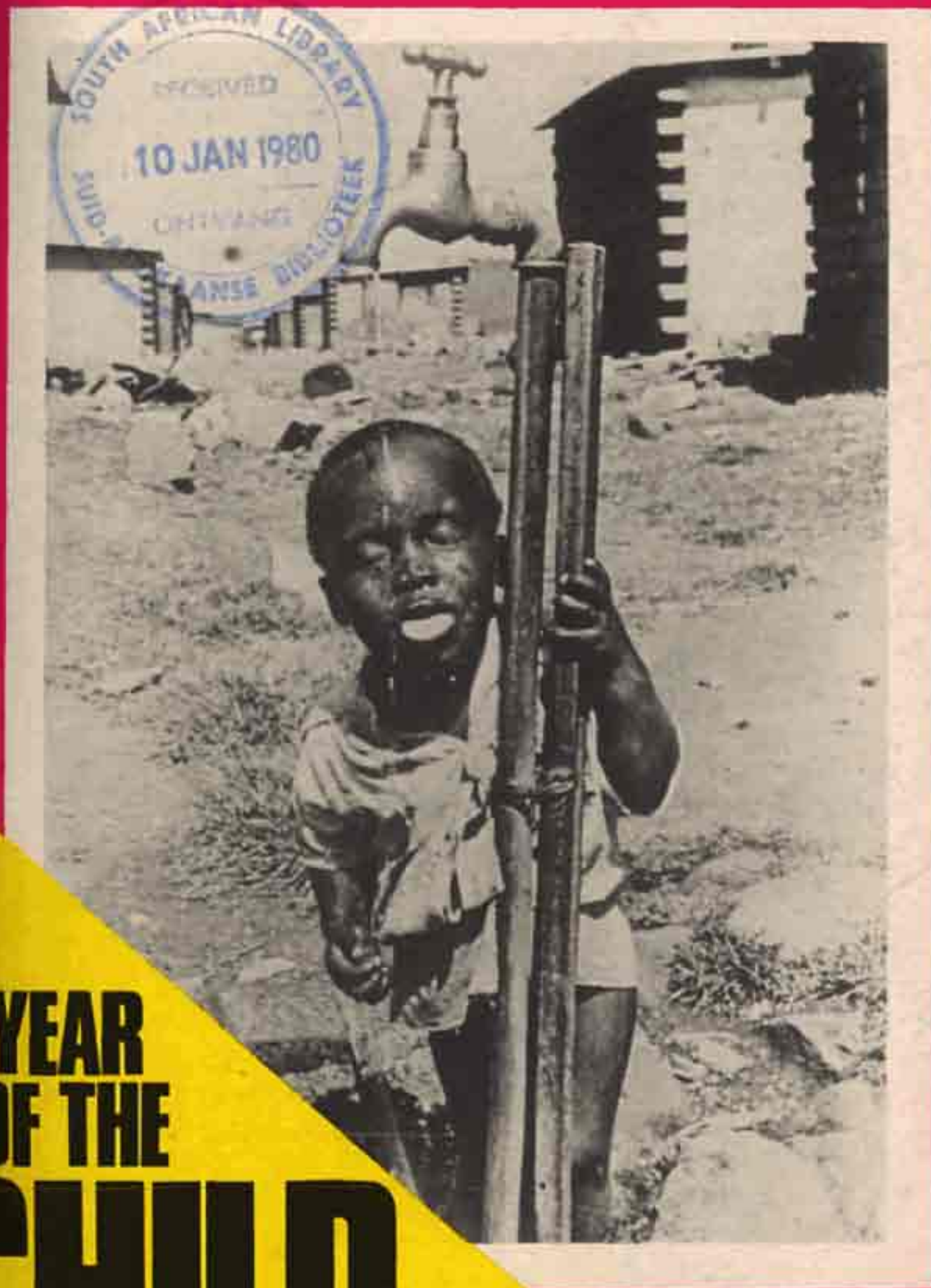


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# SECHABA

**official organ of the african  
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P.O. Box 38  
28 Penton Street  
London N1 9PR  
Telegrams: Mayibuye  
Telex: 299555ANCSAG  
Telephone: 01-837-2012

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# VORSTER GOES AND WHAT NEXT?

Recently it has been reported that John Balthazar Vorster, the man who was interned during the War for his Nazi sympathies; the man who as Minister of 'Justice' enacted numerous draconian laws; sent many of our leaders — including Nelson Mandela and his comrades — and thousands of our cadres to jail, and murdered innumerable innocent people, has resigned as President of South Africa because of his involvement in the Muldergate Scandal.

The Muldergate scandal exposed one of the characters of Vorster: he is a liar. He completely denied knowledge of what was happening in the Department of Information. And yet such a man was a 'state President'.

Now he is in an angry mood. According to the Guardian (June 7, 1979):

"knives are being sharpened in South Africa as a storm brews over Mr Vorster's resignation from his State Presidency after the Erasmus Commission accused him of helping to cover up the Muldergate scandal."

To the black people of South Africa there is nothing new in this — the whole system (since 1652) has been one big scandal.

What has happened? Is the granite white wall cracking? What has brought about these cracks? Who is the enemy?

This conflict within the ruling circles in South Africa is a direct result of the growing strength of the liberation movements. The liberation of Angola and Mozambique drew a sharp contrast between true independence and neocolonial solutions in Africa and therefore led to a sharpening of contradictions within the enemy camp and the sharpening of the confrontation between the forces of progress and those of reaction on our continent.

These developments have a direct bearing on our struggle: the conditions for struggle by the Zimbabwean revolutionaries have become increasingly more favourable in direct proportion to the successes of FRELIMO, MPLA and UNIP, with Smith and Muzorewa facing a situation in which they have no safe access to the coast except through South Africa and a hostile border.

In South Africa itself, the masses of our people are gaining enormous encouragement



from the changed and changing situation. Within the enemy camp, the fear of the liberation forces creeping closer is no longer a projection for the future, but an immediate reality and we are witnesses to an increase in tensions and contradictions within the ruling class on the most effective answer to this threat. These contradictions — Muldergate, Wiehahn and Rickert commissions — which cannot in themselves trigger off any fundamental change, are an important factor which our liberation movement cannot overlook or ignore.

We are convinced that our struggle will be a complete success, not only in terms of our immediate goals, but also from the point of view of our perspective. These convictions are not based on abstract theorising about the struggle, but stem from a sober analysis of the situation, class

forces, social perspective and the assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the enemy and the evaluation of our material and human resources. Unlike in the past, when the racists would march against what they called the "swart gevaar" (black danger), today they are being pushed to a corner by the forces of liberation. Apartheid is on the retreat!

Vorster is gone and whoever succeeds him cannot contain the tide of the African revolution which is swelling and devouring everything that stands in its way. Down with Vorster and all the supporters and upholders of Apartheid, colonialism and racism in South Africa!





*Migrant workers separated from their families are forced to live in single-sex hostels*

# THE WIEHAHN COMMISSION

Everytime the workers challenge the employers and show their strength the state takes measures to ease the pressure on the employers and increase the difficulties of the Trade Unions. Since the early seventies the African workers have with ever greater organization been striking back at low wages, poor conditions and political oppression.

The early seventies were opened with the resurgence of strikes centered in Natal but with echoes all over the country. They were mainly about wages and conditions of work but they lead to a rapid growth

in Trade Union membership and a new militancy throughout the country. The year of Soweto saw a massive nationwide political strike in support of the students against Bantu Education.

Over this same period the international Trade Union movement, unified as never before, organized international weeks of action against Apartheid. Considerable financial and organizational support was also given inside the country by various sections of the international Trade Union movement. Strikes, boycotts, harassment and the withdrawal of funds from South

African investments, spread as far afield as Australia, Sweden, America and Holland.

The African Trade Unions have grown in membership (about 40,000, in 1970 to 100,000 in 1978), in number (22 African unions in 1970 to 27 in 1978) and organization (for example the formation of FOSATU, with 9 African and 3 registered —Coloured and Asian — Unions).

In spite of all the actions of the Government, the employers, the Special Branch, the bannings, the deaths in detention of trade unionists, the batton charges, the mass arrest of strikers, deportations, and so on the African Trade Unions have not been destroyed. In spite of all the advice, the qualified assistance, the pressure on the African Trade Unions by their 'friends' and enemies, the African workers have refused to give up the political struggle against Apartheid.

The regime and the employers have also been faced with a fundamental problem of Apartheid. The system itself is based on the domination of the white state over the black masses. This primitive outdated concept is in direct conflict with modern capitalism. Many Afrikaners are now millionaires and they realise that the exploitation of skilled black labour is just as beneficial to them as that of white skilled labour. Especially if it is cheaper. The state enterprises such as Fosur, Iscor etc are also short of skilled labour and so it would seem appropriate to employ more Africans in these jobs. But this conflicts directly with the white trade unionists who were one of the tools by which the Nationalist Party rose to power. There are nearly 450,000 white trade unionists who have been indoctrinated to believe that the enemies of higher wages and better conditions are not the employers but the black workers.

