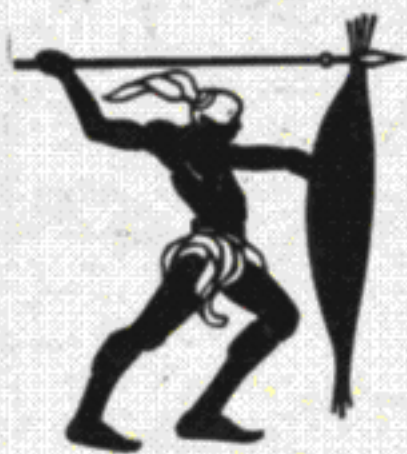


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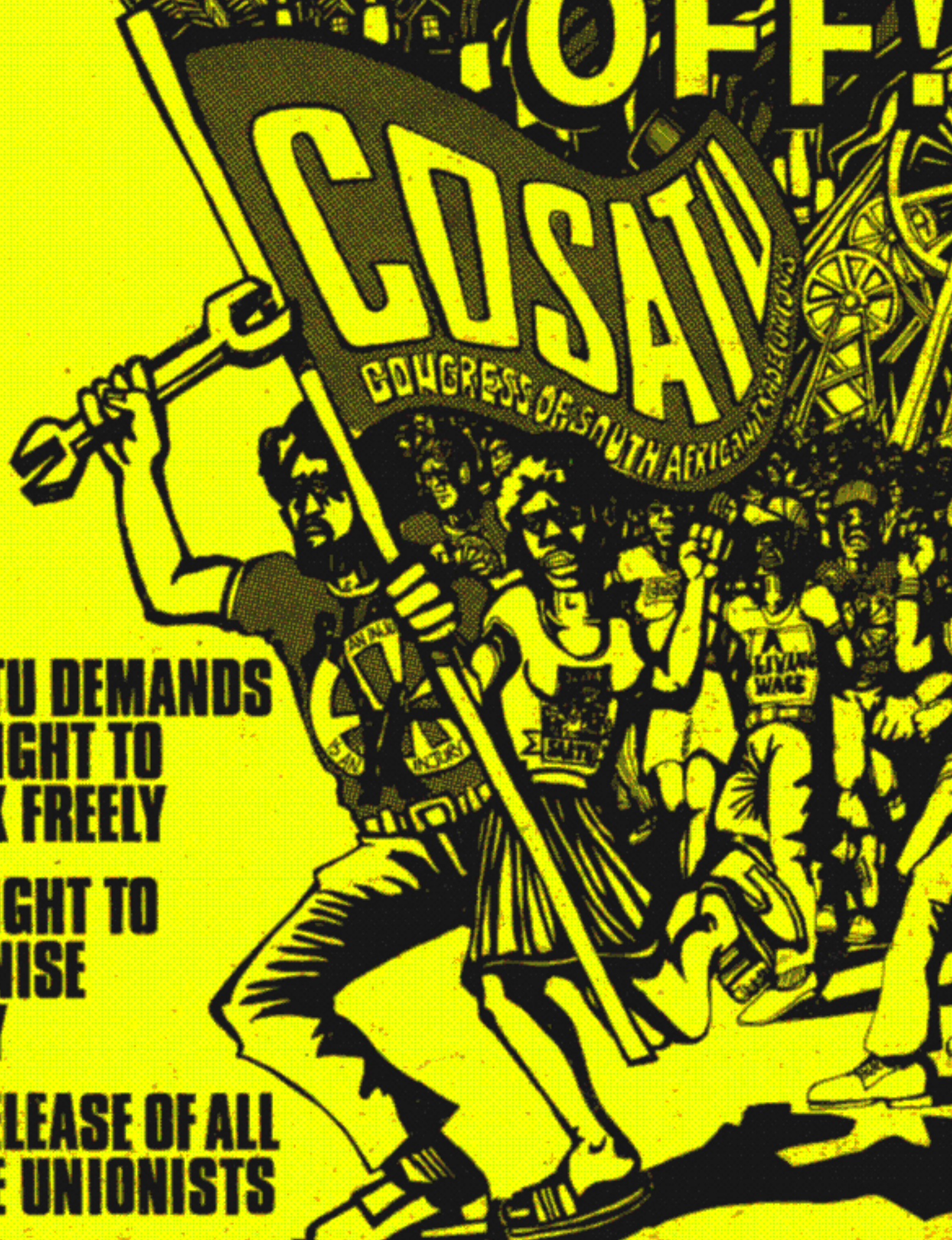
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HANDS

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CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS



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SPEAK FREELY**

**THE RIGHT TO
ORGANISE
FREELY**

**THE RELEASE OF ALL
TRADE UNIONISTS**

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March 1988

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EDITORIAL

THE NEW IMPERIALIST OFFENSIVE

The feeling within ruling circles in the West is that the end of apartheid is inevitable; the only question is whether it comes about by negotiation or through increasing violence and bloodshed.

These are not empty words. The Western countries are making preparations for this. Mrs Thatcher has gone on record as saying sanctions don't work. In a rather contradictory fashion, she says they will hurt those they are designed to help. Besides the fact that we have never elected her to be our spokesperson, she offers no alternative to sanctions as a means of dismantling apartheid.

The West's reluctance to apply sanctions is a contributory factor in making sanctions not work. Government departments continue to give official help to firms and individuals wishing to trade. Countries like Taiwan are rushing into the 'vacuum' created by those who break their trade links with South Africa.

Trade between South Africa and Taiwan is expected to double in 1988. In 1986, South African imports from Japan rose in value more than two and a half times over 1985, and its exports in the reverse direction more than doubled. It is said that imports from Japan represented 23% of South Africa's total imports in 1986 — in 1985 they were only 8%. Exports to Japan represented 12% of total exports in 1986, and in 1985 6%. Israel acts as an intermediary between Iran and Armscor, the apartheid weapons giant.

