

FEBRUARY 1984



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



RACIST AGGRESSION IN ANGOLA

SECHABA

FEBRUARY ISSUE 1984



P. O. BOX 38, 28 PENTON STREET
LONDON N1 9PR UNITED KINGDOM
TELEGRAMS: MAYIBUYE · TELEX: 299555ANCSAG · TELEPHONE: 01-837-2012

**SEND YOUR ORDERS NOW TO
SECHABA PUBLICATIONS**
P.O. Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR

CONTENTS

ALL ORDERS OF TEN OR MORE COPIES –
50% DISCOUNT
KINDLY INCLUDE A DONATION WITH YOUR
ORDER IF POSSIBLE
SAMPLE COPIES OF *SECHABA* AVAILABLE ON
REQUEST IF ACCOMPANIED BY A POSTAL ORDER
(OR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH STAMPS)
TO DEFRAY POSTAL COSTS

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

USA and CANADA (airmail only) \$12,00
ELSEWHERE £ 6,00
SINGLE COPIES
USA and CANADA (airmail only) \$ 3,00
ELSEWHERE £ 0,50

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

**VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE
SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY**

RADIO LUANDA

shortwave, 40 & 30 m bands;
medium wave 27,6 m band–7,30 pm daily

RADIO LUSAKA

shortwave 31 m band, 9580 KHz, 7,15–8 pm,
Monday – Friday
10,05–10,35 pm Wednesday, 10,30–11 pm Friday
7–8 pm Saturday + Sunday, 8–8,45 pm, 19 mb,
17895 KHz

RADIO MADAGASCAR

shortwave 49 m band, 6135 KHz–8-9 pm daily

RADIO ETHIOPIA

shortwave 31 m band, 9545 KHz · 9,30–10,00 pm
daily

RADIO TANZANIA

shortwave 19 m band, 15.435 KHz
8,15 pm – Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday;
31 m band–6,15 am Tuesday, Thursday and
Saturday

EDITORIAL	
Gatsha Buthelezi Thunders	1
DURBAN – THINGS ARE ABOUT TO ERUPT	
By Nyawuza	3
PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT	
Year of the Women	6
PUBLIC HEARING ACCUSES SOUTH AFRICA OF AGGRESSION	7
By A Sechaba Correspondent	
SOME REFLECTIONS ON BOTHA'S 'REFORM' POLICY	
By Alex Mashinini	13
ANC INTERNATIONAL	17
NEWLY RELEASED POLITICAL PRISONER SPEAKS	
By David Rabkin	19
BOOK REVIEWS	21
LETTER TO THE EDITOR	
By Arnold Selby	29
POEM	
By Mbongi Koki	31
COVER CAPTION	
The cover photographs show the results of South African bombing in Angola. The devastation shown on the front cover is in Cahama and that on the back cover in Kunene Province.	



Gatsha Buthelezi Thunders

Lately there has been a lot of violence from Inkatha members – not so much against the racist regime as against those organisations which are confronting the regime! Let us take a few instances.

In November it was announced that the University of Zululand would be closed and all examinations postponed until January. This was after clashes between the students and supporters of Inkatha, which is headed by Gatsha Buthelezi. Five students were killed in the incident, and hundreds were injured.

This incident sparked a lot of protest and uproar within the black community. More than three thousand students at Turfloop burned an effigy of Gatsha in protest against the violence, and other black organisations registered their protest.

Inkatha was involved in another incident that ended in violence and intimidation. Archie Gumede, national president of the UDF, said a large crowd of armed Inkatha Youth members attacked a prayer meeting in Hammarsdale, Natal, called by the Mpumalanga Youth Organisation, a body loyal to the UDF. Inkatha youth prevented people from

leaving the hall at the end of the meeting. They burned a bus, slashed its tyres and smashed many car windows. They attacked people who attempted to douse the flames from the burning bus.

In another incident, in a church conference in Melmoth in KwaZulu, people fled for their lives after the arrival of a number of Inkatha members, and after the third annual conference of the Alliance of Black Reformed Churches in South Africa (Abreca), led by Dr Allan Boesak, people fled to Durban in convoy after a confrontation with Inkatha members, who were aggressive, hostile and intimidating.

These incidents were ugly. What was even uglier was Gatsha Buthelezi's response in a statement on the events of the 29th October 1983, which he made on November 2nd 1983 to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. We shall not go at length into this rigmarole of self-praise and self-justification spiced with incoherence and political naivete.

Whilst deploring violence "in general," Gatsha Buthelezi justifies the violence of Inkatha – against other Blacks – saying that

the violence that erupted at the University "was not of our making," but was "orchestrated by cliques of mischief makers."

He spoke as if he was a member of the Special Branch when he said:

"I know the background to the formation of COSAS. It was formed as a front organisation for the ANC's mission in exile,"

and his illogical mind led him to the absurd conclusion:

"In the student body there is no spontaneous opposition to me by students and we know that the cliques there who agitate for violent opposition represent an unholy partnership between BOSS and the ANC mission in exile acting through their nominees and surrogates."

His language differed little from that of the apartheid architects when he talked of "people from other parts of the country with different ethnic origins" who cannot be tolerated, that is people "from other ethnic backgrounds who do nothing about the terrible circumstances ... in the places where they come from."

Gatsha Buthelezi likes to talk about fighting to protect his honour – an honour which has to be protected at the cost of innocent young lives and injuries to many others. What we know is that honour is earned, and not protected by violence.

Archie Gumede hit the nail on the head when he said,

"If he is willing to exercise control over his followers, then there will be no problems. But if he is going to use them like the Nazi Youth, then there will be problems."

Gatsha's talk about "non-violence" is just empty talk, because he is very violent against Blacks. Perhaps this is what he means by national liberation struggle.



DURBAN —

THINGS ARE ABOUT TO ERUPT

By Nyawuza

It has been said quite often that the 'hot spots' in South Africa today are the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Natal. Whilst agreeing with this assessment in this article, we shall deal with Durban especially.

Lamontville, Chesterville and Clermont

Lamontville and Chesterville were the early township developments for Blacks, which arose following the Urban Act of 1923. Both townships were built by the City Council, funded by government funds. Both areas remained under the administration of the City Council until 1972, when they were ultimately taken over by the Port Natal Administration Board. This means that the houses are now more than fifty years old, and naturally require maintenance. People complain about the ingress of water into houses caused by poor drainage, severe cracking of the walls, broken drainpipes, and broken windows replaced by opaque plastic. In some cases, houses need to be demolished and rebuilt. Road surfaces need repairing. There is lack of sidewalks, inadequate storm water drainage, and a poor standard of refuse removal.

During 1983, or even before, there was no peace in this area. Cases of police brutality were reported — indeed a state of undeclared martial law — assaults and use of tear gas canisters. As a result, children complain of severe headaches, sore eyes and itching bodies; some

people have been shot dead, others have pellets lodged in their bodies. People have been told to lie on the bonnets of police Land Rovers while being driven to the police stations. This is supposed to prevent people from throwing stones at the police!

Much more has happened, but the newspapers are not allowed to publish everything because Section 27b of the Police Act restricts newspapers in their reporting of police matters.

What Has Actually Happened?

Riot police, in camouflage uniform confronted hundreds of Lamontville people who had gathered at Durban's Magistrates' Court. They had gathered for the hearing of a bail application of one of the four men who killed the Lamontville community leader, Msizi Harrison Dube, aged fifty, who was shot dead at his home on April 25th.

Dube spent three years on Robben Island because of his ANC activities. A former member of the ANC Youth League, Dube was gaol-ed in 1963. On his release, he developed into a civil rights campaigner, and because of his activities, Lamontville became one of the townships where people took an active interest in council affairs. He succeeded in preventing widows being forced from their homes until the traditional one-year mourning per-

iod had expired, and registration of work-seekers in Lamontville was discarded.

At his funeral the chairman of the Joint Rent Action Committee, Richard Gumede, told the ten thousand mourners to boycott the community council elections in November, and he called for the scrapping of the community council system.

Moonlight Gasas, the chairman of the Durban Ningizumu Community Council — sometimes he was referred to by the press as the 'mayor' — appeared before court, with Ebenezer Mngadi, in connection with the murder of Harrison Dube. It is said that suspected police informers and protectors of Moonlight Gasas, whom residents believe had approved of the high rentals imposed by the Administration Board, were eliminated.

The violence then spread to Chesterville. This time it was triggered by rent increases in the townships. Lamontville and Chesterville are in a virtual state of siege; police confiscate food and liquor from the people and consume it; police dogs are set on people. Things are so bad that children scream when they see a white man because they think he is the one who shot them.

Then another problem arose. This time it was the cabinet's decision to incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu. The KwaZulu 'government' agrees, but the Joint Rent Action Committee says: NO. This issue has caused a split between the supporters of the Community Council and the supporters of the Joint Rent Action Committee.

What is the Joint Rent Action Committee? This is a community organisation spearheading action against hikes in rent and bus fares, as well as incorporation into KwaZulu. It *de facto* replaces the now defunct Community Council. It should be remembered that the rents went up by 63% in August.

