

SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

Vol 6

No 6

June 1972



49 Rathbone Street
LONDON W 1A-4NL
Telegrams & Cables :
SECHABA LONDON W 1
Telephone : 580-53 03

CONTENTS

	Page
SOUTHERN AFRICA: REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS by Sobizana Mnquikana	2
DANGER OF SOFT OPTIONS IN SOLIDARITY	7
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	10
ON THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FRONT THEY DID NOT DIE IN VAIN	11
INTERNATIONAL SEMINAR AGAINST IMPERIALISM	15
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	17
DISCRIMINATION - EVEN IN DEATH	20
BOOK REVIEW Fifty Fighting Years Song of Himself	22
BANGLADESH - An important Victory	24

SECHABA

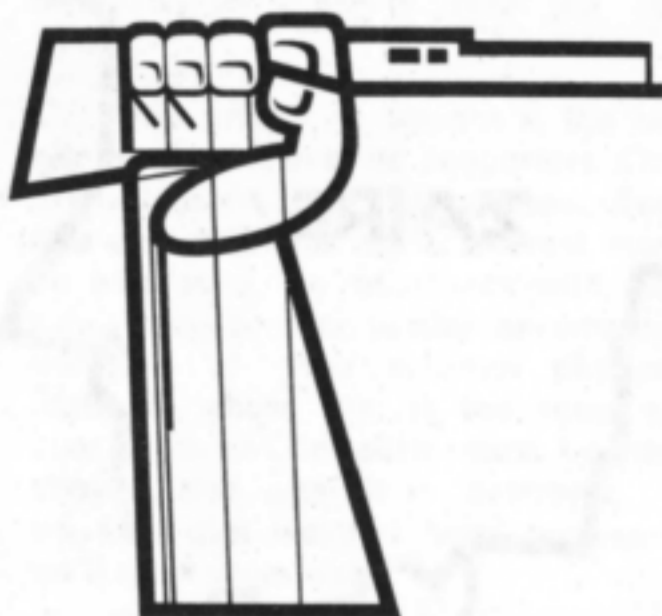
Annual Subscription Rates

£ 1.50/Europe, Africa and Asia.
6 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
Includes postage

Air Mail Copies

£ 2/0/0 Africa and Asia
12 dollars U.S.A. and Canada
Includes postage
33¹/₃ % commission for 12 copies
or more

Southern Africa:



A discussion article
on the
so-called domino-theory
by
SOBIZANA MNQUIKANA

"Two trends are meeting in collision in Southern Africa; the northward thrust of South Africa's diplomatic and military expansionism and the southward thrust of the African guerrilla liberation movements". - Stanley Uys, *Survival*, Vol. X, No. 5, May, 1968.

The above excerpt characterises the most salient features of the Southern African system: collision between the forces of reaction and progress; South Africa's expansionism (economic, military and political) and hegemonial role in the system: military, economic and political consolidation of the racist Unholy Alliance of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia.

Meanwhile, various theories and strategies have been advocated in an attempt to resolve the Southern Africa conflict. Some of these endorse the legitimacy of armed struggle by the oppressed Black majorities against the racist white minority regimes. However, a rather disturbing theory - the so-called progressive domino theory with all its implications - as a strategic tactic, has been advanced. The theory assumes a stage by stage victory of liberation movements; a stage by stage falling of "dominoes" Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, THEN South Africa. Where Namibia fits into the domino framework is not clear. Since the purpose of this paper is to prove the bankruptcy and the illusory nature of this theory - its lack of analytical perspective -

we need a rigorous analysis of the Southern Africa system, and in particular South Africa's imperialist role in the system, with the view to drawing relevant conclusions and strategies.

System here connotes a set of relationships and interactions within a given region (Southern Africa, in this case). In our definition, Southern Africa subsumes the geographic areas of Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and South Africa.

Viewing the Southern Africa situation in system terms gives the region a wide perspective that leads to an enquiry into the processes, interactions, motivations, and the reason why governments and institutions act the way they do. Government and institutions are creations designed to serve the purposes of people: in the long term, they must reflect the motivations, drives, fears and ambitions of people.

Previous analysts have viewed events in Southern Africa in a discrete manner with little consideration given to interaction of the countries concerned. The analysis of Southern Africa politics has

REALITIES AND ILLUSIONS

always been fragmentary because of differing histories of the various countries and the wide variety of constitutional and legal forms under which they have been and are governed. Seldom has the significance of the links between South Africa, Rhodesia and the Portuguese colonies been properly and thoroughly assessed.

Out of Touch With Realities

The descriptive legal and historico-constitutional approach has blurred the motivations, and interactions, (social, political and economic links) of the Unholy Alliance. Formulae and expectations, completely out of touch with the realities of the situation, made by the domino theorists who naively assume some "rational" chronologically southward progression of victories by the respective liberation movements against their respective opponents, are propounded.

The primary feature of Southern Africa is the clash between the white minority regimes determined to cling to power and continue the exploitation of the African masses, and the liberation movements which are equally determined to wrest power from the racists and eliminate colonialism, racism and exploitation and establish peoples democracies based on freedom, equality and justice. These white racist regimes share common ideological orientations: maintenance of colonialism, racism and fascism; the defence of so-called western civilisation and anticommunist hysteria; the economic objective of exploiting the indigenous peoples and the resources of their countries; the politico-military objective of stemming the tide of the African revolution, and to subvert it where it has been successful. Perceived common threats have helped to consolidate this white alliance. As the Portuguese Foreign Minister on 30. 8. 1967 put it, Portugal and South Africa "not only had many interests and problems in common, but also

shared the same system of values and were both equally determined to defend those values".

Senior Partner

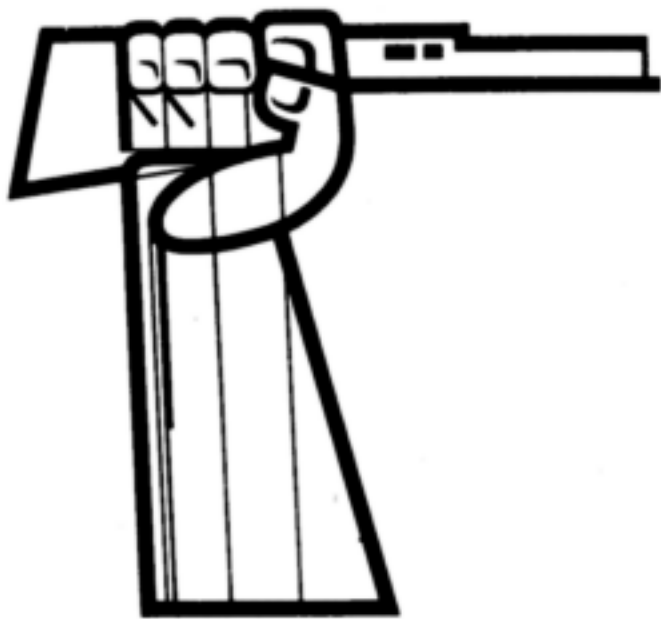
One of the strategically important "textural features" of the system is the high level of intensity of communications between the Unholy Alliance partners which has drawn them together for the common defense of racism. Structurally, South Africa by virtue of her economic wealth and needs, including military capability, is the strongest and senior partner in the racist system. A closer examination of South Africa's foreign policy vis-a-vis Africa, and Southern Africa in particular, will give us not only an insight into the dynamics of the Southern Africa system, but also expose the political opportunism and naivete of the protagonists of the domino theory. Such an examination will help illuminate the problems that beset **not only** the liberation movement in South Africa but also the liberation movements in all white-occupied Southern Africa. The domino theory postulates that the Portuguese colonies are the 'weakest link' in a chain of dominoes which have to be liberated first - the so-called 'priority' areas. South Africa is the last domino, since she is 'the hardest nut to crack' and therefore 'the last to be tackled'. In its seductive simplicity, it has evoked far-fetched hopes of quick victories. Firm and explicit proposals are put forward by the protagonists of the theory that all focus (material and otherwise) should be on the Portuguese colonies. What is deemed to be the 'impotence' of the other libe-

ration movements in Southern Africa, in particular the absence of visible military confrontation, is deceptively used to substantiate the validity of the domino theory. There is also a tinge of arrogance in the suggestion that the development of military struggle and future battles in the rest of Southern Africa, especially in South Africa, are dependent on the outcome of the struggle in the Portuguese colonies. Wait until the Portuguese colonies are freed! The 'priority' areas argument portrays Portugal as the only actor in the scene.

No serious consideration is given to the psychological impact, to say the least, such developments (falling dominoes) would have on the white racist Southern Africa fortress which uses race as a basis of political loyalty, and is garrisoned by South Africa. For example, a Mozambique Fighting Soldiers' Comforts Fund has been established in South Africa, one of whose posters poignantly reads: "The future of South Africa depends very much on the outcome of the war (in Mozambique)". Casual reference is made to the significance of South Africa's gradual, but effective, diplomatic, political and economic penetration of Africa. Above all, within the domino framework of analysis, South Africa is projected as a 'neutral actor' in the wars in Angola or in the Southern Africa conflict with complete disregard to what her security interests are and how these have determined and will continue to determine her future course of action. The effective application of the capabilities that she possesses seems to escape the eye of the domino theorists. The most

June 26 Once again, this year like previous years, June 26 will be commemorated by friends and sympathisers of the Liberation struggle in South Africa throughout the world.

We hope in our future issues to report on these activities and therefore, appeal to you to send us your reports of demonstrations, meetings etc with photographs if possible to: Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W1A-4NL.



important aspect of military capability is not its possession, but the willingness to use it. Rhodesia is a case in point. In our analysis, more emphasis will be put on South Africa's strategy and tactics (economic, military, diplomatic, political etc.), and the implications therefrom, to perpetuate white racism in Southern Africa. If the proposition that self-preservation is a vital interest of all states is true, it holds equally true of South Africa. The survival of the white state dictates that policies should be pursued, internally and externally, to protect itself. Her role as a carrier of an ideology imposes commitments and obligations to be fulfilled. The expectations of her racist partners become important components in the formulation and execution of her foreign policy objectives. The ever-increasing danger posed by the liberation movements demands her serious attention.

Security, internally and externally, has assumed top priority in South Africa's policy. Cognisant of the impending outbreak of guerilla warfare inside her territory, and alarmed by the concerted attacks by the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, Namibia etc. the establishment of favourable frontiers has become an objective to which the Republic is willing to commit great resources – ranging from economic and military aid to intervention and combat operations as blatantly shown in Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola from 1967 onwards.

Driven By Greed

Driven by economic greed and security interests, the Republic has banded economic aid to independent

African states with the view to creating client states – Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland etc. – who have been either neutralised or have turned hostile to liberation movements. These states are proving more of an obstacle than the political wedge that some of us had expected once they had achieved independence. The aid granted to these states is not a unilateral relationship where the benefits accrue only to the recipients. It serves the Republic's economic and security interests as illustrated in the following:

"Yet what appears to be a burden is not necessarily so. In aiding its poorer neighbours, the Republic opens up new export markets for its products, finds new outlets for its citizens' enterprise. In this way, South Africa will share in a real way in its neighbours' advance. Besides, South Africa's economy has reached that stage where the country needs to look farther afield for business opportunities. And meanwhile inflationary tendencies at home force it to look across its borders.