The transnationals, the monopolists and large employers would like to replace the Apartheid system with a system of exploitation of man by man irrespective of race, colour or creed. The Wiehahn commission is the Apartheid state's reply to these pressures.

Many will remember the "Abolition of Passes and consolidation of Documents

Act" which followed on the mass pass burning and strike actions over the pass laws in the sixties: Far from abolishing passes it reinforced their implementation. Wiehahn far from freeing African Trade Unions is designed to control them more fiercely. On job reservation the commission sees the way out by giving the white Trade Unions the job of enforcing job reservation through the white Trade Union closed shop. In this way the Apartheid state cannot be blamed either for implementing or scrapping job reservation by the white workers, the monopolists or world opinion.

The more telling statements come from the commission itself. Summaries of a number of its findings, which have been deliberately distorted by the western press are given below:

*"There are already 27 unregistered Black Trade Unions in existence in key industries with a varying membership of between 50,000 and 70,000. Since they do not fall under the Industrial Conciliation Act, their finances are not subjected to audit control and they are not subject to the prohibition of participation in politicking in terms of article 8(6) of the Act. The present statutory situation thus discriminates against Whites, Coloureds and Asians whereas the Black Trade Unions enjoy complete freedom.*

*The Black Labour Relations Regulation Act permits Black workers to establish liason or work committees at intreprenuerial level and to have them registered with the Department of Labour.*

*Curiously, the Black Labour Relations Regulations Act does not contain any clause prohibiting the participation in politics by Black committees.*

*Black Trade Unions are under no statutory control as far as management, annual reports, meetings, constitutions and political participation are concerned. They presently enjoy the largest degree of unlimited freedom, can unite with other unions through affiliation (as is happening now) without Government approval and thus embrace strategic industries which can*

be paralysed by strikes at any given moment. The situation has now been reached where some Black Trade Union leaders prefer non-recognition of their organisations by the state, it actually suits them. Recognition by employers abroad actually suits them rather better.

The Black Trade Unions are not subject to the same disciplinary and stabilising influence of the industrial councils and their development could well go the identical way as that of Trade Unions in Britain. Being ignored by the state permits them to develop an anti-South African stance and structure.

The only remaining alternative, which is the recommendation of the commission, is that the principle of 'freedom of association' be extended to Black workers, namely, that the statutory trade union system be opened to workers from all population groups."

The commission thus makes it clear that

they propose tighter state control over African Trade Unions. If the Trade Unions value freedom they should not register.

"The commission recommends that registration of a Trade Union with the Department of Labour must be a prerequisite for the legibility and enforceability of agreements between employer and employee. This will discourage the recognition of and negotiation with un-registered Trade Unions by employers.

The deduction of membership fees, contributions or other funds in favour of an un-registered organisation be prohibited.

The commission recommends that the prohibition of participation in political activities as it now applies to Trade Unions and Labour Organisations, be extended to include all legislative bodies on national, provincial and local levels. Other political organisations must be included under the prohibition by Ministerial Proclamation."



Soaring unemployment for black workers — one effect of SA's socio-economic crisis

The Trade Unions which do not register for control by the Government will be subject to even heavier disabilities than they suffer from now.

As far as job reservation and petty apartheid measures are concerned the commission recommends a readjustment but no fundamental change:

*"The commission is of the opinion that neither segregated nor integrated Trade Unions should be enforced by law. There are examples of non-statutory Trade Unions with which no problems are experienced. Similarly, Trade Unions for particular racial groups also exist.*

*It is however important that the new Act must provide for the existence and protection of segregated Trade Unions, should a particular population group so desire. Protection must also be extended at industrial level where minority groups will have a right of veto with regard to certain decisions.*

*The commission recommends that the 'Closed Shop' clause be retained. This clause extends protection to minority groups and it is not envisaged that Black Trade Unions will be in a position to use this clause to the detriment of others. The National Manpower Commission will however be required to keep developments under surveillance.*

*The commission recommends that statutory work reservation i.e. Article 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act and that the five existing determinations be phased out in cooperation with the parties involved. The reasons for this recommendation is that this principle has:*

*a) served its purpose and does not provide for the protection initially intended. Only approximately 0.48 per cent workers are affected and it is unlikely, if not virtually impossible, that it will be used again.*

*b) it can no longer be applied as result of the vertical improvement in the position of non-whites in the skilled labour categories.*

*c) the harm South Africa's image abroad exceeds the possible benefit of its intended purpose.*

*The commission is aware of the necessity to protect workers in their traditional employment spheres and thus recommends as alternative for the termination of statutory work reservation:"*

The commission realises that there will be problems with the proposals and thus recommends an industrial court with appeal to the Supreme court. Anybody conversant with 'justice' in South Africa knows that this means an all-white bench heavily weighted in favour of Apartheid.

And to make sure the workers learn the type of trade unionism the state approves of:

*"The commission recommends that the Secretary for Labour be empowered by statute to approve/not to approve of an institution for the purposes of training in industrial relations and that any such person or institution be prohibited by statute from offering such training without the approval of the Secretary for Labour."*

This reminds one of "Bantu Education" and all that it brought in terms of education for slavery and the reactions of the people to it especially in 1976.

The government has tabled a white paper in response to the report which outlines legislation it would wish to pass. This white paper is not as "liberal" or "progressive" as the report on a number of points. For example the membership of registered black Trade Unions may be restricted to non-migrants only i.e. all Africans deemed to be members of 'Homelands' will be excluded; separate facilities in shops and offices it is accepted should be abolished but only if it is agreed at workshop level; job reservation by law will be scrapped but only after consultation with the parties concerned (which means the white employers and white workers).

Even these tentative adjustments are opposed by Arrie Paulus of the white mine workers union and Wessel Bornman, secretary of the 144,000 strong white Confederation of Labour as not adequately protecting the white workers. The Confederation itself voted 13 to 11 to accept the





proposed changes but with reservations. The large employers and their voices in the South African Parliament seem to welcome the changes advising the government not to be too cautious in their implementation.

There are also Trade Union forces internationally which are already attempting to sell the Wiehahn report. For example the International Metal Workers Federation says that it would "be an important step towards establishing international labour standards in SA and ending racial discrimination at work". On a previous occasion the Secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation wrote to the British Iron and Steel Trades Confederation saying: "I even would go so far as to say that it can only be harmful for what we are doing in South Africa if we have any connections with SACTU, because this will be used as an argument by the South African authorities against the I.M.F. and its affiliates in South Africa."

It leads one to ask what are such people doing in South Africa, fighting or supporting Apartheid?

And so the argument seems to revolve not about the basic issues of independent free Trade Unions allowed to take their full place in defending the workers economic and political interests but about how to make the apartheid system more manageable and profitable.

The African Trade Union movement

is on the right road, the road mapped out by the South African Congress of Trade Unions in alliance with the African National Congress. The workers are building new forms of organization uniting all the black workers and those few whites who have joined them. Any opportunities open to the workers to become organized are being used even with the limitations imposed upon them by Apartheid. The SACTU welcomed, in this light, the formation of FOSATU and hopes it will take up the burning issues that face the workers. There is no reason why SACTU, FOSATU, independent Trade Unions and other organizations should not complement each other in their opposition to Apartheid.

SACTU has never accepted limits on what it says or does against Apartheid and although the struggle appears to be more complex it is still the simple choice which we ask our supporters at home and overseas to take, Apartheid or the Freedom Charter.

Choose. Choose  
one path leads to Vorster  
one path leads to Congress.

Kukho indlela ezimbini,  
enye iya ku Vorster  
enye iya ku Kongresi.

# NATIONAL LIBERATION AND THE WORKING CLASS

Over hundreds of years there has been a sharp division in South Africa between the people with white skins and the people with dark skins. This division has grown into a system of oppression and exploitation, a system sanctified in the churches of the oppressors, legalized in their courts, enforced by armed might and paid for by the profits extracted from the labour of the working people.

In opposition to this system a new way of living, a new method of working together, without hatred, without exploitation, without brutality, has taken root. This new system, as outlined in the Freedom Charter, is still young but is powerful and cannot be destroyed. Building this way of life are the African people led by the African National Congress (SA). In this new system is a place for all who have renounced apartheid and are prepared to play their part in creating the new. At this very moment the new system is being forged within the shell of the old. Like all things that grow, there are problems, old ideas still cling to the mind and only yield reluctantly to the new, tensions inbred by old hatreds have to be soothed away and unity created. When all one's life every white man, woman and child has been a boss it is not easy to readjust to the white man who comes cap in hand as an equal. When tribal rivalries have been created and deliberately encouraged over centuries by the white state it is not easy to cast them aside overnight.

But it has been done, it is being done and those young in the struggle can see it being done every day within our own ranks.