This decision to incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu is an infringement of the residents' democratic right to decide for themselves what authority should govern them. We should also remember that Kwa-Mashu, a township in Durban, was taken over by KwaZulu in 1977.

Incorporation into KwaZulu means that people lose their urban rights and become citizens of a bantustan. By dividing people and dumping them in bantustans, the racist regime seeks to destroy the unity of the people, and rule over them forever. The African people would then become migrant workers or 'guest citizens' in South Africa.

Another sinister aspect of this saga is the attitude of the Port Natal Administration Board, which has resorted to forcing employers of Lamontville residents to deduct money owed to the board from employees' wages, in an attempt to break the back of the year-old rent boycott. The rent question alone has led to serious unrest, and lives have been lost in the process, and now a new element is being introduced — the threat of serious labour unrest. Deducting money without the consent of the workers would be tantamount to an unfair labour practice — to say the least.

The People React

No wonder that in July about eight hundred men, women and teenagers attacked the Port Natal Administration Board complex in Chesterville, setting alight seven offices and injuring a security guard of the board. In August, more than two hundred youths attacked the buildings — including the charge office, rent office, clinic and beer halls — of the Port Natal Administration offices at Klaarwater, near Pinetown. They entered the offices and clinic with buckets which were filled with excrement, splashing it over the walls, floors and tables. About two hundred windows were broken by stones, and members of the board took to their heels.

In September, about two thousand Lamontville residents packed the local Methodist Church hall to express strong objections to the racist government's decision to hand over the township to KwaZulu. Residents said the move will automatically lead to their losing Section Ten rights, which entitle them to seek employment in the Durban metropolitan area. "Asiyi KwaZulu — Sofela e Lamont" (We are not going to KwaZulu — We

shall die in Lamont) they chanted throughout the three-hour meeting.

In November, 44 demonstrators were arrested, including leading officials of the Natal Indian Congress, and were released after paying R200 bail each. They had picketed P W Botha's meeting outside the Durban City Hall. This placard demonstration of more than a hundred and fifty people against the 'new' constitution was broken up by police shortly before the racist prime minister arrived at the City Hall to address a selected Indian audience. A crowd of more than five thousand turned out for a protest meeting in Durban, organised by the Natal Indian Congress, at which the 'new' constitution and the South African Indian Council were both rejected.

There were other incidents, when the post office was set alight, police stoned and road blocks set up with old cars, wood and tyres; petrol bombs were also hurled and bottle stores looted and set alight. Things are bad down there! — say some onlookers.

The Bus Boycott

There have been many incidents in this regard.

The inconvenient routes and lack of buses were some of the problems that confronted the commuters. Some of the complaints were about lack of bus shelters, inconvenient routes, rude drivers, lack of buses at week-ends, absence of inter-township transport, frequent breakdowns, irregularity of buses, overcrowding, and the absence of publicly noticeable timetables.

The commuters formed a Joint Commuters' Committee to act for them in negotiations with the Durban Transport Management Board and Durban Corporation.

The fares were increased by 12.5% in December 1982, and this sparked a boycott. The Joint Commuters' Committee called for a reduction of bus fares to the levels of before January 1982, for a subsidy from the Durban City Council's general rates fund at least equal to that granted to white commuters on the Durban Transport Management Board buses, and for the introduction of more operators to prevent a monopoly.

The Joint Commuters' Committee brings together Durban Transport Management Board commuters from Clermont, St Wendolin's, Klaarwater, KwaDabeka, Lamontville and Kranskloof. The Joint Commuters' Committee maintains that poverty-stricken communities should not be forced to pay for implementing an inhuman ideology based on racial discrimination and forced separation of communities. The high transport costs for black workers directly result from the fact that black workers have been compelled to stay far from their work places. Blacks work in Durban, thus contributing to the growth and development of the city. In return they get nothing.

Whilst the bus boycott was going on, 'chaos' erupted near Isipingo Rail on the road to Umbumbulu, as 47 black taxi operators staged a spontaneous protest by stopping their mini buses in the middle of the road. The railway police had set up a road block in the area — the protest was against the road block. The road from Isipingo Rail is a link for tens of thousands of workers going home to KwaMakuta, Malagazi and Umbumbulu. Tension arose between the police on the one hand and taxi operators and thousands of workers on the other.

The lessons here are clear: the Joint Rent Action Committee and the Joint Commuters' Committee are fighting for consultation with the people over issues affecting them. Lack of consultation has led to the impasses over the rent and bus fare hikes — buses are still being boycotted by the commuters — as well as the incorporation into KwaZulu.

The people in Natal are fighting for just wages, just rent, just bus fares — and justice in everything. Otherwise things will erupt!

PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT

SOUTH
AFRICA'S
YEAR
OF THE
WOMEN
A CALL
TO THE
PEOPLES!

The African National Congress, the broad democratic movement and the people of South Africa as a whole, will be observing 1984 as the *Year of the Women*.

We shall do this not merely to pay tribute to the embattled but struggling womenfolk of our country and to honour their historic achievements, such as the founding of the South African Women's Federation on April 17th 1954. We have thus dedicated the coming year as confirmation of the resolve of the South African national liberation movement to see the women of our motherland play their rightful role in the forefront of the struggle for the destruction of the monstrous system of apartheid and the creation of a peaceful, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The liberation of the land of our birth and of all its people will materialise as a genuinely popular victory on the basis of the involvement of the masses, including the women in their millions, as a conscious and active part of the anti-racist and anti-colonial democratic movement of South Africa. One of the fundamental tasks that this process of national liberation confronts is the liberation of the women of our country from their triple oppression on the grounds of sex, class and colour.

The African National Congress is convinced that the struggle in South Africa and its assured victory constitute an important component in the universal offensive for a peaceful world whose human and material resources should serve to enhance life in all its parts, whether spiritual or material.

For these reasons, we issue this call to the international democratic women's movement and to the freedom-loving peoples of the world to join us in marking 1984 as South Africa's *Year of the Women*, in pursuit of the common goals that we all espouse.

Together we shall win!

Oliver Tambo,
November 1, 1983.

PUBLIC HEARING ACCUSES SOUTH AFRICA OF AGGRESSION

By A Sechaba Correspondent

As we go to press, the earth underfoot is atremble and the skies over the People's Republic of Angola are rent by the scream and whine of Mirage fighter-bombers as the Pretoria racists launch their second massive invasion of that embattled country. Using the pretext of pre-emptive strikes against SWAPO guerrilla bases in Southern Angola, Pretoria has, since Christmas Eve, escalated the war it is waging against the peoples and states of Southern Africa to a new level. Though this is probably one of Africa's longest and most bitter regional wars, little about it, other than the sensational, ever reaches the headlines of the world's media.

After FAPLA, with the assistance of the Cuban internationalist volunteers, drove the racist South African forces out of Angola in March 1976, the correspondents of the international press folded up their tents and went away. Most western foreign correspondents have been content to cover Southern Africa from Johannesburg. It is the rare exceptions who have felt obliged to seek out the truth about this war amongst its victims — in Angola, in Namibia, in Mozambique or amongst the thousands of people who have been displaced by the unrelenting violence that has gripped the region for the last decade.

That there is a war afoot in Southern Africa is a well-known fact to the news mak-

ers and opinion makers of the west. What they have decided to do is impose a wall of silence around it and to carry copy from correspondents based in Johannesburg, who echo the official line of the racists' Defence spokesmen. Thus, when Pretoria's jets bomb an Angolan installation it is represented as a raid on 'Swapo headquarters' in the western media. When Angolan villagers are massacred by Pretoria's hired guns, this is reported as a 'hot pursuit operation against SWAPO terrorists.' So the lies, half-truths and misrepresentations are allowed to continue and to proliferate, while the vast majority of newspaper readers and television audiences continue with their daily business in blissful ignorance of the facts of the situation.

Public Hearing in Amsterdam

This unknown war was subjected to penetrating exposure and rigorous dissection over a four-day period in Amsterdam during December 1983. The occasion was a Public Hearing on South African Aggression Against Southern Africa, jointly organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement of the Netherlands (AABN) and other solidarity groups, to bring to public attention the undeclared war Pretoria is waging against its neighbours.

The hearings were presided over by a panel of eminent Dutch and other European jurists and legal experts, including Dr H W

Tromp of Groningen University, Mr Theo van Boven of Limburg University, Dr Kader Asmal of Dublin University and Dr Paulette Pierson-Mathy of Belgium. Over three days of intensive work the panel received evidence of South African aggression and destabilisation from witnesses representing the People's Republic of Angola, Mozambique, Lesotho and the South African and Namibian liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO respectively.

The wealth of documented testimony in the form of written and verbal statements, documentary film footage and tape recordings, photographs and eye-witness accounts, marshalled by the participants from Southern Africa, made for a cast-iron case.

The tone for the proceedings was set on the first day in the address of Ms Connie Braam, chairperson of the AABN. She stressed that if the Public Hearing manages to breach the wall of media silence surrounding this war in Southern Africa it will have achieved at least one of its primary objectives.

