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## Mighty Assembly For World Peace

Report on World Congress of Peace Forces – Page 2



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# Mighty Assembly

## Report on the First World Congress of Peace Forces held in Moscow from October 25 to 31 last year

The First World Congress of Peace Forces which ended its six-day sessions at the end of October at the Kremlin Palace of Congresses, Moscow could well be described, as the Chairman of the Congress said in his opening remarks as:

**"The First General Assembly of the Peoples' of the World!"**

The Congress was attended by over 350 delegates representing 143 countries and more than 120 international and regional, inter and non-governmental organisations.

A detailed breakdown of those who participated in the Congress showed:

- More than 1,100 political parties and national organisations were represented by over 2000 delegates. The rest represented international organisations and various public movements of the most diverse trends;
- Over 100 Christian-Democratic, Liberal and Agrarian parties were represented by about 600 delegates;
- Over 30 Socialist and Social-Democratic parties sent over 100 delegates to the Congress;
- 200 representatives from 60 national-democratic and national liberation movements, including the African National Congress of South Africa attended;
- About 500 representatives were from Communist and Workers parties;
- Among the Congress delegates were nearly 300 members of national parliaments;
- 100 government ministers were members of their national delegations.

Among the distinguished guests on the presidium at the opening session were: Hoang Minh Giam, Minister of Culture of DR Vietnam; Trinh Dinh Thao, member of the Central Committee of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam; Horace Perera, Secretary General of the World Federation of United Nations Associations; A.A. Farah, Assistant Secretary General and special representative of the U.N. Secretary General; Hortense B. de Alende, the widow of the late president of Chile; Kamara Damantang, member of the politbureau of the Democratic Party of Guinea and Minister of the Interior; R. Andriamanjato, President

of the Party of the Congress of Independence of the Malagasy Republic; C. Yadav, General Secretary of the ruling National Congress Party of India; Peter Onu, under secretary general of the Organisation of African Unity; Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa. Among the heads of the Communist Party and the Soviet government who attended the opening session were: L. I. Brezhnev, A. A. Gromyko, N. V. Podgorny, A. N. Kosygin and A. N. Shelepin.

The Chairman of the Congress was Mr. Romesh Chandra, Secretary General of the World Peace Congress.

### Dialogue, Action

Opening the Congress, Romesh Chandra, the Chairman, said: "We said, when we began the preparations for this Congress, that four words should characterise best the meaning of this Congress of a new type, of an unprecedented nature. "And I am going to repeat these four words:

"The first word is **together**. We prepared for this Congress together, all of us, belonging to different organisations, holding different political opinions.

"The second word which characterises this Congress, which has been a feature of the preparations for the Congress, is the word, **open**. The Congress is not a closed Congress of people who think alike, but it is a Congress open to all those who stand for the aims of this Congress, who do not want to stand in their separate fortresses, shouting against each other.

"And the third word is the word, **dialogue**. We seek to talk to each other, to discuss with those who differ from us, with those who have different points of view from our own. "The fourth word is **action**. Our dialogue, our discussion, our coming together is not for dialogue's sake, but for the planning of actions by the peoples, new actions for peace and freedom, for international security, for human rights and social progress, for all the good things that men and women everywhere deeply desire."

# For World Peace



## Brezhnev Speaks

In a speech lasting over two hours and covering every issue which was to be discussed in the fourteen commissions which the Congress was broken up into, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev said that the history of the public peace movement abounds in inspiring examples but there has never yet been an international forum on such a scale, nor an assembly so representative as this World Congress of Peace Forces. Stating that "Peace to the peoples!" was one of the main slogans under which the working people of the Soviet Union carried out the October Revolution at the height of the First World War 56 years ago, Comrade Brezhnev said: "Indeed, the Decree on Peace, written by V. I. Lenin, was the first legislative act of the world's first socialist state . . .

"The Soviet people, who lost over 20 million of their fellow-citizens in the fight against fascism, are well aware of what war is like and of the innumerable calamities it holds in store for the people," he added.

## Liberation Movements

Dealing with colonialism and racism, Comrade Brezhnev said that the entire course of post-war development has proved convincingly that colonialism and aggression, the policy of colonial tyranny and the policy of force are essentially two sides of one and the same coin.

"There is therefore every justification for the fact that in the very name of your Congress the struggle for peace is associated closely with the struggle for national liberation," he said.

Stating that neither peace nor detente will descend on the world as some divine blessing, Comrade Brezhnev said this could only be the result of persistent and tireless struggle by all the peace forces.

Continuing he added: "We must not forget that wars still keep breaking out, people are still dying, cities, factories and villages are still being destroyed in various parts of the world. Cultural centres are being destroyed." "These are," he said, "what politicians have become accustomed to calling local wars, that is, wars confined to



Alfred Nzo: Secretary General – Leader of the ANC Delegation (left) and Moses Mabhidah – member of the ANC Delegation



Photos: Ndindah

relatively narrow boundaries of some geographical region.

"Past experience shows," he added, "that, as a rule, in modern conditions these break out wherever and whenever imperialist and reactionary attempts are made to forcibly put down the liberation movement of the peoples, to obstruct the free and independent development of states that have opted for progressive international development and the anti-imperialist line in foreign policy."

Reminding delegates of what Lenin used to say: that revolutions are not made to order or by compact, Comrade Brezhnev said: "We might add that neither can revolution, class struggle or the liberation movements be abolished to order or by compact.

"No power on earth," he added, "is capable of reversing the inexorable process of the renovation of social life."

Continuing he said that wherever there is colonialism, there is bound to be struggle for national independence. Wherever there is aggression, there is bound to be resistance to it.

Stating that the Soviet Union opposed the "export of revolution", Comrade Brezhnev said that at the same time, the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the entire Soviet people openly and unequivocally express their solidarity with their class brothers fighting in other countries, their solidarity with the liberation and anti-imperialist movements.

Asserting that this attitude does not contradict the struggle for peace and peaceful co-existence between states, Comrade Brezhnev said that by promoting the principles of peaceful co-existence, "we are working for that which billions of people all over the world cherish most of all: the right to life itself, its deliverance from the danger of destruction by the flames of war. "Simultaneously," he added, "we thereby work to ensure favourable international conditions for the social progress of all countries and peoples."

Other speakers at the opening session included: Mrs. Hortense de Allende, wife of the late president of Chile; Mr. Peter Onu, Deputy Secretary General of the OAU; Comrade Vasco Cabral



Leonid Brezhnev, 1st. Secretary of the CPSU addressing the Congress



Romesch Chandra, Secretary General of the World Peace Council, who was Chairman of the Congress

of the PAIGC who spoke on behalf of all the liberation movements and the new state of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Mr. A. A. Farah who delivered a message on behalf of the Secretary General of the United Nations.

### Commissions

After the first session of the Congress the delegates split up into fourteen commissions, each with their own chairman, vice-chairmen and rapporteurs. The Commissions dealt with:

- Peaceful Coexistence and International Security;
- Indochina;
- Middle East;
- European Security and Co-operation;
- Peace and Security in Asia;
- Disarmament;
- National Liberation: The Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism;
- Development and Economic Independence;
- Co-operation and Protection of the Environment;
- Co-operation in the Field of Education and Culture;
- Economic, Scientific and Technical Co-operation;
- Social Progress and Human Rights;
- Co-operation between Inter-governmental and Nongovernmental Organisations;
- Chile.

At the final session of the Congress documents and resolutions adopted at the Commissions were noted. In a special resolution headed: "Follow Up Action", the Congress called on all organisations represented at the Con-

gress to approve the various reports and recommendations for action and to carry them into effect to the degree and the forms suitable to the "methods, traditions, situations and conditions under which they operate."

The resolution further stated that the Congress entrusts the International Committee which prepared the Congress particularly to:

- assure the widest possible distribution and dissemination of the decisions, reports and action proposals of the Congress;
- send delegations to the United Nations, the OAU and other inter-governmental bodies to inform them of the decisions and recommendations of the Congress, and,
- to facilitate discussions among participating organisations on ways and means for the continuation of the contacts and co-operation begun at the Congress.

In view of the recommendations made in the various commissions, the special resolution called on the Congress to request the members of the Steering Committee and its office bearers (subject to the consent of their respective organisations) to meet after a period of three or four months, to examine the results of these consultations, with a view to taking any further steps which may be agreed upon.

### Appeal

An appeal, which was adopted with acclamation, states in part: "We the participants in the World Congress of Peace Forces, gathered in Moscow, call on all men and women

to unite their efforts to ensure that a just and enduring peace should prevail on earth!

"Our appeal is the result of reflection and discussion concerning the path to lasting peace . . .

"Of late, the international political climate has begun to clear thanks to the success of the peace forces . . .

"Much has been achieved. But far from everything. There are still regions in the world where tensions are running as high as before, where flashpoints of aggression, fraught with danger for all mankind have not yet been eliminated . . . "The forces of imperialism, aggression and reaction are still holding the last remaining strongholds of colonialism. They are organising fascist putsches. They are sowing strife and enmity between peoples. And as long as there is even an inch of land where blood is being shed and aggression committed, as long as any people are denied the right to settle their own future, and as long as there are fascist and racist regimes suppressing the democratic will of the people the conscience of mankind cannot rest and the edifice of peace will not repose on a dependable foundation.

"The peoples of the world should no longer accept a situation in which a major part of the world's resources is devoted to the preparation of war . . .

