

In 1970, the number of aircraft on the South African Civil Aviation Register was 2127.

South African Airways, in 1971-72, spent R3, 250 000 on Aviation fuel, and flew 25 548 997 miles in its internal, regional, and international flights.

Railways:

South African Railways and Harbours spent nearly 9 million rand in 1971-72 on diesel fuel for diesel locomotives, which are increasingly being used with the phasing out of steam engines.

Sea Transport:

Bunker oil for ships accounts for 16 per cent of South Africa's consumption of refined oil.

South Africa has a merchant marine of 91 ships. A further 19 000 foreign ships call at South and South West African (Namibian) ports annually. South Africa is therefore heavily dependent on maritimes transport for her international links. An effective oil embargo would disastrously affect these links. We should also bear in mind that 70 per cent of the oil supplies of the NATO forces travels via the Cape of Good Hope.



Agriculture:

South African agriculture uses over 200 000 tractors. The overwhelming majority of these are on white-owned farms. In 1969-70 the agricultural sector of the economy used R48 million for diesel and lubricants.

Manufacturing and Chemical Industries:

Although most of the oil-based synthetic materials, pharmaceuticals, and other petroleum-based products are imported from abroad as raw materials, semi-finished and finished products, South Africa does, albeit on a relatively small scale, locally produce synthetics like nylon, terylene, synthetic rubber, plastics, etc. In addition she produces such by-products as butanol, detergents, liquid petroleum gases, etc. An effective oil embargo, coupled with the general oil and energy crisis in the Western World would have serious consequences for these industries.

Defence:

A considerable percentage of South Africa's limited and dwindling oil reserves is committed to the feeding and oiling of her pet baby – the military machine. Below are some figures on this military machine.

Airforce:

500 Aircraft
100 Helicopters

Police:

80 Saracens
430 Trucks

Navy:

730 Ships

Army:

100 Centurion Mark 5 tanks
100 Sherman and Comet medium tanks
500 AML-60, AML090 Staghound armoured cars and Ferret Scout Cars.
250 Saracen armoured personnel carriers.

Search For Oil:

In a frantic effort to be self-sufficient in oil, South Africa has so far spent R80 million on a vain search for oil. She however remains as yet vulnerable to oil sanctions. It is the duty of all democratic, anti-racist and peace-loving forces actively to support the initiative of the Arab countries, for a total oil boycott of South Africa.

Women

August 9, is South African Women's Day. The following pages are devoted to the struggle of our women who suffer greater hardships than their menfolk . . .

In the following abridged version of a paper submitted to the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, Mrs. ELIZABETH S. LANDIS, starkly reveals the problems and disabilities of African women in South Africa.



Living conditions in the urban areas

African women in the reserves suffer disabilities in virtually every facet of existence - not the least of which is that they cannot, like their menfolk, try to escape their lot by going to the cities. For nearly a decade influx control and pass laws (discussed later in connection with women in urban areas) have absolutely prohibited black women from entering the cities and towns.

Although African women in the cities and in the reserves generally are subject to the same disabilities, women in the reserves are particularly affected by those discussed in this section, viz., denial of rights in land; lack of local job opportunities; inequitable domestic relations and inheritance laws; and treatment as perpetual minors.

Denial of land

No African may have any interest in land in the white homeland or in any homeland where he may reside if he is not a citizen.

Even in the homeland of which he is a citizen, an African is unlikely to own land. At best he will have quitrent tenure. Government policy emphasizes the continuance or restoration of communal ownership of land as one aspect of traditional culture. Under such ownership, according to South African anthropologists, Africans were granted only the right to use land, and that right was subject to enlargement, diminution, or termination, depending on relative communal and personal needs.

Since there is not enough land in any reserve to support its normal population, land allotment is a difficult and troublesome problem, exacerbated by the "resettlement" in the reserves of Africans from the cities or white farm areas. However, the difficulties have been considerably reduced by refusing, in most circumstances, to allocate land to women.