The leader of the ANC delegation, Comrade Z Pallo Jordan, was the first participant from Southern Africa to address the hearing. In a 35-minute statement on behalf of the ANC, he delivered a withering attack against the racists' 'total strategy.' With specific reference to the policy of the United States administration as enunciated by Eagleburger in June 1983, he said,

"There is an ominously sinister aspect to these pious sounding words. In fact, it is implied that it is the forces of liberation and their allies who are responsible for the violence and war that today characterise Southern Africa. Stripped of its circumlocutions and embellishments, this argument is a plea that the national liberation movements abandon the armed struggle and surrender our people to the untender mercies of Pretoria."

Pretoria, the ANC spokesman pointed out, is operating according to a counter-revolution-

ary grand design known as 'the total strategy.' This is a multi-pronged 'defensive' plan concocted by the military-industrial think-tanks set up under Botha's premiership. It comprises two basic facets, one internal the other external. The so-called new constitutional dispensation is its internal aspect, the war of aggression waged against Southern Africa is its external aspect. Judged in this light,

"reformism and military aggression do not stand opposed. They are in fact the two mailed fists of the same strategy."

The racists' war of aggression against the peoples of Southern Africa is essentially an extension of the violence the regime visits upon the South African people themselves, the ANC statement went on. In the last instance it will be the success of the liberation forces in South Africa that will and can assure peace in our region.

Comrade Ernest Tjiriange, a member of the Central Committee of SWAPO, spoke on behalf of SWAPO. In his statement, Comrade Tjiriange stressed the militarisation of Namibia by the forces of racist occupation. In addition to police, puppet forces and other auxiliaries, there are today some 100 000 South African troops stationed in Namibia. This has given rise to a situation in which there is one racist soldier for every six Namibian adults. The SWAPO statement also brought to light the true extent and scope of the campaign of terror and murder being carried out by Pretoria's colonialist forces in Namibia. A number of special units that specialise in assassination, torture and abduction of SWAPO militants and supporters have been established by the racist command. Harrowing tales, reminiscent of the US Army's Phoenix programme in Vietnam, are today commonplace in Namibian villages.

"If anything, Resolution 435 is biased in favour of the Pretoria regime. But SWAPO, knowing the immense strength of its support, accepted these compromises, absolutely confident that were the



A victim of South African bombing of Lubango, Angola, 26th September, 1979.

elections free and fair nothing would stop a SWAPO victory.”

In view of the racists' intransigence and their presumptuous insistence on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola, the armed liberation war was still the decisive factor in the armed struggle against South African colonialism.

Both SWAPO and the ANC in their respective statements underlined the regional role the Botha-Malan regime has been assigned in the global strategy of US imperialism. The diplomatic and other support Pretoria has received from Washington is consistent with this role, and part of a well reasoned foreign policy whose principal thrust is the suppression of the national liberation movements in Africa and Latin America.

Angola Bears the Brunt

The People's Republic of Angola has borne the brunt of this undeclared war, and the well synchronised efforts of Pretoria and

Washington are directed primarily at toppling the Angolan government. At the Amsterdam hearing Angola had a very forceful spokesman in the person of Dr Rui Cruz, a judge in the Angolan Appeal Court. In a lengthy presentation, accompanied by film footage documenting the devastation wreaked on his country by the racists and their hirelings, he revealed,

“The damage caused to the People's Republic of Angola by acts of aggression by racist South Africa already amount to more than ten billion US dollars, representing about four times our country's annual budget.”

Referring to the armed bandit gangs and surrogate forces the racists are employing in their war of aggression, he added:

“These bands of armed criminals are in fact nothing but an extension of the racist South African army ...”



Identity documents of a South African soldier, killed by Angolan troops during a South African attack on Cuamato, Southern Angola, 15th January, 1981.

The Angolan statement addresses itself also to the attempts by the US and British governments to place the bandits and the liberation movements on the same moral plane. Pointing to the relevant UN General Assembly resolutions, including Resolution No 36/121-A of 10th December 1981, which *inter alia* calls on member states

“to render sustained and increased support and material, financial, military and other assistance to SWAPO to enable it

to intensify its struggle for the liberation of Namibia,”

Dr Cruz pointed out that Angolan support for SWAPO is discharging a moral obligation undertaken by all UN members, and cannot be compared with Pretoria’s sponsorship of UNITA and other bandit gangs. In his closing remarks Dr Cruz made brief reference to the Nuremburg War Crimes Tribunal at the end of the Second World War, and declared,

“... the international legal conscience will not forget that, as in the past, today too the criminals of the new Nazism, apartheid, will ultimately be seated in the dock, because history will demand it.”

The Bandit Gangs

Dr Aquino de Braganza, leader of the Mozambican delegation, spoke in a more analytic vein in his statement:

“Firstly, I believe that these acts of aggression are an indication of the desperation of the embattled apartheid regime. Over the last few years the regime has been facing an intensified challenge from the people whom it oppresses and exploits. This internal challenge includes the armed actions of the ANC and also mobilisation through community organisations, trade unions, and, more recently, the United Democratic Front. The apartheid regime has shown itself to be incapable of diminishing this challenge — whether through Botha’s reforms or through mounting a repressive assault unprecedented in the history even of South Africa.”

Dr Braganza, who is himself a victim of the assassination squad that murdered Comrade Ruth First, went on to analyse the significance of the pattern of attacks launched against Mozambique specifically. Part of the racist offensive is directed at disrupting the newly established Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference. The railway network and ports of Mozambique are at present the most viable alternative the states of Southern Africa have to those of South Africa. Hence, the racists have concentrated their attacks on the railways and the port cities as a means of enhancing dependence on South African ports. He also pointed out the changes which have taken place within the bandit gangs, and the new tasks assigned to them by their mentors. Since Pretoria took

over the so-called MNR from Smith it has given the bandits a more ambitious role. At present this is to bring about the disintegration of the Mozambican nation by sowing seeds of tribal conflict, reviving regional hostilities and re-establishing the authority of the colonial chieftains.

The most poignant moments throughout the proceedings, however, were the testimony of the actual victims of racist aggression. As the five witnesses — two from South Africa, two from Namibia and one from Mozambique — recounted their experiences, the audience was visibly moved by the hair-raising tales of brutal tortures, the massacres of refugees and the abduction and murder of peasants by the racists and puppet groups sustained by them. The pain and sorrow was but one dimension of what the witnesses brought to the hearing. The other was a fierce determination to fight back, despite the odds, to bring to an end these acts of terror and their source, the apartheid regime in Pretoria.

Pathological Anti-Communism

What clearly emerged from the hearings was that the policy objectives of the Pretoria regime have undergone a metamorphosis over the past three years. After the ignominious failure of its invasion of Angola in 1976, it appeared that the apartheid regime was content to pursue a limited policy of destabilisation and harassment of the free African states. Since the collapse of Smith’s regime in 1980 and the arrival of the Reagan team in the White House, it is clear that Pretoria is now determined to reverse the changes that have taken place over the last decade. The Reagan administration, driven by its own pathological anti-communism, views the world through the distorting lenses of its cold war ideology, and, against the better judgment of its predecessors, has firmly hitched its fortunes to Pretoria’s star.

The full extent of western complicity, including that of Dutch transnational corporations like Phillips and Shell, was documented and analysed by two Dutch activists and by 11

Abdul Minty of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In his intervention, Minty pointed out the changed attitude of the leading western powers. Whereas previously their announced concern was to preserve Southern Africa as a safe haven for western investment and strategic interests, these days leading spokesmen for the west have in so many words pronounced their concern to make Southern Africa safe for apartheid. This is the only construction, Minty asserted, one could place on Eagleburger's June statement and the more recent plea by British Foreign Secretary, Howe, that the front line states should withdraw their support for SWAPO and the ANC. Suiting its words with deeds, the Reagan administration has consistently supported the racists in the UN, and piloted the huge IMF loan to bail out Pretoria in 1982.

It was high time, Minty demanded, that those western countries that claim to support the aims of the liberation movements distanced themselves from these policies – by action and not merely by words alone. The Netherlands was a specific case in point, in that as chairman of the Security Council, that country was in a position to take initiatives.

Connivance of the West

When the hearings resumed for the final session on Sunday 18th December the rapporteur on behalf of the presiding panel read his report, and the public declaration was adopted. Both documents expressed the conviction of the panellists that the evidence presented to the hearing made out a sound prima facie case of a policy of racist aggression against the states and peoples of Southern Africa; that the Botha regime was being sustained and abetted in this course of action by the active connivance of certain western powers and the apparent indifference of most other western countries; that all concerned persons in the west especially had a moral responsibility to bring whatever pressures they could muster to bear on the policy of their governments to one of support and ass-



istance to the front line states and the liberation movements; that the government of the Netherlands in this regard had a special responsibility because of its historical links with South Africa and its position as chairman of the Security Council to initiate actions that will force Pretoria to desist from its policies of aggression.

