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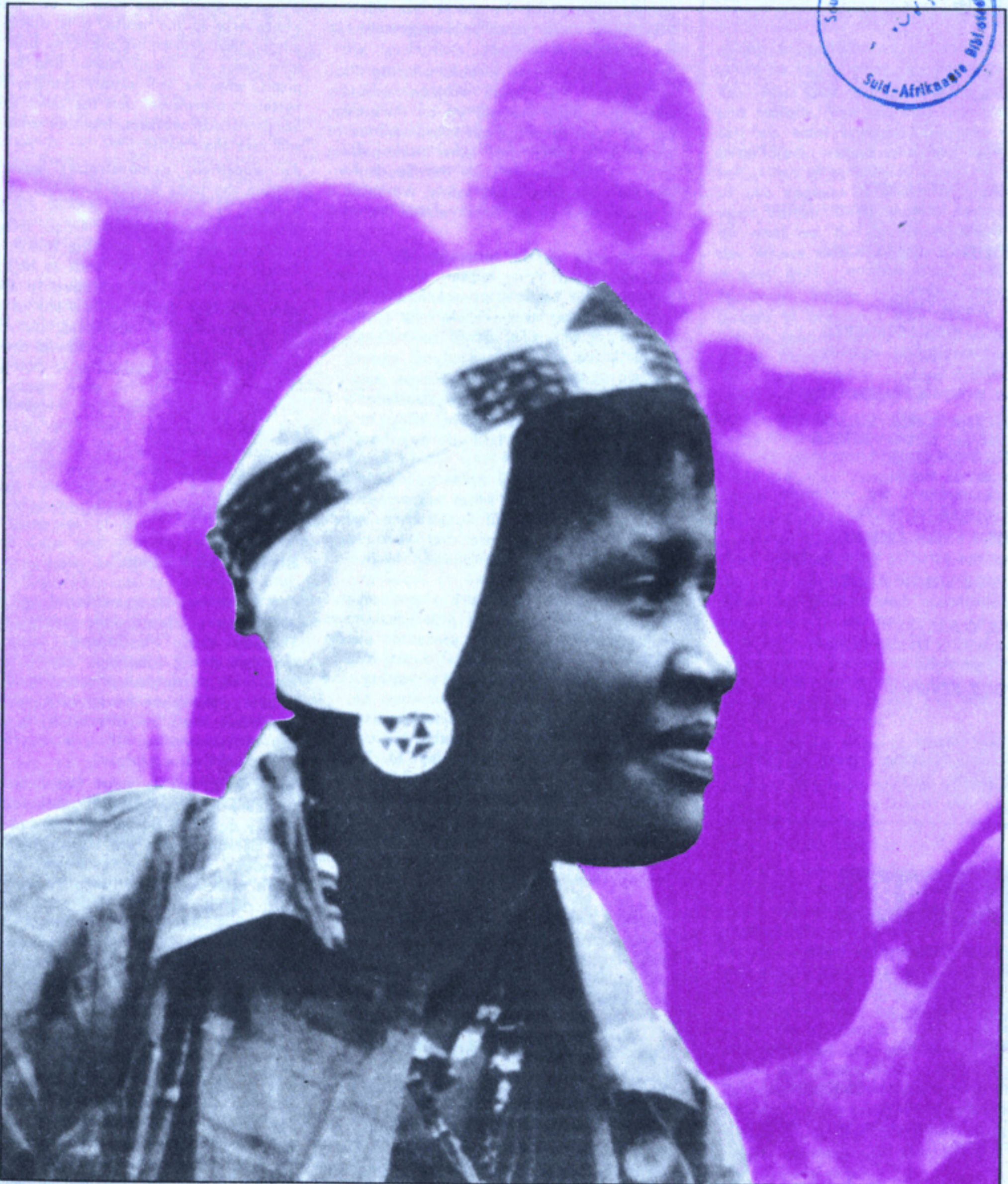
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Cover Photo:
Dorothy Nyembe serving 15 Years
in Prison

SECHABA

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DEAR EARTHA KITT

AN OPEN LETTER TO JEREMY THORPE AND EARTHA KITT
WITH FRIENDS LIKE THESE, WHO NEEDS ENEMIES?

There are a lot of people in the world these days wanting to reform South Africa. We are grateful for that, for South Africa can certainly do with reform, not to mention revolution. And the knowledge that their struggle enjoys the whole-hearted support of millions of freedom-loving people throughout the world has been a tremendous help and encouragement to the liberation movement.

But there are some people offering "solutions" to the South African problem which they have thought up on their own, not so much to assist our movement as to sidetrack it. Since they have been getting a lot of publicity in both the South African and overseas press lately, we think it is about time to tell them where they get off.

Let us take as an example Mr Jeremy Thorpe, Liberal Party leader, who returned from a short lecture tour of South Africa last June with his own plan for dealing with the problem of British investment in South Africa.

Having visited Soweto, Mr Thorpe said he was appalled by the "slave conditions" of the African workers, whose living conditions he found "as bad as anywhere in the world".

"No British firm", he opined, "should tolerate a situation in which employees are paid wages barely of subsistence level, where trade unions are not recognised and where people are allowed to live in hovels".

His plan is for MPs to buy one or two shares in the companies with subsidiaries in South Africa, and to press for reform from the inside, either by direct approaches to the directors or by raising the issue at general meetings.

"Those who call for the withdrawal of British investment in South Africa will achieve nothing", he said. Why? Mr Thorpe supplies the answer: Britain holds 60 per cent of the foreign investment in South Africa. "Many of the British firms accept the situation there and are prepared to pay the low wages offered by the South African firms".

But, says Mr Thorpe, "I am sure the British directors and shareholders are not aware of the treatment the African workers are receiving. If the facts are brought to their attention I feel certain improvements can be made".

Bigger Profit Than Anywhere

Mr Thorpe perhaps does not realise what a condemnation his words are of all capitalist investment, not only in South Africa, but everywhere in the world. Are any investors aware of the treatment received by the workers whose labours create the

profits for them? Those men who frantically buy and sell shares on the floors of the workers' conditions? Do they even know what products are made by the companies whose shares they buy and sell? No, Mr Thorpe, the British investor puts his money into South Africa because he gets a bigger profit there than he can get anywhere else in the world. It is cheap black labour that makes his profit so big. If you take away his cheap labour and his huge profit, why, he will simply transfer his investment elsewhere, and the devil take the South African workers, black or white, who will lose their jobs.

Anti-apartheid demonstrators have been putting the facts before meetings of shareholders in the biggest British companies with investments in South Africa. They have found on the whole that the British shareholders not only know what is happening in South Africa, but condone it. Oh yes, your company chairman will say of course he disapproves of apartheid, but he will go on making use of apartheid cheap labour because, he claims, he is doing good by providing work. He even boasts he is paying as good wages as the next man. He will argue that you can't expect him to make radical reforms on his own because he would price himself out of business. He will then order his company thugs to eject the demonstrators.

British "Liberalism"

The *Guardian*, in an editorial on June 5, 1972, came down four-square on Mr Thorpe's side. "Mr Thorpe's approach is the right one", it opined. "It will be much easier to persuade conservative directors of the validity of progressive policies if they have been but forward by a committee of reasonable MPs, rather than by disruptive demonstrators".

Well, well, this is what British liberalism has sunk to! The *Guardian* does not, apparently, question the policy put forward by the demonstrators, but merely their social standing. Well, if reasonable MPs are more effective than disruptive demonstrators, perhaps the MPs could use their persuasive powers to get the British business world to implement the decisions of the United Nations General Assembly, the Organisation of African Unity and the African National Congress, all of which have called for the severing of all relations with South Africa as the best means of rendering support to the liberation movement. We would remind Mr Thorpe that it was the late Chief Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress and a Nobel Peace Prizewinner, who issued the call for a total boycott of South Africa in every sphere. Would Mr Thorpe include him -

and the many other men and women of great stature who head the liberation movement in South Africa – in the ranks of disruptive demonstrators who can be ignored?

What A Cheek

What right has Mr Thorpe to advance his own private solutions to South Africa's problems? We would not presume to tell the British people what to do about Ulster, or inflation or unemployment, or containers or the Common Market. We leave it to the good sense of the British people to solve their problems. We might even come to the conclusion that the policies of Mr Thorpe's Liberal Party were the correct ones, and if the situation was one of sufficient gravity to warrant our intervention, or that of the United Nations, we might feel justified in declaring our support for Mr Thorpe's cause.

But we would not, under any circumstances, launch our own campaign for the reform of Britain, as Mr Thorpe proposes to do for South Africa. What a cheek! Imagine the African National Congress telling the British people where they get off in their own domestic politics!

For that is precisely what Mr Thorpe and those who think like him are doing to South Africa. Mr Thorpe may say he is only telling British investors what they should do. But he is doing more than that. He is saying the ANC policy is wrong, the OAU and the UN are wrong, the freedom fighters are wrong in calling for the withdrawal of investment from South Africa. He is saying the way we have chosen is the wrong way; only his way is the right way.

And please, Mr Thorpe, don't quote to us the examples of the U.S. firms Polaroid, Pepsi Cola and the rest which are claiming to have increased African wages in their South African subsidiaries, and to have given so many thousands of pounds to some or other educational or charitable cause in South Africa. This is merely testimony of the enormous profits these firms are able still to extract from cheap labour in South Africa, otherwise they would not remain there. Despite their propaganda, Polaroid, Pepsi Cola, General Motors and the rest are not in South Africa for the sunshine, nor out of concern for the condition of the South African workers. They are out for profit, and they are getting it. Announcing its decision to stay in South Africa last December, the Polaroid Corporation went out of its way to stress that "the South African Government allowed the experiment to proceed without interference or opposition of any kind". Precisely. Nothing Polaroid, Pepsi Cola or Mr Thorpe can do in terms of their present policies is of much concern to the South African Government because it does nothing to alter the basis of apartheid. If it did it would not be permitted by Vorster or anyone who might take his place.

Is this merely the voice of the disruptive demonstrators again? Let us then quote for the benefit of Mr Thorpe, Pepsi Cola, General Motors and all others who are trying to excuse their blatant collabora-

tion with apartheid the words of an American church team which spent three weeks in South Africa last October and November investigating precisely this issue.

"Most of us believe that American corporations should totally disengage from Southern Africa", said their report. "The presence of American corporations in which we are shareholders undergirds the system of racialism, colonialism and apartheid which prevails in Southern Africa".

Discussing the argument (listen to this Mr Thorpe) that US firms would do more good for Blacks in South Africa by staying than quitting, the report said: "Even progressive employment policies on the part of the American companies will not bring the basic changes in society that we support".

And in case Mr Thorpe would like to check the credentials of the commission, the statement was read by the Right Rev. John E. Hines, presiding bishop of the Episcopal (Anglican) Church on behalf of the other churches involved in the Church Project on US Investments in Southern Africa at a press conference held in New York last February and reported in the Johannesburg "Star" on February 16, 1972.

Kitt, Goolagong et al

What we have said about Mr Thorpe, Polaroid and Pepsi Cola goes as well for people like Eartha Kitt, Margot Fonteyn, Evonne Goolagong and all the others who have chosen off their own bat to break the boycott of South Africa. They all go for the profits they make in South Africa, and they all find reasons to justify their betrayal of our freedom fight. A reporter of the Johannesburg "Star" reported on May 27: "Singing sex-kitten Eartha Kitt told me before flying to Rhodesia at the end of her South African tour this week that she believed her visit had 'knocked a significant dent in apartheid'" She hopes to come again, and to pave the way has also worked out a plan to salve the consciences of artists who want the pickings they can get in South Africa so badly they are even prepared to perform before segregated audiences.

In conjunction with OK Bazaars, Eartha has started an organisation called SPEED (Stage Performers' Endowment for Educational Development) to raise money for African education. SPEED will ask every entertainer who comes to South Africa to give 2 per cent of his or her earnings towards African education. (Only 2 per cent, Eartha? Do you think you can buy us with 2 per cent?)

She said her visit had pricked White consciences, and claimed to have done more for the benefit of the Coloured people than the Coloured Labour Party which criticised her for coming.

Well, Miss Kitt, all we can say is Mr Vorster doesn't think so. He bans leaders of the Coloured Labour Party, but he hasn't done a thing to stop you, because he welcomes your help in breaking the international boycott of South Africa. He is prepared to dine with Dr Banda, to allow you to sing to segregated audiences, and to let in any other person who is



Jeremy Thorpe

willing to perform on his conditions, because he knows what you do hurts us.

Yes, Miss Kitt, hurts us, both physically and morally. You not only break the boycott we want imposed, but you hurt us, as a Black woman who has suffered the indignities of apartheid, by taking the side of our enemies in this struggle. You do what Vorster wants you to do; you don't do what we, the oppressed, want you to do. Whose side are you on? Are you just a good girl?

Moreover, Eartha, you encourage other people to overcome their doubts and follow in your footsteps. Two days after you spoke, Margot Fonteyn said in the New York Times: "What pleased me most, and made me feel justified in going was that Eartha Kitt was in Cape Town at the time I was there, and she was totally sympathetic and understanding and thought I had done the right thing. That made me very happy".

