

SECHABA

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SOUTH AFRICA



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LANDMARKS OF THE A.N.C.

Comrade Moses Kotane, 40 years member of the African National Congress, speaks to Sechaba about the developing role of the national liberation movement. (p. 10)

THE DEVELOPING STRUGGLE

Mark Shope answers questions on SACTU'S role in the struggle. (p. 3)

Blanche La Guma brings a message for S. A. Women's Day, August 9. (p. 1)

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VOLUME 2 NUMBER 8 AUGUST 68

CONTENTS

All correspondence should be addressed to The Editor, Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1.

Editor-in-Chief – Alfred Kgokong
Managing Editor – Joe Matthews
Associate Editor – M. P. Naicker

EVERYTHING FOR THE FINAL BATTLES!	1
August 9 is South Africa Women's Day. Here Blanche La Guma writes of the support of South Africa's women for the armed struggle.	
THE ROLE OF S.A.C.T.U. IN THE STRUGGLE	3
Mark Shope, banned General Secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, tells Sechaba about the role of SACTU in the past and at the present stage of the freedom struggle.	
MARK SHOPE – A Biographical Note	7
PANIC IN SMITH-VORSTER CIRCLES	7
The racialists of Southern Africa are preparing for a last-ditch stand.	
LIFE UNDER APARTHEID	8
Sechaba covers recent news items which illustrate day-to-day life under apartheid.	
LANDMARKS OF THE A.N.C.	10
Moses Kotane, veteran member of the ANC and of the Communist Party, and today Treasurer-General of the ANC, tells of some of his 40-year experience and of the necessity of the stage now reached in the struggle – the stage of armed action.	
"AGAINST RACISM AND NEO-COLONIALISM... For the Liberation of Southern Africa".	12
We present a short report on the Conference of this name which took place in Berlin in the GDR in May of this year.	
BACKGROUND TO AFRICAN LITERATURE	14
Concluding part of the article by Mazisi Kunene, the South African poet and ANC representative, writing on the depths of meaning and influences in the literature of Africa.	
BOOK REVIEWS	16
Frank Landman reviews "The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve", by W. P. Carstens. C. P. Moyo reviews "International Nationalism", by John Day.	



THE WOMEN OF SOUTH AFRICA SAY:



EVERYTHING FOR THE FINAL BATTLES!

South Africa Women's Day, August 9, has always stood for outstanding courage and militancy in the calendar of struggle of the oppressed people of our country.

The history of South Africa is rich with examples of the determination of women to play their full part in the difficult struggle for liberation and freedom. On the basis of these struggles has arisen a very powerful women's movement centred on the African National Congress Women's League and the Federation of South African Women.

It is on August 9 that we recall the exploits of our gallant women, not only in the past but today, under the conditions of fascist oppression and the beginning of the new phase of national revolutionary armed struggle.

As our young men of Umkhonto We Sizwe and ZAPU engage the enemy in the bush country of Zimbabwe, we the women of South Africa pay tribute to their bravery and hold them forever in our hearts as true and noble sons and brothers. And though our tears fall on the graves of those who have given their lives for freedom in Southern Africa, we, the women, will remain proud to have given birth to them.

We cannot on this day forget that among the thousands who languish in the jails of our country are numerous brave

women who are in the forefront of the struggle. Thousands are restricted, exiled, under house-arrest and persecuted by the hated fascist government. Names such as Lilian Ngoyi, Helen Joseph, Mary Moodley, Liz Abrams, Frances Baard, Florence Matomela and a host of others are recalled again on this occasion.

We salute with clenched fists our menfolk — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Bram Fischer, who are serving sentences of life imprisonment for our cause.

Our hearts go out too on this occasion to fighting women all over the world, especially to those of heroic Vietnam. We express our warmest admiration for the women in the independent African states who are helping to build a new life in their countries.

THE NEW PHASE

The famous campaigns in which our women played a great role were all non-violent in character. This does not mean they were without violence. In fact the White oppressor governments in South Africa have never hesitated to employ



**Mark Shope, banned General Secretary of SACTU
(the South African Congress of Trade Unions),
answers questions on**

SACTU'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPING STRUGGLE

The ruling class of South Africa and its successive governments have always sought to divide the workers and their trade unions along lines of race and colour. The Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 granted legal recognition and 'registration' to organizations of employes — but deliberately excluded "pass-bearing natives" (i. e. African workers) from its definition of 'employees'. When it is remembered that Africans are excluded, partly by law and partly by practice (including the practice of many white trade unions) from all except badly-paid and unskilled work, it will be realized that this move divided the workers both along colour lines and also into well-paid 'labour aristocracy' and a starving proletariat.

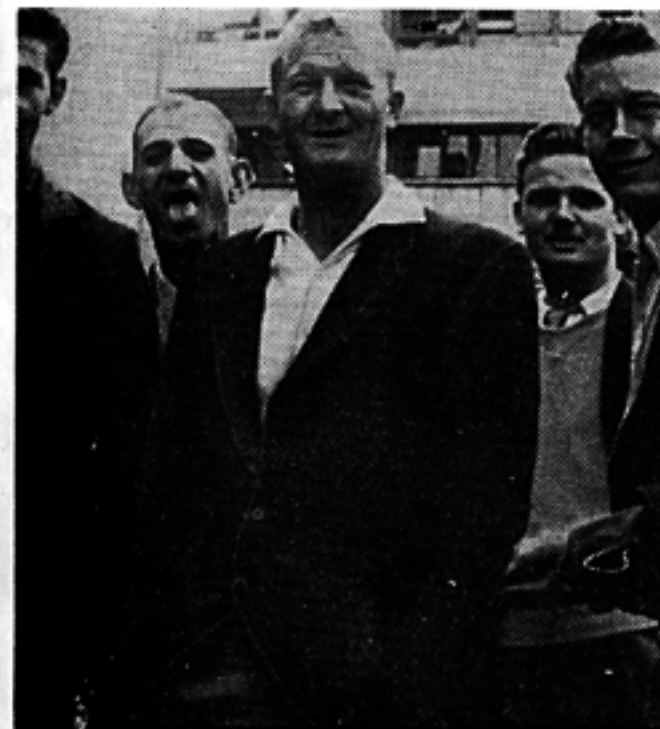
The advent of the Nationalist Party Government in 1948, representing the most reactionary and chauvinist elements of South African capitalism, intensified this division. Previously, the South African Trades and Labour Council, due to the presence of a number of progressive and principled trade union leaders of all races, had opened its ranks both to 'registered' unions (mainly of white workers) and 'unregistered' unions (i. e. African). The Nationalist Government mounted a furious attack on the progressive unionists, and by means of the 'Suppression of Communism Act' (1950) succeeded in removing nearly all the progressive leaders from the labour movement. Though it had no formal colour bar, the former TLC, dominated by right-wing white chauvinists, had always neglected the organization and the vital needs of the non-white workers. That is why the unions of these workers in the Transvaal had set up their own co-ordinating body — the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions.

But with the removal of the Communist and other anti-racialist leaders by the government, the right-wingers seized the opportunity to expel Africans from the trade union movement altogether. In October 1954 they organized a special conference with the aim of dissolving the Trades and Labour Council and setting up a new body — the Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUCSA) whose constitution would exclude 'unregistered' (African) workers. To their credit, fourteen unions represented at this disgraceful conference fought tooth and nail against the proposals of the leadership. After they had been defeated on a majority vote they declared: "Events will convince the workers in this country as in other countries that their salvation lies in unity... We are determined to carry on a struggle against the policy of racial discrimination and to work for the establishment of a single trade union organization embracing all sections of the working class."

These 14 unions, representing African, Coloured, Indian and White workers, joined together with the TCNETU in March 1955 to establish the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu), which was and remains the only trade union body in our country ever to be genuinely representative of all workers, and to fight unequivocally the main enemy of workers' unity — the colour bar.

The preamble to Sactu's Constitution states: "The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of the workers. Only the working class, in alliance with other progressively-minded sections of the community, can build a happy life for all South Africans, free from unemployment, insecurity, poverty, racial hatred

Comrade Shope, how did Sactu come into existence?



Young white workers taunt a non-white photographer at a people's demonstration. The attitude of the white 'labour aristocracy' helped foster apartheid in the field of employment.

What is Sactu's policy?

SACTU has not formally been declared illegal. How 'legal' is it in practice, and how is it functioning?



Children of all races demonstrate for release of parents in Johannesburg. Later 20 children were detained.

Sactu is a constituent of the Congress Movement. Can you tell us something about the background to this alliance?

It is often said that trade unions should confine themselves to workers' demands for higher wages and better conditions. Yet Sactu is part of a political united front. Why?

and oppression — a life of vast opportunities for all. The working class can only succeed in this great and noble endeavour if it itself is united and strongly conscious of its inspiring responsibility." To build such unity and consciousness has been and continues to be Sactu's policy.