British investment in South Africa is worth about £6 million, and accounts for 45% of foreign investment. Now Britain has other

plans; the so-called "collective and positive initiative." This is supposed to counter the pressures to disinvest. The plan is supposed to "improve" Black education, job opportunities, industrial training, housing, and to encourage Black business. This is a demonstration of self-interest, and it means ensuring British industry a role in a post-apartheid South Africa, and countering international economic sanctions.

This project, which will be on a large scale and will involve large sums of money and the necessary bureaucracy, will be financed with funds from British, American and West German firms, operating in South Africa and from the London, Washington and Bonn governments. It has a two-to-one chance of getting off the ground, we are told.

We should remember that, when the crisis started in 1984, big business ran to meet the ANC in Lusaka. Western universities increased their intake of Black, especially African, students from South Africa, perhaps in preparation for this offensive.

The plan has been in the offing for the last two years. It is a creation of the British Industry Committee on South Africa (BICSA), which was set up in January 1986 by the Confederation of British Industry (CBI) and the United Kingdom-South Africa Trade Association (UKSATA).

This is a new offensive, not only against our people in South Africa, but against the whole region, including the Indian Ocean islands. It is an offensive against the democratic forces throughout the world. It is an attempt to thwart our revolution.

FORWARD TO UNITED ACTION FOR PEOPLE'S POWER!

Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the occasion of the 76th anniversary of the founding of the ANC. Presented by President O R Tambo, January 8th 1988.

Compatriots —

Once more it is January 8th, the anniversary of your movement, the African National Congress. Today we observe its 76th year of active struggle as the leader of the oppressed in our country and the representative of the democratic future towards which the overwhelming majority of our people aspire.

We marked this past year as our Jubilee Year because our movement had attained 75 years. To observe that Jubilee in an appropriate manner, consonant with our tasks and our possibilities as the broad movement for national liberation, we decided to celebrate 1987 as the Year of Advance to People's Power. Of necessity we have to assess whether we have in fact made the advance which we thought necessary to bring us nearer to the realisation of our cherished goal.

Homage to Martyrs of Struggle

Before we do this, we would like to pay homage to all those who have laid down their lives during our Jubilee Year in the struggle for our emancipation. I refer here not only to our own compatriots but to all others throughout our region who have perished at the hands of the apartheid regime of terror. As a result of the murderous activities of this regime, every country in our region has tasted the bitter tears of grief. Throughout our region, there



are today more apartheid widows, widowers and orphans than there were a year ago. There are more graves of children, which stand as a monument to the limitless barbarity of the apartheid system.

Massacres In the Front Line States

The killers came to Homoine in Mozambique and butchered all in sight with chilling savagery. They arrived in Zimbabwe to massacre a peaceful religious community. The apartheid death machine rolled into Angola to kill and destroy. Pietermaritzburg is awash with the blood of Black people all of whom, whatever side they have fought on, are together victims of the criminal system of apartheid.

Maputo and Livingstone, Harare, Lusaka, Gaborone, Mbabane and countless towns and cities in South Africa and Namibia have each had their share of funerals to bid farewell to those on whom the apartheid monster has fed, to satisfy its thirst for human blood. As the innocent perished, the captain of the murderers sneaked into Angola to urge his minions to more bloodshed, for the preservation of the system of White minority domination. And thus stands bared the true terrorist and criminal nature of the Botha regime.

This continued campaign of terror has been carried out by the apartheid regime precisely because we, together with the peoples of our region, have indeed been able to advance towards victory. It is true that we have not advanced on all fronts in our general offensive towards people's power with the same speed and success. There has been an uneven development of our struggle precisely because the enemy, as we had expected, has continued to fight for its life. But we have advanced because we have dared to struggle despite the enemy's desperate reign of terror.

As our Jubilee Year came to a close, it was clear that our country has polarised into two opposing camps, one representing liberation, democracy and peace and the other, oppression, racism and war. Throughout this past year our enemy has tried to defeat and suppress the forces of national liberation and democratic change.

At the same time the racists have sought to increase their own strength by working to consolidate their own ranks and luring to their side as many people as possible. All this has been without success.

The failure of the enemy to achieve these objectives constitutes for us a strategic advance and is essential to our assessment of the continuing shift in the balance of forces in our favour and therefore our advance towards people's power.

To appreciate the decisive importance of this advance, it is necessary to understand, in its fullness, the degree and scope of the counter-offensive launched by the Pretoria regime in its efforts to recover ground that it had lost in the previous two years in particular. At the heart of the response of the enemy has been its attempt to liquidate the ANC and the mass democratic movement through a sustained campaign of extreme repression and open terror.

This has been coupled with an aggressive political offensive both inside and outside the country, designed to give the White minority regime a cloak of legitimacy and to turn the masses of our people and the world community against our broad movement for national liberation. As we have said, the rest of the peoples of our region have themselves, more than ever before, been victims of the integrated counter-offensive of the forces of racism and fascism.

Rule By Force

In 75 years of struggle under the banner of the ANC, we have never known a campaign of repression as coldly calculated and systematic as we have experienced this past year. The emergence into the open of the so-called National Security Management System as the central instrument of government, its core composed of the racist army and police, is indication enough of the decisive importance of the use of force as the principal means of government. Accordingly, we have seen the network of the so-called Joint Management Centres, operating under the direction of the State Security Council, envelop our people under a blanket of institutionalised state terrorism which we have never had to endure before.

We are all aware of the practical meaning of these developments. The issue is not just the imposition of the dastardly state of emergency. The effort to maintain the so-called security of the apartheid system has meant a determined attempt to break the will of the people and to destroy our organisations through sustained terror carried out by soldiers, the police, kits-konstabels and secret assassination squads.

Mass Arrests and Torture

Together with all these activities, which it is hard to believe are carried out by people who still expect to be called human beings, have been the mass arrests and detentions. The torture, physical and psychological persecution and abuse of our people, among them children, goes on unabated. So determined has the regime of the oppressors been to use force that it has employed tear-gas against detainees inside prisons themselves. To break the youth in particular the enemy has, as we know, even set up special indoctrination camps designed to train the young to serve as pliant tools of the regime of murderers.