"Sitting on a pile of gold and foreign exchange reserves in excess of a billion dollars, the Republic must do something to employ them profitably somewhere".

AND:

"In moving out to aid Africa, South Africa furthermore, quite frankly, gains a benefit in security".

(News/Check, pro-Government South African monthly)

One of the principles guiding the conduct of counterinsurgency is to assist threatened governments. South Africa has, therefore, placed great value on controlling or defending neighbouring territories because she perceives that a major threat to her territorial integrity might arise from the adjacent areas:

"We are good neighbours (Rhodesia and Mozambique) and good friends do not need an agreement to combat murderers. Good friends know what their duty is when the neighbour's house is on fire". (Vorster, 25. 8. 1971) Vorster has also starkly stated that, should Southern Africa states find it difficult to contain the African guerrillas, South Africa will step in their defence: **"We will fight terrorists wherever we are allowed to fight them",** he said recently.

Dominant Role

South Africa plays a dominant role in its economic relations with her racist partners. Post-UDI Rhodesia has seen herself almost completely dependent on South Africa. It is South Africa that supplied Rhodesia with the necessities to ensure survival, especially during the early days of the economic boycott instituted by the United Nations.

The construction of the Kunene and Cabora Bassa Schemes, of which South Africa is the main financier, once more illustrates the economic and strategic objective of entrenching white rule in Southern Africa:

"We believe that the future of the Portuguese provinces and that of my country are very closely linked. For this reason, we believe that South Africa will, with the passage of time, be drawn closer to Portugal and its provinces in Southern Africa". Louwrens Muller, Deputy-Minister of Economic Affairs – News/Check, 5. 7. 68.

Military cooperation – from the formulation of a common defence strategy to combined combat operations – indicates the interdependence of the racist partners. Portugal's and Rhodesia's dependence on South Africa is becoming more than apparent: **"In spite of the assistance and collaboration which she enjoys, Portugal cannot control the situation, so that her allies have been led to consider direct military intervention, already manifested in the use of South African troops and material in Angola and Mozambique"** – Basil Davidson, Sunday Times, London, 16. 8. 1970.

South Africa's concern about the secured stability of her allies has made her participate in the criminal wars in the Portuguese colonies:

"It has now been proven that South Africa is involved in the Angola struggle. We have found young South African soldiers among Portuguese troops". Commander Monimambu (MPLA), 21. 3. 1969.

In support of the above, Russell Howe has reported in Foreign Affairs, October, 1959:

"... Pretoria has supplied two battalions to Tete... An area specialist of London's Institute of Strategic Studies, which keeps a close watch on South Africa's forces, says that Mozambique is used to give combat experience to draftees led by career cadres", South Africa's aggressive policy is also di-

rected against the independent states, notably Zambia and Tanzania, who, it is alleged, harbour terrorists. Acts of sabotage and espionage have been committed by the Unholy Alliance states and open threats of military reprisals have also been made:

"South Africa will hit Zambia so hard that she will never forget" – Vorster, 1968.

Military actions arising from similar situations have been perpetrated by, for example, Israel against the Arab countries. And South Africa has boastfully alluded to this type of action against Zambia.

Puerile Assumption

The above analysis demonstrates the hollowness of the domino theory. We have shown the inadequacy of the descriptive approach which negates the significance of the dynamic trends in Southern Africa which these idealists have fallen into. We have suggested that only by looking at the significance of the increasing interactions between the white system could we predict what policies are or will be followed. The analysis, above all, has shown that South Africa is the dominant state in the alliance and her tentacles grip the whole of Southern Africa, dependent and independent. No strategy or tactic whose implementation understates South Africa in the Southern Africa conflict could hold political, more so military validity, as long as South Africa perceives her interests to be the same as those of her allies – resistance to change in the subcontinent. The puerile assumption that the Republic will stand by and witness the dominoes fall into place is not borne out by facts. Her geographic location compared to that of Portugal, for instance, presses the dangers to her security more than it does to Portugal. Portugal, a classical colonial power, is distant from the theatre of war. The importance of location here is that it serves to determine who the potential enemies or allies are and what their effects on territorial security are.

It is becoming clear that South Africa's security depends on the security of her allies, hence the high propensity to intervene, as demonstrated in the case of Rhodesia and elsewhere. There is nothing to stop her from intervening on a much more massive

scale in Angola and Mozambique if she considers the victories of the liberation forces in these areas pose a threat to her own security. Stanley Uys, a South African journalist writing in *Survival*, Vol. X, No. 5, May, 1968, states:

"There is not the slightest doubt that if guerrillas in either Angola or Mozambique were to show any signs of winning, the South Africans will be there like a shot".

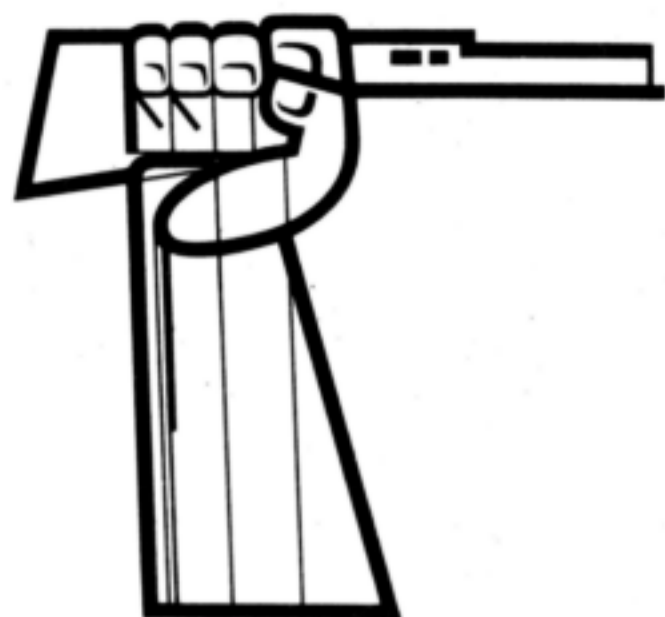
The question of who rules Angola, Rhodesia, Mozambique, or even some of the independent states closer to her borders, cannot be a matter of indifference to the Republic. She cannot afford to be 'neutral' with respect to her security as the domino theorists suggest.

Common Defence

Evidence also proves that Portuguese foreign policy is not formulated in a vacuum. Her membership of the Unholy Alliance restrains her 'independence' in policy formulation and execution. It also imposes commitments, just as the U.S., through its alliance commitments, participates directly or indirectly, in the decision-making processes of the Saigon regime.

There can be no doubt that there is a common defence policy between the states which constitute the Unholy Alliance. There is no doubt also that South Africa will not shirk her responsibilities by abandoning her allies to guerrilla onslaught. Her commitments will force her to participate more actively on the side of the other white-ruled states as the guerrilla offensive gathers momentum. As Dennis Austin, *News/Check*, 30. 8. 68, put it: "The continued existence of white Rhodesia, Angola, and Mozambique is not simply part of the old concept of a forward defensive line, but part also of a European dominated South African world in which South Africa is both the major power and the chief proponent of the philosophy of 'white civilisation'.

It is inconceivable that such beliefs, which are deeply ingrained in both the Nationalist and United Parties, and the white South African population in general, will be discarded. In her own selfish interests it is unimaginable that the Republic will turn a deaf ear to calls for help from whites



in the north threatened by the forces of liberation.

Whilst it might be true that Portugal is a weak link in the white alliance, as we are constantly reminded, such weakness is compensated for by South Africa's capabilities and resources, and an escalation of the guerrilla offensive in the Portuguese territories will provoke a corresponding escalation of South Africa's involvement in the conflict. The level and degree of South Africa's involvement in the wars in Angola and Mozambique will be determined by the extent to which the conflict in these areas develop. The domino theory, therefore, is based on a superficial premise, and may unwittingly be motivated by political expediency. It will undoubtedly lead to incorrect strategic conclusions with the inevitable disillusionment once its ideals do not materialise.

Realistic Approach

Having shown the domino theory to be incorrect, both politically and militarily, what then is the more plausible strategy for the liberation movements against white minority regimes?

Whilst not underestimating the achievements and the future role of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies in particular, it seems that the intensification of the struggle in the rest of Southern Africa, and in particular in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, could bring some qualitative changes in the African sub-continent. It seems militarily sound that an extension of the war on all fronts in Southern Africa will force the enemy to over-extend his forces – a strategy which, historically speaking, proved effective in the Allied war effort



against Nazi Germany during World War II. Such a strategy presents problems for an interventionary power (South Africa in this case) because it could prevent her from mounting operations on a concentrated area. South Africa's capacity to deploy more of her resources (manpower, weapons etc.), which are in themselves not unlimited, to other areas will depend on what takes place inside her own borders. It would be no wild speculation to say that the South Africans will commit their resources indefinitely in the Portuguese colonies as long as they are not militarily challenged inside their own borders. The geographic stage by stage and 'priority' areas approach plays right into the hands of the enemy. It gives the latter ample opportunity to concentrate his superior material and military resources in a single area undiverted by the need to defend his rear: "To adopt the stage by stage approach would present the enemy with an inestimable advantage which would not be compensated by an artificial 'internationalisation' of the struggle in so-called 'priority' areas. Every part of the unliberated South is a priority area and victory will be assured when the common enemy is stretched in meaningful combat over all parts of the subcontinent" - Basil Davidson. It becomes imperative, therefore, that we avoid presenting a continuous front for the enemy to smash piecemeal. Given the unity between the racists, it becomes a matter of urgency that the liberation movements also consolidate their forces with the view to coordinating, in a practical way, their activities in face of the common enemy.

The task of widening the liberation struggle inside South Africa falls squarely on the African National Congress. If there is no evidence of armed combat inside South Africa between the forces of the racists and the forces of liberation, it does not suggest that

the African National Congress has negated its historical duty of leading the South African revolution. The task is not an easy one.

The forces arraigned against the liberation movement are powerful but not invincible. Whilst the liberation movements face a common enemy, the problems that beset each movement differ in different territories. This objective fact leads us to look into the significance of such differences.

Realities of S.A. Revolution

Often people have pondered and questions have been asked about the progress of the armed struggle in South Africa: why is there no overt military confrontation between the blacks and their white oppressors? How can 15 million Blacks be held in ransom by a mere 3 million Whites? Is the liberation movement in South Africa incapable of challenging the white super-structure, or has the armed struggle failed? These are questions to which the movement should address itself. Some arise out of genuine concern, others are evily-motivated in an effort to discredit the ANC. An exposé of the factors militating against the speedy development and progress of our struggle must be made. Whilst this might involve matters of a military nature, it does not necessarily take a military mind to appreciate the advantages of South Africa's geographical location, and the consequent difficulties, though not insurmountable, of the liberation movement to infiltrate its trained cadres into South Africa. Although geography appears as a fixed item, its importance lies in the fact that a political analysis based on it places politics in a realistic setting and vividly underlines importance of location. South Africa's location helps her to withhold access to her territory, moreso that her client states provide her with defensible borders against outside infiltration, thus serving as a buffer. One is not suggesting that geography is deterministic, but that it is a conditioning factor. Other factors that militate against a speedy development of the armed struggle in South Africa include:

- * the lack of a friendly rear which may initially be used as "launching pads" for armed cadres, as logistic centres and for military sanctuary;
- * the widespread concentration of

the white population - all well trained and armed - almost throughout the whole surface of South Africa moreso than anywhere else on the Continent;

- * the most highly developed network of communications system in Africa - roads, railways and airstrips - covering almost the entire surface area of the country;
- * the lack of vast expanses of unoccupied territories or forests where supply dumps, training camps and rest areas may be established;
- * the existence of highly developed and industrialised economy supported to the hilt by Western imperialism and equally highly developed and well-equipped armed forces supported by an armed defensive-offensive prone white civilian population of over three million.