"Racial discrimination, colonialism and neo-colonialism reduce human beings in large areas of Africa and other parts of the world to a slave status. Democratically elected governments are overthrown, or intimidated; multi-national corporations threaten the economic independence of weaker states and stultify their development.

"In many countries human rights are disregarded; people are denied their political, civil, economic, social and cultural rights...

"Genocide, ecocide and the torture of prisoners... has become commonplace in some parts of the world... Among several demands made in the document are the following. They call for:

- the elimination of racism, colonia-

lism, and neo-colonialism in all their manifestations;

- the adoption of an international convention outlawing the use of nuclear weapons, their manufacture, testing and stockpiling;

- the removal of injustices and the more effective protection of human rights;

- the implementation of U.N. decisions (which is required to assure peace, security and justice...)"



## **NATIONAL LIBERATION: The Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism**

**Document prepared by the Commission on National Liberation  
of the World Congress of Peace Forces**

The Commission on National Liberation – The Struggle Against Colonialism and Racism, in which over 300 delegates participated agreed that colonialism, racism, apartheid, national oppression and neo-colonialism represent a major source of international tension and conflict at the present time. The attainment of world peace

and security requires the total elimination of all these aspects of imperialism.

The struggles for liberation waged by the oppressed peoples are not only just and legitimate struggles for their inalienable rights, but valuable contributions to the promotion of international peace and security and the deve-

lopment of international co-operation. They deserve the most active support of all peace-loving peoples – especially in view of the support received by the colonial and racist regimes from certain governments and multinational corporations intent on profiting from the oppression of peoples.

The broad spectrum of participants in the Commission agreed that due to certain steps undertaken in the last few years by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries there has been definite progress towards détente in international relations today. These changes are creating favourable conditions for the development of the liberation struggles and for the consolidation of national independence. The constant support which the Soviet Union and other socialist countries

**Section of delegates who participated in the Congress**





Mr. M. M. Moolla, ANC's Representative in India was also a member of the ANC delegation to the Congress



Miss Ruth Mompoti, a member of the ANC delegation addressing the Commission of the Middle East

and numerous African and non-aligned countries continue to render the liberation movements contributes to the cause of world peace.

The policy of peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems creates favourable conditions for the liberation struggles and enables the fight for national independence to be successfully combined with the effort to prevent another world war, by neutralising the most aggressive forces. Peaceful coexistence opens up broad possibilities for the ideological struggle against colonialism and in particular against racism, which presents a serious threat to the independence and unity of many states today.

### Significant Victory

The present international situation, the development of international detente, the progress of security and co-operation in Europe as well as other victories of the peoples confirm the evolution of the correlation of forces in favour of democracy and progress.

In Indochina, the signing of the peace agreement has marked an extremely significant victory for the heroic Vietnamese people.

We applaud the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent state.

We rejoice at the birth of the new state of the Republic of Guinea Bissau and pledge our support to its government in its urgent tasks of ending the Portuguese occupation of parts of its national territory and the reconstruction of the country.

In Mocambique and Angola, large ter-

ritories have been liberated and the liberation movements in these countries are carrying out widespread reconstruction and building a new society.

In Namibia and Zimbabwe, freedom fighters are actively engaging the enemy and are given wide support by their respective peoples.

In South Africa, despite intense police repression, thousands of workers and students have come out on strike despite the fact that it is illegal for Black workers to strike.

We note with pleasure the progress being made by the Puerto Rican national liberation movement against U.S. oppression.

In Iraq the Kurdish question has been peacefully resolved on the basis of self government for the Kurds, thus ending the war.

Papua (New Guinea) will soon be independent. The reaction to these victories, by international imperialism has been one of violence and terror. In Chile, the democratically elected government has been ousted by a fascist coup and its president, Salvador Allende, murdered. Dr. Amilcar Cabral, the Secretary general of the PAIGC has been viciously assassinated and elsewhere, where the national liberation struggles are sharpening, thousands of patriots and innocent people are being massacred, maimed, imprisoned or banished.

In Southern Africa, the South African regime plays a particularly nefarious role as a bastion of colonialism and racism. It not only oppresses millions of Black people in South Africa, but is illegally occupying Namibia; it is

engaged in war against freedom fighters in Zimbabwe and has intervened in Mocambique and Angola. It is attempting to balkanise Southern Africa so as to perpetuate racist domination in the area. The armies of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa are acting jointly against the peoples movements in the entire Southern African area, thus internationalising the war of aggression against Africa.

All these brutal acts against the forces of liberation are expressions of new forms that the enemy is employing to stop the progress of the national liberation struggles and are aimed at perpetuating white, racist, minority governments in the area.

The Commission gave its careful consideration to all these, and many other problems and, agreed on a Programme of Action. (This dealt separately with each area where national liberation struggles are being waged, among them the following dealing with South Africa).

### Boycott South Africa

The White minority regime in South Africa should no longer be allowed to represent South Africa in international organisations. Any fraternisation with this regime encourages it in its criminal and aggressive policies and must be stopped.

All governments and organisations should co-operate with solidarity movements in campaigns against collaboration by governments and corporations which collaborate with the South African regime, and in campaigns for the total boycott of the Vorster regime in trade, investment, sport and culture.

They should provide adequate assistance to the liberation movement, led by the African National Congress, in its difficult struggle against the white racist regime. Assistance should also be provided to the liberation movement, to the trade unions and other organisations, including the underground movement carrying on resistance against apartheid inside the country.

All governments should be pressed to ratify and enforce the proposed United Nations Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

### Release Political Prisoners

The Congress demands the release of all political prisoners such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Joshua Nkomo, Reverend Sithole, Herman Ja Toivo and others.

Congress calls on all organisations and governments to co-operate in a concerted campaign for the release of all those in prison for their opposition to the racist regimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

# South Africa and International Peace

Submission of the African National Congress of South Africa to the Congress of Peace Forces



One of the outstanding features of our epoch is the passing over of the initiative, on a world scale, from the hands of the forces of war and aggression to those of the forces struggling to establish a genuine and lasting world peace. Today, the world's peoples are more secure from the threat of such devastating conflagrations as enveloped mankind during the First and Second World Wars. Today, the world's peoples have it in their power to contain and beat back the forces of aggression and bloody destruction. A life free from the threat of destructive wars which has stood out as a shining but unfulfilled hope for countless generations has now become a question of contemporary politics.

Thanks to the accumulated and growing strength of the world socialist community, and particularly the Soviet Union, the international working class

and democratic movement and the movement for national liberation, the ability of world imperialism to impose its domination on mankind has been decisively compromised. And yet imperialism has not changed its nature. It still maintains its aggressive character. Among its principal objectives, it seeks still to reverse the gains scored by the international movement for national liberation.

It openly seeks to maintain its neo-colonialist hold on the peoples of the independent countries of Africa, Asia and Latin-America; it works to subvert and destroy the progressive regimes in these countries, as we have just seen in the case of the popular Allende regime in Chile; it stubbornly refuses to grant independence to the countries still under direct colonial and white minority rule, particularly in Africa.

## Centres of Aggression

Imperialism continues to build up a chain of centres of aggression girding the Third World. Imperialism intends and uses these centres as staging points in its aggression against the peoples of the Third World who are continually taking new steps to secure a genuine independence for their countries.

Among such staging points can be counted Indonesia and South Korea in the Far East; Thailand and the puppet South Vietnamese Thieu regime in Indo-China; Brazil in South America; Israel and Iran in the Near East. In Africa south of the Sahara, the Republic of South Africa constitutes such a staging point. So long as these centres exist, the historic mission of the world's peace-loving forces of estab-

Part of the Presidium . . . Hortensia de Allende in the Centre



lishing a stable, world-wide and just peace, will remain unfulfilled.

The policy of the white minority regime in the Republic of South Africa is characterised internally by the intensification of the apartheid policy of extreme racism and national oppression and externally, by efforts to consolidate racist South Africa's position as the senior partner of the Unholy Alliance of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa, while continuously building up such military and economic strength as would enable world imperialism, through racist South Africa, to impose its will on independent Africa.

### **Rich in Resources**

The RSA is important to the world imperialist system as a supplier of important commodities, prominent among which are gold and uranium, in whose production the RSA occupies the leading position in the capitalist world. In addition to this, South Africa, as is well-known, is a veritable treasure-house of many other minerals such as diamonds, platinum, copper and rare metals. Furthermore, the RSA is the leading industrial country on the African continent, accounting for a more than proportionate share of the continental volume of industrial production, electrical power, steel, imports and exports and so on.

These resources are today in the hands of the alliance of South African and international monopoly capital. Using South Africa as a base, this alliance is actively interested in the manpower and material resources of, and is steadily building up and entrenching its economic domination over the rest of the dependent countries of Southern Africa as well as over the independent countries of Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Mauritius and Malawi, an area comprising altogether 10 countries and the two islands of Reunion, Seychelles. Imperialism therefore has much at stake in this area, both actually and potentially. It is therefore interested that the cause of the genuine liberation of the peoples of this area should not succeed. Thus it actively supports and encourages the forces of extreme reaction and oppression all over the sub-continent of Africa, for the maintenance of the status quo.

International monopoly capital is therefore also interested that the system of the super-exploitation of the black working people in this area should continue. Consequently, it could not but take anti-democratic and anti-popular positions on the question of the liberation of South and Southern Africa.

The collapse of the colonial system in Africa in particular has, quite clearly, been of great material significance to the South African struggle for liberation. It has contributed to the isolation of the South African racists internationally, and strengthened the forces of

solidarity with the struggling people of our country.