By law, allotments may be made to any married person or *kraalhead*, and

in the Reserves

"kraalhead" is defined to include a widow or unmarried woman with family obligations. However, allocation of land is an administrative act and cannot be challenged in a court of law. Among women seeking an allotment, it appears that only a widow with children has any chance – and usually she will receive only half the allocation made to a married man. There is official pressure not to grant allotments to single women even if they have illegitimate children to support.

While man's allotment reverts to commonage on his death, his widow is by law entitled to continue to occupy it as long as she does not remarry or leave his homestead. Thus, if she wants to try another means of supporting her family which requires her to leave home, she must forfeit her right to return to her husband's land if the alternative fails.

Due to an historical accident, a few women are registered holders of quitrent land. Every female holder has the same proprietary rights as a male holder except that, if married, she must have her husband's consent to dispose of the land. No woman can now acquire quitrent land, whether by purchase or inheritance – including the daughter of a female holder. Quitrent land cannot be devised by will. It descends according to rules of male primogeniture, which presumably codify a universalized form of tribal tradition. The widow of a deceased quitrent land holder may occupy and use her late husband's land until she remarries or leaves his homestead.

Lack of local jobs

Nearly two decades after the Tomlinson Commission Report called for extraordinary efforts to develop the reserves, so that by the year 2000 some 70 per cent of the projected African population could support themselves from homeland agriculture, mining, and industries, homeland opportuni-



Living condition in the rural areas

Families are simply dumped on to the streets





After they brush the crumbs away

"Just as people do not love alike,
neither do they starve alike."

Knut Hamsun

Those whom we left behind
when we took history's trail abroad;
those whom we left sitting
on the hill-side slope
with their backs resting
on the brightly-painted, substantial
up-for-sale signs,
on the bank by the dry river-bed,
by the dusty roadway to the airport;
they all seem unable to die of hunger,
like the screen and magazine millions
in the Emperor's barracoons,
Mahatma's vast back yard,
Mohammed's mountain wastelands,
Soweto's steam-heat dirt-track,
Bolivia's brutal other world
and everywhere else on the wrong side
of the long line of fat;
they all seem unable to die like flies
some paid writers, isolated sweetly,
in paradise and recognition,
theoretically complain.

ties have hardly improved: agricultural production seems to be decreasing, forcing more rural Africans to seek other or additional work; and the number of new non-agricultural jobs being created is hardly keeping up with the annual increase in black population. Domestic handicrafts, which used to supply some additional earnings, have disappeared in the face of cheap, glittery industrial products.

Women of the reserves, who are barred from seeking jobs in the cities where they are available, are also handicapped in seeking the few jobs which exist in the reserves. As a practical matter, some jobs are reserved for men, whether by custom, by employer fiat, or by physical or other occupational requirements.

African women are frequently less

mobile than their men. They cannot leave household responsibilities so casually; widows generally dare not leave their homesteads to be near a job source rather than commute, for if they do, they lose rights to cultivate family land.

Where "border industry" jobs are available, African women are usually hired for the lowest paid ones or are paid less than men for the same job; in some cases the cost of commuting may be too great to warrant taking up employment. In any case, border industry jobs pay far less than the same jobs in urban centres, and the hours and amenities are worse.

As a consequence, despite desperate poverty, only 13.6 per cent of all potential rural African women workers are employed at remunerative labour.

Those who do work are likely to be employed as farm labourers or as domestic servants on white-owned farms near the reserves (usually while their husbands or fathers are employed on the farms) or as daily domestics, laundresses and the like in the few white cities which abut certain reserves. These are the worst paid jobs available to Blacks.

Only a handful of African nurses and teachers ever manage to break out of the depressing occupational mould for rural African women. Even those few who do are usually paid rates far below their city sisters in the same jobs.