This is the factual situation.

Not Insurmountable

Whilst it might appear that the disadvantages are overwhelming to the South African liberation movement, these are not necessarily insurmountable. For reasons of security we cannot discuss what our tactics are in this situation. Suffice to say that we are aware of these factors.

Meanwhile, our underground machinery, which was seriously depleted after the Rivonia arrests and the subsequent police terror that was unleashed by the white authorities against all sections of the liberation movement in the sixties has been re-established.

Popular movements are once again emerging and clandestine publications are being widely distributed. Although illegal, several successful strikes involving thousands of Black workers, have been organised in recent years. Despite all the difficulties, trained cadres have gone back into the country. Some have been arrested, but many are in the country preparing for the final confrontation. Our movement has rejected the so-called domino theory as illusionary and decisive. Our struggle shall be prosecuted as planned, and we shall not be forced into adventuristic confrontations with the enemy in order to satisfy our critics or to use as propoganda stunts. We accept the basic and well-proven tenet of guerrilla warfare: The guerrillas shall choose the time and the battlefield to seek out and destroy the enemy.

As white domination hangs on to privilege in Southern Africa numerous palliatives are mooted abroad. This article urges that the central issues at stake must not be allowed to be confused by piecemeal solutions made in the name of "doing something". In this category falls the pious declaration of raising wages by US corporations and the calls for dialogue.

The writer argues that real solidarity consists of actions in the international area which are in harmony with the policies activists of the liberation movements themselves. For solidarity to be firm and lasting it must be focussed not on vague notions of injustice but on the concrete struggle for power that is now ripening in the whole of Southern Africa.

DANGER OF SOFT OPTIONS IN SOLIDARITY

The statement of the Polaroid Workers Revolutionary Movement printed in *Sechaba* last month was a gust of fresh air. It exposed the mockery of the moral posturing of a large US business in its desperation to hang on to a lucrative market in South Africa and in its determination to justify US relations with white fascism. The Polaroid workers refuse to accept the 'experiments' of US corporations to 'improve' the conditions of their Black South African workers so that they may continue their exploitation in the most efficient and ruthless cheap labour complex in the world.

The PWRM have done us a service for helping to make the essential issue clear: minor palliatives are worse than useless. It is the system itself that has to be destroyed.

When looking at the public relations work of US corporations we are struck immediately by the high moral tone that infuses their statements. Readily admitting that colour discrimination is universal in South Africa, and conceding that wages are low they turn their adroit pens to tackling these 'problems' in the small arena that is publicly seen to be within their control.

Tinkering with wage levels, promoting a few individuals — all this is meant to look fair and reasonable to the average US citizen. Regretably many fall for the explanations given out by Polaroid, and indeed, as long as people accept the terms of reference laid

down by Polaroid, their concessions may be made to look reasonable without too much difficulty. If the framework of criticism is limited in scope, for instance if it is concerned only with low wages in foreign companies, then it is easy for Polaroid to mount a smokescreen of explanation to counter the criticism.

The point that needs to be hammered home by our true friends and by ourselves is that the system is rotten not in parts but as a whole. Low wages is but one of the grievances of Black South Africans. The apartheid state has to be brought down before Black South Africans can be free.

Focus on the Power Structure

It may be that some foreign agencies are able to get away with pious and useless declarations on South Africa because we ourselves have been too vague in our propaganda. We have too often stressed the immorality of apartheid to the exclusion of discussion on the nature of the power structure of white domination. We need to shift the focus of international criticism from a concern with passing idle moral judgements to the crucial question of how authority is exercised and power distributed in South Africa. If we are to advance to the field of solidarity, our goal in the economic, political and military isolation of South Africa, we will have to ensure that the basis

of the international critique is much clearer than it is at present. **The point is that the ground for support or solidarity is at least as important as the solidarity itself.** If attention is not given to developing solidarity on proper political, principled grounds then it can vanish into thin air when it is really needed.

The inhumanity of white rule has brought the vast bulk of people of the world to condemn the white regime in South Africa. But condemnation on moral grounds has proved to be inadequate and unstable. Of course the liberation movements are not going to spurn support no matter what the basis and whatever form it may take, but in this period of sharp conflict in so many parts of the world, it is as well to look at the politics of solidarity a little more closely.

Take the question of violence. Former emphasis in the moral wickedness of apartheid met with world wide sympathy since it was easy to persuade people that colour discrimination was just that. But when the armed struggle was raised as a legitimate means of liberation some reservations were found even among close erstwhile friends. Obviously people whose life experience has not required them to choose violent means to express their political options are bound to find some difficulty in accepting the legitimacy of violent struggle elsewhere. Hence the hesitations and equivocations on the part of the British Labour

Party, of some sections of the World Council of Churches and of various US pressure groups concerned with Africa. While many of these people can see injustice in apartheid they cannot appreciate the dynamics of the internal situation which led to the hard option of a militant essentially armed struggle by the Black majority.

What is the correct position for opponents of apartheid? We would suggest that while one cannot expect them to expend their own political assessment of the situation in South Africa, we can and should ask them to give the greatest weight to the policy adopted by the liberation movement itself. A truly moral position in relation to South Africa, is to support the stand taken by the people themselves in their fight for freedom.

The first question that opponents of apartheid should ask is what is the position of the liberation movement and why? Anti-apartheiders who may themselves have reservations on the use of violence ought nevertheless to recognise that the liberation movement has a prior right to determine its struggle policies and that our choices be accepted.

No one it seems, question the validity of the armed struggle in Vietnam. Yet elsewhere, in South Africa, in Zimbabwe and Namibia for instance, a host of moralists want to lay down the struggle methods for the oppressed people. The consequences of their efforts is that the arena of international solidarity becomes confused and the oppressed people's interests suffer.

The Boycott

The African National Congress has called for a boycott of South Africa in every field including culture. We come

to this position in no mood of wilfulness or irresponsibility. We knew what the boycott could lead to in terms of hardship for our people. Yet some playwrights, fortunately only a few, have made a different assessment and in at least one recent case the cultural boycott has been broken. The same is true in the area of political dialogue. We insist on no contacts at the international level with Vorster's government.

Our plea is that those who want to oppose apartheid ought to take their cue from the liberation movement. The choice of policies whether in relation to internal struggle methods or in the international arena, must in the first instance be the prerogative of the oppressed themselves. I am not labouring this point without good reason, nor is the argument directed solely at non-South Africans. There are some South Africans who are also pursuing their own political line in a way that is damaging to our struggle. I refer to two recent books which contain some harmful comment on our struggle.

Focussing on the Wrong Issue

The first is a paper by Jordan Ngubane called 'South Africa's Race Crisis: A Conflict of Minds; and published in *Sociological Perspectives* argues that "colour economic and political injustice" "are largely the visible forms in which the conflict of minds expresses itself" and that "apartheid is the political repression of the morality of survival". So for Ngubane, the conflict is not so much a matter of material interests as a conflict of values. This naturally lead him to the proposition that "Black and white South Africa need to be pushed towards an arrangement which will enable them to cool their tempers and in that way

pave the road to a purposeful and constructive dialogue which could in the end produce agreement across the colour line on final goals." And he ends his paper with the statement "... complicated as the race question is, it remains a human problem. Its complexity suggests that continued efforts to bring the two sides to the conference table hold out some hope of a solution - perhaps the only hope."

Now we do not for a moment want to be understood as being against dialogue **within** South Africa in principle. But we cannot accept that this is the issue of the day nor would dialogue in itself achieve anything at present. A solution will only begin to appear in South Africa when the liberation movement begins to assert its power and the white minority sees clearly the impending collapse of its authority. Then, and only then can dialogue **within** South Africa be of any value to the oppressed masses. And the reason for this is that apartheid is not fundamentally about a conflict of minds at all but about possessions. The white minority can be expected to defend its possessions with brute force and their tempers will remain on edge as long as the threat remains.

While Ngubane's appeal for international pressure for dialogue inside South Africa is better than an appeal for dialogue externally, his paper is nevertheless unhelpful as it is unrealistic. There is surely confusion enough in the world outside without the added contribution of this South African who ought to be stimulating opposition to the South African government rather than assisting Vorsters credibility by suggesting that he is reasonable enough to entertain the thought of a meaningful dialogue. Mr. Ngubane's proposal can only divert support from the demands of the liberation movement by appearing to offer an alternative (more moral?) way out. In the light of his explanation of apartheid as a conflict of minds could it not be said that those who adopt a hostile posture, as an armed liberation struggle obviously demands, are exaggerating the conflict and not easing it. The next step to condemning the armed struggle is not far way.

Call for us Mediation

Leo Kuper adopts an even more dubious position in his paper "Some Aspects of Violence and non-violent Political Changes in Plural Societies" published in *Pluralism in Africa*.

Kuper, who has written a great deal on non-violent action in South Africa puts forward the dangerous idea that because the liberation struggle will need outside support "the choice between violence and non-violence will be largely determined by their international relations" urging that a violent struggle in South Africa would lead

A daily scene in Vietnam - a little boy crying over his mother's coffin





These are the horrors that the heroic people of Vietnam are confronted with. Not even children are spared.

to tremendous losses, he proposes that the United States could mediate to provide a basis for relatively peaceful democratic change.

The mind boggles at the proposal of a US intervention in South Africa in the name of easing human suffering. Black Americans could bring forward some interesting views on US democracy. And experience of US intervention in Vietnam is yet another story.

But how is Kuper able to even suggest that the US should mediate in South Africa? The reason is that he focuses not on the very real conflict for political power between Black and white but on the "conflict of values" This is his version of the "conflict of minds" we met with in Ngubane. As long as it is merely a conflict of "values" or "minds" that is taking place, external mediation is possible and even desirable. Mr. Kuper says "as I see the position in South Africa, industrialization gives rise to tension between the political and economic system, and this tension is resolved by an increasingly rigid emphasis on racial differentiation" So for Mr. Kuper it is the emphasis which is significant, and not the increasing racial differentiation.

And this at a time when everyone is increasingly aware that living standards of Black and white are moving apart at a greater rate all the time. It is the real differences between Black and white that are significant, not the emphasis given to it by racialists nor the values used to give them expression.