In practice, Sactu has never had the status of a legal organization. Its leadership has always been hounded by the police, banned and arrested. In 1956, twenty-two months after its formation, almost all its active cadres and leaders, from its president and general secretary to secretaries of local committees and active shop stewards, were arrested together with other South African patriots and charged with High Treason. And in 1960, during the State of Emergency, no less than 200 Sactu activists were jailed without trial, some for the full duration of the "emergency" — five months. No other trade union federation in the history of the South African labour movement suffered such treatment as Sactu. Now this to me suggests that, although the government did not declare it illegal, the authorities have always regarded Sactu as illegal — just as African workers (who constitute two-thirds of the labour force) are "non-existent" in law.

Persecution has become worse in the past few years, with the steady transformation of South Africa into a fully fledged fascist state. Practically all Sactu's foremost leaders have been driven out of direct participation in the labour movement — many jailed, like our national President Steven Dhlamini, some even executed like the peoples patriot Vuyisile Mini, scores banned from trade union work by arbitrary decree. Of course such measures have seriously crippled the normal functioning of Sactu; it has been necessary to suspend the holding of National Conferences and office activities. Nevertheless, Sactu exists and will continue to exist in the individual unions and at factory level. It has always been Sactu policy to emphasize united action of the workers at the point of production as the key factor in a live, active labour movement. We strenuously discouraged the old-style trade unionism with the union office regarded as a sort of lawyer's office, and the union secretary as the only man who could take up complaints. The workers of South Africa have confidence in the policy and leadership of Sactu, and this will be expressed in such organizational forms as are suitable to any particular period, whether 'legally' recognised or not.

In South Africa the trade union movement of the oppressed, non-white workers has always taken part in political action. In the twenties, the Industrial and Commercial Workers Union led by Clements Kadalie as a mass general workers union, inevitably developed into a semi-political organization. Later, the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions led by such veterans as Gana Makabeni and J. B. Marks, frequently engaged in political protest and other actions, together with such organizations as the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Communist Party and others. Leaders of the TCNETU played a prominent part in the ANC.

Sactu is following in this tradition by its association with the Congress Alliance, a voluntary association of like-minded organizations of various kinds, for a common aim programme: The Freedom Charter, to which Sactu is a signatory. The Congress Alliance is the form of united front which developed historically in South Africa, combining the forces of the ANC, the Indian and Coloured peoples' Congress, and progressive-minded Whites of the now banned Congress of Democrats. It would be unthinkable for the advanced working class organized in Sactu to stand aside from such an alliance, whose aims and purposes answer the deepest needs of the working people.

Even in countries which enjoy political democracy, such as Britain, the Trade Union Congress does not stand aside from politics but supports and largely finances the Labour Party. How much more is this necessary in a country such as ours, where for the majority of workers conditions of political democracy are completely absent! At every turn the non-white worker is confronted not only by the employers but also by the government, the State. He cannot negotiate for higher wages and fair conditions because his unions are, as we have seen, outside the law. The state imposes a bar on his advancement to skilled jobs and his children's access to education. He is subjected to innumerable laws, such as the pass and land laws, which place him under crushing economic disabilities. And he is denied any vote or say in the government which would offer him a constitu-

tional method of relieving these burning grievances. In such circumstances, a trade union movement which stands aside from political action and alliances is blatantly betraying the working class.

At its first National Conference held in Cape Town in 1956 Sactu resolved: "...that the organization of the mass of the workers for higher wages, better conditions of life and labour, is inextricably bound up with determined struggle for political rights and liberation from all oppressive practices and laws... Mere struggle for economic rights... without participation in the general struggle for political emancipation would condemn the trade union movement to uselessness and to a betrayal of the interests of the workers." It is in the pursuance of this and other policy decisions on similar lines that Sactu has participated in the united front of national liberation — the Congress Alliance, centred round the major national organization, the African National Congress.

As I mentioned earlier, it was the leaders of TUCSA who in 1954 forced through the dissolution of the Trades and Labour Council, so that they could form a new federation, TUCSA, with a Constitution debarring African membership. Now it is true that the Constitution was amended in 1962 to admit African unions. But there was not an ounce of genuine concern with the African workers' interests in this reversal of policy. Their decision was taken for two main reasons:—

Firstly, TUCSA shared the concern being felt by the employers and the Nationalist Party government at the steady progress being made by Sactu in organizing the African workers. While the government and boss class reacted with brute force and victimization, the TUCSA leadership undertook the dirty job of trying to undermine Sactu by bribing certain trade union leaders with promises of 'economic assistance' and subsidies. The declared aim of TUCSA leaders was "to put Sactu out of business". Secondly, TUCSA aims to strengthen its ties with sections of the labour movement abroad, and in such bodies as the ILO. It must be said that the purpose of this aim is a very disgusting one. TUCSA leadership plays the role of 'labour apologists' for apartheid and opponents of boycotts, sanctions, and similar noble actions of solidarity with our oppressed working people, as carried out by the Afro-Asian and Socialist countries and by the working class movement abroad. But TUCSA's own colour-bar actions and outlook hampered this task and embarrassed its friends such as the leadership of the ICFTU, the British TUC and the American AFLCIO. That was why, under pressure as well from these "friends", TUCSA dropped its formal colour-bar in 1962.

In practice, however, very few African unions were prepared to affiliate to TUCSA and sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. People like Lucy Mvubelo of the African Clothing Workers Union who did affiliate, have lost all contact with the African workers and the realities of their lives. Lucy is in fact a white trade union leader in a black skin. Although she has to live in an African township her standard of life and her outlook is practically the same as that of her madam, Johanna Cornelius, secretary of the Garment Workers Union No. 1 (i. e. white) Branch.

When, last December, a special conference of TUCSA decided henceforth to exclude African unions (under pressure from the ultra-racist right-wing), Lucy Mvubelo said her union would immediately resign "in order to save the Council any further embarrassment by our continued association". Could servility go any further?

More recently, at its Annual Conference in March, TUCSA again reversed the decision to bar Africans — no doubt Mrs Mvubelo will now go crawling back! There was no real conversion or change of heart behind this abrupt reversal within three months. The Conference was thick with western trade-unionists and diplomats, busily lobbying to get the decision changed for appearances' sake. They are concerned with making TUCSA look respectable as a part of their general policy of trying to prettify the fascist apartheid state, in view of the impending revolutionary upsurge and the major sell-out which western policy-makers are planning. In fact, TUCSA is disintegrating. The Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* correctly commented on the Conference (25 March 1968):— "The Conference avoided an open split over the potentially explosive questions of recognition of African unions and job reservation, but the process of fragmentation continues nevertheless."

The South African press has recently been full of news about the controversy in the Trade Union Council of South Africa regarding the admission of African trade unions into the Council. What is your reaction to this controversy?

Open-air workers' meeting, Jo'burg.



Can TUCSA be a true representative of the African workers? What are the prospects for labour unity?



Sign on business premises door. *Bantu* is official government term for Africans.

Comrade Shope, what role do you expect the South African working class to play in the struggle ahead?



Under its present leadership, TUCSA can never be a true representative of the African workers. It does not even represent the real, long-term interests of the white aristocracy of labour, which can never enjoy peace and security, still less put an end to the exploitation by the capitalists, so long as it continues to be a party to the fierce national oppression of the majority. TUCSA leadership never undertook any effective protest or action against the innumerable anti-labour measures of the fascist government. Obsessed with sterile anti-communism, copied from the Meany-Lovestone leadership of the AFL-CIO, they stood by silently while the cream of the South African trade and labour movement was being banned, jailed and murdered and exiled. Even on economic issues they have not helped the Africans. When Sactu led a nation-wide campaign for a minimum wage of £ 1 a day, TUCSA stood aside and even opposed it. On the most vital questions facing the nonwhite workers — industrial colour bar (job reservation), pass laws and the like — TUCSA actively supports government policy.

Let me quote from an article by the General Secretary of the S.A. Electrical Workers Association, Mr R. Cowley, in the union magazine "Power", dealing with the employers' proposals to admit African labour to certain lower-paid categories of skilled work:— "We are up against employers who are turning the many industries which are concerned into Black industries, to the detriment of the White workers. This will require all our strength, as well as the full support of our membership." Thus their trade union "leader" — typical of most leaders of TUCSA — sees it as his main duty to rally his White members against their Black fellow-workers. How can such a movement be a leader of the African workers? It is a misleader of the White workers.

Trade union unity in South Africa is only possible on the basis advanced by Sactu: a fight to end all colour bars, and for equality of rights and opportunities for all workers. The economically active population of South Africa numbers 5,656,090 of which Africans are 3,881,489. Three-quarters of the total labour force in South African industries are Africans. It follows that the question of labour unity must start with the organization of this great majority, who are at the same time the most oppressed, militant and revolutionary section of the working class.

I confidently expect the working class to play a vanguard role in the revolutionary struggle before us for the liberation of South Africa from the fascist regime and the entire apparatus of white supremacy. Our country is fortunate to have the largest and most experienced working class in Africa, one steeled in innumerable industrial and political battles. It was the African working class which bore the burden of all the great national political strikes that time and again paralysed the economy of the country during the historic struggles of the fifties. Now, when guerilla struggles have commenced in Zimbabwe and are approaching in the Republic itself, I am certain that our working people will rise to their responsibilities.