Both documents were passed by acclaim. On Monday, December 19th a deputation submitted the findings and declaration to the Dutch Foreign Ministry in the Hague. As the delegations from Southern Africa departed from Amsterdam, news arrived of the new racist offensive against the People's Republic of Angola. All the participants, Dutch and African alike, left the hearings in the full knowledge that the real work of mobilising public opinion and mass support for the peoples of Southern Africa still lay ahead of them. The Amsterdam Hearings were but one milestone on a long and thorny path. From this milestone let us move forward hand in hand to the end of the road.

SOME REFLECTIONS ON BOTHA'S 'REFORM' POLICY — THE BLACK BOURGEOISIE

By Alex Mashinini

The outcome of the recently held whites-only referendum in which Botha won 66% of the total votes cast has, despite this victory, undoubtedly plunged the apartheid regime — and certainly white unity and Afrikaner nationalism — into yet another dimension of a political crisis. This crisis is one of unity, and its magnitude remains to be seen, as the conflicts continue to escalate between the apartheid system of oppression and economic exploitation on the one hand and the growing revolutionary upsurge within the ranks of the oppressed majority on the other.

What appears to be a priority concern for politicians of various persuasions is the fate of other aspects of Botha's 'reform' policy, whose conceived implementation depended largely on the credibility and public acceptability of the new constitutional dispensation.

One such aspect — undoubtedly central in the 'reform' strategy — is the attempt by the regime to reconcile the urban black population, whose growing militancy and organised resistance for the past decade or so is seen as particularly menacing, to the system as a whole.

The 'unique' position of this group (still highly differentiated) in Pretoria's grand policy of separate development, that is, its permanency in 'white' South Africa as against integration into the bantustan system, is dic-

tated more by economic imperatives than by mere Herrenvolk ambitions. This is to the displeasure of the architects of apartheid.

The importance the government attaches to the urgency of this reconciliation strategy can be seen in the appointment of a number of commissions of enquiry. The Wiehahn and Rieckert commissions, in particular, made recommendations on industrial relations and the territorial mobility of Africans which were described as major steps towards 'de-racialising' apartheid.

A closer scrutiny of the government's strategy in this respect reveals the patterns of region, race and class as main entry points in the resolution of this problem. This article will confine itself to the latter entry point, with the hope that further discussions will be conducted on the remaining two points.

The manipulation of the economic inequalities amongst the urban Blacks has, and continues to be, fundamental in a bid by the regime to weaken unity within the ranks of the oppressed majority. The better-off Blacks, be it in business, industry or government political institutions, are being further enriched by continuous salary increments, governmental aid, and so on, with the sole aim of co-opting these sections into the fold of the system.

This process is usually referred to as the creation of a 'black bourgeoisie and middle

class' in South Africa.

'Black Business' and the Bantustans

To achieve its aim, the regime, in close collaboration with big business, has in the past two decades evolved a policy of industrial decentralisation — a complementary process to the bantustan policy — aimed at attracting business developments in these areas so as to give them a measure of credibility as politically and economically viable entities.

The non-viability of these areas is shown by their poor infrastructure, remoteness and inaccessibility to city markets, and the barren nature of the land. In an attempt to counteract this, the regime has provided quite a number of incentives in the form of tax concessions, state aid and so on, to attract more investments into these areas. Development Corporations have been set up in all bantustans to facilitate the progress of decentralisation.

On September 1st 1983, the Southern African Development Bank, whose influence, according to P W Botha, will undoubtedly be felt in Southern Africa (1), started functioning officially. With South Africa providing the bulk of the capital, the main activity of this bank will be the development of the 'homelands.' It is also envisaged that other neighbouring African states will join this bank.

Small business is also encouraged under the Small Business Development Corporation and the Advisory Council for the Promotion of Small Businesses. The National African Chamber of Commerce (NAFCOC), which claims a membership of 10 000, is another master-plan piece of big business to promote African entrepreneurs in urban areas.

This picture shows a steady growth of black business activity. And it is this quantitative treatment of the process of the creation of a black bourgeoisie which gives a one-sided and often perverted view of the role of this class in the South African revolution. Treated qualitatively, that is, as regards its position — both actual and potential — in the South African socio-political and economic system

as a whole, the argument will unavoidably produce a picture of a grim and doomed future for this class.

Before any attempt is made in investigating the latter position, it should, however, be immediately stated that we are here dealing with a 'special type' of a bourgeoisie, in which political power which is essential, or, more precisely, a prerequisite for the accumulation of capital and the establishment of control by the bourgeois class over the means of production, is absolutely absent, except in bantustans and urban Community Councils.

As in any field of social relations, apartheid remains the basis for movement towards improvements and 'reforms.'

Whatever growth can be registered in the creation of the black bourgeoisie, the limit (2) has been already set, beyond which expansion and growth by this class remains mere fantasy, for decentralisation will never be allowed to take place at the expense of investments in 'white' South Africa, and, consequently, at the expense of white jobs.

This is proved by the fact that between 1960 and 1980 a total of only 150 000 jobs were created in 'homelands' (with a total population of 10 729 770!) and border areas, while in 1976 the development corporations invested R42.3 million in the 'homelands,' which was only 2.6% of the R1 615 million invested by public corporations in 'white' South Africa.

The government has always maintained a position in which the South African state exercises the role of a director and co-ordinator of development in these areas until such time as these responsibilities are 'transferred' into the hands of the black bourgeoisie. And to implement this, the government has evolved an agency system in which private investors (foreign and local) are obliged to make undertakings on an agency basis through the state.

But, as the table below indicates, the main incidence of profits in this decentralisation policy has benefited the state, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and various sections of white capital.

Date of Agreement	Homeland Development Corporation	SA/Tripartite Company	Share Capital R	% Black Share Holdings
10/1976	Bophuthatswana	Metro Cash & Carry* / Metro Cash & Carry (Bophut) (Pty) Limited	1 000 000	—
12/1976	(BNDC)	Premier Milling* / Bophuta. Bakeries (Pty) Ltd	500 000	—
2/1977	(BNDC)	Southern Sun Hotels* / Southern Sun Hotels (Boph) (Pty) Ltd	800 000	—
6/1977	(BNDC)	Greatermans Stores (Checkers)* / Boph. Chain Stores Ltd	500 000	44%
8/1977	Ciskei (CNDC)	Frasers* / Frasers (Ciskei) Ltd	500 000	—
6/1978	Ciskei (CNDC)	LTA Construction* / LTA Construction Ciskei Ltd	120 000	10%
7/1977	Gazankulu (GDC)	Frasers* / Fraser (Gazan) (Pty) Ltd	200 000	—
8/1978	Gazankulu (GDC)	Russels* / Wanda Furnishers Gaza. (Pty) Ltd	100 000	—
7/1976	Kwazulu (KDC)	Greatermans Stores* / Kwazulu Chain Stores Ltd	800 000	25%
6/1977	Kwazulu (KDC)	OK Bazaars*† / OK Kwazulu Ltd	1 800 000	16.6%
7/1977	(KDC)	Sasko* / Umlazi Bakery Ltd	566 000	—
3/1978	Lebowa (LDC)	Russels* / Wanda Furnishers (Lebowa) (Pty) Ltd	100 000	—
5/1978	Lebowa (LDC)	Metro Cash* / Metro (Lebowa) (Pty) Ltd	1 250 000	—
6/1976	QwaQwa (QDC)	Frasers* / Frasers (QwaQwa) (Pty) Ltd	200 000	—
5/1977	QwaQwa (QDC)	Sasko* / Sasko (QwaQwa) (Pty) Ltd	150 000	—
7/1978	Swazi (CED)	Auto Flour Mills* / Tonga Bakery (Pty) Ltd	320 000	30%
12/1978	Swazi (CED)	Metro Cash* / Metro KaNgwane (Pty) Ltd	70 000	—
6/1978	Venda (VDC)	LTA Construction* / LTA Construction Venda (Pty) Ltd	120 000	—
7/1978	Venda (VDC)	NTK Roller Mills* / NTK Venda (Pty) Ltd	800 000	—
11/1978	Venda (VDC)	Frasers* / Frasers Venda (Pty) Ltd	400 000	—
11/1978	Venda (VDC)	Weenen Brick Works*† / Weenen Brick Works Venda (Pty) Ltd	160 000	—

* South African Company † to be finalised
Source: *Survey of Race Relations in SA 1979*

Monopoly of 'White' Business

Furthermore, apartheid capitalism is also maintained in urban areas. While the government allows the black bourgeoisie to develop itself, it is at the same time committed to a policy that will not create antagonisms with private white capital, which has the monopoly of all markets in black urban areas.

The frustrations of this class, which is at present engaged in a lost battle with the government to control these markets and have trading rights in 'white' areas, is sadly expressed by Mr Motsuenyane, the President of NAFSOC, who stated that his organisation will continue vehemently to oppose any movement of white companies into African areas if Africans were still barred from conducting any business in the white areas (4).

With this picture in mind, it can be stated that the main reason behind the slow economic development in these areas should not be sought elsewhere, but — and this is significant — in the process towards greater concentration and centralisation of wealth into a few hands, which is current in the economic trend of South Africa.

