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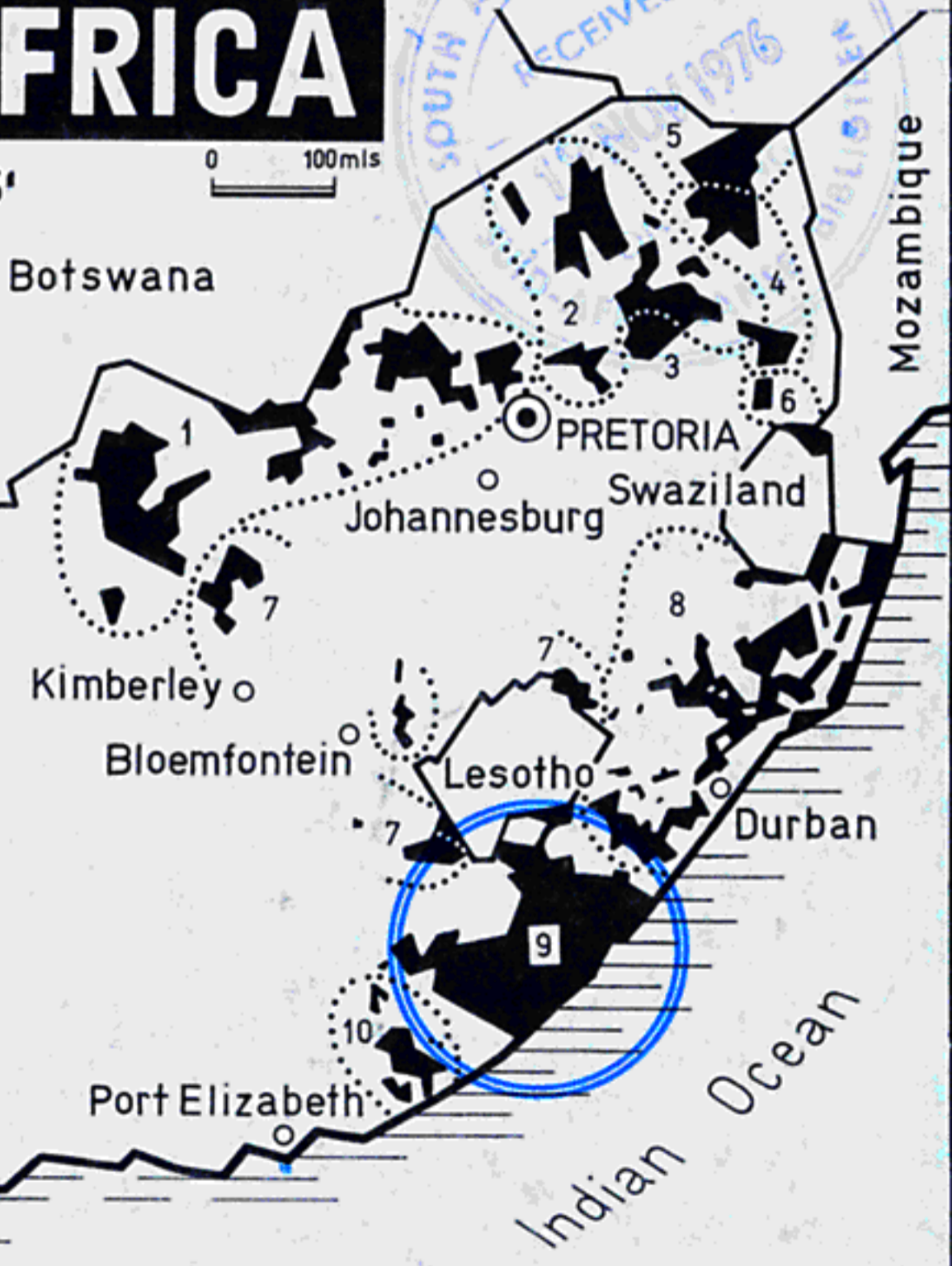
VOL 10
FOURTH
QUARTER
1976

TRANSKEI

SOUTH AFRICA

THE 'BANTU HOMELANDS'

HOMELAND	PEOPLE
1 Boputhatswana	Tswana
2 Lebowa	North Sotho
3 Ndebele	Ndebele
4 Gazankulu	Shangaan & Tsonga
5 Vhavenda	Venda
6 Swazi	Swazi
7 Basotho-Qwaqwa	South Sotho
8 Kwazulu	Zulu
9 Transkei	Xhosa
10 Ciskei	Xhosa



The Myth of Independence

SECHABA

Fourth Quarter 1976

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TRANSKEI:

The Myth of Independence

“Some have claimed that the establishment of Bantustans transcend the policy of apartheid. The question is: Can one build a non-apartheid establishment in an apartheid system?”

H.E. Brigadier Joe Garba,
Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of
Nigeria in an address on May 28, 1976, to
the U.N. seminar held in Cuba.

The South African regime is spending a small fortune on preparations for the so-called independence of the Transkei Bantustan, which is scheduled to be proclaimed on October 26, this year.

For the Vorster regime, it is vital that the whole exercise — the pomp and pageantry, the glitter and the glamour — should be a success so that the regime may project Vorster's new image of progressive statesmanship which he has been cultivating for a while now.

The domestic and international implications of the Bantustan programme was dealt with at length in *Sechaba* (Volume 10, first quarter) and other previous issues of our journal. These showed conclusively that the Bantustans were a fraud and that these fragmented pieces of land can never be truly independent.

The purpose of this article is not to belabour this point, but to expose the tremendous effort the racist regime is making to sell the idea that it is genuinely promoting the development of the African people.

Millions of Rand have already been poured into the Transkei to provide the basis for “independence day” celebrations. The capital Umtata has become something of a boom town, with many new building projects in hand, including a huge R13.6 million building to accommodate Transkei “government” departments, a military base for the small Transkei army now being trained by the South African army, a R2 million international airport, R1.5 million palace for the “State” President, a R300,000 residence for the Chief Minister and R150,000 homes for cabinet ministers, a university campus and other educational establishments, a water purification plant and sewage works, each costing about R1 million, and a number of new hotels including a 120-room Holiday Inn on the outskirts of the town.

Illuminated Fountains

Thousands of Whites and more than 300 journalists and television and radio crews from all over the world are expected to cover the event. Towards “independence” day, a vast tent town will be built to house more than 12,000 Africans from the Transkei and elsewhere.

There will be festivals of sport during the day and illuminated fountains at night, theatrical productions and choir competitions. On Monday, October 25, the representatives of White South Africa – probably the State President and/or the Prime Minister and other ministers will arrive at the new airport, and that night White South Africa will be host at a State banquet. Later the festivities will move to the new “independence” stadium where there will be tribal dancing and speeches.

The statutes of the “Transkei Independence Act” will be handed over, and the White South African anthem, *Die Stem van Suid Afrika* (“The Voice of South Africa”) sung while troops march past at five minutes to midnight. The White South African flag will be lowered, and the Transkei flag hoisted to the accompaniment of a 101-gun salute. At some stage thereafter, the Transkei national anthem – *Nkosi Sikelel i’Afrika* which is the anthem of the African National Congress and universally accepted throughout the country by all Africans – Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, Tswana, etc., as well as some independent African states – will be sung.

Foreigners

The next morning the Transkei army will officially perform the flag raising ceremony in front of the “parliament,” where at 10 a.m. the Transkei President will be elected by the members of “parliament.” So far there has been no indication who the President will be. The present Chief Minister, Chief Kaiser Matauzima, has said he is too young to be President, and he intends to remain in active politics, obviously as Chief Minister. The President will be installed that same afternoon to the accompaniment of a 21-gun salute, and that night he will be host at a Transkei “State” banquet in honour of all foreign guests. From then onwards, all South Africans who are not Transkei will also count as foreigners.

The “Transkei Independence Act” has not yet been finalised by the White regime, and so there is still some uncertainty as to who will be Transkei citizens. Vorster has

said that ultimately, when all ten Bantustans have obtained their “independence,” there will be no African citizen left in White South Africa – all will be citizens of their respective Bantustans, irrespective of where they were born or whether they have any links whatsoever with their so-called homelands. However, the White regime is finding the definition of a Transkei citizen a matter of some difficulty. In addition, it is meeting with some resistance from the present Transkei “government,” which wants to give all potential citizens the option of deciding whether to be a Transkei citizen or whether to remain a subject of “White” South Africa.

The problem is that of the more than 4 million Xhosa-speaking Africans in South Africa, the Transkei is only regarded as the “homeland” of 3 million – the remaining one million belonging to the Ciskei Bantustan. If nationhood is to be determined by ethnic origin, why have two separate “homelands.”

To this there is no answer except that the White racist regime wants it that way, in furtherance of its policy of divide and rule.

Imposed by Whites

A second problem is that of the 3 million Transkeians, only a little over 50 percent actually live in the Transkei. The rest live and work in “White” South Africa, and in fact, a good proportion of them have been born and bred in “White” South Africa and have no connection with their “homeland” at all. Most urban Africans of all ethnic groups are opposed to the Bantustan concept, have not bothered to register as citizens of their “homeland” and have taken no part in the phony elections of their “homeland parliaments.”

In fact, the whole Bantustan idea has been imposed on the African people by the Whites. Even though some tribal elements have made use of the Bantustan apparatus to promote their own interests, all have declared that they would have preferred the alternative of equal rights in an integrated and united South Africa. But this has been ruled out by the all-white South African parliament.



Kaizer Matanzima — „hostile world“

PHONY ELECTORAL LAW

The present legislative assembly in the Transkei consists of 110 members, only 45 of whom are elected, the remaining 65 being chiefs appointed and paid by the South African regime. It is an interesting fact that Matanzima himself, as a chief, has never, since the Transkei obtained “self-government” in 1963, had to stand for election, and that the security of his rule has been guaranteed by his in-built chiefly majority.

Earlier this year the Vorster regime passed a Transkei constitution amendment bill laying down that the composition of the

legislative assembly should be five paramount chiefs, 70 chiefs and 75 elected members. This formula increases the weight of the elected members in relation to the appointees, but still leaves Matanzima, and the South African regime in a strong position. It is planned that elections on this basis should take place before independence, though no date has yet been fixed.

Even should Matanzima feel there was a chance of his being defeated in an election, he can always rely on the emergency powers introduced in the Transkei by the South African government during the 1960 disturbances, and maintained in force at the request of Matanzima himself. Under these laws, the Transkei government can detain anybody indefinitely without trial, banish or deport them, burn down their homes, and prohibit all public meetings.

Matanzima has announced that for security reasons he intends to keep these laws in force after independence, and it is understood he also plans to retain “white” South Africa’s Terrorism Act, Suppression of Communism Act, Mixed Marriages and Immorality Acts.

Client “State”

However ‘independent’ the Transkei may prove to be politically after October 26, Transkei’s freedom will be almost totally limited by its economic dependence on South Africa. Recent surveys have established the following facts:

An “independent” Transkei can provide jobs for fewer than 25 per cent of its resident population.

About 350,000 resident Transkeians have to seek work outside the Transkei as migratory workers on the white farms, factories and mines, contributing 70 per cent of the Transkei’s income.

Although the Gross National Income of the Transkei increased by 343 per cent between 1960 and 1973, the proportion of that income generated in the Transkei itself is steadily declining. Thus in 1960 Gross Domestic Product accounted for 44 per cent of Gross National Income, but in 1973 it accounted for only 26 per cent.

The implication is clearly that the Transkei is becoming more and more dependent on the earnings of migratory workers.

Each year 26,300 people come on to the labour market in the Transkei. Although to date the South African regime has poured more than R417 million into developing the Transkei as a Bantustan showpiece, industrial and agricultural projects* in the Transkei employed only about 10,554 African workers by March 1975. The gap between the number of jobs available and the total labour force



B. J. Vorster

coming on to the market is growing wider each year.

Agricultural production in the Transkei is declining, and 90 per cent of the food consumed in the territory has to be imported.

In 1965-66, a total of 62 per cent of the Transkei's expenditure was provided by the "white" South African treasury and by 1974-75 this had increased to 77 per cent.

One survey comments that the people are too poor to save and that as a result "The generation of capital from domestic sources takes place with great difficulty". Virtually all the capital needed for further development will have to come from outside the Transkei. If the

South African regime does not continue to provide it, who will?

All the indications are, therefore, that "Independence" will make the Transkei more dependent on the white South African connection and migrant labour than ever before.

As the date of "Independence" approaches, there is no doubt that people in the Transkei itself are being gripped by a certain excitement, and some in the ranks of the opposition in the legislative assembly are joining the Matanzima party in the hope of being able to climb on the bandwagon and get some of the perks. But opposition voices continue to be heard, even in the Transkei Assembly. The leader of one opposition group, Mr Knowledge Guzana, speaking to a no confidence motion in the Transkei assembly last month, accused Matanzima of having sold his soul to the ideology of separate development.

Rich Rewards

The reward was evident in the money which the white racist regime was pouring into the Transkei, said Guzana. But the price was high. It included the sale of the right of Transkeians to live in the urban areas, and the acceptance of separate development. Mr Guzana predicted that the Transkei's dependence on "white" South Africa would compel the Transkei government to be subservient.

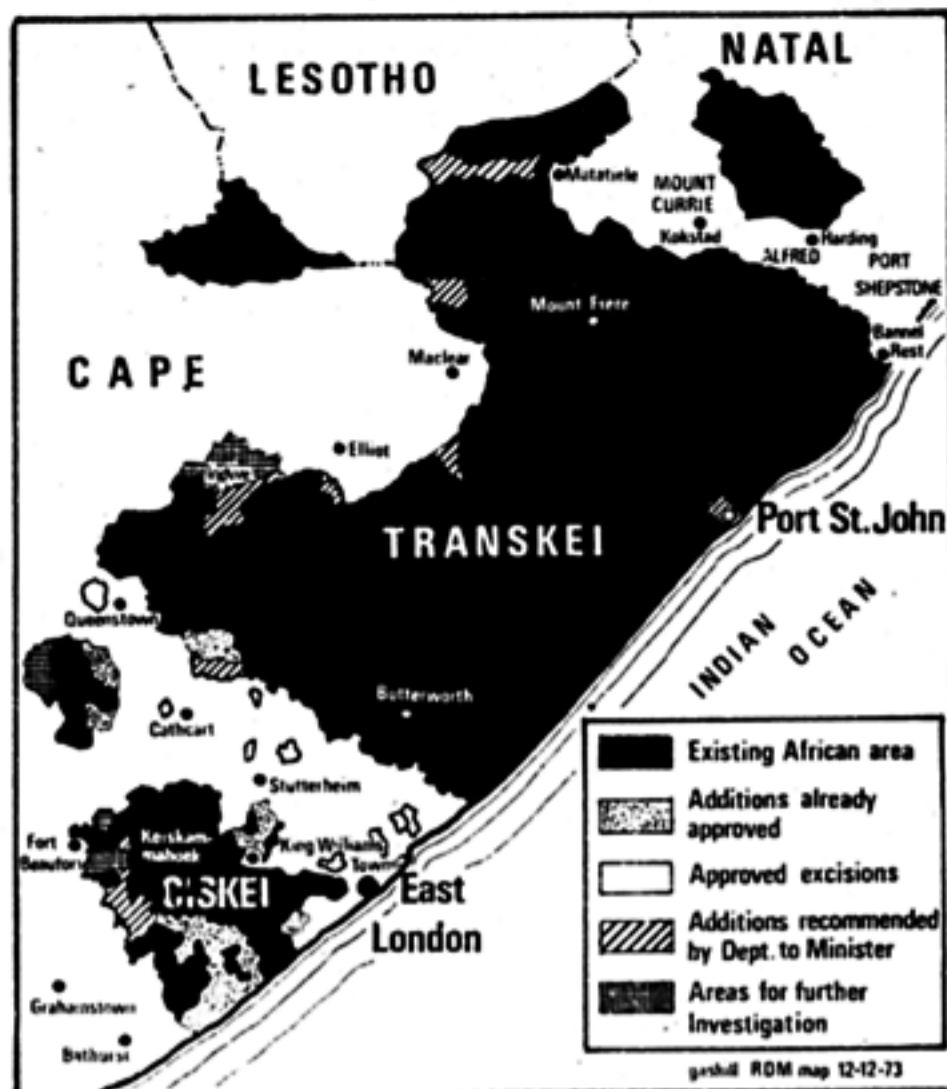
Some Transkei "government" members believed the export of muscle power to South Africa pointed to an economic independence. "But", said Mr Guzana, "I regard the export of labour on a contract basis as a glorified form of slavery".

The leader of another opposition group, Mr Hector Ncowazi, in a press interview recently, said the people of the Transkei had never been consulted about "Independence". Because of the emergency laws and the economic ties with "white" South Africa, the Transkei would get neither political nor economic freedom after "Independence".

The mood of opposition to the whole Bantustan programme has been intensified as a result of the sweep of events in Southern Africa during the past two years, and especially in the wake of the South African defeat in Angola. Of all the Bantustan "leaders", only two have said they are prepared to accept "independence" in their Bantustans — the Transkei's Matanzima and Chief Minister Lucas Mangope of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan in the Transvaal, and both stressed they will accept half a loaf because it is better than no bread at all, and that they will still press for more after "Independence". No date has yet been fixed for Bophuthatswana's "independence".

All the remaining Bantustan leaders have insisted that without more land, they are not prepared even to ask for "independence", because political independence without economic independence has no meaning.

The most articulate of the Bantustan leaders, Chief Minister Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwazulu, recently told a huge meeting of 16,000 in the Soweto township of Johannesburg that he totally rejected the whole Bantustan concept, and demanded majority rule in a united South Africa. This is a reflection of the new mood of militancy spreading amongst the African people of South Africa. It is also significant that Buthelezi sought to harness the emotions of his audience by appearing in the uniform and colours associated with the banned African National Congress. The ANC has been the most consistent opponent of the whole Bantustan exercise.



Nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that the creation of an "independent" Transkei on October 26 will inject a new element into the South African political situation the consequences of which remain unpredictable. A group of ambitious politicians is being created who will have a vested interest in "independence", its offices and privileges, and the opportunities it creates for personal enrichment, even at the expense of the mass of the people. National and class conflict will be displayed in a new context. New modes of opposition to the South African regime and its Bantustan satellites may develop. Not even the white racist regime can be sure it has not taken a step it will eventually regret.

Meanwhile, the international community, especially solidarity movements in Western Europe, North American and certain Latin American countries, must be vigilant lest their governments give recognition to this phony and fraudulent independent Bantustan. The decisions of the Organisation of African Unity and the United Nations rejecting the Bantustan concept must be widely publicised and any effort by any government or body to ignore these resolutions must be vigorously challenged.

NEW DRAGONIAN LAWS PASSED

The racist regime in South Africa has enacted two laws which pose a new and extremely grave threat to all opponents of apartheid in the country. They are:

The Internal Security Act, and

The Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act (PISCOM)

The Internal Security Act

This Act, originally introduced in the racist parliament as the **Promotion of State Security Bill**, but amended when certain sections of the press abbreviated it to read, *The S.S. Bill*, amends and extends all major security laws. In essence, the Act provides for the establishment of Nazi-type concentration camps and all the horrors that go with it.

The methods of repression it introduces, among others, are:

Imprisonment by Decree:

The Act allows the Minister of Justice to order the imprisonment, without trial for a year, of anybody whom he considers to be a threat to the security of the state. Pending the service of such an order upon the victim, any police officer can arrest without warrant the person concerned and keep him in custody for up to 7 days. The one-year period could be extended by merely re-arresting a

detainee at the end of the year he has already served and re-detaining him.

This new, wider clause introduces a procedure which completely by-passes the courts. It differs technically from the present powers of the Minister to detain persons indefinitely without trial under the Terrorism Act. In theory, at least, a detainee under the Terrorism Act can expect to be either charged, or called as a witness, or released. Under the new law, the prisoner will have no prospect of appearance in court and will just have to serve the *sentence* imposed upon him by the Minister.

One of the advantages the authorities will derive from this procedure is that they will be able to disrupt the activities of organisations which they are suspicious of, but which they do not want to proscribe, or against whose members they have no evidence of the sort that could be presented in court. Also, the intimidatory effect of the law could be considerable.

Detention of Witnesses

The Minister is empowered to order the detention of witnesses in political trials if in his view there is any danger of intimidation of witnesses, or of their absconding. Anybody so detained may be held for up to 6 months, or until the end of the trial in which they are involved. No one, except a magistrate or an officer of the state, may

visit a detained witness without consent of the Attorney General, and subject to conditions imposed by him.

This provision in some respects apparently duplicates existing laws relating to detention of witnesses (notably the *180 day law* Criminal Procedure Act No. 56 of 1955 as amended by Act No. 96 of 1965). Its introduction is presumably intended to remedy some weakness of the present laws. In some recent political trials, especially under the Terrorism Act, the state has had difficulty, and occasionally failed completely, to present a plausible prosecution case, because of the solidarity of some accomplice witnesses and their refusal to testify against their accused friends. Some witnesses have called for legal representation in court, probably on the strength of advice given before appearing. The new law would appear to make it difficult or impossible for witnesses to get legal advice, or moral and political support, before being produced in court.