Margot Fonteyn is a principled person. She even told Coloured demonstrators in Cape Town who objected to her performing before segregated audiences, that she was glad they had come. "I understand why you're here. I am happy to see you here with your posters. For 15 years I have refused many invitations to perform here, and nobody knew about that. At least my coming here has given you this opportunity to demonstrate".

Please Dame Margot. We've got Vorster and his gang here already to demonstrate against. We have no lack of opportunities to get hit over the head with police batons. We don't need this sort of assistance from you or anybody else.

The time has come to say firmly to those who claim to be our friends that they must make their choice. South Africa is our country. We have chosen to fight and suffer to free it. If you are not in our camp you are in the camp of the enemy. There is no room in between. Please don't try to take the weapons out of our hands. If you can't join us, then at least leave us alone. We don't tell you how to dance or sing. What makes you think you know better than we do what must be done to "dent" or smash apartheid?

Above all, please don't sell us out for 40 pieces of silver and then pretend it is all for our own good.

This article was prepared for publication on the occasion of South African Women's Day — August 9. Unfortunately it arrived too late for publication in our last issue.

Women's Liberation:

A Black South African Woman's View
By Zanele Dhlamini



To understand what the Women's liberation movement today represents, we must understand the general situation which is developing in the Western world.

Western democracy is faced with a general crisis in that there have come to the surface many problems which it has failed to remedy. Even in its most idealistic form it pretends to be a government for all the people. It seeks to convince the ordinary people that it is the best and only government they could have. However, every day we realise that, in fact, this democracy does not, and cannot, resolve their problems. Both England and the U.S.A. are still facing the problems of institutional poverty, rising unemployment and discrimination against large sections of the people. Hence the beginnings of a general awareness which in the United States is best expressed by the Black Panther Party's slogan of "All Power to the People". A slogan which says no more nor less than is

claimed by western democracy's "government of the people, by the people, for the people". Yet the fact that such a slogan can be so threatening to the powers that be is a very strong indictment against the way this democracy is actually practiced. What the Black Panther Party's slogan represents is the consolidation of a general anti-imperialist struggle. A struggle against a democracy which is on behalf of a minority group.

WOMEN IN THE WEST

Many people realise more and more that instead of being themselves subjects and creators of history as they have been led to believe they have in reality, to a great extent, been objects of history. By and large, women in the Western world have been objects of history. Various sections have, of course not to the same extent, been passive recipients of policy. Suffragettes protested; workers have formed

trade unions which have consistently tried to protect the interests of workers. Latterly, we have seen students in Europe, America and Japan demanding to be full and active participants in formulating policies governing their Universities. Some have gone further to identify with the demands of workers and the struggles for national liberation overseas.

Women in the Western world, en masse, are now experiencing this general awakening. Women, like all other dominated sections of society, are fighting against an oppressive system which excludes them from participating in the formulation of policies even within the very boundaries of a bourgeois democracy. The movement is about the awakening of the masses of women to take up their legitimate role in society.

The forms of struggle differ from country to country. The priorities and focus of attack are dictated by the prevalent conditions and the levels of consciousness of the women themselves. It also

reflects the political climate and the influence of the various groups and classes. In the U.S.A., organisations range from the moderately liberal NOW which makes limited legalistic and social reformist demands, to the socialist oriented CELL 16, a Boston feminist organisation, which makes more fundamental anti-imperialist demands.

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN

Against this background I wish to examine the condition of the Black women of South Africa who live under the policies of Apartheid, and also to look at the very important role, I think, they have to play in the liberation of all South Africans.

South Africa is a racist country. Administrative policies are made to affect various racial groups differently. The White women, although accorded normal voting rights, do suffer the limitations faced by women under all Western bourgeois democracies. One or two serve in the White racist parliament and probably in other fields too. By and large they are grossly under-represented in the corridors of power. Whenever they have been recruited and trained for active (LAAGER) or reserve military service and for police duties, it has only been as tools of the oppressive White government machinery, controlled and led by men. They have been recruited in order to strengthen the government forces against the militant efforts of the oppressed Black majority. They have been called upon when Black protest has been threatening and when there has been numerical necessity to crush them.

"By the Women's Enfranchisement Act of 1930, which gave the vote to white women only (despite the previous pledges of Hertzog and Malan that Coloured Women would be included), the European electorate increased from half a million to one million, and the effect of the African vote was more than halved". (1) (It was finally destroyed in 1936). Ordinarily, the number of White women in government service, the military, industry and management is negligible compared to their numbers in society and the opportunities supposedly available to them as members of a supreme White race. Divorce laws, laws governing succession, illegitimacy and administrative promotions are biased in favor of their men.

NOT COMPARABLE

Their experience, however, can never be comparable to that of Black women. With their limitations, South African White women have been put on a pedestal. A pedestal based on false and mythical bourgeois standards: that they are fragile, decorative, weak

(feminine) and incapable of the simplest work that Black women perform daily for both their masters and for themselves. The White men feed the illusion with minor 'gentlemanly' tasks of door opening and cigarette lighting. With Black domestic service cheaply available for their household and various family responsibilities, White women have theoretically all the leisure in the world. They go out to work to earn pin-money and to avoid boredom at home. (2)

These women will not have real liberty without a change in the situation of Blacks because theirs and the Blacks' situation are manifestations of the same exclusive bourgeois democracy. I have said 'real liberty' because in the experience of South Africa we have seen that Whites can enjoy many unreal liberties, liberties which are guarded by machine guns, saracens and sub-marines directed against 'fellow-citizens'.

A system which discriminates against its own kith and kin is not about to act 'lady bountiful' towards those it regards as less than human.

MOST MENIAL JOBS

Working on the premise that 50 % of the population of any society is female, we can assume conservatively that in South Africa (population 21

million) there are 7½ million Black women, 2 million White women, 1 million Coloured and 300,000 Indian women. (Indian and Coloured women suffer the same conditions as African women: The differences are only of theoretical interest to social anthropologists). Any position, therefore, adopted by Black women who constitute more than a third of the total population and a half of all oppressed people has to be very important in terms of liberation.

Black women in South Africa are at the bottom rung of all oppressed groups as workers. When employed they earn the least and do the most menial jobs.

Of the 800,000 Black women classified in 1960 as economically active, more than 50 % were in domestic service; 25 % were farm labourers or employed inside and outside the farmer's house; 25,000 were professionals, mainly nurses and teachers. The remainder were factory hands or clericals in the private sector. The average cash wage paid to black domestic servants in Johannesburg per month is \$21.98.

Professionals like nurses earn thus:	
Black nurses	\$ 924 - \$1,260
Black 'nursing sisters'	\$1,176 - \$1,680
White 'nursing sisters'	\$2,856 - \$4,200

Widowed and orphaned by the hangman. Mrs. Vuyisile Mini and her four children



Those employed in the food and canning industry often earn less than \$8.40 per week.

The potential Black female work force (i. e. 15-60 years) is recorded as 38%. The figure is obviously much higher because Black children do not have compulsory education nor are there enough schools to admit them all. They become available for economic exploitation at a much earlier age as cheap child labour. Often they stay at home to release their parents for employment. Otherwise, they hussle in the streets picking pockets or otherwise fending for themselves in rather unconventional ways. Only a minority of Black children go to school.

TILL THE SOIL

Most of the unaccounted for women live in villages and African reserves as peasants where they work harder than anybody else for even less. They try to keep families alive and together where the country's migratory labour policy is to contract men away from their homes for extended periods of time while only women, children and old men remain behind. The former to till the soil, build houses, tend the cattle and generally take charge of the problems of daily living.

In describing the peasant conditions, Govan Mbeki sights instances where

unpaid compulsory labour adds insult to injury to the peasants in the reserves. Men are drafted into work teams to dig holes for the creosote poles or erect barbed wire fences. Women must provide and cook food for these teams. "If a woman has to leave her children without a meal, it is an eventuality that the government officially happily overlooks. What matters is that she should provide the food to the teams when her turn comes. A complaint against the harshness of the law is punished as incitement to disobedience.

"Every widowed woman, for though a woman is in every other law a 'child', dependent on the male heir, in matters of taxation she assumes the position of the absent male taxpayer". (3) (All Black men over 18 years of age must pay a poll-tax whatever their economic or physical condition).

Apartheid hits Black women far beyond wage discrimination. Women are ill-educated and under-trained. 'Job reservation', determinants and regulations plus 'influx control' regulations affect them as brutally as their men. Like them, they can neither be members of legally recognized trade unions nor can they withdraw their labour for collective bargaining. (Under the Terrorist Act, such action would be regarded as subversive because it aims at changing the existing social, political or economic conditions).

POLICE HARRASSMENT

While men are absent at the mines, in prisons or farm labour camps, women both in cities and villages are left to suffer the harrassment of the police and other effects of various government anti-Black schemes. Under the Bantu Resettlement Scheme, "a phenomenal number of women and children are being moved around, thus suffering poverty, malnutrition, broken families and privations of land and cattle." (4) The Rand Daily Mail (July 23rd, 1970) published a story of four Zulu women and their 41 children who lived in tents for 2½ years, "a brave, but futile resistance against constant urging by government officials to move into a concentration-camp type of township," i. e. after they had been evicted from a farm where their husbands formerly worked. Mrs. Lena Mnisi and her 4 children were sent off to Paarl in 1966, away from her husband because he was a "disqualified person" - he had not worked continuously for one employer for 10 years. In July, 1970, when her husband qualified, she only received a temporary permit and was fined \$42 in November, 1970 (or six weeks imprisonment) for being illegally in the area. Replying to protests, Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration, said: "If African men were allowed to contract marriages freely with women not qualified to be in the

Women demonstrating against the hated Pass Laws



area, the number of African would increase".

In the small town of Excelsior, 14 Black women were recently arrested and imprisoned because, as the Minister of Justice, Mr. Pelsler, put it: "there has been a whispering campaign" - rumours had been rife in the White community about the number of African women with "bastard" children. The 14 women and five white farmers were arrested. The farmers were immediately released on bail of \$250 each. Nobody came forward to help the women. Now they are out of prison. They have the difficult problem of finding employment, and, worse still, they may be hounded out of the location. (5)

Barry Higgs writes that in 1969 "there were 5,000 trials under the Immorality Act in South Africa". He estimates that one in every 200 White males came up in court for sexual 'offences'. The great majority involved White men and African or Coloured girls generally much younger than the men. "Rape of non-White women by White men is statistically far more frequent than rape of White women by non-White men. Blacks convicted of rape of White women are generally sentenced to death. No White man has ever been executed for raping a Black woman". (6)

TRIPLE YOKE OF OPPRESSION

These facts clearly indicate that Black women in South Africa have a triple yoke of oppression. They suffer all the degradations of White racism. They are exploited as workers and peasants and they are females in a clearly patriarchal family structure, where traditionally precedence is given to males in both public and private life. H. J. Simons has written extensively on the subject of African women and their legal status in South Africa (7).

Black women live under three legal systems (customary law, Native law and European law), none of which accord her a position equal to that which she in fact holds by virtue of her influence, her economic independence and her social and political dynamism. Clearly, she has no legal rights. Black women are treated as minors under perpetual guardianship of their fathers, brothers or husbands who intercede for them in legal matters and enter into all sorts of contracts on their behalf. At the risk of being counter-revolutionary in terms of present-day Women's liberation analysis, (viz. the core of the contradictions in society is sex exploitation of female by males rather than the Marxian class contradictions) (8), I would argue that female oppression via Black males is the least of the Black women's burdens. The sexism Black women suffer most is from the White establishment. Black male prejudices have not dehumanized, degraded and brutalized Black women to remotely the same extent

that White racism and capitalist exploitation are doing. Black men are no index of equity for Black women. They do equally dreary jobs for a pittance. In fact, their lives and conditions are often worse off under apartheid. They live in constant fear of arrest under the Pass Laws and suffer incredible humiliations in the prisons and what is called 'mine compounds' away from their families. Educated women of the Western industrialized countries are livid because they do not have the same work opportunities as their men: they want communal day care for their children, unrestricted abortion and birth control plus equal sharing of home duties like raising babies with their menfolk, among other reasons because technology and bottle-feeding make this possible. These are legitimate demands reflecting their experience within their society today.

South African Black women would not better their condition much by acquiring the status of Black men. Besides, the women have been doing what is considered men's work for a very long time. Communal care of children and other dependents is probably what has helped them survive the inroads of apartheid which disrupt and threaten to destroy Black family life. Unrestricted birth control and abortion assume a political dimension, where government policy is to reward the birth of extra White children and encourage White immigration into South Africa, while it campaigns for family reduction among Blacks.

This looks particularly sinister when the Black numbers are already reduced by acknowledged high incidents of still-births, infantile mortality rates, malnutrition, adult starvation, death sentences and socio-political murders. "From international figures it appeared that South Africa accounted for nearly 50% of all legal executions in the world". (9)

DEFORMED KIND OF EQUALITY

Numbers are the only strength South Africa Blacks have in the face of a hostile government. Black women are, therefore, not about to campaign for their own annihilation. Division of nursery duties will be problematic where modern technology has not yet reached Black kitchens and nurseries. The mother seems to be still indispensable for the children's survival.