There is much more on these lines to show that Black and white are really wholly interdependent in South Africa and that the polarization is merely artificial. Kuper suggests that those who talk of polarization are doing so in the interests of ideology. And it is not only the ruling group that does so, it is also the work of the liberation movement which uses violence as a means to polarize society thereby "awakening an apathetic populace" and fostering political action". On this count violence is an instrument not for liberation, for defeating the authority who is actually oppressing the people, but a technique used by those who want to increase conflict, spread disaffection all in the interests of revolutionary ideology.

Hence, the intervention of the US becomes reasonable and even desirable.

Perhaps the two instances quoted will suffice to bring home the point of this article that it is not enough to depend upon the large fount of moral goodwill in the world for relief and support for our struggle. Anti-apartheid feeling is vast and universal, but if it is not based on a genuine understanding and respect for the struggle line of the liberation movement, this support is insufficient and may, in certain circumstances even lead us into difficulty. What has to be emphasized is that in South Africa there is a very real conflict between Black and white not merely in the realm of attitudes but for political and economic power and this conflict can only be resolved by struggle, at this stage, by violent struggle. This is the issue and this is what we want support for. The form this support takes will alter with circumstances. It may be a tightening of the economic boycott, it may be in the field of sport, it may require demonstrations of some kind or another, but the forms must be clear. It must be against white power in Southern Africa. Solidarity means, not mediation, nor imposing conditions. It means action in support of the concrete struggle of the liberation movement.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

Spotlight on Apartheid

UNITY MOVEMENT: 13 SENTENCED

Thirteen people convicted under the "Terrorism" Act were given sentences ranging from five to eight years' imprisonment by the Judge-President of Natal, last month.

The sentences were the climax to the longest trial of its kind in South Africa. It started eight months ago — on August 16th last year.

Before passing sentence, the judge-president said he wished to make some general remarks largely applicable to all the accused. "There can be no doubt that in the year 1970 the Apdusa movement in South Africa was at a low ebb and that it was being kept alive by a few dedicated people who believed strongly in its principles and were beginning to hope to revive the movement in the foreseeable future", he said.

Mr. Justice James said the movement did not provide an immediate or serious threat to the security of the State until a small coterie of people, who had fled the country and settled in Zambia, took a decision to recruit people from South Africa for military training abroad.

He said that for some years this group was making the proposal to bring about political change in South Africa and they openly advocated the use of force to bring about these changes.

Recruiting

Before they embarked on this recruiting campaign they did not appear to have had any consultation with the leaders of the movement in South Africa and they were aware that the organisation in the country had almost ceased to function. The judge said he had no doubt that they embarked on a recruiting campaign recklessly for the purpose of personal gain and they knew that if they recruited persons, the doors of organisations hostile to South Africa would be open to them for substantial amounts of money. He said that if any of those who originated this scheme were before the court, there was no doubt that their sentences would be extremely severe. Those in the dock, he said, played a far smaller part in the conspiracy than the instigators, and in many cases had grave intellectual reservations about its objects.

The judge said many Apdusans assisted the agents who infiltrated the country because of old ties of loyalty forged in the past and not because they agreed with the campaign. When the agents arrived unannounced in South Africa, those in the country could not refuse help to old Apdusans who came at grave risk to themselves.

In passing sentence, the judge said he bore in mind that all the accused were held in custody, including solitary confinement, for well over a year, and in some cases for 16 months.

Sentencing Mr. Kader Hassim to eight years' imprisonment on the first count, eight years' imprisonment on the second count and five years' imprisonment on the fourth count — the sentences are to run concurrently — Mr. Justice James said that he took into account what defence counsel said about Mr. Hassim's character and his attitude to violence. The judge said he accepted that Mr. Hassim opposed violence and broke with his own brother on this score, but it was tragic that he did not do so this time.

Mr. Joseph Bransby Vusani, a Johannesburg attorney, whom, the judge said, he accepted was a man of standing in his community, was given a similar sentence as Mr. Hassim's. Sentencing Mr. Mogami Josiah Moeng to eight years' imprisonment on the first count, eight years on the second count and five years on the third count — counts two and three to run concurrently — the judge said he took into account that Mr. Moeng suffered a great deal through a suicide attempt during the trial.

Addressing the four Pondo accused — Mr. Mfolwane Mbele, Mr. Pindiso Zimbambane, Mr. Dan Gideon Mahanjane and Mr. Ngcikwa Vimba — the judge said their case differed radically from the case of the others.

"The evidence suggests you accepted with alacrity that people should leave the country for military training and you assisted the agents in many respects to this end", he said.

Fertile

The Pondo accused proved "fertile soil for seeds of armed resistance planted by the agents," said the judge.

He sentenced Mr. Mbele and Mr. Zimbambane to eight years' imprisonment on count one, eight years' imprisonment on count two and five years' imprisonment on count three. The sentences are to run concurrently with the sentence on count one.

Mr. Mahanjane and Mr. Vimba were sentenced to seven years' imprisonment on count one, seven years' imprisonment on count two and five years' imprisonment on count three. The terms on counts two and three are to run concurrently with the sentence on count one.

The judge told Mr. Max Bantwini Tabata that he accepted that Mr. Tabata was not a politically motivated person. He was, however, the brother of Mr. I. B. Tabata, brother-in-law of Mr. Wycliffe Tsotsi and a former colleague of Mr. Leonard Nikane, one of the agents.

He said Mr. Tabata was caught up in a situation which he could not control. He sentenced him to five years in jail on count one and five years on count two. The second term runs concurrently with the first.

Sentencing Mr. Frank Anthony to six years' imprisonment on the first count and six years on the second count — the second six years runs concurrently with the first — the judge said Mr. Anthony gave greater assistance to the agent called Jama in Cape Town and also raised funds. Pronouncing a similar sentence on Mr. Robert Cedrich Wilcox, the judge said he took into account in Mr. Wilcox's favour that his was the strongest voice against Mr. Jama's proposals for people to leave the country, but he nevertheless assisted in raising money.

The judge told Mr. Alfred Kwezi Tshangane and Montford Mzoli Mabusu that their assistance to Mr. Jama was small, and it was a kind of assistance that was very difficult to refuse. He sentenced them to five years in prison on the first count and five years on the second count, the second sentence to run concurrently with the first. He accepted in favour of Mr. Surinarayan Kala Venketrathnam that he did not agree to the military training scheme of the agents. But, said the judge, Mr. Venketrathnam raised money and was responsible for Mr. Anthony's and Mr. Wilcox's assisting to raise money in the Cape. He sentenced him to six years imprisonment.

THEY DID NOT DIE IN VAIN

The people who died at Sharpeville twelve years ago did not die in vain, Natal Indian Congress president, Chanderdeo Sewpersadh told hundreds who met in Durban despite the rain to remember Sharpeville Day – the day the police shot and killed over 60 people.

At this first public political meeting held in South Africa to commemorate this occasion, Mr. Sewpersadh shared the platform with Drake Morake, convenor of the Black Peoples Political Movement, Saths Cooper another N.I.C. leader and the Rev. Ben Ngidi.

"The tragedy will always leave its imprint on the minds of democratic South Africans," he said. "It was an event which brought into focus the suffering inflicted on the Black people of this country since the advent of White racism. Those who sacrificed their lives did so for the freedom and liberation and justice for the people," he said. Mr. Morake, in a fiery speech told White

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FRONT



Pickets outside South Africa House demand release of political prisoners in SA

liberals doing charity work amongst Blacks that they should stop and concentrate their energies on converting Whites who practised racialism. He called on the Black races in South Africa to come together and urged them to accept Black Consciousness. He said the first step towards liberation was Black solidarity and said: "Unity is strength."

DEMOS IN BRITAIN

Over 80,000 signatures to the Anti-Apartheid Movement petition "totally opposing" any settlement with the Smith regime were presented at No. 10 Downing St. on March 21, the twelfth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre. The signatures



One of the five demonstrators who were ejected from the Barclays meeting

Demo at ICI Head-quarters



Australian demos above and below

Presenting 80 000 signatures to Downing Street

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FRONT

were delivered by a group which included Mary Benson, Reg Austin, Rev. John Wheeler, Commissary for Bishop Colin Winter of Damaraland, Rev. Richard Moberley and MPs Philip Whitehead, Brynmar John, Alex Lyon, Joan Lester, Neil Carmichael, Frank McElhone, and Dr. Maurice Miller. Demonstrators also picketed outside South Africa House, Rhodesia House, ICI's Head Office, Millbank and Rio Tinto-Zinc's head-quarters, St. James's Square. At South Africa House they held a 15-foot banner listing 20 people who died after being interrogated by the South African Security Police. Other placards said "Avenge Timol: Fight Apartheid", "No Dialogue with Police State South Africa" and "Release all Political Prisoners". Outside Rhodesia House demonstrators stood with a banner demanding "This House Must Remain Closed Until Occupied by the True Representatives of Zimbabwe." Pickets at the ICI





One of the five demonstrators who were ejected from the Barclays meeting

Demo at ICI Head-quarters



Australian demos above and below

Presenting 80 000 signatures to Downing Street

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY FRONT

were delivered by a group which included Mary Benson, Reg Austin, Rev. John Wheeler, Commissary for Bishop Colin Winter of Damaraland, Rev. Richard Moberley and MPs Philip Whitehead, Brynmar John, Alex Lyon, Joan Lester, Neil Carmichael, Frank McElhone, and Dr. Maurice Miller. Demonstrators also picketed outside South Africa House, Rhodesia House, ICI's Head Office, Millbank and Rio Tinto-Zinc's head-quarters, St. James's Square. At South Africa House they held a 15-foot banner listing 20 people who died after being interrogated by the South African Security Police. Other placards said "Avenge Timol: Fight Apartheid", "No Dialogue with Police State South Africa" and "Release all Political Prisoners". Outside Rhodesia House demonstrators stood with a banner demanding "This House Must Remain Closed Until Occupied by the True Representatives of Zimbabwe." Pickets at the ICI