It is not just the hatred of the oppressor which forces us together. It is the love of freedom which creates the necessity of finding a way of working together. For freedom itself means the elimination of

these old tribal, colour and religious differences. Freedom also means the elimination of the exploitation of black by white, of customer by shopkeeper, of tenant by landlord, of citizen by the policeman, of worker by boss and of man by man.

But we are still struggling to overthrow the old and this is our urgent necessity. Two great forces stand opposed to each other. The Apartheid state on the one side and the people on the other. Who are the people? African people, dark skinned, light complexioned, workers, students, shopkeepers, Guderati speaking people, people with collars and ties, people in blankets and dresses, children with white great grandfathers and African mothers, sons of Malay ancestors and some with mothers and fathers born in Latvia or Leeds. All sorts of people all opposed to the system of Apartheid. Some fully committed to fight to the death like Solomon Mahlangu, others just awakening from a long sleep in the mental prisons of the white laager. Such a mass movement must have a leader, an organization, a directing force to gather it together to fight. Such is the African National Congress (SA).

This mass movement has a life of its own. People in action for their rights create continuously new organizations to assist them in their struggle. Some are old. The Communist Party for example was formed in 1921 with the aim of overthrowing capitalism and the establishment of socialism. In this struggle it has consistently worked together with the liberation movement lead by the ANC in campaigns against Apartheid. Some spring up, do their job and die, for example the organizing committee for the Congress of the People. Some are destroyed by the fascists, for

example, the Congress of Democrats, yet others are born only to live a short life before reappearing in a new form for example the various Students' organizations. Some have no roots in the struggle and though persistent like weeds trying to strangle the struggle, they only live as parasites on our backs or with food from our enemies, for example the PAC.

Among the people are certain groups which need a voice, an organization of their own. Students are one such group, women another, and so on but a particular group which as long as it has life must have its own organisation is the workers.

The workers are a special group because they have nothing to sell except their ability to work. They own no cattle or goats, no houses or shops, no tools or land. Their only possession is their hands and the sweat of their brow. The African worker in particular carries the extra burdens of the pass laws, influx control, police harassment and all the other machinery of the Apartheid state. Because they have nothing and are the most oppressed they have the greatest need of freedom. Because they are the ones who produce the country's wealth, dig its gold, carry its bricks, drive its tractors and clean its sewers, because they are the workers they are the most potent force for change. They are not separate from the people, they are the mothers and fathers of the students, the brothers and sisters of the lawyers and doctors, the uncles and aunts of the peasants in the countryside. But because of the fact that they are workers they are a special group and have, over decades organized themselves into Trade Unions to improve and defend their conditions of life.

When the first Africans were forced off their lands and made to work in the towns they saw the necessity of unity in action to defend themselves. Strikes of African workers are recorded from as early as 1917 and the first Trade Unions of African workers started as early as 1919. Since that time the African Trade Union movement grew stronger and in 1955 the SA Congress of Trade Unions was founded. At its founding conference the first item on the agenda was its name and the name Congress of Trade Unions was adopted

precisely because this made it part of the Congress movement. At that time it had in membership all sections of the working people. Based on the African workers it had within its ranks coloured, Indian and some, though few, white workers.

From then on it has been the representative of the working people of South Africa. Its constitution clearly placed it on the side of freedom.

"We resolve that this co-ordinating body of Trade Unions shall strive to unite all workers in its ranks, without discrimination and without prejudice. We resolve that this body shall determinedly seek to further and protect the interests of all workers, and that its guiding motto shall be the universal slogan of working class solidarity 'an injury to one is an injury to all'".

The solidarity, common struggle, and common love of freedom draws the Congress of Trade Unions and the African National Congress closer together. Our comrades murdered by the South African Apartheid State, Mini, Maykiso, Mdluli, Ndzanga, and many others were leaders not only of SACTU but also of the ANC. The Freedom Charter has been endorsed both by SACTU and the ANC. The £1 a day campaign of 1957 was a joint campaign of the Congress movement, as have been many others.

This solidarity and unity continues today. At all levels and in many places of exile as well as in South Africa there are found SACTU cadres in the ANC and ANC cadres in SACTU. The two organizations are separate and with separate Executive Committees and different areas of opposition to apartheid to organize and mobilise but have a common goal, and are part of the same team.

The SACTU organization in exile has a specific appeal to its fellow trade unionists in all countries. When worker talks to worker a special kind of sympathy is aroused. In the capitalist world the workers have similar problems, unemployment, inflation, lack of justice, insecurity and even more important, the same bosses. It is the same man who exploits the Afro-American in the US, the African in South Africa, the Welshman and the Spanish



*Black mine-worker in the Vaal Reef Gold mine*

worker. Fords, General Motors, the International Monetary Fund, the multinationals and the banks of the Western world are the workers' common enemy.

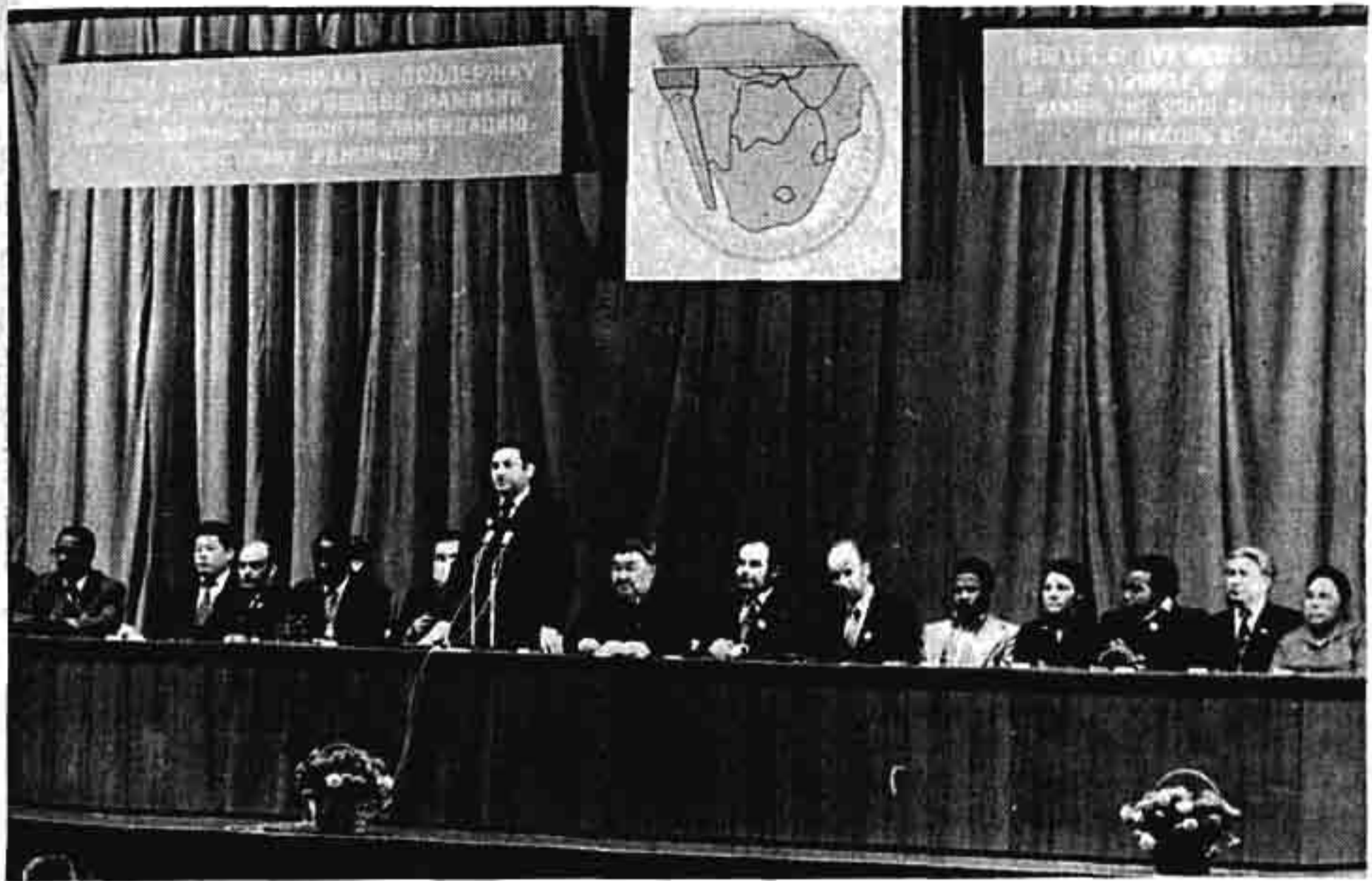
In the Socialist world and in those countries on the path to Socialism, the workers know what freedom means and give practical assistance to their brothers and sisters in struggle. From collections in factories and farms, from the sacrifices of working people all over the world come food, clothing, shelter, education, training and money for our camps, our schools, our cadres inside and outside South Africa.

Inside South Africa the African workers have, in spite of all repression, preserved their Trade Union organizations.