The typical "fortunate" woman in the reserves is probably the "housewife", whose husband is working in the city while she attempts to feed the children



A resettlement area



The long 20 mile trek to a new area with all their worldly possessions

It's possible, at a guess, I suppose,
that those story-tellers see the sun
making a crucial difference
to the spreading fainting-spell,
axing pain in the head,
spit-fringed lips,
drooping shoulders,
skin tight rib-cage,
premature grey hair,
closed ministry doors,
bureaucratic hush,
absence of welfare,
like an aching amputation.

Those who starve,
starve and starve alike;
we who look on,
reading or writing
in a cool room
or in a deeply-heated one,
look alike;
the sun shines down
on both clusters of the dying,
at home
and abroad.

Andrew Salkey

(and possibly some other dependants)
on the crops she cultivates in the small
eroded family plot, if any, and the
meagre amounts, if any, remitted by
her husband – if he does not take a
"city wife" or otherwise fritters away
his pay during his long absences. This
housewife lives out her lonely life, un-
able to leave, in a community compos-
ed largely of women, children, and the
aged and infirm who have been endor-
sed out of the cities once their produc-
tive years were finished.

Starvation

Lest the picture of life in the reserves
seem unduly harsh, it should be noted
that Mr. G. F. van Froneman, a Natio-
nalist Party spokesman on so-called
Bantu Administration and Develop-
ment, made the following statement
before Parliament:

One-way Traders

PLAN TO MOVE 120,000 BLACKS

More than 120,000 members of the Tswana Tribe will have to be moved from their present lands, South Africa's Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, Mr. M. C. Botha, said today. He was announcing final land consolidation proposals for the Bophuthatawana homeland in the Northern Transvaal.

The Guardian Correspondent, Johannesburg (26. 5. 1973)

* * * * *

Thinking that you're actually moving
the spirit of a people,
faith, hope and dream,
because the bodies shift
easily by decree,
is a dangerous illusion;
it fools the eye;
balances the accounts on paper, somehow;
but it does something violent
to the morbid mind.

The trees and homestead markings
rush past, flapping in the wind,
loose and serrated,
like torn bandages
blurred, at first,
but soon afterwards
like return signposts.

Those who persist
in working
in the moving business,
against the wishes
of their rooted customers,
are fascist handlers:
one-way traders
driving over shifting sand
to a desolating bend
farther down the road.

Andrew Salkey

"... If the Bantu is not doing anything here (i. e. "white areas"), he may just as well go there (i. e. the reserves) and stay there. We settle many elderly people... There are many Bantu children here who do nothing... They do not work at all. They may just as well go and stay in their homelands and do nothing".

A typical less fortunate woman in the reserves has been "resettled" there when her family - owners of a small farm in a "black spot" or labour tenants or squatters on a white farm - was evicted and forced to go to an already overcrowded reserve. There, with rare exception, they are not eligible for any grazing or farm land, but may rent a tiny lot with either a one- or two-roomed hut on it or a tent, until such time as they can erect their own shelter. If the head of the family is lucky, he has permission to go back to the "white areas" to work as a transient labourer. If not, he may get a job in connection with the resettlement centre at a rate far below urban pay for the same work, while his wife or daughters may get "make-work" at a fraction of his wages. Many resettlement centres are areas so barren and unproductive that the older inhabitants of the reserves have avoided them. In some such communities, women may spend nearly the whole day collecting firewood or carrying water from the nearest river or bore hole, just to carry on their day-to-day existence.

The lack of job opportunities in the reserves and the consequent poverty leads inevitably to sickness and death. Kwashiorkor, scurvy, pellagra, and beri-beri are rife, and deaths resulting from starvation are repeatedly recorded. Tuberculosis and other diseases associated with malnutrition are widespread. The South African Government claims that it has no mortality or morbidity figures for Africans - it does for all other South Africans - but the Progressive Party has claimed that in some reserves, one out of every two African children dies before the age of five; and special studies suggest that the infant mortality rate in certain reserves may be as high as 250:1,000. In 1960 the life expectancy of an African was estimated to be 44-46 years, while that of a white person was between 65 and 72 years. Thus in the reserves, where poverty is worst, black women who survive childbirth, find that the chances of their being widowed early and seeing their children die, or be frequently stunted or deficient as a result of under-nourishment are greatly enhanced.