Review Procedures

The Act provides for the judicial review of the position of detainees. The review committee will:

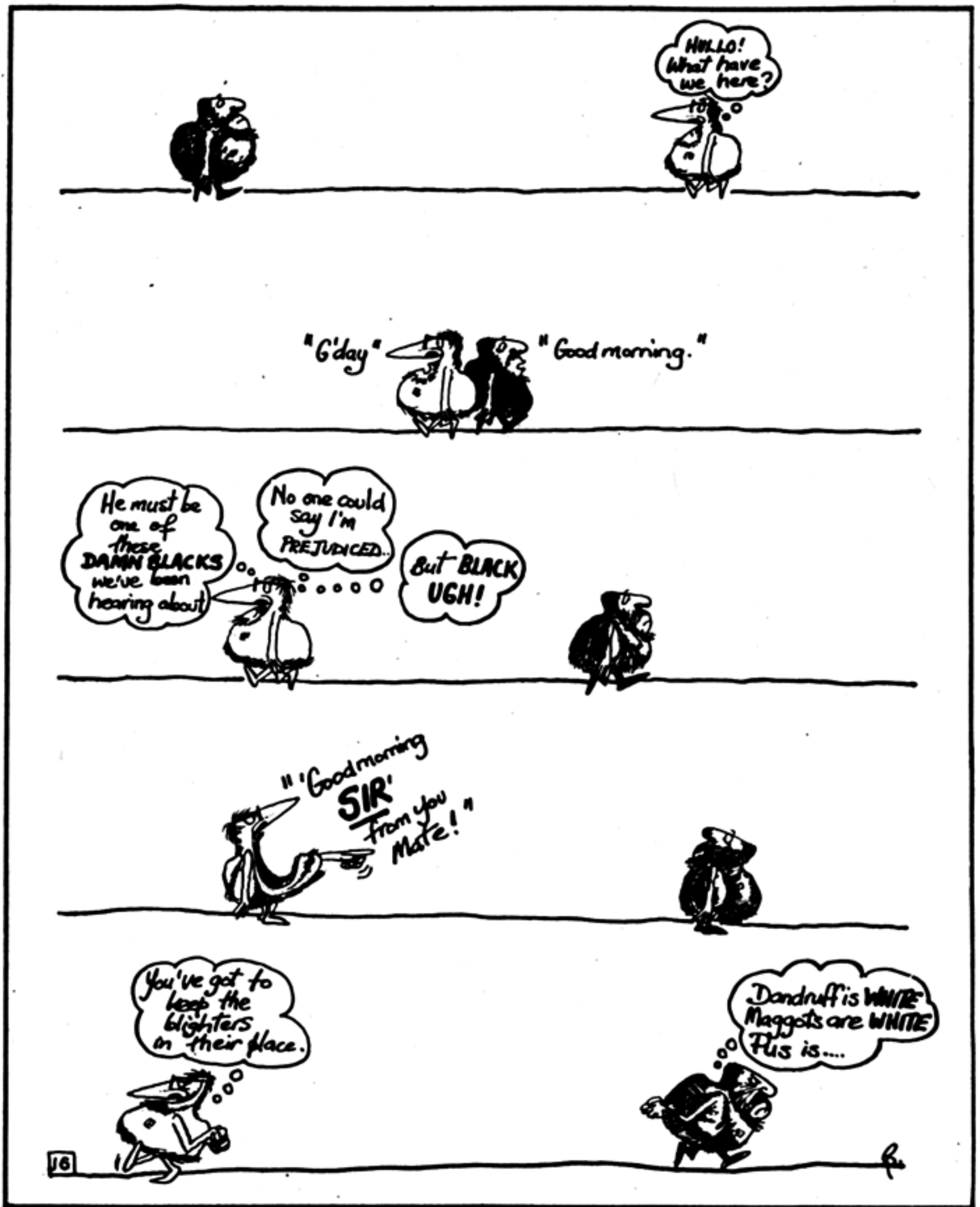
- *be headed by a judge or magistrate;*
- *investigate each detention case every six months;*
- *consider any representations made to it and hear oral evidence;*
- *meet behind closed doors; attendance will be by permission of the chairman only.*

But, although the Minister must convey to parliament the name of each detainee and the recommendations of the committee, he is under no obligation to accept its recommendations. (And how will this machinery operate during the many months when parliament does not sit?) It is clear that this review procedure will be as futile as the *safeguards* built into the existing security laws. Their main purpose is to provide a facade of legality to practices which undermine the rule of law and give the Security Police even more freedom to prosecute their terror tactics.



Banning of Publications

The Minister of Justice is enabled to prohibit publications which express views or convey information "the publication of which is calculated to endanger the security of the State or the maintenance of public order." At present, the authorities are able to suppress publications considered "undesirable" in terms of the Publication Act of 1974, and this is used to ban material such as the bulletins of the Human Rights Committee and the reports on detention and political trials published by the Programme for Social Change and the Christian Institute. But such material can only be banned after it has been published and processed by the appropriate censorship committee. This allows some copies to circulate before the publication becomes illegal. The new law allows for prohibition in advance of publication and the last remaining sources of in-depth information about current detentions and trials and the treatment of political prisoners will dry up. The new powers could also have a wider significance in relation to the propaganda and information



materials of organisations not banned by the government but regarded as subversive or dangerous.

Refusal of Bail

The Attorney General may now, if he considers it "necessary in the interests of the safety of the State or the maintenance of public order," issue an order preventing the

release on bail of anybody charged with an offence under the various security laws. This provision also reflects the impatience of the authorities with the discretionary powers of the courts and follows the absconding of the accused in a couple of recent trials. Although bail has always been hard to get in political trials, a strong plea for it can be made where the accused has already been in custody for a long time or when an

accused may have been acquitted of more serious charges. This "loophole" is now closed.

Security of the State

The "Suppression of Communism Act" of 1950 is to be renamed the "State Security Act." All the powers of the Minister of Justice under the previous Act to bar or house arrest individuals and/or organisations are extended to a wider category of persons defined on the basis of "endangering the security of the State or maintenance of public order." As before the Minister's opinion is decisive.

The Suppression of Communism Act has for 26 years been the cornerstone of political repression in South Africa. It has always been used to suppress opposition whatever its ideological complexion. The change in the name and scope of the Act is being made now for political as well as legal reasons. It will enable the authorities to act with more freedom against those who are obviously not communists or revolutionaries but who nevertheless oppose the excesses of apartheid and sympathise with African aspirations. In particular, Christian radicals whose persecution under the old Act always provoked unfavourable comment and others inclined to promote conscientious objections in the ranks of young white conscripts, for example, can now be dealt with in a less provocative way.

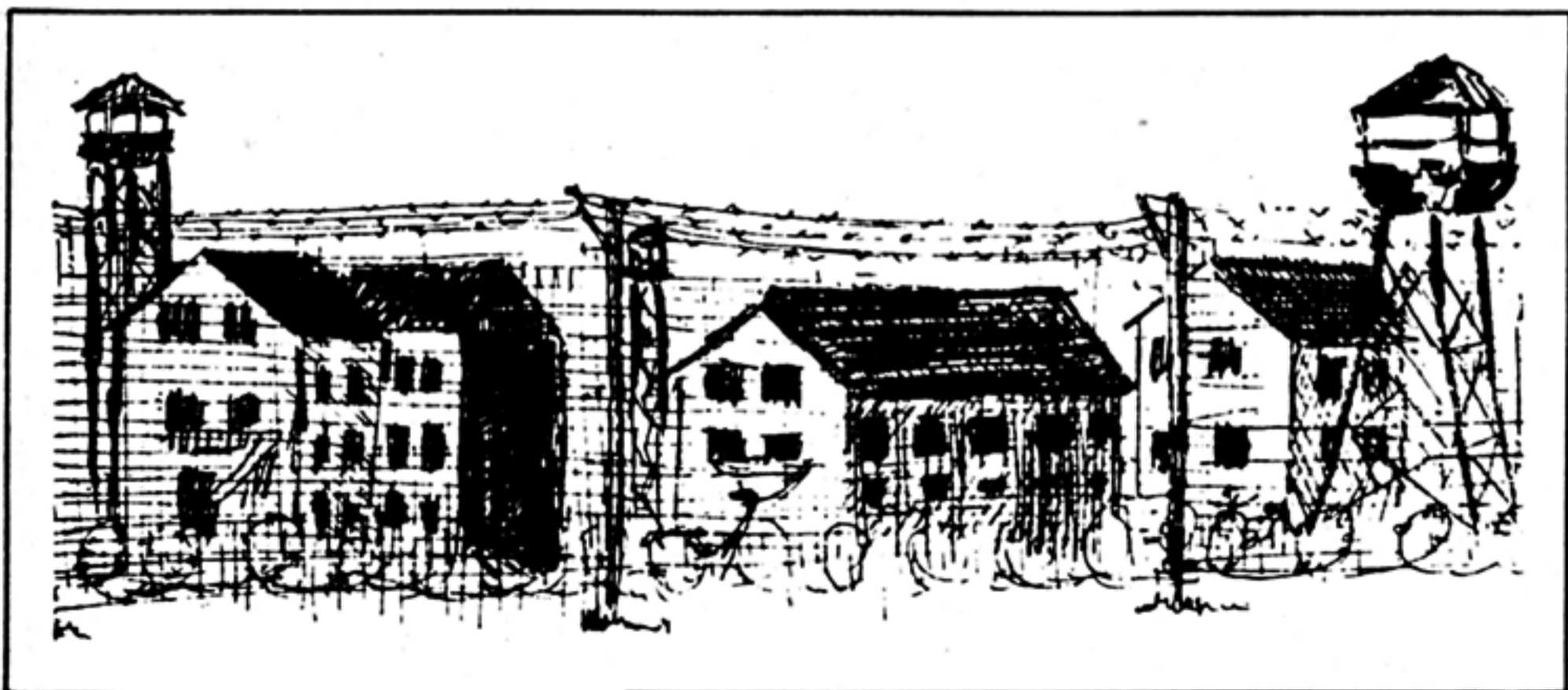
Secondly, the new definition will facilitate the government's attack on the Black consciousness movement. The prosecution in recent trials has frequently found difficulty in plausibly equating the poems, plays, speeches and pamphlets of activists in the Black consciousness movement with the statutory definition of "terrorism" under the Terrorism Act, though some convictions of this sort have been secured. Almost equally difficult would be an attempt to equate Black consciousness with the statutory definition of communism, wide though this is. But "endangering the security of the State" is so wide that it could be made to cover any ideology and any form of struggle.

It is also possible that the Nationalist government is beginning to feel that it is not in its own interests to identify all types of opposition as Communist or Communist inspired.

The widening of the pretext upon which action may be taken against government opponents is related to the creation of the new Security Commission, "PISCOM," with which we deal later in this article.

"Riotous Assembly" in Namibia

Another section of the Act is one which extends the Riotous Assemblies Act to Namibia. This Act which has been on the South African statute books since the early twenties, and which has been drastically widened recently (by Act No. 30 of



is the main legal instrument for stopping political meetings, rallies, marches and other public protests.

The extension of the Act to Namibia follows the recent upsurge of mass political activity in that country, in particular the demonstrations against the current constitutional talks and the trial under the Terrorism Act of several SWAPO figures — two of whom have been sentenced to death. (This is the first time the death sentence has been imposed under the Terrorism Act). Above all, this section of the new Act underlines the intention of the South African government to maintain its illegal occupation of Namibia and to suppress all opposition to its rule there.

“I will not hesitate. . .”

Introducing the bill in parliament, the Minister of Justice, J. Kruger, denied that there was any crisis in South Africa, but added:

“There is no doubt that southern Africa is under pressure and in for a period of political turbulence.”

Taking the same line as his predecessors took with previous security measures, he claimed that he sincerely hoped it would never be necessary to use his sweeping new powers, but said:

“At the same time I want to state quite clearly that I will not hesitate to use them when I must.” (RDM 7.5.76)

PISCOM

This law — The Parliamentary Internal Security Commission Act — establishes a permanent commission of inquiry into matters of “internal security.” The commission will comprise ten members of parliament appointed by the State President, who will refer to the commission matters of internal security requiring investigation and existing or proposed administrative measures relating thereto.

The commission will meet in secret, protected from public scrutiny by the laws prohibiting criticism of parliamentary commissions. Its reports will be referred to parliament, except when the Prime Minister, in consultation with the Leader of the

Opposition, decides otherwise. PISCOM will have full powers to compel the appearance of witnesses and production of documents.

The Act establishes PISCOM as a permanent successor to the Schlebusch Le Grange Commission, appointed in mid-1972 to investigate 4 organisations: NUSAS, the Christian Institute, the now-defunct University Christian Movement and the SA Institute for Race Relations.

In its first interim report (February 1973) the commission recommended that a permanent body similar to itself be set up; the new law embodies all the main features of that proposal. Its second interim report around the same time made sweeping allegations against NUSAS and named 7 of its leaders and one lecturer. The 8 persons concerned, all whites, were immediately banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, and a week later, 8 black student leaders were also banned (though they had not been mentioned by the commission).

There followed the publication of lengthy reports dealing with each of the 4 organisations. Members of some of the organisations who refused to give evidence (Revs. Beyers Naude and Theo Kotze, Mrs. Dorothy Cleminshaw, Mr. Horst Kleinschmidt and others) were subsequently prosecuted in a series of trials which dragged on for many months.

PISCOM will prepare the ground for executive action under the State Security Act (described above). Critics of apartheid will be hounded and harried by methods against which they have no defence. When the members of PISCOM have “convicted” them, without the bother of publishing an indictment or testing the “evidence” publicly, they will be able to recommend action to the executive arm of government which will then be able to use the new banning and imprisonment powers it will have under the Internal Security Act to impose whatever “sentence” it deems appropriate. In this whole operation, there will be no opportunity for the victim to defend himself by processes of law; the courts will not be involved.

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The World against Apartheid

(Report on the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and Support for the Liberation Struggle, Havana, Cuba from 24 to 28 May, 1976)

COMITÉ INTERNACIONAL CONTRA EL APARTHEID 24-28

Once again, international public opinion categorically condemned apartheid and the White racist regime of South Africa and called for total and unqualified support for the liberation struggle in the country. This unequivocal support came after a five-day international seminar held under the sponsorship of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, in consultation with the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

The United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid was created to keep watch on developments in South Africa, where the racial situation has been a matter of concern to the world organization since its earliest days.

In the words of the U.N. Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim: "So long as apartheid remains, this Committee will continue to play a crucial role in the endeavours of the United Nations to eliminate this evil."

The Special Committee was established by the General Assembly, under a 1962 resolution, to keep the problem of apartheid under continuous review and to assist the Assembly and the Security Council in taking effective action.

Since its first meeting, on 2 April, 1963, the Special Committee has worked actively to promote concerted international efforts against apartheid, and its efforts have led to further action by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

It is in pursuance of these efforts which led, this year, to the organisation of this Seminar.

The eighteen-nation Special Committee, comprising of Algeria, the German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Malaya, Nepal, Nigeria, Peru, the Philippines, Somalia, the Sudan, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago and the Ukrainian Socialist Republic were all represented at the Seminar by senior diplomats from their respective countries.

The Seminar was held under the chairmanship of H.E. Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman of Nigeria, the current Chairman of the Special Committee and among those who participated in the sessions were: the Chairman of the Special U.N. Committee of 24 on Decolonisation, H.E. Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim of Tanzania, the President of the U.N. Council for Namibia, H.E. Ambassador Dunstan W. Komana of Zambia, the Vice-Chairman of the OAU's Coordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, H.E. Mr. Isaac A. Sepatu, Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tanzania, the Executive Secretary of the OAU to the U.N., H.E. Mr. Dramane Ouattara of Mali and representatives from other governmental, inter-governmental, non-governmental, national solidarity and anti-apartheid movements and liberation movements.

The opening session of the Seminar was addressed, among others by H.E. Raul Roa Gracia, the Foreign Minister of Cuba and H.E. Arkady N. Shevcheneo, Under-Secretary-General of the U.N. Political and Security Council Affairs who spoke as representative of the Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim.

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Speeches and Messages

There were a large number of messages received for the Seminar and speeches made by prominent personalities who attended the Seminar. The following are brief extracts from messages and speeches:

NIGERIA

(Address by H.E. Brigadeir Joe Garba, Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.)

“... Nigeria's policy orientation in the South African issues is clear. We believe there can be no compromise, no half measures, no dialogue and no detente. There will be no turning back. With the continuing articulation of the bantustan scheme, the question in South Africa is no longer one of reform of apartheid policy, but a liberation struggle. Thus, liberation movements have the right to free themselves from minority and racial oppression, and it is their right to resort to any means whatsoever in this freedom march. It is now obvious that armed struggle is the only effective means. They cannot be denied those rights. We endorse this in Nigeria. What is built by blood and sustained by blood, can only be brought down by blood...”

“We in Nigeria will collaborate with all like-minded and progressive countries in the OAU and the non-aligned movement to put



H. E. Brig, Joe Garba

pressure on countries who believe that their links and vested interests in South Africa are more important than aligning themselves with the aspirations of the oppressed peoples in southern African and their commercial interests in the rest of Africa. It will be either South Africa or the rest of Africa. As long as persuasion remains unheeded, retaliation will have to be considered against individuals and transnationals who want to eat their cake and have it.

“Let me, at this point, strike a note of warning: our detractors and enemies are sowing seeds of discord in liberation movements. We are happy that the fighting forces in southern Africa have not succumbed to these manoeuvres, and in most African states the will to resist prevails. We continue to have our sights focused clearly on the enemy. We know that neo-colonial forces have tried to divide our ranks, as well as those of the liberation movements, but they did not succeed. We, in Nigeria, have learnt

our lessons the hard way, and we hope that no one falls prey to such manoeuvres. These negative forces would attempt to try to split liberation and solidarity movements. They would attempt to disrupt the economies of progressive countries and destabilize these countries. I am delighted that most of us are aware of this, and we have not relented in our support of the struggle in southern Africa. I am also happy that by holding this meeting here in Havana, Cuba, you are focusing on the good work done by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid and beaming it to some Latin American countries in order to get them more involved . . .

“We in Nigeria – and I believe all of you here – have been watching with deep consternation the development of nuclear cooperation between certain Western countries, in particular, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa. The United States authorities have attempted to explain their nuclear energy programme in South Africa. These explanations are inadequate and totally unacceptable to the Nigerian government. We will not only oppose any nuclear energy cooperation with South Africa in whatever form, but will expose this to the world as another attempt to relegate the security and interest of Black Africa to the background in the attempt to perpetuate White supremacy in South Africa. Judging by the actions of these two key members of the NATO alliance and other aspects of cooperation in respect of NATO’s codification procedures made available to South Africa, it is very difficult for some of us to distinguish between such activities and the global activities of NATO.

“Yet we know there are many members of NATO, particularly countries like Canada and some Nordic countries, which continue to dissociate themselves from certain policies of NATO. On behalf of Nigeria, I call on these countries to bring all pressure to bear on the United States and West Germany to halt this nuclear proliferation to South Africa.

“Finally, I would like to assure you all and the international community that what-



ever declaration and whatever programme of action is evolved here at this Seminar, Nigeria is prepared to do everything within its power to see that some day, and that day will be soon, all the peoples of southern Africa will awake to a new day when they will be free from oppression and inhuman degradation and will be able to take their rightful place in the international community. Today the noise of battle, next the victor’s song. Let us hope that before long we shall all join together to sing the song of victory in southern Africa.”

INDIA

(Message from H.E. Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Foreign Minister of the Republic of India)

“From its earliest days the United Nations has been deeply concerned with the problem of apartheid. The Special Committee Against Apartheid, which was set up to keep a watch on the racial situation in South Africa, plays a vital role in the endeavours of the United Nations to eradicate the evil of racial discrimination.

The question of racial discrimination was first brought up in the General Assembly in 1946. Thirty years have gone by and the problem still remains unresolved, largely because of the intransigent attitude of the racist regime in South Africa and the support extended by a few countries and corporations. The racist regime of South Africa also continues with its illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of the repeated calls by the United Nations.

The government and people of India have consistently supported the struggle against apartheid and racism and will continue to do so until a world order based on racial equal-

ity and human dignity is established. We hope that this seminar on "Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa" will once again draw the attention of world public opinion to the urgent need for united international action for the eradication of apartheid.

The government and people of India convey their good wishes to the Special Committee Against Apartheid for the success of this international seminar."

UNITED NATIONS

(Message from Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim)

"The problem of racial discrimination in South Africa has been a matter of continuing and increasing concern for the United Nations almost since its inception. Last year, on the thirtieth anniversary of the Organization, the General Assembly reaffirmed the commitment of the Member States to the elimination of apartheid by proclaiming the special responsibility of the United Nations and the international community towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, and towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for their struggle against apartheid. The Assembly reiterated its determination to devote increasing attention and all necessary resources to support international efforts, in close cooperation with the Organization of African Unity, for the speedy eradication of apartheid in South Africa and the liberation of the South African people. . .