It is no exaggeration to say that through the common experience of racist and capitalist exploitation over the years Black women and Black men in South Africa have achieved what Angela Davis calls a deformed kind of equality (10).

To some extent they have had to deal with each other, as people, in much more real terms rather than play the games of Ladies and Gentlemen. Problems of survival have taught the Black



Lilian Ngoyi - President ANC Womens' League - House Arrested in South Africa

man that the Black woman, who traditionally took the back seat, is no frivolous nit-wit incapable of caring for herself and family in his absence, i. e. when he is unemployed, in prison, detained or has fled the country for political reasons. (11) She has had to work for wages, feed and clothe the family and educate the children to the limits that the South Africa situation will permit. She does this without being spared any of the harsh laws of apartheid policies. In fact, the sexist that the oppressor is, tends to presume his own sexual prejudices into the laws he imposes onto the Blacks: Some of which never were under customary law, e.g. depriving women of property rights and installing younger males as guardians of their older widowed or single female relatives.

PRIORITIES

It is obvious that feminist issues exist in South Africa, but the Black women will have to work out their own priorities according to their experience and the future society they wish to see.

Some Black South African women have made their views known.

Florence Mphosho, a dedicated member of the African National Congress and a previous staff member of the WIDF (Women's International Democratic Federation) says that "the revolution will help to liberate women . . . Politics is the best school for the development of true comradeship and equality between men and women." (12)

Kate Molale, of the Federation of

South African Women, in a message to all women, told an ADN reporter that "the women of the world can help the women of South Africa by launching a campaign against the sale of arms to the racist regime of South Africa by Western Powers, for the release of all political prisoners and to end all apartheid and racial laws."

Black women have participated in the fight for their land and their rights throughout the bloody history of colonialism and internal oppression and there is documentary evidence of this. In recent times Charlotte Maxeka was one of the founders of the African National Congress in 1912.

Women have formed religious, political, social, educational and economic (stock-fares) organizations to combat problems created by the policies of apartheid. En masse (22,000 in Pretoria in 1957) they have demonstrated against the extension of Pass Laws to women. They also campaigned against Bantu Authorities in Pondoland in 1960. Others have since then persisted to publicly challenge apartheid against all odds when recent legislation was made even harsher. Winnie Mandela, Thokozile Mngoma and Martha Dlamini, among others, were held in jail for more than a year in 1970 under the Terrorism Act. Dorothy Nyembe is serving a prison sentence of 15 years for her political beliefs.

Clearly, the sexism of the oppressor should not divert us from attacking racism and capitalism in a very direct way. Sexist concessions to Black women will not change the South African situation. Besides, no real liberation will be achieved by women - Black or White - while the racist, capi-

talist attitudes prevail. All that can be achieved is very limited reforms and concessions. A more constructive way to deal with the feminist problems amongst the oppressed is to launch a revolution within the revolution so that women in the South African struggle can participate as a massive, conscious and equal partner in solving all the problems that affect the revolution. This will involve the re-education and 'consciousness raising' of both men and women towards a transformation of social roles affecting both public and private lives. It will be the women's responsibility to make sure that the successes achieved carry on to the resulting government and are not reversed by the new masters as has been experienced elsewhere.

WHERE IS FOOD

In conclusion, I would like to refer to an article on Women's liberation appearing in the *Sechaba* of July 1970, sub-titled: **A discussion of the issues with reference to the African revolution**; that is, at the risk of being pedantic. Some of the issues referred to were 1) Alternatives to the nuclear family; 2) demand free contraception and advice, 3) abortion on demand.

The first one is clearly not a Black South African issue. The following excerpt from a letter written by a poor mother in the U.S.A. arises from issues similar to the latter two (14):

"You murder me, women's liberationist, every bullshit demand you make; not because what you ask is wrong, but because of what you leave out. Where is free childbirth in your plat-

form, where is decent pre-natal care? Where is nourishing food for me, so my child isn't born premature and retarded? So he doesn't die in infancy? Where is a decent place to live, enough clothes, freedom from disease and filth . . .?" There is everything to be gained by all individual women in making those three demands, even though they reflect the needs of only a particular class and condition of women. In South Africa it is mainly the needs of the non-poor White woman. There is no need for Black women to echo them.

"FOR WHAT IS DONE OR LEARNED BY ONE CLASS OF WOMEN, BECOMES BY VIRTUE OF THEIR COMMON WOMANHOOD THE PROPERTY OF ALL WOMEN . . . EVENTUALLY."

Elizabeth and Emily Blackwell, 1859

FOOTNOTES

(1) Mbeki, Govan, **South Africa: The Peasants' Revolt** Britain, Penguin Books, 1964, p. 27

(2) It is claimed that the problem of poverty amongst Whites has been eliminated. Watts, H. I. **Poverty: Some Implications of Inequality** Johannesburg, Spro-Cas No. 4, 1971, pp 51, 53

(3) Mbeki, Govan, *op. cit.*, pp 99 and 108

(4) Desmond, Cosmas, **The Discarded People** England, Penguin Books, 1971.

(5) *Sechaba* (April 1971) Vol. 5, No. 4, p. 11.

(6) Higgs, Barry, **Sex and Race**, *Sechaba* Vol 4, No. 6, June 1970, pp3 and 8.

(7) Simons, H. J., **African Women - Their Legal Status in South Africa**, London, C. Hurst and Co., 1968.

(8) Firestone Shulamith, **The Dialectic of Sex - The Case for Feminist Revolution**. New York, W. Morrow and Co., Inc., 1970, p6. "We can attempt to develop a materialist view of history based on sex itself."

(9) Horrell, Muriel, **A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa**. S.A. Institute of Race Rel. Jan 1971, p. 44

(10) Davis, Angela, **Reflections on the Black Women's Role in the Community of Slaves**, *Black Scholar - Journal of Black Studies and Research*, Vol. 3, No. 4, Dec. 1971.

(11) Horrell, Muriel, *op. cit.*, pp 42, 43.

In 1967, "496,071 sentenced and 257,651 unsentenced prisoners had been admitted to goal." "In the same year, 222,600 Africans were in prison for up to one month." For the same period (1968-1969) breast-fed infants admitted to goal with their mothers, or born during the mother's detention, were:-

	White	Black	Total
With Mother	3	4,697	4,700
Born in Detention	1	186	187

(12) *Sechaba*, Aug. 1970, Vol 4, No. 8

(13) *Sechaba*, Vol 4, Nos 11/12 - Nov./Dec. 1970. pp 19

(14) Anonymous, **Women - A Journal of Liberation** Vol 2, No. 3, p. 51

While Andrew Mlangeni serves a life sentence on Robben Island, his children are being cared for by his mother



TIMOL WAS MURDERED

But Inquest Finds Nobody To Blame

"Ahmed Essop Timol, an Asiatic male, 30 years old, born in South Africa, a teacher, died on October 27 1971, from serious brain injuries and loss of blood when he jumped from a window on the 10th floor of John Vorster Square. The cause of death is suicide and **NOBODY IS TO BLAME.**"

This was the finding of Mr. J. J. L. De Villiers at the end of the eight month long inquest into the death of the 19th person known to have died while in detention.

It is a popular myth particularly outside South Africa that the judiciary and Courts in South Africa are impartial and base their findings on legal evidence uncoloured by political bias. Today the reality is different: The courts and judges are products of and an integral part of a legal system designed to entrench and protect white supremacy. Through repeated compromise, their functions, except in very rare cases, have been stripped of any relevance to justice and in their nakedness are exposed as upholders and protectors of racism, apartheid and the Boss Law State.

Mr. de Villiers presiding at the inquest on Ahmed Timol presented a sorry picture of a man who paid little heed to the evidence put before him. In the past, South African judges and magistrates have repeatedly sought and found "reasons" for excluding evidence of torture. However at the inquest on Ahmed Timol the medical evidence admitted could lead to only one conclusion. No less a person than the Senior State Pathologist who conducted the post-mortem gave evidence of finding several bruises which could have been caused by a boot or a blunt instrument and which occurred before death and during a period in which Timol was in detention.

Sergeant Rodriques who the police claimed was the only person present when Timol went out of the window contradicted himself. Statements made by him on the day of Timol's death were not consistent with the evidence he gave in the Court.

The reasons given for the alleged suicide did not stand up to examination. One was that it was customary for communists to commit suicide when in police custody! A second reason given was that Ahmed Timol had been alarmed when he heard that Quentin Jacobson who the police claimed was his associate had been identified. Yet despite concerted investigation by the police subsequently, they had been unable to find evidence of association between Jacobson and Timol, and Ti-

mol had not been named as a co-conspirator in the indictment against Jacobson. This was known during the inquest, yet Mr. de Villiers found the explanation for Timol's alleged suicide acceptable.

Mr. Maisels QC, Counsel for the Timol family asked only that the court in the circumstances find that it could not say how Ahmed Timol came to fall out of the window. Justice demanded that the court find according to the evidence and draw the logical connection between the bruising and injuries, and the death.

In the event Mr. de Villiers placed the interests of the security police above those of justice and truth: He found that Ahmed Timol committed suicide, and felt it necessary to expulgate the police from any blame. He saw no reason to doubt the evidence of the police witnesses, but felt it necessary to comment that Mrs. Hawa Timol was not a "very truthful witness" as he thought she understood more Afrikaans than she had admitted!

So oblivious to the South African reality and the evidence given in his own Court, Mr. de Villiers recommended that in future detainees under the Terrorism Act be examined by a district surgeon as soon as possible after their arrest. The doctor would then be able to say whether there was any assault and so save the police "unnecessary embarrassment."

Adjunct To The Police

In the past prisoners have complained to magistrates, evidence of doctors has been available, but all to no avail. In his own Court Mr. de Villiers heard the evidence of the medical experts and of Captain Gloy of the police: "Captain Gloy told the court that when Mr. Timol was handed to him on October 23rd. he had no injuries or wounds." Mr. de Villiers made no recommendation about how to get magistrates and judges to pay heed to the evidence before them.

From the very outset Mr. de Villiers had shown that he saw himself as merely an adjunct to the police and the prosecution in a possible future political trial. He refused the Timol family and their legal representative

access to the documents and statements concerning the death of their son arguing that "... if the statements were made available to Mr. Maisels's clients irreparable harm could possibly result to the interests of the state."

To such an extent did he see himself as subservient to the interests of the security forces, that he made his ruling on their mere say so, without even bothering to obtain and study the documents for himself.

The Supreme Court ordered him to do so, though it ruled that the magistrate subsequently had the discretion as to which documents could be inspected by interested parties.

Ahmed Timol had been detained on the night of October 22nd 1971, when together with Mohammed Essop he was stopped at a police road block, and it is alleged pamphlets of banned organisations were found in their car. On October 26th. Mohammed Essop was removed to hospital bruised and "a very ill man". The next day Ahmed Timol was found dying outside John Vorster Police Station, allegedly having committed suicide.

A judicial inquiry into the treatment of detainees during interrogation was refused. But thanks to the courage and persistence of the parents of Ahmed Timol and Mohammed Essop considerable evidence of the treatment of detainees undergoing interrogation was revealed in the Timol inquest and in the proceedings during which an order was sought restraining the Security Police from assaulting, unlawfully interrogating, or applying undue pressure on Mohammed Essop.

"Four days after Essop's arrest in October a district surgeon found him slumped, distressed, semi-conscious and in a state of severe hysteria, against the wall of an interrogation room at police headquarters in Johannesburg . . . The district surgeons report, mentioning various bruises and scratches on Essop's face and body was suppressed at the first hearing. By the time of the second hearing the report had become known to Mr. Essop's counsel, and Colonel Greyling Divisional Commissioner of the Security Police, who had interrogated Essop was questioned after the evidence of the bruising and scratches had been given. Colonel Greyling then gave a strange disjointed account of the questioning. He noticed, he said, that Essop kept scratching himself and asked him whether he had lice, and asked him to stop scratching himself as tomorrow "you will come and say we assaulted you". He also noticed that Essop bit his lower lip excessively (the evidence was of considerable bruising on the lower lip). At one stage, stated Colonel Greyling, Essop dropped to his knees (the district surgeon's report stated there were bruises on the knees) and then staggered against a safe and fell against a big

electric fan, falling to the floor. (This would account for bruises on the face, marks on his ear, and other bruises).

"Major J. H. Fourie stated that he interrogated Essop on occasions during the afternoon and evening after his arrest. From time to time, he said, Essop went to sleep on a mattress on the floor of the office.

Counsel: You mean the office where the interrogation took place?

Major Fourie: I don't know what you mean by interrogation. That was where we chatted.

Other evidence at the hearing was given by two neuro-surgeons who examined Essop, and various nurses from both the Johannesburg and Pretoria Hospitals. A nurse said she was asked to prepare a bed for a "very ill man". Essop was brought in on a stretcher and clearly he was ill. Another nurse described his arrival in Pretoria. He had a rubber glove attached to his genitals and he was crying when he came in. A sister from the Verwoerd Hospital stated that never before in eighteen years, had she been told to deny the presence of a patient.