The imperialists themselves recognise this fact. They are therefore continuously concerned to cut the African National Congress and the South African liberation movement as a whole, away from independent Africa, to recruit friends for racist South Africa from among the independent African states by means both foul and fair, and to remove the South African question from its position as one of the leading questions of Africa's system of international relations.

International imperialism is therefore ready to act against independent Africa in defence of its interests in the Republic of South Africa. Hence, even from this point of view alone, the very continuation of the apartheid system is itself a source of international tension.

### **Principal Concern**

The extreme and consistent racism practised by the South African regime has rightly been condemned by the world's peoples. To the peoples of Africa in particular, the continuation of this system remains a matter of principal concern. This is so in part because the apartheid policy is a naked and concentrated expression of everything that the progressive peoples of Africa are fighting against, including their very recognition by the rest of mankind as equally human and capable also of contributing their share to the common store of man's progress in all fields of human endeavour.

So long as the degrading and anti-human policy of apartheid in South Africa holds sway, the African continent can therefore never be at peace. But equally, imperialism has never accepted the independence of Africa as a permanent historical fact. Rather, imperialism has lost no opportunity in trying to strengthen its domination of the African continent.

Hence, in addition to the principal goal of seeking to protect their economic, political and military-strategic interests in South Africa, by compromising the genuine independence of the African peoples, the imperialists are also interested to use racist South Africa as an operational base to nullify Africa's independence.

The two features of South Africa, first as herself a lucrative object for exploitation by international monopoly capital and secondly, as a strong point for executing the global designs of imperialism, make for a powerful combination of factors impelling the forces of reaction to attempt to maintain their hold on our country in perpetuity.

### **International Campaign**

The international campaign of solidarity with the struggling people of our

country has continued to build up. It has now reached unprecedented levels with respect both to the extent of the active support given to our movement by progressive mankind and to the size of the forces working for the isolation of the South African racists.

The vote taken at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly on the question of the credentials of the racist South African delegation to the session, was of more than symbolic importance. It was rather an open statement by the world's peoples in which they clearly stated that they do not recognise the legality of the Vorster government, and hence do not recognise it as the authentic representative of the people of our country.

This was a stinging rebuff to the South African racists and their international backers and supporters.

And yet it would be true to say that economically and militarily, the racists are today stronger than they were ten years ago. Today, they constitute a greater threat to international peace than they did ten years ago.

World imperialism, together with its client states such as Israel, Iran and Brazil, today stands out as the international force that is underpinning the apartheid regime in South Africa. That South Africa is today stronger than it was ten years ago is due to the continued support she has received and continues to receive from this coterie of reactionary allies.

Imperialism has been so brazen in its defiance of both our own people and the overwhelming majority of mankind exactly because it considers South Africa an important part of its system of client states and aggressive military blocs. Accordingly, the build-up of South Africa's military strength has continued apace. With every passing year, the military budget reaches record levels, as it did again this year. In the last ten years, military production within the country has reached a volume and a degree of diversity and sophistication never attained before.

Contrary to the Security Council resolution imposing an embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa, the imperialist countries have continued to supply war materials to that country, with France leading these countries.

In further efforts to circumvent the embargo, the friends of the South African racists, France, Italy, Belgium, Israel and so on, have sold licences to the Vorster regime enabling South Africa to produce many war items ranging from rifles to supersonic combat aircraft.

The growth of militarism in the country has also been signified by a spectacular growth in the size of the South African armed forces. There is now compulsory military training for all white adult males. With the standing army composed of the officer corps and the rest of the combat forces organised in the so-called Citizen Force, the Commandos, the para-military units etc., in



times of emergency, the South African racists can muster a force of several hundreds of thousands of men and officers. The Vorster regime is further increasing its military strength by building up a puppet force composed of units drawn from among the oppressed people themselves. These units have already seen action in Namibia.

## Guam Doctrine

In applying the Nixon "Guam doctrine" to South Africa, imperialism relies on the local 4 million-strong white population to carry out its aggressive policies. In turn, as we see, the whites now want further to "Vietnamise" the forces of oppression and aggression by incorporating the black people themselves into the South African armed forces.

South African troops are already committed to a number of countries of Southern Africa, Namibia, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. Experience has already proved that if South Africa is to succeed as the international gendarme of Southern Africa in particular, she will have to commit ever-increasing numbers of men and quantities of materiel to support her Rhodesian and Portuguese allies. Hence the urgency with which the racists are trying to meet their manpower requirements and the steadfastness with which imperialism is continuing to satisfy the material requirements of apartheid South Africa.

The simultaneous commitment to prepare to take the battle to independent Africa imposes an even heavier burden on the apartheid regime, forcing it further to consolidate its ties with world imperialism and further to extort from the oppressed majority the wealth to carry out its war objectives. As part of the process of consolidating ties with imperialism, the South African navy is already cooperating with the French military forces that are based on the African islands in the Indian Ocean, while the South African military intelligence maintains a strong presence in Paris and in Brussels.

The combination of the South African, Portuguese and Rhodesian forces in

Southern Africa represents a war machine of considerable strength. World imperialism is convinced that this war machine can hold out indefinitely, and is doing all it can to ensure that it succeeds in this objective, with the aim of keeping Southern Africa an exclusive preserve of the international monopolies and using the region as a base to subvert social progress and genuine national independence particularly in sub-equatorial Africa.

We are however more than ever convinced of the inevitability of the victory of the forces of liberation, social progress and peace in our own country, whatever preparations the enemy might make, whatever terror he might unleash to deny us that victory. Yet much remains to be done to overcome the regime of oppression and aggression in the RSA.

The forces of revolution are steadily building up their organised strength inside our country. The confrontation between the mass of the people on the one hand and the white minority government on the other, is sharpening every day. Ever-widening sections of the oppressed people are joining the mainstream of revolutionary struggle. Sooner rather than later, the people are going to meet the reactionary violence of the oppressor with their own revolutionary violence.

The forces of liberation and of peace, in South Africa, as well as throughout the world, are indissolubly linked together by common objectives and a common outlook. In South and Southern Africa the peace forces cannot be victorious unless the wars of liberation now raging in the area come to a successful conclusion.

## Challenge to Peace Forces

It is therefore the task of peace-loving mankind to come urgently to the assistance of the liberation forces of South and Southern Africa. World imperialism has committed its economic, military and political might to the defence of its interests and its local representatives in this area.

That poses a challenge to the forces of peace, for, the battle in Southern



Africa will test not only the mettle, the maturity and strength of those directly involved, but will also contribute significantly towards tipping the balance of forces further in favour of the forces of peace and social progress on a world scale, and towards limiting the capabilities of imperialism to pursue rampant reaction.

If proof were needed of the importance of this matter, we need only look at the two outstanding examples of Vietnam and the Middle East. Even now a titanic trial of strength is in progress in the Middle East the outcome of which is not dependent only on the combatants, but also on the contribution that progressive mankind can make towards defeating the Zionist aggressors and establishing a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, the successful achievement of which will mark a giant universal step forward towards an era of a stable world peace.

The international campaign for the isolation of apartheid South Africa has forced the imperialists on to a defensive posture regarding their support of the Vorster regime. A special responsibility devolves on the peace forces within the imperialist countries to step up the campaign for the isolation of South Africa so as further to limit the capacity of world imperialism to intervene directly on the side of the racists.

But yet, the decisive contribution that the international peace forces are called upon to make towards a successful outcome of the cause of peace in South and Southern Africa is support for the peace combatants in the area, the movement for national liberation.

Our people are already making the necessary sacrifice; they are ready to sacrifice even more, until they are victorious in the cause of liberation, social progress and peace, which cause belongs not only to them, but also to the peoples of Africa and the world. With your support, our common victory will come that much sooner and will be that much more complete. The time for united action against the common enemy is now.

Long live the unity of the international peace-loving forces!

Long live the international solidarity of the forces of national liberation, social progress and peace!



# LOOK BACK IN ANGER

**Carletonville  
in  
Retrospect**

The South African situation is one which cannot fail to produce Cassandras: prophecy the worst and your prophecies are certain to be fulfilled. This is well illustrated by the inquest which was held on the eleven mineworkers shot dead at Western Deep Levels mine, Carletonville. It was obvious to anyone acquainted with South African judicial procedures that a white-washing job would be done; and so it was.

The **Rand Daily Mail** provided a graphic description of the occasion:

"Congratulations and handshakes among mine officials and police followed the inquest court finding on the 11 shot dead at Western Deep Levels No. 2 compound on the night of September 11. The magistrate said no blame could be attached to the killings."

"After Mr. C.H. Badenhorst had read his 70-minute finding . . ., the two senior police officers who were at the mine compound during the shootings were surrounded in the corridor outside the courtroom by well-wishers."

"One of them, Lt-Col F. de la Rey Cloete, on Monday, received notice of his promotion from the rank of major, and he appeared at court with the cap and lapel markings of his new rank. The promotion is retrospective to August 1 . . ."

Eleven African mineworkers were shot dead during the night's unrest. Yesterday's inquest findings completely exonerated the police from any blame attached to the killings, and laid the blame "four-square on the shoulders of the rioters".

'The magistrate also found that the mine authorities were blameless.'