Something over 60,000 African workers belong to Trade Unions and the principles upon which SACTU was founded still live. Indian workers, for example, at Smith and Nephew in Natal, still value unity with their African brothers; coloured workers in the Cape still see the necessity of supporting their African brothers and sisters in

their opposition to the removal of Crossroads; the new Federation of S.A. Unions, whose future has still to be shaped, starts with a provision in its constitution "to strive for the building of a United Labour movement independent of race, colour or sex"; and most important of all the militancy and political consciousness of the workers constantly shows itself in strike actions and demonstrations in factories and mines throughout the land.

It is the unity and common purpose of SACTU and the ANC and their allies which has brought down the anger of the white state onto our heads but it is this same unity and common purpose which has given the liberation movement the stature in the world and at home, the clarity of purpose and the strength to continue the fight. We cannot but win.



*Praesidium of the Alma-Ata Seminar*

# THE ALMA-ALTA SEMINAR

*An international seminar on the "Role of Public Opinion in Support of the Struggle of the Peoples of Southern Africa against Racism, Apartheid and Colonialism" was held in Alma-Ata, capital of Kazakhstan, USSR on May 27-31, 1979. The Seminar was sponsored by the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid. It was attended by delegates from the liberation movements of Southern Africa (SWAPO, Patriotic Front and ANC of South Africa), international and national organisations from all over the world. Many papers were delivered at this Seminar. We reproduce*

*one of them here by Dr. Gorodnou from the Institute of General History, USSR Academy of Sciences.*

The African National Congress (ANC) was and remains the most popular and massive public organisation in South Africa. Founded in 1912, it became the genuine vanguard of the liberation struggle and expresses the interests of the African population of South Africa. Since 1960, when it was outlawed by the racist government of white minority, the ANC has been forced to resort to illegal forms of activity.

In this vacuum of legal public activity, the African locations displayed a stronger



*Delegates listen attentively to the proceedings*

bent to creating new public organisations which would reflect, to a certain extent, the interests of different sections of the urban population, defend these interests or just meet the demand for communication. The number of different associations, clubs and organisations, some of which call themselves parties, sharply increased in the 1960s and 1970s.

Various mass public organisations (associations, unions, clubs etc.) come into being, operate, disintergrate and reappear in South African townships and locations inhabited by Africans. These numerous organisations differ institutionally and by the contents of their activity.

It is only human to communicate, particularly with people of the same views, trade or interests. It stands to reason that all this equally applies to African urban residents in South Africa. The Oxford History of South Africa, a fundamental study of South African problems, stresses that the development of rich and diverse associative life was an amazing feature of African town communes. Way back at the end of the last century one of the official documents wrote that different

societies operated permanently in the African locations of Port Elizabeth and the disappearance of one society signalled the emergence of another one.

The present paper cannot claim a detailed analysis and assessment of the activity of all public organisations in South African locations. It only raises this problem with a view to drawing attention to it and determining the main trends of public life in the locations.

It seems possible to divide the legal public organisations existing in the African urban community into three categories, depending on their attitude to the national liberation struggle and the racist regime of Apartheid.

First, mass public organisations coming out against the racist regime and Apartheid and taking part in the liberation struggle. These include, first and foremost, the South African Students' Organisation, the South African Students' Movement, the Black People's Convention and others. Some of them operate nation-wide; others function on a local scale. The activity of these organisations and their participation in the struggle against the racist regime

were particularly pronounced during the 1976 Soweto uprising and in subsequent years. The progressive South African press (the magazines African Communist and Sechaba) widely cover and duly assess the activity of such organisations.

I would like to draw your attention to another two categories of African public organisations in South Africa. One of them, neutral towards the racist regime and Apartheid and passive about the liberation struggle, includes professional associations, church organisations, sport and culture clubs, local women's and youth organisations, and tenants' associations. As a rule, they confine their activity to the spheres of charity, recreation, amusement and religious ceremonies in a given settlement or location. Sometimes such organisations unite people of one ethnic group or even one tribe.

Finally, the third category involves organisations whose activity is sanctioned

by Pretoria's government and which collaborates with it, and, hence, are allies of the racist regime and enemies of the national liberation movement.

It is hardly expedient to provide categorical and final assessments of such organisations and declare that this or that organisation is a 100, 80 or 75 per cent reactionary. First, we do not have sufficient information for that. And the main point is that the political orientation of most public organisations and their attitude to the liberation struggle change depending on the political situation. Thus, during the Soweto uprising, i.e., at the time of a sharp aggravation of the political crisis in South Africa, many organisations increased their criticism of Apartheid and the racist regime and some of them actually backed the struggle launched by Soweto students.

Mention is to be made of those public organisations which came into being in retaliation to troubles, difficulties and



*Comrade Msika, Secretary-General of Zapu/Patriotic Front leads procession to pay tribute to the fallen heroes of the USSR.*

injustices towards Africans as well as to Apartheid and race discrimination. Some organisations often emerged spontaneously or semi-spontaneously in which people were united by common troubles and problems. After the first outbreaks of activity, however, aimed at defending the vital interests of their members, such associations were headed by the middle sections' elite. It submits the association to its own interests in an attempt to satisfy its political and social ambitions. The case in point is the Sofasonke Party.

In the early morning of March 25, 1944 several hundreds of people, having no shelter and driven to despair, started from the Orlando East Settlement (now part of Soweto) to nearby vacant plots to build huts there without appropriate sanctions of the authorities. The throng was led by James Magebula Mpanza, an "eccentric settlement demagogue", as Mary Benson characterised him in her book *The African Patriots*. The people were chanting "Sofasonke Nawe-baba" (We shall all die with our father.) The marchers had nothing to lose.

As a result of this spontaneous action in the suburbs of Johannesburg there appeared a settlement which existed till 1960. The organisation, created on the wave of this spontaneous movement by smart Mr Mpanza who added sofasonke to his name, lived much longer. Three years after the march nearly 60,000 people lived in the settlement, many of whom sincerely thought Mr Sofasonke to be their father and benefactor. The Sofasonke Party, existing to this day, is headed by Ephraim Tshabalala, one of the few African millionaires in South Africa, who takes part in all puppet consultative bodies set up by the government in the urban African settlements and actively collaborates with the racist regime. Not to lose its influence over the men-in-the-street suffering from apartheid, the Sofasonke Party affords once in a while criticism of Apartheid. Nevertheless, the leaders of this organisation, headed by African businessmen, get along with Apartheid, and are not going to "die at one" defending the interests of their rank and file members. This evolution is running counter to the goals of the struggle against racism and Apartheid.

In Soweto and other townships inhabited by Africans there is another type of organisations uniting people with common problems and difficulties. In Soweto, this type is represented by the Residents' Committee and the Rent Payers' Association. Housing is one of the most acute problems in SA. Its economic aspect is aggravated by the political (racial and Apartheid) aspects. To remain in town, the African must find housing and pay it and, besides, overcome many discriminatory barriers put up by Apartheid and the police regime. Therefore, massive associations of city dwellers are based on mutual assistance and defence from the common evil. There is hardly any doubt about the righteousness of Albert Moerane, Chairman of the Residents' Committee, who declared in January 1978 that 65 per cent of Soweto tenants backed the Committee. The position of that organisation on Apartheid was reflected in an interview granted by the above Committee's Chairman to the *Rand Daily Mail*. He spoke against bantustanization and for granting political rights to the Blacks both in the central and local bodies of government. The anti-Apartheid stand of this organisation is no doubt due to the general uprising in resistance to the racist regime after the 1976 Soweto uprising.

At the same time certain elements from among the elite of the urban sections tried to keep away from the struggle against Apartheid and the racist regime. Thus, the Chiawelo Residents Protection Party came into being in Soweto whose Chairman, Simon Nanyane declared he was backed by the 40,000-strong settlement. He also said that his organisation had nothing to do with politics and only aimed at ensuring permission to have more than one wife in town and legalising vegetable retail traders.

And a few words about another organisation whose activity has lately assumed an ominous colouring and which has turned into a tool of police terror in SA. This is makgotla, which means in the Sotho language a group of people gathering together. For a long time the Makgotla were a tribal organisation which tried to oppose juvenile delinquency in urban settlements. The Makgotla groups sometimes





*One of the excursions arranged for delegates to the Seminar*

called themselves "vigilance committees". In the course of the Soweto uprising of 1976 and especially after it, the Makgotla found themselves in the same camp with the white racists. The South African police and Justice Minister James Kruger quickly found a common language with the Makgotla leaders most of whom represented reactionary tribal circles. They were often illiterate tribal chiefs or their stooges. Legalized by the authorities, the Makgotla began combatting not so much criminals as students who had risen to fight Apartheid. This seems to be the most vivid example of a public organisation to turn from an instrument of people's protection (rather a questionable instrument at that) into a tool of police terror and suppression of the national liberation movement.