The judges confirmed the temporary order, rejecting some of the evidence given by Colonel Greyling.

Essop is now on trial, together with Mr. Yousuf Hassan, 21, Mr. Indaresen Moodley, 27, and Mrs. Amina Desai, 51. The charges they face are under the Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act, and face the possibility of being sentenced to death. (A full report on this case will be published in SECHABA after the trial concludes.)

Police Had Friendly Chats

During the Timol inquest the various police witnesses denied any assault, indeed they painted a picture of the John Vorster Square police headquarters as a social club, where detainees were plied with coffee, friendship and other goodies, in order to obtain their co-operation and where there were "friendly chats" rather than police interrogation. Occasionally however the reality came through:

"Timol had a quiet disposition. He spoke quietly and always gave the impression that he was co-operating. But he did not really co-operate with me . . . Timol repeatedly said — both in English and in Afrikaans — that he knew he would have to go to prison for 20 to 25 years. But I must say this for him — he was not willing to incriminate others"

"Asked by Mr. Maisels if the Security Police would put 'angry questions' to detainees, Lt-Col. Van Wyk said that they had to win the confidence of the man they were questioning. 'We have patience', he said. ". . . We thought that not only had he to be guarded, but guarded in cotton wool."

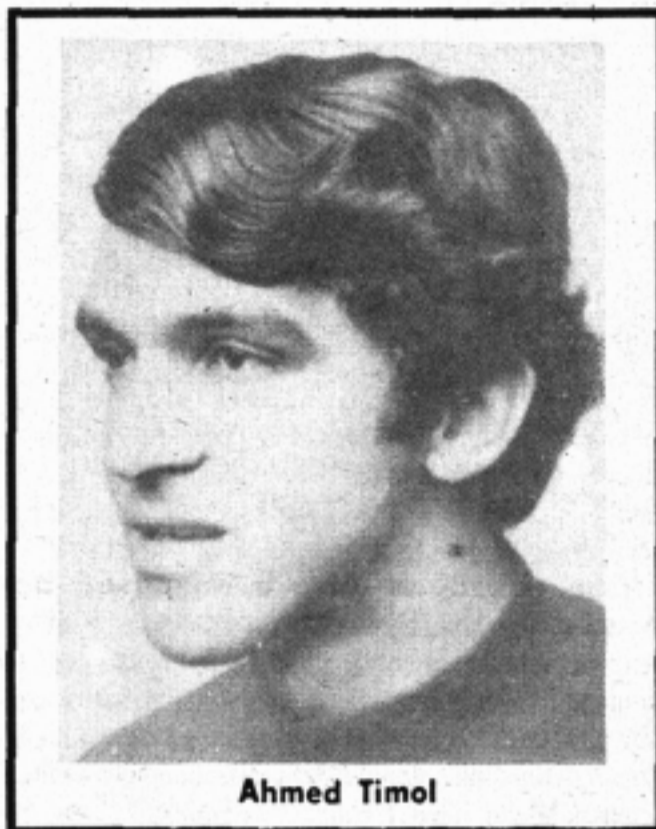
Mr. Maisels: You have very strong powers under the Terrorism Act? They are still too weak.

Why too weak? — Because you sometimes have to give evidence in court? What are your reasons? — What has that got to do with you? If I had my way I would make it even stronger. But I don't want to discuss politics.

Shall I suggest a way? You don't want the court to inquire into your methods. What does a man with such limited powers under the Terrorism Act do when you are getting nowhere? — We just continue.

You just wear him down? — I just sit and wait."

"Mr. Timol tried to convince him that "Quentin" was the surname of a Coloured who was a social friend of his,



Ahmed Timol

he said. Mr. Timol was "friendly" but unwilling to give evidence on other people. The interrogation was conducted in "a friendly atmosphere".

On the afternoon of the 27th. at about 3,50 pm Sgt Rodrigues brought him and Timol some coffee. An official came in who said that Quentin, Martin and Henry had been traced. Timol was "Obviously shocked".

He and a Capt. Van Niekerk, who was with him, left the office. A few moments later he received a report that Mr. Timol had committed suicide by jumping through the window he said.

Injuries Before Death

In his opinion, Mr. Timol committed suicide "because he was afraid of going to jail for a very long time." The other explanation offered by the police for the alleged suicide was that Ahmed Timol was a communist and according to Brigadier Piet Kruger, deputy-chief on the Security Police, "We who know the communists know that when they plan to use violence they make their people swear an oath to commit suicide rather than mention

the names of their comrades. They are taught to jump out before they are interrogated". But the evidence given by the medical experts revealed a different picture. Dr. N. Schepers, the Senior State Pathologist told the Court that he had performed a post mortem examination on the body of Ahmed Timol. He knew his as "body 3991/71" "We go according to numbers at the mortuary."

He described the extensive bruising and other injuries caused by the fall, but also revealed that "several of these bruises occurred days before the death and could have been caused by a boot or a blunt instrument".

Dr. Gluckman who attended the post mortem on behalf of the Timol family listed the injuries that had been caused before death: "an abrasion on the right collarbone, multiple abrasions on the right thigh, a large bruise and rectangular abrasion on the right elbow and forearm, a few bruises on the right upper arm, an abrasion on the right shoulder blade, two large bruises on the right thigh, an abrasion on the left forearm, multiple bruises on the left side of the chest, and a small abrasion on the left side of the neck."

"Dr. Gluckman said it was clear that Mr. Timol had sustained injuries either before or after he was brought into custody. But he said that at no time had he been asked to direct his mind to establishing whether these injuries occurred before or during custody.

In court he had realised the significance of the difference between injuries four and eight days old, that the former would have occurred during custody and the latter before custody.

Earlier Dr. Schepers had been forced after questioning by Prof Simon the assessor, to change his testimony and admit that the injuries listed above could have been caused between 4-8 days before death, thus admitting the possibility of injury during Timol's detention.

As their own evidence was now "in conflict with the police case", Mr. S. A. Cilliers who appeared for the police called in a more amenable expert, Dr. H. Van P. Koch. Though he had not seen the body, and had only examined the slides and reports of Drs. Schepers and Gluckman, he gave it as his opinion that the injuries were "at least 9 to 12 days old" The medical assessor Prof Simons who was assisting Mr. de Viliers however, told Dr. Koch that his evidence was "self-contradictory".

The weight of the medical evidence in which the Senior State Pathologist and medical assessor assisting Mr. de Viliers concurred, was clear: A number of the injuries found on the body of Ahmed Timol were caused from 4-8 days before death. As the police had previously admitted that on October 23, Ahmed Timol had no injuries, the conclusion must be obvious.

cont. on P. 11

Commenting On the Discussion Article on the Subject in Our May issue, Dan Crowe puts forward his views . . .

On Black Consciousness

Ever since the arrival of the Whites in South Africa, three centuries ago, we, the Black people of South Africa, have been their slaves and tools. In the establishment of the infrastructure of South Africa the Black people as participants were completely disregarded. In this context, I pose the question: Is Black Consciousness, or Black Power, as it is called in the United States, relevant? Is it a light to show us the way, or does it play into the hands of official White South African policy? As to the first question, let me quote W.E.B. du Bois, considered by many people to be the first modern leader in the struggle for the emancipation of Black people. In 'Selected Writings of W.E.B. du Bois', published in 1920, the author writes: "Today Negroes, Indians, Chinese and other groups are gaining a new faith in themselves, they are beginning to 'like' themselves. They are discovering that current theories and assumptions of 'backward' peoples are largely lies". Whether this plays into the hands of the Whites is perhaps superficially true.

In South Africa White policy is the complete fragmentation of the people into ethnic groups. Black Consciousness implies a unified Black front.

In the United States, which itself has a long history of Black oppression, Black consciousness has been cataclysmic. It has injected new life into a despairing situation. People like Stokely Carmichael marched all over the South, preaching Black is Beautiful. For once the reactionary White hotheads of racial bigotry had to sit up and take notice. Giant strides towards Black freedom were made. When Malcolm X, in the North, outfaced the fury of White power and did not flinch, the people gained new strength.

When W.E.B. du Bois first advocated Black Consciousness, he was scoffed at; but today more has been achieved in the United States in ten years, through this philosophy, than in the previous one hundred years! In the vanguard of this movement today are

people like James Baldwin, Angela Davis and others.

Can we in South Africa emulate this example? It now seems that Black Consciousness has arrived in South Africa. Adam Small, the poet, says: "We in our Blackness despise these people (the white liberals), we laugh at them". (Sechaba, May 1972). Black consciousness has indeed arrived in South Africa! Should we, in the vanguard of political consciousness, ignore this phenomenon, or should we harness its full potential? There are those who would scoff even now. But we must ignore this. We fail to be part of it, at our peril. What of the White minority now sitting power-entrenched on top of us? What role should they play in our struggle? Should those of them opposed to the present government be allowed to join our movement?

ANSWERS DEMANDED

These questions have been posed before, but answers are demanded now more urgently than ever. On so many occasions in the past revolutionary movements have been betrayed by indiscriminate acceptance of people allegedly on the side of the revolution. Our movement is no exception. We will have our traitors, our spies, but by accepting Whites, are we not propounding the danger of betrayal?

Traitors and spies of our own cannot escape across the colour line: They can be dealt with within the movement, but can the same be said for the Whites? The formation of the Black Peoples' Convention (Sechaba May 1972) is the symptom of a growing awareness of, and pride in, Blackness. Should Whites, even White liberals, be tolerated within our movement? The B.P.C. thinks not. To what extent, if whites are permitted, would they act as a blunting force, consciously or unconsciously? Again, these questions must be answered and the matter resolved.

In London four years ago Stokely Carmichael said: "Of course we welcome the help given by Whites but they should do it within their own organisations, thus helping to change the entrenched attitudes of their brother Whites." Dr. Naidoo (Sechaba, May 1972) echoes this sentiment. Malcolm X rejected integration because he said that Whites wanted "us to integrate on their terms", and this he was not prepared to accept.

What is the basic truth in South Africa which we must face? It is that here we have an entrenched minority ruling by brutal repression, the vast majority of the people, and the B.P.C. in South Africa say that Black Consciousness is the answer to the building of a mass movement against this oppression.

WE SHALL WIN

We hear talk, even among our own people, that it is the Government of South Africa that is our enemy and whom we must fight. But who is the government of South Africa and whom does it represent? Surely the answer is that it represents the electorate, and the electorate are the White people of South Africa. This is the enemy and this is what we must defeat. This does not mean that every White person is our enemy or a reactionary racist, but it does mean that the task of those well-meaning Whites is mammoth. Their job should be to change their own people, by any means necessary, because on them depends the extent of the bloodiness of our revolution. In any case, we shall win, whatever the cost.

It is now fully accepted, even among the most conservative elements within our movement, that our revolution can only be achieved by blood. Are the young fighters after the battle going to be satisfied to exchange the present South African type of colonialism, for a new type of neo-colonialism, with our erstwhile enemies now our advisers, as has happened in some other parts of Africa? I think not.

Continued from Page 10

The police had custody of Ahmed Timol, and were the only persons allowed access to him. Mohammed Essop had already been taken into hospital and the Supreme Court found it necessary to issue an order to the Secu-

rity Police restraining them from assaulting him. Ample other evidence of police methods and torture exists. The last hours of the life of Ahmed Timol remain shrouded in mystery. But there is no mystery as to who is to blame for his death.

One more crime is added to the formidable list of victims of the South African police - BEING TOTALLY BLAME-WORTHY FOR THE DEATH OF AHMED TIMOL. We charge that Timol was murdered and his murder will be avenged.

International Solidarity



O. R. Tambo leads the singing of the National Anthem at the London meeting

JUNE 26

SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY

Report of meetings, demonstrations and messages
of support for the ANC

London

In London a packed hall listened to a hour and half long speech by the President General of the African National Congress, Oliver Tambo, on the occasion of June 26, 1972.

The meeting which was organised by the ANC London office, was chaired by Mr. John Gaetsewe, representative in London of the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions.

Anti Apartheid Movement

The Anti-Apartheid Movement of Great Britain organised a seminar to mark the occasion. More than 100 people met and discussed the role played by foreign investors in South Africa.

Declaration

Over 130 prominent British personalities – M.P.'s, academics, actors, musicians, Church leaders, trade unionists and artists – put their names to a public appeal to the British government to disengage completely from South Africa.

The lengthy appeal which was published in the form of an advertisement in the London "Guardian" concluded: "We the undersigned urge Britain to initiate a new policy of disengagement from Southern Africa . . . And, we call on the British people to work actively for these ends."

Other Actions

Scores of meetings and other forms of activity were undertaken by Anti-Apartheid groups all over the United Kingdom. Owing to pressure of space we are able to report only a few:

Nottingham

Nottingham University Students held a meeting in June, which voted overwhelmingly to boycott all links with South Africa.