Women farm workers

Women in Urban Areas

African women in urban areas are subject to the same basic disabilities as women in the reserves. However, the forms and the effect of discrimination differ from place to place.

Up-country African women in the rural slums are separated geographically from their husbands and fathers, who spend their productive years in urban barracks. Urban women are separated culturally. This type of separation has proved somewhat less significant to African women in the cities, where no force can prevent them from making the adaptations necessary to survive in a non-tribal environment. However, the incongruity of a pseudo-archaic culture in the urban centres of South Africa has not prevented proponents of **apartheid** from continuing to subject urban women to a number of the disabilities imposed on women in the reserves. A number of these disabilities are examined below.

Residence Disabilities

According to the theory of **apartheid**, the white nation and the various black nations should live apart from one another in separate geographical areas, so that they can each preserve and develop their own national identity. The South African economy, on the other hand, is dependent on large amounts of cheap black labour to keep the industrial complex running.

The practice of **apartheid** has accommodated theory and fact by assigning South African blacks to their "homelands" which are so small and poor that they cannot possibly support these populations. Starving African males are then admitted to the industrial centres in sufficient numbers to drive down the price of labour. Whites treat these blacks as "transient labour units", to be removed at will, since by law they are rightless "aliens" in a foreign homeland — although they are by law South African citizens.

It has been stated that "ideally" from the white South African point of view, African men should be admitted as needed to work pit year-long contracts and then return to their homelands,

whence they might subsequently seek re-admission for additional year-long periods. "Ideally" as well, African women, on the other hand, would be banned from urban centres. Black men would consequently be deprived of their rights in the cities, in return for rights in their reserves at the end of their contract periods.

The right of Africans to reside in the urban areas is largely determined by two laws — the Bantu Labour Act and the so-called Urban Areas Act — and by the myriad regulations issued under them. Section 10(1) of the Urban Areas Act, the basic provision relating to residence in the urban areas prohibits any African from remaining in an urban area more than 72 hours, unless he is in possession of a permit to remain or he otherwise qualifies under the section to remain without a permit.

Three classes of Africans are qualified to remain in a specified urban area without a permit (unless they run

afoul of innumerable other restrictions).

They are:

- any African who has resided in the area continuously since birth;
 - any African who has worked continuously in the area for one employer for at least 10 years or who has lived continuously in the area for at least 15 years, continues to live there, and is not employed outside the area, and who has not at any time since the commencement of the period been convicted of a crime (minor offences excepted);
 - the wife, unmarried daughter or son under 18, of any African qualifying under (a) or (b) if she or he entered the area lawfully and ordinarily resides with the qualified African.
- Strict enforcement of this section — even when no other restrictions are invoked — makes it far more difficult for African women than for African men to remain in an urban area.

Women in the fore-front of the struggle for liberation led by Lilian Ngoyi



Support S. A. Women

"The women of South Africa have played and continue to play a courageous and heroic role in the struggle against **apartheid**; in the struggle for freedom. I need hardly recount to you the names of many woman who have provided leadership and braved brutal persecution in this struggle in South Africa – women like Mrs. Lilian Ngoyi, Mrs. Winnie Mandela, Miss Dorothy

Nyembe, Mrs. Rita Ndzanga, etc. Many of them have suffered brutal torture at the hands of the Security branch of the racist South African police. The women in the rest of the world must support this struggle for freedom, as much as men should. The racists must be punished for the indignities they have inflicted on the African women . . .

"We appeal to all organisations and peoples to join in the struggle against **apartheid**, in support of the liberation movement of the South African people, irrespective of any differences they may have on any other issues. I hope we can count on your contribution (The Womens' International Democratic Federation – Ed.) not only in terms of the assistance of your own organisation to the oppressed women of South Africa, but also by way of promoting universal solidarity with these millions of women and their liberation movement."