The people of South Africa are waging a hard and selfless struggle for their liberation from racism and Apartheid. The African National Congress, the vanguard of this struggle, organises and channels the fight against the racist regime of the white minority. At the same time, the ANC pays

increasing attention to political work among broad popular masses, since they alone can ensure the success of the liberation struggle. V.I. Lenin's words may be recalled in this context. He wrote that it was necessary to work with the masses. It was necessary to make sacrifices and to overcome the greatest of barriers in order to systematically, persistently and insistently propagate the ideas in those offices, societies and unions, no matter how reactionary they might be, which have a proletarian or semi-proletarian mass.

The South African public organisations, some of which have been mentioned in this paper, unite rather broad masses of the proletarian and semi-proletarian population. Their involvement in the liberation struggle by launching political work in massive public organisations (which is precisely what is done by the true patriots of South Africa's liberation) will no doubt lead to the victory of the righteous cause.

# OUR CHILDREN

*Statement of the African National Congress of South Africa Women's Secretariat on the occasion of the International Children's Day — June 1st, 1979 — International Year of the Child.*

June 1st this year has special significance for the millions of children the world over. The declaration by the United Nations of 1979 as the International Year of the Child has turned the focus of the world public on the present concerns and prospects of children the world over.

The placing of children on the top of the global agenda has prompted governments and individuals into action to secure the best for the future of mankind — children. Increased effort is being put into realising all the clauses set out in the Geneva Declaration of the Rights of the Child of 1924.

Contrary to what all concerned is doing to give to children all the happiness they

deserve, the racist minority clique of Pretoria has come up with a tactic aimed at diverting attention from the plight of our children. Instead the regime is planning to "make people aware of health" throughout the year. They want to convince the world that the infant mortality rate, which ranges up to over 200 per 1000 amongst Africans will be reduced by the elite congresses that are being planned as part of the "celebrations". These will obviously do nothing to benefit African parents and their children.

A gross violation of all principles set out by the United Nations on the child is going on in our country. The regime continues to deny our child the very basic needs — including the right to live. The practical absence of pre and post-natal facilities particularly for African mothers is a deliberate move to speed up the process of genocide against the indigenous majority.



*Our children defy racist terror during the 76 uprising in Soweto*

The right to a decent education is completely rejected by the butchers of the South African children. The flame of outright rejection of Bantu Education, a system worked out to produce only slaves for the white South African economy, is still burning in our country. The demands for a free and compulsory education that are enshrined in the Freedom Charter — the democratic document outlining the aspirations of a free South Africa — are being reiterated by our youth and students throughout the country.

In a futile attempt to curb the anger of our people the Vorster-Botha clique has added cosmetic changes to Bantu Education in the form of changing the name into Department of Training and Education. We are not deceived. The content remains the same, and we shall continue to fight against this inferior hand-out until all children regardless of colour or creed, enjoy equal educational facilities.

The exploitation of the labour of our children has long been a cause for concern. This inhuman cruelty to our innocent children goes on without any legal prohibitions by the regime. No opportunities and facilities are given to enable the African child to enjoy the benefits of social security.

The basic need for parental care, a precondition for the full development of the child, is substituted by merciless separation of infants from their mothers. The arbitrary forced removals of our people from one area to distant and unknown so-called "resettlement" areas have become a daily phenomenon in our country. Thousands of children are torn away from their parents.

The openly discriminatory and aggressive policies of the regime have instilled in our children a deep hatred for the regime. The active participation of our children in the demonstrations that have become a daily phenomenon in South Africa is not surprising. The policies of apartheid have created deep rooted hatred amongst people of different colour. The psychological effects of growing up in an atmosphere devoid of understanding, tolerance, friendship and brotherhood amongst peoples have resulted in children of 10 years of age and less moving into the streets to confront the enemy.

This justified rebellion against the enemy by our children has been met with the most violent reaction towards these unarmed fighters for peace. Thousands of children are butchered by unarmed police in the streets of our country. On the other hand an open



*A gross violation of the UN Declaration — hungry black school children queue for food*

violation of set international law against the imprisonment of children is taking place. Scores of our children, dozens of them below 10 years of age, are languishing in fascist dungeons.

The memory of the brutal execution of our young patriot and freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu is still fresh in us. The joint struggle of all forces inside and outside the country to save his life is an example to be followed in future, with more vigour, to stop a recurrence.

It is in this grave situation that we call upon our women, South African mothers of all races, to pay special attention to our precious possession — children. Let us unite to fight for the preservation of the future of South Africa — our children. Surely a stop must be put to the waste of human resources by the regime. Concentrate all efforts in the common struggle to make South Africa a happier place for all children, regardless of race, colour, sex or creed. History will never pardon us if we actively or passively condone the genocide and total brutality conducted by the regime against our children — whose only crime is that they were not born white.

Events inside the country are a clear indication of the unprecedented heights that our struggle has reached over the past few months. In all corners of our country units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the revolutionary army of our movement, are sending the enemy running in fear. The recent attack of the Moroka police station by combatants of our movement are signs of the language of armed struggle we have decided to speak. We have been forced into this situation by the aggressive nature of the fascist minority Vorster-Botha clique.

We call upon our women's units in the external mission to intensify the struggle for the recognition of the plight of the South African child by the international community. Let the hundreds of children growing up under the extremely harsh conditions of exile celebrate June 1st, 1979 with renewed hope that they will soon secure a place to stay in their motherland.

These aspirations cannot be realised without the support of the international community. The child of every country

is a symbol of the struggle to save mankind. The fight for the rights of the child in South Africa is inseparable from our struggle to save the world from the evils of apartheid — this crime against humanity.

We are particularly concerned and indignant by the continuing military and economic collaboration of the imperialist countries with the apartheid regime. Despite all resolutions made through the United Nations for the isolation of South Africa, the United States, Britain, France and West Germany continue to arm the butchers of our children. For the sake of preservation of the future generation we demand an observance of the rules set out by international opinion by these allies of the Pretoria fascists.

We call upon all concerned to support the struggle of the South African people, led by the ANC(SA). This will be your most effective contribution towards the struggle to save the children of South Africa. Join us in making these demands to the Vorster-Botha regime:

- \* provide all measures to ensure the right of the child to life
- \* stop the massacre of innocent children
- \* stop the arbitrary separation of infants from their mothers
- \* stop the cruel exploitation of child labour
- \* no child must suffer any form of discrimination because of race, colour, sex, religion, political or other reason
- \* demand the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees amongst whom are children
- \* demand compulsory national education for all children for a better and secure future for all children

Long live our children, our precious possession. May there always be sunshine for all children in the Year of the Child and Year of the Spear.

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!**

**MATLA KE A RONA!**

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

# SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN



In this Year of the Spear, in this International Year of the Child, on South Africa Women's Day, August 9, 1979, our thoughts go naturally first to those women whose suffering for the cause of liberation has come to the fore in the recent past.

In particular we must pay tribute to Mrs Martha Mahlangu, our first guerrilla fighter sentenced to death and murdered by the racist Botha regime on April 6th. She stood by her brave young son throughout his detention, trial and for the year in which he awaited execution after being sentenced to death.

The execution was carried out in spite of worldwide protest and pressure on a scale never before achieved. The racists chose the time when world attention was focussed on the execution of Ali Bhutto of Pakistan, hoping that this would dim the outcry. However, their strategem was to no avail and even the Security Council took the unprecedented step of calling on the South Africans not to carry out the execution.

Inside South Africa, too, the people, far from being deterred by his murder, united behind Solomon Mahlangu and what he stood for, and there is no doubt that

his death made the ordinary people, both young and old, more determined than ever to end the hated apartheid tyranny.

Our thoughts go to the mother of Mondy Motloug, the young freedom fighter with Solomon Mahlangu who was so badly brain damaged that he was not able to stand trial and even to this day is being kept in an institution. At the time of the execution of Solomon, when Mondy Motloug's mother went as usual to visit him, she was told that he had been removed. Some callous unknown South African officials — maybe the police maybe the Special Branch — had taken him away and it was many weeks before she found out his new place of detention.

We should remember Pauline Mohale, the only woman in the Pretoria 12 Trial, later acquitted, who suffered severe torture at the hands of her interrogators. She was thrown out of a third floor window — almost another addition to the notorious list of murders in detention. Her courage, her loyalty, her sacrifice for the cause in which she believes will always be remembered.

As, too, will the saga of Gladys Manzi-Msomi, mother of four who spent twenty . 19



*Lilian Ngoyi*

months in solitary confinement, detained and then released without being charged, but to face her third five-year banning order on the very day of her release from prison.

Dorothy Nyembe, serving the tenth year of her 15-year sentence is another woman whose name will be in the forefront of the minds of South African women everywhere when they remember August 9th 1956 and when they re-dedicate themselves to the fight for the liberation of their country. She together with Pauline Lekula, Edith Mble, Joyce Mashamba, Esther Maleka, Zandisile Tsiki, Josephine Bookholoane are some of the women serving prison sentences — sentences for which there is no remission. Like all political prisoners held in prisons throughout South Africa, these women are denied newspapers, the radio and other facilities which all other prisoners get. The regime punishes its political opponents over and above their sentence by making life doubly hard for them. However, this discrimination only makes them doubly determined to carry on.