Some among us the fascist regime decides to imprison or to hang. Even now, countless show trials are taking place, with some reported and others not. As we speak, scores of our people are facing execution while others are doomed to serve long terms of imprisonment. By the end of the year more will be confronted with the same grim prospect of legalised murder, some of which will be carried out in secret, as is happening already.

The fascist tyrants are determined to ensure that none of this truth should be known or told. For them the darkness of the night and the terrible void of ignorance are elements which guarantee the success of their nefarious schemes. Nothing should be known except that which the killers decide should be known. Lies and disinformation are among the tools that must be used to guarantee the survival of the apartheid system. To ensure this, the racists have imposed press restrictions which are without precedent in our entire history.

Military Occupation

Many of our townships remain under the occupation of the murder squads of the army and the police which we have been talking about. To camouflage their true purpose and to bribe us to accept the tyrannical rule of the apartheid regime, these same killers come to us bearing gifts. Such is the fool's paradise which derives from the arrogance of racism, making the slave-master believe he can quell the rebellion of the slaves by increasing their rations.

Mass Army on the Offensive

Contrary to the plans of the enemy, the mass political army, on whose shoulders rests the task of dislodging the apartheid regime, has remained firmly in the trenches of struggle, determined to remain on the offensive. Among the workers and the youth, the rural masses, the women and other sections of our people, the level of commitment to the task of liberation has never been higher than it is today. We defeated the efforts of the enemy to reverse our gains. We shattered its hopes that after three years of the most intense struggle, we will be suffering from battle fatigue.

We have also both maintained and enhanced our level of unity at this mass level. The criminal vigilante groups which serve the interests of our oppressors, remain a small fraction of the people. As the racists have continued to trumpet their determination to proceed with their so-called reform programme, we have further strengthened our unity around the demands contained in the Freedom Charter, around the perspective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Organisationally, that enhanced level of unity has found expression in the growth of that mighty arm of the workers of our country, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and its affiliates. The gains made in translating the vision of one industry one union into reality, attracting ever more workers into the COSATU unions and adopting the Freedom Charter as the common perspective of our working class, are all-important victories cementing and raising the level of unity among the workers.

These achievements, which are of great importance to the entire liberation movement, contributed to the success of our historic struggles which the workers and the masses of our country fought during this past year. These include the May 6th and June 16th stays-at-home, the epoch-making mineworkers' strike and those of the railway and postal workers. In action the working class continued to take its place as the leading social force in our struggle.

Strengthen United Action

This year we shall be observing the fifth anniversary of that great formation of the democratic movement, the United Democratic Front. In the brief period of its existence, the UDF has earned the love, devotion and allegiance of the millions of our people. This is because it has stood in the forefront of struggle and remained firm in its objectives and determination despite a bloody effort by the racists to liquidate it. It is the task of the entire democratic movement to ensure that the UDF is strengthened and defended by all available means against the enemy's counter-offensive. It is also of vital importance that we work to strengthen the links between this mass organisation of the people and other formations of the democratic movement.

What we have spoken of is not a system of random acts. The incidents, the acts and the measures are all part of a systematised and integrated process of rule by terror. The plan of the enemy is that those who dispose of this tyrannical force should occupy all vantage points in society and co-opt as many people and social forces as possible into the organised system of repression. Hence we see that some municipal councils, elements among the White business community, some teachers and others have already been drawn into the Joint Management Centres as partners in state terrorism. None of those who continue to accept to co-operate with the apartheid regime can expect that they will escape this fate of having to serve within the military structures of terrorist domination that this regime is putting in place.

At the same time, we are aware that the racists have themselves recognised the fact

that their campaign of repression has not succeeded as they thought it would.

Therefore they continue to devise new measures further to tighten the noose around the people. The new conditions which the Pretoria regime seeks to impose on the universities, to transform their administrations into instruments of repression, are part of this process. So also is the Bill, which the racist parliament is considering, designed to paralyse the trade union movement by effectively abolishing the right of the workers to strike. In an effort to break the widespread rent boycott and deprive us of this weapon in future, the apartheid regime also continues to work towards passing legislation which will compel employers to deduct rents from the pay packets of their employees. These are but some of the ways and means that the racist regime is and will be devising and implementing to ensure the survival of the criminal system of apartheid.

Spirit of Freedom Aflame Among the Masses

The enemy's campaign of intense repression has tested the strength of our commitment to liberation, our determination and ability to fight on, and the firmness of our adherence to the strategic objective of the seizure of power by the people through struggle. It is with pride that we can say, on this historic occasion, that one of the outstanding and indelible achievements of our Year of Advance to People's Power is that we have come through that test as tempered steel.

The attempt of the apartheid regime to destroy the will and determination of the people to liberate themselves has failed completely and utterly. How beautiful it has been to see and feel the spirit of freedom aflame among the masses of our people. How inspiring the message that has come from every corner of our land that victory is certain. We have confronted death and unimaginable suffering in our millions and in action declared that all these pale into insignificance in the face of the historic mission we have to carry out — the destruction of the apartheid crime against humanity.

Central to the process of the strengthening of the organised base of the mass democratic movement has also been the emergence of such organisations as the South African Youth Congress, the UDF Women's Congress, the Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa and the National Association of Democratic Lawyers. As we know, the further development of this unity has correctly taken place not only at the national but also at local and regional levels as well.

During the past year, all the mass organisations of the people came under intense pressure from the forces of repression. We are all aware that many of these did in fact suffer seriously. In certain areas, street and area committees have been crippled, local organisations severely disrupted and regional and national leadership collectives depleted through arrests. Offices such as those of COSATU and the UDF have been bombed and set on fire by agents of the Pretoria regime. In some townships, the regime has tried to replace the organs of people's power, which the people had created themselves, with an army and police administration through the system of the so-called Joint Management Centres. All of this was intended to strangle the organised formations of the mass democratic movement so as to leave the people leaderless and therefore incapable of united and concerted action.