Sactu will play its full part in uniting and mobilizing the workers for this struggle. The many Sactu cadres now in jail and the many others who are to be found in the revolutionary guerilla forces of Umkhonto we Sizwe, are proof that our members are not lagging behind in the liberation struggle. Even now, though not publicized in the capitalist press, strikes are continually breaking out as workers struggle to cope with the burden of inflation on their meagre pay. We should consider what this means in a country ruled by fascist methods, in a period of terrific political reaction in which even the tiniest manifestation of workers' organization and political protest is met with the most ruthless suppression by the authorities.

As the tide of revolutionary action spreads, there can be no doubt that the workers will respond enthusiastically to whatever calls to action are made to them by their leaders. They know that the days of theorizing have passed and now is the time to act. The days of slavish submission to the oppressor are gone forever. The workers will combine in trade union organizations, not only to fight the employers for better pay, but also to join forces with the revolutionary movement being led by the African National Congress for the achievement of political liberty — the main item now on the agenda of our struggle.

Mark Shope

Banned General Secretary of the
S. A. Congress of Trade Unions

A Biographical Note

Mark Williams-Shope was born one of a family of 7 children in the village of Letaba in the Northern Transvaal in 1919. His father, a railway worker, died when Mark was still a toddler. Like most country boys, he spent his childhood herding cattle. After working two years on a citrus plantation, he set off at 15 for Johannesburg to seek work in the goldmines. He had been there barely a year when he was involved in his first strike, led by a Malawian, the late Nelson Banda. Mineworkers at the time were getting £1 for six weeks' work: the strike won them an extra 5/—, though the police were called in to break it. After participating in another strike, Shope was deported back to the Northern Transvaal, and only returned to Johannesburg in 1940, when he worked first for the S. A. Railways and Harbours, then for the Johannesburg City Council, and, until the end of the war, for the Director General of War Supplies.

It was in his next job, with a steam laundry company, that Mark Shope found himself for the first time involved in active trade unionism. In May 1946 he took part in a laundry strike; by the next year he was elected shop steward, and in 1948 Secretary of the factory committee. In 1952 he was elected Chairman of the African Laundry Workers' Union, a post he held until banned by the Government in 1963. In 1954, he became Acting Chairman of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions following the banning of the Chairman; and when Sactu was formed in 1955, Shope was elected a member of the National Executive, later Treasurer, and finally (until his ban in 1963) General Secretary. Parallel with Mark Shope's trade union activity grew his political commitment to the African National Congress, which he had joined during the Defiance Campaign which took place in 1952. He was Chairman of his local ANC branch, first in one area and then another, from 1953 until 1963. In 1956 he was among the 156 men and women arrested for Treason. In 1960, he was among the 2,000 patriots detained without trial during the State of Emergency, and was in jail for five months. No sooner had he been released, when he was elected, with Nelson Mandela and other African leaders, to the Continuation Committee, charged with the preparation of the Pietermaritzburg All African Peoples Conference, which took place in March 1961. But by then Mark was in jail again, sentenced this time to one year's imprisonment. He was discharged on appeal.

Plantation worker, mineworker, laundry worker, trade union leader and ANC patriot, Comrade Mark Shope has seen the South African freedom movement through many of its greatest struggles.

Panic in Smith-Vorster Circles

Racialists Prepare For Last-Ditch Stand

At the Nat Party's recent '20th Anniversary Victory Congress', the mood of the 'victors' was clear when Vorster pointed out that a vacuum was being left in the Indian Ocean through the gradual withdrawal of the Royal Navy and that the situation was dangerous.

He warned that South Africa might also have to face "concentrated armed attacks from the north".

He said more and more "terrorists" were being trained to fight in South Africa and that, while attacks at present were being aimed at the Portuguese territories and Rhodesia, "the ultimate aim" was South Africa.

Meanwhile Economics Minister Haak introduced the National Supplies Procurement Bill in the House of Assembly. This measure, replacing a wartime emergency measure, empowers the Minister "if he deems it necessary for the security of South Africa", to manufacture, hire or import goods and to demand goods or services. In other words, it gives the regime complete powers of requisition and of direction of the economy.

Speaking of the sea route around the Cape, Foreign Minister Muller moaned: "One can only hope that the responsible Western Powers will come to their senses before it is too late. However, whatever happens, South Africa will stand its ground."

Commenting on these into-the-laager rallying cries — and predicting a nation-wide Government scheme to alert citizens (yes, that means Whites) on the subject of defence, the Johannesburg *Sunday Express* commented: "The Government shows increasing signs of preparing South Africans to expect the worst. Leaders constantly refer to the terrorist (sic) danger..."

Meanwhile the Republic's bosses speak constantly of the dangerous build-up in "Black African States" — what they cannot and will not admit is that South Africa's own Africans are fighting for their country's liberation. Smith follows the same line in all pronouncements.

Government propaganda is obviously having its effect: as we can discover from the newspapers' correspondence columns. Writes a Cape Town woman: "How many people realize that there IS a war on in our own country — that men are fighting for our safety under incredible circumstances in untamed bundu?" ('Bundu' means bush country.)

A Johannesburg reader of the *Sunday Times* of South Africa sends a cheque for £10 to the 'Portuguese Home Comforts Fund'. He writes: "There have been various announcements over the radio about funds against the terrorists on the Rhodesian front, but very little about those doing an equally important job along the Mozambique border — and in both instances on our behalf."

Yes, white South Africans seem to be getting the message. There is a war on. The White Supremacists form one army. But is this army fighting "on behalf" of ordinary Whites? We should like to hope not. When they give it their support, they're abandoning their own and their children's futures.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Taken 'Home' By Force

More than 9,000 Africans have been "removed to their respective homelands" from some of South Africa's main urban areas during a six-month period.

Their removals took place under police surveillance and, at Johannesburg and Durban where only males were removed, handcuffs were used "in cases of resistance and to prevent escapes". This was disclosed in the House of Assembly by Mr Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development. Mr Coetzee said 7,094 Africans were removed from Johannesburg between November 1967 and March 1968 at a rate of between 1,036 and 1,596 a month.

Who's Going Home?

The Progressive Party in a special statement has said that Soweto and the other African urban townships are "a monument to the failure of apartheid". A so-called 'Parliament' existed in the Transkei, which had become something of a tourist attraction. But that was all it was.

There were more Africans in the townships than ever before (the Vorster regime's avowed aim is to remove Africans from so-called white areas altogether). More jobs in industry were being done by non-whites than ever before. The economic interdependence of the different groups was now more real than ever.

"Vast sums have, quite rightly, been spent on housing and transport for Africans," said the statement, and went on more accurately: "But not in the homelands — in the urban areas, where they live and where the nation needs their labour..."

"And on the Black side of apartheid, there are all the beastly things — the ruthless application of influx control often breaking up family life; the heart-breaking implementation of Group

Areas and the Population Register (both of which are instruments for separating the people in racial ghettos — Editor); the bannings, the jail without trial; and the sickening, bullying betrayal of the Coloured community.

"These things would have been virtually impossible to justify even had they been a means to an end, even if the apartheid policy were emerging as something positive and meaningful. But it is not, not at all. It is a total failure. "And all that is left is the cruel exploitation of racial prejudice and the ruthless maintenance of racial domination."

A Cheap Labour Economy

In a debate on the Labour Vote in Parliament, (the all-white S. A. version of a Parliament), Mr Marais Steyn pointed out that no less than 80% of South Africa's total labour force is composed of non-Whites and that the figure is as high as 74% in the vital manufacturing industry. He added that all authorities agree these figures are bound to grow as the economy expands.

An equally important element in the labour equation is that this preponderantly non-white working force is an essentially low-wage component. To this extent, much of South Africa's enviable prosperity stems directly from its use of a vast supply of cheap labour. Just how cheap this can be, is shown in some recent wage determinations. For example, a wage determination for the clothing industry in certain rural districts of Natal (published 19 April), fixes the weekly wage as low as R3.40 rising to R4.80 for female workers, and R4.35 rising to R6 for male workers over 18. (£2 rising to £2 16/— and £2 10/6 rising to £3 10/— respectively.)

It is true that the average earnings of African workers in industry as a whole are higher than this, but in 1965/66 this was still only R479 a head per year (£280 a year) — about R9 a

week (£5 5/— a week) and thus well below the poverty datum line for Africans in urban areas.

In the gold-mining industry, the average annual cash earnings of Africans have been calculated at a mere R183 a year (£107) in 1966; and although food and accommodation and certain 'benefits' are provided, the simple fact is that if the industry could not rely on this cheap labour force, half the goldmines would have shut down long ago.

A Law That Overlooks Reality

A woman who was employed in Bethal after obtaining permission from the local labour bureau to do so, was convicted by Mr A.M.F. Behrmann in the Bethal Magistrates Court of living in the area without permission from the local authority.