"I wish to take this opportunity to underline my urgent preoccupation with the situation in southern Africa. Unless there is rapid progress towards majority rule in southern Rhodesia, an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia and elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid in South Africa, there is a grave danger of escalating conflict which cannot but have serious international repercussions. . .



H. E. Arkady N. Shevchenko

"The situation demands meaningful action, before it is too late, to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination and segregation in South Africa; to end repression and release the political prisoners; and to initiate consultations with the genuine representatives of all the people of the country for a peaceful solution. I regret that South Africa has so far failed to implement the resolutions of the United Nations in this regard."

WORLD PEACE COUNCIL

(Address by Mr. Romesh Chandra,
Secretary-General of the W.P.C.)

"This is not an Africa Liberation Day like that of last year or the year before or the year before that. We are not here merely to say that we shall do more in the coming year. We do say that, but we say more, and that is this:



Romesh Chandra

“The victory of Angola has given heart to every fighter for African liberation everywhere. For the anti-apartheid movements, the victory of Angola has a special meaning. The victory of Angola has a special meaning for this Seminar.

“I would like to suggest that this meaning should be concretely and categorically stated in a message to be sent to President Agostinho Neto, President of the People’s Republic of Angola and President of the MPLA, to the government and entire people of Angola, expressing our gratitude for what Angola has done for African liberation and for liberation in the world. I am sure that the participants in the Seminar will agree that such a message is called for at this time. . .

“I make these proposals also because both Cuba and Angola are under attack. A dastardly campaign has been launched, led by the United States imperialists and the South African racist regime against Cuba and



against Angola; and with that also against all the front-line states in Africa and states like Guyana and Jamaica, as well as many other states in Africa, Asia and Latin America. And this attack requires to be combatted by us. We shall assuredly defeat this campaign: international solidarity must be intensified.

“It is important to study the use which was made of counter-revolutionary, reactionary puppet groups in Angola with a view to splitting the national liberation movement. The World Peace Council, to which I belong, had the honour of stating all along that there was only *one* liberation movement in Angola, the MPLA, and that the FNLA and later on UNITA were creations of the CIA, of imperialism, linked with the racist regimes. It is worth examining the reasons why such splits were created in the liberation movement in Angola and who supported whom. This is a vital factor for us to understand.

“We hope that those who supported — through genuine and honest error — these divisive groups set up by the enemy and working in close cooperation with the South African apartheid regime have now learned the truth and are now throwing their weight fully behind the People’s Republic of Angola.

“But there are also others, those who have armed and actively helped the FNLA and the UNITA and continue to do so covertly. It is necessary for us to remember when planning our work in solidarity with Angola what exactly this means and what lessons to draw from it for the future.”

IRELAND

(Message from H.E. Dr. Garret Fitzgerald, T.D. Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland)

“ . . . I need hardly remind you of the Irish government’s abhorrence of the policy of apartheid, the institutionalized system of racial discrimination designed to uphold rule by a minority through repressive laws to which such a system inevitably give rise.

However, it is appropriate that I should recall that, in our efforts to bring pressure to bear for changes in the system, I have always attached particular importance to the mobilization of public opinion against apartheid and in support of its victims, in individual countries and throughout the world. The mobilization of public opinion requires the widespread dissemination of information about the apartheid system and the effective rebuttal of the arguments of its apologists.”

MESSAGE TO ANGOLA

The Seminar unanimously approved the following message to the government of the People’s Republic of Angola:

The International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa held in Havana, Cuba, hails the historic victory of the People’s Republic of Angola, led by the MPLA, over Portuguese colonialism and subsequently over the invading aggressive forces of the apartheid regime in South Africa and its accomplices.

This victory is of profound significance for the struggle for liberation in the whole of southern Africa. It is of profound significance for the struggle of all peoples in Africa and the world for peace, national independence, justice and social progress.

The Seminar seizes this occasion to express its high appreciation for the solidarity extended to the People’s Republic of Angola by a number of African and socialist states — particularly by Cuba and the USSR.

The role played in support of the MPLA and the People’s Republic of Angola by the Organisation of African Unity and the appeals made by the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid for international action helped in smashing the plot to extend apartheid and in inflicting a defeat on the South African racist regime.

The Seminar expresses its confidence that in the very near future, the People’s Republic of Angola will take its rightful place in the United Nations.

The Seminar sends its warm greetings to Dr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA and of the People’s Republic of Angola, to his government, to the MPLA and to the entire people of Angola. It assures them of full solidarity in the continuing struggle to defend the sovereignty and independence of Angola against the plots of the South African racist regime and the forces of imperialism and reaction.

The Seminar commends the government and people of Angola for their firm commitment to liberation of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

MESSAGE TO CUBA

The Seminar sent the following message to the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba:

The International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, meeting in Havana from May 24 to 28, 1976, expresses its profound gratitude for the generous hospitality extended to its participants by the government and people of Cuba.

The excellent organisational arrangements made by the Cuban hosts played a vital part in ensuring the great success of the Seminar.

The Seminar, called at a crucial moment in the struggle for liberation in South Africa, places on record its high appreciation of the unwavering stand taken by the government and people of Cuba in solidarity with the liberation struggle in southern Africa. At all times, ever since it was established, the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of Cuba has acted resolutely against apartheid, for the isolation of the apartheid regime, in support of the liberation movements in southern Africa and for the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

Its solidarity actions have won for the Revolutionary Government great prestige and regard in Africa and the world — as an outstanding champion of the struggle against colonialism and apartheid, for the liberation of Africa.

The Seminar congratulates the government and people of Cuba on their principled actions in responding to the call of the People's Republic of Angola for assistance in defending Angola's independence and sovereignty against the aggression and invasion by the South African apartheid regime and its imperialist and reactionary allies and partners.

By carrying out its internationalist duty, Cuba contributed, together with the heroic People's Republic of Angola and other African and socialist states, to the destruction of the myth of the military invincibility of the Pretoria fascist regime. The march toward true liberation of southern Africa has been given a new impetus of unprecedented proportions.

Because of Cuba's total dedication to the cause of African liberation, evidenced above all in its recent solidarity actions with Angola, the imperialist and racist forces have launched an all-out campaign of slander against Cuba. Threats are being openly made against Cuba.

The International Seminar condemns this insidious campaign against Cuba, which is directed at furthering the interests of the imperialist forces in both Africa and Latin America.

The Seminar extends its total solidarity with Cuba and sends its fraternal greetings and good wishes to Prime Minister Fidel Castro, the Revolutionary Government and the entire people of the Republic of Cuba. We wish them still greater successes and victories in their efforts for the consolidation of peace and national independence, justice and progress for all peoples.

CLOSING ADDRESS

The final session of the Seminar was held at Havana's Karl Marx Theatre which was filled to capacity by representatives of



Cuban Trade Unions, party members, farm workers and others. Closing the Seminar, Mr. Armando Hart Davalos, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, in a speech which dealt at length with the close links between imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism said:

“Our own country-offers a lesson on how socialism makes ethnic rivalries and hatreds disappear. In Cuba, where first colonialism and then imperialist rule maintained racial discrimination for four centuries, the socialist Revolution did away with it in a very short time.”

“Apartheid will disappear, just as the racism practiced against the blacks, American Indians, Puerto Ricans and other national minorities in the United States; the aggressive, racist policy of Zionism, practiced against the Arabs and Palestinians; and the discrimination practiced against the Indians in Latin America will also disappear.

“In order to hasten that moment, we must raise our voice everywhere against apartheid. Never before have there existed such propitious conditions in the world for so doing as now. Today there is a powerful socialist community, which firmly upholds the principle of active, militant solidarity with all peoples that struggle for their liberation. . . .

“Today there is a working class and a world revolutionary movement that is truly vigorous. Today there is the growing strength of the nonaligned countries, whose voice has great weight in international deliberations. Today there is the Organization of African Unity, in which independent, progressive governments which have solidarity as one of their principles and which must play a key role in the battle against racism and apartheid are in the majority.



The Presidium of the Seminar consisted of (from l. to r.) Madame Cisse – Minister of Health – Guinea, Brig. Joe Garba – Foreign Minister of Nigeria, Ambassador Harriman, Mr. Mazonna – Secretary of the Seminar

“A powerful mobilization of international solidarity with the cause of the liberation of the peoples victimized by apartheid must be mounted.”

“Distinguished delegates to this international forum, Cuba wants to be in the front line of ideological and political combat against racism and fascism. Socialist Cuba wants to have the honor of sharing in your denunciation of apartheid and racial discrimination.

Nearly a century ago, our Jose Marti said of the discrimination to which the American Indian was subjected in the United States: ‘He doesn’t set foot in the cities of his victors; he doesn’t sit in their schools; he isn’t taught their trades; he is not recognized to have a human soul. He’s forced to relinquish his land through onerous treaties. They uproot him, like a tree, from the territory where he was born, thus separating him from the main object of his life. They force him, under the pretext of farming, to buy animals with which to work a land that is not his. Under the pretext of schooling, they force him to learn in a foreign language – the hated language of his masters – textbooks that teach vague notions of arts and sciences, whose use is not explained and whose application he will never see. . . If he should wish to see the world, he cannot get out of that corral for human beings.’

“This description by Jose Marti of the Indian in the United States presents an exact picture of the situation faced by millions of South Africans. No one has the right to view this crime calmly. A powerful mobilization of international solidarity with the cause of the liberation of the peoples victimized by apartheid must be mounted. The concrete measures decreed by the United Nations and those specifically recommended by this Seminar must be applied in order to stop the maneuvers of racism.

“The people of Cuba will not hold back in contributing to this cause. We will not hesitate to denounce the racism now prevalent in South Africa until Marti’s fine words have been made a reality in that part of the world: ‘Man is more than white, mulatto or black. . . Say *man* and all rights have been stated.’

Long live the friendship between the people of Cuba and the peoples of Africa! (Applause)

Long live the friendship between the socialist peoples and the peoples of Africa! (Applause)

Long live the friendship among all the peoples of the world! (Applause)

Patria o Muerte!

Venceremos!” (OVATION)

FINAL DECLARATION

Adopted at the International Seminar on the
Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of
the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa,
Havana, Republic of Cuba, 24-28 May,
1976

The International Seminar organised by the Special Committee Against Apartheid, with participants from governments and inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, extends its greetings and solidarity to the people of South Africa who are continuing with renewed determination their brave struggle to overthrow the apartheid system, despite the growing ruthlessness of the white minority regime. The liberation of Mozambique and Angola, brought about by the heroic struggle of its peoples, under the leadership of FRELIMO and MPLA has created a new strategic and political situation in southern Africa and opened the prospect, in the not too distant future, of the liberation of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. The decisive victory of the Angolan people against the invading forces of the South African apartheid regime and its allies has given new inspiration and impetus to the liberation movements. The Pretoria regime has recognised the growing danger to the survival of the apartheid power system: it has reacted by increased repression of the African people and the expansion of its aggressive military capability.

In Southern Africa we are witnessing an unfolding war situation: South Africa's enormous military build-up and its aggressive posture towards independent African States, its invasion of Angola and the rapid militarization of Namibia and its support of

the illegal Smith regime constitute a clear threat to peace and security in that regime. Its growing military integration with the major Western powers and the new role accorded to South Africa in overall Western strategy in the South Atlantic and Indian Ocean areas represents a grave threat to the peace and security of the world.

The Seminar recognizes that the liberation movement in Southern Africa are obliged to resort to armed struggle in view of the intransigence and ruthlessness of the white minority regimes. It reaffirms the right of the African liberation movements to decide on the means of their struggle, in the light of the conditions in their territories, and to seek and receive international solidarity. The Seminar rejects the insistence by the racist regimes and their friends and allies that the liberation movements should struggle by peaceful means alone in the face of the growing violence and terrorism of the oppressors.

Recognizing the significant recent advances against the forces of racism and colonialism in Africa, the white minority regimes are resorting to new initiatives to enlist and secure further external assistance. The major Western powers — especially the United States of America, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France — which are continuing and increasing their political, economic and military



collaboration with South Africa, bear a major responsibility for helping to sustain the apartheid regime. But even this growing external support from South Africa's traditional trading partners will not halt the unfolding crisis faced by the apartheid regime.

The Seminar condemns the increasing military, political and economic collaboration between the South African racist regime and Israel, which was further developed during the recent official visit of S.J. Vorster, Prime Minister of the Pretoria regime, to Israel. The Pretoria regime, in a desperate attempt to ensure its survival, is forging special links with countries such as Israel, Paraguay, Uruguay and Chile with a view to establishing a new menacing alliance of regimes insensitive to African and world opinion. The Seminar warns the actual and potential allies of South Africa that any alliance with apartheid will provoke forthright condemnation and hostility of all freedom-loving governments and peoples.

In order to counter internal resistance and international pressures, the Pretoria regime plans to confer a sham independence upon the Transkei in October, 1976 as part of its contemptible Bantustan policy. The Seminar rejects this political fraud and invites all States to do likewise and deny any form of recognition to, and refrain from any contacts with, any apartheid institutions, including the authorities in the Transkei. It condemns those countries and external economic interests which are planning to invest in the so-called tribal "homelands" in order to directly assist the implementation of the apartheid schemes of the South African regime.

The Seminar calls upon all governments and peoples to give full support to the national liberation movements in southern Africa in their struggle for the total eradica-

tion of racism and colonialism and to end all military, economic and other collaboration with the racist regime. The Seminar declares that apartheid constitutes a crime against humanity and that the international community has a duty to suppress and punish that crime.

Any supply of arms to South Africa and any form of military cooperation with the apartheid regime is a hostile act not only against the people of South Africa and the Organization of African Unity, but also against the United Nations and the international community.

Any transnational companies and other interests which – in collaboration with the Pretoria regime – participate in the exploitation of the people of South Africa, or help to reinforce the military and economic power of the racists, are accomplices in the crime of apartheid.

The Seminar commends African, non-aligned, Socialist and other countries for the invaluable moral, political and material assistance given by them to the African liberation movements. All governments and peoples have a duty to help the liberation movements, which are entitled to full support from the international community in their legitimate struggle to overthrow the white minority regimes.

The front-line countries in Africa which have taken a firm stand against the white minority regimes in accordance with United Nations and OAU resolutions should be given all necessary economic and other assistance by all freedom-loving countries and peoples. The Seminar declares that any attack on the countries which assist the liberation movements constitutes an attack against the international community. These countries have a right to seek and receive all necessary international support against racist aggression.

The Seminar invites all governments, organizations and peoples to join in concerted international action in support of the southern African liberation movements in this crucial and final stage of the struggle for the total emancipation of Africa.

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RESOLUTIONS

Extracts from Resolutions adopted at the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Struggle for Liberation in South Africa, Havana, Republic of Cuba, 24-28 May, 1976.

ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

In this crucial phase of the struggle for liberation, the Seminar urges increased assistance of all types to the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements.

Assistance should be provided directly to liberation movements.

The United Nations should provide financial assistance to the liberation movements to maintain representatives in New York.

The Seminar strongly recommends that governments should make contributions to humanitarian organizations such as the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa for the support to political prisoners and their families and for related purposes. These contributions, however, should not be considered as substitutes for support to liberation movements themselves.

The Seminar also appeals to governments to contribute towards educational and training programmes organized by or for the liberation movements.

The Seminar urges the solidarity movements, particularly in Western Europe and the United States, to initiate campaigns to influence their governments to contribute financial assistance to liberation movements and to humanitarian organizations providing assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa.

The Seminar welcomes the declaration of the General Assembly that the liberation movements are the authentic representatives of their people and that the South African regime is illegitimate; it therefore urges that the United Nations accords full permanent observer status to the South African liberation movements recognised by the OAU in all appropriate organs and conferences of the United Nations.

ASSISTANCE TO NEIGHBOURING STATES

The Seminar acknowledges the important contribution made by the neighbouring states to the struggle for the liberation of Southern Africa. They have faced threats and armed attacks by the colonialist and racist regimes and born heavy financial and other burdens because of their commitment to liberation.

The Seminar urges the United Nations, other intergovernmental organizations and the individual member States of the United Nations to grant special financial and technical assistance to these countries.

The Seminar urges African and other states to develop the machinery of international cooperation that will allow speedy response to any aggression.

The Seminar calls for urgent and effective international economic assistance to People's

Republic of Angola and Mozambique, as an important act of solidarity with the struggle for the total liberation of Southern Africa.

It also wishes to draw attention to the situation of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland which literally are in the financial stranglehold of the government of South Africa.

ECONOMIC COLLABORATION

The Seminar notes that South Africa has been the recipient of vast increases in investment by foreign interests, in particular the United Kingdom, the United States, Japan, Federal Republic of Germany, France, Belgium and Iran. Foreign investment in South Africa now totals nearly 11 billion US dollars. Foreign investment plays a major part in the supportive role in buttressing South Africa's economy and increasing the links between the investing countries and South Africa and play an important part in salvaging South Africa's economic future. Investment in South African industry, the provision of loans and the conclusion of agreements for the purchase of raw materials from South Africa, constitute three of the most important forms of economic collaboration.

Banking consortia in the United States and in Europe and the Eurocurrency market must be pressured by governments, non-governmental organizations and individuals to heed the call of the liberation movement and to refrain from providing loans to state or semi-state organizations in South Africa. South Africa's defence budget, the inherent instability of apartheid society and the growing strength of the liberation movements should surely reflect the need for caution on the part of such enterprises. If banks and such-like bodies continue to be stubborn in their collaboration with the racist South African regime, then the liberation movements are entitled to take appropriate measures against such collaborating firms. They must choose between the liberation movements and the present regime.

The Seminar calls for the utmost opposition to frustrate the activities of transnational firms which invest in the border industries near Bantustans or in the heart of

Bantustans. The Seminar condemns all recent investment programmes in these bantustans, and, in particular, calls upon the Seagram Corporation to withdraw its proposed multi-million project and Kennecott to withdraw from its mining partnership with the South African government, adjacent to the Kusa Zurhe Bantustan.

Maximum international opposition must be launched to oppose the proposed sale by the General Electric Company of the United States of America of two nuclear reactors to South Africa. Such alleged 'commercial' sales have a military significance, apart from strengthening the South African economy, since a byproduct of the electricity-producing process would help South Africa to produce nuclear weapons. In addition, all plutonium-enriching arrangements between South Africa and other countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany must be terminated. The Seminar appeals to the United States government, to its regulatory agencies and the United States Congress to forbid the sale of these reactors to South Africa.

The Seminar commends the role of organs such as trade unions, churches and other bodies who use their power as shareholders to highlight the collaboration of transnational firms in South Africa. The boycott of such firms must be strengthened by greater coordination among anti-apartheid bodies.

South African conglomerates such as the Anglo-American Corporation are making increasing efforts to obtain a foothold in the European economic community. The Seminar appeals to the community to oppose apartheid South Africa by refusing South Africa any concession within the community, and to take steps to ensure at a national level that South Africa does not receive any assistance from the community.

South Africa firms such as Rothman's and the Anglo American Corporation should not be permitted to obtain any role in the economy of other countries. Specific campaigns to highlight the role of South African capital in such transnational firms are commended by the Seminar.

South Africa has become a major exporter of capital to a number of Latin-American

countries. Military and diplomatic links follow from economic links in such countries as Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay. The Seminar strongly supports the proposal that such links be opposed through the establishment of support committees in various parts of Latin America so as to force attention on the extent of their collaboration and to campaign against it.

The Seminar recommends that the Special Committee against apartheid and the OAU make a thorough study of relations between Chile, Paraguay and Uruguay on the one hand, and the South African regime on the other, particularly in the military and economic fields with a view to recommending effective action.

POLITICAL PRISONERS

The Seminar commends the Special Committee for its efforts to publicize repression against opponents of apartheid in South Africa, to promote solidarity with the South African political prisoners and

to make the world aware that the political prisoners are the authentic leaders of the people of South Africa and champions of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights while their captors are the practitioners of the crime of apartheid.

The Seminar calls for continuous and widespread publicity of all types of repression in South Africa -- including detentions, trials, imprisonments, banning orders and pass law arrests.

The Seminar denounces all repressive legislation in South Africa, especially the so-called Suppression of Communism Act and the Terrorism Act. It expresses its indignation at the tortures and murders of political



A section of the representatives who participated in the Seminar





**Cecil Collier
of Jamaica**

detainees and calls for appropriate action to ensure the identification of the punishment of the perpetrators of these crimes.

The Seminar recommends that the United Nations look into the possibility of establishing a mechanism in cooperation with non-governmental organizations with specific expertise in law, to study, monitor and publicize present and proposed repressive legislation in South Africa and Namibia and their effect on political and social activism.