Chief Edwin O. Ogbu,
addressing members of the
WIDF Secretariat in Berlin



larise her situation, are virtually nil. Secondly, relatively few African women can qualify under section 10(1)(a) or (b). The number of women born in an urban area who have lived there continuously without spending disqualifying periods elsewhere – e. g., with relatives in rural areas or attending school in another area – is limited. For example, since Government policy limits secondary school facilities in the urban "locations" (Black residential ghettos), women who want their children to receive an education are forced to leave the cities. Similarly, the number of women who qualify by virtue of continuous employment or residence in a specified area is small, since both the employment opportunities and the housing available for women are more limited than for men.

Punitive Actions

Finally, unmarried daughters originally qualifying under section 10(1)(c) become disqualified when they marry unless they also qualify separately under paragraph (a) or (b) or marry a qualified African man. If a husband lives in a different urban area, and they try to live together there, she will lose any qualifications she may have had under (a) or (b) without necessarily gaining a new one under (c), even if her husband is qualified.

One of the most obvious effects of section 10(1) is, necessarily, to inhibit African women from changing jobs or protesting even the most scandalous wages, hours, or working conditions and from seeking improved housing outside the area of their first residence. Another less obvious effect of the section, combined with Government policy in the larger urban areas of limiting each African township or location to members of a single "nation", is to make it increasingly difficult to marry across "national" lines or even across location boundaries.

An African woman who is lawfully in an urban area has just passed the first hurdle. No prospective employer can legally hire her unless she obtains a permit to take the job from the municipal or district labour officer. Such a permit may be refused for reasons sufficiently broad to enable a labour officer to nullify the work prospects of any African he dislikes or wishes to punish administratively. These reasons include:

- not having any of the innumerable other permits;
- being subject to an existing order to leave the area;
- failure to comply with health requirements;



Gladys Manzi
– left –
banned and
restricted
and
Dorothy
Nyembe
– serving
15 years
imprisonment

In the first place, no African woman has been able to enter any urban area lawfully for nearly a decade, since it has become official policy not to issue permits to women. Therefore, a woman who entered illegally and has remained without incident for years will be forced to leave when-

ever the facts are discovered; the expiration of time does excuse her original offence or create any prescriptive rights. This woman can never qualify under section 10(1)(c), although she may have been married for years to a qualified African; and her chances of obtaining a permit, if she tries to regu-



- breaking a prior labour contract;
- likelihood that employment will threaten State or public safety (a provision applicable to "agitators", strikers and the like); and
- lack of adequate housing for the worker.

An African who is refused permission to take a particular job may be referred by the labour officer to other work, either in the area or elsewhere (e. g. to a white farm if it is during the harvest season); or he or she – along with dependents – may be required to leave the area. The Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner is required to confirm all such removal orders if entered to remain under section 10(1)(a) or (b) – i. e. mostly men – but not against Africans qualified under paragraph (c) – i. e. mostly women.

The Pass Laws

It should be noted that a labour officer may not only refuse to allow an African to take a job for any of the reasons cited above; he may also refuse permission for him or her to continue working at his or her job and cancel the employment contract – thereby starting the process that forces him back to the reserves. That possibility hangs over the head of any African who contemplates protesting against working conditions or participating in political activities.

Any African may be arrested and convicted for failure to produce his "reference book" (a plastic holder containing his identity card and all required passes, permits, tax receipts etc.) when demanded by police officials or for failure to have all passes

in order. If he is unable to pay the fine levied, he must serve a short jail sentence, not long enough to disqualify him under the provision as to continuous residence under section 10(1). However, if an African loses his job as a result of his absence while in prison, he may lose his qualification under paragraph (b). Even if an African avoids that pitfall, he must start out again to find a job and then deal with the labour officer, with all the uncertainty that entails, particularly for a Black woman.