Furthermore, Pretoria's 'aim' to industrialise the bantustans and the reality of these bantustans serving — inter alia — as labour pools for the South African economy, remains a paradox, the resolution of which is not envisaged, at least not in the foreseeable future.

This, however, does not suggest that there has not been any growth in these areas. On the contrary, the growth that has taken place has been more consistent with the general expansion of the South African economy than with the creation of a black bourgeoisie.

Ms Marion Lacey, among others, has explicitly illustrated that industries were being re-located because of the monopolistic position of white trade unions in the urban areas and the attendant high wages and shortages of skilled workers (5).

Stalemate in Pretoria's Policies

Finally, the creation of a black bourgeoisie which (while deprived of any opportunities

to expand itself) is at the same time expected to play a 'positive' role in the perpetuation of apartheid, remains a political stalemate in the government's policy of legitimisation.

However, this stalemate does not imply an absolute advantage to the liberation movement, for, given the endeavour the regime has made to win over to its side an increasing number of collaborators through incentives such as enormous salaries, etc, for the better-off Blacks, such a class will definitely crop up.

But the significance of this class, its ability to 'de-radicalise' the poor black majority depends to a greater degree on the measure of success they will score in winning political rights for the oppressed majority, and their participation in the central government of the country!

Although a lot of research work is needed to give more substance to these arguments, what is definite in the government's strategy is not a commitment to create — even on a long-term basis — such a class, but rather, a strategy aimed at defusing the revolutionary upheaval that is assailing the whole socio-political system in that country. For the "commitment of any government to such large-scale social engineering is unlikely to be unequivocal and unqualified by competing obligations and aims." (6)

References:

1. *Star International Weekly*, 26.9.83
2. *Southern Africa — The New Politics of Revolution*, Davidson, Slovo and Wilkinson, p 126
3. *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* 1982 p 409
4. *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* 1979 p 247
5. *Survey of Race Relations in South Africa* 1982 p 410
6. *Changing South Africa — Political Considerations*, Sam Nolutshungu, p.79

INTERNATIONAL

ANC Representative for Australia

The first representative of the African National Congress in Australia, Comrade Edwin Funde, arrived in that country on December 5th, 1983. An engineer by profession, Comrade Funde was until recently head of the ANC youth and student section.

The office in Australia was opened as a result of an invitation by the Australian Government to the ANC and SWAPO to establish such offices.

Comrade Funde's first public engagement was to speak at the launching of the Africa Liberation Fund on December 10th, Human Rights Day.

Naming Ceremonies in Britain

Winnie Mandela was invited by the City Council of Leeds in Yorkshire to unveil the plaque at the newly named Nelson Mandela Gardens. She is still banned and confined in South Africa, and the Right Reverend Trevor Huddleston, C.R. (whom South Africans remember as Father Huddleston of Sophiatown, and who is now President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain) officiated in her place. The meeting was addressed by two Members of Parliament for Leeds, and by Comrade Ruth Mompati, the former Chief Representative of the ANC in Britain

and Ireland. There was much applause for a message that was read out from lawyers representing the Mandelas, saying, "Both Winnie and Nelson Mandela are humbled by this honour from friends unknown, committed to the cherished ideal of freedom for all."

Also in December, in Glasgow in Scotland, a room housing part of the African collection in the Kelvingrove Museum and Art Gallery was re-named the Nelson Mandela Room. The gathering was addressed by Comrade Solly Smith, Acting Chief Representative of the ANC in Britain and Ireland. He said, "Nelson Mandela symbolises the spirit of resistance, and by putting his name on this exhibition we trust that you are identifying yourselves with this spirit ... Our struggle continues and victory is certain. We look to you for support and solidarity."

London Supports the ANC and SWAPO

In a recent declaration, the Metropolitan Council of Greater London declared the Greater London area an "apartheid-free zone."

The declaration expressed the Council's "opposition to apartheid," and its "commitment to the cause of freedom in South Africa." The declaration also paid tribute "to Nelson Mandela and all other prisoners of



Comrade Solly Smith, Acting Chief Representative in the United Kingdom and Ireland, with the Lord Provost of Glasgow, Dr Michael Kelly.

apartheid," and gave recognition to "the struggles and sacrifices of the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia and others to liberate their peoples."

The Council also resolved to support the boycott of South African goods and the boycott of investments in South Africa, to "promote public understanding of the situation in Southern Africa," and "encourage the naming of streets and buildings after prominent opponents of apartheid."

Solidarity Conference in Belgium

Socialistische Solidariteit — the Fund for Development Co-operation associated with the socialist movement in Belgium — invited the liberation movements of South Africa and El Salvador to participate in the celebration of its thirtieth anniversary, in December, 1983.

On the eve of the celebrations, the Belgian government had once again refused to join the overwhelming majority in the United Nations General Assembly, in calling for disinvestment in the apartheid economy. Ad-

ressing the academic session on behalf of the ANC, Comrade Frene Ginwala condemned this Belgian vote, and drew attention to the contradictions inherent in Belgian and Western policy in Southern Africa.

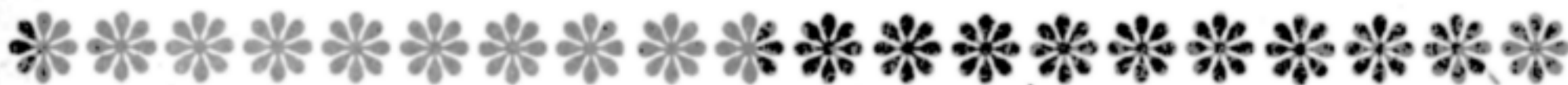
On the one hand, concern was expressed for the development needs of independent countries in the region; while on the other hand, by the continued refusal to support sanctions against the Botha regime, apartheid aggression and subversion were encouraged. Apartheid forces and bandits, armed and trained by Pretoria, were destroying bridges, hospitals, roads and other facilities similar to the ones for which Belgium and other countries were providing aid.

The damage and destruction in Angola alone amounted to over ten billion dollars, and far outweighed the economic assistance provided to the whole region.

Outlining the case for sanctions, Dr Ginwala illustrated the manner in which foreign economic links served, serviced, supported and strengthened apartheid. The South African people accepted the responsibility for the liberation of their country, but she concluded:

"The international community has the power to reduce the suffering and bloodshed in Southern Africa. To the extent you continue to buttress apartheid, you make our task more difficult. To the extent you extend solidarity in our struggle, you bring closer our victory."

The academic session was addressed by the Presidents of the Flemish and Walloon Socialist Parties, the Presidents of the Flemish and Walloon trade unions, and by Hector Oqueli, Secretary-General of the Socialist International of Latin America.



Newly released political prisoner speaks

David Rabkin

In December 1983, Comrade David Rabkin was released from Pretoria Security Prison after serving seven years, and deported to Britain the same day. This is his message to an ANC members' meeting in London on Heroes' Day, December 16th.

Comrades, it is my privilege today to bring you greetings from those comrades who are continuing the struggle for freedom in the prisons of the apartheid regime.

Their courage, determination and commitment to the liberation of our country have never wavered. For many of them — those sentenced in the Rivonia and other trials — the end of 1983 means the beginning of their twentieth year in prison.

In addition to their own revolutionary political consciousness, they are sustained by three things.

In the first place, they are sustained by the tremendous campaign of international solidarity with political prisoners in South Africa. The hard work put in is very deeply appreciated.

Secondly, they are inspired and moved by the rise of a whole new generation of young freedom fighters. I want to specially mention the Moroka Three, because we were being held at the Maximum Security Prison at the same time as them. At that time, Comrades Tsotsobe, Moise and Shabangu were also there.

If you can imagine these young men, awaiting their own deaths, but finding the energy and courage to organise several hundred condemned prisoners to sing freedom

songs and shout the slogans of our movement in the teeth of the Boers every night, night after night —

If you can imagine these same young men marking the cowardly murder of Ruth First by singing songs in her honour, delivering a speech in tribute to her — comrades, we who listened from our whites-only cells had tears in our eyes, but there were no tears in their voices, only anger —

If you can imagine these things, these young fighters, then you cannot fail to understand why the victory of our struggle is certain.

Comrades, the last thing I want to mention that sustains those in prison is perhaps the most important. It is the tremendous progress and massive advances made in the struggle over the last period, both on the military front and on the front of mass action.

When I came to prison in 1976 newspapers were not allowed, and it fell to me to brief those already there about the events of that year. At the end I said that I believed we had entered a new historical period. The ANC was faced with an enormous challenge. To be quite frank, I told the comrades then that I thought the chances of the ANC emerging from 1976 as the leading force in the struggle were only fifty-fifty.

Well, I can see now I was being over-cautious. The ANC passed the test with flying colours. Today the ANC holds the political and military initiative internationally and at home, and it is the racists who are forced to manoeuvre with increasing desperation in their attempts to escape the historical annihilation that is facing them.

But the fact that we passed the test of '76 means, of course, that today we face even greater tasks and problems. The struggle today is broader, more complex and on a larger scale than ever before.

Comrades, when I looked at the agenda for the discussions today I was relieved to see that there was hardly a topic that had not also been discussed in Pretoria Security Prison. Anyway, we were not too far off beam!