The Seminar requests the United Nations to give technical and financial support through the Centre Against Apartheid for the Symposium on South African Political Prisoners to be organized in Geneva on 5 and 6 July, 1976, by the Sub-Committee on Racism and Colonialism of the Conference of Non-Governmental Organizations in Consultative Status with the United Nations.

Taking note that, as a result of intensified repression in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the number of refugees and displaced persons has recently increased; further noting that the concerned front-line states and liberation movements assisted in meeting the humanitarian needs of such groups; urges the international community to redouble its efforts to provide the necessary financial and other assistance. In this connection, it appeals for support to the efforts being made through United Nations programmes, particularly those of the United Nations High Commissioner for

Refugees (UNHCR), the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNETPSA).

TRADE UNION ACTION

The Seminar recalls the contribution of the First International Conference of Trade Unions against apartheid (1973), organized jointly by the Special Committee against Apartheid and the ILO which recommended, inter alia, campaigns against racism in South Africa, opposition to military relations with South Africa, the recruitment of workers, actions against planes, ships, cargoes and mail to or from South Africa, the recognition of African trade unions, the release of all political and trade union detainees and prisoners and support for the liberations movements.

The Seminar invites the Special Committee against Apartheid to convene, as soon as possible, a meeting together with the Preparatory Committee of the International Conference of Trade Unions against Apartheid and the liberation movements to review trade union action and plan further action, especially in relation to emigration to South Africa.

A delegation of the Special Committee accompanied by representatives of the OAU and the African Committee of Trade Union Coordination and Actions against Apartheid,

together with representatives of South African liberation movements, should visit the capitals of the principal trading partners of South Africa to consult with trade unions and professional bodies and encourage them to take effective action against apartheid.

The Seminar condemns the system of sending thousands of workers under the pretext that they are suffering from mental sickness, to concentration camps in South Africa where they are subjected to hard labour and inhuman treatment. These workers are reportedly kept in the labour camps for the rest of their lives, merely on the strength of statements by the police.

The racist regime of South Africa depends heavily on the migrant labour recruited from the States neighbouring on South America. The Seminar strongly recommends to all members of the United Nations to give sympathetic consideration to requests for assistance from these state bordering on South Africa in order to enable them to stop the outflow of manpower to South Africa.

SPORT

The Seminar salutes the gallant and courageous stand by sportsmen inside South Africa who are campaigning for non-racialsim in sport.

The Seminar commends the activities and actions of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, the South Africa Non-Racial Olympics Committee and other bodies who have tried to isolate South Africa from all sporting competitions so long as South Africa practises the policy of apartheid in breach of the principles enshrined in the Olympic Charter.

The Seminar commends the proposal of the Prime Minister of Jamaica, The Hon. Michael Manley, that the General Assembly of the UN prepare an International Convention on Apartheid in Sport. Such a convention would impose an obligation on states to impose sanctions against sporting teams and organisations whose members collectively or individually participate in sports activities in South Africa or against teams from South Africa. Sanctions would include:



— refusal to provide financial assistance or donations in kind to such teams or individuals;

— the withdrawal of access to national sporting facilities to such teams or individuals;

— the denial and withdrawal of national sporting honours or awards to such teams or individuals;

— action to render automatically null and void all professional sporting contracts which do not specifically exclude participation in South Africa;

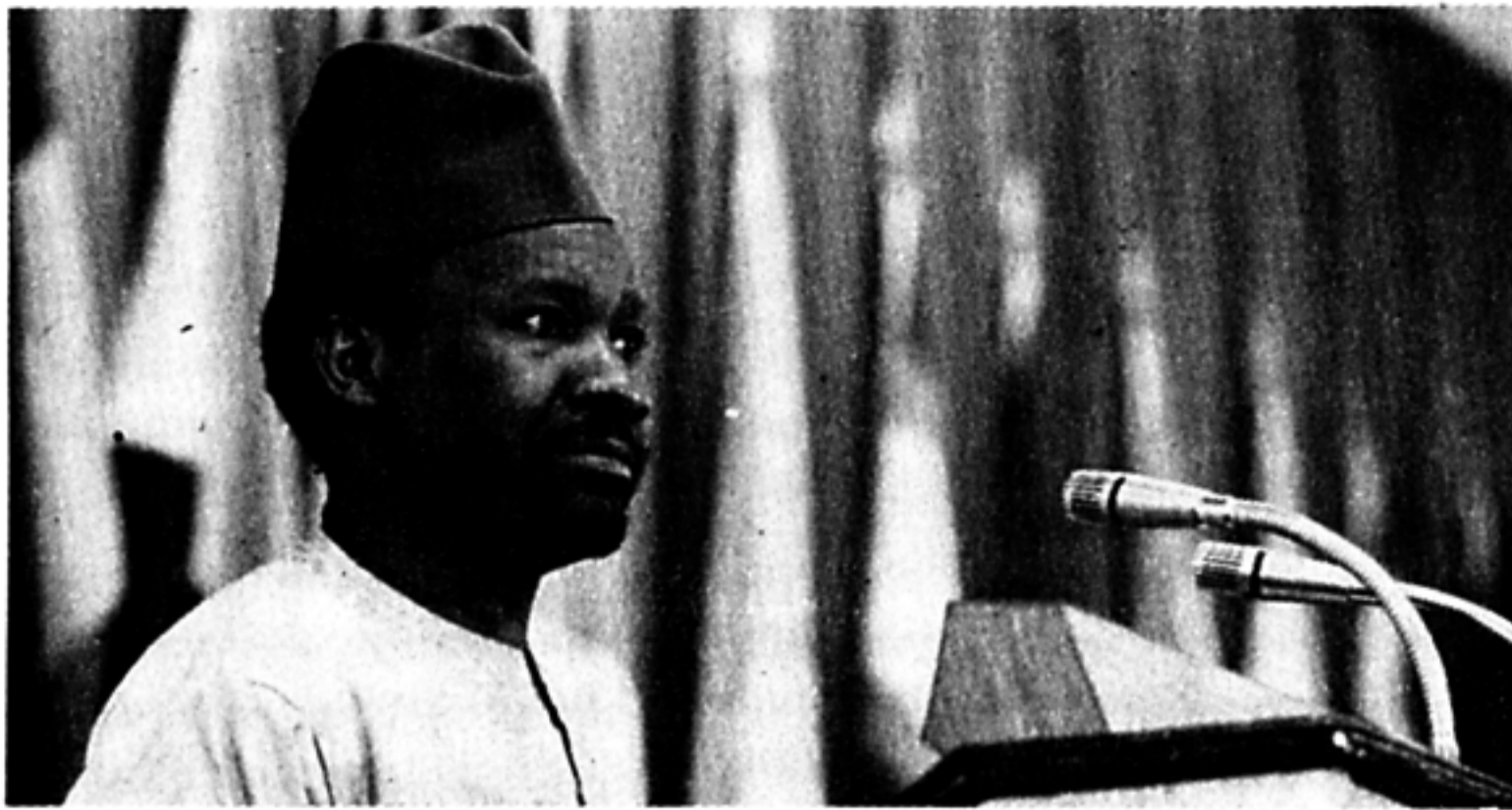
— non-recognition by states parties to this convention of national sporting bodies which do not adopt the convention as part of their constitution.

Until the adoption of the convention, these principles are recommended by the Seminar to states and governments.

The Seminar notes the call of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa for action against New Zealand which is intending to permit its national rugby team to go to South Africa later this year. The Seminar urgently calls upon the New Zealand government to act immediately to stop all sport exchanges with South Africa and urges all governments and organisations to support this call. If New Zealand fails to act along these lines, such failure will result in appropriate international action from all those opposed to collaboration with apartheid sport.

The Seminar condemns states and sportsmen who participate in the so-called multinational games in South Africa or tour South Africa under all-expense paid trips financed by the South African regime. Any attempt by the bantustans to establish sporting links with the outside world must be opposed.

The Seminar applauds those sporting codes where the membership of racist South Africa has been terminated or suspended.



H. E. Damane
Outtara

Any attempt to obtain an international foothold must be opposed. South Africa's plans to establish a 'hospitality centre' in Montreal during the Olympic Games could have serious consequences for the Games themselves, as such a Centre would be a vehicle for propaganda for white South Africa.

Sportsmen and others are invited to support the decision of the non-racial sporting bodies inside South Africa for recognition as authentic sporting bodies and the South Africa Council of Sport as the representative body for South Africa. Strong support should be provided for the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe to assist them in the foundation of independent sports bodies for those countries so that they may take their rightful place in the international sporting community.

OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

All states which have not yet done so should be urged to sign and ratify the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

The Seminar recommends the creation of an International Tribunal made up by personalities, legal experts and scientists from different countries so as to compile information, testimonies and others for analyzing, denouncing and condemning the apartheid crimes in the light of International Law and the UN principles.

Immediate action should be taken by those Western European states who allow mercenaries to be recruited by the illegal Smith regime in Zimbabwe and by South Africa. Such a traffic must be stopped. The recruitment of mercenaries must be considered as a serious crime against Africa. Failure by these states to take immediate action to stop such a traffic must be considered by the OAU as an unfriendly act inviting a proper and appropriate response.

All governments and organisations should support the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination to be held in Accra, Ghana in 1978.

The Seminar requests the United Nations and all participating organisations to give maximum publicity to the declaration, programme of action and other documents of the Seminar.

The Seminar requests the Chairman to transmit the Declaration and the Programme of Action to: (a) the United Nations Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as other organs concerned; (b) the OAU; (c) the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries; (d) the specialized agencies of the United Nations; and (e) international trade union confederations, World Council of Churches and other international non-governmental organisations opposed to apartheid.

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Programme of Action

Adapted at the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support for Liberation in South Africa, Havana, Republic of Cuba, 24-28 May, 1976.

INTRODUCTION

At a time when the long and arduous struggle of the South African people has reached the final and crucial stages — thanks to the advance of liberation in Africa and the world, and the determined resistance by the South African people — the international community has a duty to step up action to assist the oppressed people and their liberation movement to attain their inalienable right to freedom, human dignity and national liberation.

The General Assembly, in resolution 3411 (XXX), adopted on the thirtieth anniversary of the United Nations, proclaimed that the United Nations and the international community have a special responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, towards those imprisoned, restricted or exiled for the struggle against apartheid. It reiterates its determination to devote all necessary resources to concert international efforts for the speedy eradication of apartheid in South Africa and the liberation of the South African people.

The Seminar feels that this solemn commitment by the international community to the people of South Africa, in recognition of the invaluable contribution made by them to the cause of freedom and human dignity, must be translated into effective action by the United Nations and its specialized agen-

cies; the Organization of African Unity, the non-aligned movement, the Arab League, the Commonwealth and all other intergovernmental organizations; churches, the trade unions and all other non-governmental organizations of the peoples of the world.

Towards this end, participants in this international Seminar have adopted the following programme of action and commend it to all freedom-loving governments and peoples.

ARMS EMBARGO

The Seminar recognizes that those States which have collaborated with South Africa to build up an enormous military arsenal bear a special responsibility for South Africa's consequent arrogant and violent use of its military power. South Africa's allies in this field — and especially France, the United Kingdom, the United States of America, the Federal Republic of Germany and Italy — have not only assisted South Africa by manufacturing many weapons internally but also enable it to export arms to other countries.

The major NATO powers are increasing their military collaboration with South Africa and placing a growing importance on its role in their overall strategic plans. NATO also bears a major responsibility for enabling South Africa to utilize its technical facilities such as the NATO Codification System for Spares and Equipment.



H. E. Ambassador Salim A. Salim of Tanzania

South Africa has also created new military links with Israel and other countries. The visit of the South Africa Prime Minister to Israel earlier this year has led to a closer military relationship being created between Israel and South Africa and has serious implications for the peace and security of the continent of Africa and the Middle East. The Seminar condemns such military and other collaborations.

The Seminar noted and condemned growing military links between South Africa and repressive regimes in Latin America, such as Chile.

Besides the supply of arms, there is a tremendous transfer of know-how and technology between South Africa and its allies. These developments include movement of scientists between South Africa and certain Western countries. The Seminar appeals to university and other research institutes to be conscious of their responsibility to the international community in order to ensure that South Africa does not obtain further access to expertise in this area.

The Seminar noted with alarm the extent of Western nuclear collaboration with South Africa, and especially the central role of the Federal Republic of Germany, the USA and Holland in providing the Pretoria regime with equipment and technology which increased its nuclear capability. South Africa is now an incipient nuclear power and countries engaged in nuclear cooperation with South Africa should be called upon to end all such collaboration.

South Africa has been responsible for the research and development of the Crotale missile system which is being promoted by France as if it is entirely a French system. The Seminar calls upon all States not to purchase this system. It further calls upon the non-aligned and other States to consider what joint measures can be taken not to buy weapons from those arms firms and countries which provide military equipment to South Africa.

The most imperative need in the present situation is that the arms embargo, first laid down by the Security Council in 1963, be now made mandatory under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations, together with effective machinery to ensure the supervision of the embargo. In particular, the mandatory arms embargo should be made comprehensive in scope so as to include the provision of licenses and patents for arms production, the transfer of technology or military information to South Africa, and the use of third States for the supply of military equipment indirectly to South Africa. It should also impose a total ban on the import of arms and military equipment for use in South Africa. The mandatory embargo decision should prohibit all forms of military and security collaboration with South Africa.

Anti-apartheid movements and other non-governmental bodies should, in consultation with trade unions, request workers not to handle any arms order to South Africa and give full support to these workers who, on grounds of conscience, refuse to work on orders for the sale of weapons, systems or other projects intended for use in South Africa by its military and security forces.

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THIS IS SOLIDARITY

Extracts from the closing address by H.E. Ambassador, Leslie O. Harriman, Chairman of the U.N. Special Committee Against Apartheid, delivered at the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa, held in Havana, Cuba.

Although these past days have been most eventful, the word "solidarity" adequately describes it with a lot more meaning.

Hundreds of people from all over the world, joined together in the struggle to free man from minority and racial oppression have gathered here in Havana. The very fact that these people came from shores near and far reflects the strength of the bonds which unite us. It shows the depth of our involvement in a just cause, and it indicates our desire to fight the oppressors. This is solidarity. I need not dwell on the conditions under which our brothers and sisters exist in South Africa. Nowhere in the world has man been subjected and equated to an object by his fellow man. Nowhere in the world has man been exploited by man, not even in slavery, as our brothers and sisters in South Africa. I recall a few words of a poem, "he that is down needs fear no fall" — our brothers in South Africa are down, and it is their right to fight and lift themselves up so that they can, with your help, take their rightful place with dignity as men and equals in the international community. The liberation struggle in Southern Africa started years ago. Now it has reached the final and crucial stage. Now there is need for concerted international action. We men of conscience have identified ourselves unequivocally with the aspirations and the liberation struggle of these oppressed peoples of

Southern Africa. Brothers and sisters, this is solidarity.

Your great leader, a man of depth and wisdom, a man of courage, a pillar in the struggle for the emancipation of oppressed peoples of the world, Commander-in-Chief, Fidel Castro, described your country as Latin-African. This is true, and may I add that there are other countries in this region of the world whose ancestral heritage is so closely and securely interwoven with ours in Africa that they cannot but share our thoughts, experience, our innermost feelings and follow us in our freedom struggle. Again, this is solidarity. Those who are not for us and with us are against us and are our enemies. When the day of victory comes, we will need not ask each other, who contributed what? Our friends will be with us on that victory day.

Don't Choose Our Friends

We are aware that some people are directing threats at Cuba and even launching provocations because Cuba has shown its solidarity with Angola and with Africa against capitalist and racist South Africa. If South Africa installed a puppet government in Angola which they almost achieved, but for the solidarity of Cuba there would have been no hue and cry. There would have been only hypocritical resolutions at the United



T. E. Raul Roa Garcia, Ambassador Harriman, Arkady N. Shevchenko

Nations and feigned concern by some of the Western capitalist governments.

I would like to say, as an African, that no one has the right to decide for Africa who our friends should be or who our enemies should be. No one has a right to decide for the African liberation movements — especially any one who collaborates with their oppressors — who their friends should be and who their enemies should be. Anyone who stands between us and our friends is, in effect, nothing less than an accomplice of the oppressors of Africa. Anyone who threatens our friends because they are our friends is threatening us. Africa is determined to be free, and Africa will be free.

To me, it is most appropriate that this programme of action which was formulated during this week's seminar should have been formulated in Havana. It is a comprehensive programme.

There is a new situation in southern Africa today — a situation resulting from the victories of PAIGC, FRELIMO and MPLA against Portuguese colonialism and from the

defeat of the treacherous South African aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, a republic led by Dr. Agostinho NETO, a true son of Africa.

The government and people of the Republic of Cuba have consistently supported the African liberation movements, and they have not hesitated, in the hour of need of the Angolan people, to rush to their defence and shed their blood so that Angola will be free — and they have done this in spite of all practical difficulties and in spite of all threats and pressures from the colonialists, racists and their friends. They have done this as an act of sacrifice, with no concern for any return, except for the satisfaction of remaining true to principles. They have thereby set a glorious example of solidarity. This is the quintessence of humanism and human ideals.

Africa will never forget the heroism of the Cuban people in defence of African liberty. The African elephant never forgets. Africa and the Caribbean have now become brothers in a common struggle.

As an African, as a Nigerian, I wish to pay my tribute here to the government and people of the Republic of Cuba, and to their great leader, Commandante Fidel Castro.

I recall the address by Prime Minister Fidel Castro in Revolution Square on December 22, 1975, a speech which deeply moved me as an African when he said:

"We are a Latin-American nation and a Latin-African nation as well. African blood flows freely through our veins. Many of our ancestors came as slaves from Africa to this land. They fought as members of the Liberating Army of Cuba. We are brothers and sisters of the people of Africa, and we are ready to fight on their behalf."

We have been meeting here in Havana with representatives of many governments and many organisations committed to the struggle against *apartheid*, racism and colonialism.

We have met with members of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba and with leaders of Cuban public organisations.

We have held serious discussions on action.

This International Seminar, held on the occasion of the Africa Liberation Day and the Week of Solidarity is, to me, a demonstration that Africa has many true and loyal friends, that the African Liberation movements have many dependable allies all over the world.

Let the enemies of Africa shudder. Let the oppressors of the people of southern Africa tremble. Africa is on the march and will not stop until every inch of Africa is liberated — from the Sinai to the Cape of Good Hope — and all of Africa belongs to Africans.

The issue in Southern Africa is clear.

On the one side are the racists — the slave-owners of the twentieth century — who are keeping millions of our brothers in bondage. On the other side are the people who are struggling for their freedom under the leadership of their liberation movements.

They ask us to choose which side we are on. There is no room for equivocation. There is no fence to sit on.

Africa has made its choice.



The non-aligned countries have made their choice.

The socialist countries have made their choice.

The progressive organisations in the West have made their choice.

No Compromise

But some Western powers are trying to equivocate. They condemn apartheid in words but collaborate with the racists. They pay lip-service to freedom but reject the liberation movements. They arm the fascists and ask the liberation movements to forego the right to armed struggle. We declare that we despise the hypocrisy of governments which sustain the Nazi regime in Pretoria and ask us to applaud their verbal declarations against racism.

There can be no compromise against racism.

There can be no dialogue or detente with the racists to reform racism.

We will not rest until apartheid is totally eradicated.

The Pretoria regime, in its desperation, is now looking for allies. Its Prime Minister has gone to Israel to build a new axis to replace the Pretoria-Salisbury-Lisbon axis which was shattered by the heroic liberation armies of our brothers from Angol, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau.

There is even talk of a so-called "sixth world alliance" of South Africa with Israel and some regimes in Latin America and renegades like Formosa, South Korea and Chile.

We warn these regimes that the days are past when they can, with impunity, collaborate with the oppressors of the African people. We declare that the whole of Africa

and all freedom-loving governments and peoples of the world will draw the appropriate conclusions.

Some Western powers advise us that we should be patient, that we should have detente with the racist regime, so that the racists of Pretoria will help in ending racism in Rhodesia, so that they will be persuaded to withdraw from Namibia, so that they will be cajoled into reforming racism in South Africa. We are even offered the good offices of Western powers in making these deals.

We are warned that the Pretoria regime is too powerful militarily, and so ruthless, that we cannot fight and win. But we cannot but reject these "deals" with the contempt they deserve. The myth of invincibility of the Nazi regime of Pretoria has been left in shambles in Angola.

There is no force more powerful than the spirit of freedom – no force more invincible than a revolution whose time has come.

No more shall the destiny of Africa be decided in the chancelleries of Europe and North America, or in the stock markets of London, Washington and Paris. No more shall the future of southern Africa be decided according to the convenience of the racists and the profiteers from apartheid.

The future of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe will be decided by the African people.

Not Against Whites

We are against all forms of racism. We are not against whites, except those who claim a right to humiliate us. We pay tribute to those whites who have suffered because of their support for African freedom. Let me only recall that the Special Committee reveres the memory of Bram Fischer, the great Afrikaner jurist, who suffered long years of imprisonment and died last year because of the cruel and vengeful persecution by the Vorster regime.