Enemy Intentions Defeated

It is again with pride that we can say that in the strategic sense the enemy has been defeated in its intentions. Whatever the reverses we have suffered, we have, in the main, successfully defended our organisational formations. In certain instances, as we have said, we have actually expanded the organised formations of the mass democratic movement. Given the fact that they have sunk their roots deep among the masses, to destroy the mass democratic organisations, the enemy would have to carry out the impossible task of annihilating the people themselves.

As part of its all-round counter-offensive, the apartheid regime had also hoped that it would break the links between the people and their movement and army, the ANC

and Umkhonto we Sizwe, weaken and destroy our capacity to act and transform us into irrelevant historical remnants. Once more the enemy has failed dismally. There is no doubt that we enter this year with the prestige and authority of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe higher than they have ever been before and, correspondingly, with an even heavier responsibility to discharge the tasks which history has assigned to them.

Let Govan Mbeki Speak!

We would like to take this opportunity to reiterate our warm welcome to that outstanding people's leader, Isitwalandwe Comrade Govan Mbeki, released after 24 years as a captive of the common enemy of all our people.

To you, dear comrade, we say: the example you have given to us all, both while you were in prison and since you were released, has served as enormous encouragement and inspiration for all our people and the entire movement for national liberation. We are strengthened by the fact that you have rejoined us, albeit in the larger prison that is apartheid South Africa, to continue the struggle with us as a comrade, a colleague and a leader. Your release during our Year of Advance to People's Power was one of the historic victories of that Year and of the national and international forces fighting against the apartheid system.

We salute all these forces which have, for decades, sustained the struggle for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners. Govan Mbeki's release should serve as further encouragement to us all to campaign with even greater vigour until this common and urgent objective is achieved. Let us also all join forces to demand of the Pretoria regime to **let Govan Mbeki speak!** The restrictions by which the enemy continues to imprison our leaders must go.

People's Army, People's War

During the past year, the racists also carried out a concerted campaign in a vain attempt to paralyse the armed struggle. It is true that your army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has suffered a number of casualties in terms

of combatants and commanders killed or captured. Among those killed were Comrade Job Tabane, popularly known as Cassius Make, member of our National Executive Committee and the Military Headquarters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, as well as other outstanding members of the people's army such as Sello Motau, Ashley Kriel, Phillip Matabane, Sechaba Mokutu and Shadrack Maphumulo. On this important national day we pay tribute to them all and their comrades-in-arms whom we have not mentioned, some of whom have perished as well, some of whom are in enemy hands awaiting, or on, trial, and others who have already been illegally sentenced. By their activities, all these, together with the masses of our people who joined them to prosecute the armed struggle, nullified the schemes of the enemy to thwart our armed resistance and further strengthened the basis for us to succeed in our objective of transforming our armed offensive into a people's war.

Indeed, the enemy has been forced to admit that despite its efforts, we escalated our armed offensive throughout the Year of Advance to People's Power. Having failed to hide the actions we carried out in many parts of the country, including those executed in support of the striking railway workers and the rent boycott, the enemy had no choice but to make this admission. The mass base of the armed struggle has continued to expand and the people's commitment to wage this struggle to its successful conclusion further deepened.

Division Among The White Minority

Yet another element in the reverses suffered by the apartheid regime during our Jubilee Year has been its failure to realise the goal of arresting the process of splintering of its social base into many political factions. The White elections on May 6th were called to achieve this objective. But what is the position today?

The forces of White minority domination are more divided than they have ever been in all the four decades of apartheid rule. Never again will the racists regain the unity which they so frantically seek. Of im-

portance in this regard is the continuing defection of some Afrikaners from the camp of racism and apartheid. Regardless of the distance these new democrats have travelled towards genuinely democratic positions, the fact of their break with the perspective of White minority domination constitutes an important contribution to the common future we seek to build — of a South Africa that will belong to all South Africans regardless of race or colour. The meeting held in Dakar will always remain one of the benchmarks in the efforts of our people to unite against the apartheid system.

Resistance To Racist Rule by the Gun

Of major importance also is the fact that the more the racists have relied on their armed forces to ensure the survival of the apartheid system, the sharper the contradictions and conflicts within its armed and paramilitary forces have become. The police and army mutinies in South Africa and Namibia with which the Pretoria regime had to contend in our Jubilee Year are vital indicators of the impact that our continuing struggle and the deepening crisis of the apartheid system is having on these decisive elements of the apartheid state machinery. The campaign to resist conscription into the army of oppression and aggression remains one of the outstanding tributes to the humanity of the White youth of our country who, despite the prospect of severe penalties, refuse to be turned into the murder machine of the apartheid regime. We would like these brave and noble young compatriots to know that, long after the apartheid regime has become a thing of the past, the people of our country will honour them for their courage and principled opposition to racial tyranny.

The ongoing process of the collapse of the apartheid-created institutions has resulted in a further worsening of the crisis of the bantustan system. The fact that the enemy has let loose against the people both its puppet armed forces within these bantustans as well as the equally murderous vigilante groups, is a sign not of strength but of the reality that these

enemy organs of apartheid power are themselves fighting a rearguard battle which is doomed to fail. The apartheid tricameral parliament, so overwhelmingly rejected by the overwhelming majority of our people, as was reconfirmed on May 6th, is itself subject to the same crisis that the apartheid system as a whole is experiencing as a result of our struggle. That parliament too will disappear in the face of our continuing offensive to create one that is truly representative of all the people of our country.

Once more, we call on our Indian and Coloured compatriots who serve within this apartheid institution to abandon the path of treachery by withdrawing from this institution. For too long already they have stretched the patience of the people, which is not endless. Those among the Whites who are opposed to apartheid must themselves consider what purpose their continued membership of the White parliament serves, recognising that no democratic transformation can be brought about by an apartheid institution.