### Workers under Apartheid

Black women bear the brunt of Apartheid oppression and exploitation. African women

are the lowest paid workers in South Africa. In 1970 one in three African workers was a woman earning on average less than half African men are paid and 8% of an average white man's earnings.

Over 60 per cent of African women are employed as domestic or agricultural workers — and this means that they have no right to a minimum wage or to unemployment insurance. Housing is a problem — urban housing regulations declare that no woman, whether or not she is a breadwinner of a family, may be the registered tenant of a house.

In the rural areas, there is a total ban on recruitment of women to work in towns, although their menfolk are recruited. This means that African women are trapped in the bantustans, with all the responsibilities and none of the security of married life.

In this Year of the Spear we should look to their history, to the glorious contribution of the women of South Africa, who, as early as 1913, one year after the formation of the African National Congress, launched a successful and militant campaign against the extension of the pass laws to women. It was not until more than half a century later that the regime finally imposed pass laws on the women. Campaign after campaign staved off the evil day, perhaps the most impressive of any demonstration being the triumphant gathering of 20,000 women outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria on August 9, 1956, the day from which our Women's Day dates.

Not only were the pass laws a target, but also Bantu Education, forced removals, and women played their part in every campaign — bus boycotts, Defiance Campaign, strikes, stay-at-homes, demonstration-demonstrations. Throughout the history of the liberation movement, women have stood side by side with the men, determined to fight for the end of the hated apartheid regime. They play their historic role as workers in the South African Communist Party, determined to see the end not only of apartheid, but also of the capitalist system; they play their role as full participants in the African National Congress and in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing; they play their part as women trying

to end their exploitation also by their men. For black women face a unique triple exploitation and, though their fight may be a threefold one, they are big enough and strong enough and determined enough to help make freedom a reality for all in South Africa.

On August 9, 1979, in the Year of the Spear, we call on women inside South Africa to strengthen their resolve to oust Botha and his henchmen; we call on the workers and young people to join the organisations of the liberation movement. And we call on the international community to increase moral and material support to

the African National Congress, to support the armed struggle, to demand that all guerrilla fighters captured by the enemy be treated as prisoners of war in terms of the Geneva Conventions, to demand the end of torture and murder of detainees, to work for a complete arms embargo on South Africa, for complete sanctions against South Africa and to isolate South Africa on every front!  
Forward to freedom!  
Amandla Ngawethu!

## LETTER TO THE EDITOR



Dear Comrade,

In your May issue on page 19 you show a picture of a child awkwardly holding a rifle far too big for him. In the absence of a caption I find myself at a loss to understand

what this photo is intended to convey. Certainly a number of interpretations could be placed on it.

In the days of my boyhood there was a weekly adventure story magazine which was very popular in our school. The magazine devoted itself mainly to extolling imperialist adventures in the colonies. On looking at the photograph on page 19 of your May issue I recall a picture which was published in the adventure magazine I have just mentioned. It showed a white boy, about the same age as the child in your photo, smartly holding a rifle and standing rigidly at attention. The picture was captioned "He has the right idea".

It is not difficult to grasp what "the right idea" is. It is invasion of and aggression on other peoples' countries, the dispossession and enslavement of other peoples for the glory of king and empire.

In contrast to the caption and picture in the adventure magazine of my school days I venture to caption the photograph on page 19 of your May issue as follows — "Our victory means that he will never have to carry one nor face one".

Surely this is what our armed struggle is all about. It is not an everlasting process. The victory of our South African revolution bringing with it the destruction of the South African state and all its power organs means the liquidation and the disarming of the aggressor.

....continued

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Our new South African state will live in peace and friendship with its neighbours and be devoted to the cause of peace and friendship among the peoples. This policy is firmly laid down in the Freedom Charter — the blueprint for the great and peaceful state which we are going to create. Our peace-loving state, too, will make its contribution to the various international forums to mankind's struggle for peace and disarmament.

In our liberated country the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the people's militia will safeguard the gains of the revolution. But this, too, is not an everlasting process. With the progress of the process of detente and with mankind's advance along the road towards a world without arms, it will become ever less necessary to carry arms for our defence.

With the advance of mankind towards a

world without arms the real means of power will be in the hands of the people — books of learning and the complicated machines for creating material wealth for the ever raising of the living and cultural standards of the people. In a world without arms and the real means of power in the hands of the peoples mankind's achievements, like our glorious and boundless universe, are limitless. This is an everlasting process.

I see the child on page 19 of your May issue carrying not a rifle but the highest quality school books as a child and as an adult; the operating of a complicated machine — like a spaceship for instance. This is what our armed struggle is all about and this is the process which the day of our final triumph will set in motion.

Yours for a free and happy South Africa.

Amandla Maatla

*Arnold Selby*

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## Our reply:

We regret that Comrade Selby misunderstood our photograph on page 19 and even went to the extent of comparing it with a picture he saw in a white magazine in South Africa meant for white students.

It goes without saying that Sechaba is mainly aimed at our people who are mainly the black majority of our country and therefore the aims are different. But there is more to his letter. He suggests that the armed defence of our revolutionary gains — after liberation — “is not an ever lasting process” but a transient one which will be replaced by concentration on learning and upliftment of the living standards of our people.

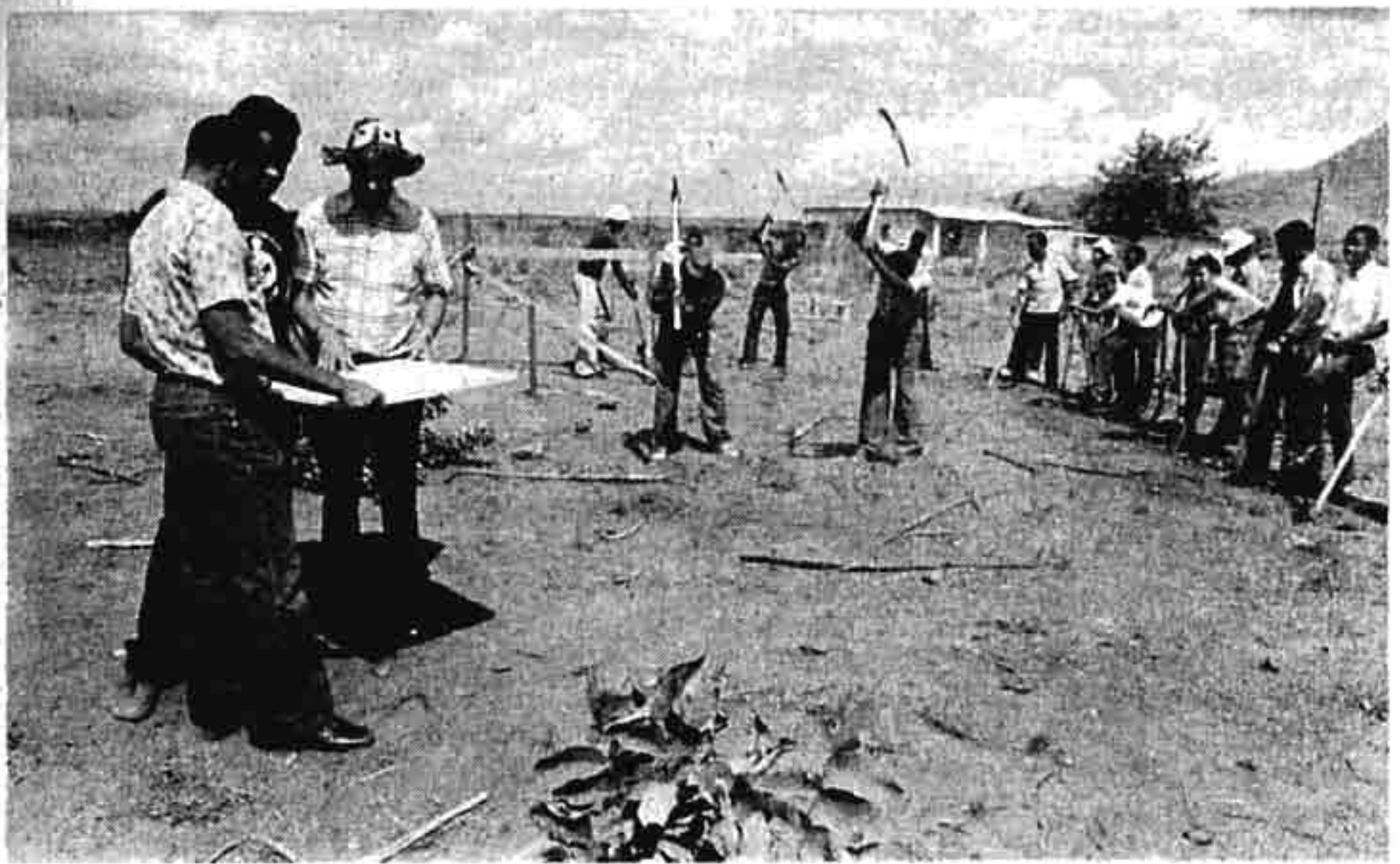
This is perhaps where we differ. We do not see any contradiction between arming our people with the most sophisticated weapons and the struggle for peace — after all the revolutions in Angola, Mozambique, the frontline states, the whole of Africa and even in Vietnam teach us one lesson: a revolution that cannot defend

itself is doomed to failure. We cannot defend the South African revolution with pens and pencils.