Students and a substantial section of staff at the University are to continue to campaign for the rejection of the recommendation of the University Careers Officer, who recently visited South Africa and said, that contacts with South Africa should be maintained.

Brighton

Members of the Brighton Anti-Apartheid Movement demonstrated at the



Africa Day meeting in India with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on the platform

World Bowls Championships, in which South Africa was taking part, on June 10. About 30 demonstrators picketed the Championships carrying placards and handing out leaflets, some of which were torn up by South African spectators.

On the evening before the final day of the Championships, the South African flag was removed by protesters from the arena. The flag had still not been replaced next day, when the South African team received their bronze medals. At the end of June posters attacking Barclays Bank's involvement in apartheid were posted on every Barclays Bank branch in Brighton and Hove and on the office of travel agencies that publicised South Africa.

Barnett

The Barnett Anti-Apartheid Group has adopted a South African political prisoner, John Matthews, and is planning to campaign for his release. John Matthews was tried together with Dave Kitson and is serving a 15-year sentence for sabotage in Pretoria Local Prison.

The campaign was launched at a meeting.

Manchester

The Manchester Anti-Apartheid Group held a sit-in in the Manchester office of South African Airways on June 26. Members of the group sat in the office as an Indian member asked if it would be possible for him to book a holiday in South Africa. After about three quarters of an hour, the police arrived and carried the demonstrators out. The Group also held a meeting to discuss the present situation in South Africa on June 29.

Ireland

To mark South Africa Freedom Day, June 26, the Anti-Apartheid Movement of Ireland held a meeting and film show in Dixon Hall, Trinity College on June 29. Films shown were 'Witnesses' and 'Behind the Lines'.

Elsewhere

Meetings were held in many parts of Africa to mark the occasion. Congressmen and sympathisers met in Algiers, Morogoro and Dar-es-Salaam in Tanzania and Lusaka. Meetings were also

held in Berlin (G.D.R.) and Toronto. A meeting held in New Delhi was sponsored by nine national organisations, including the ruling party, the All India Congress Committee and the main opposition party, the Communist Party of India.

Messages of support addressed to the meeting included messages from Dr. G. S. Patak, Vice President of India, the Chief Ministers of Gujerat, Himachal Pradesh, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Mysore and Punjab.

Other Messages

Hundreds of messages of support were received on the occasion. Among these were messages from: H. E. Mrs. S. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, the Ceylon Mercantile Union, The Secretary of Foreign Relations, Bangladesh, The South Australian Campaign against Racism, the African Students Association, India, The Australian Union of Students, the International Organisation of Journalists, the Pan African Youth Movement, Algiers, the Peace Council of the German Democratic Republic, and the World Council of Peace, Helsinki.

Another scene from the London meeting



International Solidarity

POEM FROM PRISON

Another day (for Bram Fischer)

It was like any other day
from unlock
breakfast/wash-up/scrub/clean
garden/lunch
lock-up
washup/scrub/clean
shower/4 p.m. supper
lock-up
till un-lock next morning
any day every day
14-hour lock-up
every night

In the morning
we picked our 11 mielies (one for the boer)
– that passed half an hour –
and another half-hour passed
around the mielies on the lawn
tearing off the husks
excited about our own-grown mielies
which we sent to be cooked for supper.

In the afternoon
we trimmed the 21 tomato bushes
and were pleased to see
how they were springing up
green with fruitfulness.

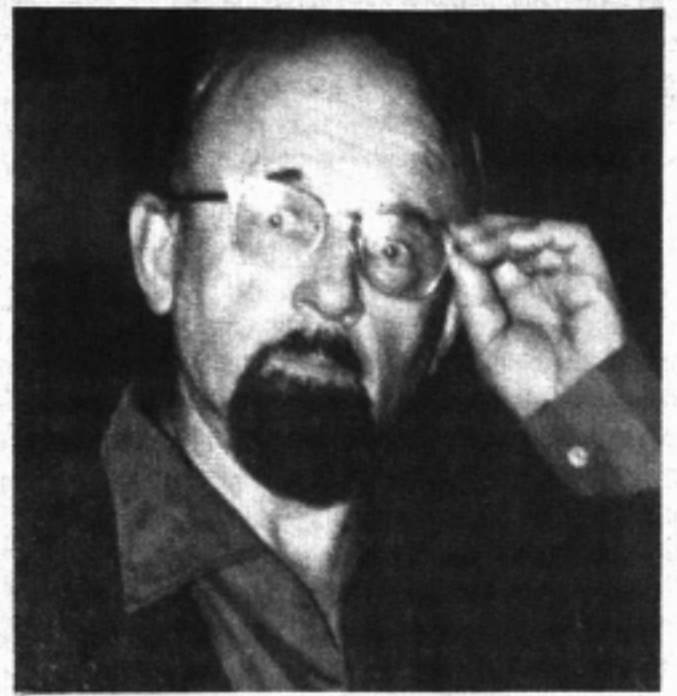
It was like any other day
garden/lunch
lock-up
wash-up/scrub/clean
shower/4 p.m. supper

but just before supper (and our mielies)
he was called
unexpectedly
for a visit
which means, I said, being boop
either something good
or something bad.

So he missed supper with us
and the mielies
and we took his mielie up to his cell
so he could eat it after his visit
– either something good
or something bad –
like any other day
supper/lock-up
alone
cell alone for 14 hours at least

While we ate our mielies at supper
he was in the room
where you peer out at your visitors
through a 4-inch strip of perspex
boxed in by wood panels
with sound-boards to deaden the noise
so that the tapes will be clear
and you have boere on your side
and they have boere on their side
they call it the visitors room

While we were at supper
he was at his visit
boarded and boxed in
securely separated
(for the sake of State security, they say)
from his brother.



Bram Fischer after his arrest

His brother
peering through the perspex
into the wooden box
told him:
Your son died this morning.
through the perspex
into the wooden box
keeping the State secure
–Your son died this morning.

No contact visits are allowed
for political prisoners
(according to the authorities).

His supper, I suppose, was cold
by the time he got back to his cell
so he probably ate his mielie cold
alone
after lock-up
for the next 14 hours
like any other day
the day his son died.

Biographical Notes

Hugh Lewin was born at Leydenburg, Eastern Transvaal, in December 1939. His father was an Anglican minister who served for many years as the parish priest at Irene. In 1961 he worked as a teacher in Pietermaritzburg, then turned to journalism, working as a sub-editor with the Natal Witness in 1962. He has also worked on the Port Elizabeth Evening Post, Drum and Post.

He joined the Liberal Party while still a student at Rhodes. His militancy led him to join ARM (African Resistance Movement). He was detained in July 1964 and badly beaten up while under interrogation.

Later charged under the Sabotage Act, he was found guilty of blowing up pylons and Railway signals and sentenced to seven years.

While in prison he took an Honours degree in English and a Higher Diploma in Librarianship.

The courage and steadfastness with which he served his sentence, his unflinching kindness and his generous spirit earned him the love and respect of all his fellow prisoners.

Hugh was released in December, 1971. He now works on the Observer.

This poem, like many others, were written while he was in prison. We shall publish the remainder of his collection in future issues of Sechaba.

MORE ON THE STUDENTS STRIKE

Following on our reports, in the last issue of SECHABA, on the student strikes throughout South Africa which was sparked off by the expulsion of a student leader at Turfloop, the tribal College in the North, the situation on the student front is far from settled.

The Fort Hare College was closed a week earlier for the winter vacations although its rector steadfastly denied there was any arrest at his College. At Turfloop, more than half the students have left the campus and most of those on the campus are boycotting lectures. Many lectures are being attended, according to our information, by only three or four students.

Several students have been expelled from teacher training colleges and, at the time of writing, boycotts of lectures continue at the Western Cape Coloured College and the Natal Indian College.

Students Disappear

Seven Black students from the Turfloop College, who were arrested at the Witwatersrand University have disappeared. Two of these, told White students who were also detained at John Vorster Square, South Africa's Gestapo headquarters, that they had been charged with assaulting the rector of Turfloop, Dr. J. L. Boshof. The others said that they had been bystanders on the Witwatersrand campus when they were arrested.

Mr. Malcolm Lyons, a Johannesburg attorney, said he had been instructed to act for two of the mystery men, Mr. Joseph Mbatha and Mr. David Seleko. The police, he said, told him they had no knowledge of the men.

But, Witwatersrand students insist that they saw the students there and that they had passed food to them, and spoken to them during the week end.

By the time afternoon session begins fatigue has caught up with teacher and pupils alike. She has just finished one overcrowded class, her children have waited 3 hours. Girl at board is untrained extra teacher waiting to enter nurse's course. Left: child gives in to weariness

Rector Quits

Meanwhile, the Rector of the Transvaal Indian College of Education, where protesting students have been involved in a series of boycotts, mass walk-outs and sit-ins since last year, has resigned.

Last October, the students walked out of lectures in protest after the death, in detention, of Mr. Ahmed Timol and recently they boycotted lectures in support of the Turfloop students. Among their grievances are :

- The white lecturers were too old, and most of them were prejudiced against Blacks.
- The students demand freedom of expression, and complain that their newsletter is of a high school standard because of censorship by the rector.
- They demand the right to invite guest speakers. At present only Indian speakers are allowed, 'and' most of these are pro-Government.

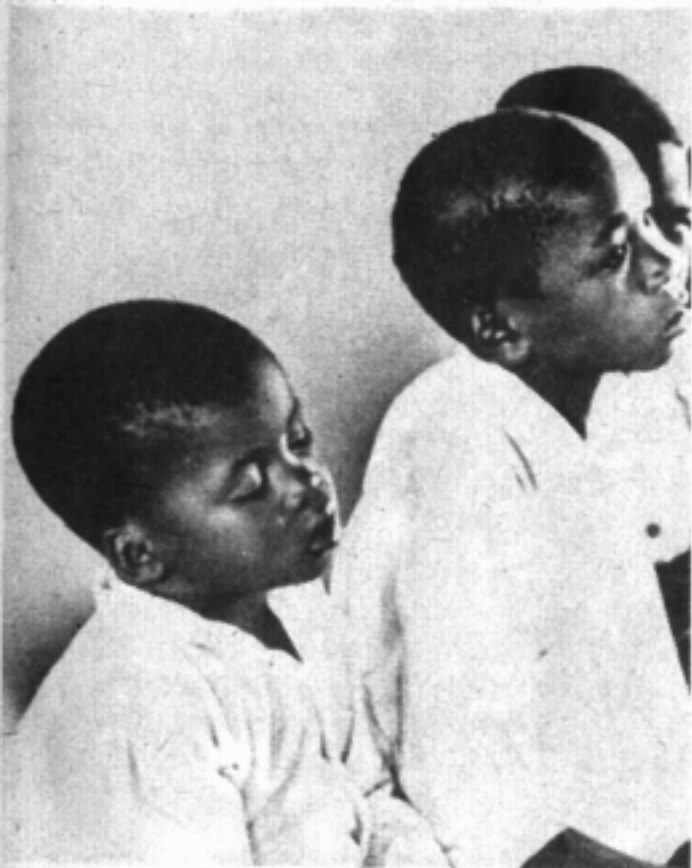
The students also emphasise that they were in unison with other Black institutions of higher learning throughout the country, in their demand for Black rectors and lecturers.

Government Response

The Government's response to this unprecedented expression of abhorrence of the whole facade of separate education has been typical. They blame the incidents on foreign students, yet not a single foreign student is allowed into a tribal college. They blame "communists" and "agitators" despite the fact that they have draconian powers to arrest anyone even remotely connected with communism or suspected of agitating.

They have met widespread demands for an Inquiry into unequal education between White and Black, with an Inquiry into foreign students in White Universities.

Instead of an inquiry into police violence they have instituted an inquiry into dagga (Marijuana) smoking. And, instead of an inquiry into the expulsion of the entire student body at Turfloop, there is going to be an inquiry into student discipline.



S. A. S. O.

Meanwhile, the Black South African Students Organisation (SASO), has grown in stature and strength. Beginning mainly as a student body representing the five Black tribal colleges, its membership has spread to Black Technical Colleges, Teacher Training Colleges and even into many High Schools.

Its influence spreads even further. Its uncompromising voice is influencing almost every single organisation representing the Black people in South Africa.

Its programme of Black Consciousness, of Black patriotism, of Black dignity, is capturing the imagination of more and more people among the oppressed masses in the country. Correspondingly, with every stride they make, new forces among the Whites are deserting their laager. Where, hitherto, White opposition to the despotism of the Vorster regime was muted, now ever increasing numbers of Whites are anxiously voicing concern over the path the government is taking.

SASO's strength was further emphasised when the organisation meeting in conference, recently, expelled its president, Mr. Temba Sono, for saying in an address to the conference that SASO should consider operating with the so-called homelands and other separate development institutions. "We agreed among ourselves on vital issues, but we have to seek out those who defer with us and try to sway them to our way of thinking. This includes everybody - Blacks, Whites, whether they are liberals or the Security Police", he is reported to have said.

In this day and age, to state that we must work with the murderers in the Security Police is indeed treason.