We demand the release of Alexandre Moumbaris and John Hosey, the British and Irish trade unionists and Dennis Goldberg who are in jail in South Africa for supporting the underground struggle of the African workers in South Africa.

We are told that "politics and trade don't mix" by the very same governments which have imposed embargoes against the Republic of Cuba and are today preparing to build nuclear plants in racist and fascist South Africa. They want Africa to remain their friends. Indeed, they know the answer.

It seems that their consciences are affected so much more by the nationalisation of the Cuban sugar industry than by the enslavement of millions of African people.

As President Samora Machel said at the last extraordinary summit meeting of the OAU, the racist government of South Africa is not only an enemy of Africa, but constitutes an ever-open door to imperialism and colonialism.

When we touch South Africa, we touch powerful vested interests all over the Western countries. We touch the fat dividends of scores of transnational companies which are profiting from the blood and sweat of the African people.

No wonder the Special Committee against Apartheid is the one United Nations organ which is boycotted by the Western powers. In fighting apartheid in South Africa, we are fighting for much more than the liberation of the South African people.

Brothers and sisters, this is the Week of Solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa – a struggle which has won some victories and a struggle which will not stop until total victory is achieved.

On this occasion, it is our duty, first of all, to recall with reverence the memory of thousands of patriots who gave their lives to the cause of freedom. We must pay homage to the many leaders who have fallen victims to the assassins of the terrorist regime – above all, Eduardo Mondlane and Amilcar Cabral.

Greetings to Mandela

From the hall today, during this Week of Solidarity, we send our greetings to the leaders of the African people who are now in the dungeons of the oppressors – men like Nelson Mandela and Toivo ja Toivo. We shall not rest until they are free.

We send our greetings to our Namibian brothers — Aaron Muchimba and Hendirck Shikongo — who have been sentenced to death by the racist court of the illegal regime in Namibia under South African racist and fascist laws.

We warn the racists to refrain from the murder of African patriots, or we will avenge their crime when the time comes. Time is on our side. To quote one of my favourite songs: The glories of our blood and state are shadows, not substantial things. There is no armour against fate. Sceptre and crown must tumble down and in their dust be equal trade to the poor wandering scythe and spade.

I would also like on this occasion — Week of Solidarity — as an African, to express my appreciation to those who have supported Africa in the difficult days of our struggle. I pay tribute, therefore, to the socialist states, to the non-aligned states, to the Nordic states and to the progressive organisations in the Western world.

Speaking here in the Caribbean, I must pay a special tribute to Guyana, Jamaica and Mexico for their heroic and tenacious support to their brothers in Africa, despite the blustering shadows of “big brother.” When George Orwell wrote the famous novels, *Animal Farm* and *1984*, he focused on “big brother” in the socialist world. Were he alive today, he would have regretted his lack of vision. For his projections are more relevant to the CIA, bugging, Watergate and telephone tapping that are features perfected by his own society.

We must pay tribute to the infant Republic of Mozambique which has shouldered its responsibility for African freedom at great sacrifice.

Let the enemies of Africa know that the friends of freedom in southern Africa will not fail to do their duty. Let the racists be warned that any aggression against independent states which support the liberation struggle is an aggression against all of us.

The spirit of solidarity has been a powerful force in the history of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America in the last generation.



Historic Duty

Solidarity is not merely a sentiment, but a recognition of our historic duty in the period of the decisive struggle against colonialism and racism.

We may recall with pride the contributions of some states and people who have borne the brunt of the vengefulness of the colonialists so that their brothers can gain freedom. I have in mind the example of Egypt, which, under the leadership of the late President Gamal Abdel Nasser, defied the triple aggression in 1956 to support the heroic struggle of the Algerian people. I recall the example of the Republic of Guinea which was subjected to Portuguese and mercenary aggression because of its support of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde.

These countries made sacrifices in order to shield the fighting peoples of brotherly countries without any thought of a bargain, of a *quid pro quo*. It is in this glorious tradition that the Republic of Cuba has defied all threats to stand by its African brothers.

This week of Solidarity is also an occasion on which we must pledge our support to the struggle for liberation. There is no doubt about the pledge of the participants in the seminar and the Cuban people.

Our solidarity has no limits. We pledge to do all that we can to see that the freedom fighters will get all that they need to destroy colonialism and racism and to attain freedom, human dignity and national independence.

The struggle continues!

AFRO-LATIN SOLIDARITY

Extracts from a speech by Dr. Raul Roa Garcia, Foreign Minister of the Republic of Cuba, at the Inaugural Session of the International Seminar on the Eradication of Apartheid and in Support of the Liberation Struggle in South Africa.

It should be stressed that it is a great honor for Havana, capital of the first socialist country in America and, therefore, a country completely emancipated from imperialist domination, man's exploitation by man and racial discrimination, to be selected for this event.

It is also very important to consider the symbolic significance this selection holds now. It is enough to point out that the Seminar starts its work during a barrage of United States imperialist threats and intrigues directed against Cuba, precisely because of its fraternal contribution to the preservation of the liberty won in long, heroic and selfless battle of an African nation attacked by both racist South Africa and international imperialism, with the participation of Zaire's regular troops, the counterrevolutionary factions of FNLA and UNITA and white mercenary groups. It is scarcely necessary to say that I am referring to the People's Republic of Angola.

If Cubans went to that far-off land in Africa to fulfill an inevitable solidarity duty, at the request of the legitimate government headed by Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola, to which we have given our unrestricted support ever since it emerged (as we have done to other similar movements on that continent), the African blood that flows in our veins, in our culture and in our his-

tory and has generously dampened the soil of the homeland from the dark period of slavery up to the flaming victory at Playa Giron, also weighed in that decision.

As the Prime Minister of the Revolutionary government of Cuba, Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, recalled a short while ago, we are a people of our America, and at the same time a Latin-African people.

Paraphrasing Jose Marti, it can be assumed that underneath the vast sea that separates us from Africa, there runs through the marrow fire and love, the undefeatable force that unites and embraces us. "Those who once enslaved men and sent them to America," Fidel Castro stated in the aforementioned speech, "perhaps never imagined that one of those peoples who received the slaves would send their combatants to fight for liberty in Africa." Our people will always be satisfied and proud of this beautiful internationalist gesture.

To reaffirm that the destiny of Africa is also our destiny is totally inevitable. That has been an unvariable attitude and sentiment ever since the Cuban Revolution began. It has been, is and will be, by the law of nature and history, one of the principal pillars of our foreign policy.

One feels tempted to enter into the roots and transformations in the overall African situation as it now exists. To delve into the traces of ancient and developed civilizations,

some mysteriously lost or evaporated and others buried in the subsoil of the African jungles. . .

Blood and Mud

In the political semantics of the imperialists and racists, hateful words abound. None, however, has such a repugnant connotation as the Afrikaner word: *apartheid*. All its pores spout blood and mud: the blood of its victims and the mud of its murderers. It carries with it the very negation of the human condition, the reduction of the human being to the category of an instrument. The separation of man according to pigmentation under the supremacy of the white race is one of the most monstrous attacks on the essential unity of mankind that has ever been perpetrated.

“Man,” decreed Jose Marti at the end of the last century, “is endowed with no special right because he is of one or another race. . . Black for being black, are neither inferior nor superior to any other man. The white who says my race falls into the error of redundancy as the black who says my race also errs. All that divides men, all that specifies, separates or corrals is a sin against mankind. Man is more than simply white or mulatto or black.” Marti would call the Indian reservations in the United States human corrals.

You have there an early, severe and stinging denunciation and condemnation of racism and apartheid. And in referring concretely to Africa, Marti wrote: “Many strange things are said about Africa now because the Europeans are down there discovering the country, and the Europeans wish to rule in that rich land where, with the heat of the Sun, sweet-smelling and nutritious plants grow, and other plants give fibres for textiles, and there are gold and diamonds and elephants, which are a source of wealth, because throughout the world ivory from their tusks is going for every higher price. They talk a lot of the courage with which the blacks defend themselves and of their wars. European soldiers and mercenaries are going to Africa. A lot of people are going to Africa.”

To the white minority that usurped and omnipotently ruled the vast territory of South Africa falls the denegrating initiative of having established the system of apartheid in 1948 in its political, economic, social and cultural relations with the numerous African population that lived there and that is the true master of the land. It is all too well known that its main promoters were and continue to be rabid partisans of Nazism. Hitler’s *Mein Kampf* was praised from the pulpit by the Rev. Jan Vorster (Prime Minister Vorster’s brother) in 1940. He said, *Mein Kampf* was “the way to the path of grandeur and represents an example for South Africa. Hitler had given the Germans a vocation and a fanaticism that permitted them to retreat from no one. We must follow their example because only a sacred fanaticism such as theirs will permit us to carry out our vocation.” On being appointed Prime Minister, the brother of that amoral, obtuse and pitiless friar would undertake that bloody path with a zoological creed as his guide.

Apartheid is the crystallisation, in its most primitive and detestable form, of the regime of colonial and racist domination imposed by the descendants of the Boers on the African population. It constitutes a power structure based on the hegemony of the white minority that decides according to its whims the distribution and herding of the Africans into so-called Bantustans, isolating them from all participation in the spheres of decisions concerning their own lives and stripping them of the most elementary exercise of human rights.

Nothing resembles a Nazi concentration camp so much as a Bantustan. These groupings of lugubrious, fetid hovels, built with waste materials and surrounded with barbed wire fences, are truly prisons, isolated on desolate, parched land, scourged by hunger, disease and epidemics. It is estimated that half the children confined to reservations die before they are five years of age, and two black children and a coloured die every half hour. They could be defined — with dramatic accuracy — as inhuman settlements. The millions of Africans subjected to the cruel, dehumanizing and an-



H. E. Raul Roa Garcia – Foreign Minister of Cuba

nihilating “separate development” occupy 13% of the national territory. The rest is controlled by a white, racist minority. In the best of cases, Africans are actually kept as ambulatory prisoners by a closely-woven mesh of laws, delimitations and exclusions conceived with perverse punitive instinct. The ghastly Sharpeville massacre in which a ferocious pack of white police shot point-blank at a crowd of men, women and children, peacefully manifesting their opposition to the humiliating passbook, is still fresh in our memory despite the time that has elapsed. Thousands of Africans are detained and abused every day. Sometimes a night chase is organized, always leaving a large balance of dead and wounded. The so-called mestizos (coloured) and people of Indian origin, are victims of numerous proscriptions and abuses.

Apartheid and Zionism

I know very well that I’m not revealing anything which is new or unknown. But we

can never insist enough on the dissemination and denunciation of this unheard-of accumulation of crime, injustice, abuse and arbitrariness actions that will continue as long as the regime exists which engenders it, its basic support being the political, economic and military backing it has received and still receives from its imperialist partners, the self-proclaimed champions of the free world and Western Christian civilisation. And nowhere is it more appropriate than in this Seminar that has as its main goal the elimination of apartheid and support to the struggle for the liberation from such horrors.

In a desperate attempt to counteract the expansion of the neighbouring peoples’ liberation swell, and, especially, after the independence of the former Portuguese colonies, South Africa’s racist regime prepared to extend its frontiers in order to guarantee its stability and survival. Despite UN resolutions, it has refused to get out of Namibia and has allied itself with the white minority that has appropriated Rhodesia. It has closed ranks with Israel and merged apartheid and Zionism in a perfect symbiosis. With cajoling and deceitful words, it captivated some African governments that were pro-imperialist or lacked spunk. It gave Mozambique no respite with its intimidations and harassment. Together with Dr. Henry Kissinger, the Central Intelligence Agency, transnational enterprises, certain European powers, former Portuguese colonialists and counterrevolutionary organisations in Angola, it plotted the military invasion of that country to prevent its access to independence and attempted to, once and for all, seize its coveted natural resources in collusion with its allies.

Blood Suckers

But the fighting Angolan people, led by President Neto and with the collaboration of Cuba, the Soviet Union and several African countries, gave them a resounding, definitive and total defeat, smashing the myth of South African military preponderance. Angola’s victory not only insures the independence of the African countries, invigorates anti-imperialist and progressive cur-

rents on the continent and reduces imperialism's manoeuvrability, but also stimulates and strengthens the liberation movements of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

The struggle against apartheid and for liberation in South Africa is inseparable from the struggle against imperialism. The racist government has converted its armed forces into gendarmes and sponsors of the most powerful transnational corporations.

The South African soil holds important reserves of gold, diamonds, chrome, vanadium, copper, tin, nickel, manganese, asbestos, coal, zinc and uranium. All this is in considerable quantities. It has fabulous forest reserves. Its livestock is highly developed, and its fishing industry is very efficient.

Let me cite some illustrative figures that show the tremendous thrust of the transnationals. The Anglo American Corporation alone has 31 financing and investment companies, 9 diamond mines, 17 coal mines, 5 copper mines, 16 gold mines, 22 industries and 7 real estate companies. It produces 40% of the gold, 30% of the uranium, 30% of the coal. It administers 58% of Zambia's copper and monopolises world diamond sales. And in overwhelming conclusion, add to that 244 Yankee monopolies, headed by the traditional blood-suckers and the numerous investments from other capitalist countries.

The racist regime's military cooperation with the United States and NATO has increased during the last few years. They supply its arms, tanks and planes and have renovated and fortified its military machine for aggressive ends.

South Africa has established solid bonds with the fascist regime of Latin America. Its Prime Minister has been received with great fanfare, in Uruguay and Paraguay, where the jails burst with patriots, torture chambers work overtime and cemeteries overflow with anonymous victims.

The anthropoids that viciously crushed the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende in collusion with the CIA, the international monopolies and the Chilean oligarchy and assassinated President Allende have opened a consulate in South Africa.

Imperialism nurtures them and criminal affinity joins them. But history moves forward, and the future will never be theirs.

The year 1975 was a prodigious one in effective activities against apartheid in the international arena. In April of that year, the Organisation of African Unity, meeting in Dar es Salaam, returned a resounding and unanimous "no" to the proposal that it establish dialogue with the racist regime. The Foreign Affairs Ministers of the non-aligned countries, meeting in Lima in August, denounced the policy of apartheid as a threat to international peace and security, condemned the creation of the Bantustans, censured the increasing relations between South Africa and the fascist regimes of Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile, expressed alarm over growing cooperation between South Africa and Israel and agreed to step up activities on the part of their governments to achieve urgent application of the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions and the Dar es Salaam Declaration. And, among other energetic decisions, they reiterated their request that South Africa apply the Security Council resolutions on Namibia and strictly respect its territorial unity and integrity, while demanding an immediate end to bantustanisation. . .

May these kindred and proud voices,
escaped from the iron inclosure of
the Bantustans, inspire your work:
Apartheid is asphyxiation and pain,
Apartheid destroys our lives,
Apartheid murders our children,
And takes us far from our women.
We must bear the pass
Slaves in our own land
But the Congress of the People
is pointing the way
By which we will be free.
Arise, people of colour,
The long, long night is ended;
The rays of dawn are
Rising in the east;
from the vile dream of labour and sorrow
People of colour arise
For dawn is already here!

Voice of Freedom

by Jethro Ngani

Clandestine ANC Propaganda Inside South Africa

Innumerable and complex tasks confront an underground movement. The ANC, together with its allies, is engaged in the all-round preparation for armed struggle, together with the development of all forms of struggle on a mass scale. The building of underground structures, the development of links with the masses, the tasks of organising and leading the people while at the same time outwitting the security forces is a continuous and grim battle. The role of illegal propaganda – informative, analytical, agitational – is of vital importance in the accomplishment of these tasks. In a situation reminiscent of the terror conditions of Nazi occupied Europe, a single leaflet or a slogan daubed on a wall brings hope and inspiration to the oppressed and breathes defiance of the tyrant.

Parallel with the upsurge of revolutionary mass action at the present time are signs, too, that the voice of the underground is spreading more widely. In recent years, ANC activists have demonstrated their ability to carry the message of struggle to all sections of the population, with growing skill and audacity. In the face of great risks these brave activists epitomize the voice of freedom which the police state cannot reach.

Commemorating June 26

At present the security police are hunting high-and-low for the mysterious distributors of a 7-inch grammophone record. Produced by the ANC, the disc, using songs and statements, commemorates the 25th Anniversary of June 26th – Freedom Day – and the 20th Anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. It was an anniversary which could not be overlooked, and whilst public rallies were held in numerous countries abroad, back home the clandestine disc and an extensive distribution of the Freedom Charter once again presented the policy of the Movement to the people and served notice that the underground ANC was alive and active. This in a period where the enemy strives to eradicate all memory of the ANC's history and policy from the minds of the people.

“June 26th is a rallying day for the forces of freedom; a day on which we rededicate ourselves to the struggle to liberate the whole of South Africa” – an ANC spokesman announces on the disc.

Another voice, asserting that “Vorster, Smith and their imperialist accomplices are in disarray” adds that “South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia will follow Mozambique, Angola and Guinea-Bissau.”

A woman militant declares: “Our struggle must combine all methods; strikes,

demonstrations, non-cooperation and guerrilla warfare” and continues: “Everyone can be a freedom fighter. Organise and prepare. Outwit the enemy. Never submit to the White terror!”

The disc concludes with a freedom song and slogans and the rousing words: “Forward to revolution and the Freedom Charter! Rally to the ANC and the fighting spirit of June 26! Amandhla Ngawethu! Power to the People!”

The ANC has always placed great importance on propaganda work. The outlawing of the organisation in 1960 naturally created numerous problems that could only be patiently solved. During the 1960’s, when the enemy was unleashing its full force against the movement, with thousands falling victim to massive police raids and round-ups, Vorster liked to boast that he had “broken the back of the ANC.” Even while he was making this presumptuous claim, the ANC underground was regrouping and reorganising. It is for the record that this process was severely damaged when the movement’s leadership was captured at the Rivonia headquarters in 1963, but the underground survived and continued to grow. It was in this new period that underground propaganda, demonstrating the effectiveness of the ANC machinery and projecting its voice, became of incalculable value. Underground leaflets began to appear in the townships, factories and city streets. Passed on from hand to hand, these reminded the people that the spirit of resistance must never die. These were often complemented by slogans painted on walls proclaiming: “Free Mandela,” “Free Sisulu” and “Long Live the ANC.” As modest as these propaganda efforts were – the leaflets invariably produced an old cyclostyling machine – they showed that the ANC could survive the most severe measures of the regime.

The press had always more or less obediently followed government dictates suppressing news of illegal activity. As underground actions began to increase in scope, however, it became difficult for the media to suppress the facts. It was becoming more obvious that Vorster had not

succeeded in “breaking the ANC’s back” – an underground leaflet of the time pointed out that the ANC “must have many backs” – and audacious acts of propaganda began to pierce the censorship screen.

The ANC Lives!

The extent to which the underground had recovered from the Rivonia and other setbacks was illustrated in July, 1967, with possibly the first national distribution of leaflets for some time. “The ANC Lives” was the defiant theme of this counter-attack, which coincided with the death and funeral of the ANC’s President, Chief Albert John Lutuli.

Alarmed by the extent and coordination of the distribution, the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* (August 6, 1967) reported “a flood of ANC pamphlets posted to thousands of addresses simultaneously from Johannesburg, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Durban” – the head of the security police, General van den Bergh (now of BOSS), attempted to dismiss the leaflet as the “swansong of a movement,” (*Sunday Express*, August 6, 1967). Printed on quality paper and bearing the pictures of Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, the leaflet called the people to action and declared:

“You will wonder that men and women should risk long terms in prison to bring you this message. What kind of people do such things? The answer is simple. They are ordinary people who want freedom in this country. They are members of the ANC. Their longing for freedom is so strong that there is nothing they will not risk to bring it closer. . . Even now after all that has been tried by the enemy to crush their spirit, they struggle forward to the people’s freedom. And that is why, even now, after all that has been tried to destroy it, the ANC lives!”

Simultaneously with the mass posting, thousands of leaflets were showered from the tops of buildings in central Johannesburg and Durban and were collected by eager crowds in the streets below. At the same time, huge banners bearing the slogan, “The ANC Lives” and ANC flags were hung from prominent points. Thousands of

RELEASE



Nelson Mandela

ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

I send you warm greetings from the African National Congress on the occasion of Christmas and New Year. Let us make this Festive Season an occasion for three things:



CELEBRATION, REMEMBRANCE
AND DEDICATION

CELEBRATION and PRIDE in our nationhood which the Vorster's can never destroy;

REMEMBRANCE of our leaders, many of whom have now spent more than ten years of Christmases behind prison bars, and above all,

DEDICATION to the cause of the smashing of white supremacy in our land.

In the year which has passed our people—the workers, peasants, youth and professional groups—have begun to show a renewed defiance. A fresh mood of determination to assert our rights to better conditions and to rule our whole country has shown itself. Let us therefore enter the New Year with even greater confidence and a resolve to mould the passion of our people into an instrument which will finally strike down the enemy.