Mellie Zwann, 34, was cautioned and discharged.

The court was told she was handcuffed at work and escorted to the superintendent's office by municipal policemen. The Superintendent, Mr Abraham Erasmus, said Zwane had lived in the location since getting married in October 1953. In October last year her husband sold his house and left Bethal for a 'homeland'. In June last year she had gained permission to work for Mr Johannes Sibanyoni, a businessman in the township.

Her right to live in the area expired when her husband left. She should have followed him. Mr Erasmus said Zwane ignored his warning to leave. He refused her request to remain in the area until she had divorced her husband. Mrs Zwane told the Court her husband deserted her to live with another woman in the 'homeland'. She had children by him. She consented to the sale of the house under duress in the superintendent's office. She was in handcuffs.

The magistrate Mr Behrmann said the Urban Areas Act was silent on the treatment of deserted women. "The law has overlooked the fact that married women could be deserted by their husbands. You are by law unprotected. The endorsement in the reference book that you should work for Mr Sibanyoni does not allow you to live in the prescribed area of Bethal. It only gives permission to your employer to employ you."

Mr Behrmann said the endorsement was to protect employers, and not their employees.

The endorsement read: "Permitted to remain in the prescribed area of Bethal while employed by Johannes Sibanyoni."

Poorest Pay For School Books

Despite a statement that Coloured schoolchildren are to receive free school books from next year, there is no Government plan to extend this to African children.

This means that African children — who form the poorest section of South Africa's population — will be the only race group not benefiting from free books.

African children get free books from Class One to Standard Six, but not free stationery. They pay for their books as well in secondary and high school.

The Cost of Malnutrition

Malnutrition has cost the Province of Natal at least R10 million in the past ten years (£ 6 million). In one Durban hospital alone, treatment of malnutrition has cost the Provincial Administration more than R1 million in that period.

This is shown in a study of African social circumstances carried out by the Institute of Social Research at the University of Natal. The Director of the Institute, Prof. H. S. Watts, said: "The figure for the whole of Natal during the past ten years could easily be more than ten million Rands."

The Institute's investigators found that the cost of surviving in-patients suffering from kwashiorkor at King Edward VIII Hospital amounted to more than R700,000 over a period of ten years.

The report states: "Subsidies are provided on such items as bread, wheat, mealies, margarine and dairy products for the maintenance of health of the entire population. Nevertheless it should be recalled that the Bantu population is paid at lower rates, although it has to buy food at the same price as other groups.

"Totally inadequate wages, ignorance, and above all the concomitant problems of a migratory labour system, all contribute to the prevalence of malnutrition in the difficult and complex social structure of the country."

Since 1961, the Government had subsidized one-third of the expenses of milk powder schemes.

"On the other hand the Provincial Government of Natal has inflexibly adhered to the policy that it is responsible only for the curative aspects of health."

At King Edward VIII Hospital, it was found that the average length of stay for each child with kwashiorkor was 30 days.

Thus in that hospital alone more than R700,000 was spent curing 7,000 victims of a disease that could have been prevented by the administration of a third of a pint of milk a day for each of the children.

The cost of treatment of each child who survives is about R143, over 30 days. The cost of preventing for the same period (based on the cost of a third of a pint of milk a day) is about 80 cents.

No Non-White Restaurants

It is reported that leading Bloemfontein businessmen are "appaled" at the lack of a decent restaurant in the city for non-whites.

Mr I. J. Pinshaw, chairman of the Bloemfontein Chamber of Commerce, said at a meeting of the Chamber that a better-class restaurant for non-whites should be built.

People from Lesotho often came to Bloemfontein to shop, and there was nothing available for them except eating houses of a comparatively poor standard.

A prominent member of the Chamber said he had seen the Lesotho Deputy Prime Minister, Chief Sekhonyane Maseribane, having to park his car outside a white cafe in one of the main streets, order a few pies and have his thermos flask filled with coffee. He then ate with his family in the parked car.

Another member said the manager of one of the city's largest department stores had been disconcerted when Lesotho's Prime Minister once asked him where he could go to eat.

A senior official of the Hertzog Airport commented that there was a non-white restaurant at the airport, but this was several miles beyond the city.

Bribing Africa

A R2 million multi-racial hotel — South Africa's first — is to be built at Jan Smuts Airport and is expected to be opened in two year's time. The 140-bedroom hotel will be open to non-white VIPs from neighbouring African states, but not to South African non-whites.

No final decision has been taken on whether the non-white VIPs will eat in the restaurants with whites or use the bar facilities of the hotel across the colour line.

Blasphemy Trial

The case brought by the State against Christopher Morgan Pritchard, who appeared on a charge of Blasphemy in the Reginal Court in Cape Town, was "art-

ificial, speculative, and based on hypothetical evidence," Mr Sam Aaron S. C. told the Magistrate, Mr W. F. van der Merwe.

Mr Aaron, appearing for Pritchard, submitted that the trial, which followed a report in the University of Cape Town student newspaper 'Varsity', was "a throwback to medieval times", with the Prosecutor appearing like "a crusader of old, a knight in armour." Pritchard is the former editor of the newspaper 'Varsity'.

Mr A. J. Lategan, who appeared for the State, submitted that Pritchard should be found guilty on the main count of Blasphemy. The charge arose from an article in 'Varsity' under the heading "Christian View of Sex All Wrong — Hughes".

Part of the article — a report on a religious symposium — read: —

"It was Christianity's attitude to sex that he found reprehensible, said Mr Kenneth Hughes in reply to a question at the Symposium on the campus called: 'Is God Dead?'"

"He said that the question of God's existence was as irrelevant as the question of the sex of angles. "We must write God off entirely because his existence doesn't relate to scientific matter. God is not dead, it is only that he is beginning to stink", said Mr Hughes."

The charge sheet alleges that Pritchard "did wrongfully and unlawfully blaspheme God, the Supreme Being, by publishing or causing to be published, or aiding in the publication of, the article."

An Oath Before Studying

A suggestion that university students should take an oath of allegiance to the Republic of South Africa before beginning their studies, to ensure that they did not engage in subversive activities, was made in the Senate by Senator D. G. J. van Rensburg, who said one could not lightly dismiss the activities of some students when it was considered that one of the tactics of Communism was to make use of the university student to advance its ideology. Students could not challenge the authority placed over them in the way that University of Cape Town students had done on the departure of Dr Hoffenberg by singing a song which was banned in South Africa ("We Shall Overcome"). It had been scandalous of them thereafter to sing "Die Stem" (national anthem of S. A. whites) as a cover for this sort of activity.



Moses Kotane, Treasurer-General of the African National Congress, talks to Sechaba about

LANDMARKS OF THE A.N.C.

Moses Kotane is the member with the longest active service in our national movement. This year Moses Kotane has been a member of the ANC for over forty years. Throughout this period he has been a tireless, consistent and principled fighter for freedom. Today, alert and youthful as ever, Kotane is in the thick of the national revolutionary armed struggle waged by Mkhonto WeSizwe under the leadership of the ANC. His contribution to our movement and to the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa is immense.

Moses Kotane was born in the rural area of Tamposstad in the Rustenburg district of the Transvaal on 9 August 1905. Of peasant stock, he left home as a young man to seek work on the Rand. He joined the ANC at the end of 1927. A year

later he joined the Communist Party of South Africa. It is a tribute to the patriotism and statesmanship of Kotane that from the comparatively early age of 34 he was entrusted with the highest responsibilities in both organizations.

In these days when expressions like 'youth', 'revolutionary', and 'generation gap' are bandied about loosely, Moses Kotane is an example of the true revolutionary fighter whose merit rests on consistent hard work and loyalty to the cause of freedom through forty years of the zigzags of struggle in South Africa.

The following interview was held in Morogoro, Tanzania. In it Moses Kotane answered questions put by a Sechaba correspondent:—

Question: Comrade Kotane, we believe you are one of the oldest active members of the African National Congress. When did you join Congress and what prompted you to do so?

Yes, I suppose I must be one of the oldest active members of the ANC. I am not certain of the exact date when I joined the Movement, but it was somewhere towards the end of 1927 or the beginning of 1928.

It is not always easy to remember the details of an event which occurred some forty years back. What I do remember is that from my youth I have always had a deep-seated hatred of foreign domination and exploitation. As one who detested foreign political and economic exploitation, racial discrimination and social humiliation and insults, I saw in the ANC a formidable instrument with which the African people could rid themselves of a scourge and national calamity.

It is a well-known historical fact that our forefathers and earlier leaders were defeated by the invaders because they were terribly divided on tribal lines. Thus the invaders were able to defeat the various tribes one by one. Recognising this important fact, the ANC made the question of national unity and elimination of tribal divisions and suspicions, its cardinal principle and political objective.

In your long experience within Congress there have been many changes of leaders. Who would you say influenced Congress most?