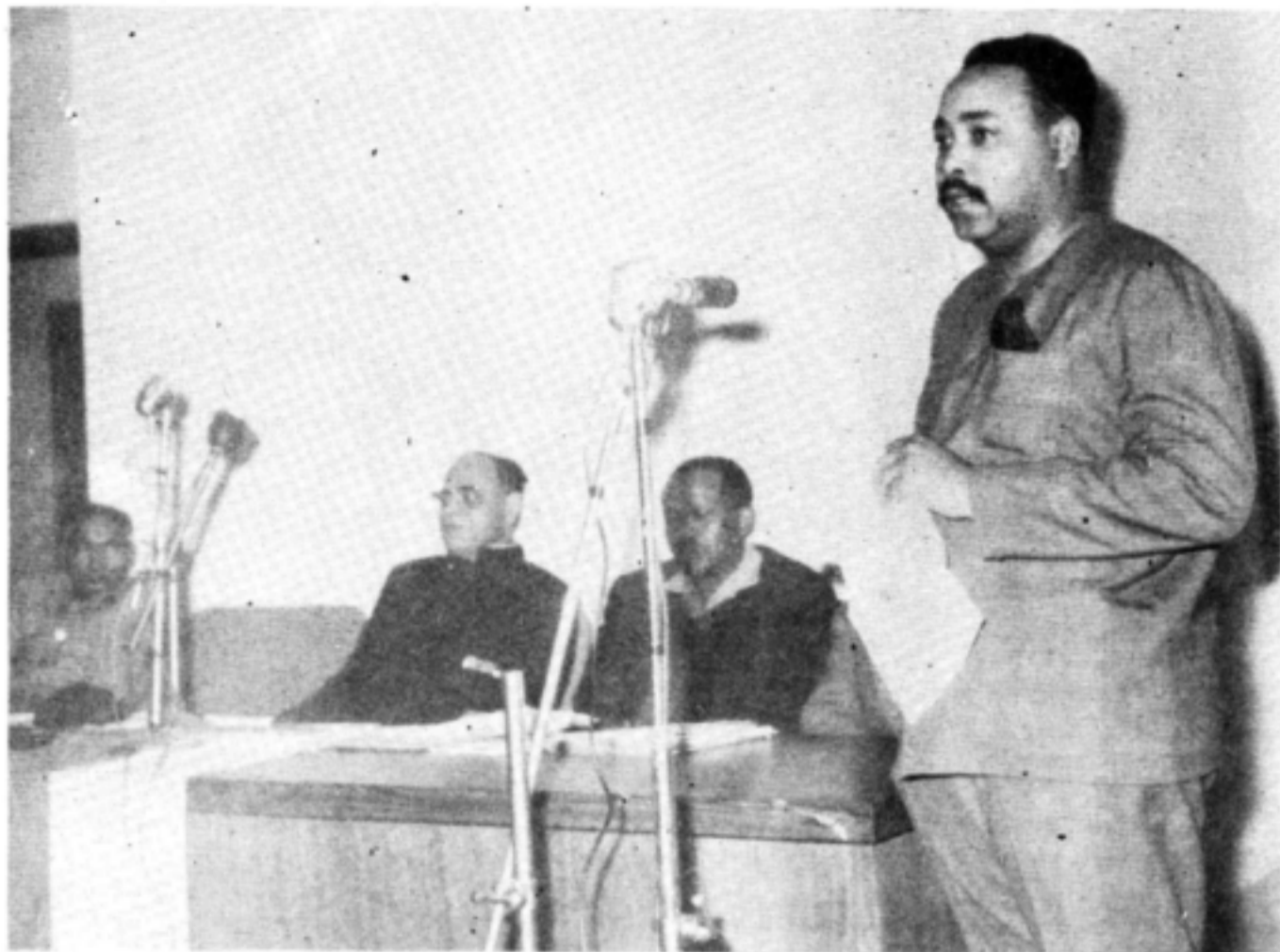
building condemned ICI's support for Portuguese colonialism and its involvement in the Cabora Bassa scheme. At Rio-Tinto-Zinc they held placards saying "One Million Unemployed: RTZ Invest in Britain Not In South Africa" and "RTZ Profits From Illegal Occupation of Namibia". The demonstrators were drawing attention to the increasing cooperation between the white minority regimes in Southern Africa and to the support they received from big British Corporations. Taking part in the same campaign, five anti-apartheid supporters were ejected from Barclays Bank's Annual General Meeting on April 12. The meeting was dominated by protests against the bank's involvement in Southern Africa and ended in uproar. After much questioning by shareholders during which demonstrators tried to unfurl a banner saying: "**Barclays Support Apartheid**", and were ejected, Barclays International Chairman, W.A. Tude said that Blacks in South Africa wanted the bank to continue to operate there. A shareholder promptly stood up and read the late Chief Lutuli's appeal for a boycott of South Africa.

The Chairman then put the motion that the Bank's Report and Accounts be adopted amid uproar and another shareholder was ejected.

Two more shareholders were ejected as they insisted on their right to speak on other resolutions put before the meeting. The demonstrators are considering taking legal action against Barclays for throwing them out of the meeting.

AUSTRALIA

In Australia, the occasion was marked by two demonstrations organised by the South Australian Campaign Against Racism; one in front of the memorial to Boer Volunteers and the other on the steps of Parliament House.



His Excellency A. Hassan, High Commissioner for Tanzania in India and (below) His Excellency Surenderpal Singh addressing the Delhi meeting



INDIA

In New Delhi a meeting was held at which support was expressed for the struggle of the African National Congress to liberate the oppressed

masses in South Africa from its fascist-racist rulers. Among the speakers, were, His Excellency, Surenderpal Singh, Deputy Minister of External Affairs and His Excellency A. Hassan, High Commissioner for Tanzania in India, who spoke on behalf of the Diplomatic Corp.

International Seminar Against Imperialism



The six-day international seminar (March 24-29) on "Imperialism, Independence and Social Transformation in the Contemporary World" held in New Delhi under the auspices of an Indian sponsoring committee in cooperation with the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation has been an outstanding event of worldwide significance.

Among the participants were representatives of freedom fighters from Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia, South Africa and South Vietnam; from among those who are actively engaged in struggle against US imperialism like in the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Laos; from Latin American countries which are trying to unchain themselves from the economic and other forms of US domination.

There were others from developed capitalist countries, newly independent countries and socialist countries - who find a common cause in the worldwide struggle against imperialism, and for the emancipation of mankind to peace, freedom and equality. They were joined by about 50 representatives from India.

True, not all the participants held the same view and not all of them thought in the same way. But what was common between them was the sense of commitment to fight imperialism and all its manifestations, and to bring about social changes.

72 Papers

The papers presented at the seminar (a total of 72 papers) and the high level and thorough discussions held there are indicative of the richness and purposefulness of this seminar. The seminar was opened by Minister of Education Nurul Hasan, and Prime Minister Indira Gandhi sent a message: Her message conveying good

wishes to the seminar and expressing hope that the deliberations "will add to our understanding of the contemporary world and its problems". Specifically referred to Indian experience, she said: "We in India are realising how deep go the roots of colonialism and how many are the disguises of imperialism. Our struggle to rebuild our society is hampered by many of the institutions and intellectual patterns which they have left behind and also by other moves to divert attention from our goals, to discourage us and to sap our will to achieve selfreliance. **We have not forgotten our experiences of colonial rule, but the newer methods of exerting influence are indirect and more subtle. We must be on our guard against all such designs, particularly in the economic realm**".

Four Themes

The seminar discussed the subjects under four themes: imperialism in the modern phase, how imperialism functions, content of independence and social situation in the developing countries, and strategy for social transformation and consolidation of independence.

Under the first theme, an attempt was made to periodise the stages of imperialism, from the entry of European commerce onto the world stage to the rise of multinational corporations. The last mentioned point was discussed in great detail and its implications both for developed and developing countries were underscored. It was stressed that many of these multinational corporations were providing direct props to reactionary regimes in concert with imperialism. **(ITT's financing of a proposed coup in Chile to block President Allende's coming to power was a case in point).**

It was further underlined that the capital, technology and decision-making

power of these multinational giants are concentrated in and identified with the metropolitan nation states of origin.

Another aspect dealt with was the crisis and dissent in imperialist countries. Here were discussed the modified forms of monopoly depredations, exploitation of underdeveloped countries and a stagnation of economic growth in the countries of origin of these monopolies. The contradiction within the country as such, besides the interimperialist contradictions, was also taken note of.

In this context, the contribution of the socialist world in the intensification of the contradictions within the imperialist world has been considerable. It is the socialist world who, again, by its economic and military aid and favourable terms of trade has helped developing countries to partly withstand neocolonialist terms put forward as conditions for "aid and trade" by the imperialist world.

Black Freedom in the USA

The contradictions in the imperialist world have led to what is known as dissent of the youth, workers and middle classes. The racial discrimination by the ruling classes against the Black people, in the USA in particular, is a concomitant to this development. The motor for social change in the USA is, therefore, the freedom movement of the Negro people who have taken to mass direct action, and this is now sought to be thwarted by the ruling classes through terror and brutal repression.

Under the second theme, the discussion centred around three main points: liberation movements and the nature of their struggle against imperialism, some characteristics of present developments in imperialist countries and main features of interrelationship

between the metropolitan countries and the newly independent countries, and the role which science and technology is playing or could play. Here was pinpointed the fact that imperialism, in order to continue its suppression, was adopting new forms, both nationally and internationally. Trade has continued to grow fast, but in the main it has been an exchange of manufactures between developed countries supported by movements of capital at the expense of underdeveloped countries. Developing countries are being used as sources of raw materials.

One of the measures suggested to confront the imperialist countries was the increase in trade and cooperation among the developing countries. But this should not lead to the creation of another closed group, it was pointed out. It was further underlined that cooperation between the developing and socialist countries would be meaningful in developing the economies of the developing countries.

Appeal for Aid for Freedom Fighters

Under the third theme, discussions covered the actual experiences of revolutionary struggles. Representatives from national liberation movements provided a glimpse of forms of such struggles. The highest form of these struggles was a people's war, it was underlined. The armed struggle developed on the basis of the political struggle and must always be associated with it.

In this context, the reports from Vietnamese representatives provided a sharp contrast with that of represen-

tatives of what is called the New Left. While the latter considered armed struggle by a dedicated band of revolutionaries against imperialism as the mainspring, the Vietnamese underscored the necessity of building the broadest possible united front of all anti-imperialist elements to successfully discharge the task of social transformation.

It was felt that information about various armed struggles, especially those going on in Africa, was inadequate, and progressive forces in imperialist countries were urged to undertake further vigorous actions to counter the participation of their governments in support of the colonial powers. An appeal was also made for increased all-round material and moral support to the freedom fighters.

Under the fourth theme, one of the points on which there was complete unanimity was the view that basic social transformation can be brought about in the developing countries, not through the free play of market mechanism, but through socially motivated planned economic development. Self-reliant economy has to be one of the vehicles of social transformations. There was also discussion on the "non-capitalist path of development" but no unanimity was arrived at on this score. Basic agrarian reforms, however, were felt as urgently necessary to increase agricultural production.

Legacy of Colonialism

It was felt that the methods used in organising institutions of science and technology and programmes developed therein are inappropriate to the needs of developing countries. It was

also pointed out that the educational systems in these countries have, by and large, not fundamentally broken from the colonial heritage and continue to be close replicas of the systems in the advanced countries of the West, with little relevance to the national environment.

It was agreed that the problems of evolving suitable forms of democratic united fronts and of developing national unity, and of mobilising the masses on the basis of a mass line are of crucial significance in bringing about appropriate changes in the state structure of developing countries.