LET US STEEL OURSELVES FOR SACRIFICE!
WE CAN AND WILL OVERCOME!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

MAATLA KE A RONA!

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Oliver Tambo

Listen to Freedom Radio, the voice of the African National Congress broadcasting on the external service of Radio Zambia daily from 21.30 to 22.30 on the 31 and 60 metre bands.

stickers appeared on lampposts, on walls and shop fronts bearing the ANC initials in bold print and the slogan, "Inkululeko Ngesikathi Sethu" — "Freedom in our Lifetime." Far from being the "swansong" or "last gasp" of the organisation, the propaganda blitz indicated that the ANC was functioning and that revolutionary action was on the increase. At a trial of ANC members held in Port Elizabeth in September of that year, a security branch detective reported the discovery of "an ingenious device" which suspended a bundle of leaflets from a high window and was designed to drop them into the street (*Rand Daily Mail*, September 29, 1967). In the battle to minimise the risk of capture, activists were developing sophisticated techniques and timing devices.

In August, 1967, guerrilla soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC's military wing, joined forces with ZAPU freedom fighters and engaged the racist troops of Ian Smith in battle. There was a great need to

overcome the lies and distortions of the Vorster regime about the fighting and project the truth to our people. The underground responded magnificently and intensified its propaganda output. In the space of a few months, a variety of leaflets were issued, including a pocket-sized, illustrated booklet in Xhosa, Zulu, Sutho, Tswana and English, showing the freedom fighters in action. "We are at war!" declared an ANC leaflet of the time, "only by meeting force with force can we win back our Motherland." Countering the lies dispelled by the Vorster regime through the radio and newspapers, the leaflet asserted: "The truth is very different. . . Our men are armed and trained freedom fighters, not 'terrorists.' They are fighting with courage, discipline and skill. The forces of the Rhodesian racialists suffered heavy losses. So also did the white soldiers sent to Rhodesia by Vorster to 'save the Smith regime from collapse.'" *Freedom Fighters on the March*

was the title of a leaflet especially addressed by Dr. Yusuf Dadoo to the Indian people, and *Forward to Freedom* declared a similar appeal to the coloured community of South Africa. Both leaflets called on the Indian and coloured people to intensify their proud record of resistance to White supremacy and to support and identify with the armed struggle.

Alarmed at the extent of this activity, the pro-government newspaper *Dagbreek en Landstem* carried a report on July 7, 1968, which gave information of underground activity that had been carried out on June 26 of that year. Under the heading *Subversive Elements – on the Rivonia Pattern – Again Active in South Africa*, the report added that “it was even likely that cells had been set up in some South African cities.” Commenting on the spate of propaganda material being distributed, the newspaper commented, as only a racist mouthpiece could: “The Bantu are being bombarded with more propaganda than they can digest.” The main body of the report, however, concerned a bold new technique employed by the underground to get its message across. On June 26, to mark Freedom Day, ANC activists had not only blitzed main city streets with leaflets showered from buildings, but had also succeeded in playing a tape-recorded, amplified message in the centre of Johannesburg. The freedom message had blared forth from an abandoned car in a main street. “Who made the recording, and who was responsible for it being played under the noses of the police?” the newspaper asked darkly, and added: “Word-for-word typed versions of it are now being distributed through the post and by other means. Such things require organisation and are unlikely to be the work of one man.” Commenting on ANC radio broadcasts being beamed to South Africa from Tanzania, the report wryly concluded: “The propaganda onslaught is being well organised.”

Exploding Into Action

During November, 1969, with the guerrilla struggle raging to the north, and on

the eve of the big show trial of Winnie Mandela and 21 others – accused of establishing secret ANC groups, recruiting for the organisation and preparing and distributing its propaganda – the underground again confounded the security police by literally “exploding” into action. As though on a single command, small explosive devices scattered thousands of leaflets into the crowded streets of every major South African city. Simultaneously, as crowds gathered to pick up the leaflets, hidden tape recorders connected to small but powerful amplifiers relayed fighting messages to the people calling on them to intensify the struggle. This action indicated that the underground was capable of mounting a nationally coordinated distribution in a most impressive and efficient manner, obviously requiring great resources and planning. It also indicated a development of techniques with a much more spectacular and effective impact than previously. Known as “bucket bombs” the leaflets were placed in plastic buckets and left in shopping bags near railway stations, bus terminals and factory gates. A harmless explosive device within the bucket had the effect of shooting the leaflets high into the air to the accompaniment of a loud bang. The broadcasting equipment was placed in positions which were difficult for the authorities to gain access to. In some cases, they were lowered onto the ledge of a building or chained within a stout container in an inaccessible position. Often a dummy explosive was strapped to them with a “danger” warning. They certainly succeeded in capturing the attention of the people and the press.

“These men are our brothers, our sons,” the leaflets stated, featuring a photograph of guerrillas on patrol in the Zimbabwe bush – “they fight for the freedom of the people.” They also contained exact details of how to manufacture a Molotov cocktail, as well as an explanation of what guerrilla warfare entailed.

The press at first attempted to restrict coverage to incidents in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, but as the full impact was felt, conceded that the distribution had been nation-wide. *The Eastern Province Herald* 41

Eastern Province
HERALD
FIRST EDITION

Police swoop after explosions

SUBVERSIVE BLASTS IN BIG CITIES

Herald Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG.

THOUSANDS of subversive pamphlets were scattered in the major cities of South Africa last night when home-made "bombs" with timing devices exploded in Port Elizabeth, Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.

The blasts took place simultaneously in the cities as workers streamed home during the evening rush hour. In each of the cities, reports of injuries were received. The explosions occurred in the streets of Johannesburg, Durban, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town. In Johannesburg, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station. In Cape Town, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station. In Durban, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station. In Port Elizabeth, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station.

THE CAPE TIMES CITY, RAND AND DURBAN

ANC leaflets fly
at rush hour

PAMPHLET bombs which scattered subversive African National Congress propaganda leaflets went off in Cape Town and Johannesburg yesterday afternoon, and similar explosions were reported in Durban.

The Cape Times reported that the explosions occurred in the streets of Cape Town and Johannesburg. The Johannesburg Times reported that the explosions occurred in the streets of Johannesburg. The Durban Times reported that the explosions occurred in the streets of Durban. The Port Elizabeth Times reported that the explosions occurred in the streets of Port Elizabeth.

Four explosions in Cape Town BOMBS SHOWER ANC PAMPHLETS IN 4 CITIES

Cape Times Crime Reporter
HOMEMADE bombs exploded and scattered thousands of pamphlet published by the African National Congress during the evening rush hour in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth yesterday.

The bombs went off in the streets of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Durban and Port Elizabeth. In Cape Town, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station. In Johannesburg, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station. In Durban, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station. In Port Elizabeth, a large crowd gathered outside the railway station.

Plastic buckets

Cordoned off

of November 15, 1969, reported: "East London Streets Littered with Subversive Pamphlets" and added: "Plastic bags burst open and the subversive pamphlets were scattered in the wind. Bystanders, predominantly non-White, clamoured to find out what it was all about." Under the heading "ANC BLITZ" the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* of the same date reported: "Telephoned at his home early this morning, the head of the Security Police refused to speak to our reporter and put the phone down." The best description of the actions came from the *Cape Times* (15-11-69) which reported two explosions in the city and that pedestrians who caught the pamphlets as they blew around found that they were issued by the banned ANC. The newspaper also reported "a tape recorder broadcasting ANC slogans from the roof of the non-White entrance to the railway station." An ex-Rhodesian police officer who was driving past at the time told a *Cape Times* reporter that a big crowd of Africans and Coloureds had gathered outside the station. "I've seen excited crowds in my time," he related, "and this was one of them." According to the report, the police had a great deal of difficulty reaching the broadcasting equipment before cutting through chains to remove the offending device.

The street broadcast was particularly arousing and began: "This is the African National Congress. This is the voice of freedom. . . The time has come. . . This apartheid monster must be crushed by the people. It must be removed by force!"

Highlighting the question of armed struggle, the broadcast defiantly raised many other pressing issues, declaring: "We say to the enemy that we will not be bluffed by your toy parliaments like Matanzima's like the Coloured Council and like the Indian Council. We want freedom now — real freedom!. In the schools our young people must organise to resist Bantu education. We demand free and equal education for all our children — now!" (In the light of the school children's rebellion in Soweto and elsewhere, these words show how pertinent ANC propaganda has been).

Leaflets Fly at Rush Hour

Despite continuing repression and the arrest of a number of ANC and Umkhonto activists who had managed to return to South Africa via the Zimbabwe battlefields, it was evident that the underground apparatus was growing. During August, 1970, the most ambitious propaganda campaign the country had seen in the post-Rivonia period was launched. This was so extensive and effective that it captured the headlines in every main newspaper in South Africa, as well as receiving attention from the press abroad. As with the previous actions, "bucket bombs" distributed leaflets whilst tape recorders relayed speeches in the key centres of Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and East London. On this occasion, however, the underground planted many more bombs and devices than previously – well over twenty explosions took place – and in Johannesburg a war of nerves was carried out as a second wave of leaflet blasts occurred within two days of the initial distribution. The leaflets were headlined: "The ANC says to Vorster and his Gang: Your days are coming to an end!" and carried specific directives to the workers in the factories, the residents of the black townships, the peasants on the land and the youth on how to organise. Under the heading, "Some Things a Freedom Fighter Should Know," the leaflets carried details of the manufacturer of a home-made hand grenade. Separate versions of these leaflets appeared in English, Zulu, Xhosa and the M'suthu languages. The Afrikaans language newspapers treated the distribution with undisguised alarm. "ANC Shows Its Teeth Again – Bombs in Five Large Cities – State Threatened in Leaflet" were the front-page headlines in *Die Transvaler* (August 14, 1970) which also featured a photograph of one of the leaflets. The report began: "Time bombs, of the type used to shoot leaflets into the air and so distribute them, exploded yesterday afternoon at about 5 o'clock at numerous places throughout the country." *Die Vaderland* reported on the same day: "A nationwide investigation will be instituted by the Security Police after the

bomb explosions and distribution of propaganda. . . The banned underground organisation, the African National Congress yesterday once again reared its head in an organised manner. . . The immediate conclusion reached is that the ANC is still active in South Africa and has made a renewed attempt to create nervousness." Over half a dozen devices exploded in the central area of Johannesburg. One of these was spotted before it could go off outside the offices of the *Rand Daily Mail* and police rushed to the spot. As they were examining it, an explosion took place which blackened their uniforms and showered leaflets about them. An enterprising photographer captured the scene which was featured on the newspaper's front page the next morning. There were many vivid descriptions in the press of successful distributions. "More ANC Bombs," the Johannesburg *Star* of 15th August 1970 declared and continued: "A bomb went off like a firecracker at noon in the centre of the Indian fruiterer and hawker district and according to one witness, 'I heard a sharp crack and then I saw people rushing around picking up the pamphlets.' " Minutes after the explosion, business almost came to a standstill in the area as people scooped up the pamphlets. Although the activity was concentrated in areas where black people congregated, a "bucket bomb" unleashed its contents on the campus of Witwatersrand University and caused great interest among the white students. The degree to which the apartheid government and police were rattled by the undoubted success of the ANC action was reflected in follow-up stories in the national press. "Hunt on for ANC Bombers," "Police Call for Clues," "Cops Hunt Mystery Bombers," "ANC Leaflets Fly at Rush Hour," and "Don't Touch the Bombs Warn Police" were some of the headlines that appeared. Official annoyance was expressed at the way the press had highlighted the activity. The head of the Security Police, General Venter, complained bitterly: "This is exactly what the ANC wants to happen. . .

Our newspapers, English as well as Afrikaans, oblige them by giving them thousands

of rands worth of publicity for free . . . on the front page." (*Cape Times*, 15/8/70).

Whilst police chiefs and cabinet ministers threatened to take action against the press for publicising the contents of the leaflets — suggesting the commission of an offence under the Suppression of Communism Act — the most significant statement came from the Minister of Police himself, S.L. Muller, when he indicated that "the explosions are an indication that subversive elements are still active in South Africa" and warned: "The public must not think that the dangers are a thing of the past. It is something with which we will just have to live." (*Star*, 15/8/70). This was a far cry indeed from the previous "swan song" claims and had a bitter, defeatist ring. The ANC underground could not have extracted a more convincing confession.

The ability of the ANC was recognised as far afield as London where *The Guardian* of 15th August commented editorially: "The ANC has now reminded the South African authorities that. . . in spite of being banned the organisation can still mount a well-coordinated and sophisticated publicity coup. . . In a wider sense, the pamphlets are a general reminder not just to the police but to South Africans as a whole that the nationalists still function. They will encourage Africans and alarm whites. . . Once a movement is underground, no white can be sure what the Africans are doing. Are they really passive or are they waiting and growing stronger? Yesterday's propaganda leaflets are meant to develop this psychological waiting game."

Pamphlet Bombs Blast Again

One can continue itemising accounts of ANC propaganda actions. These leave no doubt of the existence of an effective underground structure in South Africa which turns out a steady stream of material and when it chooses strikes in a dramatic fashion. For instance, to add to the humiliation suffered by the security police as a result of the magnificent 1970 distribution, an identical action was launched almost ex-

actly one year later, in the same manner and in virtually the same localities.

"Pamphlet Bombs Blast Again," headlined the *Rand Daily Mail* of 11 August 1971, and continued: "Thousands of subversive pamphlets were scattered in the major centres of South Africa last night. . . blasts took place simultaneously in the cities as workers streamed home during the evening rush hour." In a similar report, headed "Bombs Shower ANC Pamphlets," the *Cape Times* of the same date quoted the Security Police as claiming they were "not surprised" by the explosions as it was "only two days short of a year" since the ANC last struck in a similar fashion. When a newspaper report claimed that the "explosions" were "expected" and yet the police had not been able to prevent them taking place, the Head of Security, Venter, reacted angrily. A Johannesburg *Sunday Express* reporter wrote: "I understand General Venter is furious about a report which said the Security Police had been aware that the pamphlets were to be exploded. General Venter's anger is understandable, since no one, as far as is known, was arrested in connection with the explosions." (*Sunday Express*, 15/8/71). As is often the case, the mind of fascist authority when stung to anger lets slip a glimmer of truth, for the reporter continued: "As far as I can find out, the Security Police expected pamphlet explosions to take place between June and August, as has been the case for the past 10 years." Not a bad record for a movement which was supposed to have been liquidated many years beforehand!

Despite swift action by police who in most cases rushed to the scene and attempted to prevent pedestrians gathering the leaflets, many got into the hands of the people. "Witnesses saw hundreds of Africans collecting the pamphlets before police could take possession of all of them," reported the Port Elizabeth *Eastern Province Herald* of 11/8/71). The Johannesburg *Star* of August 14, interviewed a witness who said, "Hundreds of Africans grabbed pamphlets out of the air. All around me people just stood and stared. Everybody was astounded."

THE STORY OF SIMON AND JANE

An ANC
magazine
distributed
by the
underground
apparatus
throughout
the country



As is the general case with ANC propaganda, the leaflets were printed in a variety of African languages. "Black People Arise" was the heading of a leaflet in Xhosa distributed in the cities and countryside of the Cape Province. A Zulu language version appearing in Durban and Natal declared: "The survival of the nation is at stake." "People Unite and Fight" in Pedi and "The Call Has

Gone Out" in Sutho were the headings of leaflets distributed in Johannesburg and on the Witwatersrand complex.

The most recent leaflet bomb distribution related to the liberation of Angola and South Africa's desperate attempt to prevent the MPLA from coming to power.

Our information is that many leaflet bombs were activated throughout South

Africa. The government mouthpiece, *Rapport*, on 21 March, 1976, carried the following account:

"The letter bomb leaflets which were distributed in busy black points in Johannesburg this week are of the most provocative yet seen. The MPLA and FRELIMO are praised in typical Marxist language and the government and the South African security forces denigrated. The impression is created that we were defeated by the forces of the MPLA and that our forces are not invincible."

Anti-Apartheid News (April, 1976) carried the following eye-witness report of a leaflet bomb explosion on March 18, near the offices of the *Rand Daily Mail* at a time when African demonstrators had been battling with police in the city centre:

"People in the building heard a bang in the foyer and went down and found that pamphlets were scattered all over. . . People came in from the streets to pick up copies and in less than two minutes about 100 leaflets were picked up. Nearly all the leaflets were taken away. . . It created a lot of enthusiasm, in view of the fact that it happened shortly after the confrontation between the police and members of the public. . . The African National Congress has not lost the following that it had."

The leaflet was headed: "The ANC says to Vorster and his racist regime — All power to the MPLA liberators of Angola!" Explaining how the MPLA had defeated Vorster and imperialism, the leaflet stated: "The opportunities for developing the armed struggle right inside South Africa are becoming more possible." But the leaflet made clear this "cannot come about unless the masses are involved in all forms of struggle." It is within the power of the South African people to prevent Vorster's aggression in Angola, Namibia or anywhere else, the leaflet continued, "By intensifying our struggle, we will tie Vorster's army down and make it impossible for him to launch his war machine across the borders." The leaflet concluded: "We, the ANC, warn Vorster — Izak'unyatheli Afrika! Africa will smash you Vorster!"

Clandestine Journals

Tens of thousands of people receive ANC material from underground sources in less dramatic, but by no means less important, ways. As the London *Guardian* so aptly pointed out: "Once a movement is underground, no white can be sure what the Africans are doing." Leaflets and other propaganda items circulate where the oppressed people live and work and reach many through the post. ANC journals, produced and circulating inside South Africa, have been appearing consistently for over a decade. These have appeared under such titles as *Sechaba-Isizwe*, *Vukani-Awake*, *Struggle*, *Youth Challenge*, *Searchlight*, *Revolt* and *Amandla-Matla*. They are of particular importance since they give theoretical guidance to activists.

That these have been circulating widely enough to alarm the authorities is evidenced by the following report which appeared in the Johannesburg *Sunday Express* of 23 March 1975: "Special Branch detectives are searching for a mysterious underground printer who is distributing subversive pamphlets. The five-page pamphlets. . . attack the South African government's attempts at dialogue with other African states and contain strongly-worded propaganda on behalf of the banned African National Congress."

Such journals play an important role in giving leadership and direction. By way of illustration, *Amandla-Matla*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (issued during March, 1976, and featuring articles on Angola, the Bantustans, methods of organisation, the wages issue and the role of the youth) lists the following organisational tasks for the people:

1. Build small, secret ANC cells to discuss the situation in our country, ANC policy and the Freedom Charter; and spread the revolutionary ideas making use of ANC publications.
2. Wherever you work, organise Trade Unions for the rights of workers.
3. Organise protest meetings against the rising cost of living reflected in increasing prices of food, coal, high bus/train fares and rents. Organise mass boycott actions like

the Kwa-Thema one, building unity and solidarity of the people.

4. Speak out against Bantustans and all separate dummy institutions.

5. Attend, as well as encourage others to do so, all meetings and explain the real nature of Bantustans and expose the traitors who lead them.

6. Strengthen those groups which are already campaigning against the Bantustans and their so-called independence.

7. Boycott meetings called by Bantustan traitors and instead organise counter-meetings to expose to the people the dangers of the Bantustans and artificial divisions of the oppressed.

8. Wherever you stay or work, speak out against all forms of tribalism and racialism.

9. Wherever you stay or work, constantly preach the idea of a single, united South Africa.

10. Organise the youth and students against Bantu education, separate colleges and their right to demand in what medium they must be taught, by whom, how, where and what is to be taught, and to demand free, compulsory and proper education.

11. Organise support for the new People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique.

12. Organise complete non-participation in the so-called border wars of the fascists. The oppressed people must refuse to help Vorster in his military adventures against the people of Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique.

Now is the time to organise units of the ANC where they do not exist. There is no alternative to the policy of the African National Congress and its programme, the Freedom Charter. The struggle goes on! Amandla! Matla!"

Story of Simon and Jane

The ANC produces a variety of propaganda material, as original and imaginative as the June 26 record. For example, the seemingly innocent *Story of Simon and Jane* is an outstandingly-illustrated comic book about the developing political consciousness of a

typical African couple. The story portrays the problems the pair encounter in their everyday lives under apartheid and ends with Simon joining Umkhonto and Jane working in an underground ANC cell.

The *Story of Simon and Jane* graphically sums up the tasks which the struggle demands of the people of South Africa. The challenges are great and the risks considerable. The penalties are extremely severe as the murder of Joseph Mdluli has once again reminded us. Yet countless men and women, young and old, like "Simon and Jane", like Mdluli, Timol, Dorothy Nyembe, Suttner and April, have answered the call and are determined to struggle until freedom is won — whatever the sacrifice! Like Nelson says: "No easy walk."

Let there be no doubt — the message which the oppressors are confronted with, right from within the heart of our country, is that the ANC lives and will never submit. "Let us steel ourselves for sacrifice! We can and will overcome!" declared Oliver Tambo to the people of South Africa in a 1974 New Year "Greeting" card which demanded the release of all political prisoners and circulated in many thousands.