## **S. A. Climate and Character**

Commenting on the inquest result, the **Johannesburg Star** pronounced adversely on the fact that the police did not have shields and visors, nor 'rubber bullets or any of the more modern and sophisticated debilitating gases and sonic devices'. Concluded the **Star**: 'The South African climate and character are particularly susceptible to sudden flare-ups and competent riot control methods must be given top priority if there are to be "no more Carletonvilles".'

These are hardly the profound conclusions which anyone outside the South African laager is likely to draw from the events at Carletonville, particularly after the evidence produced in the inquest court proceedings. The 'South African climate and character' obviously affect editorial judgement as well as being 'susceptible to sudden flare-ups'. What emerged from the proceedings was that the police acted with their customary brutality and total irresponsibility. As did their predecessors at Sharpeville, they indulged in an orgy of unjustifiable murder.

Before the arrival of the police, only minor damage was done, if any at all, and injuries caused were not significant. Despite statements that there had been a serious attack on

the administration block, not a single window was broken. Police statements about a 'heavy rain of stones' from the 'rioters', which led to shooting were indeed mysterious in a situation where no one was injured by any object. Police allegations that they had fired warning shots were proved to have been false.

## **Anger Grows**

The police killers at Carletonville demonstrated their contempt for Black lives as, in a different way, did the inquest magistrate. But others bear responsibility: first and foremost, the South African regime, and closely behind it, its tool, the Anglo American corporation. Anglo American has persistently paid its Black workers the minimum rate possible, and the refusal of its officials to meet workers' modest demands was the direct cause of the gathering of workers at Carletonville. Mr Harry Oppenheimer, the chairman of Anglo American speaks with two voices. One is heard on the BBC Panorama programme on which he declares that there is no justification for the gap between the highest scale of Black wages and the lowest White wages, and says 'This is wrong. We must put it right'. The other voice speaks in South Africa and affirms that 'it is neither politically possible or socially right to try to do justice to Black workers at the expense of the secure and established standards of certain classes of White workers'.

Here, of course, a further point emerges. With the profits made by Anglo American it would be more than possible for it to 'do justice' to all workers. But this it will not do, as we Cassandras too well know, while Mr Oppenheimer has the South African police force at hand to do his dirty work in situations like Carletonville.

**Meanwhile, the anger of the African people grows.**

Photo by courtesy of: Christer Themptander



# OBITUARY

## SALVADOR ALLENDE GOSSSENS



Salvador Allende Gossens was born in 1908 in the port city of Valparaiso.

In his youth, as a student leader, he was active in the struggle that unfolded against the military dictatorship in Chile at the close of the 1930s. Since then his life was dedicated to the service of his people. In 1933 he and a group of his comrades founded the Socialist Party of Chile: he became its General Secretary in 1938. As a proponent of an alliance of all the progressive forces, Salvador Allende helped the Popular Front candidate Pedro Aguirre Cerda to victory in the 1938 presidential elections. In the Government formed by Aguirre, Salvador Allende was given the post of Minister of Health. Later, in a book entitled Social Medicine in Chile Allende wrote that the public health service could be raised to the proper level only with the remaking of the social system.

True to his peace convictions, Salvador Allende energetically opposed fascism and used every possible channel to expose its crimes.

In 1952 he was the presidential candidate of the Left-wing unity movement. He stood in the presidential elections again in 1958. It was only the unity among all the reactionary parties that prevented Salvador Allende from becoming president in 1964. But the Chilean people were already taking the road of liberation. In

1970, as the candidate of the Popular Unity Party, Salvador Allende became Chile's constitutional president. This was an outstanding event in the history, not only of his country, but of all mankind.

In the course of the three years of Salvador Allende's presidency the whole world closely followed Chile's progress along the road of revolutionary changes, along the road of broadening democracy.

Traitors wearing general's uniform are now trying to efface the memory of Salvador Allende in Chile and have even placed his grave out of bounds. But his image will always remain a banner uniting his people in the struggle for final liberation.

As the late Pablo Neruda, Chilean poet and patriot said in one of his poems:

I must speak to those now dead as if they were here,  
Brother; it will go on  
Our fight will go on in the land,  
In the factories, in the farms,  
In the streets the fight will go on,  
And then:

Out of the silence  
Your voices will rise in the mighty shout of freedom  
When the hope of the peoples flames into hymns of joy.



# GDR OPERA SUPPORTS LIBERATION STRUGGLE



Günther Deicke



Ernst Hermann Meyer

Lanny's mother welcomes him back to the village when he returns from Cape Town where he completed his studies (top left). Lanny has set up a school in his native village (top right). Lanny meets his white girl friend in bushes (centre left). Lanny is accused by Fieta for not taking up the liberation struggle, and instead is wasting his life with a white girl (centre right). The climax: the people rise in anger when they hear that both Lanny and his white girl friend have been murdered by the girl's uncle and his white overlords on his farm. They eventually kill the uncle (below right)

Photos by courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsoper Berlin – Marion Schöne (5) and Gerhard Kindt

## Review

The German State Opera of the GDR launched its latest production on November 17. It was "Reiter der Nacht", an opera based upon the South African Peter Abrahams' novel "Path of Thunder."

The novel concerned the love of a White landowner's daughter for Lanny the Coloured schoolteacher in the little country town on the South African highveld. This somewhat improbable, nevertheless tragic, affair is however adequately dealt with by the libretto of Gunther Deicke who manages to present a topically political production on the stage of this early work of Abrahams, considering all the emotionalism and humanitarianism involved. The composer Prof. Ernst Hermann Meyer uses a modern form for his score for the opera and so avoids much of the sugary sentimentality with which much operatic music is associated, especially tragic love stories.

So good is the production that South Africans attending the premiere felt as if they were transported into the midst of a typically Coloured rural community in their motherland. Unfortunately the few White characters were however costumed throughout in the neat bush-jackets and riding breeches with which colonialists are usually caricatured so that those who have seen the real Afrikaner farmers are apt to smile at this portrayal of the "Baas". However this is a detail.

The opera as a whole does much to focus on the inhumanity of apartheid and one is happy to see that the pessimistic and negative ending of the original story is replaced by a more inspiring climax when the people rise to disarm the tyrants and avenge the murdered lovers.

It is hoped that the opera will be translated and be seen outside the GDR. This would be a useful contribution to the movement of solidarity with the South African liberation struggle.

A. La Guma



# THE SOUTH AFRICAN TIME BOMB

**MASTERS AND SERFS** by Rosalynde Ainslie

(20p. per copy)

Published by: Publications Department International Defence and Aid Fund  
104 Newgate Street London EC1A 7AP

Recent exposures of the starvation wages paid to black workers in South Africa failed to highlight one of the most important areas of the economy: agriculture, and the plight of black farm labourers. Agricultural exports are South Africa's largest earner of foreign exchange after gold. At least 37% of the MPs are farmers. Protec-

ted by this powerful parliamentary lobby, white farmers rely on rigidly controlled cheap labour. The average white farmer's annual income is R6,000 – that of his black labourers, in cash and kind, is estimated at between R144 and R192.

There are more than one million black

farm labourers. They are not protected by any ordinary labour legislation:

- it is illegal for them to strike, or even to break their contract of service;
- they have no holiday rights
  - no pensions
  - no paid leave, no sick leave
  - no union to protect them
- disobedience can be punished by their employer, the farmer. And often is; the lash and the boot maintain a reign of terror on many farms.

In such a legal and political climate, it is not surprising that the farms are a closed sector of the country, where reporters are unwelcome, information scanty. But some details do emerge from the feudal realities:

- in Naboomspruit, Transvaal, it was discovered that some labourers were paid R4–8 a month, plus a sack of maize; they worked 12-hour shifts, seven days a week, and could take time off only if they found a replacement;
- in the northern Orange Free State, it was reported in 1971 that labourers were getting R3 a month, plus three paraffin tins of maize; and they lived in rusted iron shelters.
- In February 1956, two Cape farmers were found guilty of beating a labourer to death with a sjambok. They received short sentences and a small fine – one of many examples of life on the farms
- and, as recently as May 1971, a Hartebeestfontein farmer was found guilty of having put a castration ring (for rams) round the testicles of a 14-year-old African shepherd.

Census figures and scattered bits of information show a new and frightening trend, given no publicity. The apartheid regime is pushing thousands of labour tenants, squatters, old people, women and children out of the "white" rural areas into the "Bantu homelands" where nothing but destitution awaits them. More than a million people have already been moved. The South African Government is trying to compel all able bodied Blacks to become permanent migrants, with no land of their own, no security of home-tenure, no stable employment. These are some of the facts which make the new Defence and Aid pamphlet – *Masters and Serfs* – so powerful and explosive. As the author Rosalynde Ainslie says, there is a time bomb in the South African countryside.

Shown here are refugees from Portuguese Territories taking part in community work in agricultural settlements assisted by United Nations High Commission for Refugees



## The Oil Crisis

The emergency meeting on the Middle East held by the Council of Ministers of the Organisation of African Unity towards the end of last year adopted a resolution inviting member states and appealing to all friendly countries to impose a total economic embargo, and in particular an oil embargo, against Israel, South Africa, Portugal and the minority racist regime in Southern Rhodesia.

South Africa gets 37.8 per cent of its oil from Iran, with which it has friendly relations. (Iranians in South Africa enjoy the status of "whites" just as the Japanese do). The rest of South Africa's oil comes from Saudi Arabia (23.9 per cent), Iraq (18.3 per cent), and the Gulf States of Oman, Qatar and Abu Dhabi. South Africa has no oil of its own although exploration has been taking place all over the country for the past decade.