Peoples of the World Unite Against Apartheid

During the year of our 75th Anniversary, the positions of the Pretoria regime externally also continued to weaken at an accelerated pace. We, on the other hand, have ended our Year of Advance to People's Power in a stronger position than ever before. Even those who do not accept our policy and perspectives have recognised the fact that there can be no solution of the South African question without the participation of the ANC and the mass democratic movement as the central force. Furthermore, the issue of the recognition by the nations of the world of the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime is today firmly on the agenda. The historic Arusha Conference, which met under the theme, **The World United Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa**, played an important part in bringing about this result, which is of central importance in our struggle to liberate ourselves.

Similarly, the hopes of the racists that they could defuse the campaign for sanctions

have come to nought. Despite the efforts of the major Western powers to shield the apartheid regime from effective international action, the peoples of the world have taken the struggle for the international isolation of apartheid South Africa yet another step forward. Many areas of the world, including the socialist countries and the overwhelming majority of member states of the UN, the Non-Aligned Movement and the OAU, have continued their total isolation of apartheid South Africa. Others, such as the Nordic countries, have in the past year adopted important measures in this regard. With the sole exception of the United Kingdom, the countries of the Commonwealth also resolved in favour of further sanctions against racist South Africa, as did the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. The US Congress also remains seized with this question. We are convinced that despite the stubborn resistance of the Reagan Administration, the legislators of the United States will act to impose further sanctions against the racists.

Southern Africa Resists Campaigns of Aggression

Nearer home, the independent countries of Southern Africa have valiantly continued to resist the campaign of aggression and destabilisation which the Pretoria regime took to new heights this past year. Despite the high price they have had to pay, they have refused to be intimidated into accepting the status of client states of apartheid South Africa. As the year came towards its close, the Pretoria regime had to pay dearly for its racist arrogance on the battlefields of Angola. When the White youth it had sent forward as cannon fodder began to die in this undeclared war, their mothers and fathers began openly to question why it was that they had to be in Angola at all. In the end the Botha regime will have to answer to the millions of mothers and fathers throughout Southern Africa as to why their children had to perish when they had not even so much as set one foot on South African soil.

We would like to take this opportunity once more to extend our warm congratulations to that outstanding African statesman,

Comrade Robert Gabriel Mugabe, on his recent election as the first Executive President of the Republic of Zimbabwe. The process of consolidation of people's power in this neighbouring country strengthens the revolutionary process in our country as well.

The struggle of the sister people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, has continued to deliver powerful blows against the apartheid forces of occupation and colonialism. These achievements of the Namibian people, for which they have been prepared to make the necessary sacrifices, have been an important factor in the furtherance of our own struggle against the common apartheid enemy. We are certain that the continuing political, military and diplomatic struggle of the Namibian people will bring that country ever closer to its long-overdue independence.

Plan, Organise, Attack

What then are the lessons that we should draw from all that I have said, and from here, where do we go? What is the way forward? One of the outstanding features of this past year is that the apartheid regime organised itself and acted in a manner designed specifically to stop our advance to people's power and to reverse our gains. At the centre of its programme for counter-insurgency was the idea that the enemy could recapture the initiative and thus force us on to the defensive, if we still had any capacity to carry on with the struggle.

The second outstanding feature of our Jubilee Year is that, through heroic struggle, we succeeded in making a strategic advance. Steadfastly maintaining our perspective of advance to people's power, we fought on to accomplish the tasks that go to make up that advance. In struggle we have answered the question — what is the way forward? The answer is that we must remain on the attack, maintain our offensive posture and, in struggle, win new ground in our advance towards people's power. To wrest that new ground from the enemy requires that we plan for action, organise ourselves for action, and on the basis of those plans and relying on our organised strength, attack the enemy on all fronts as a united force. To achieve a further ad-

vance to people's power, these must be our watchwords — **plan, organise, attack!**

Weaken the Enemy

In this context, our operational aim must remain that of weakening the enemy all-round and strengthening our forces in struggle. At all times we must focus our attention on the decisive question of further altering the balance of strength in our favour — to weaken the apartheid regime through struggle and to strengthen our forces in struggle. As part of that process, we must ensure that we attack the enemy in all areas so that we disperse its forces, so that it is unable to concentrate these in a few areas at a time, to its advantage. What, then, are some of the issues to which we must attend?

Our central task is to organise and mobilise our people in their millions to deliver mighty blows against our common enemy, the White minority regime, for the realisation of the objective of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. This means that we must continue to build the broadest possible united front against apartheid for a democratic South Africa. All organisations to which the people belong, whether cultural, sporting, professional, religious or of other types, should understand that they, too, have an obligation to engage in struggle in pursuit of the common cause. Let the fact of the united opposition of millions of our people to the apartheid system find expression both in united action and action within a united front.

Build

The People's Organisations

That unity must also characterise our concerted action to defeat the attack on COSATU, the trade union movement in general and the workers as a whole represented by the amendment to the Labour Relations Act currently before the racist parliament. All formations of the democratic movement must join this fight as their own because it is indeed their own. We know that the enemy has identified as one of the principal tasks of its campaign of repression to break the strike movement. Through united national action let us stop

the enemy in its tracks and, by our victory, further consolidate the trade union movement and strengthen the bonds of common struggle among all formations that make up the democratic movement.

Much work remains to be done to accomplish our tasks of organising the unorganised and the unemployed workers both in the towns and countryside and to engage them in struggle. The fact that the apartheid regime and the employers take advantage of the unorganised and unemployed to recruit for the organs of state repression, to break our strikes and to guarantee themselves super-profits, emphasises the importance and urgency of these tasks for the entire democratic movement. The same urgency to carry out further organisational work among the youth and students obtains, despite the great strides that we have made in this regard. The women's movement has the potential, already proven in struggle, to become one of the strongest components of the mass political army of revolutionary change. For this to be realised, the tasks we have set ourselves in the past to organise a broad women's movement have to be accomplished.