It is true that imperialism is becoming weaker but it is far from a “paper tiger” — that is why the ANC is teaching its cadres in Umkhonto we Sizwe that it is not enough to die for freedom we must also learn to kill for freedom. In short our armed cadres in Umkhonto we Sizwe are not just fighting to liberate the country from colonialism, racism and fascism but also to defend that revolution from internal and external enemies. “A world without arms” is a good slogan we should fight for but let us not lose sight of present day reality otherwise we will degenerate to pacifism and therefore become victims of international imperialism which is still economically and militarily very strong and aggressive.

*The Editor*





*Diggings for the first foundations for a dormitory*

## **NEW ANC SCHOOL**

Reacting to the crisis which is taking place within the country, the ANC has decided to streamline and improve its machinery, departments and sub-departments dealing with various aspects of our work. The creation of the Department of Education and Culture was one such a move. With South Africa embroiled in an educational crisis, it was created to meet the demands of our movement and our people. The formation of this Department is an attempt to meet this challenge and to create an alternative to Bantu Education.

The decision of the NEC of the ANC (SA) to establish last year the Department of Education and Culture is symptomatic of the new, revolutionary phase of the struggle against Apartheid, heralded by the

armed struggle and the adoption in 1969 of 'The Strategy and Tactics of the South African Revolution'. Whereas previously educational work had mainly been concerned with scholarships, the new situation demanded a system of education which was an integral part of the Revolutionary Movement.

There arose the need to provide education for the growing army of ANC members and their children, and above all, for the students who left South Africa after the nationwide uprising of 1976 in order to acquire an education provided by the ANC.

In 1977, thanks to the generosity of the Tanzanian Government which made a 600 acre site available at Mazimbu, Morogoro,

the setting up of the ANC School began, followed in 1978 by the formation of the Department of Education and Culture. Up to this time education committees existed in 3 regions of the external mission. These committees were predominantly engaged in solidarity work. They were, together with a further 3 regional committees, incorporated into the Department of Education and Culture. Comrade Sindiso Mfenyana, Head of the Dept of Professional Bodies, was in addition made the Coordinating Secretary of the Dept of Education and Culture.

The immediate task of the Department was to establish the School at Mazimbu. Representatives of the 6 regional education committees, together with the Coordinating Secretary and the Education Officer (Comrade Maindy Msimang) met at Mazimbu in October 1978. This body, known as the Council of the Education Department, would be joined at subsequent six-monthly meetings by the Director of the Mazimbu Complex and Principal of the School. The Council's function is to receive reports on the various projects of the Education Dept and recommend policies.

The first Council Meeting, held in the tranquil setting of Mazimbu, in a renovated

building which was in colonial times the office of the manager of the Mazimbu Sisal Estate, was opened by Comrade Reddy Mazimba, the Chief Representative in East Africa. He said that the importance of the Meeting lay in the magnitude of its purpose, that is, to chart the path for the proper education of the people of South Africa. The racist regime, he said, had for too long deprived our people of full education in order to keep them ignorant and poor.

The aims and principles of ANC education policy, adopted at the Meeting, emphasise the revolutionary role of education, as opposed to seeing it in a purely technical way. ANC education aims to prepare cadres to serve the national liberation struggle and to enable them to participate in the reconstruction of a liberated South Africa.

The general principles of ANC education policy emerge from those enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Education is to be geared towards the creation of a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole. It is to be accessible to all irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed and to draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge and progressive cultural



*Teachers' residence at the School*



traditions of the people of South Africa and the world. Our education will combat the division between mental and manual labour and the artificial separation of the arts and sciences. There will be full democratic and creative participation of students,

teachers and the community in all educational activities, and, finally, the educational programme shall develop in keeping with the demands of the situation in a changing world.

Not only do these aims and principles

contrast starkly with those of Christian National Education, but they give the school as an educational institution a political conception, to be seen as an integral part of the Revolutionary Movement.

Each regional Education Committee was allocated syllabuses to prepare within a rigid timetable. It is a tribute to the Committees and to the Coordinating Secretary that syllabuses were ready for adoption at the second Council Meeting held this Easter. At this Meeting the implementation of the syllabuses, the recruitment of staff, timetabling, certification, social organisation at Mazimbu, the relationship of the Dept of Education and Culture with other sectors of the Movement and construction matters were among the items discussed. The School, yet to be given a name, was declared open. On the occasion of the third Council Meeting later this year an official opening ceremony will be performed by Comrade O.R. Tambo, President of the ANC.

As the plan of the Mazimbu School Complex shows, a colossal construction programme is under way. Although there has been unavoidable delay due, for instance, to a shortage of cement, the first classrooms, dormitories and staff houses will be ready soon. The effort required will come in no small way from the voluntary labour of ANC cadres in East Africa. The LETSEMA called on the occasion of the 67th Anniversary of the ANC (see SECHABA, April 1979) was enormously productive and shows the dedication of our cadres.

No visitor to Mazimbu can leave without being inspired by the quality and political commitment of the students. It finds expression in song, poetry, dance and drama which they create and organise themselves. The highlight of the two Council Meetings was the cultural entertainment performed by the students. One is left in no doubt that these young cadres are indeed the NEW South Africans!

Many problems and a massive amount of work remain but, significantly, in this the Year of the Spear, magnificent progress has been made at Mazimbu and in the sphere of education in general.

## THE STRUCTURE OF THE DEPT OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### NATIONAL EDUCATION COUNCIL

*Chairman:* Secretary-General; *Secretary:* Education Officer. *The membership:* President of the ANC; Treasurer-General; Director of Complex; Reps of SACTU, Women's Section, Youth Section, International Dept; Chairpersons of regional Education Committees.

### COUNCIL OF THE EDUCATION DEPT

*Chairman:* Coordinating Secretary of the Dept of Education; ANC Education Officer; Director of the Complex; Principal of the School; Reps of the regional Educational Committees.

### SCHOOL ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE

*Chairman:* Director of Complex  
Principal; Bursar; School Secretary;  
Political Commissar; Reps of Staff  
Committee, Student Representative  
Committee, Medical Committee,  
Catering, Transport, Production and  
Logistic Committees.

### THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

*Chairman:* Coordinating Secretary  
*Secretary:* the Education Officer  
Director of the Complex; Principal of  
the School; the political commissar of  
the School; Bursar; reps of the students,  
staff and the RPC.

# OBITUARY

Cecil Williams, well-known man of the theatre and member of the liberation movement, died in London on May 6 after a short illness. Born in Cornwall on October 23, 1909, Cecil was educated there and in South Africa, where he obtained his Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of the Witwatersrand. Afterwards he taught at King Edwards School in Johannesburg.

From his earliest days in South Africa Cecil Williams was in revolt against the system of race discrimination, and his protest was brought to a high pitch by the crusade against Hitlerism in which he took part as an officer in the South African Navy. Towards the end of the war he was seconded to the Information Service then directed by the late Leo Marquard which did an outstanding job in explaining to the troops what the war was all about, trying to instil in them a hatred of fascism and racism which would not only help them to fight and win the war, but which they would carry back with them into civilian life and would help change the face of South Africa. As director of the army education school which operated in Florence after the ceasefire, Cecil played a vital part in directing the thinking of the troops into progressive channels.

During this period and later Cecil was a leading figure in the Springbok Legion, the ex-servicemen's organisation born of the war which aimed to ensure that the freedoms set out in the Atlantic Charter were not suffocated by the bigotry of the white racists when the troops got back home. After demobilisation, he threw up his teaching job to become a national official in the Springbok Legion, and was also one of the founders of the Torch Commando which rallied tens of thousands against the Nationalist Government's plan to abolish the Coloured vote. He also joined

the Communist Party, of which he remained a lifelong supporter.

The other love of his life was the theatre, in which he soon showed that as director and actor he had an important contribution to make. He chose plays with a progressive content, with a message, like "Kimberley Train", "Home of the Brave", "The Strong are Lonely", and he made theatrical history when, for the first time in a professional production, he brought black and white actors together in the leading roles in Sartre's play "The Respectable Prostitute".