Already South Africa is substantially in the red in so far as its oil supplies are concerned. The Gulf States, ex-

cluding Iran, have cut their production by 25 per cent. Since Iran supplies one third of the needs of South Africa, informed sources believe that this cut means that South Africa's supplies must be down about 15 per cent – and theoretically be down 37 per cent by April and 45 per cent by mid-year.

If O.A.U. pressures are successful the situation could be even worse.

The South African politicians and the press are quick to point out that the tripple effect on the economy a successful boycott could have will cause unemployment, and that this will affect Black workers as well.

Without the oil boycott millions of Black people are permanently unemployed in the country and an addition of some thousands more to this huge number is a price we Black South Africans have long agreed we are prepared to pay for the destruction of racism and apartheid in our Motherland.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## 20 More Banned

The White racist government of South Africa have banned 20 Black leaders in what is an all-out campaign to cripple every Black organisation in the country that functions outside the official Bantustans and Indian and Coloured Councils.

Hardest hit are the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), the Black Peoples' Convention (BPC), the Black Community Programme (BCP) which is an off-shoot of Spro-cas (Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society).

The entire leadership of these three organisations have been wiped out by banning orders. In a number of cases, the leaders' replacements have also been banned. The organisations are now being run by interim committees. Also affected by the banning are the Black Allied Workers' Union, the Black Workers' Union, the Black Workers' Project, a joint effort by SASO, BPC and the Black Student and Cultural Movement.

Recently five members of SABSA (South African Black Students' Organi-



sation, a junior SASO) were questioned by members of the Special Branch and at least two of the questioned students' parents were told by the police that their sons would "head for Robben Island" (the notorious prison for political prisoners), if they were not careful.

The following is a list of the banned leaders, roughly in chronological order of their banning:

**Stanley Mtwasa** – Director of Black Theology;  
**Bokwe Bafana** – Field Officer BPC;  
**Strini Moodley** – Director of Publications, SASO;  
**Steve Biko** – SASO founder and BPC Field Worker;  
**Jerry Modisane** – President, SASO;  
**Harry Ngwekhulu** – Full-time organiser, SASO;  
**Saths Cooper** – Public Relations Officer, BPC;  
**Drake Koka** – Secretary-General, Black Allied Workers Union;  
**Henry Issacs** – who replaced Modisane as president of SASO after he was banned;  
**Jeff Duma Baqwa** – Literacy Director, SASO;  
**Barney Pityana** – Secretary-General, SASO;



**Mervin Josie** –  
Administrative assistant, SASO;  
**Mrs. S. Moodley** –  
Research Officer, BCP;  
**Sipho Buthelezi** –  
Secretary General, BPC;  
**Chris Mogodito** – Vice-president, BPC;  
**Mate Desiko** – President, SABSA  
**Johnny Issel** – Regional Secretary,  
Western Cape, SASO;  
**Ben Langa** – who replaced Pityana  
as secretary-general of SASO,  
after his banning;  
**Ben Khoapa** – Director BCP;  
**Rev Hamilton Qambela** –  
Vice-president, SASO.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## ANC Stalwart Passes On

Several thousand people attended the funeral of Joseph (Anti-Pass) Kumalo, who died in exile in Maseru, Lesotho. Comrade Kumalo, joined the African National Congress of South Africa in 1919 and since then remained a staunch member of the Congress. Only three days after joining the ANC, Kumalo was arrested for not having a pass. He led many campaigns against the hated pass laws and the people affectionately christened him Anti-Pass Kumalo. He spent many periods in jail for political offences. He was jailed during the 1952 Congress campaign against unjust laws and later in 1960 he was again arrested and kept in prison for six months without trial during the State of Emergency.

The Coffin of Anti-Pass Kumalo being taken to Church by ANC Volunteers



Banned and deprived of earning a livelihood he escaped to Lesotho in the early sixties and there, although he joined the Busutoland Congress Party, continued to play a leading role among South African refugees. The service at his funeral was conducted by the Bishop of Maseru, Bishop

Makhetha. Among scores of distinguished guests who attended the funeral was Chief Selbourne Letsie, the Lesotho Minister of State, who represented the government.

The ANC and all the oppressed peoples in South Africa have indeed lost a great and valiant stalwart.

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## BOOK BEATS S.A.BAN

Several hundred copies of a book written by a banned South African political figure have been openly on sale in the Republic for more than two years.

This disclosure was made by the overseas editor of the British publishing firm Heinemann, Mr. James Curry.

Mr. Curry said that the book, a collection of political poetry entitled "Thoughts Abroad", had been secretly written by Dennis Brutus, Black president of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC).

Mr. Curry said Mr. Brutus had deliberately published the book under the false name "John Bruin" so that it could be freely sold in South Africa.

The book was titled and published by Troubadour Press, of Texas, America, in 1970. It consists of 24 poems written by Mr. Brutus in various parts of the world including one written when he was a prisoner on Robben Island.

Mr. Curry said: "Mr. Brutus wrote the book as a little joke against apartheid, I think."

"An initial consignment of 200 copies were sent to selected bookshops in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Preto-

ria. Complimentary copies were sent by Troubadour Press to newspapers and public libraries, which were unaware of the deception."

Mr. Curry said the hoax was successful and that more copies were requested after the book had received favourable reviews in several South African newspapers.

One book doomed for banning is "A Simple Lust", published by Heinemann.

It contains all Mr. Brutus's previous works including all the poems he wrote under the name John Bruin.

## Canning Industry Faces Collapse

South Africa's £25 million canning industry – one of its most valuable export earners – faces collapse if, as is reasonably supposed, the Common Market lays down high minimum import prices.

The industry, which depends for its existence on the lucrative export market in Europe, has recently been faced with a 6.5 per cent increase in the price of tin plate.

One predictable consequence is a steep rise in canned fruit and vegetable prices for the domestic market; another is a substantial loss of foreign earnings.

South Africa's Price Controller, J. J. F. Steyn, has warned that the Common Market decision could be "quite severe for the industry."

According to the Johannesburg "Star" (August 18, 1973) South Africa's canning industry could be dealt a blow from which it would not recover, especially since it is extremely difficult to find an alternative market.



The South African Department of Customs and Excise has published figures showing that the Republic imports over R1295 millions and exports over R935 million, to EEC countries, giving the Community a favourable trade balance of over R630 million.

A breakdown of the 1972 figures show:

	(R. m)
<b>BRITAIN</b>	
Exports to S.A.	590.5
Imports	531.3
<b>HOLLAND</b>	
Exports to S.A.	62.5
Imports	55.7
<b>WEST GERMANY</b>	
Exports to S.A.	413.0
Imports	132.5
<b>ITALY</b>	
Exports to S.A.	94.4
Imports	77.2
<b>FRANCE</b>	
Exports to S.A.	99.5
Imports	57.0

It is with only Belgium and Luxembourg that South Africa has a favourable balance. South Africa sold these countries goods valued at R81.5 million and bought goods from them worth R35.4 million — a favourable balance of R46.1 million.

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## United Coloured Boycott

The South African Government has been faced for the first time with a complete boycott by all the parties represented in the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), a dummy institution created by the government to advise on matters affecting the Coloured community in the country.

Despite strong differences between the Federal Party, led by Mr. Tom Swartz and the opposition Labour Party, led by Mr. Sonny Leon, all representatives walked out of the Council in protest against policies and statements by government ministers. They subsequently decided to close the session of the CRC in protest.

There are two reasons for the boycott: First, because the Minister of the Interior, Dr. Connie Mulder who addressed the Council refused to grant a passport to Mr. Leon and his family to visit his sick daughter overseas.

Second, because of his remarks at the meeting about Mr. Swartz. Referring to an address Mr. Swartz had given at a conference of the white opposition



United Party in South Africa's parliament, the Minister said he was astounded by Mr. Swartz who "became leader of the Coloured people because he was nominated by the Government."

(Mr. Swartz's Federal Party, a pro-Apartheid organisation, was soundly defeated by the Anti-Apartheid Labour Party at the last elections for the Council and Mr. Swartz himself lost his seat. The Government filled in all nominated posts with members, including Mr. Swartz, of the Federal Party thus assuring the Federals a majority on the Council.)

Speaking on the refusal of a passport to Mr. Leon and his family, the Minister of Coloured Affairs, Dr. S. van der Merwe, said the decision was taken "in the best interests" of South Africa. "The newspapers," he added, "can scream about it until they are blue in the face."

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## West German Deal?

A major fuel-energy concern in West Germany is negotiating with South Africa about the possible co-operation in a new method of enriching uranium, according to the Bonn Ministry of Science and Technology.

The process developed in South Africa

could turn out to be cheaper than other enrichment techniques and the resultant product would have a military potential as well as supplying energy for peaceful purposes, experts in Bonn said.

Well informed sources in West Germany, according to press reports, said the Essener Steinkohler Elektrizität Ag (Steag) is negotiating with South Africa to establish a commission to test the economic feasibility of the new and still secret process.

The Steag concern, a subsidiary of the giant coal mining group, Rhur Khole Ag, declined to give any information on the state of the negotiations, according to these reports.

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## U.S. Deal?

Two senior men of the Piper Aircraft Corporation of the United States visited Johannesburg recently to "familiarise themselves" with the South African market, and make arrangements for the launching—early this year, of the new Piper 3IT turboprop Cheyenne aeroplane.