Similarly, the religious community is of vital importance to the success of the common struggle to end racism and racial domination. Further to enhance the contribution that this community is making, we must adopt new measures to ensure that it plays its role to the full. The decisions originally adopted at the Conference of the World Council of Churches in Lusaka last year and since endorsed by the churches within our country, provide an important vantage point from which to engage the religious community in struggle at an even higher level.

Culture and Education

The workers in the field of culture have clearly recognised the vital importance of their own participation in the struggle. We have to work consistently in this field to ensure that these workers also see themselves as front line fighters and not merely a reserve to be called upon by somebody else as need arises. This applies similarly to the sportspeople, both amateur

and professional, who should themselves, together with the rest of the democratic movement, elaborate ways and means by which to harness the energies of all sports enthusiasts, players and spectators, to help end the apartheid system so that in a normal society we can all have normal sport with all the benefits that will accrue to the people and the sportspersons themselves as a result of this change.

The area of education remains one of our crucial fronts of struggle. The victory of the democratic and non-racial perspective in this theatre of action requires, among other things, that the educators themselves, the teachers at schools, universities and other institutions of higher learning, should be organised into democratic formations that consciously and systematically pursue the objective of a people's education in the full meaning of those words.

Transform the Bantustans

The masses of our people within the bantustans must be activated to transform these into strong and reliable mass bases of the revolution. New possibilities exist for the people to act decisively to turn these enemy-created institutions against their creator, the Pretoria regime.

The accomplishment of this task requires that the fighting masses of our people should join hands with those elements within the bantustan administrative systems that are prepared to break with the apartheid regime and join the people in the struggle for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Contrary to the wishes and designs of the enemy, there are many of these — politicians, chiefs, soldiers, police and civil servants — who have no stake in the corrupt and venal system created by Pretoria to perpetuate its rule and who are willing to act in the national interest against those who employ them. Let us act together with these healthy forces to transform what the enemy conceived as its rear-base of counter-revolution into forward trenches of militant struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution. Of central importance to the success of this process is the need to ensure that the masses of the people are organised into their own mass

formations as well as into underground units of our movement.

The carnage in Pietermaritzburg must stop. We fully support the honest efforts that many people have made and are making to end this disastrous fratricidal strife. These must continue with a new urgency so that the conflict should end immediately. The apartheid regime has no wish that we should achieve this result. In this it has been joined by Gatsha Buthelezi who does everything in his power to fan and promote this conflict which diverts many oppressed people away from the task of confronting the racist regime and directs world attention away from the heinous crimes that the apartheid regime is carrying out throughout Southern Africa. All of us have a responsibility to defeat elements such as these by ending the fighting and uniting our forces against the oppressors. We must achieve this as a matter of urgency and in the interests of all our people.

The workers on the farms have begun to stir. These Black South Africans, among the most exploited, degraded and despised in our country, must also be mobilised into struggle. The entire democratic movement has a responsibility to extend all necessary assistance to the trade union movement to accomplish its task of organising these workers. We have to spread the spirit of rebellion among these workers in struggle and, in action, show them that they too are entitled to a living wage and that they too have a right to be treated as human beings. It is when we win victories on those demands that it will be possible to advance further to engage these workers whose labours feed the nation, in the struggle for the transfer of the land to those who work it.

The Apartheid System — A Crime Against Humanity

As you know, this year the oppressor regime and its supporters will be observing a number of anniversaries.

In their celebrations, the racists will seek once more to assert the permanence and legitimacy of White minority domination, further propagate the apartheid notions of group rights, work to unite the Whites around their anti-democratic programme and sharpen their counter-offensive against

the forces and the perspective of the democratic transformation of our country.

Against all this we must project our own implacable opposition to the colonial, racist and fascist legacy which all these anniversaries represent. From all of them there is only one lesson to be drawn. It is that our country and people have lived too long under the iron heel of White supremacy. That system has brought untold suffering to the millions of our people, transformed itself into a crime against humanity and must be destroyed totally and without delay.

The Responsibility Of White South Africans

As our struggle intensifies and the crisis of the apartheid system deepens, so does the responsibility on our White compatriots increase, to act together with the majority of the people of our country to end the apartheid system. To our White compatriots we say, as the Botha regime prepares to celebrate, in your name, the ignoble history of a system that has been categorised as a crime against humanity, what are you going to do?

You have the possibility to contribute decisively to redress an historical injustice which has persisted over three centuries. The decision is yours to make and you need to make it now. The hour of the day demands of you that you break with racism and apartheid unreservedly and recognise the fact that the apartheid regime is an illegitimate creature of an immoral and criminal system which no decent human being can support or tolerate. Your children are being used to kill for this regime. Your intellects are used to create options for the survival of the same regime. The wealth we both create is expropriated by this regime to keep itself in power. Why do you allow all these indecencies to occur and continue? The time for you to act against the apartheid system is now.

Escalate the Offensive For the Victory Of the Democratic Cause

In the world today all people of reason and conscience are seeking political solutions

to all the problems that confront humanity, however intractable they might seem. Your movement, the African National Congress, supports and upholds this perspective. Given the will, a political settlement of the South African question that would be in keeping with the aspirations of the people can be found. The only obstacle to that outcome is the Botha regime which has every intention to perpetuate its illegitimate rule by brute force.

To the most elementary and widely-accepted demands that would create a climate conducive to negotiations, it responds with disdain and contempt. These demands include the release of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and all other political prisoners, the lifting of the ban on the ANC and other organisations, the lifting of the state of emergency, the repeal of all repressive legislation, the withdrawal of all troops from the townships and so on. To all that the Botha regime says no. Its response is to confront our people and the rest of the international community with guns and the mailed fist of unbridled repression and open terror.