In 1955 Cecil Williams toured China, the Soviet Union, Poland, France and England and, on his way home, Senegal, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, Nigeria and the then Belgian Congo. During this tour, he led the South African delegation to the Helsinki Congress of the World Peace Movement. On his return to Johannesburg in 1956 he told the newspaper 'New Age':

"The advance to freedom and independent statehood of the peoples of Africa exposes the policies of the South African Government for their utter futility and stupidity". He also lectured on his experiences in all the main centres of South Africa. For these 'crimes' he had his passport taken away.

Early in 1962 the authorities took further action against him, banning him from public meetings and confining him to the magisterial district of Johannesburg. But Cecil refused to be cowed or confined. A few months later he placed his car and his services at the disposal of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, then living underground and wanting to undertake a mission to Natal. On their way back from Durban, Cecil Williams was driving their car when he and Mandela were cornered by three carloads of security police on August 5, 27

1962. Mandela has been in prison since that day, and Cecil Williams might well have shared the same fate had the authorities not tried to make him give evidence against his leader.

But they had chosen the wrong man. Subpoenaed to appear in court, Cecil refused to give evidence and was given a prison sentence, but was allowed out on bail and placed under house arrest pending appeal. With the certainty of jail confronting him, and the prospect that he might never be released, he decided the time had come to leave South Africa.

Like most South Africans, Cecil Williams suffered in exile. Though not born in South Africa, his heart was there, his place was there. Nevertheless, he soldiered on. He retained his contacts with the political movement and gave it his support whenever he was able. Earlier this year, though not well, Cecil turned out to take his part in the demonstration in London called to protest against China's brutal invasion of Vietnam. He was a humanist and internationalist in all his thinking.

A few days before his death, discussing

his physical condition with his brother Bill, Cecil said:

"I contemplate death with complete equanimity. The only thing I would like is to make a speech at my cremation".

"What would you say?", asked Bill.

"I would say I've had a wonderful, wonderful life. I am glad that I had the good sense to join the Communist Party of South Africa, firstly because it gave me the sense of the real purpose of life, secondly because it gave me an understanding of the motive forces in the history of mankind, and thirdly because it brought me amongst the most wonderful people. I would finish up by saying: 'Thank you all. You've been absolutely marvellous'".

Cecil Williams, who brought brightness into the homes of all he visited, who dazzled with his talent, whose charm was rooted in a kind heart, whose courage was based on the firmness of his conviction, will live on in the memory of all who knew him.

# ISANDHLWANA

Mma .....lo...n-n-a wee...!!!

Mma .. ijoo...!!

Mosimane wa Monyesemane  
a thaba mlkgosi, a re:

Se mpolaele ruri morwarra,  
ke setse ke ineetse,

Se nkgale tlhogo mogolole,  
ke setse ke somotse tlhoboro dikolo,  
ya re a ise a metse lentswe la bofelo,

Senatla sa molwela-tokologo,  
se bo se setse se itepatepantse le ena,  
ka ponyo ya leitlho,

sekebeka sa ritwagangwa le lerole,

Gwa utlwala motswiditswidi wa lerumo  
 Lerumo la ngwana wa thari e ntsho,  
 A se le kolope, lekolwane la mephato  
 e e sa itseng boboi,  
 A le totometsa ka le le jang mabele  
 A ritarita mosimane wa Monyesemane  
 Nkete o kokonwa ke sekanangwane,  
 La relela lerumo, la itotsa ka madi a kgaphamadi,  
 La relela lerumo, la itotsa ka madi a kgaphamadi,  
 La re go fitlhela a le botobetobe  
 Ka mafura a lefatshe la borrarona,  
 la mo kgabag-anya, la phunyeletsa,  
 la kgkgamolola mosima wa ramoswe  
 la tlabola ramoswe mokokotlo,  
 Mma....lo...n-n-a wee...!!!  
 Mma..ijoo...!!  
 Gwa utlwala mokgosi maphateng a dithaba,  
 W-a tidimanya mokgosi, wa tsosa Mmakgaphamadi  
 wa Egelane!  
 Wa belebetsa, wa amogelwa ga Ramapulane,  
 Wa sutlha Kimberley wa wela Lemana  
 Motha a re : se betwe ke pelo ngwana'ntsalaka,  
 lefatshe la Afrika-Borwa ke la Borragomogolo,  
 Ke boswa jwa gago, ke boswa kwa rona, ga bo na mmala,  
 Madi a dinatla tsa thari e ntsho ga se metsi, ga a kgale  
 A re tlhapeng ka ona bagaetsho,  
 Ke madi a tokologo,  
 A re a letleng bagaetsho,  
 Ke madi a tokologo,  
 A re a letleng bagaetsho,  
 go nna leobu la makolwane a Lerumo la Setshaba  
 Bagaitsho, a re se itebatseng Tseo  
 ya lefatshe la rona ka diphafana,  
 A re se e itebatseng ka boroko,  
 A re se e itebatseng ka go tlhoka boammaaruri,  
 A re somoleng mamapo ditsebeng bagaetsho,  
 re itlhotlhore bubi bokong,  
 re lemoge ge re le seopasengwe  
 re le bana ba thari e ntsho,

Bagaitshi, sekai-botlotla ke sa Isandlwana, -  
Sekai ke sa ga Moshoeshe,  
Sekai ke sa ga Makana,  
Sekai ke sa ga Hintsa,  
Sekai ke sa ga Shaka,  
Dingane le Sekhukhuni  
Luthuli le Solomon Mahlangu,  
Bagaitsho, a re tlhabeleng Lerumo la Setshaba  
ka madi a dinatla tse di oleng,  
Ke lona leokwane, leokwane la puso-ka-batho,  
A re itsotsoropanyeng mmogo bana ba thari e ntsho,  
Matsatsi a sera san rona a balwa ka menwana  
Leso kgotsa botshelo kgololotshego e dialeng tsa rona !.

*Mathekane Medupe*





# SOWETO REVISITED

*Soweto — Black Revolt, White Reaction;* by John Kane-Berman; Ravan Press, Johannesburg 1979.

A great deal of research has gone into this book, and it would have been more useful as a work of reference if the writer had done more about coming to grips with the problems of organising the mass of information he presents. As it is, there is no index, and the chapter headings are an inadequate guide. Some of the history of urban housing for Blacks, for example is in Chapter 6; some is in Chapter 13. If I want to turn again to the horrifying account of how the police gunned down mourners at the funeral of 22-year old Jacob Mashobane "while the family of the dead student huddled together in the mourners' car, sobbing bitterly," I have to search for it for some time. This is a pity, because the reader might well want to refer again to the sections dealing with the uprising itself, its continuation, its spread to other parts of South Africa, the brutal and repressive reaction of the police, and the response of white South Africa as a whole (sections of which came round to accepting the idea of a slightly better economic deal for Blacks, while refusing to move an inch on the question of civil and political rights). These sections of the book are well documented, carefully prepared from newspaper and other reports, useful and informative.

There are chapters and sections where the writer attempts to relate the uprising to the whole system of political and economic repression in South Africa, and here he deals with such matters as the history of the black workers in the cities, the history of urban housing for Blacks, the history of land tenure and ownership.

Kane-Berman relates the revolt to the intense frustration felt by black people

in South Africa, and the restrictions that they live under, but he fails to relate it to the history of struggle, or to see it as part of a tradition of resistance.

In '76, stay-at-homes and don't-buy campaigns had long been established forms of political protest in Soweto and other black townships. The parents who stayed away from work in '76 had experience of, or memories of, the stay-at-homes of the fifties and sixties. The slogan "Azikhwelwa" (meaning "we don't ride") which Kane-Berman mentions as having accompanied the second stay-at-home of August '76, lived in the memories of older people as the slogan of the great bus boycott of '57 (though Kane-Berman doesn't mention this piece of history). It's not surprising, either, that the student protest found active support among the black trade unions, for the black unions, too, have a record of militancy — an analysis made soon after the Congress-led stay-at-home in '61 showed that it had been supported most strongly in those industries which had been organised by SACTU.

Of the 'black consciousness' movement, Kane-Berman says, for example: "The first priority of the movement was to rid the black man of his inferior status and slave mentality...blacks must build up their own organisations so as to be able to bargain with whites from a position of strength and self-reliance, rather than have to beg for concessions." These ideas aren't new; they were and still are, embedded in the policy of the ANC, which, as a black organisation, was banned precisely because it didn't "beg for concessions", but demanded radical change and took militant action in support of its demands. Its members are now persecuted because it continued to organise and to take militant action after it was banned.



The history of Congress organisation and Congress-led campaigns in the forties, fifties and sixties, the list of those who have died in detention, the list of those who have been gaoled for political activity, the number of those who, since 1961, have joined the armed struggle — none of these bear witness to a “slave mentality” among the black people of South Africa. They bear witness instead to a long, continuous tradition of militancy, determination, courage, dignity and national pride.

The revolutionary spirit of the young black generation gives us great hope for the future, but it is part of the continuity of struggle, part of a great groundswell of revolutionary feeling and revolutionary activity. It cannot be seen in isolation.

*J.M.*

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