They are C. Raymond Johnson, sales director, and Robert A. Martin, director of customer services.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## Another Police Murder

Knosingiphila Kumalo (18) died after he had been questioned at a police station by Sergeant F. Dutton about money missing from his employer in Johannesburg.

Mr. Kumalo's parents said their son had told them Sergeant Dutton had assaulted him, but the policeman denied he had used force to extract a confession.

After the inquest in Ladysmith, which resulted in 193 pages of typewritten evidence, the Magistrate, Mr. R. Oosthuizen, said there were obviously "a lot of irregularities" at the Western Police Station.

Ruling that no finding could be made about the youth's death, he declared: "The less said about the state of affairs there, the better."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

## Apartheid and Chess

A big banquet was held in Durban recently to mark the end of the South African chess championships. But when the time came to present the prizes,

the guests were surprised to learn that the champion, Gerald Holmes, was not there.

The reason for his absence was the colour of his skin. The banquet was held in one of the restaurants reserved for whites only, and Holmes, who is a Coloured, was simply, told to keep out.

The prize was later presented to him in the Coloured enclosure of the local racecourse.

Two other Coloured contestants were also debarred from the closing ceremony.

# RADIO BERLIN INTERNATIONAL

## ---- Calling Africa ----

Radio  
Berlin  
International



The Voice of the  
German  
Democratic  
Republic  
Africa Department  
English Section

by Arnold Selby (a South African radio journalist)

No doubt, many of you have at one time or another tuned – in to Radio Berlin International – the Voice of the German Democratic Republic, or RBI as it is generally known. RBI broadcasts in Arabic, Danish, English, German, Hindi, Italian, Portuguese, Swedish, Spanish and Swahili. The Africa Service of RBI is on the air 12 times daily in English, French and Swahili.

Basing itself on the motto "up-to-date information", the Voice of the German Democratic Republic reports important international events and what is happening in the socialist German State. It explains the GDR's attitude to important questions in daily commentaries. Topical reports are devoted to the peoples' struggle against imperialism and war, for peace, national liberation and social progress.

The Africa Service puts out among others regular features on African affairs, interviews with African personalities who visit the GDR, opinions of African statesmen on international problems and greetings programmes from African students who are furthering their qualifications in the GDR. But RBI also devotes a good deal of time to promoting the cause of solidarity with the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In line with this, particular attention is paid to the relationship with the various RBI Listeners' Clubs which are encouraged to make solidarity actions part of their activities. For example documents sent out by the African National Congress of South Africa to the various Anti-Apartheid Movements and other friendly organisations which are received by RBI are not only broadcast but also reduplicated and sent to RBI Listeners' Clubs in Africa. The most recent documents received were from the South African Congress of Trade Unions on activities arising from the unique International Trade Union Conference Against Apartheid held in Geneva last June and extensively reported by RBI. These documents were sent to listeners' clubs in Africa with the following note – "Re-issued in October 1973 as an act of solidarity with the workers of South Africa by Radio Berlin International, Africa Department".

The solidarity activities of RBI Listeners' Clubs in Africa

are placed on record for all time in the letters and reports sent in to the Africa Department. For instance the listeners' clubs' members at Eket in the South East State of Nigeria in speaking about the receipt of African National Congress documents from RBI write: "It has encouraged us in our endeavours in the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa. You will be glad to learn that our Anti-Apartheid Youth Movement is recognised by Nigeria's UN representative as part of the anti-imperialist front in our country which is continually growing as a result of world-wide solidarity". Another report from listeners' clubs' members at Hohoe in Ghana tells about a demonstration which among others pledged support for the liberation movements in the south of Africa. The friends at Hohoe state: "The town was shaken and stirred with members marching in a peaceful and purposeful demonstration with gay placards raised to greet the crowds standing along the streets, with slogans some of which read in different languages, 'Long live Ghana-GDR Relations', 'Youth Say No to Apartheid', 'Free South Africa', 'World Without War' . . .". The listeners' clubs' members at Hohoe have also sent protests and demands to the racist regime in Pretoria. These reports from the RBI Listeners' Clubs are only two examples of many.

For those who wish to tune in to Radio Berlin International, Africa Service, here are the times and frequencies: –

English				
04.45	GMT	11785	25.46	East Africa
		9500	31.58	West Africa
13.15		21600	13.89	Central Africa
		17790	13.86	West Africa
18.15		21600	13.89	Central Africa
		21475	13.97	West Africa
		15145	19.81	East Africa
		15170	19.78	East Africa
20.00		9755	30.75	West Africa
		11975	25.05	West Africa

# POETRY AND NATIONAL LIBERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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The following is an abridged version of a paper submitted by BARRY FEINBERG to the Afro-Asian Poetry Symposium held in Erevan, Armenia, towards the end of last year


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ing for some time with total absorption he remarked in a surprised tone: "Do you know, its uncanny, but these poems could have been written by Palestinians!" That my Palestinian comrade should find common cause and expression in our respective revolutionary poets seems no accident to me. There are bound to be many experiences and feelings shared by our two peoples. It is understandable that the harsh realities, common to the life of both nations, should be transformed by their poets into similar dreams for the future. However, it is not my intention to discuss the spiritual affinities between Palestinian and South African partisan poetry. It is clear that the national realities which inspire our respective poets are not identical, nor are their similarities unique. The dream of a better life is a common goal for all oppressed peoples. The poet in South Africa, as among the Palestinian people, can help to realise that goal by dedicating his talents towards revolution and the national liberation of the exploited masses. The power and ruthlessness of South Africa's predatory rulers makes this no easy task.

## Stifling Cultural Aspirations

To facilitate the exploitation of South Africa, the Apartheid state, in collaboration with international imperialism, has denied political rights to the masses of the people and viciously suppressed their leaders and political organisations. Through economic enslavement and social and educational deprivation, the state has attempted to muzzle the voice of the Black majority and to trample on their aspirations. The stifling of cultural expression and development has been essential to the effective execution of Apartheid policies.

The brutality of the racist regime in South Africa and its callous disregard for basic human rights has been recognised and condemned by progressive mankind. But it is not so much the operation of Apartheid as the fierce and heroic resistance to it by the toiling masses in South Africa that has increasingly directed international outrage at this rule of tyranny. Recently, the world witnessed the courageous



In London, earlier this year, I met a young Palestinian poet. I was deeply moved by his poems which he read to me. As I had often wondered about the well-known Palestinian proclivity for poetry, and the fact that in LOTUS an unusually large number of poems stem from Palestinian pens, I asked him to explain what appeared to me to be an interesting phenomena. He was amused by my question, but obviously pleased that I asked it. His spontaneous answer could not have been clearer or more succinct: "The only thing my people have never been denied is the right to dream", he declaimed.

At our next meeting he asked to hear some South African poems. I gave him a selection to read to himself. After read-

actions of militant black workers in South Africa who, though deprived of the right to organise and to strike, took massive nationwide industrial action against their white bosses, shaking the state to its very foundations.

In harmony with the growing political awareness and militancy of the impoverished masses in South Africa, there has been an unprecedented upsurge of cultural expression; a search for a national identity and for a future purged of the misery of the present. Despite the absence of cultural opportunities and outlets, and despite the ruthless censorship exercised by the state, the embryonic voice of tomorrow's South Africa is being heard; the dream of a better life is materialising.

Scores of angry young poets are now raising their voices above the grey streets of the black ghettos. This urban cry finds its echo in our peoples army gathering and growing on the borders of our country. The cry is taken up and given teeth by our warrior poets. This articulation of a peoples deepest hopes and feelings is a vital supplement to the day to day rigours and frustrations of our political struggle. During the long years of our fight against Apartheid, poetry particularly in the form of song, has been a potent force in helping to stimulate and nourish revolutionary spirit. In the 1950's, a high watermark was reached in our struggle. Thousands of militants filled the racist prisons after open and deliberate defiance of Apartheid laws. It was in this period, a period of great political awakening, that many freedom songs were born, arising spontaneously out of the events of struggle. The songs spat fire at the fascist rulers while portraying political events and achievements, hailing our leaders and celebrating the collective heroism of our people. These song poems also served to solidify the poli-

tical alliance of the different racial groups in our country by cutting across cultural and national divisions. It was a time of great achievements but also of great hardships. By extolling our achievements the songs sustained our cadres in battle, fortified them in prison and put the misery of the masses into a perspective full of pride and hope.

### Vuyisile Mini

In 1964, Vuyisile Mini, the chief creator of our freedom songs was executed by the racist government together with two of his comrades. It took the hangman's noose to silence the songs bursting from their lips. The song poems of the fifties are now an organic part of our new South African culture. Wherever they are sung they continue to inspire our people. Whether on strike in the streets or within gunshot of racist troops, whether languishing in goal or in heavy hearted exile, our freedom songs reinforce dedication to the struggle.

Up to the 1960's every expression of opposition to the Apartheid regime was welcomed by our movement, no matter how limited its political perspective or how divergent its viewpoint on South African society. As our struggle advanced, however, the need for a more unequivocal commitment from our creative artists became crucial. Our poets have become more partisan ever since our movement took up arms. Their number must and will swell as the armed struggle develops and the issues at stake crystalise. The need for unity between political aims and cultural effort has now become urgent. The viewpoint of our poets must coincide with the aims of our national liberation movement. The fight for cultural rights is inseparable from the battle for political freedom.