In the 56 years of its existence the ANC never really had many radical or complete changes in its leadership. There were many changes of the heads of the organization and some slight changes brought about by periodical accession of new blood to its national policy-making body, the National Executive Committee. Strange as it may appear, the leadership of the ANC has always been collective. So, no single leader could correctly be said to have alone influenced the Congress more than any other member of the National Executive. This is not to say there were no outstanding individual leaders. There have been many over the years.

What are the most important landmarks in the history of Congress, especially during your membership of the ANC?

There have naturally been many important events affecting the ANC in this long period starting from the Jubilee of Congress in 1937, which saw a great revival in the organization after a period of great difficulty. During the Second World War there were growing demands for militant mass actions against oppression. The year 1946 was an important one. It was during that year that the Passive Resistance Campaign of the South African Indian Congress took place. This occurred



A speech to a Coloured audience in the Cape — one among a countless number in his forty-year fight for the freedom of all South Africans.

You are a well-known and prominent Communist. The ANC has been constantly attacked by sections of the Western press and governments as being a so-called "communist front organization". What is your answer to such statements?

How do you see the end of apartheid?

Comrade Kotane, as a person who has participated so long in the various phases of our struggle against oppression, what message have you to give to the youth both at home and abroad?

at the same time as a great Anti-Pass Campaign organized by the ANC. The well-known Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact was entered into, providing for co-operation between the ANC and the SAIC. Very important was the great African Mine Workers Strike under the leadership of J. B. Marks.

Another important year for the ANC was 1949. The Programme of Action of 1949 was the basis of many mass activities which were to shake the political scene in the fifties. The forms and methods of struggle were formulated and laid down in that document. Prominent among these methods was the national industrial strike, which was often used.

1950 saw the first united front conference called by the National Executive of the Congress. The conference was called to devise ways and means of defeating the notorious Suppression of Communism Bill. By that time there had been a major change in the leadership of the organization.

Other important landmarks were in 1952 when the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign was launched. This was one of the greatest campaigns organized by the Congress and it laid the basis for the building of the ANC as a big mass movement. In 1953 the annual conference of the ANC will be remembered for its epoch-making decision to organize a Congress of the People. This great Congress adopted the Freedom Charter, which is the common programme of the ANC and all progressive organizations in our country.

Perhaps the most important landmark of all was the decision taken in 1961 to organize Mkhonto We Sizwe as a national revolutionary army.

Yes, I am a Communist and have never denied that I was. My membership of the former Communist Party of South Africa was never a secret to members of the African National Congress. I joined the Communist Party a year after I had joined the ANC. I was a member of both organizations from 1928 to 1950, when the CPSA was suppressed by the fascist government of South Africa. I was elected to the national executive of the ANC at a time when I was General Secretary of the CPSA. The reasons for this are the following:—

The ANC was and always has been a broad national organization and not a sectional or class party;

The political demands and aims and objects of the ANC and the short-term or immediate of the CPSA were similar;

I hope and believe that I am in the leadership of the ANC through merit and because of my past and present service to the organization;

The fact that I am a Communist has never changed or interfered with my representations on behalf of the ANC. When I have been charged with a mission by the ANC National Executive, I have protected and promoted the interests of the ANC and have never changed my mandate. Likewise when I have been charged with a mission by the Communist Party I have stuck to the terms of my mandate and defended the interests of the Party. In the formulation of policy I never think of two organizations. I look for a correct political stand and formulation for the organization concerned;

The attacks on the ANC are either malicious or based on a misunderstanding of the character of our struggle. They are also largely due to the hoary old-wives-tale of a "communist conspiracy" everywhere and in everything.

My considered view is that it is only through a grim and bitter armed struggle that the system of apartheid can be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa. We must fight.

I should like to issue this appeal to the youth of South Africa:—

At this hour of destiny your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it! Remember our heroes who are today sacrificing their lives for the freedom of their country and for the freedom of their persecuted, terrorized and tortured people. Our gallant and heroic fighters expect every young South African to join the struggle for the freedom of the fatherland and our people.

To our friends all over the world I wish to say that we have now begun our armed struggle against the evil forces of racialism, apartheid and imperialism in Southern Africa. Our men are facing great odds. Not only do our fighters have to face the soldiers of fascist South Africa and Ian Smith, but in addition they have to face the huge material resources of the Western imperialist powers. We on our side have good friends, supporters and well-wishers all over the world who have always given us and are giving their moral support and encouragement. But moral support and encouragement cannot win a battle. We need increased material support. We need funds, medicine, clothing, blankets, boots, soap, cigarettes, and above all — arms.



P. Mueshahange (SWAPO), L. B. de Lara (MPLA), W. G. Solodownikow (USSR), H. Schmidt (AASC), Dr Schilling; behind him

"Against Racism and Neo-Colonialism,

Under the above title, a brief but historic Conference took place in Berlin, capital of the German Democratic Republic, in May this year. The Conference, the first to attempt to base itself on a scientific approach to Southern Africa, brought together scientists, economists and sociologists from several of the Socialist Countries, with representatives of all the liberation movements of Southern Africa.

Scientists taking part came from the GDR, the USSR, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland and Hungary. With them were representatives of the ANC (African National Congress of South Africa), ZAPU (Zimbabwe African Peoples Union), FRELIMO (Liberation Front of Mozambique), MPLA (Angolan Peoples Liberation Movement), PAIGC (African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissao and Cape Verde Islands), and SWAPO (South West African Peoples Organization). In addition there were representatives of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization and scientists from several independent African states.

The Conference, organized by the GDR Central Council for Asian, African and Latin-American Sciences, cannot be gone into in great length here. It is hoped to be able to reproduce some of the papers presented, in a later issue of Sechaba. The Conference, aiming at further unity between the various liberation movements and the progressive world, may best be summed up by the Declaration issued on the last day of the meeting by heads of delegations. (Part of this Declaration appears below.)

One aspect of the struggle in Southern Africa which was very clearly formulated by Heinz Schmidt, Chairman of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR, deserves further study. Discussing the so-called New Africa Policy and the so-called New Eastern Policy of the West German imperialists and government, Comrade Schmidt made it clear that these two policies are closely linked, and both are attempts to 'soften up' certain sections of independent Africa and of the Socialist world — without however changing in the least their basic support for fascist Southern Africa and annexationist tendency towards the German Democratic Republic.

Heinz Schmidt concluded his statement thus: "Solidarity with the national liberation struggle of the people of Southern

Africa is also a component of the great and difficult process of overcoming the division of the anti-imperialist forces, of building up their unity to a new, higher level, to which we will all be witnesses and which we will all help to bring about — and to which, we hope, this Conference will be a modest contribution.

"But from all this it follows that for the people of Europe and Africa who are affected, one must repeat, that in the struggle against the so-called new Eastern policy and new Africa policy of Strauss and Vorster, of Kiesinger and Salazar, of Abs and Rupert, we are allies and must act as allies.

"This means: A strong ideological struggle against attempts to smokescreen the aggressive Europe and Africa policies of the West German imperialists;

the mobilization of the peoples for the security of Europe and the freedom of Africa!

active solidarity and material aid for all forms of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Southern Africa!

the resolute building-up of a new unity of all anti-imperialist forces of the whole world!"

DECLARATION

The Declaration of the Conference, having listed participants and locale, and realizing OAU recommendations and UN resolutions appealing to all to support the Southern African struggle in all ways, to inform the public of the evil of the minority regimes, and to intensify efforts in this Year of Human Rights — concluded that:—

"The racist, colonialist and fascist regimes in Southern Africa have perfected their system of suppression and exploitation in many spheres, and stepped up their military power in defiance of the will of the peoples of the world.

"This escalation of terror and exploitation is only possible due to the fact that the ruling regimes in Southern Africa

GEGEN RASSISMUS UND NEOKOLONIALISMUS
FÜR DIE BEFREIUNG DES SÜDENS AFRIKAS



J. Araujo (PAIGC) & J. Monteiro (Frelimo); Prof Kampert, M. Kalimullah (APSO), D. Nokwe (ANC), G. Nyandoro (ZAPU)

For the Liberation of Southern Africa"

have allies in the form of international finance capital as well as of the imperialist states — USA, West Germany, Britain, France and others — which assign to them an important role in their global strategy directed against the forces of democracy, of national liberation and socialism. They are to form a bastion of colonialism and a springboard of the imperialists for the re-colonization of Africa.

"The perfection of the system of "white" racist domination and their intensified integration into a reactionary bloc in Southern Africa, have increased the sufferings of the African population of these countries, and constitute both in the form of the military confrontation and the dangerous policy of infiltration, a growing danger to the sovereignty of the independent African states and a danger to world peace.

"The West German Federal Republic established a close political, economic and nuclear/military alliance with the colonialists and racists in Southern Africa. This alliance plays a particularly effective role in the maintenance and intensification of colonialism in Southern Africa. It has recently been strengthened by the West German government with the aim of making the whole of Southern Africa — within the framework of their own imperialist plans — a special sphere of influence of West German imperialism.