It was stressed that non-alignment should be distinguished from passive neutralism and of equidistance from socialist and imperialist camps. Non-alignment is now moving positively in the direction of strengthening the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the developing countries and the socialist camp for the furtherance of anti-imperialist tasks. In this context, it was suggested that the non-recognition of the GDR by some of the developing countries was an infringement of non-alignment. There was unanimity on strongly condemning the Nixon policy of sabotaging the Paris talks and of intensifying war on the Indochinese soil, and the participants sent warm greetings to the anti-imperialist fighters in Viet Nam, Laos, Cambodia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Bangla Desh, Chile and the Arab countries **"who are in the front-line of the struggle against imperialism and are undergoing great sacrifices to fight the common enemy of the people of the world."**

Mrs. Indira Gandhi addressing some of the delegates who participated in the Seminar on the lawn of her residence

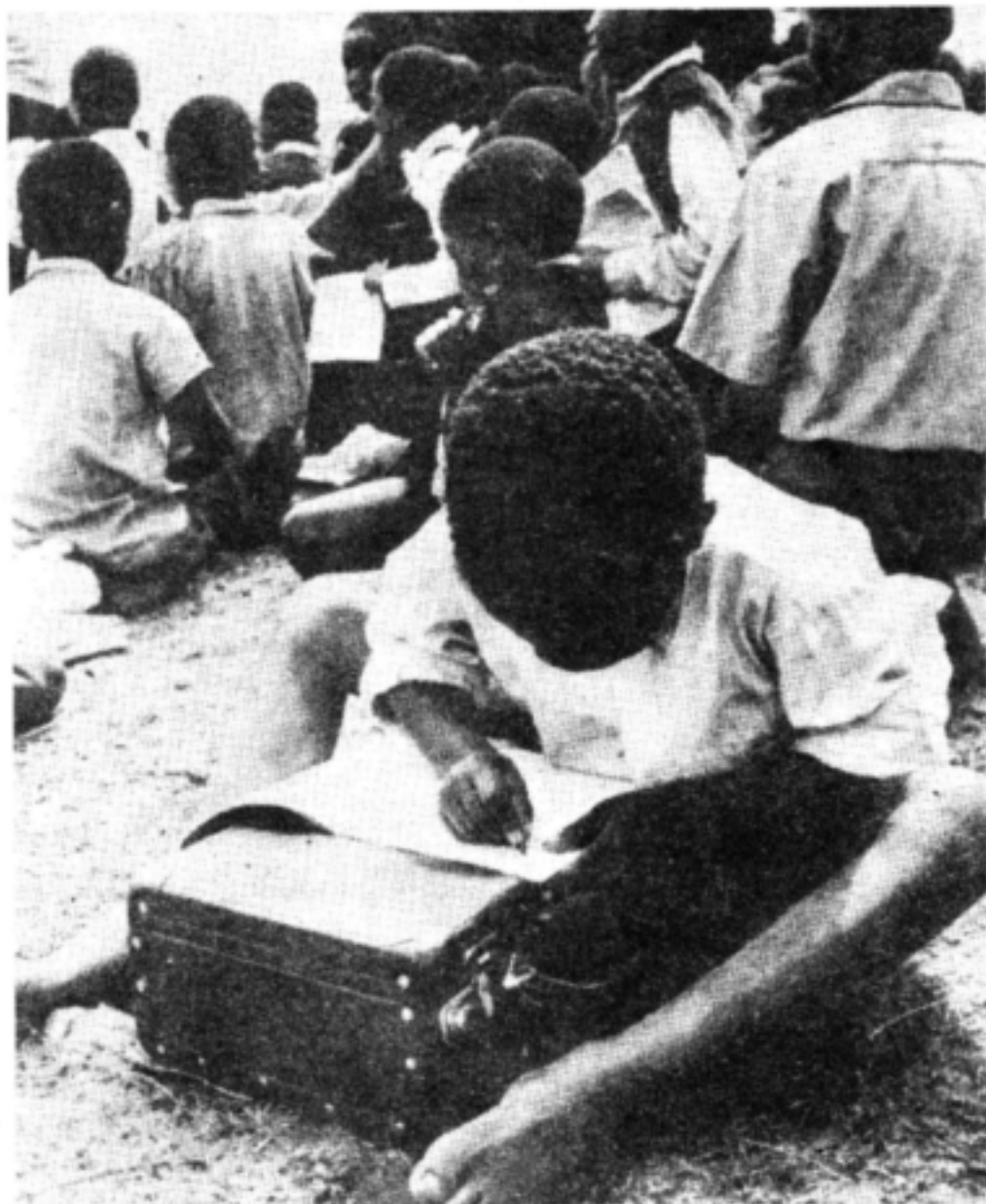


INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:

Spotlight on Apartheid

They Lack Everything, but... THIRST FOR KNOWLEDGE

A little slower than his classmates the young pupil on the right labours on with an arithmetic problem at a primary school where overcrowding is so bad that classes are held out of doors. There are 90 children in the class below, sitting sardine-style on a few rows of rickety benches



In spite of the appalling problems of overcrowding and lack of facilities in most African schools, Black youngsters in Soweto and other urban areas on the Witwatersrand display an unquenchable thirst for knowledge.

To acquire any sort of education at all, they have to put up with condi-

tions which no South African White would tolerate — grossly overcrowded classes, double sessions, too few desks and a chronic lack of qualified teachers. As African pupils progress through school, their problems become even more overwhelming. Few can afford to buy more than the bare minimum of books required and with the soaring costs of stationery, pupils

often have to use one exercise book for all subjects.

Text books — which White pupils receive free — have more than doubled in price in the last three years. African children — if they want to go to high school — must either find the money to pay for books and fees or resign themselves to life as barely literate drop-outs.

BLACK LABOUR PARTY HITS OUT

A call for the immediate release of all political prisoners and those held under house arrest was made at the conference of the Labour Party of South Africa in East London. The meeting felt these people had not committed any offence but that they spoke up for the rights of the underprivileged. The conference endorsed and supported a campaign among all South Africans to boycott the Dame Margot Fontein ballet performances, which were being presented on a separate basis, and the Eartha Kitt shows. Sports organisations also came under fire. It was resolved that the all-white National Football League matches should be boycotted.

Support

The conference decided to give practical support to its resolutions by establishing boycott committees in all the centres and to organise people behind the campaign and others that may arise.

It called on people to stay away from Rugby matches organised on a racial basis against the forthcoming English side next month.

The South Western District and the Somerset West Rugby unions were complimented for the stand they took to break away from the South African Rugby Federation, led by Mr. C. Loriston, whose Coloured team toured Britain recently. Discriminatory practices which the congress claimed were being practised on the grounds of color by business institutions such as petrol companies were condemned.

Coloured Ghetto



Debate

The conference resolved that since these institutions were overwhelmingly patronised by the oppressed people of South Africa, support to these institutions should be withdrawn.

A motion by the Transvaal Branch of the Party that the Labour Party withdraw as soon as possible from the Coloured Persons' Representative Council and institute an intensive political organisation outside the Council, create financial strength and intensify the scale of nonviolent confrontation, was defeated after a long debate.

The national chairman of the party, Rev. H. J. Hendrickse, of Uitenhage, said he hoped a day would come when the leaders of all churches would take an active part in the fight for the liberation of the people.

He was leaving the country for a visit to Britain, the United States, the Continent and Nigeria on a mission, he said. There he would speak for his people.

Amid roars of applause, Mr. L. S. Leon was returned unopposed as leader of the party. He was given a standing ovation. He said his party was nonracial.

SOUTH AFRICA AND JAPAN

First, the good news.

Japan has backed out of its tentative commitment to the hugely expensive multi-million rand scheme to develop the Saldanha Bay harbour, link it by rail with the iron ore mine at Sishen in the northern Cape, and thus to promote the export of another of South Africa's valuable minerals for the profit of a small group of financiers and the greater glory of the apartheid state.

Now, the bad news.

Japan's withdrawal is not in the least bit motivated by the desire to avoid unprincipled dealings with racists and fascists. It's the result of the recent set-back to the Japanese economy following the Nixon Administration's desperate measures last year to shore up the dollar and keep down imports from traditional trading partners like Japan. Japan's withdrawal is in any case only temporary, they are still professing "interest", and on the basis of that interest Vorster's government has announced that it is going ahead with the plan anyway.

THE TRANSKEI OPPOSITION

The legal opposition party in the Transkei, the Democratic Party, has erupted into conflict between its leaders. Mr. Knowledge Gusana the leader and Chief Sabata Dalindyebo, the deputy leader, are at logger-heads. Full details have not yet come to light, but some reports indicate that there is some dissatisfaction in the ranks with the amount of time Gusana has been devoting to the affairs of the party. Pending a full-scale party congress, one group now regards Chief Sabata as the interim leader of the party.

In a meeting in Soweto, Chief Sabata denounced Matanzima for supporting a wrong policy - "a policy which is

intended to perpetuate white oppression of his people by white South Africans." Chief Sabata warned urban Africans against the dangers of ethnic divisions. "You are one nation, irrespective of your tribal affiliations . . . Why should you allow yourselves to be split?" Attacking influx control and the migrant labour system, he said: "Matanzima is encouraging it but Transkeians do not want it." Attacking Government propaganda he added: "It is a lie that we want urban Transkeians to return to their homeland - we have no work or accommodation for them."

THE FARCE OF MULTI-NATIONAL SPORT

Faced with almost complete isolation from international sport, and subject to constant pressure from democratic forces within South Africa for the abolition of apartheid sport, the Government and the racist sports administrators aided by a handful of unrepresentative black puppets, are cooking up the farce of the year - 'Multi-national sports tournaments'. The technique is to invite a few competitors from overseas - mostly individuals or teams from countries with a bad record of collaboration with apartheid, like Britain, West Germany, Australia and the U.S. Then teams of white, black and brown competitors are selected (separately, of course) to represent the various so-called nations of South Africa, and an 'Open' event is staged which can be represented to the gullible outside world as progress towards inter-racial sport and to the racist fanatics of the Nationalist Party as a further development in sport of the grand design of apartheid. Athletics, tennis, football and one or two other sports are the principle victims of this Machivellian deception so far.

How fraudulent this development is, and how little genuine desire for change there is amongst white sports administrators and politicians, can be seen from a recent cricket match in the Transvaal. For the first time Indian and white league cricketers played a game together. That, you might think, is good news. But under apartheid, there is always the bad news to take into account too. The match had to be staged as a private one, and it was held on the grounds of the Catholic Marist Brothers College at Inanda after 60 white clubs and schools (including the Anglican St. John's College in Johannesburg) had turned down requests for the use of a pitch. The match was between a wholly white and a wholly non-white team, but even so it encountered strong Government disapproval, and if the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 and the Group Areas Proclamation R26 of 1965 had empowered the police to take action against the organisers of such a 'private' event they would undoubtedly have done so. Ominously, Blaar Coetzee (Minister of Community Development) said: "I am going into the matter to see what can be done in the future."

ANOTHER CLERIC BANNED

Dr. Basil Moore, former Methodist Minister and acting General Secretary of the University Christian Movement (UCM), has been banned. In the past 5 years, 80 clergyman have been banned, detained, deported or deprived of



Hospital conditions for black are shocking

their passports, fifty of these within the past year. This ban follows closely after the deportation of Bishop Winter and 3 other Anglicans from Namibia, and the institution of a Parliamentary investigation into the UCM, NUSAS, the Christian Institute and Institute of Race Relations.

COLOURED REMOVALS RESISTED

In Johannesburg's Newclare Township lives a small pocket of Coloured people - twelve families. In February they were ordered to leave, and early in March the Department of Community Development sent officials and police to enforce the order. They left, but they had nowhere to go, so they returned to their houses and shacks. One of them, a Mr. T. Allie, father of two children said: "I am prepared to go to jail for staying in this house if we do not get suitable alternative accommodation." This defiance was fully supported by spokesmen of the Coloured Labour Party, one of whom Mr. Les du Preez said he took full responsibility for the return of the families. "I did it for humanitarian reasons, and I will say that to the police or anyone else."