Particularly when out of work, an African woman must avoid any activity which would make her fall within the definition of an "idle Bantu" in section 29 of the Urban Areas Act. That definition includes any Black woman other than a "bona fide housewife" who is between 15 and 60 and who, even if supported by her parents, is normally unemployed although capable of working (unless she is a student). It also includes any African woman who has three times refused jobs offered her by a labour officer without good cause; or has twice within a half year failed through her own fault to hold a job for at least one month; or has been fired more than three times in one year for "her own misconduct". A person held to be an "idle Bantu" is ordered removed from the urban area.

A Black woman must also avoid conduct which will lead an urban authority to hold her presence as "detrimental to the maintenance of peace and order" and therefore make her liable to removal. These would seem to include participating in strikes, complaining and involvement in political movements.

Every African woman is painfully aware of the official attitude, repeatedly expressed, that married women, children and older people are considered "superfluous appendages," to be removed from the urban areas as quickly as possible, even if they are technically qualified under section 10(1). Single African girls, it is grudgingly admitted, may be useful in some cases, but once an African woman marries, she should go "back" to the reserves.

One technique of getting rid of women qualified under section 10(1), was tentatively explored but not fully carried out. It was written into the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1970. It empowered the appropriate Minister to prohibit the employment or continued employment of Africans in a specified area or class of employment or trade or in the service of a specified employer or class of employers. A notice was



A Family Sentenced With Their Father

Mrs. D. H. Goni is worried about the future of her four children. She was living in a Port Elizabeth township with her husband, who was born and brought up in the city where he worked until he was arrested for armed robbery and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment three years ago.

She was told she may no longer stay at their New Brighton home since her husband was serving a term of more than six months in jail.

'My in-laws are in Port Elizabeth and my home is in Cradock. I cannot settle at either these places. I would leave Dimbaza at any day if I were allowed to do so.'

She complained about the dampness in her two-roomed house and the difficulty of rearing her four children – twins of 11 and two of 5 and 3.

She works as a wall-washer for £3 a month. The government supplies the family with rations which, she says does not last long.



Lilian Ngoyi

by
A. N. C. Kumalo

Lilian
I hear you are fifty-nine
I've never met you
only seen pictures of you
heard people talk about you
I know you must still be
young and beautiful.

The journalist reports
on the fifteen years
State decree
severing contact
with humanity . . .

You were punished
in prison
solitary
alone
when spirit proved rock-like
irrepressed
sentenced to long-term
house arrest . . .

house walls
transformed
into prison walls
house locks
into prison locks –
people forbidden to enter . . .

within that housejail
mind behind
lock und key
fifteen
consecutive
years . . .

within that housejail
thinking possible
silence enforced
fifteen
consecutive
years . . .

within that housejail

dreams permitted
deprived of voice
fifteen
consecutive
years . . .

within that housejail
burning spirit
buried alive
fifteen
consecutive
years . . .

only the police
monitoring
the minutes
of your life
crashing
into your loneliness
at will . . .

seeking
to cut the heart
out of your life-span.

To the journalist
you are a lioness
undaunted
moved to anger
for those
you were unable to help –
this your sole regret . . .

You laugh
weep
shake with rage
your voice dropping
as you explain
"my people are suffering
. . . they suffer".

Listen Lilian
every woman of fifty-nine
should be beautiful
like you.

issued applying this provision to five classes of jobs, including clerks and receptionists, but it was later withdrawn. The implicit threat to black women in such positions remains, however.

Housing Disabilities

The chronic housing shortage for Africans in the urban areas raises special problems for African women.

Since non-availability of housing is a ground for refusing a work permit, African women – who can never legally re-enter an urban area once they have left it – must find a place to live. While the regime has built "bachelor" dormitories for African men, it has generally refused, as a matter of policy, to do the same for black women.

Most women – except the fortunate ones married to Africans qualified under section 10(1) – are entitled only to live as lodgers (by permit). One result, in view of the general reluctance to share already inadequate quarters, is to encourage temporary cohabitation and concubinage. This no doubt swells black birthrate, which the Government is officially trying to reduce. It also impoverishes the reserves by diverting a man's income from his family at home to his temporary companions in the cities.