"In contrast to the neo-colonialist and neo-fascist policy pursued by the Federal Republic in Africa, the participants in this Conference — among them particularly the representatives of the national liberation movements — welcome the fact that the German Democratic Republic gives substantial political and material aid to the national liberation movements in Southern Africa and supports by its policy of peace and friendship among the peoples also the independent countries of Africa in their economic and social development as well as in their struggle against the neo-colonialist entanglement.

"We have come to the conviction that the establishment of normal diplomatic relations between the independent African states and the GDR, the anti-colonialist German state, is also necessary in the interests of the national liberation struggle in Africa.

"The representatives of all socialist countries of Europe are happy about the fact that all their countries promote in every way the struggle of the national liberation movements, and consistently apply the decisions and resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity for the boycott of the white racist minority regimes in Southern Africa.

"The Conference condemns resolutely the racial despotism of the minority regimes in the Republic of South Africa and in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), and the colonial rule of Portugal against the freedom-loving peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and calls for the mobilization of all anti-imperialist forces to stop the co-operation of the imperialist powers with the ruling regimes in Southern Africa.

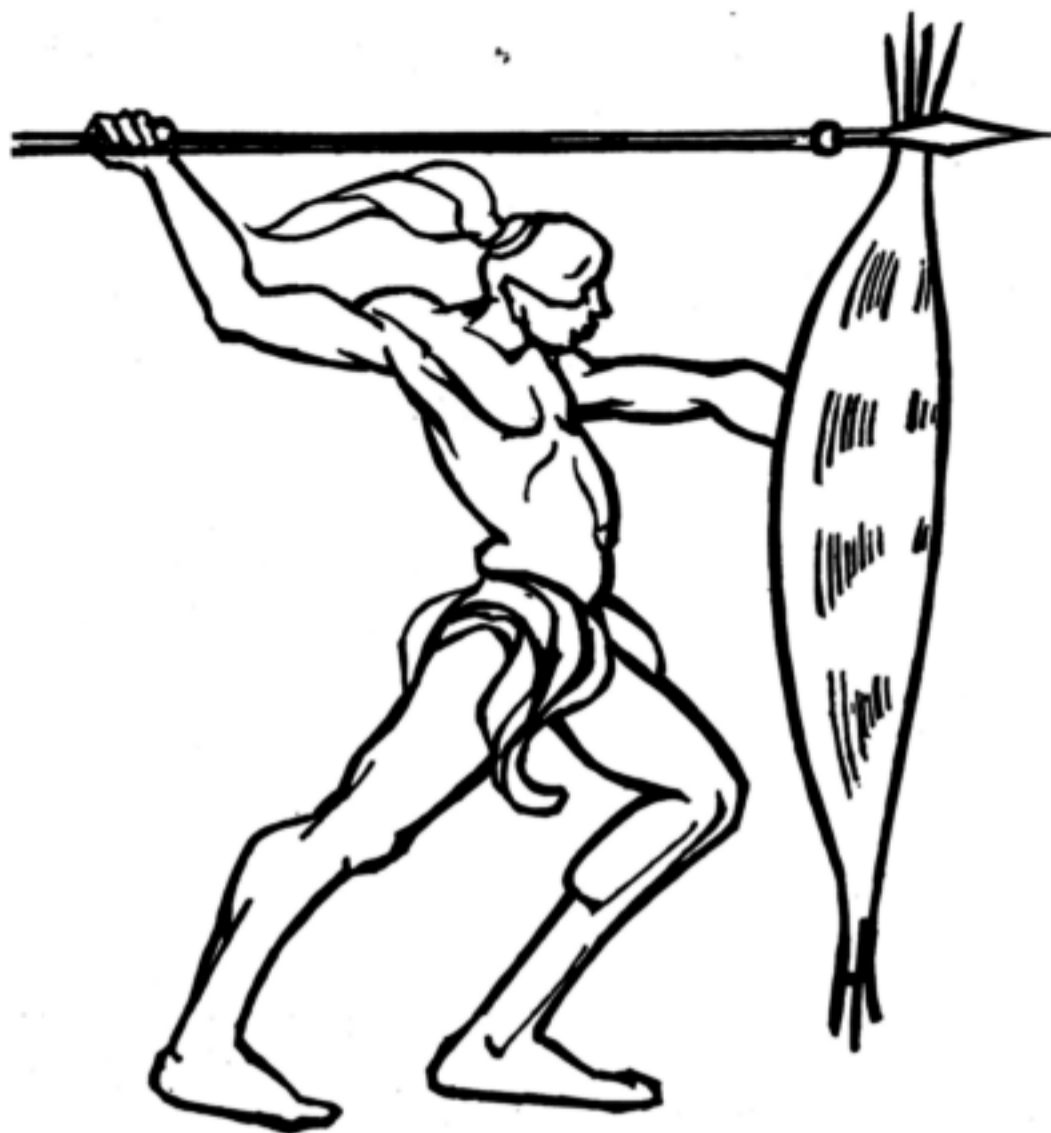
"The Conference notes that the peoples of Southern Africa have started a just armed struggle to destroy racism, fascism and colonialism, and concludes that this was the only effective means at the disposal of the peoples to liberate themselves.

"The Conference welcomes the support of the struggle of the national liberation movements by those countries which are adjacent to the areas of conflict between the peoples of Southern Africa and the fascist and racist regimes.

"This scientific conference is an expression of the aspiration for unity of all progressive people in their struggle against racism and neo-colonialism. The Conference calls on all anti-imperialist forces all over the world to close their ranks in an anti-imperialist fighting front for the liberation of the African South, to intensify their solidarity with the anti-colonial movements of South Africa, Zimbabwe, South West Africa, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, and to support all forms of the liberation struggle.

"We shall make available to the world public the scientific results of our investigations, and regard this as a contribution to achieve our common aim: to liberate the peoples of Southern Africa from the domination of racism and colonialism and to implement the universality of their claim to the fundamental human rights.

— Berlin, GDR, 25 May 1968."



BACKGROUND TO AFRICAN LITERATURE

by Mazisi Kunene

Chief Representative in Europe: African National Congress

PART TWO

We have already indicated the importance of the heroic poem. What must be examined here is the nature of the heroic poem. There are two predominant styles used. Either the individual enumerates his own exploits or someone else's. In the former method the heroic poem goes something like this:

I, the son of Bendusi of Maratini of Gabrasi
of Malombo (fame)
Killed the dogs of Dayeka
And crossed the rivers on their heads.
Their women and children fled before me, the
consuming fire...

It should be realized of course that "I" here has a collective connotation. Hence the reciter quotes his heroic ancestors whose heroic example he seeks to emulate. The second type of heroic poetry differs from this form in that it is composed in the third person and assumes the form of an ode. Thus the poet might say:

He, Matata the brave son of Bendusi of Maratini of
Gabrasi of Malombo (fame) Who killed the dogs of
Dayeka and crossed the rivers on their heads (I praise
him).
He, the consuming fire from whose wrath women and
children fled.

In this case the poet becomes the voice of the community. The individual himself ceases to stand for his own group but becomes the national symbol, thereby reinforcing the accepted ethic. Incidentally this is the process which gradually builds up heroes into gods so that the gods who were originally communal heroes, are deified and turned by legend into super beings. They then stand for certain social qualities which are abstracted and symbolized through the characters of the gods.

Recitals of heroic poems are made on great national occasions, feast days, during battle preparations, or situations requiring individual stimulation to acts of bravery. Since the heroic epic is concerned with deeds of the past, it also becomes the greatest preserver of national history. Thus it becomes at once a comment on national achievements and also the very essence of the communal ethos. The importance of poetry is clearly seen in the fact that in most African societies the poet was maintained by the community. He travelled from area to area reciting his poetry to large gatherings. Significant also is the fact that almost all African heroic poetry is demonstrated by dramatic actions which the poet evolves to illustrate historical events. It is therefore not enough for a poet to compose his poem: he is also expected to perform his poem. He uses every part of his body, jumps, waves his hands, runs in rhythmic patterns and indeed re-enacts the content of the poem. The audience itself responds by appropriate symbolic sounds. In some areas accompanying musical instruments were used.

story-form of literature

Closely related to the heroic poem and approximating it in importance is the story-form of literature. The story can roughly be divided into two categories: mythical and adventure stories. In the first category can be included the various myths of the origin of life, of peoples and animals. In the second category are various adventure stories related to the history of societies' and individuals' battles. Like the heroic poem, story literature is not only concerned with the social ethic but requires in its completion a collective participation. It has to be dramatized sometimes by the narrator in the course of telling it or by a group of assistants, or else through collective participation in interpolated songs.

Professional story-tellers abound in various gathering places. An examination of the story will show that it is always constructed with a view to communal participation. Its episodes are dramatized and acted so that the audience itself is made to go through a direct emotional experience related both to the action of the story and the characters of the story.

drama

The third category of literature is drama. It is difficult to convey the diversified forms of dramatic expression in African literature. It is a field which needs deeper and more intensive study. African drama, like the rest of African literature, is of a communal character. In vain will the European-orientated drama student look for characters, a complex plot, nor will the musicals help very much. African dramatic expression depends on symbolism. It is this which conveys an immediately recognisable component of social realities.