WHERE MARRIED LIFE IS A CRIME

Mr. Jacob Mooki, aged 60, was fined R4 (on admission of guilt) for staying overnight with his wife Violet in an African location (ie ghetto) near Bloemfontein. He admitted that he did not have the necessary permit to stay with his wife. They were woken at 4 in the morning by a police raid and detained at the police station until midday.

And now for some good news to end with:

Mr. Mooki has generously been granted a 4-day permit to stay with his wife.

DISCRIMINATION - EVEN IN DEATH

Mineworkers Part 2

An accident is not a fortuitous unavoidable event. It is, broadly the result of defective adaptation to or control of environment, and could have been averted by the adoption of adequate care or technical and material safeguards.

The annual death toll from accidents on the South African mines fluctuates around 800. The figure for 1960 was close to 1,400 because of the Coalbrook disaster on January 21. In Britain the number of deaths from mining accidents seldom exceeds 200 a year. By 1965, over 36,000 men had been killed in accidents on the gold mines since the beginning of the century. Many more have lost limbs or eyes, or have been otherwise disabled. This is an enormous death rate from accidents. Its significance must be explained against the background of the mining industry, its importance in the South African economy and its profitability.

The South African society was transformed from an underdeveloped agrarian state to a highly mechanised industrialised society on the basis of its gold and diamond mines and the availability and employment of large masses of low paid African peasant-workers in South Africa and from the neighbouring countries of Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Botswana, Swaziland and Namibia.

The South African mine-owners, shareholders, industrialists, merchants, farmers, all of them owe much of their wealth to the gross exploitation of the huge army of 700,000 African peasant-workers, who, separated from their homes and families, are sacrificing health and life in the bowels of the earth. The miners are being subsidised by peasant families throughout the Sub-continent who produce from 45 to 60 per cent of their household income and depend for the rest on money earned by the working miner.

Statistics issued by the Mines Department at the end of March 1970 showed that the total value of all mine-

erals produced in South Africa in 1970 amounted to Kl, 487 million compared with Kl, 365 million, in 1968 an increase of nearly nine per cent.

Mine products, ranging from gold and diamonds right down to quarry products, constitute South Africa's chief source of foreign exchange earnings - roughly some Kl, 500 million. The system of racial discrimination has brought about a specific and peculiar feature to mining accidents. The Mine Workers' Union, open to white workers only, has fought for and won a certain measure of accident precaution in the mines. Africans have benefited from this, but the facts show that there is a higher frequency of accidents among African miners than among white miners.

TABLE (frequency of accidents, White/Africans per year)

	Underground (Per 1000 workers)	Surface	Total
1. Africans	2.01	0.70	1.61
2. Whites	1.58	0.27	0.78

Source: ILO report for the Tripartite Technical Meeting for Mines other than coal mines. (Report 11.1957, p. 89) What is the reason for this higher frequency of accidents among African workers? This is due to the colour-bar system in South Africa.

Racial discrimination:

- * Denies African miners trade union rights.
- * Keeps their wages at poverty level.
- * Prevents them from learning skilled jobs
- * Reduces them to the position of migrant workers, without security, or opportunities for a stable training.

In gold and coal mines, the white miner is essentially a supervisor and instructor. Africans, who do the work, are not properly trained to understand the purpose of rules and procedures. The International Labour Organisation, in "Accident Prevention - a Wor-

kers' Educational Manual, Geneva 1961" points out that:

"The workers (environment constitutes an important psychological factor in safety . . . when relations between employers and worker are bad when workers are dissatisfied with wages, working hours, or other labour conditions, the number of accidents tend to increase, while in periods when industrial relations are good, the opposite seems to be the case) page 96.

Mining is carried out at great pressure on the Witwatersrand and Orange Free State goldfields. 'Forcing the output' or 'increasing the monthly production' have been given as reasons for high death rates in gold and coal mines.

The pressure comes from the top. Directors and managers believe that the cost of sinking a shaft decreases as the speed increases. Moreover, they want the mine to be brought quickly to the producing stage, when dividends can be declared, interests on capital saved, and capital gains realised on the stock exchange.

Shift bosses and white miners in turn, being put on bonus or contract rates based output, stand to earn more by making the African work harder. Two-thirds of the Africans on the mines on the Rand, however, are not paid by results and gain nothing from the drive for greater output.

The second ILO Tripartite Technical Meeting for Mines other than Coal Mines - Geneva, 1968, developed further to prevent mine accidents:

1. The miner has an important part to play in the safety and health situation in the mines, both as an individual and also through the mine workers' unions.
2. The trade unions increasingly are devoted to improving working conditions and accident prevention.

The South African mining industry is notoriously deficient in these respects. African miners have no trade union and do not participate individually or collectively in making decisions which vitally affect their welfare. The white miners have democratic rights to elect and be elected to Parliament, provincial and municipal councils. They reside where they wish, not in compounds. They have the right to be organised.

During the years 1912-1962 there were 300,000 Africans lost to the mining industry due to pneumoconiosis. The equivalent figure for European workers was 30,000 (Hansard 28/5/1962 Col 6602)

"In December 1971 nine African men died in a cave-in at the West Deep gold mine at Carletonville. Twenty six Africans died and fourteen Africans seriously injured in a mine explosion at Zangwini coal mine near Vryheid Natal. On the 28th December eight Africans died by rock fall in the Elsburg Gold mine near Johannesburg.

On January 29th fifteen Africans died of poisoning by carbon monoxide fumes at the West Driefontein gold mine (the world's richest gold mine) 148 Africans and twenty white miners were taken to hospital for treatment. They were given a mass burial at Khutsong township".

The African miners are robbed of their money when they get sick from miners' phthisis. They get much less than the white miner.

The African miners when they get miners' phthisis are sacked at once. They go back to their homes with little money and die. Under the Pheumonoiosis Act of 1956 the sick miner certificated as having TB or miners' phthisis is only to receive one amount of K480,00 That is not how the white miner is treated. His sickness is graded into four stages, according to how sick he is. In the first stage he gets K960.00 cash (twice as much as the African), he receives treatment and continues working for his ordinary wage.

In the second stage he also goes on working but gets a Pension of K24.00 per month for himself, K6,00 for his wife and K3.00 for each child.

In the third stage, he may not work underground, usually he gets an easy job on the mines, and in addition to his wage is paid K36.00 per month for himself, K12 for his wife and K6.00 for each child.

In the fourth stage, the pension for a white miner with a wife and child is K72.00 a month. He is paid this amount even though he sits at home and does nothing (twice the amount

that an African miner is paid for one month's hard labour). A white miner's pension is paid to him as long as he lives, when he dies his wife and children get his pension until she dies and the children reach the age of 18 years. The African miners get nothing for their wives and children. Once they have drawn the K480.00 they are entitled to nothing else. Nor can they claim this whole K480.00 to use as they like. The money is given to the Bantu Administration Department (BAD) and paid to the African whatever way it likes. If the African miner dies, wives and children cannot claim it of right. They can only get it if the Bantu Administration Department say they are dependents. In terms of the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Fund obtains its monies by placing a levy on all employers per worker, according to the accident incidence in that industry. The money assessed and collected are from all and is intended for all races.

The Fund has two hospitals with excellent facilities in Johannesburg and Durban for Workmen's Compensation cases. These hospitals are not fully occupied, because they are for whites only. They would be overflowing with cases if Africans, Coloureds and Indians were permitted. This race discrimination exposes, once again the government's lies when it claims "that black people receive separate but equal treatment".

The Workmen's Compensation Commissioner has to publish regularly the list of names of people who have not

received their compensation. Many thousands of Kwacha "unclaimed compensation" are held by the BAD and Workmen's Compensation Commissioner.

Sixty-five Africans were killed and 27 suffered injuries at the Buffelsfontein Mine, Klerksdorp, in November 1969 accident. In January 1970 20 African miners were killed in the President Steyn Mine, Welkom. In the January 1960 disaster 437 African coal miners were trapped in the Clydesdale Colliery, Coalbrook. All of them died underground.

In 1970 the fatality rate was 1.20 per 1,000 of employed. The hospitalisation rate for underground African workers is in order to 7.7 to 9.6 per hundred (based on statistics of 3 gold mines). The African widow gets a maximum lump sum of K360.00 paid to her at the rate of K6.00 or K8.00 a month, but no pension and the number of children left as orphans does not alter the compensation.

The widow of a white miner draws a pension from K60.00 to K50.00 per month depending on the number of children, if she has more children she will receive more. In addition she receives K150.00 from the Chamber of Mines to cover immediate expenses, her husband's salary for seven months, and a rent free house for seven months and from the White Miner Workers' Union a sum of K300,00. The African widows do not get any of these benefits.

RAY ALEXANDER

Skilled work but unskilled wages



BOOK REVIEWS

Reviewers do not necessarily reflect the views of the African National Congress

Fifty Fighting Years

The Communist Party of South Africa 1921-1971 by A. Lerumo, Inkukuleko Publications, London 1971, 216pp.

One of the most significant events in the national liberation movement of South Africa in 1971 was the commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the Communist Party of South Africa (since 1953 South African Communist Party). The universal significance of this event is that it shows the role played by the international working class movement in spreading Marxist ideas and in the formation of young Communist Parties throughout the tri-continental world. The importance of this fact becomes obvious when one considers that some African nationalists, handicapped by the limitations imposed on them by an inadequate understanding of colonialism and a class approach to it, tend to identify colonialism with "Europe" and thereby underestimate the anti-colonial struggle of the European working class. Fanon is a clear example of this line.

When the white radicals denounced reformism and in 1915 broke away from the Labour Party to form the International Socialist League a new period, which was characterised by an attempt to combine Marxism with African resistance, began in the working class movement of social development of South Africa. Attempting to apply the general laws of social development concretely to South African conditions these new radicals simultaneously worked out what was specifically South African. They showed that the specific feature of the South African working class was not that its members belonged to different races and ethnic groups but that a part of this working-class belonged (and still belongs) to the ruling white race. These early pioneers had their own limitations and weaknesses but in spite of their short-comings, they were on the right path towards the position of the Bolsheviks; they were on their way to Lenin. Jones and Bunting were in this respect the most advanced. Apprecia-

ting the revolutionary activities of the white workers in the early period of this century, Lerumo shows their inherent weaknesses (e. g. white chauvinism) and by so doing departs from the romantic glorification of the revolutionary struggles of the white workers:

"The white workers, British and Afrikaners, have fought for decades and in blood and tears contributed more to the workers' cause than the labour movement of all English-speaking countries together"

(E.S. Sachs, *Garment Workers in Action*, Johannesburg 1957 p. 3)

The Communist Party has fought many a glorious battle in South Africa, producing workers' leaders, attracting revolutionary intellectuals, instilling courage and militancy in the national liberation movement (of which it was and remains an integral part) and the trade union movement. Its creed being proletarian internationalism, the Communist Party fought against white racism, tribalism and exclusive narrow nationalism (be it African, Indian or Coloured). It supported dynamic nationalism of the African National Congress. Though this process was complicated and full of contradictions it was - historically seen - characterised by consistency and crowned with success. The study of the stand of the Communist Party towards African Nationalism also serves to convince even the doubting Thomases. Ronald Segal exposing an inadequate understanding of the character of the South African revolution, told Sediba:

"I personally object to the whole concept inherent in the phrase African Nationalism. I am not a nationalist, and I don't think that people should be nationalists" (Vol 4 No. 3 March 1970 p. 13)

One of the lasting merits of the Communist Party was the clarification of the character of the South African revolution and the call for a united front of all the oppressed which, because of historical circumstances, materialised in the postwar period. This is all documented with great skill by Lerumo in his book dedicated "to the memory of the martyrs and pioneers, to the thousands of fighters for freedom, imprisoned and under other forms of restriction".