It pretends to speak of peace when it actually prosecutes war and prepares for more bitter conflict. In addition it offers as a bogus negotiating mechanism an insulting National Council. It is our common responsibility to see to it that this Council never sees the light of day by campaigning to ensure that nobody serves on it. This is one of the major challenges we face this year. We must respond to it with the same vigour with which we rejected the illegitimate 1983 constitution which established the apartheid tri-cameral parliament.

Transform Armed Actions Into People's War

The reasons which compelled us to take up arms have not changed. Rather, by its actions, the Pretoria regime leaves us no choice but further to escalate our military offensive for the victory of the democratic cause. The armed struggle constitutes the spearhead of our general offensive, a crucial element in our response to the

violence of the racist regime. We must raise the level of this struggle in a decisive manner, draw the masses of our people into actual combat and realise our objective of transforming our armed actions into a people's war. The call we made in the past — every patriot a combatant, every combatant a patriot — continues to be of central relevance in all our work. The suffering of the people and their organisations under the system of martial law implemented through the so-called Joint Management Centres requires that our armed offensive should in fact assume a level of intensity that is consonant with the general task of advancing towards people's power in a decisive manner.

Accordingly, we charge the heroic people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, with the responsibility of ensuring that we realise this perspective. From all our commanders and combatants and from the people themselves, acting as the mass combat army of the revolution, we expect a level of boldness, daring, courage and effectiveness in our actions against the enemy that will create a qualitatively new stage in our struggle.

The People Must Defend Themselves

To advance further also requires that we confront the problems posed by the operations of the Joint Management Centres seriously and consistently. These represent the spearhead of the enemy's counter-offensive and have to be defeated as a necessary condition for our movement forward. We have to study and monitor their activities closely, ensure that the masses of the people are informed of these so that they can conduct a sustained struggle against all elements of the programmes of the JMCs, including their attempts to re-establish the Black puppet local authorities, create murderous vigilante groups, re-introduce a comprehensive network of informers and so on. We also call on the business community to stop co-operating with the regime's repressive machinery or face the consequences of intentionally participating in the vicious campaign of apartheid state terrorism.

Our common resolve to establish self-

defence units has proved its correctness and timeliness during the past year. In the face of Pretoria's campaign of terror, the need for the people to defend themselves has become all too obvious. Both the underground units of the ANC and those of Umkhonto we Sizwe have a responsibility to ensure that all our communities create these units as disciplined formations that will act against the apartheid enemy and its agents.

We must further step up our work to ensure that the youth of our country, both Black and White, refuses to serve in the enemy's death forces. The SADF, the SAP and the other armed elements of the Pretoria regime have one task only, and that is to defend a system which is a crime against humanity. Those who serve on the enemy's side know that they are serving a lost cause. They will not only die in vain, but will also carry with them to their graves the mark of infamy which belongs to the apartheid crime against humanity.

We reiterate our call to those Black people who find themselves in the ranks of the enemy's forces of repression, including those in the bantustans, to join the struggle against the oppressors of our people, of their own mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters. You must turn your guns against the common enemy. It is the task of all the democratic forces of our country to take this message into the ranks of these forces and to inspire our own brothers who bear arms in defence of the enemy's cause to regain their honour by using their knowledge and skills for the emancipation of our country and people from the yoke of racist tyranny.

Unlock Apartheid Goals — Stop the Executions!

Many of our leaders remain prisoners of the Pretoria regime. Others are held in captivity as detainees. Yet others, activists of the mass movement, are in condemned cells awaiting execution. Among these are Theresa Ramashamola, Robert McBride, Desmond Majola, Daniel Maleke, Lennox Wonci, Solomon Nogwati, Mzwandile Gqeba, Philip Ngidi, Vuyisile Goni, Daisy Modise, Mxolisi Malgas, Thembisile Beneti and many others. A heavy responsibility

rests on all of us to act in defence of all these patriots and leaders, to secure their immediate and unconditional release and to save their lives from the bloody hand of the apartheid hangman. This task must, at all times, remain among our topmost priorities. This year our beloved leader, Comrade Nelson Mandela, will be 70 years old. Let us observe his birthday by further intensifying the campaign for the release of this outstanding son of our people and all other leaders and activists imprisoned by the Botha regime.

Rebuild and Expand Our Organisational Strength

It is clear that in the coming period many tasks of decisive importance will fall on the shoulders of the mass democratic movement. This necessitates that this movement should itself be strong, well organised and clear about its tasks. Serious efforts have therefore to be made to ensure that we recover from the reverses that we have suffered as a result of extreme repression. We have to rebuild all affected structures from the local up to the national level and further expand our entire organisational strength.

The situation of extreme repression requires that we strive even harder to ensure the democratic participation of the people in our decision-making processes. Our leadership collectives should remain close to the people and be accountable to them. At the same time, we have to fight against all factionalism, against all tendencies to develop contempt for the masses of the people and therefore to think that decisions must be taken on their behalf. We must build up unity within our own organisations on the basis of a common commitment to an agreed programme of action, democratic participation and the accountability of the leadership.

If we attend to these issues, as we should, as well as others that we have mentioned already, then it will be possible for us to score new successes in the campaigns we have to continue to conduct, including those for a living wage and national united action. As we know, there are other issues that we have to take up in addition to those we have already dealt with. These include

the rent boycott, the observance of May Day on a day we ourselves decide, the education campaign, and the observance of March 21st, June 16th, June 26th, August 9th and December 16th. We also have to increase our solidarity with the peoples of Namibia and the Front Line States. We have a duty in action to demand the independence of Namibia, that Pretoria withdraws its troops from Angola and ends its aggression against independent Africa. Furthermore, this year the OAU will be marking its 25th anniversary on May 25th. We, too, must observe this anniversary and in future join the rest of our continent in observing May 25th as Africa Day.

The situation of extreme repression has once more brought to the fore the importance of the underground structures of our vanguard movement, the African National Congress, as a central component of our struggle.

We have to redouble our efforts further to expand these structures to ensure that they are in contact with the people everywhere and at all times. Indeed as we all realise the fact that no revolution is possible without a revolutionary vanguard, we all have a task to build this vanguard, the ANC, in the interests of our revolution. The progress we have achieved in this regard has given us the basis to proceed even faster in pursuit of this goal.