An African woman is even subject to arrest for living with her husband, if he stays with her in domestic servants' quarters where only one African is allowed or if she cohabits with him in his quarters when he is not qualified to have his family with him.

Since 1968 women have been prohibited from being registered tenants in the townships. This means that if a woman who had been living legally with her husband in a township becomes widowed, divorced, or separated, she, along with their dependants and any other inhabitants will be evicted from his home. If she has been living in the urban area only by virtue of section 10(1)(c), she will be "repatriated" to the reserves or to a "resettlement centre", along with her dependents. If she is independently qualified to remain in the area, she may be given a lodger's permit. In either case, her children, even if they would otherwise be qualified to remain in the urban area under section 10(1)(a), would have to leave the city and would thereby lose their rights under that paragraph.

The death of a husband, his eviction, whether for non-payment of rent, poli-



Seen here at a reception given by the GDR Foreign Minister after the UN sessions in Berlin are Mesdames Eisenhardt (Solidarity Committee of the GDR), Nokwe (ANC), Nkobi (ADN) and Molale (ANC representative on the WIDF Secretariat)

tical activities, or other cause, or the break-up of a marriage thus leads to a complete change in a wife's way of life. An unhappily married woman may be forced to suffer her husband's conduct in silence, lest he desert or divorce her, with all the consequences that might have for her and her children.

Employment Difficulties

Economic opportunities for African women are far greater in the cities than in the country. A few years ago it was calculated that although only 27% of all African women lived in towns, they represented 47% of all African women who worked for financial compensation. One out of three women in the urban areas was gainfully employed.

An examination of the employment of African women, however, shows a bleaker picture. African women are generally restricted to jobs that no one else wants and that which brings less pay than other jobs, even those held by African men. And even when African men and women hold identical jobs, there is discrimination against women in both pay and working conditions.

Most African women are in domestic service and in other – usually menial – activities associated with the family and the household economy, such as production and processing of food; manufacture and laundering of gar-

ments; child care; nursing; and teaching. Some African women have gone into light industry, but usually in jobs different from those performed by white and Coloured women. A recent survey showed that there are no Black women attorneys (solicitors), advocates (barristers), judges, magistrates, engineers, architects, veterinaries, pharmacists, or university lecturers and very few doctors.

Low Incomes

It is well known that Africans have a much lower average **per capita** income than whites; the latest survey shows the ratio of African to white income to be 1:13.4. It is calculated that approximately 70 per cent of all Africans in the urban area have earnings below the so-called poverty datum line, an amount which provides minimum subsistence for a family of five, omitting any expenditures for amusements, sports, medicine, education, newspapers, public transport other than to and from work, stationery, and tobacco.

No study appears to have been made as to the differences in average **per capita** income between African men and women. However, in most instances in which African men and women of equal qualifications are employed at the same work, they do not receive equal pay. Thus, as of 1970, the salary scales of teachers with identical qualifications (matric plus four years' training) were:



The Victim of Bureaucratic Whims

When her son, the sole breadwinner on a farm near Queenstown, became ill, **Mrs. N. Sigowele** and her other children were ejected from the farm and spent weeks on the roadside. They were brought to Dimbaza in July 1971.

She had been receiving £2.25 every second month at the Bantu Affairs Commissioner's Office in Queenstown, but the grant was not transferred to King William's Town, 12 miles from Dimbaza. This means she has to travel to Queenstown every second month to collect £4.50. The train fare cost her £2.25 for every trip.

On one occasion she did not go to Queenstown because she had no money for the fare. When she eventually got the money from friends she was told in Queenstown that her pension had been transferred to King William's Town; but when she went there there was nothing for her.

She gets no rations, but her four children do.

African men R1260-2610

(\$1675.80-3471.30);

African women R1140-2160

(\$1516.20-1675.80).

Such discrimination appears in all levels of the education system and in all branches of the public service open to Africans.

At the other end of the social scale, even the payments ("gratuities") made to prisoners for various kinds of work done under prison regulations discriminate not only among the races but also between men and women, with female African prisoners receiving the minimum.