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DIALOGUE IS DEAD

The much heralded outward-looking policy and dialogue with African States initiated by the Vorster regime is dead. The final nail in the coffin of this still-born policy was struck by the Foreign Minister of Malagasy, Lieutenant-Commander Didier Ratsirarka, when he announced in Tanarive recently that all co-operation with South Africa would cease immediately.

The Foreign Minister also stated that his government will be cancelling the convention under which South Africa was to build a five-star hotel on the island of Nossi-Be. Behind the sudden change in attitude towards South Africa is the fact that the pro-South African Government of Malagasy was replaced in a military take-over after a nation-wide strike by students and workers.

Among the demands made by the strikers was one demanding the total disengagement of their government with South Africa. Let us take a look at the history of this ill-fated and fraudulent policy.

As long ago as 1964, Dr. Hilgard Muller, South Africa's Minister of Foreign Affairs, in his first policy statement said: "At present we are isolated from Africa north of the Zambezi, but I ask myself if this is not a temporary position." From then, it took two years for the first big show "of a change of heart" by the White ruling clique in South Africa.

Chief Jonathan, the Prime Minister of Lesotho, played host to Dr. Verwoerd, then Prime Minister of the Republic, early in September, 1966.

In January, the following year, Vorster, who had by then become Prime Minister of South Africa, invited Chief Jonathan to the Republic. For the first time, a Black man wined and dined in a White hotel in Cape Town. Soon thereafter, South Africa had signed a trade agreement with Malawi, sent a Minister to visit Botswana and before the year was out, the government had opened the door to the first Black diplomatic mission on South African soil.

The government reinforced its "outward" movement by setting up a R5-million loan fund to stimulate economic co-operation with African States.

Many African states, fortunately not the majority, fell for the trap set by Vorster, who in the meantime had gained wide support among all White parties, including the so-called Progressive Party, which immediately sent out two emissaries - Helen Suzman and its Chairman, Colin Eglin - on a tour of African states to gain support for the policy of "dialogue".

By 1971, optimism among the White South Africans was running wild. The Malagasy Republic had accepted the principle of Dialogue; President Busia of Ghana also agreed; so did the Francophone countries led by the Ivory Coast, but embracing also in varying degrees, Gabon, Dahomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Togo, The Central African Republic, Mauritius.

The OAU meeting in 1971, however, was absolutely firm on the subject and by an overwhelming majority rejected the whole concept of dialogue between African states and White South Africa.

Many of the states which had misunderstood the whole concept presented by the South Africans, withdrew their support for dialogue immediately. Others like Ghana and Madagascar continued to support dialogue. A R2,230,000 loan agreement was signed between South Africa and Madagascar.

Even in these countries the tide was turning and popular movements of the people within these countries demonstrated their abhorrence of apartheid when they took to the streets to put forward their own demands for change in their countries.

The result was that the governments of, first Ghana, then Madagascar, fell and the new rulers, responding to the popular will of the people, have rejected the overtures of the White South African regime.

All the African countries, except Malawi, and including Lesotho, have now rejected the idea of having a dialogue with White South Africa.

Mr. Vorster and his supporters completely misread the anger that apartheid generates among the peoples of our continent. Furthermore, they have underestimated the astuteness of Black African leaders in assessing their (the S.A. Whites) claim that there can be equality for them in South Africa.

We have said it before and say it again: The only meaningful dialogue that can take place in South Africa is between the genuine leaders of the national movements, many of whom are now languishing in prison, and the White South African government, with the object of establishing a truly democratic constitution guaranteeing full and equal rights for all South African citizens - both Black and White.

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THE AFTERMATH OF THE OVAMBO STRIKE

We have reported in previous issues of SECHABA on the great Ovambo strike in Namibia towards the end of last year. We also reported that because of the strict security net thrown around Ovambo (Ovamboland) by the South African authorities further news of the strike was impossible to come by.

Now, however, we are able to report what the situation was like in January of this year in Ovambo because of evidence that had been given at the inquest into the death of eight men who were shot by the police during the strike.

Twenty affidavits, comprising of some 800 pages, from the police and people who saw the shooting, were whisked away immediately after the inquest was held and placed with a magistrate in Ovambo. Because the territory is still being governed under emergency regulations and entry by outsiders is prohibited, no-one was able to gain access to these affidavits which in the normal course of events would have been available to the press and public. The "Rand Daily Mail", however, persisted in pressing for the release of the documents to its reporters and after much toing and froing permits were granted by the authorities on a Friday for reporters of the Mail to go into Ovambo for a day.

Photocopying of the documents were refused, the magistrate ruling that only court certified copies were legal. It was too late to fly to Ovambo, inspect 800 pages of documents and return to Windhoek, where there is no landing facilities for small aircraft. The courts were closed on Saturdays. After further representations, the magistrate agreed to allow the reporters to peruse the documents on the Saturday.

The Situation in Ovambo

According to Police evidence, the situation in Ovambo when the 13,000 strikers had returned there from the cities was explosive.

Efforts to recruit Chibundu workers from Angola to counter-act the effects of the strike in Namibia failed when the Ovambo rounded up the Chibundus and threw them bodily over the fence that runs along the international border. On January 18, armed Ovambos stormed and released men

who had been arrested and held in a police truck and on the same evening destroyed 220 km of border fence and 140 stock inspection kraals.

Police evidence also showed that the Ovambos believed that anybody breaking the strike was committing a crime against the nation because the people had collectively decided on it. The South African Police also stated that they had been attacked by armed Ovambos on January 28 at Ondobe and on January 30 at Epinga, when eight Africans were shot dead.

But the few Ovambos who made statements to the inquest about the Epinga incident do not refer to any attack whatsoever on the part of the people.

What The Ovambos Say

Mr. Saumbua-Ehafu Muakihuka, from across the Angola border, said he had gone to Epinga to church. After the service he heard preparations being made for a meeting. "On the way home, about three miles from the church, we came across a group of Ovambos running away from the police there.

"I saw the police loading three bodies and three wounded into a vehicle. I heard gunfire before I got there.

"When I went nearer a White policeman called me and I went to him. When I was a few yards from him he shot me with a gun. I don't know how many shots were fired but I found I had three wounds.

"I had no weapons and I don't know why I was shot."

Mr. Paulus Nghidinwa, said he was on the way home from church when he joined a group of people under a tree.

"I didn't notice that they were armed. I had no weapon. Before the speakers could address the meeting the police arrived.

"What then happened I can't remember."

Inquest Findings

The Inquest magistrate, with the Attorney General concurring found that all eight men were shot by the police "in the execution of their duties."

Four of the dead men were listed as "unknown". The others were: **Joseph Shunguavai**, aged 28, **Philipus Shilua**, aged 40, **Herman Benjamin**, aged 35 and **Petrus Haifiku**, aged 40. We do not wish to comment on the so-called impartiality of



the South African judiciary. We have done this elsewhere in this issue where we deal with the inquest into the death of Ahmed Timol, who died while in police custody.

However, we are of the opinion that the legality of the actions in Ovambo is suspect in terms of international law. According to the 1971 opinion of the International Court of Justice, South Africa's authority in the territory has been terminated.

This means that the lawfulness of the conduct of those in authority is suspect to say the least. They have no moral or legal right to be in the territory.

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HISTORY – SOUTH AFRICAN STYLE

History taught in South African schools have always been blatantly biased in favour of the White ruling class in South Africa.

But, the recent text book issued to children studying for their senior certificate, really takes the cake. It contains gross distortions of the real history of South Africa, and indeed the world, contains literally hundreds of spelling and grammatical errors.

Called the "New illustrated History for Senior Certificate" (Vol. 2, General History), it is the English version of a work already available in Afrikaans to Transvaal high schools for standards nine and ten.

Scholarship

The authors are Professor F. A. van Jaarsveld of Rand Afrikaans University, and Professor Theo van Wijk of the University of South Africa, both professors of history. The publishers, in 1970, were Voortrekker-pers now Perskor, who have sent this version out for review.

Presumably the finished work translated by a Mr. R. Paken-dorf, was vetted by the authors and can be taken as a fair reflection of their English and scholarship.

But judge it for yourself. The foreword says: "May this book contribute to make of our pupils better South Africans, better patriots and more enlightened people."

There is also a reference to circumspection – "the highest good of an education in history" – and contemplation. Contemplation, the authors say, "naturally fosters the critical faculties-if the teacher gives the correct guidance." But teacher's first guidance will have to be in regard to the spelling: e. g. equiped, opportunity, guarilla, agression, allainces, colonailism. Not to mention little printing slips like nad, onw, inportance, Gremans, adops, commutist and Krhushchev.

The maps record a nation called the "Chechs," a state called "Newfoundland" and the Battle of the "Piramids" in Napoleon's "Egipthian" campaign. And New South Wallis.

Cartoon

Charles Albert abdicates in favour of Victor Immanuel on page 87. Karl Marx writes the "Communist Manifests". Southern Africa is "administrated" by Whites. Charles X of France, in a cartoon (he is Karel X on a map) is "a reactionary like an immovable pole."

A caption to a cartoon of "Louis Filip," depicted walking

on a tightrope, reads: "He is walking on thin rope and can tumble down any minute."

Elsewhere: "Louis Philippe, the fat citizen king with his umbrella and typical bourgeois way of life, had to be careful to avoid being assassinated. Once a gun with 24 barrels mowed down his body-guard but only grazed his chin. On another occasion a bullet whistled through his hair, eliciting the smiling comment from Louis 'Phillippe' that: 'It seems that in hunting me there is no close season'."

Under the Ancien Regime some European armies were put back into pigtails. Van Jaarsveld and Van Wijk record that at Wartbury in 1817, some students threw some conservative "pamflets" and "a pig's tail" which the soldiers had had to use under the Old Regime into a fire.

(History can be fun.)

Then there is that "revolutionary revolt" in South America. And Russia's policy of "russification".

And the curious use of italics – by the hundred. Such as: "As soon as a native accepts the (Portuguese) White man's way of life all barriers **fall away** to make place for **complete equality**." It is "the tactic of Soviet Russia to **stir up srife**". There was a feverish rush for colonies."

When it comes to the history of this century – world war and world government – Russia emerges as the bogey. Naturally. No one denies that she emerged immensely powerful after the Second World War. But this history implies that the concern of the Allies with German aggression was unwarranted and misguided.

Humiliated

"England and the United States were maily concerned with victory over Germany, thus giving Stalin the opportunity to outwit them." And, "Western statesmen realised to late that their concentration on the distruction of Germany would give Russia the opportunity of expanding her power."

At the same time, it is stressed that the terms of the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 humiliated Germany and made the war inevitable.

Fair enough, but war-veterans' children in South Africa, already far removed from the horrors, for Europe, of rations, black-outs and bombing, could be led, with a little teacher "guidance" perhaps, to believing that their fathers' war was not only unnecessary, but merely helped to make the world a better place for "russification".

Hitler was guilty of an "expansionist policy" – but that was the Allies' fault in the first place. True, internally, "all opposition was wiped out through the use of terror and violence", the book says.

Otherwise the Hitler-Nazi record is clean. No hint of atrocities, no camps, no persecution of the Jews.

Not so when it comes to the book's treatment of Stalinist Russia. Then, suddenly, party purges, labour camps, "especially cruel" persecution of the Jews, murder and mercilessness, etc., are worthy of mention.

African or "Bantu" nationalism is seen, like the growth of communism, as the direct result of that silly Second World War those naughty Allies insisted on fighting. Under origins of African nationalism, the book lists the rise of Russia and the United States and their ideological struggle, the diminishing powers of the colonial countries of Europe, and Asian reaction to early Japanese successes.

Conscious

Also the fact that "thousands of Black soldiers" were used against Germany and her allies, thus arousing "great ex-

pectations in the Black soldiers' breasts . they started getting conscious of their dignity".

The process of "equalisation" - reaction to racial domination by, for example, Germany, was extended to embrace Black and White. "The coloured nations of Africa and Asia demand complete equality with the Whites - they are opposed against racial discrimination, a colour bar and inequality. In this they are supported by both Western Liberalism and Communism."

Another factor mentioned is the UN, which "indirectly encourages revolution, sabotage and terrorism in Southern Africa with the purpose of putting the Whites under a Non-White majority rule". Then a bit of mixed flesh-creep:

"Nowdays White-controlled Southern Africa is exposed to the full blast of the revolutionary storm which is blowing against it from the North."

And: "Africa resembles a gigantic python which has sloughed off its old skin and got a new one."

Then, of course, follows the whole catastrophe, with a detailed analysis of the clearly disastrous results of the policy of self-determination in Algeria and the failure of partnership in the Rhodesias. Amid the chaos of African independence, are the beacons Southern Rhodesia, Portuguese Africa and South Africa - homes of the Whites of Southern Africa "who are not prepared to allow" the African revolution's intention of having the whole of Africa ruled by Black majority governments. Probably in the interests of "better patriots", these historians give an unequivocal "us v. them" view. On the one side, there is militant African nationalism, playball of the rest of a world locked in ideological conflict; on the other, Whites, not individual party governments, just Whites, united in their stand against Black domination. In the smaller print, there to be "utilised" by "A" stream pupils who intend writing university entrance examinations, the authors present as "history":

During the past 10 years South Africa has been locked in a cold war with the UN and the Black African States. The Whites in this country are not prepared to capitulate and to abdicate. However, the African states have succeeded in isolating South Africa. In addition, the Press and the whole world, as well as public opinion everywhere, are against South Africa. The situation demands very much from the country's rulers. But the Republic is not prepared to blown down by 'the winds of change,' that blow from the North. African nationalism and Africa revolution are both being resisted."