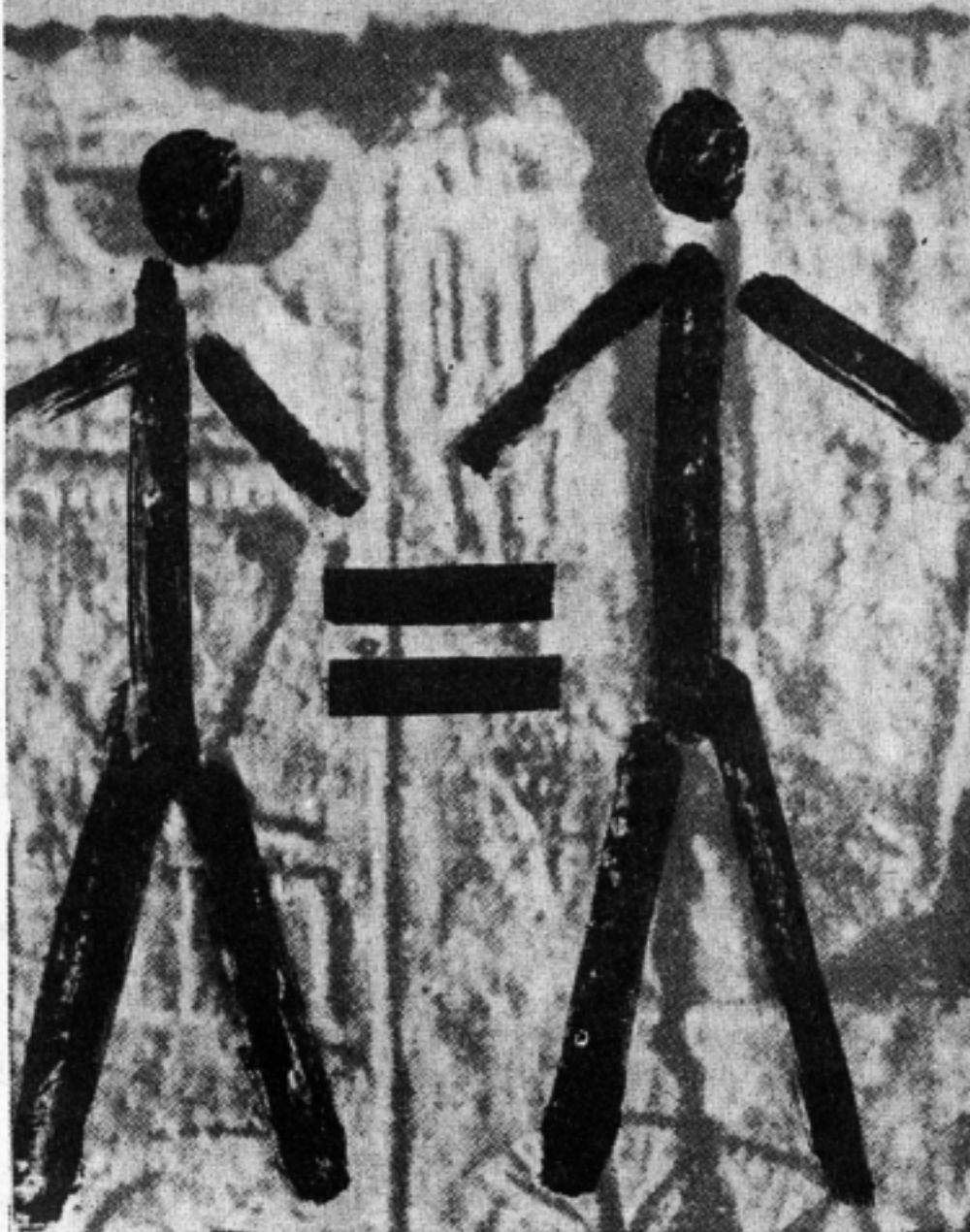
Instruction and information to the masses explaining the strategy and aims of our movement has become a critical element in our struggle. Increasing misery and deteriorating conditions of life while causing mounting anger and frustration have never been in themselves sufficient cause for change. The ocean of discontent must be harnessed and transformed into a tidal wave of insurrection to breach the dykes of Apartheid. Exhortations to organise, to resist, to sacrifice self interests to the common good are the order of the day.

Poetry of all the arts is supreme in its ability to inspire selfless action by humanising the political slogans of our revolution and stirring the social consciousness of the individual. The revolutionary poet concretises the dreams of people for a better life; the liberation movement fights to make those dreams a reality.

### Heavy Responsibility

The life and death struggle that is the political reality of South Africa today places a heavy responsibility on our poets. As the demand for partisan art increases so the task of producing that art becomes more complex. The poet can no longer be a lone voice crying his private agony to the heavens. There is nothing more testing of a poets skills or artistic integrity than to fulfil the needs of his people. There is nothing more fulfilling for the poet than to pass that test. Our poets are accepting this challenge. Their efforts are beginning to reflect the fast changing social and political realities of South Africa. The revolutionary actions of our Black workers are adding a new dimension to our struggle. The fight is not only against racism but also against the system which spawned it. The Black workers will not be content only to defeat Apartheid. Our poets must help to define

**All human beings  
are born free and equal**





human feelings and strivings in the light of this new stage in our struggle.

By advancing their awareness of peoples' problems and needs our poets are equipping themselves to stir essential passions and strike revolutionary chords. Identification with the programme of our national liberation movement is the first important step towards achieving this awareness.

But support for our movement is not in itself a guarantee of significant poetry. Versifying political slogans abuses the unique role of poetry. No matter how well it puts the line, or how desirable its ideas, a poem will fail if not skilfully constructed and if not in tune with the actual condition and yearnings of our people. Nor can the poet hope to communicate successfully by holding up a mirror to the peoples' misery: to simply reflect the results of Apartheid renders a poem sterile. Reality does not consist merely of appearance but of dynamic substance. The poet must reveal the new order growing out of the old. A poem is superficial and of little value if it holds out no hope for the future.

It is, of course, the duty of our poets to contribute their talents to our movement but it is also the duty of our movement to recognise the important contribution that our poets can make. It is clear that our creative artists must be nurtured, encouraged and given careful guidance. Our movement is beginning to do this by giving more space to poetry in our propaganda organs. This policy of promoting poetry as a powerful literary weapon for arousing people's feelings is also helping poets to develop their talents. The prospect

of communicating their poems to the masses encourages greater effort and self criticism and therefore greater revolutionary content.

### Dispersed in Exile

It is unfortunate that due to the repressive actions of the Apartheid regime, most of our propaganda machinery is located outside of South Africa. Many of our leading cadres and creative artists are dispersed in exile. Within South Africa the movement is underground, operating under the most clandestine and dangerous conditions. This has created enormous problems, not least of all in the field of propaganda. As a result our publication media do not have a normal point of communication with the masses. Secret means have had to be employed to circulate our propaganda inside the country and our writers have mostly had to be drawn from groups working outside. The growth of revolutionary literature has not been facilitated by these circumstances.

Yet, despite these problems (and to a certain extent even because of them) a rich crop of poets has emerged. The new poetry burgeoning out of the black ghettos is evidence of the revolutionary fervour stirring the spirit of the urban proletariat. Their voice will magnify and mature as our revolution gathers momentum. Examples of their work have been published by certain liberal institutions still tolerated in South Africa. While the content of these poems offers no immediate threat to the racist regime, it does project in bold

relief, an angry assertion of national identity and dignity against a background of bitter pain and the relentless frustrations of daily life under Apartheid.

**Oswald Mtshali**, a 33 year old messenger

writes:

„Handcuffs  
have steel fangs  
whose bite is more painful  
than a whole battalion  
of fleas.

Though the itch in my heart  
grows deeper and deeper  
I cannot scratch.

How can I  
my wrists  
are manacled.  
My mind  
is caged.  
My soul  
is shackled.

I can only grimace at the ethereal cloud,  
a banner billowing in the sky, emblazoned,  
Have hope, brother,  
despair is for the defeated.”

**Wally Serote**, 29 years old, who was imprisoned in 1959 under the Terrorism Act and released 9 months later without being charged;

“I do not know where I have been  
But Brother,  
I know I'm coming.  
I do not know where I have been,  
But Brother,  
I know I heard the call.  
Hell! Where I was I cried silently  
Yet I sat there until now.  
I do not know where I have been,  
But Brother,  
I know I'm coming.”

SECHABA, the official organ of the African National Congress, and the AFRICAN COMMUNIST, the journal of the South African Communist Party, both published in London, give prominence to poetry written by our movement's activists whether in our people's army in Africa or in exile abroad. In contrast to the young urban poets, the poems of our militants are directly related to the revolutionary struggle. Many celebrate the exploits and heroism of our guerrilla fighters:

“Front-line  
Where manhood and consciousness is tested  
The only place to bury persecutions and  
burden of ages

The only place to declare names immortal  
Trust me brother you will not be alone there

Front-line  
Where bullets will graze on man and grass  
Where man will make his own lightning and  
thunder  
Where the enemy will fall and never to rise  
Brother truly my shadow will be next to  
yours.”

**Timol, Marks**

Others mourn the deaths of our cadres in fascist prisons. Ahmed Timol, a young revolutionary, was tortured and then murdered by the racist police:

“Their triumph when landing him  
was like hooking a fish.  
Four days later they told his father  
go pray in the mosque  
your son is dead  
he has fallen from a window  
we have lain him out on a slab.”

Still others write in praise of our revolutionary leaders. J. B. Marks, an internationally known and loved spokesman for our movement died in Moscow in August last year. His qualities are remembered in this extract from an epitaph:

“All men called him uncle,  
not in sermon or religious embracado,  
rather awe and easy affection:  
an echo to the timbre of his heart,  
an accent to the legend of his name.