Since I came out there is one thing that

has come up time and again in the discussions I have been having, and I think this task really underlies all the topics on the agenda today.

This is the necessity of extending and raising the quality of our organisational work to cope with the upsurge of the movement back home. As Lenin once said, we have been used to organising thousands and we have learned to organise tens of thousands. Now we must learn to organise hundreds of thousands, and even millions, of our people.

The historical opportunity is immense. The comrades in prison at home have no doubts at all that the ANC will again rise to the occasion, and continue its advance on the path to people's power in South Africa.



We apologise for an error in the article, *South Africa – The Crisis of Power*, by Alex Mashinini in the December issue of *Sechaba*. Lines 4 and 5 on page 11 should, of course, have read, “this ... has been negated by the military takeover.”

BOOK REVIEW

ROOTED
IN THE PEOPLE

Barry Munslow, *Mozambique: the Revolution and its Origins*, Longmans (London and New York) 1983. £5.95.

This is the most substantial history of modern Mozambique and of Frelimo in particular to have appeared thus far in English. Sympathetic, well-informed and thoughtful, it represents a welcome addition to the available materials, and warrants study and discussion.

The work is divided into four parts, of uneven length and depth. Part One, forming almost a third of the whole, is an analysis of the political economy of Mozambique. It shows in detail the specific forms of oppression and exploitation established by Portuguese colonialism, which as a backward type of colonialism emanating from one of Europe's most under-developed countries, and itself a semi-colony, weighed with stifling and brutal heaviness on the Mozambican people. It left them, once they had won their independence, with a formidable array of disadvantages: a predominantly agricultural economy which yet relied for two-thirds of

its food consumption on imported supplies; an economy developed as a service sector (transport, communications and the supply of cheap migrant labour) for, and definitely ancillary to, the adjacent centres of advanced capitalist production, principally in the Transvaal, but also Rhodesia, as it still was in 1975. Colonialism left them with a population almost 95% illiterate, virtually entirely deprived of any experience of economic management, and with the tiniest imaginable pool of personnel with higher education. There was a state structure deformed grossly by three traits derived from metropolitan Portugal: cumbersome and inefficient bureaucracy; the deeply undemocratic and anti-democratic features associated with half a century of fascism; and the hallmarks of an apparatus designed to enforce colonial domination. And the list goes on much longer ...

Part Two, *Resistance and Emerging Nationalism*, covering the period up to 1960, is short and sketchy, reflecting the poverty of research in this area and the fact that it is evidently not of key interest to the author.

Part Three, *From Nationalism to Revolution*, forms nearly half the book, and is its heart. Extensively researched, it provides a painstaking description and analysis of the history of Frelimo. It starts with the circumstances leading up to the formation of Frelimo on 25th June, 1962, showing how all pre-existing organisations, both among migrant workers in neighbouring territories, and among various groups of students and intellectuals, lacked in themselves the breadth either of social base or outlook to become a viable national liberation organisation. It took a leader, outside and above all the sub-national groupings, to provide a focus for national unity, and that person was Eduardo Mondlane.

Munslow is conscious of the irony of the fact that Frelimo was formed half a century after the ANC, but has moved ahead of the ANC to exercise state power and commence the construction of socialism, while the ANC is still battling to defeat apartheid and colonialism in their vicious and highly developed South African form. But his attempt to explain the contrast founders on the difficulties of selecting enough points of comparison, without summarising the entire history of the two countries in the 19th and 20th centuries.

The author proceeds to trace the launching of the armed struggle, and its unfolding. Almost to a fault, he depicts it as a political process, thereby failing to convey much of the military dimension of the struggle. But this is compensated for by his scrupulous analysis of the evolution within Frelimo of two lines, conflict between which convulsed the young organisation in the late sixties, culminating in the assassination of its first President, Eduardo Mondlane. Those who wanted a strict separation between the fighting guerrillas and the political leadership, and the subordination of the former to the latter; those who encouraged elitist ideas in Frelimo's education programmes, both internal (the Mozambique Institute and other bodies created by Frelimo for cadre development) and external (scholarships for study abroad); those who opposed the mobilisation of women, especially in the armed struggle; those who sought to develop essentially capitalist relations of production in the liberated areas, for their own direct personal enrichment; those who reinforced traditional forms of authority rather than seeking to transform them; and those who aspired essentially to merely replace the Portuguese rulers, and, worse, to do a deal with them — these were the forces that combined to challenge the revolutionary line of the majority, which stood clearly opposed to all these positions.

The triumph of the revolutionary line, rooted in simple but profound ideas of serving, mobilising and respecting the people, was hard fought for, and had not — at the

time of the Second Congress in 1968 — been decisively established. But it was achieved soon after, and indelibly stamped Frelimo with many of its most fundamental characteristics: a profoundly popular (not populist) style of work, constant concern to involve the people in the solution of their own problems, self-reliance and the capacity — even admitted to by its critics — to confront and learn from its own mistakes. Munslow does not say so, but the relative youth of the movement at that stage made the establishment of these key features relatively more easy than it has proved to be in older organisations. This in no way diminishes, of course, the historic significance of these achievements.

With a clear and correct definition of the enemy, and an approach that made mass mobilisation possible even in the conditions of direst oppression, deprivation and objective difficulty, the movement rapidly gained in influence and strength. Having prepared for the long haul of a people's war, it was caught little prepared for the relatively sudden collapse of Portuguese colonial-fascism in 1974 under the combined blows of the peoples in all the 'overseas territories' and of the democratic forces in Portugal itself.

The author passes lightly over the actual transition to independence, and moves on to make a rapid survey of the gains and difficulties of the revolution since independence. This fourth part of the book is relatively brief, and although reliable in what it deals with, is somewhat patchy and superficial. The reader needs to turn to other sources, notably the documents of the Third and Fourth Congresses of Frelimo, for wider and deeper treatment of the increasingly complex issues of the advance to socialism.

The publishers have served the author ill by cramming too much type on to the page, which reinforces the impression of denseness left by some of the writing, and by not supplying maps and illustrations. But the text is meaty enough to survive, and to provoke curiosity about a number of issues which the

book has not dealt with within its chosen limits.

Of particular interest is the account of how revolutionary intellectuals came to form a *de facto* Marxist-Leninist vanguard within the broad front of national liberation. Distinguishing between traditional intellectuals (in Frelimo's case largely university students in Europe) and those intellectuals not from a particular social stratum, but thrown up by and forged in the struggle, Munslow offers stimulating insights into the ideological development of Frelimo, without purporting to say the last word on the subject. One regrets, though, that he hardly refers to Frelimo's external relations, and the evolution of its policy towards its allies and friends. In this respect, as in the lack of sustained analysis of the regional and international context of the Mozambican revolution, the focus is somewhat narrow.

JP



RIGHT-WING
POLITICS AND
ULTRA-LEFTISM

Lodge, Tom, *Black Politics in South Africa Since 1945*, Longman, London and New York, 1983.

Tom Lodge starts from the correct premise that "in South Africa the resistance movement is usually predominantly black though the authorities it resists are not always white" to discuss the history of the liberation struggle in South Africa from the end of the Second World War until the present. This is all

the more welcome since some books written on the subject do not go beyond the early fifties.

Tom Lodge, who was brought up and educated in Nigeria, Malaysia and Britain, and read English and History at the University of York in Britain, subsequently worked as a research fellow at York's Centre for Southern African Studies. He is now a lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. This book is a product of this research into and teaching of South African political history. Black resistance is the central theme of his research.

In this book he analyses the new conditions which combined to "create a forcing-house for a new political ideology; a fresh assertive nationalism which drew on two separate sources of inspiration, ethnic romanticism and working-class radicalism." He discusses what he calls the ethno-nationalists and social radicals and the older generation of "liberal civil rights campaigners" and the movement's working-class base and, according to him, its largely petty bourgeois leadership.

The book is detailed, describing local situations, and conditions arising from them: the 1952 Defiance Campaign in various areas, Sophiatown mass removals, women's protests, the peasants' revolts, potato boycott, bus boycotts, the stay-away, the formation and rise of Umkhonto We Sizwe and the rest. The detail is fascinating.

But the chapters could have been more streamlined so as to make for easy reading and understanding. What we mean is that in most cases he deals with many questions in one chapter, and this makes his chapters congested with facts and analyses of different issues, and, like a grasshopper, a reviewer has to jump from one chapter to another to pull the strings together.

The preoccupation with local history has its problems: there is always the risk of losing sight of the overall picture, as the author himself admits.