Is there any need for further comment?

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LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

TWO AFRICAN FROGMEN are reported to have landed on the Ciskei coast, near Hamburg, south of East London. Although African villagers nearby admitted feeding them, Police have admitted that they are "nowhere to be found".

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TEN BLACKS and one White, the driver, were killed in a train crash between Van Zyl and Norvalspont on the Port Elizabeth - Bloemfontein line. Another 22 Black and 5 Whites were injured.

Of the fourteen coaches, only two were occupied by Black passengers. These coaches, as is the rule on the South African Railways, are immediately behind the locomotives. Thus the high casualty figures of Blacks.

The total number of Black passengers on the train was 32! All either dead or injured.

* * * * *

Mr. SIMON NGOME, a Black lorry driver died after he had been "slapped with an open hand" by the Chairman of the Bethlehem Town Council's Management Committee and former mayor of the town, according to evidence accepted by the court.

He was fined the equivalent of less than £5. for common assault.

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INDOCTRINATION is expected of teachers and any nation which adopted a neutral education policy was virtually committing suicide, according to the Administrator of the Transvaal, Mr. S. van Niekerk.

Speaking during the budget debate recently, he denied that education was merely the conveying of a given set of facts.

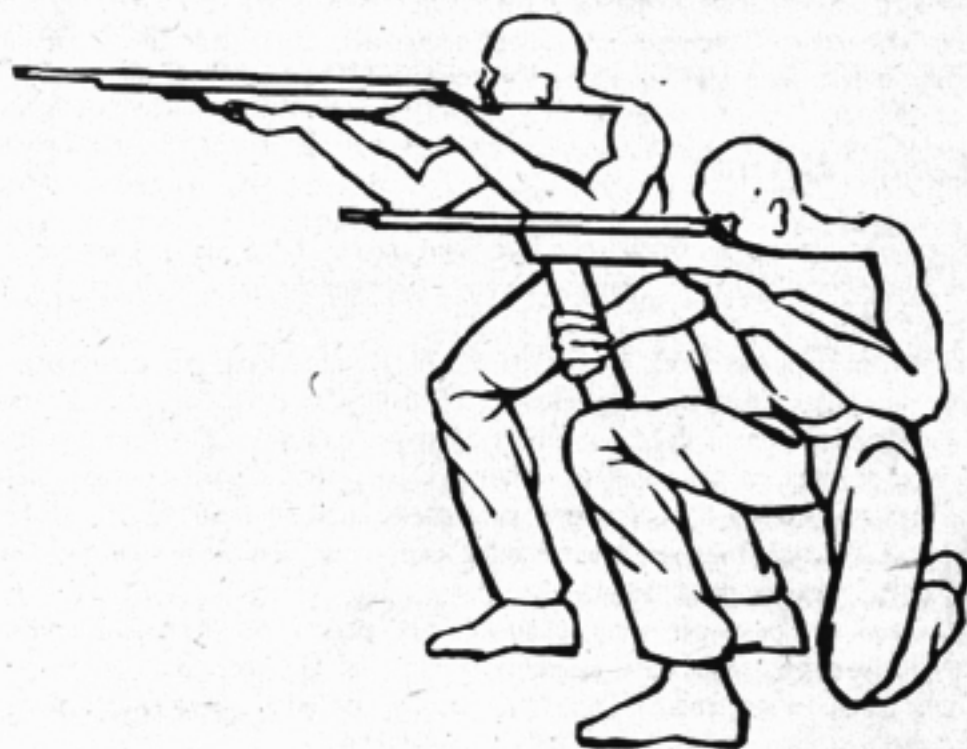
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THE NUMBER OF UNQUALIFIED TEACHERS have trebled in African schools, while the number of children in schools doubled in the last decade.

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POOR JANE-ANNE. She was once White. Now she is Black. Her troubles began when she had an operation to remove her adrenals. Soon thereafter she became Black.

We wonder what the Race Classification Board is going to do about her.



The OAU:

Presents a United Front on Apartheid

With the conclusion of the 9th Session of the OAU Heads of States Summit, recently held in Rabat, Morocco, the OAU celebrated its 10th anniversary.

Faced still with the existence of a number of countries that are still unliberated, it was proper that the Session should turn its attention particularly to this issue.

King Hassan II of Morocco, the current Chairman of the OAU, set the tone in his opening address to the Council of Foreign Ministers, when he said:

"I would like to say that, in my view, all other problems during the course of this conference should come after the question of the liberation of the African territories still under foreign domination, because it is self-evident that without liberation it is not possible to have either progress and prosperity, and therefore, neither happiness nor glory."

The conference, then, was marked by a spirit of militant and heightened solidarity in the struggle against the common enemies of Africa.

Whereas Cecil Rhodes had dreamt of Africa dominated by imperialism from the Cape to Cairo, here we had Africa from the Cape to Cairo, united in her common resolve to struggle against imperialism. Not only were all the authentic liberation movements represented, but the Session was also attended by a record number of Heads of States.

Banda Absent

The absence of Banda's Malawi from both the Council of Ministers and the Summit was therefore all that more remarkable.

In its larger context, this signified the continuing collapse of the Vorster regime's policy of dialogue and imperialist expansionism and the isolation of the carriers of these policies among the ranks of the African peoples. The militant and comprehensive resolution adopted unanimously on South Africa (which we reproduce below) marked a further defeat of the Vorster regime.

Malawi's absence was also living proof of the correctness and timeliness of the warning issued by the South African liberation movement that the policy of dialogue was aimed, among other things, at dividing Africa.

It is a pointer to the growing maturity of the anti-imperialist resolve of the peoples of Africa that the outgoing Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU could correctly report that:

"It is also gratifying to note . . . the unity demonstrated by the African states and the liberation movements during the (Security) Council's session (in Addis Ababa). Their voices were one and unequivocal. Regrettably, some of the Permanent Members of the Security Council, like Great Britain, the United States of America and France, who had selfish and unavowable interests, endeavoured to distract the Council from taking effective measures. Further, those members of the Security Council were anxious to avoid taking positions on Africa's firm draft resolutions which would only involve them in choosing between a positive attitude of cooperation and the abusive and shameful exercise of the right of veto and unpardonable abstention. They displayed a false attitude of cooperation and understanding of the colonial and racist problems of the African continent."

The Secretary-General's report was adopted by the Rabat Summit, in the presence of the liberation movements, as representing the attitudes of the peoples of Africa.

Resolution On South Africa

The Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in its Nineteenth Ordinary Session in Rabat, Morocco from 5 to 12 June 1972,

Noting with deep concern that the African people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe are still subjected to exploitation, humiliation and persecution by the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury because of their policies of apartheid and racial discrimination,

Reaffirming the inalienable right of the people of these territories to self-determination and independence,

Considering that the policy of South Africa which aims at breaking its isolation and at consolidating the minority racist regimes in southern African calls for vigilance and vigorous action by Member States.

Noting with deep concern that several countries, in particular the NATO member countries, continue to supply military and other assistance to the South African authorities and that the investments and trade of these countries and Japan with South Africa have increased considerably, in violation of their UN Charter obligations,

Recognizing that the extensive arms build-up of military forces of South Africa and the means to manufacture armaments by South Africa enables the South African authorities to continue with their oppressive measures against the non-white people of that territory and poses a real threat to the security and sovereignty of independent African States,

Recognizing further that the provision of arms by States to South Africa not only increases tensions and endangers international peace and security, in violation of obligations assumed under the UN Charter, but also increases this regime's aggressive potential aimed at the recolonization of the African Continent,

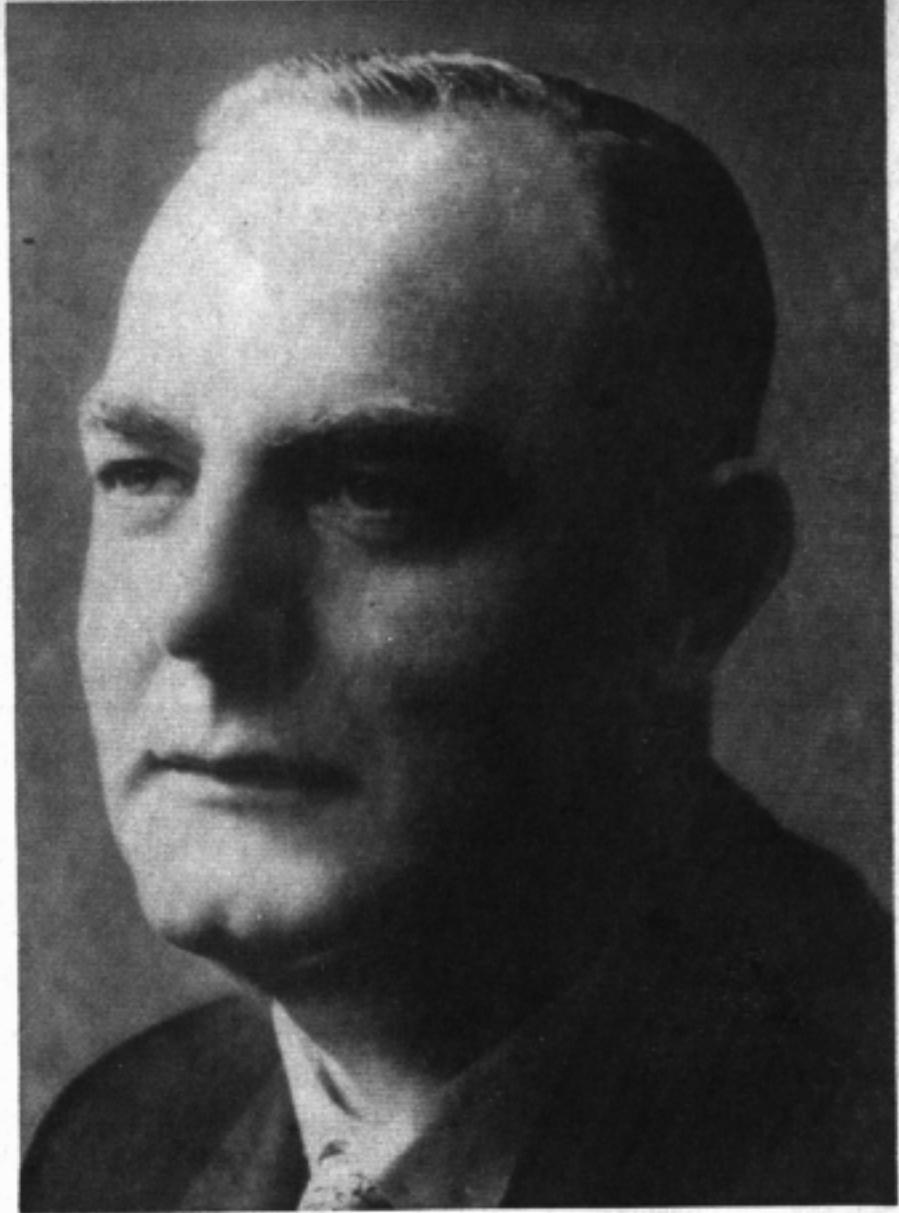
Noting with satisfaction the growing opposition in South Africa as well as in many parts of the world to the odious practices of racial discrimination pursued by the South African regime.