Lerumo is a regular contributor to the "African Communist" from its early be-

ginnings and has published many articles on the South African problems and the African revolution in the various journals of the international working-class movement. The book, he says, is not meant to be the "last word" of the Party. That means the book is not to be regarded as "standard work", a form of Bible which precludes any discussion on the problems it poses. Based on a series of articles, which appeared in the Party organ, "The African Communist" in 1971 and written by the tireless Lerumo, with an introductory chapter on the "Conquest and Dispossession", the book is factual and partisan, easily readable and hence attractive - though not without misprints (on p. 100 1966 is written instead of 1956)

When Lerumo writes:

"In 1806, as a consequence of the Napoleonic wars, the Cape Colony was taken over by British imperialism" (p. 7),

we are forced to question his implied identification of colonialism with imperialism. Also debatable seems to us his assertion that:

"Essentially, the South African Freedom Charter stems from the tradition of the proclamations of rights of French and American revolutions and echoed in the U.N. Declaration of Human Rights" (p. 100)

Undoubtedly the bourgeoisie proclamations of the 18th and 19th century were revolutionary, but we should not forget that they had an inherently antidemocratic character since they aimed at the replacement of the exploitative feudal society with an equally exploitative bourgeoisie order. The formulation:

"Its (the Freedom Charter) demands . . . are clearly attributal to the historical realities of a country where the white minority has forcibly appropriated nearly all the country's land and assets, rather than adherence to socialist doctrine on the part of all those who made and support the Charter" (p. 100) needs clarification because "adherence to socialist doctrine" and the fight against land robbery and Apartheid are not mutually exclusive but complementary.

The historic documents appended to the text: e. g. "The Bolsheviks are Coming" (1918); "The Manifesto of the Communist Party of South Africa" (1921); "The South African Question" by ECCI (1928); "The New Africa - Capitalist or Socialist" (1959 misprint as 1969); "The Revolutionary Way Out" (1963); "Freedom Can be Won" (1970); make the book more valuable for both the politician and the research worker, for the trade unionist and the student: S.P. Bunting wrote in 1924 a magnificent obituary about his friend and comrade D.I. Jones, but he makes a mistake when he records that Jones gave the report on "Communism in South Africa" to the Second Congress of the Comintern (p. 124). It was given to the Third in 1921

These critical remarks do not by any means minimise the value of the book. Basing himself on historical materialism and applying the dialectical method of Marx and Lenin and all Marxist-Leninists after them, Lerumo has been able to differentiate between coincidence and necessity. Laying stress on the role of the masses as a history-making and world-changing factor his approach is diametrically opposed to bourgeoisie historiography which tends to confuse issues when it comes to the role of the personality in history by quoting ceaselessly from the speeches of the leading figures of the movement.

What is perhaps more, Lerumo has played his part in filling the gap which has long been existing in our movement and that is the relative scarcity of Marxist theoreticians in our movement. This is not something new. At the first conference of the International Socialist League (January 9th, 1916) the "Press Committee" reported: "South African writers on socialism hardly exist. It is the work of our paper to produce them".

This book we recommend to all the readers of Sechaba.

F. Meli.

Song of Himself

Thoughts Abroad (TROUBADOOR PRESS 1971) by John Bruin is not merely a random collection of poems; rather the book is more like a novel in poem form, a progression that shows the development and maturing of a person, in this case the poet. The poems were written in various cities around the world, written as the poet traveled from place to place while in exile from South Africa; indeed, the site of each poem's composition is all the reader is given in terms of a title, and the name of the city provides a clue to the poem's theme.

The first poems the reader encounters are about the poet's homeland and his homesickness. We are struck by Bruin's relationship with South Africa in the very first poem. Here the image of a beautiful woman is combined with the image of a country until it is difficult to separate the two; there is no need to do so, in fact, because the poet is so taken with this mistress' charms that even when she is "dishevelled and unkempt" he finds himself "the slave of an habituated love." His land acts as a panacea for his hurt and away from its curing powers, he suffers; in Finchley the November sunlight, "devoid of warmth," contrasts sharply with the poet's memories of Africa, warmly glowing "while here I pine."

Next the reader is allowed within the mind of Bruin among thoughts of the poet's suffering countrymen. In Bristol Bruin reflects upon the irony of a philanthropic family's depending upon black labor for their chocolate factory just as the city's well-being depended upon the sale of black lives in the days when Bristol was a great slave-trading port: "Frys . . . still glean the cocoa-bean / and the bean still coalesces a swollen gleam- / sweatdrops globed on salt black flesh, / lambent like blooddrops . . ." The famous factory and its surrounding city are presented as a monster which ingests black labor and excretes them as waste matter. It is while flying to Denmark over Robben Island that Bruin reaches his moment of commitment; he recalls that "Shakespeare winged this way using other powers / to wrest from grim rock . . . / an image of the human plight . . ." and realizes that he himself wants to take a similar course.

However, Bruin wants to go further than Shakespeare: instead of "grim" rock Bruin hacks at "ice-clad" rock in an attempt to not merely draw a picture of the human plight but alleviate it by "wrenching (my countrymen) from the island where they rot." He is constantly aware of his goal from now on.

We see what a slow and wearing process the working toward the realization of his goal then becomes. While crossing the Alps, the mountains' secluded lakes appear as "blue pools of peace . . . / beyond the cold, sharp and stony ridges . . ."; there are no "pools of peace" for this poet, however, only "a dogged thrusting on to new places." He does realize, though, that such determination is necessary — "so we carve structures, / so we leave striations in the rocks." He points out in a poem written in Agra at the site of the Taj Mahal that the king of India spent eight years in exile before he could finally return and build that famous monument to love; Bruin seems to say that he too possesses the passionate drive to feed the "great furnace of resolve / that wrought stone dream and marble flower" and someday return to his love, South Africa. He begins to slow down, though, as he reflects in Tehran of the labors that await him at every turn and his feeling of being pushed onward by "an impersonally being uncaring supernal omniscience," whether the "supernal" force is God or the high-ranking officials of South Africa who in effect drove him from his homeland.

The following poems tell why his work is so hard-no one will listen. "Off to Philadelphia in the morning / after blueberry pancakes U.S.A. . . ." introduces a series of sterile and mundane images of New York, a feeling that is emphasized by Bruin's description of his pleas as a rehearsal of

"half-singing words," a remouthing of "banal platitudes"; he is trying to make the United States realize the injustices of apartheid, but the U.S. is too sterile to help give birth to a second assertion of freedom. The poet "recites" to anonymous audiences who are as unreceptive as the "wooden ante-rooms" in which the poet "fidgets" for papers and appears as a thorn in the side of the complacent status quo. He finds the Communist world just as uncaring as the Capitalist world; in fact, the tone of the poems written in Epping, Dubrovnik, and Stockholm changes so little that the three could be taken as a unit, suggesting that the poet encounters the same attitude regardless of where he goes.

Bruin's bitterness is culminated in the Paris-Algiers poem: "I am alien in Africa and everywhere." He feels literally that the whole world is against him; previously he had encountered American apathy, and now "French racial arrogance," "Teuton superiority," and "mouldering English humbug" confronts him alongside African struggle. The poet can come to grips with himself only "occasionally," and in a moment of insight he concludes that people, as do natural objects, have a good deal in common, but nothing relevant; man cannot communicate with man because each "squats at (his) being's center," enveloped by cultural boundaries that ward off universalities, one of which is Bruin's plea for an end to racial discrimination.

As in every human life there are experiences of optimism and pessimism, Bruin has moments of both hope and despair.

In Grenoble the poet stands ready to accept the new challenge that lies at the completion of every deed; it is wise to accept the new work and its dangers because it offers hope after defeat. In Algiers the poet is at his most optimistic; in the result of the Algerian fight for independence he sees hope for South Africa, hope of reaching his personal goal by fitting the fragmented pieces of his experience into the beautiful and organized form of a stained glass window. "U.N.A. London" prepares us for a change in mood with its contrast of blooming nature and grieving soul, calling to mind the poem written in Zoo Lake and the poet's feeling that "there's no place like home." Indeed, the poem that appears next in the collection is one of despair; the poet compares his life with the summer which has "passed (its) solstice." It seems that Bruin was very close to his goal but failed to attain it through his over-caution; the goal formulated over Robben Island will never be reached.

Cont. on Page 24



Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC



Sheikh Mujibur Rahman - Prime Minister of Bangla Desh

BANGLADESH -

An important Victory

In reply to numerous queries from readers of *Sechaba* as to the position of the ANC in regard to the recent establishment of the Democratic Republic of Bangladesh, we reproduce here the message from the Secretary General of the ANC to the Bangladesh Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee: "Our organisation and people warmly greet with joy the emergence of the new Democratic Republic of Bangladesh. This important victory once again underlines the fact that no power on earth can for long block the way to a people who are fighting determinedly to win their inalienable right

to genuine independence, human dignity and social progress. This revolutionary lesson has not been lost to our people who are at the moment locked in deadly combat against the evil forces of racial and fascist oppressors supported by international imperialism. "We are convinced that even those countries who have not yet seen their way clear to recognise the existence of your new Democratic Republic will in future have to accept the reality of Bangladesh. The dawning of this understanding is eagerly awaited by all progressive anti-imperialist forces."

Cont. from Page 23

Now it becomes increasingly tempting for the poet to wrap himself in complacency's "so comfortable embrace." England's "seducing charms" force Bruin to sternly remind himself of his loyalty to "arid" Africa. In logical terms the poet rationalizes that his love for Africa cannot be complete while she is ruled by outsiders; he says that he is out of love with her "for now" because she has asked too much of him, yet "fond fool, bereft (he cling(s) unloving, to remembered love and the spring." Bruin is by no means unaware of his change in emo-

tions; he is concerned enough to ask, "love being dead, or dying, can the heart survive?"

The answer to that question comes with more force than anyone expects. Bruin ends what could easily be a story of disillusionment on a very positive and universal note. He does not bury himself in despair over having failed to reach his goal but lifts himself up to larger concerns; he has matured to the point where he need not limit his energies to South Africa.

The poet has progressed from possession of a strong love for his homeland and a commitment to the uplifting of

her people, through the sufferings and rejections of exile, to a realization that "all of the world is mine and to love / and all of its humankind."

Perhaps this is the highest type of commitment; even more important, perhaps this is the greatest prerequisite for the aiding of the oppressed—a realization and acceptance of self. John Bruin sings of himself and his world in verse that is sometimes trite, sometimes careless, but just as often skillfully moulded and always movingly honest.

Barbara Look