In the book there are quite a number of unacceptable formulations. Let us take a few 23

examples. Talking about the period of the Second World War, he says the "trade unions organised and led by communists tended to be restrained by the party's reluctance to disrupt production after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war," (p.18) and the 1946 African miners' strike "effectively destroyed the African Mineworkers' Union and seriously weakened CNETU." (p. 20) CNETU was the Council for Non-European Trade Unions. He also says, "There was little philosophically original about the Youth League's Africanism." (p. 22)

There seems to be more than just a question of formulations as he portrays the relationship between the ANC and the South African Communist Party as that of the ANC seeking funds, equipment, training and diplomatic support. Indeed, the South African Communist Party seems to have done/to be doing nothing except being a continual source of funds — "resources of a scale and quality its rivals could not hope to match." (p. 304)

Even the alliance between the African liberation movements and the socialist countries is seen in terms of what liberation movements gain: "It costs African liberation movements little to align themselves loyally in favour of Soviet foreign policy." (p. 304)

From this basically right-wing position he vacillates towards an ultra-left position when he talks of "the solidly middle-class respectability of the Tambo leadership" (p. 343) and Nelson Mandela as a "social-democratic nationalist." (p. 240) He even sees the "current enthusiasm for the Freedom Charter" and the "apparent downgrading of the more radical *Strategy and Tactics* adopted at Morogoro" as an attempt to appease "the steadily growing black middle class." (p. 343)

It is this vacillation between right-wing politics and ultra-left positions which is a disturbing feature among white academics and radical-white intellectuals in South Africa today. There are reasons for that.

Terms like "the Tambo leadership" and "Communist control" of the ANC come from the PAC and 'ANC dissident' sources,

African official sources are by nature secretive and frequently misinformed. Much of the press reportage is sensational in character and speculative ... Only when more of the internal documentation of the organisations is available and when the necessity for secrecy has disappeared will it be possible to write a comprehensive history of exile politics." (pp. 296-297)

Surely this reason does not justify Tom Lodge's use of PAC and 'ANC dissident' (Gang of Eight) literature to assess the ANC's activities externally. His preoccupation with "splits" in the ANC does minimise the value of his research.

Towards the end of the book Tom Lodge does accept the fact that the ANC has made great strides in executing armed struggle: "the scale and frequency of Umkhonto attacks makes it the most sustained violent rebellion in South African history, and indications are that it will develop into a full-scale revolutionary war," he says, and goes further to admit that from the events which have been reported in the press or which have emerged from trial evidence a "historical pattern is beginning to become evident," but this recognition and admission is marred by his aloofness. He has not yet grasped and imbibed the spirit of the times.

With these shortcomings, inconsistencies and contradictions (and our reservations), we nevertheless recommend this book to the readers of *Sechaba*, because, if not for any other reason, the book is well researched and Tom Lodge has in some parts opened up new ground for further research and has interesting things to say.

FM

POETRY -
THE
DISPOSSESSED

Dispossessed, by Modikwe Dikobe, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1983.

We are fortunate to have this volume of the poetry of Modikwe Dikobe. The poetry is unique, clipped, often poetic prose rather than poetry. It expresses profound truths with a simplicity that is deceptive. Dikobe records the story of black people, going back longer than his seventy years. In the title poem, *Dispossessed*, he begins with a description of a great Chief:

"You were born in affluence
Land as vast as sea"

and ends wryly:

"Your son is gone to Johannesburg
Your seniority usurped
Nothing is left. Take another contract."

The collection records many of the struggles since World War Two and is apposite to today's events in South Africa. Here is his description of the bulldozing of the shanty town set up by black ex-servicemen outside Johannesburg in the mid-forties. The convoy came to "demob our peaceful camp/in the name of human rights/in the year of allied nations" and continues,

"A stinking lavatory hole there
A heap of rubbish here
A stray dog there
It's all that is left
In twice a big town
Housing a thousand souls."

The tumultuous life of the townships of Johannesburg and Pretoria, the shebeens, the crowded trains, the police raids are written in a downbeat style that is compelling. Here are extracts from a poem on the Pass Office in Albert Street, Johannesburg, where, over the years, millions have sought the right to work.

"Not even a bazaar
Would have so many customers
Queuing
Their fate
On a white face"


"Escort"
72 hours grace
Out of urban area
To starve, rob, steal
In own homeland."

Dikobe's life has been as turbulent as the times he describes. He came from the Northern Transvaal to Johannesburg at the age of ten, attended school only as far as Standard VI and then took private correspondence courses. He survived first as a newspaper seller, then as a hawker, until he became an active trade unionist. When forced to give up his trade union work he found employment as a nightwatchman, an arduous task for a man then in late middle age. Yet he writes without a trace of self pity and with the humour which we read in his novel, *The Marabi Dance*. He laments the coming of old age, he wants to know freedom, he looks back on his active political younger self and then writes in *Shameful Legacy*,

"How years have ebbed me
From marrow to toe
Leaving an unwanted legacy
Of poverty, humiliation, oppression
To be inscribed on my tomb stone."

When preparing to write this review, I found myself making notes which read, "quote whole poem," - "quote these lines," - "quote this." Instead of quoting more than I have already I strongly urge everyone to read this book.

Phyllis Altman 25



BLACK POEMS

Schutt, P: *Black Poems*, Kivouvou Verlag, Heidelberg, 1983.

A movement of poetic expression concerned with the manifold problems arising out of today's acute socio-political contradictions has become so large and diverse a field in literature that to discern and identify one literary genre from another has become a difficulty. The world has become a vast forest with many trees, some in bloom, some bleeding to death and becoming manure – whilst others, though dry, await spring to regain life. Poetry has become the mushroom growing out of them. As in the case of 'inedible' mushrooms – some poetry dies because it derived life out of a doomed and decadent system.

The book under review – *Black Poems* – though dealing with sociological and historical aspects of black people everywhere, is particularly appealing and interesting in its form, content and topicality. It has chosen as a subject of study, multitudes of black people whom colonial intrusion has maimed, and whose history bears scars of distortion. These subject people have for many years been relegated to objects of history by the European exploiters. And today, as they forge ahead to regain their humanity, it is inspiring to read what the pen of Peter Schutt has written about their origin and destination.

The title – *Black Poems* – is far from inciting an excited black and blank patriotic fervour or invoking isolationist tendencies bordering on self-pity and black exclusive-

ness. Rather, it is a monumental literary work which in particular, traces the problems besetting black people in the US, South Africa and in Western Europe – that vast warren of greed, racism and prejudice. The author is careful not to shut the victims of historical injustice outside the forward march of history – or to amputate them from the body politic of humanity in general.

Religion, as an occasional theme, cuts across a fair share of his aesthetic painting when describing the great tempest of human sorrow afflicting mainly the black people. He depicts the ghettos in Harlem and he is at home with Africans in the dusty streets of Soweto. The martyrs for freedom in South Africa like Tshifwa Muofhe who died in detention, and Martin Luther King whose life was ended by an assassin's bullet – receive their place of honour in the pages that follow. Through the medium of religious symbolism, the poet combines wit and imagery with an almost mocking and ironical picture underlining the lack of virtue and honesty in the biblical message:

And God is her Master
a rich white man
from Johannesburg, on good terms
with people in Wall Street, in Bonn
and Rome: speaking frequently
and solemnly about
democracy and freedom (p.49)

In this poetic landscape, the author true to his warrior-like disposition and skill, unlocks the vast potential of the oppressed and underscores the human values and norms which keep them in step with humanity's struggle for freedom, peace and friendship. His express purpose is not to grumble over the meagre material content of their lives. He is out to track down their points of resistance today and in bygone history, and he shows how the seeds of rebellion shift the slave from a position of subservience to the status of a grave-digger for the master.

Peter Schutt shows an insight into the details of ordinary incidents evidencing col-

onial and imperialist plunder and pillage. He says the following about the theft of the art treasures from Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Greece, Turkey, Iran and Iraq, from India, Indonesia, Vietnam and China:

from the slightest touch,
from theft,
and from their restitution,
which is overdue indeed,
to the bereaved
peoples of their countries
of origin (p.79)

In the Civic Restaurant (p.71) shows us again an illuminating expose of internationalised exploitation of human and material resources of all continents by the German bourgeoisie. The setting is an ordinary restaurant where "the masterful German gentlemen" with their ladies enjoy a meal; a goose from Poland, red wine from Portugal, fresh grapes from South Africa, pineapple from Trinidad and coffee from Guatemala ... (!) To bring the exploitation of man by man into light in such a dramatic and microcosmic way, speaks loudly of the author's ingenuity and perception.

His *Longing for Africa* (p.36) is a tribute to the continent, and to the humility of its inhabitants. He is a master of thematic consistency and personifies Africa in his conclusion:

You come
upon the stage
of world theatre
upright,
full of pride
free, free at last

It would be wrong to imply that the author projects the continent just as a vast garden where everything is green and rosy. He also links the natural beauty of Africa with negative social phenomena widespread in some parts of the continent. As such, he used biting and pronounced language to identify and lambast those human pigs who are inclined to live parasitically off Africa's vast fortunes.