Paying tribute to the liberation struggle being waged by the African people in South Africa to regain their freedom and national independence,

Considering that the establishment of Bantustans and other measures adopted by the Government of South Africa in pursuance of apartheid are designed to consolidate and perpetuate domination by a white minority and the dispossession and exploitation of the African and other non-white people of South Africa, as well as of Namibia;



Banda



Vorster

1. **Condemns** the establishment by the Government of South Africa of Bantu homelands (Bantustans) and the forcible removal of the African people of South Africa and Namibia to those areas as a violation of their inalienable rights, contrary to the principle of self-determination and prejudicial to the territorial integrity of the countries and unity of their peoples;
2. **Reaffirms** the inalienable right of the African people of South Africa to self-determination and national independence within the framework of territorial integrity and national unity;
3. **Reiterates** its full and unconditional support for the oppressed people of South Africa in its armed struggle to put an end to the policy of apartheid and realize its profound and legitimate aspirations;
4. **Invites** Member States to increase substantially moral, financial and material aid to the liberation movements in Southern Africa so as to hasten the elimination of the colonial and racist system in that part of the continent;
5. **Rejects** the machinations by the South Africa authorities to break African solidarity and isolate the liberation movements through the so-called "outward-looking and dialogue policies";
6. **Strongly condemns** those States of the NATO alliance, in particular France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Federal Republic of Germany which continue to provide arms or the means to manufacture arms to the Pretoria regime, in violation of UN Security Council resolutions;
7. **Rejects** the assertion that the Security Council arms embargo against South Africa makes a distinction between arms for external defence and arms for internal repression;
8. **Declares** that those States which supply arms to South Africa or means to manufacture arms are hostile to the aspirations of the African people of South Africa for freedom, equality and justice;
9. **Places prime responsibility** on those countries which con-

- tinue to invest in and trade with South Africa for the continued oppression, exploitation and domination of the African people of that country through the encouragement and material assistance they are providing to racist regimes;
10. **Commends** the activities of anti-apartheid movements, trade-unions- student organizations, religious and other groupings which support the legitimate struggle of the oppressed peoples of southern Africa and invites them to intensify their efforts in this respect;
 11. **Calls upon** all governments, organizations and individuals to give more substantial moral, political, humanitarian and material support to the liberation struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe directly to the liberation movements or through to OAU;
 12. **Calls upon** all Member States to exert pressure on foreign companies operating in their territories which are either subsidiaries or associated with companies operating in South Africa to withdraw from that country;
 13. **Reaffirms** the measures advocated in resolutions CM Res. 242 (XVII) which are by means of world-wide campaigns designed to:
 - (a) ensure the discontinuation of all military assistance and co-operation with South Africa;
 - (b) boycott South Africa in the economic, cultural, sport and other fields;
 - (c) put a stop to torture in prisons and obtain the release of all political prisoners, which include such outstanding patriots as Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada and Fisher and lift restrictions on ex-political prisoners including Sobukwe;
 - (d) ensure that the freedom fighters enjoy the benefits of the provisions of the Geneva Conventions on prisoners of war and ensure participation of liberation movements in the drafting and application of international humanitarian law applicable to conflicts described as internal;
 - (e) take appropriate measures against companies investing in South Africa;
 - (f) prohibit emigration to South Africa, especially by skilled workers.

BOOK REVIEWS

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

TOWARDS SOCIAL CHANGE

Report of the Spro-cas* social commission
Published by the S.A. Council of Churches and the Christian
Institute of South Africa, Johannesburg.

THE CHURCH AND REBELLION

The British Council of Churches set up a working party in 1970 which published a report: **Violence in Southern Africa**. That report effectively justified violence against apartheid in these terms: **"But there can be a just rebellion as well as a just war, and we cannot sincerely withhold support for those who have decided to face the certain suffering involved in such a rebellion"**.

The report was not ultimately accepted by the British Council of Churches but it did set in train new thinking which led to increasing international aid to the liberation movements in Southern Africa by the World Council of Churches, previously uncommitted governments and various world agencies. The central issue in all this has been the recognition of the right to use revolutionary action in the struggle for liberation.

Yet, in the place where support is most needed, in South Africa itself, the white controlled Council of Churches has rejected this same principle. In a recent comprehensive report sponsored by the South African Council of Churches and the Christian Institute of Southern Africa the question of social change is confronted with a thoroughness not seen before in these circles. But on the issue of liberation it is negative. Conceding a great deal on many major aspects of policy so that the report has an apparent progressive orientation, it is nevertheless unhelpful on the essential point before us, namely that change will come to South Africa by way of a revolution or not at all. Instead, a whole series of minor issues and partial struggles are mooted which in the context of the report can only be seen as an attempt to hamper the growth of a wider consciousness among the mass of the people for fundamental change.

No-one in his right senses can be opposed to partial struggles and the use of all kinds of platforms for the mobi-

lization of the people. On the contrary, these steps are essential, particularly in the present period of intense repression, when great tactical flexibility must be exercised and all opportunities exploited to advance a spirit of resistance, oppose the ideology of the government and so on. But the essential point must not be lost in all this, namely that these partial struggles must be seen as a part of the revolution itself. The illusion must not be allowed to grow that partial struggles can bring about what can only come with a revolution. Nor should its proponents be allowed to line up with the government against the revolution and yet retain any credibility.

This thought comes to mind in connection with a statement made by a Mr. Schlemmer who was responsible for the first draft of the main statement in this book and who contributed a paper in his own name as well. In his own paper, Mr. Schlemmer says: "The need for strict security measures against those who plan the armed and violent overthrow of any existing government is not questioned". (p 180). (Though he does object to "unnecessarily repressive measures"). Furthermore he says "There is a very real danger that internal pressure will take the form, ultimately, of open and unregulated conflict . . . the latent potential for ultimate violence can only be dissipated by institutionalised and regulated "conflict", in the course of which blacks can press for specific rights and improvements in their circumstances". (p 161)

Mr. Schlemmer then proceeds to set out a programme for articulating black pressure so that "the strategic action for change" will take a form which will "reduce the heat of inevitable conflict". **It is in the light of these statements that the current hostility of SASO spokesmen to white liberals becomes comprehensible.** (See SECHABA May 1972) How can mutual trust be established between white liberals and black students when the framework in which social change is discussed is the need to regulate conflict, contain it within certain institutions and at the same time justify the security measures of the government?

CLASS OPPRESSION

It must nevertheless be conceded that the first section of the book does contain some valuable insights. This part was signed by Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, together with various academics from both English and Afrikaans universities, and it must be immediately acknowledged that if this section had been published alone it would have been recognised as a useful contribution to the political literature on the character of South African society. This even though its perspectives and practical proposals don't go far enough.

The bulk of liberal writing on South Africa has focused on colour discrimination in so far as it offends against the dignity of man. A great deal has also been written on the brutalities committed by whites as a consequence of what has been presented as an irrational hatred of black people. The present book goes some way to complete the picture. It thrusts below the explanation that the system of apartheid is due to white prejudice, by asking why it should be that whites in South Africa are so blinded by colour that they have constructed one of the most oppressive regimes in the world. The answer given is fundamental: South Africa is a 'race oligarchy' with whites holding all the reins of power and using it "to extract labour from the subject groups for the benefit of the economy which is owned by the dominant group".

On this analysis neither the colour differences nor the differing cultural heritage are of fundamental importance, but it is economic interest which lies at the heart of the system and explains its peculiar character. This argument leads the

* Spro-cas: Sudy Project for Christianity in an Apartheid Society

writers to classify the system as one of class. And class is not seen as a mere matter of status, "but it is used to denote sharp distinctions in privilege and authority, and the possession of or exclusion from control over the economic resources of the country".

Now while one might dispute this definition of class, it nevertheless represents a considerable advance on previous explanations of apartheid which relied only on colour prejudice, and the report concludes that "South Africa is a society characterised by deep class cleavages and by a potential for bitter class conflict." Class conflict will, however, take the form of a colour conflict since the intermediate strata in South African society tend to line up in terms of colour. Thus even the less affluent among the whites identify politically with the ruling class, while the small group of better-off blacks are so hemmed in by restrictions that many of them are bound to oppose the ruling class.

White self-interest, then, is the explanation offered for the apartheid system, while racialism is shown to be the reinforcing and justifying ideology for class domination and exploitation. Abundant statistics are provided to show that exploitation is intense and that the gap in the wages and salaries for Black and White is increasing rapidly.

Having identified the main problem as inequality between people of different colour, the report nevertheless warns that "power and greed know no colour bar" (p 49), and that an all-Black Cabinet might not lead to the abolition of exploitation.

At this point the report loses its way. It argues that evolutionary change by way of franchise concessions to Blacks is out of the question and that the 'homelands' are mere 'token gestures' for the justification of white domination. What remains? A plea that conflicts with the whole trend of the earlier analysis. They call for Blacks to develop pressure in the arena of labour relations and for the utilization of the institutions of separate development for political struggle against apartheid.

We now return to the paper by Mr. Schlemmer who based his own recommendations on the analysis in the main report. He proposes that "the greatest hope for peaceful change" lies in the opportunities for Blacks to exert constructive pressure on Whites. How is this to be done? Not by cooperating with the liberation movements (he is opposed to that), not by "secret organisation" which is "futile", nor by economic boycotts abroad, but by working for "organised and regulated bargaining between Blacks and Whites". By community action groups, by leadership training courses, by "fund raising trips overseas", and "visits to the headquarters of large foreign firms operating in South Africa". This is his road to freedom for the oppressed people of South Africa.

Perhaps it needs to be reiterated that much of the analysis in this book is penetrating, new and helpful. Even some of the proposals for action are positive and could be put to good effect. But our main perspective must not be clouded by people who want to "regulate conflict". None in the liberation movement wants or seeks senseless conflict and wanton bloodshed. Nor is anyone opposed to partial struggles and there is much to be said for working within government created bodies while alternative avenues are still difficult. But all this must be seen in the context and perspective of an inescapable and necessary revolution that is likely to be violent and perhaps even in the nature of a protracted people's war. The South African Council of Churches would do well to pay some attention to the words of the Bishop of Zululand, the Right. Rev. Alpheus Zulu who said on May 17 that the harshness of discrimination made a Black man look simple and naive if he continued to advo-

cate the effectiveness of non-violence. "Even if the patience of such persons should be strangely endless it may be necessary for them to have to act with severity in the way that God himself deals with the humanity he loves."

B. T.

An interesting collection of their experiences in Angola, interviews with MPLA leaders and militants and official documents of the movement has been produced by two Americans, Don Barnett and Roy Harvey

The Revolution in Angola: MPLA Life Histories and Documents

Published by Bobbs Merrill, New York 1972

Don Barnett, an anthropologist and journalist, went to Dar-es-Salaam in 1967 and, after publishing a series of articles on the MPLA (some of which are reproduced in this book) and other liberation movements, was invited, together with Roy Harvey, a photographer, to visit Angola in August 1968.

Though this book lacks a coherence that could have guided the reader through a rather bewildering array of material, it nevertheless contains many useful insights into both the sufferings of the Angolan people at the hands of the Portuguese and the struggle being conducted with such tenacity by the MPLA. In personal histories by members of the movement a degree of exploitation emerges which is no less shocking for its understatement. As Barnett observes, in his all too brief introduction, five hundred years of Portuguese rule has conditioned the Angolans to only regard it as abnormal when cruelty reaches the level of insane sadism or genocide.

Of particular interest to South Africans is the decision of the MPLA to open the Third Front in the Eastern Region in 1966 - a move aimed at generalising the struggle and forcing the dispersal of Portuguese troops. Here the MPLA has also engaged South African troops and, in 1968, a South African base was established in Luatamba in Moxico. South Africa supplies Portugal with war material, especially helicopters and logistic support is given from bases in South West Africa to Portuguese forces operating in the South of Angola. Yet the dispersal of South African forces beyond her own territory, to Mozambique and Angola and Zimbabwe, over an area of 5 million square kilometers, is seen by MPLA as a source of weakness for South Africa.

Reading these accounts cannot fail to impress one by the candour of the leaders in admitting mistakes and discussing problems, many of them unique, being tackled by a guerilla movement in this huge and sparsely populated country - how to instil discipline, ways of handling problems arising out of traditional beliefs and practices, relations between the sexes since MPLA has women and girls in their army, too, to mention only a few.

To quote just one example of a refreshing readiness to admit to shortcomings and an impressive integrity I should like to quote from a speech made over Radio Tanzania by Dr. Augustino Neto, President of MPLA, in 1970, in which he calls for more initiative in combat by MPLA in order to intensify the generalised struggle. While not depreciating the importance of international solidarity and support, Dr. Neto called for the utilisation of MPLA's own forces in resolving the problems of the revolution. International support is secondary: "What is primary is our action within the country, for it is through this action that we will achieve real independence".

M. T.

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Book Reviews cont.

The Apartheid Axis – United States and South Africa

By William Pomeroy (Little New World Paperbacks)

The liberation struggle in Southern Africa has to grapple with a range of complexities presented by the Vorster Caetano – Smith regimes.

These regimes have and will for a long time maintain their grip over the suffering black masses, largely because of the treacherous and deliberate role of the British, Portuguese and American governments. A further agency for their nefarious activities comes through their association in NATO which in turn pulls in the other Western European countries which all goes towards bolstering up the colonial and racist regimes in Southern Africa.

William Pomeroy's book, therefore, becomes a very handy catalogue of chiefly what the United States is doing in the interest of big business. He gives the background to the apartheid state, the U.S. collaboration with apartheid

which brings in the Chrysler Corporation, Hoover Company, International Telephone and Telegraph (the name rings a bell!) United Shoe, etc. etc. who work through their British subsidiaries who in turn place their massive investments into South African subsidiaries.

On the government level, the U.S. openly and secretly supplies military hardware to the Vorster-Caetano- and Smith clique. This arrangement has a dual purpose as the manufacture of armaments is contracted to private U.S. companies sold directly and indirectly through NATO to contain the situation in Southern Africa.

Another deceptive concept put out by Nixon and now finding expression by people like the Rev. Beyers Naude, Alan Paton, Helen Suzman and most recently the deported student, Mark Douglas-Home calling on foreign investors to fight apartheid by paying "humane" wages and thereby improve the economic position of the voteless, voiceless black people, is very well sketched by William Pomeroy's book, which shows the huge profit returns from investing in South Africa.

P. J.