Symbolism may take different forms according to the cultural history of a particular community. In some communities, masks are used to heighten the dramatic meaning. The masks themselves have a well-established meaning of their own, so that a particular type of mask may represent a particular set of values. In almost all African communities, symbolism is often conveyed by the polyrhythmic patterns of the body. This is achieved through dances of various types.

Few countries in the world have such "intellectualized" dances as in Africa, precisely because what is often thought by foreigners to be a dance in the simple terms, is often illustrative of a drama. Foreigners often claim that African music is repetitive and shorn of a harmonic structure, without realizing that the music they are dealing with, is only background to the dramatized dances. The complex rhythmic structure in African music is a testimony to the deeper meaning of dance rhythms and symbols. Classical European music compositions often sound meaningless to the African. Such compositions of course are a tradition of quiet indoor listening in the cold regions of Europe. European music therefore is for the ear, as African music is for drama.

There is no doubt that European drama did, in the early Greek period and in the middle ages, have a lot more in common with African drama. Nevertheless the circumstances of these dramas more than confirm our contention that dramatic techniques used are a response to the social purpose of the drama. Thus the dramas of Aeschylus are communal in the sense that Moliere's are not. What Europe did not develop is a type of symbolic drama expressive of the collective social pattern. African dramas with their symbolic styles therefore, set out to represent communal ethos and not individual dilemmas.

ji, hoya, hi hi hi

Since symbolism is the key to African dramatic expressions we have therefore a wide range of symbolic language which defies the classification of dictionaries. Thus foreigners listening to or watching an African dance-drama are often heard to cry in despair that emotive words like "ji" and "hoya" are collective meaningless sounds, at worst consider them as barbaric grunting noises. We may express our sympathy at their ignorance. For the African, such sounds as "ji", "hoya", "hi hi hi" etc., symbolize a particular mood and arouse culturally defined emotions. I am told that in Ethiopia sounds such as "hi hi hi" uttered by the women relate to happy occasions, similarly in North Africa and elsewhere. In South Africa they relate to both happy occasions and war situations. The army for instance may be roused to great courageous acts by such ululations.

Looking at African drama one cannot help noticing similarities with other communal dramas in Asia and the Americas among the Amerindians. They are based on elaborate symbolic actions to the accompaniment of music and depicting not individual tragedies but tragedies affecting peoples and communities. Hence some of their themes are based on man as he contends against dark forces of life such as death, war, famine, etc., or else express the ecstasies of triumph over hardships. They are therefore philosophical in the sense that they are concerned with the definition of man's relationships with the universal forces. Incidentally, many of the tourist photographs that claim to represent Africa are of dance-actors in their theatrical costumes. It is like taking photographs of English actors in their costumes and displaying them as a representative picture of the British way of life.

voice and chorus poems

Another category of literature includes short lyrical pieces. These include those poems in which there is a leading line which is called out, to the response of a group. Among these are all the war poems, satirical pieces, poems instigating collective action. There are also short pieces which are composed in praise of birds, cattle, dogs, etc.

1. Satirical nursery rhyme.

First Voice: O woman you sit across the stream
What is it you boast about?
Chorus: (I boast) about the skirt that is beautiful
First Voice: What beautiful skirt do you boast about?
Chorus: It is a skirt of fine soft deer skin
First Voice: What a thing to boast about!
Little things crash and fall
Making an explosion of intangible echoes.

2. War Poem.

Voice: My neighbour is like a dirty pig
Chorus: His neighbour is like a dirty pig
He eats greedily and tramples on others
Children scream and flee.
Voice: Yes their voices echo everywhere
Chorus: They are deserted in their cradles
But we shall restore their peace,
We shall die for generations to come.

3. In Praise of Force

They disturbed you my bull
In your sleep
You rose mysteriously like a legendary animal
And tore them apart from head to toe.

Most of this categorizing of course excludes a great deal of chanted poetry, e.g. songs of the dead (Old Egyptian), Akan dirges etc. This type of poetry is half-sung, half-spoken. It is not possible to deal with it here as we are not really concerned with specific forms.

(continued overleaf)

wax and gold

The term "wax and gold in African literature" was coined as the title of a book on Ethiopia by LeVine. "Wax and gold" refers to the two levels of meaning common in almost all African literature. At one level a simple set of ideas is expressed, which in itself must be interesting, simplified and entertaining. On the second level the same set of ideas are used symbolically to express a philosophical system. This philosophical system relates the set of events to the whole life drama. Thus the simple story of the adventures of humanized animals may really constitute philosophical speculations, or be propagating a communal ethic. Sometimes a piece of poetry may be enjoyed as a description of events which in turn stand for a deeper philosophical meaning.

On the descriptive level, this set of ideas must stand up to the most critical evaluation. This level of meaning gives its own aesthetic satisfactions. The other more profound level may be missed, but its understanding completes the cycle of literary experience. As has been pointed out, the ethical comment is the goal of all African literature.

It may be claimed of course that European literature itself does not, at its best, aim merely at giving descriptions of situations and feelings. What however must be borne in mind is that African literature discards all description that gives only personal ecstasy. Even love lyrics relate to a wider concept of socialized love. For, in fact, love has a different meaning in different societies. Whereas in individual societies love becomes a palliative for solitary individuals, in communally organized societies it is part of the overall social purpose. Hence even love poetry concerns itself not just with the emotional satisfaction of the individual, but also with the social aspects of the relationship.

all nature is man

Natural phenomena like rivers, trees, mountains, etc, all form part of the illustrative material of literature. But they never attain an aesthetic quality which makes them ends in themselves. If their qualities are used, they are paralleled with the qualities of people. For it must be understood that the cosmology of African society centres on man. This anthropocentric approach demands that all beauty and all ugliness is the ugliness or beauty of man.

It is for this reason that animal characters in stories are humanized and are made to stand for human qualities. The rabbit, the tortoise, the lion, the fox, all attain a sympathetic quality illustrative of their habits and actions in so far as these are found in man. A parallel with this approach can be found in some instances in European literature, e.g. the skylark in Shelley's ode. Here we see how an individual acquires the identity of the bird he describes, and the bird becomes symbolic of his own mood and projects his own escapist mood. The bird itself is not humanized. An African poet depicting the same situation would either introduce a second character whose relationship was symbolized by the song of the bird, or else depict the bird as symbolizing his struggles with the sense of deprivation in a clearly defined human situation, e.g. death of a friend.

avoiding obscurantism

It is clear from all this that not only does African literature represent a different kind of human experience from say the European, but it also requires different techniques to express it. Thus in depicting the two levels of meaning, the African has to use techniques indicating the existence of these levels such as linking, repetition, and various other forms which are devices aimed at linking up the two levels of meaning. For, if descriptions of reality have each their own validity, we have no clue to their symbolic significance. Thus without hints as to the relationship between the two levels of meaning, we can only expect obscurantism of the worst kind. The relationship is therefore established through various devices, e.g.

Isaro Biuri the son of Bendusi
Dragging the dead dog from the assembly of black
shields
The dead dog was the son of Maraka
Who dared cross the currents of the great Nile.

In this example, we do not really know until the third line that the "dead dog" is used metaphorically. When we read the fourth line we already expect that the "torrents of the great Nile" is a metaphorical reference to the armies of Biuri. Other examples have a more diffuse style, for example:—

"Close the gates always, Mr Always.
I don't mean you, I mean your mother.
She alone stood bravely before the hordes."

Here Mr Always is no existent character but refers to the quality of persistence which the poet says is akin to the material sacrifice by which alone victory has always been assured. We can quote numerous examples to illustrate this point and indeed show that what is often dismissed lightly as repetitive phrases are complex literary devices.

cross-currents

There is urgent need to understand how African literature has been enriched and deepened by the influence of other literatures. North Africa represents the crossroads of African and Asian civilizations. Throughout history an African genius has absorbed, reshaped, developed literatures which came in through the Middle East (or is it Africa Minor as Bohnaman suggests?).

It is impossible in an article of this size to give any details as to how Arabic literature, for instance in Northern and Western and Eastern parts of Africa influenced and was influenced by African literary genius, and how that genius has produced in various instances, a synthesis of a new literary idiom. Arabic literature evolved under a different socially and politically organized social structure. This structure however, differing originally from the highly collective structure in Africa, is more akin to it in its philosophical and ethical foundations.

It is clear that for instance Islam, Judaism and so-called primitive Christianity have more in common with African philosophical and ethical beliefs than say the individualist beliefs of Europe. It would be so much easier of course if

analyses of societies, their social beliefs etc., were based on fundamentals of economic and consequently political and social organizations than on groups of races or peoples. It would be clear that in Africa itself there are variations in socio-economic organization according to availability of natural resources. Peoples in the desertbordering areas naturally have a harder life and a greater sense of property, and consequently more individualistic philosophy than those say in the grasslands.