There is discrimination against African women in non-wage conditions of work as well. One egregious example is the provision by which the employment of an African woman in the public service and at the black university colleges is, by law, terminated on her marriage, a condition which, of course, does not apply to male employees.

Only the desperate situation of rural Africans can explain the struggle of African women to remain in the cities, although most of them must accept the least desirable jobs at the lowest rates of pay - far below the poverty datum line. It is the white employer, in his business and his home, who profits.

Conclusion

The origins of the disabilities of African women lie in the matrix of South African history. But the **apartheid** system is responsible for their continuation and accentuation today. South Africa's policy of **apartheid**, which is designed to ensure the permanent subordination of black to white people in the name of "separate development", is also responsible for the sub-African status of African women, making discrimination inevitable and sustaining it against modern trends to end women's disabilities.

These disabilities are deeply rooted in the present system, for as Professor Simon, a noted sociologist, was written:

"Women carry a double burden of disabilities. They are discriminated against on the grounds of both sex and race. The two kinds of discrimination interact and reinforce each other.

Colour bars retard the process of female emancipation by impeding the progress of the whole race . . . (Equality) can become a reality . . . only when both women and men have become full citizens in a free society."



Dorothy Nyembe has spent most of her adult life under some form of restriction - in court, banned, in prison - but within the limitations imposed on her she has given all her time and energy to the struggle for freedom in South Africa.

Born in 1930 in Natal, she joined the African National Congress in her early twenties and took part in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952 during which she served two short terms of imprisonment. Four years later she led the Natal contingent of women to the great demonstration against passes outside Union Buildings in Pretoria where over 20,000 women participated. She was then Vice-Chairman of the ANC Women's League, Durban Branch. In December 1956, she was arrested together with 155 others, 18 of them women, and charged with treason. She spent most of 1957 attending court, the charge against her and 60 others being withdrawn on December 18.

In 1959, after the riots in Cato Manor, an African residential area near Durban, the Native Affairs Department of the City Council recommended the banishment of Dorothy Nyembe and other political leaders from Durban. This they could do under the Native (Urban Areas) Act. But the full City Council, by a majority of one, rejected the recommendation. The same year she was elected President of the Natal ANC Women's League at their conference in Pietermaritzburg at which 200 delegates attended.

In 1960 an Anti-Pass Women's Committee was formed in Durban. Dorothy was elected Chairman and played her part in opposing the extension of passes to African women. In 1962 she was elected Chairman of the Natal Rural Areas Committee at a conference held under extremely difficult conditions.

In spite of every attempt on the part of the South African police to prevent

Profile

DOROTHY NYEMBE

15 years gaol for helping freedom fighters

this conference from taking place, 1500 delegates from all over the province were present.

Women's Revolt

Dorothy played a leading role in what became known as the Natal Women's revolt early in 1963 when women in almost every rural area in Natal refused to fill cattle dipping tanks with water and instead destroyed the tanks. The decision to refuse to fill dipping tanks was taken at the 1962 Conference. The women argued that they were compelled by the authorities to fill tanks in their areas without any pay and in most cases had to carry the water from water holes or rivers which were a distance away from the tanks. During the campaign Dorothy was arrested again, charged with furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress, and sentenced to three years imprisonment. On her release, in 1966, she was banned for five years under the Suppression of Communism Act, restricted to Durban, prohibited from communicating with other banned persons, prohibited from certain types of employment and from attending any gatherings whatsoever, etc. Nevertheless, she carried on her work in whatever way she could.

In 1968 she was arrested, held in solitary confinement for many weeks, interrogated and eventually brought to court, with 10 African men, in January 1969. She was charged on five counts under the Suppression of Communism Act. The trial took place in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court under Justice Henning.

All but one of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from five to 20 years. Dorothy was found guilty of only one charge - that of harbouring terrorists' - helping freedom fighters; nevertheless, the Judge sentenced her to 15 years.