The voice of freedom cannot be silenced. The people's struggle can never be extinguished. "We have survived the terror of all their 'strong men' — Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and Vorster! We will outlive them all!" ring out the words of an ANC leaflet. "Where the people are oppressed, the struggle for freedom cannot be stamped out! Until power passes to the majority of the people there can be no peace for the oppressor!"

Postscript

No less than eleven items recently produced by the ANC and the Communist Party are listed as banned publications in the *Government Gazette* of May 20, 1976 (*Rand Daily Mail*, 21/5/76).

ART



**against
Apartheid**

Report on Conference held in Holland against the cultural accord between South Africa and the Netherlands and organised by the Social Cultural Centre — "De Populier".

In 1948 the extreme right-wing National Party came to power in South Africa beginning the age of Verwoerd and Vorster. Three years later in 1951, an agreement was reached to formalise the cultural exchange between the Netherlands and South Africa. This agreement came about as a result of intensive lobbying by the Suidafrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (the South African Academy of Science and Culture), an extremely elitist body linked closely to the notorious Broederbond (Band of Brothers) whose miserable reputation of unbending racialism they share.

The ways in which the vast majority of South Africans have been exploited and repressed throughout the nation's history is well known. That this exploitation and repression have only increased in the last thirty years is also well known. The constant deportation of hundreds of thousands, the intolerable wage differential between black and white worker, the banning of democratic organizations, the suppression of free trades unions, the pass laws, the all-white parliament and the overpopulated prisons bear witness to that. The apartheid regime however also impinges deeply on the cultural and spiritual life of South Africa. A never-ending stream of laws and regulations defines the ever-more restrictive boundaries within which the already muzzled South African press must operate. The censorship laws are being continually refined and added to. Among the most recent addition is the Internal Security Act. This Act extends the existing power of detention and gagging of the press beyond the well-known South African understanding of Communism to threaten the Christian Institute and the

English-language press. (For an analysis of this law, see elsewhere in this issue) There are already countless well-known South African writers, black and white, who cannot be published in their native land.

It is with this country that the Netherlands maintains a cultural agreement. It is within the capacities of a child to understand what kind of political philosophy the representatives of official South African 'culture' bring with them to Holland when they come as guests of the Dutch tax-payer.

The vast majority of South African guests whose background it is possible to check come from the most bigoted sections of white society; they include at least one member of the South African censorship panel, several members of the Broederbond and the Academy mentioned before as well as members of the Federasie van Afrikaander Kultuurverenigings (the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Associations), a subsidiary of the Broederbond and umbrella organization for more than 100 cultural organizations including the Academy.

Anti-Apartheid Policy?

There can thus clearly be no question of 'cultural relations' being maintained between the Dutch and South African peoples. The cultural accord can only form a platform for the most racist section of white South African society to preach apartheid from in an 'acceptable' way. The Dutch Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Brinkhorst, stated last year that he did not want to break off the cultural accord, but to use it in furtherance of the Dutch 'anti-apartheid policy.' The political circumstances and the text of the agreement itself make that totally impossible. Not just the restrictions curtailing cultural and spiritual life, but also the stringent travel restrictions imposed by the South African government stand in the way of a free cultural exchange, a free dialogue be-

tween South Africa and the rest of the world. The text of the accord obliges the Dutch government to partake of 'friendly exchange' and 'cooperation' and that cannot be reconciled with any kind of 'anti-apartheid policy.'

Finally, the behaviour of the Dutch government itself is clearly a flagrant contradiction of Brinkhorst's statement. As is clear from the fact that the Dutch government last year sent Prof. J. Kistemaker, nuclear physicist, to South Africa under the auspices of the cultural accord. His visit was apparently linked to the planned delivery of nuclear waste containers to Vorster's regime; a delivery which could only contribute to the development of South Africa as a nuclear power, a development already well under way and likely to pose a great threat to the peace of Africa. We must realise that neither the visits of South African censors to Holland nor those of nuclear scientists to South Africa contravene the accord; everything is done to follow the letter of the law. For all these reasons, the Social Cultural Centre — "De Populier", the Dutch Anti Apartheid Movement, the Dutch Association of Sculptors, the Dutch Equity and Musicians Union and the National Student Association of Art Education, along with about eighty Dutch cultural organizations have backed the demand of the African National Congress to break off the cultural accord immediately and organised a conference around the slogan, *Art Against Apartheid*. The Dutch Anti Apartheid Movement (Postbus 10500, Herengracht 88, Amsterdam) has published an excellent critique of the Dutch/South African cultural accord in both Dutch and English. The ANC cultural unit — the Mayibuye Group — participated in cultural events organized during the conference and in the following pages are reproduced some of the papers presented to the conference by our delegates.

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CULTURE AND LIBERATION

by Alex La Guma

The topic being presented here has been the subject of so many conferences, seminars and workshops that one's immediate reaction on being asked to re-introduce it is that there is little new to say and that all the old ideas can conveniently be repeated. It is therefore difficult to avoid the risk of repetition, but since the cause of art and the cause of liberation is centuries old, the inevitability of reiterating the finest principles of both is unavoidable, and in this turbulent age, their emphasis is essential.

One may ask what has art, culture, literature got to do with the liberation? The question is usually asked by those who wish to separate culture or art from politics, for when we talk of liberation we are talking of it in its political sense, otherwise we would not be present here.

But life is the criterion through and by which the artist's imagery and literary observations are evaluated. When we talk of the relationship between art and life, we mean that unity between what is reflected and the manner in which it is reflected, and this is the quintessence of art.

What we respond to when we read a poem or a novel is not only life, but also its artistic merit. But life does not merely mean breathing in and out but involves also man's struggle to reach higher levels of civilization,

of social, economic and cultural status, the mighty struggle to conquer his own disabilities and the forces of nature. So then life must include man's struggle for liberation from all that hinders his development, and as we have said that life is the stimulation of artistic endeavour, art cannot be separated from this desire for liberation.

The struggle of the peoples of what we sometimes call the Third World for national liberation and independence has become a titanic force for man's progress and is without doubt one of the most dynamic and most important features of our time.

Perhaps we might even say that for the first time man has come to realise the totality of his planet Earth; that all Earth is inhabited by man and that the principles which seemed once to be the monopoly of apparently learned metropolitan countries now apply equally to those once looked upon as lesser beings. We by no means defend imperialist rule by recognizing that, by reducing the world's dimensions, it gave it greater horizons; that it revealed new phases in the development of human societies and, in spite of or as a result of prejudices, discriminations and crimes it perpetrated, helped to impart a deeper knowledge of man as a whole, as a unit in the complex and diverse character of his development.

Indeed paying all respect to Europe, I believe that at the pass of Thermopylae where certain Spartans died for independence centuries ago, there was erected an inscription which says: All the world is the grave of heroes.

Unfortunately through historical circumstances the Philistines of Europe — ignoring the lofty principles which had risen around them since the times of ancient philosophers the words of “La Marseillaise”; the works of Heine and Goethe; the ideals of Byron — set out to plunder and subject other peoples.

Royal Hunt of the Sun

This was described as a civilizing mission. It is hardly a matter of question as to who were the more “civilized”: those naively friendly Indians who welcomed Columbus, the people of the Cape who met Van Riebeeck; or their European visitors who returned these greetings quickly with firepower and “The Royal Hunt of the Sun.”

“A clash of cultures” it is designated: these burnings for accumulation of gold by the Inquisition, this description in Van Riebeeck’s diary of the massacred and plundered local people as “a stinking nation”; this blowing from a cannon of Sepoy “multineers” and the “civilizing” war-cry: “The only good Indian is a dead one,” as the prairies were seized from their owners.

In Europe herself the common people groaned under the yokes of her own slavery and feudalism. The example of the Russian revolution released the energies of millions of people, gave them confidence in the ultimate success of their own aspirations. The period after World War II in particular saw the development and success of anti-imperialist struggles, particularly in Africa and Asia. The degrees of independence might vary from country to country, but certainly major advances have been made in destroying the old colonial empires governed from Europe.

The peoples of these countries are reaching towards modern forms of civilization and culture, working to end the heritage of the

colonial past, to catch up what they missed during centuries of foreign oppression and to take their rightful place alongside advanced countries.

On a subject people colonial domination may be imposed by way of suppressing traditional ways of living and thinking, together with the introduction of alien ideas and values, since the essential feature of colonisation is the destruction of a people’s identity. This may be done through various agencies of the colonial power.

The Kenyan writer, Ngugi Wa Thiongo, in a university paper, says: “A Chinese, a Frenchman, a German or an Englishman first imbibes his national literature before attempting to take in other words. That the central taproot of his cultural nourishment should lie deep in his native soil is taken for granted. This a.b.c. of education is followed in most societies because it is demanded by the practise and the experience of living and growing. Not so in Africa, the West Indies, the colonized world as a whole despite the crucial role of the twin-fields of literature and culture in making a child aware of an re-discover his environment. . .” “The other day I found my own son trying to memorize a poem by William Wordsworth. . . I asked him: What are daffodils? He looked in the book: Oh, they are just little fishes in a lake! . . . (At another school) they told us about a poem of fourteen lines called a sonnet written by one William Shakespeare comparing old age to winter!”

As I once tried to explain in another talk, if many Africans become alienated from their cultural background, if they are so uprooted that they dare not assert it openly any longer, this background never dies completely. It survives the death of tribal economic structures and remains hidden, ready to be used as a basis for future development.

The late Amilcar Cabral said: “The exercise of imperialist domination demands cultural oppression, but the people are able to create and develop a liberation movement because it keeps its culture alive in the teeth of organised repression of cultural life — because its politico-military resistance being destroyed, it continues to resist culturally.” (UNESCO Paper).



MAYIBUYE singing group in Stockholm

The colonial power cannot impose a complete cultural occupation. The majority of the people retain their identity and are the one entity really able to preserve and create it — that is, they can make history.

A people's cultural manifestations, including their literature, oral and written, their songs and poetry, reflect this resistance, reflect the various stages of development of the anti-imperialist movement.

At a certain time, political resistance may take on various forms, politically passive or active, economic or armed; as it develops, it adopts other political methods, including violence, to end imperialist violence.

Perhaps the best examples of this cultural plus political manifestations are contained in the poetry of the former Portuguese colonies. Investigation shows that the history of poetry of the people of these territories for centuries under the Portuguese is also the history of their revolution.

We Are One People

The liberation struggle is the most complex expression of the people's cultural energy, of their identity, of their dignity. Liberation opens up new avenues, helps to enrich art and culture, and in the course of the anti-imperialist struggle finds new forms of expression. These manifestations also become a powerful instrument for political information and training, not only for independence but also in the great battle for progress.

What should be taken into consideration is that the anti-imperialist struggle involves that of national liberation, a struggle for the consolidation of a cultural community, for national statehood, national territory, a national economy. Colonialism and its attendant manifestations prevents this process.

In addition, the anti-imperialist struggle has united millions of people across borders

and across continents. Out of the artistic manifestations of this struggle can also be traced a common desire, ambition, aspiration, that of international friendship and indeed a brotherhood, based upon equality, which includes the fusion of all that is good in all cultures into the basis of an eventual common world culture.

We have talked of this struggle for national liberation, of anti-imperialism. This implies of course that imperialism and its colonial system is not yet dead.

Only recently the people of Angola entered victoriously the final stages of their battle to set up an independent state. To the south of them the white minority regimes still menace and frustrate the ambitions of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, who are engaged in heroic resistance to these regimes. A quotation from *A Short History of the African National Congress* illustrates concisely the cultural basis for the national struggle of the African majority: "The most astonishing feature of that conference (1912) was the number of tribes who sent representatives. There were Zulus, Xhosas, Tswana, Sothos, Vendas, Shangaans, Tongas and others. These tribes, some of them only recently locked in feuds, had looked upon each other with suspicion; each was proud and could only, with difficulty look upon others as equals. For two years before they had seen the bitter fruits of their disunion and division when, at the formation of the Union (of South Africa) they had all been ignored when Boer and Briton met to form the so-called Union of South Africa. As Dr. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, prominent leader and lawyer, stated at the Conference: "We are one people. These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of all our woes and of all our backwardness and ignorance today." And further: "The ANC realised from the outset that the problems of forging unity among Africans was the KEY to our freedom struggle. The formation of the ANC therefore marked the birth of a nation whose foundation was laid in a stirring call by Dr. P.I. Seme, later to become its Treasurer-General, when in an article written in 1911 he declared: "The demon of racialism, the abberationis of Xhosa-Fingo feuds,

the animosity that exists between Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basuto and every other Native, must be buried and forgotten. We are one people."

To appreciate what culture means in the pre-liberation movement needs a distinction between culture and cultural manifestation. Cabral said that culture is the dynamic synthesis, at the level of individual or community consciousness, of the material and historical reality of a society or a human group, of the relations existing between man and nature as well as among men and among social categories. Clearly a multiplicity of social categories and particularly of ethnic groups makes the role of culture in the liberation movement more difficult to define, but this complexity cannot and must not lessen the importance to the movement, most of all to recognise and define the contradictory data so as to maintain the positive values and channel them in the direction of the struggle, with an added dimension: *the national dimension*.

Within the indigenous society the action of the liberation movement on the cultural plain entails cultural unity, corresponding to the moral and political unity necessary for the dynamics of the struggle. With the opening up of closed groups, tribal or ethnic, racist aggressiveness tends to disappear and give way to understanding, solidarity and mutual respect, a unity in struggle and in a common destiny in face of foreign rule. These are sentiments which the mass of the people adopt readily if the process is not hindered by political opportunism. South African white domination, moved away from a policy of elimination or enslavement of the immediate local population to an advanced stage of capitalism and imperialism within which the Black population serves as colonial serfs and a major part of the industrial working class, all within one geographical boundary. It must be observed that the attitude of the ruling power is hopelessly contradictory. On the one hand the White ruling class has to maintain divisions, a system of apparent conservation conditioned by confinement of the indigenous society to geographic zones, or reserves called homelands or Bantustans, to destroy the cultural

unity of the African people; on the other hand to maintain in its industrial enterprises a working class contrary to ethnic or tribal divisions. The late Dr. Verwoerd conveniently equated "tribe" with "nation" and claimed that the so-called Bantu homelands established the rights of the different "nations." Mr. John E. Fobes, Deputy Director-General of UNESCO, stated in Paris in April, 1975: "South Africa has made much of her protection of separate cultures. What does this amount to? Does this mean restoring the economic and political bases on which independent African civilizations were built? Certainly not. These were broken in a series of wars of conquest, in the introduction of wage labour and in the alienation of the land. Does this mean restoring the trade routes, the cultural exchanges which archeologists now tell us existed before European conquest? Certainly not, for in the place of so-called tribes absorbing each other, constructing as did the Zulus, a coherent Kingdom, we have tribal separation. Does the South African protection of separate cultures mean what UNESCO means by the diversity of cultures?"

Certainly not. For the diversity of cultures also implies a relative equality of power relations and the right of groups to maintain, to change, to borrow. It is for the culture groups themselves to decide the direction of evolution of their cultures. On the other hand, we have in South Africa a government-imposed "traditionalism" — in fact, the use of traditional culture to maintain the legitimacy of a culture of domination." (Seminar on South Africa, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid — Paris, April, 1975).

Mr. Fobes further put the matter in a nutshell. "The Republic's protection of cultures means for Africans the external trappings of once great cultures reduced to the folkloric and the caricature."

"To maintain the legitimacy of a culture of domination," — these words explain the White supremacists rationalisation of their fear of being culturally drowned in the sea of liberated Black cultural development. "Our culture will be obliterated" or "We shall be swamped." This, direct economics

and politics apart, is the rallying cry of the white laager.

It is an old pretext. Forgetting that Europe gained from mathematics, the compass and a multitude of cultural and scientific contributions made by those outside Europe, the racist insists that the Blacks or Asiatics have nothing to offer but a return to barbarism. A variation of "East is East and West is West; and never the twain shall meet."

Old Cliches

It is not a digression to point out that Japan, constituting a people who prefer chopsticks to knives and forks, is today one of the great industrial nations of the world. Nearer to our home, we might point out that the impoverished and "barbaric" black working class man the most advanced industrial enterprises, so-called manifestations of "Western" culture in modern South Africa. The preservation of "our culture", the "clash" of cultures are old cliches which, conscious or unconscious, racists have mouthed for latter centuries in order to preserve a system of economic exploitation and deliberate subjugation of so-called inferior peoples. We say "latter centuries" because contrary to the belief that racial prejudice always existed racism is a phenomenon of capitalism and did not exist as a social phenomenon before the advent of that system. The slaves of ancient Greece and Rome knew of no difference in their master's attitude to them dictated by their outward appearance. The white gladiator Spartacus received the same treatment, took the same risks as the gladiator from Africa. Moslems were received into the Christian or Jewish religions in the Middle Ages, and vice-versa without consideration for racial origin, religious differences were the main ideological reasons for overrunning alien lands in the epoch of feudalism.

The development of the plantation system and production for profit gave rise to the slave trade. Africa became the main source of supply. At first the plantation owners and traders were content to claim

that slavery was essential for the nation's economic prosperity. Later when the opponents of slavery stepped up their opposition, the idea was propagated that blacks were inferior beings with no sense of morality, they were apes, they had no souls. Racism became a characteristic in the ideology of exploitation since these times.

Thus it is doubly easy "for the embattled White minority, defending their 'culture' from the majority Black hordes seeking liberation, to free themselves from the oppressing white nation, to fulfill a God-given mission on the tip of Africa, defending civilization against barbarism."

It is in the name of these so-called principles that many innocent people of Western Europe have been led into supporting or passively acquiescing to the racist regime of South Africa. We will say nothing here of the support of big business, international monopolies, multinationals for South African racism. They do it for the blatant purpose of reaping super-profits from the exploitation of the Blacks. Compelled to make gestures in favour of assisting Black economic backwardness, some of their few hypocritical contributions have made no difference to the dire plight of the African majority.

Arms are supplied to the racist South Africans in the same old name of "Western" civilization, culture and anti-Communism. We will not deal in detail with these matters here, nor with the questions of apartheid in its details. No doubt this will come out in open discussion. What we are rather confronted with is the question of whether those here are content to let this matter go by the board. All men of letters have always been interested in the question of the peoples' freedom. No doubt you will be able to point out numerous Netherlands examples of the artist's identification with progress, justice and the true development of culture.

Authors, playwrights have condemned apartheid in South Africa, withheld their plays from segregated audiences. Inside South Africa, censorship in the name of a minority government curtails publication. Long lists of names of writers banned in



Woodcut of George Jackson

South Africa have been published. Local White writers have also started fretting over the claustrophobic cultural atmosphere prevailing. This is dealt with in a separate brochure.

Whither the Dutch?

We ask the question: Are the Dutch men of letters, Dutch intellectuals, the public of the Netherlands going to stand aside from the worldwide support of the South African people and the Black majority in particular in their struggle against White domination?

In terms of the ordinary citizen, it may be to the credit of the Netherlands that figures for immigration to South Africa placed this country fifth on the list with 9,434 immigrants between 1966 and November, 1972. From 1971, there has been a decrease in immigration to South Africa.

Mr. Edwin Ogbu of Nigeria, former Head of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, declared last year: "Let us make it clear that every white migrant is, in effect, a usurper of the inalienable rights of millions of Black people of the country to land, employment opportunities and freedom. . . Every white migrant is a violator of the the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as well as the principle of trade unionism." (UN Unit on Apartheid, 3/75).

In June, 1972, there were three South African Immigration Department offices in The Hague which I am afraid might be construed as the Netherland's government's disregard for the Declaration of Human Rights and the UN Charter. But we mention immigration also because of its direct bearing on the South African racist's bigoted and intolerant attitude towards cultures even among their own race. The study for the UN Unit on Apartheid (White Immigration to Southern Africa) from which M. Ogbu was quoted above also points out: "Intending immigrants are asked to state their religion. . . (towards the end) of the 1960's when there were many Afrikaner protests about numbers of people arriving from Southern Europe - Portugal, Spain, Italy, Greece. . . Thus the Nasionale Jeugbond (Nationalist Youth) expressed fear that the large number of immigrants threatened the identity of the Afrikaner" calling for a policy of immigration "which will not endanger the future of the Afrikaner nation." One no longer need quote Adolf Hitler on the dubious question of "racial purity."

A delegate to a Transvaal Nationalist Party Congress protested, "Coloured people cannot marry my daughter, but when she is 21, a Portuguese can. There is also the 1820 Memorial Settlers Association for English-speaking immigrants.

The Immigrants Selection Board, established in terms of the Aliens Act 1937, grants permanent residence only to those who are "likely to become readily assimilated with the European inhabitants and to become a desirable inhabitant of the Republic within a reasonable period." (UN Unit on

Apartheid: Paper by the Christian Institute of South Africa). It needs no explanation that "a desirable inhabitant of the Republic" means one who quickly accepts the status quo - White supremacy.