In the same way the denudation of the Middle East produced a proselytizing zeal which spearheaded large population movements into areas of North Africa. It is this highly sophisticated population, proud of its traditions and history, that spread its literature and its language to a large part of Africa. History shows however that it was formerly Egypt, and then Axum, which had previously extended their influence and rule into the Middle East. The cross-currents of culture have operated in this area for many centuries; the literature of this area therefore requires a deeper understanding of those elements. Arabic literature is characterized by the heroic epic and the personal lyric, pointing to both collective and individualist forms of social organization.

Egyptian literature has built a mosaic of literary expression from a deep African tradition. Axumite and post-Axumite periods show Syriac, Sabian and Semitic influences. Ethiopian

civilization is not Semitic as some mythologists have claimed; it is an African civilization in form and content, and forms one of the great African experiments and achievements.

synthetic literature

In more recent times, European colonization of Africa has resulted in the production of synthetic literature, be it written in foreign languages or in African ones. In both cases, African literature shows itself as capable of experimenting and extending its idiom. The African writer freely utilizes techniques and themes from both traditional and European literatures. This phenomenon can be traced from Algeria, to Nigeria, to South Africa. De-colonization of Africa itself has opened new scope for African writers and as a result, African literature shows an all-round experimentation with new forms and new literary styles.

There is a political fallacy which seeks to divide Africa into two segments: Africa South of the Sahara and Africa North of the Sahara. These divisions are fictitious in the light of traditional pan-African experience. Arabic literature North Africa, Nigerian and Ethiopian literature, are as much an African heritage as Japanese literature is part of an Asian literary heritage.

BOOK REVIEWS

W. P. Carstens, 'The Social Structure of a Cape Coloured Reserve', Oxford University Press, 1968, 85/6.

The Reserve and Pass systems are so fundamental to the South African method of oppression and exploitation that any book on the subject is bound to be of interest. This important book makes its appearance in the year which sees the extension of the Pass System to the so-called Cape Coloured minority of the South African oppressed.

Most books on South Africa which deal with problems of race relations are written from one two possible points of view. They seek either to justify the peculiar system of oppression or they protest against the ravages perpetrated against humanity in the Republic of South Africa. In the eyes of many people such writings are not acceptable evidence because they represent too committed a standpoint. Dr Carstens's book is a very welcome addition to the arsenal of evidence against race oppression, because, while he sedulously avoids being political, he does not shy away from the responsibility of making objective assessments and conclusions. The book is an adaptation of a doctoral thesis accepted by the University of Cape Town and represents on-the-spot research covering a period of almost ten years during which time he stayed in the reserves for a total of sixteen months. He confined his investigation of the community to five reserves in Little Namaqualand with special attention to Steinkopf.

For many people he could just as well be describing a Transkei reserve for all the knowledge we have of the rural

Coloured person let alone the Coloured peasant. What we do know is that the absorption of the Coloured Mission Stations has become one of the main preoccupations of the Coloured Affairs Department. What the book makes clear is that there is no difference between a Coloured Reserve and the so-called Bantustans. Both are areas of dire poverty and both serve one main function — to provide reservoirs of migrant labourers. Africans and Coloureds (*people of mixed race — Editor*) are forced off the land by poverty to seek employment in Mines, Factories and Farms. "Taking the population as a whole," says Dr Carstens, "there is a strong suggestion that at least three-quarters of all families are unable to make a living out of mixed farming alone and must therefore find other work to augment the family budget." Even today there are many South Africans who regard the Coloured people as a semiprivileged class, enjoying a standard of living well above that of their fellow African oppressed. Dr Carstens reveals however that Coloured rural workers from Steinkopf employed in the mines earned the 'model' wage of £5 14s (16 dollars) per month up to 1952. By 1958 the figure had risen to £10 (28 dollars) per month. A history of the South African oppressed will surely only be written in a free South Africa. In the meantime such rare snippets as are gleaned from the efforts of scholarship must suffice to provide confirmation for the justice of the South Africa people's struggle. The brief historical sections of the book are particularly interesting and enlightening. The author traces the history of this part of Namaqualand from the period of the Khoi Khoi tribal ownership of the land

through the period of missionary involvement and mission station status to the period of direct political subjugation under the Coloured Affairs Department.

Needless to say, this section of the book provides ample justification for the attitude that the missionaries by and large played a baneful role in the conquest and enslavement of our people. It was, for example, at the instance of a missionary that the Khoi Khoi of this area placed themselves "under the protection of the Queen". Moreover the advent of the Christianized Basters ushered in a period of inter-tribal strife which culminated in the better-armed Basters in power under the control of the missionary. Today, "no political meeting of more than five persons can now take place in the Reserve unless special permission is given in writing by the Commissioner for Coloured Affairs or the Magistrate. Nor, under the same conditions, can any religious service be held by any person or body, other than those connected with the established church, Die Nederduitse Gereformeerde Sendingkerk (The Dutch Reformed Mission Church)." (p. 36) Small wonder then that "both the Church and the Management Board approve of, and encourage" the migratory labour system.

The history of this particular Reserve is typical of the history of South Africa, the steady dispossession of the rightful owners and coralling them into ever-shrinking areas of their land to reduce them to poverty and force them to work on the mines and on the land that once belonged to them. "Even today the older inhabitants of Steinkopf look at their shrunken boundaries as a reminder of a period in their history when they should have questioned the white man's word."

The book is the work of an anthropologist. We have dwelt on the political implications of Dr Carstens's book, because this is of immediate interest. We however commend the book for the wide area of life of the Coloured Reserve dwellers it reveals to us. It should be read by all South Africans and especially by sympathisers of our struggle, who would like to gain a fuller understanding not only of our struggle but also of some of the people who to a greater or lesser extent are participating in it.

Dr Carstens's is a work of scholarship and research. By its very nature it gainsays much that is contained in the glossy handouts that flow out of South African embassies. For example, in an article in *Alpha* (April 1968), the Government publication directed at the Coloured people, they deal with the Henkries date-palm project in the Steinkopf Reserve and conclude as follows: "In the meantime the development and expansion of the project proceeds steadily, to be used eventually in the interests of the Coloured Community of the Steinkopf Area." (*My translation from the Afrikaans version.*) Dr. Carstens, in his chapter on mixed farming, discusses the same project and quotes from a Government report the general declared aims for the project, of which the above is a paraphrase; but Dr Carsten's version includes a statement on the attitudes of the inhabitants and rightful owners of the plantation. "At present, however, the date plantation is regarded by the inhabitants of Steinkopf as a government farm from which they will never derive any benefit. In general people are antagonistic towards its establishment... because they may enter the area by permit only

when they require rushes for mat-making (*Henkries is the main source of these rushes.*)" An interesting and revealing book.

— Frank A. Landman

John Day, 'International Nationalism', Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 143p., 1967, 7/6.

In this book the author attempts to place the international activities of the nationalist movements of Southern Rhodesia in the context of the history of African Nationalism in Central Africa. The main theme of the book is that the chief weakness of the struggle in Southern Rhodesia has been dependence on external pressure instead of solid internal organization which in his view explains why the nationalists had achieved so little by the middle of 1966. Joshua Nkomo, leader of ZAPU, comes in for particularly harsh criticism.

The theme is not only inaccurate but fails to take into account the numerous struggles conducted by ZAPU and its predecessors, the ANC and later the NDP. The author is also presumptuous in assuming that our people who have given their lives, languishing in prisons or detention camps, and now engaging the enemy forces in mortal combat in Zimbabwe, need to be reminded of the importance of internal struggle and organization.

This book, like so many other books on African Nationalism, gives too simple an explanation of a complex and difficult problem. The author tends to underestimate the value of educating world opinion to the realities of the Rhodesian situation, and surely, even as he admits, legal open political organization in Rhodesia (as in South Africa) was and is always fraught with difficulties. The author does not understand and appreciate the enormous difficulties under which the National Liberatory Movement has often laboured. His denigration of their efforts should not be left unchallenged.

To any student of African Nationalism in Rhodesia, it should be clear that ZAPU and its predecessors have succeeded in the mass mobilization and the raising of the political consciousness and understanding of the people. This is evident from the successes of ZAPU-ANC freedom fighters since August 1967, and the support they have received from the African peasants and workers.

To the argument that the international activities have been a waste of effort and energy, the author ironically provides an answer. He says quite correctly that "any revolution from within would benefit from that part of the work abroad which aims at providing arms and training men for guerilla warfare" (p. 125). But international solidarity also consists of getting moral and material support from peoples of not only Africa, Asia, Latin-America and the Socialist Countries, but also from the progressive people of the Imperialist World. In these areas it is clear that ZAPU has done extremely well. In the imperialist countries the people are becoming more and more aware of the fascist nature of the Smith regime, and the just demands and correctness of our struggle. This book is also descriptive and not analytical, and its sole merit lies in its recording of the international activities of the African Nationalists between 1957 and 1966.

— C. P. Moyo