A kindly philosopher,  
a knight of Lenin's table,  
a man who wanted all men well.  
But now that his rumbling recedes  
and his fight of fights is over,  
let's look (as he once did)  
to others among us!”

### Common Battle

Our journals also publish poems from other liberation movements, particularly those which are closely linked to ours in the struggle against colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

It is our view that our magazines should give more space to revolutionary poets, especially from Africa, not simply as a gesture of solidarity, but in order to stress our common battle in the fight against imperialism on our continent.

Imperialism, which props up the South African regime, is a powerful, ruthless and sometimes elusive enemy. To achieve its ends it employs a great variety of deceptions. Exploitation is often neatly concealed under a mask of benign concern for freedom of expression. We poets must be vigilant and ready to expose imperialism in whatever disguise it presents itself. In order to impede the development of revolutionary consciousness, imperialism seeks to emasculate the people's creative artists; to neutralise their art by cutting them off from the mainstream of life. To align themselves with our struggle it is necessary for poets to disengage their talents from the insidious ideology of the exploiter which requires that poetry be independent of social values and that, to be free to create, the poet must exempt himself from social responsibility. Revolutionary poets reject the artificial culture propagated by the servants of imperialism.

It is our strongly held view that by serving our national interests our poets will best serve the interests of internationalism. By contributing to the fight against fascist tyranny in South Africa we help to reinforce the army of Afro-Asian poets fighting colonialism and imperialism. Our poets therefore salute this symposium as a landmark in our united struggle for a poetry, rich in the history, traditions and struggles of all our peoples; as a powerful expression of our common fight and our dream for a better life for all mankind.

# Poem »No Cause for Alarm«

(on a statement  
by the Smith regime,  
July 1973)



A warning  
in confidence  
to tobacco growers  
from Rhodesia owners  
about invaders  
who may wish  
to eliminate you:

Maintain vigilance over your minions,  
keep compass on degree of turn out,  
watch for abnormal compound activity;  
check and double check loyalty  
and test allegiance constantly.

In short,  
*keep eyes peeled  
for signs of grudge,  
grievance or latent agitation.*  
Employees are easily subverted,  
grudgeholders in particular  
are easy meat for marauders.  
Check and double check  
all loiterers, malingerers  
and squatters  
for possible imposters.  
By law only *your* natives  
may live as your labour.  
*If dramatic change occurs,  
summon security forces.*

Ten tips against slip-up  
in case of terrorist attack;  
if carefully carried out  
will fool all intruders:

1.  
To confuse observation  
avoid obvious routine;  
vary your bed nightly,  
but *not till servants  
are out of sight.*  
Have houseboys return all keys  
you may once have entrusted.
2.  
Essential poisons for crops,  
husbandry and irritating insects,  
including bathroom medications,  
*must be collected*  
secured against servants  
or safely thrown away.
3.  
Floodlights, though a comfort,  
can easily be spotted  
by all types of terrorist  
trained to make like moths at night.  
Likewise, tallow or torches  
can pinpoint your position.

4.  
If erected,  
security fences,  
electric or spiked  
provide excellent protection,  
but *keep your children clear.*

5.  
Positioned on your perimeters,  
trip wires and man traps  
are both deadly deterrents,  
but *remember to unman  
every morning.*

6.  
In event of rocket attack,  
beware of external walls,  
but above all,  
*don't stand behind your door  
if knocked at night.*

7.  
Liberate your livestock,  
let your dogs roam free,  
give geese maximum mobility  
as an early warning system;  
but *bear in mind  
they may be used  
as a ruse  
to get at you.*

8.  
*Don't blunder out at a bark,*  
or get up your gander,  
always creep with extreme caution  
and take care of your breathing.

9.  
If you trip your own wire  
or trigger your traps,  
*don't shoot or shout;*  
when without light  
hold your fire,  
as your spouse  
might take your bullet  
as a parting gift.

10.  
Though its not our intention  
to stir apprehension,  
nor create a state of alarm,  
you must now endeavour  
to love your labour,  
for the sake of us all,  
and your farm.

B. F.

# NEW YORK TIMES TAKEN TO COURT

**Press Statement by the American Committee on Africa on a Court Ruling against the so-called liberal daily, The New York Times, for advertising racially-exclusive jobs in South Africa**

The New York State Supreme Court ruled on November 20, 1973 that hearings should proceed before the New York City Commission on Human Rights on a complaint brought by the American Committee on Africa against the New York Times. The complaint alleged that the Times has violated a City ordinance against racial discrimination by publishing advertisements for employment in South Africa. Co-complainants in the case are the African Heritage Studies Association, One Hundred Black Men, and Hon. William H. Booth, President of the American Committee on Africa and former Chairman of the New York City Commission on Human Rights.

In dismissing a New York Times petition to block a hearing on the com-

plaint, Justice Samuel J. Silverman stated that, "I think that further exploration at a hearing may be enlightening on both the issue of jurisdiction (of the Commission) and on the substantive question of whether the use of the phrase 'South Africa' does indirectly, at least, express an intent to discriminate on the basis of race or color."

The complaint against the Times was filed in October, 1972. The New York City Commission on Human Rights subsequently found probable cause for a human rights violation and on June 6 a hearing began before the Commission. The Times argued that the Commission lacked jurisdiction in the case and that its first amendment rights would be violated by curbing employment advertising for South Africa. The

Commission ruled against the Times and the newspaper then sought court action to block the hearing.

Concerning the Times' arguments on jurisdiction, Justice Silverman noted that "... the advertisement does appear in a New York newspaper . . . and no doubt residents reading the advertisement against the background of general information in this country about South Africa's racial policies, will believe that it makes a very substantial difference whether an applicant for employment is white or black."

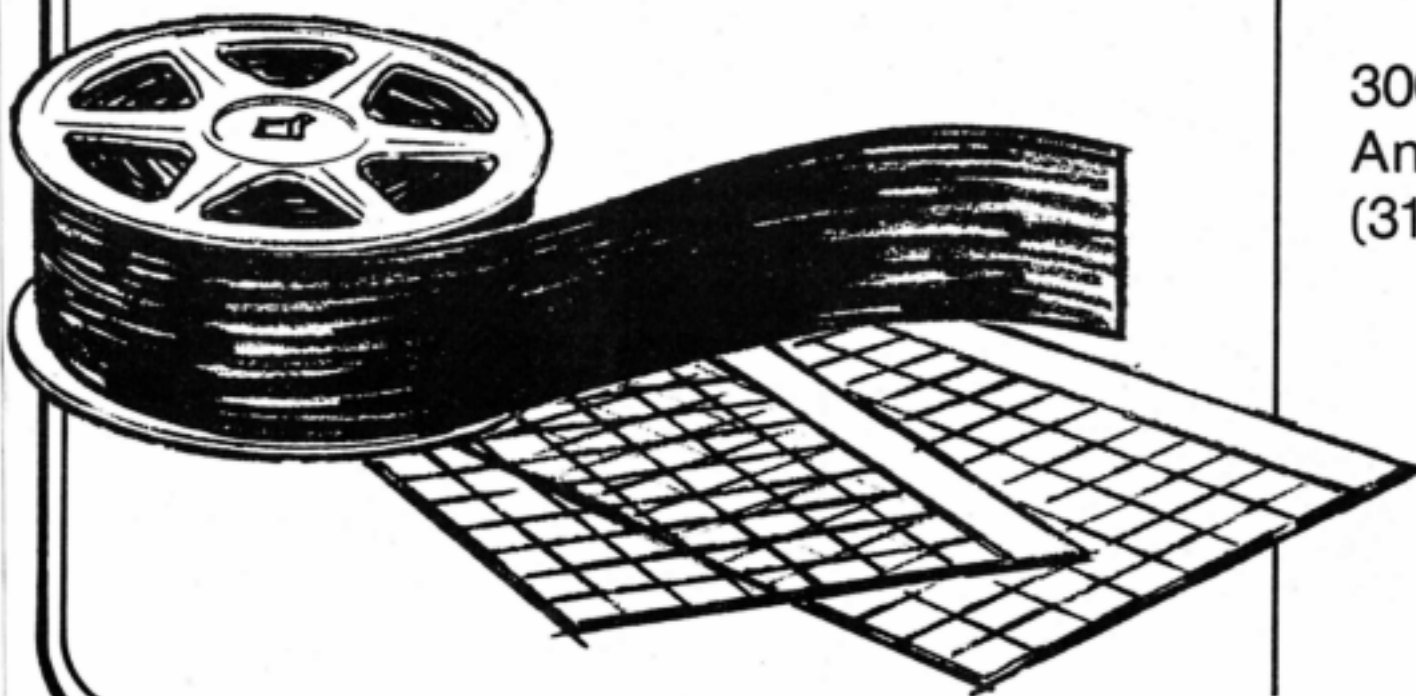
On the question of first amendment rights, Justice Silverman said that what "is involved here is not the freedom of the petitioner to print news or opinion or even advertisements relating thereto. It is the freedom to print a commercial advertisement, and that is subject to much greater restriction than the printing of news, opinion, etc."

Opposing the Times' petition in court was counsel from the New York City Commission on Human Rights as well as counsel representing the co-complainants from the Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and from the Center for Constitutional Rights.

The Justice granted a ten-day stay of hearing to allow for an appeal in the case.

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