It has been argued inter alia that immigrants from Europe "will leaven the white society, bringing new attitudes and insights, and that this will eventually erode the racist attitudes of White South Africans." But empirical research has shown this to be a false expectation. Professor John Stone has found that "British immigrants drifted rapidly into the structure of South African society and were rapidly acculturated into South Africa's racial norms and dominant values." (Ibid).

For those cultural workers who suffer from the same illusion that their humanistic and progressive works might help to influence progressively the attitudes of the White South Africans, let us point out that for generations they have had the benefit of the humanistic literature and drama of Europe: Ibsen, Shakespeare, Whitman and a host of others. The effect has been like pouring water on a duck's back. Year after year White theatre-goers have complacently lived out their lives made comfortable by the exploitation of their Black servants. Each election sees the White political parties, all of which uphold racism and inequality in one form or another, returned to Parliament.

Psychological Cripple

The Dutch public might be interested in a theatre advertisement appearing in one of the South African dailies a little while ago. "This is a moving play", said the notices. "A poignant and sincere play." It was *The Diary of Anne Frank* performed at a theatre for White people only.

If there are White artists and writers in South Africa itself who are concerned with apartheid, we may look on them with some degree of regard, but we who are engaged in the struggle to destroy once and for all the very basis of racism, apartheid and national oppression are not impressed by the obscurantist emphasis on black-white sexual gymnastics, the negative elusion of the pass-



laws, the psychological cripples who may engage in revealing fruitless dialogues and never dare in the words of Athol Fugard himself "like the revolutionary, to break eggs in order to make an omelette." This literature glosses over injustice and oppression and does not inspire the resistance to oppression.

The dynamic of the South African people will always be represented by the militant poetry and songs, by the writings of those who do not fear to reflect in real struggle, that is to overthrow white supremacy, not merely nibble at the fringes, lagging behind the inevitable advance. If, as we have said, life is the criterion for artistic creation, then the dynamism of the developing revolutionary situation in South Africa will inspire the artistic manifestations of our people, their artists, writers, poets, black and white. Our art and culture, as somebody stated elsewhere, will be warmed by the fires of the battle for liberty. As this struggle develops the people's art, as we have pointed out in the case of the former Portuguese territories, will reflect our struggle. Revolutionary

poetry is used in evidence today against students arrested for opposing the South African state; academics, black and white, are being arrested for identifying themselves with the struggle for liberation.

Drawn by the lodestone of the people's struggle, those who unhappily have had to accept the ruling power's cultural colonisation in segregated universities, fed on the crumbs of so-called Bantu education, are forming part of the people's wide movement for national liberation.

Southern Africa today is rapidly developing a revolutionary situation which can turn the tide once and for all in favour of genuine democracy and progress. The heroic examples of Mozambique and Angola have raised the hopes and spirits of millions still ruled by the barbarian vandals represented by the white racist minorities. But changes are wrought by the active participation of people.

Pariah of the World

As we have tried to point out earlier, the anti-colonialist struggle has drawn millions of people together from all parts of the world. The colonised countries, the newly independent countries, the progressive, enlightened people of the metropolitan countries, all form this mighty force, reinforcing each other, in the struggle for the progress of all mankind. South Africa has no longer become a localised issue.

"The oppressed people of South Africa... have committed themselves to the struggle to recover their legitimate rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights... the entire world, the international community and all international gatherings have recognised that... it was vital to help the liberation movements in this duty of liberation. Today more than in the past, this assistance has become a necessity. It must be multifaceted: political, diplomatic, cultural, economic and material." (Mr. Dramane Ouatarra, Executive Secretary OAU, to the United Nations).

The result has been that these forces, guided by the strategy and tactics of the struggling African people, have made South

African racism the pariah of the world. Attacked in the United Nations, expelled from many international agencies, harrassed from all sides, support for the White supremacy regime and its policies in all degrees has become the hallmark of reaction in our world. We ask how much more the Dutch people, the intellectuals and cultural workers of the Netherlands will contribute to helping in the universal cause of solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa.

What must be borne in mind is that while the success of the national liberation movement unites all sections and ethnic groups of a people under the banner of nationalism, and it accelerates the process of nationhood, while cultural manifestations will reflect this fusion in terms of national art, national literature and so on, the influence of the international character of the struggle at the same time gives the national form an international content.

Other things apart, this depends also on whether the liberation movement establishes the precise objectives to be achieved on the way to regaining the right of the people it represents and whom it is assisting to make its own history, to control freely the disposal of its productive forces, with an end to the eventual development of a richer culture — popular, national, scientific and universal.

Highest Aspiration

The South African racists wish to maintain the African people, and indeed the Whites themselves, within the narrow confines of a "traditionalist" past. But the advances of the twentieth century cannot entertain the anachronisms of stultifying tribalism and "laagerism", inevitable as their doom may be. Culture is closely linked with economic and social reality, with the level of productive forces and the methods of production in the society in which it struggles or flourishes. Thus, it is obvious that the oppressed once liberated must make use of the advances made within society in order to advance itself.

The main concept of the struggle in South Africa today is the liberation of the

African majority. At the same time, its programme states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, these include the other oppressed minorities — Coloured and Asiatic; that the wealth and the development of such resources shall not be manipulated by any one group or individual. The revolutionary programme of the African National Congress, with whom the writer identifies, states: "A democratic government of the people shall ensure that all national groups have equal rights, as such, to achieve their destiny in a united South Africa."

Given equality the universal and inevitable cultural exchanges with mutual respect will lead eventually to the fusion of everything worthy in the cultures of all peoples, leading eventually to the aforementioned development of a richer, popular and universal character of the South African people.

In conclusion, let us hear again the words of Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial which resulted in his imprisonment for life:

"In their relationship with us, South African Whites regard it as fair and just to pursue policies which have outraged the conscience of mankind and of honest and upright men throughout the civilized world. They suppress our aspirations, bar our way to freedom, and deny us opportunities to promote our moral and material progress, to secure ourselves from fear and want. All the good things of life are reserved for the White folk and we Blacks are expected to be content to nourish our bodies with such pieces of food as drop from the tables of men with white skins. This is the White man's standard of justice and fairness. Herein lies his conception of ethics. Whatever he himself may say in his defence, the White man's moral standards in this country must be judged by the extent to which he has condemned the vast majority of its inhabitants to serfdom and inferiority.

We, on the other hand, regard the struggle against colour discrimination and for the pursuit of freedom and happiness as the highest aspiration of all men."

CENSORSHIP SOUTH AFRICA



“Where Have All the Flowers Gone?”

Being ruled by a racial minority, all laws in South Africa have been enacted to maintain their dominance over the rest of the population, the black majority. Among the results of this situation is the conviction that the majority have no moral obligation to obey the laws which uphold their oppression and the denial of democratic rights. The national liberation movement led by the African National Congress exists to overturn the status quo and to institute a new democratic state for the benefit of all in the country on the basis of government based on the will of all the people. This objective, as envisaged in the Freedom Charter which is the programme of the liberation movement, includes the enactment of new laws guaranteeing all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach and worship and to educate their children. These and all other laws shall together guarantee the rule by the majority.

At the moment conditions concerning the right to speak, to publish, etc. are controlled by the white racist minority for the perpetration of its rule, and these conditions are set down in numerous enactments, often amended, dating back to the earliest years of the modern white-dominated state.

When the Nationalist government gained power, they found a host of laws and ordinances already on the Statute Book providing for the application of censorship. These provisions they enforced and extended with a vigour never known previously in South Africa.

The Riotous Assemblies Act passed in 1914 has been amended several times and publication of a newspaper or document which “is calculated to endanger the feelings of hostility between European inhabitants. . . and any other section. . .”

The Native Administration Act (1927) and amended, states that “any person who utters any words or does any act or thing whatever with intent to promote hostility between natives and Europeans shall be guilty of an offence.”

Needless to say, such laws have been used only to protect the interests of the Whites.

The Suppression of Communism Act (1950) and amended, gives the President the power to ban any periodical or publication which promotes the spread of Communism or “serves as a means inter alia. . . calculated to further the achievement of any of the objects of Communism.”

The Prisons Act makes it an offence to publish any sketch or photograph of a prison

or prisoner or publish "false" information, the onus being on the publisher to prove he has taken reasonable steps to verify his information. The result has been a reluctance on the part of the press to expose prison atrocities.

The law establishing segregated universities, the *Extension of University Education Act* (1959), forbids students at these institutions to give statements to the press.

The General Law Amendment Act (1962) the so-called Sabotage Act – empowers the government to prohibit all banned people from producing any material for publication, apart from other restrictions on them. It is also an offence under this law to publish the words and statements of a banned person, even after his death. This law also gives the Minister of Interior the right to demand a deposit of £10,000 sterling from any newspaper requiring registration, this sum to be forfeited should the paper be subsequently banned.

Other laws like the *Official Secrets Act*, the *Defence Act*, *General Law Amendment Acts* of 1963 and 1969, the *Criminal Procedure Act* 1955 and 1965, the *Terrorism Act* (1967), all affect in one way or another the business of publication.

The Publications and Entertainments Act of 1963 also prohibits the production or manufacture inside South Africa of objects deemed "undesirable" by the Publications Control Board. "Undesirable" publications or objects in terms of the Act are those deemed, in whole or part, (a) indecent or obscene, (b) blasphemous, (c) to bring any section of the people into ridicule or contempt, (d) to harm race relations, (e) to prejudice the safety of the State, the general welfare or peace and good order.

In terms of the South African press alone, the threat by such a range of laws have caused the editor of *The Star*, South Africa's largest daily newspaper, to comment that "editing a newspaper under these conditions

is like walking blindfold through a minefield."

Although the press is excluded from the Publications and Entertainments Act, this was only done on the condition of the acceptance by the press of restrictions through a self-imposed code of conduct which requires it "to take cognizance of the complex racial problems of South Africa and the general good and safety of its peoples."

20,000 Books Banned

According to figures of the United Nations, the number of titles of books prohibited under these laws, including the Customs and Excise Act which controls importation, reached 20,000 between 1971-1974. These range from *Letters of Lenin* and the speeches of Brezhnev to the usual sensational or pornographic publications. The writings of hundreds of prominent leaders of the African people including those of the late Chief Lutuli and the imprisoned Nelson Mandela are prohibited under the Suppression of Communism Act. Also prohibited are the works of over a hundred exiles including many prominent writers such as Ezekiel Mphahlele, Dennis Brutus, Alex La Guma, Lewis Nkosi.

The latest list of books banned since 1971, a selection of which was recently published by the United Nations Unit on Apartheid, mentions also the works of Salvador Allende, Kim Il Sung, Eldridge Cleaver, Angela Davis and Fenner Brockway. Previously, of course, all works by Marx, Lenin, Engels and various Communist writers were prohibited and continue to be so.

Also banned are hundreds of publications from trade unions, the socialist states and any publication which upholds racial equality or describes the struggles of the peoples against racism and colonialism. These also include the publications of the United Nations specialised agencies.

By resorting to banning of writers and censorship of numerous publications, the South African government hopes to prevent the leaders of the liberation movement and other opponents of apartheid from reaching the public and to isolate the people from the anti-racist sentiments of the world.

Censorship has ultimately resulted in reactions from White writers in South Africa. Firstly as a result of the cultural boycott of South Africa by overseas playwrights who have withheld their works from apartheid theatre; secondly as a result of the prohibition of work by South African writers inside the country. "South African writers and artists are engaged in a hot war with censorship," the writer Nadine Gordimer reminded South African theatre in 1965. She was opposing the government plan for production of plays, despite the wishes of overseas authors, through the "Piracy" Bill.

Later, in 1968, she said in a speech at the University of Witwatersrand, that the violence done to freedom of expression by the government made South African writers "a persecuted professional group in this country."

"Freedom of expression is traditionally associated with a flowering — flowering of communication of the arts. There is no denying, unfortunately, that it has withered in this country in the past 20 years. Where have all the flowers gone? You will find them between the pages of the Staute Book, one by one, squashed flat." Miss Gordimer's book, *The Late Bourgeois World*, is among those banned in South Africa.

In 1971 a number of White South African writers and artists rejected South Africa's censorship system and the Publication Control Board in particular. Their bitterness and frustration were reflected in a survey made for the Pasquino Society, which is concerned with censorship in South Africa. The survey was conducted by Walter Saunders, a poet and English lecturer at the University of South Africa.



Bullying Skivvy

Lionel Abrahams, poet and editor, said, "South African censorship, where it pretends to be a guardian of morality and culture, is in fact a servant of prejudice and philistinism, without respect for truth or art. Where it pretends to be a guardian of our security, it is nothing but the bullying skivvy of politics, guarding only our convenient ignorance about ourselves and the world."

Andre Brink, another author, stated: "Our censors have made an invaluable contribution towards the South African image as the laughing stock of the world." Other writers and artists who were canvassed and expressed their feelings were the Afrikaans writers Jan Rabie, W.A. deKlerk; the novelists Alan Paton, Nadine Gordimer, Stuart Cloete; the poet, Michael MacNamara; artists Walter Batiss, Aidron Duckworth and Neville Dubow.

When the government instituted a commission to go into amendments to the Publications and Entertainments Act, it added fuel to the fire by threatening authors unless they cooperated. Dr. Michael MacNamara of the Pasquino Society revealed in the *Sunday Express* of 28th January 1973 that Afrikaans authors had been pressured into accepting the pending legislation with threats that their work would never be prescribed for academic study if they lodged objections to proposed changes in the Act. Andre Brink, who was also a lecturer in Afrikaans at Rhodes University of Grahamstown and winner of several literary awards, described the threat as "the lowest form of blackmail."

"Censorship as we have it today is not there to protect Afrikaans literature as they would like us to believe. It serves rather as a deterrent," he said. When Brink's own book, *Kennis Van Die Aand*, was banned by the Publications Control Board, Afrikaans writers of the *Sestigers*, a group of liberal writers, felt this to be the beginning of the end of their group who are committed to themes dealing with the situation in South Africa.

Jan Rabie said, however, "We will not be cowed by the conservative establishment. If it becomes impossible for us to publish our work in South Africa, we will publish in Lesotho or some other country." Mr. Daantjie Saayman, a publisher, said, "If the books (of the *Sestigers*) are consistently banned, I will not be able to afford it. No one will be able to afford it, and that may be the end of the *Sestigers* as far as publication of their work in South Africa is concerned."

The recent attacks on liberal-minded White writers have caught the attention of the South African reading public and the outside world as well. It must be remembered, however, that printing and publication have been controlled since the inception of the White supremacy state, through the numerous laws mentioned earlier and by the very basis of the racist edifice.

The formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 signified the further unification of the oppressive forces. The immediate task of these forces was to drive the African people from the land, hence such laws as the 1913 *Land Act* and the *Urban Areas Act*. Hitherto the African intelligentsia and others had been able to pawn their lands and buy printing presses and locate them on their property. Small newspapers and periodicals had been produced. The immediate effect of the land laws was to deprive Africans of control of publications, leaving them at the mercy of mission-owned and White business printing establishments. Thereafter followed the numerous other enactments.

The Bantu Education Act, by bringing African schools under the direct authority of a government department, gave authority to the same department to prescribe set books for all schools in the provinces. Apart from political works, it is now becoming clear that even creative writing inside South Africa can become an offence not merely as a contravention of the Publications and Entertainments Act, but against "the security of the state."

Action Against Thought

In April, 1974, a N.P. Matsau was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment. Among the evidence against him was the fact that he had distributed a poem deemed likely to create hostility. Students recently on trial were also charged along the same lines, having such poems, for example, *Black Nana Avenge*, published in 1963. The Johannesburg *Star* commented that this was an interesting phenomenon. It was action taken against thoughts and not deeds.

The attack on the cultural life of South Africa is becoming less and less a matter of censorship and more and more involved in the struggle to overthrow the whole system of racism and White supremacy. For this reason, it is necessary for cultural workers, writers, artists and educationists to identify themselves and their works with the struggle for the liberation of South Africa from the racist yoke. A truly democratic South Africa will guarantee cultural expression for the good of all and the fostering of that humanism which is the universal character of all progressive art and literature.

(This paper was prepared before the Internal Security Act was introduced in the South African racist parliament. A further, more stringent censorship is envisaged in this new law. An analysis of this law appears elsewhere in this issue. — ed.)

★ ★ ★

DECLARATION...

of Art Against Apartheid Conference held in
Amsterdam, May, 1976.

This conference *Art Contra Apartheid*, held in Amsterdam from 7-10 May, 1976, notes with regret the absence of a number of South African artists.

This conference, noting with appreciation the efforts of the Dutch government in supporting the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa led by the African National Congress:

– *calls upon the Dutch government to further support the liberation struggle by abrogating the existing cultural agreement with the South African racist minority regime.*

– *wishes to express its deep concern at the contemplation of nuclear assistance to the South African government, calls upon the Dutch government to prevent any such action now and in the future.*

– *calls upon the Dutch government to fully implement the United Nations Resolution of 1974, No. 3324 E(1) and all subsequent amplifications which demand the total isolation of South Africa, politically, economically, culturally and in sport.*

We call upon the Dutch people and the exiled South Africans living in Holland to:

– *make every effort to influence the Dutch government and local representatives to implement the above resolution; and*

– *in the spirit of this democratic conference to ensure that the rights of minority groups in the Netherlands itself are fully observed.*

This conference, noting that the South African Pen Club practices racism and therefore, according to United Nations resolutions, has no right to be a member of any international organisation:

– *calls upon the International Pen Club to forthwith expel the South African Pen Club;*

– *requests the International Pen Club to give every assistance to non-racial alternative body which may be set up by South African writers and artists; and*
– *mandates Lewis Nkosi to present the resolution and views of this conference to the forthcoming meeting of the International Pen Club.*

The South African artists present here, as a result of the unique opportunity afforded by the Dutch organisers, consider the setting up of a Cultural Liberation Committee consisting of South African artists and members of the liberation movement, which should work in conjunction with local artists.

Among the functions of such a committee should be:

– *supporting South African artists whose work is censored or otherwise mutilated;*

– *expressing opinion on cultural items coming out of South Africa;*

– *correcting misinformation in the press;*

– *giving opinions on issues relevant to the struggle for liberation;*

– *advising on boycotts and informal exchange;*

– *advising and coordinating in scholarships to South African artists.*

The final decisions under the last two points should be made in consultation with the liberation movement.

This conference recommends that the groups active in Holland should jointly co-operate with groups in other countries so that there are coordinated international pressures.

This conference *Art Contra Apartheid* expresses the appreciation of the participants and especially of the South African artists, to the organisers *De Populier*, to the Dutch artists and to solidarity organisations such as the Anti Apartheid Beweging Nederland, the Boycott Outspan Aktie and Kairos.

We welcome

– *the formation of the following groups in the Netherlands:*

- *Writers against apartheid,*
- *Actors against apartheid, and the work already done by the Artists against apartheid;*
- *the declaration of the Dutch delegation to the conference;*
- *the declaration of solidarity of Federatie van Kunstenaarsverenigingen;*
- *the declaration of solidarity by the Surinamese participants;*
- *the petition initiated at this conference against Dutch nuclear involvement in South Africa.*

CORRECTION

Page 31 of our issue, Vol 10, No 2, 1976 carries a map of Southern Africa's Railway network. Our attention has been drawn by Mr. Wolf Roder of the Department of Geography of the University of Cincinnati, U.S.A., to the following five major errors on the map:

The railway line from Keetmanshoop in Namibia continues to the coast at Luderitz, with a branch line to Elizabeth Bay. It thus provides access to a second harbor for Namibia, which could become politically important if South Africa insists on keeping Walvis Bay from a future independent Namibia. Swakopmund, the Namibian counterpart to Walvis Bay, is small and has been neglected under South African administration.

The railway from Ngwenya in Swaziland to Lourenco Marques was omitted. The South African line shown as crossing Swazi territory in reality only skirts it and does not enter the country.

The South African railway system's northward line does not terminate at Messina, but continues to Beit Bridge. The link between South Africa and the

Rhodesian branch line from Rutenga is thus complete.

The Nacala-Blantyre line to Cabora Bassa is in the talking stage. Your cartographer insists on placing this non-existent railway on his map. Left out is the existing rail line which made Cabora Bassa construction possible. The Beira-Blantyre line splits at Sena after crossing the Zambesi. A branch continues on the north side of the river, wholly within Mozambique territory to Moatize and Benga, but does not cross the river again to Tete on the southern bank.

The northern Uganda line to Gulu is shown as originating in Kenya, thus providing access from Kampala only through foreign territory. In fact, the Gulu line branches at Tororo, just inside Ugandan territory and is thus entirely under Ugandan control.

We apologise to our readers for these errors and are grateful to Mr. Roder for correcting them. The main purpose of printing the map was to show the extent to which the railway system in South Africa is developed as compared with the rest of Southern Africa.

– Editor

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father carrying
his child
murdered by the
fascist police
of South Africa
in Soweto.**



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