They as co-residents with their masters in the human pig-sty of imperialism have, and are, mercilessly tearing the geo-political and economic body of the continent into a thousand pieces. Amongst other examples, let's take the case of that great African patriot — Patrice Lumumba:

They tore him
into a thousand pieces;
they extracted
copper from his skin
gold from his veins,
and the water of the rivers
from his eyes

To all intents and purposes, one thing is clear: Peter Schutt has his heart in the right place and his ear is glued to the ground listening to the mass currents of our age. He is very much like a poet who has been under many roofs in many parts of the world as a refugee. This internationalism prevents his poetry from suffering from any ideological misplacement or from succumbing to a religious death wish. Nor does his art seek to commit class suicide. If anything, his heart plunges a dagger, a sword, a spear at the heart of the system of class exploitation. He has the bull by the horns and like an African elephant his ears are kept attuned to the intricacies, plots and machinations of world imperialism and its surrogates — neo-colonialists. The following lines are a death knell to exploiters:

We are coal,
white masters,
we are burning with anger,
and we want to spread
the fire which blazes in us,
until it eliminates you
from this earth.
we want to be your coal,
white masters

This review would be incomplete without special mention of TECLA — the artists from New York whose drawings accompany the verse in a moving and brilliant way. Spec-

ial mention also ought to be made of the translator, Karla Rupp, whose grasp of the language and idiom of poetry has enabled the English-speaking readership to share in the creative work of Schutt.

Finally, light is cast on a curious question as to how it was possible for the author to have penetrated the heart of so many people: is it because of his German origin and therefore his hatred of racism, or is it simply his aesthetic skills? It does seem that he has heard the rhythm of the future marriage of all continents and that his hope in the future surges through his very heart. In his veins

(p.81) circulates the blood of many people. Peter Schutt has outstretched his hand of friendship to the peoples of Africa, Asia, America and Latin America — and in the process has invited his own people in Europe to do the same. It is only natural that this reviewer should appeal to the people of the world in general and perhaps our own people in Southern Africa, in particular, to provide as large a readership as possible to this anthology.

FTM

NOW AVAILABLE

New AMANDLA! record
by the

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
CULTURAL GROUP**

Musical Director: Jonas Gwangwa
On Melodiya Records (C60-18207-08)

**Full of deep political content, set in a broad
range of South African musical styles**

**Direct by mail order at £4.00 plus postage
from**

EARTHWORKS
162 Oxford Gardens
London W 10

Postage in UK £0.50
Postage to Europe £1.00
Postage to rest of world £2.90

**Catalogue of African music supplied on
request.**



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

By Arnold Selby

Dear Comrade,

I believe that there are two main issues which should be clearly spelled out: (a) what we mean when we speak about a 'seizure of power by the people' and (b) how we define those, collectively and individually, who will have to be brought to justice for apartheid crimes, which embrace war crimes and crimes against humanity.

To my way of thinking, a 'seizure of power by the people' means the complete destruction of the monopoly-capitalist South African state and all its power organs; and the creation of a completely new peace state in which all the new power organs will be in the hands of the people. For example, there will

be a new people's judiciary — the old judiciary will be disbanded and its personnel re-educated for socially useful work in other fields, and to become law-abiding and loyal citizens of our new peace state. Umkhonto We Sizwe will be the people's army, and there will be a completely new people's police structure. Members of the the former state army and police — by then liquidated — will have to be re-educated for socially useful work in civilian life. The same picture will emerge in all the other people's power organs.

As is demanded by our people, in terms of international law and by general international acceptance, we are obliged to bring to justice those responsible for apartheid crimes. At times the United Nations Human Rights Commission has published names of certain individuals responsible for committing crimes against our people. There are also numerous documents valid in international law, like the United Nations Conventions on the crimes of apartheid and genocide, as well as the General Assembly's definition of an 'aggressor.' These can be cited at length, but what is needed is a clear, understandable and simple definition of collective and individual responsibility for the crime of apartheid.

Before formulation of a draft definition, a time must be established from when it becomes valid. Certainly the time cannot be when the South African state was founded in 1910, though that in itself was a monstrous crime by Great Britain and white South Africa against the African people. Indeed, the whole history of the European bourgeois nations, later joined by the USA and Japanese imperialists, up to and during the imperialist system of colonialism, is one long crime. Their responsibility for the damage caused by this crime is another subject for discussion at another time.

Basing oneself on the precedent of the judicial principles of the Nuremburg Tribunal for the prosecution and punishment of nazi war criminals, collective and individual responsibility for the crime of apartheid should date from May 1848, when the Nationalist Party came to power, publicly proclaiming 29

apartheid as state doctrine. But this would exclude the head of state up till the time that the South African state became a republic. For till then the head of state, through the office of the governor-general, was the British monarch, and in international law the British monarchy cannot be held collectively or individually responsible for direct complicity in the crime of apartheid.

Definition – Who is Responsible?

Collective responsibility for the crime of apartheid rests with: the head of the apartheid state, the prime minister, the government, the leaders of the Nationalist Party, the Broederbond, the authorised representatives of the apartheid state in the Bantustans, the leaders of the South African financial and industrial concerns which support and finance the apartheid state, the multinational corporations which have deliberately violated all international norms through their complicity with the crime of apartheid, the high command of the apartheid army, all the security police, as well as the leading police officers and leading prison officials, and leading administrators responsible for genocidal practices like forced mass removals.

Individual responsibility for the crime of apartheid rests with: judges, magistrates, prosecutors and hangmen as well as the act-

ual killers, exploiters of forced slave labour, convict labour and child labour on the farms. Responsibility for the crime of apartheid also rests with individuals who have acquired and occupied land stolen from the black population after May 1948. Individuals who deliberately immigrated to South Africa after May 1948 to wax it fat on the grinding poverty and brutal exploitation of the people will also be called to account.

After that short draft definition let us note that individuals who have in the meantime died should nevertheless be judged, and their deeds placed on historical record. Also a word about the guilt of the multinational concerns and banking and financial trusts, as well as states which have granted credits to the criminal apartheid state. These must be made to understand that the new peace state which we are going to create will not be responsible for the repayment of these loans, nor the interest payable on such credits. We must spell it out clearly that morally and in terms of international law we have every right to confiscate the assets of these concerns.

Amandla! Maatla!

Arnold Selby,
Berlin.

1st November, 1983.



POEM

ROSES FOR HEROES

*Let us plant roses
Along the sea-shores
And on the frontiers
To substitute barbed wires
In the land of heroes*

*Let us plant roses
for the wails of Sharpeville
To be transformed
Into melodious songs
Of peace and freedom*

*Let us plant roses
For the shouts and gun-shots
Of Soweto June 16th
Which gave birth to leaping flames
from which re-emerged the old
But powerful war-cries of
AMANDLA! and MAYIBUYE!*

*Let us plant roses
For the gory events
Of the Matola tale
Not to go down unmarked
But to stand erect
As a monument
Of the glorious heroes who fell
Planting the roses we are planting*

*Let us plant
For peace to dominate
In the severe dark hours
Around Thaba Bosiu
Where evil must not sneak
Like a thief under cover
Of a silent night
Around the remains
Of victors devoid of evil*

*Let us plant roses
Red roses draped
With precious blood
Bearing thorns
Of the powerful path
We courageously tread*

*Let us plant roses
Bearing green leaves
Of fresh memories
for we must not forget
How peace is achieved*

*Let us plant roses
Where today aggression
Is brutally rolling
On the way to Seychelles
In the pastures of Lubango*

*Roses which will
Substitute chains
Growing in the hearts
Of imperialism's victims*

*We must plant roses
Of freedom and peace
With our blood and flesh
Roses like those
Of beautiful and memorable
Lidice*

*For Lidice, Matola
Sharpeville, Soweto, Seychelles
Lesotho and Lubango
Have one quality in common
The scars of racism and aggression
And all must emerge
Victors as Lidice did.*

Mbongi Koki



FREE
SOUTH
AFRICA'S
POLITICAL
PRISONERS

**SECHABA
and other
ANC Publications
are obtainable
from the following
ANC Addresses:**



ALGERIA

5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
ALGIERS

ANGOLA

PO Box 3523,
LUANDA

BELGIUM

9c Rue de Russie, 1060
BRUXELLES

CANADA

PO Box 302, Adelaide Postal
Station, TORONTO,
Ontario M5C-2J4

CUBA

Calle 21a NR 20617
Esquina 214 Atabey,
HAVANA

EGYPT

5 Ahmad Hishmat Street,
Zamalek,
CAIRO

ETHIOPIA

PO Box 7483,
ADDIS ABABA

GERMAN DEM. REP.

Angerweg 2, Wilhelmsruh, 1106
BERLIN

GERMAN FED. REP.

Postfach 190140
5300 BONN 1

INDIA

Flat 68 – Bhagat Singh Market,
NEW DELHI – 1

ITALY

Via S. Prisca 15a
00153 ROME

MADAGASCAR

PO Box 80
TANANARIVE

NIGERIA

Federal Government Special
Guest House, Victoria Island,
LAGOS

SENEGAL

26 Avenue Albert Sarraut,
DAKAR, Box 34 20

SWEDEN

PO Box 2073, S – 103 12,
STOCKHOLM 2

TANZANIA

PO Box 2239 DAR ES SALAAM
PO Box 680 MOROGORO

UNITED KINGDOM

PO Box 38, 28 Penton Street,
LONDON NI 9PR

UNITED STATES

801 Second Avenue, Apt. 405
NEW YORK, NYC 10017

ZAMBIA

PO Box 31791, LUSAKA