World Peace And Human Progress

Our struggle takes place in an international context characterised by major efforts to solve some of the outstanding issues of world concern. These include the decisive question of world peace during our nuclear age, the resolution of regional conflicts and the restructuring of the world economy so that the material and spiritual needs of millions upon millions of people who still go hungry can be attended to. We support all these initiatives and take this opportunity to reiterate our welcome for the recent agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States to abolish and destroy certain classes of nuclear weapons. We look forward to further progress in this area until all nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction are destroyed.

On the other hand, and by its very nature, the apartheid regime is opposed to peace, to the independence of peoples and to their development. Truly a pariah among nations of the world, apartheid South Africa constitutes a permanent obstacle to progress throughout the region of Southern Africa. This situation calls for concerted and unrelenting action by all the world progressive and democratic forces to help us end the crime of apartheid now and thus increase the possibilities for the reduction of international tension in general and enhance the world process for peace and human progress.

Impose Mandatory, Comprehensive And People's Sanctions

The international community is still faced with the urgent task to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa. We call on the peoples of the major Western countries themselves to take action to impose people's sanctions. It is also of vital importance that the international struggle for the independence of Namibia is stepped up radically. Both we of the ANC and our comrades-in-arms of SWAPO require the all-round assistance of all those who are opposed to apartheid to assist us to carry out our historic missions of leading our respective peoples to liberation.

Similarly, the Front Line States require maximum economic and military support to strengthen and defend themselves so that they too can meet their responsibilities both to their peoples and to the world community which has striven for so many years to end the apartheid system.

The possibility of concerted international action on these issues was amply demonstrated at the historic Arusha Conference held at the end of our Year of Advance to People's Power. We must use the advances recorded in Arusha to build up an even mightier and more active international united front against apartheid for a democratic South Africa so that the racists are indeed denied all international intercourse everywhere. We also believe that the United Nations Security Council has

special responsibilities with regard to the situation in our region. We are convinced that it should therefore convene a special session, preferably in our region, to discuss the grave situation that our people face and arrive at decisions that reflect that gravity.

Compatriots —

Once more, and in your name, we take this opportunity to extend our greetings to all our friends, allies and fellow combatants for liberation in other parts of the world. This past year has seen a further strengthening of the bonds of friendship and solidarity among us as we all have striven to create a just and peaceful world. In the coming period those ties will assume an even greater importance as we intensify our common offensive against the apartheid crime against humanity. To you we give the assurance that your noble efforts have not been in vain. The sanctions you have imposed are hurting the apartheid system. The assistance you have given to our struggling people has served to increase our striking power. Victory is indeed approaching, whatever the obstacles the doomed apartheid regime may try to place in our path.

We would also like to take this opportunity to salute all who joined us to observe the historic 75th Anniversary of our movement. This became an occasion for millions of our people on all continents, including governments and popular organisations, to reaffirm their solidarity with our struggling people, strengthen their links with our movement and affirm the illegitimacy of the

apartheid regime. That international mass coalition for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa which came together to mark our Jubilee Year as theirs is the rear base on which we shall depend as we make further advances in the new year in the interests of all humanity.

Year of United Action For People's Power

The rapidity with which we advance towards people's power depends on what we do. Despite its apparent reactionary strength, the enemy cannot stop us if we act decisively in all areas of struggle, including organisational, political, military, economic and propaganda. With every blow we deliver, we must expect that the enemy will strike back. But every blow we deliver must in fact weaken the regime of terror and every strike it makes against us must strengthen our resolve to end the tyranny sooner rather than later. To meet the historic challenges ahead of us, on behalf of the National Executive Committee of your movement, the African National Congress, I declare this the **Year of United Action for People's Power**.

Together let us carry out all the tasks ahead of us with vigour, determination and courage.

Our common victory is certain.

**Forward to United Action
For People's Power!**

**Amandla Ngawethu!
Matla ke a Rona!**



THREE WOMEN: VICTIMS OF APARTHEID PERSECUTION

On International Women's Day, March 8th, we extend solidarity and support to three women at present suffering victimisation at the hands of the police and the courts of apartheid.



Sister Bernard Ncube

Sister Bernard Ncube, a Catholic nun and an ex-teacher, is President of the Federation of Transvaal Women, and has done work in support of detainees. She has been detained some six times in the last five years, and now, together with 13 others, is facing charges of 'sedition' and 'subversion.' The trial has come to court and been postponed three times. Energetic, dynamic and brave, she is known in Kagiso as 'Mma Rona' — 'our mother' — because of her leadership and her support for local people.

Theresa Ramashamola is one of the Sharpeville Six, sentenced to death for the killing of the 'community councillor,' Sam Dlamini. She said in court that on the day of the demonstration she had gone home early, after being hit on the head by a rubber bullet, and had not even known that Dlamini was dead. In detention, she was tortured; during the trial she was physically assaulted again at least once. At the time of her arrest she was 24 years old. Now she is 27. Her mother has told the press: "How would you feel if you had to travel to Pretoria each week to visit your doomed child?"



Theresa Ramashamola

Daisy Modise, aged 25, is awaiting execution in Bophutatswana Central Prison. She was sentenced in May 1987, together with two other activists from the Stinkwater Youth Organisation, for "participation in necklace killings." As she is the only woman on death row in that prison, it is likely that she is being held in isolation.



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CAMPAIGN TO SAVE END APARTHEID

The Sharpeville Six were sentenced to death on December 13th 1985, for the alleged murder of a 'community councillor.' On December 1st 1987, they lost their appeal against this sentence, and their legal representatives have said they will now appeal for clemency.

On September 3rd 1984, the disenfranchised militants of South Africa exploded Botha's myth of constitutional reform. On the very day he was inaugurated as State President in Cape Town, the struggle in the Vaal Triangle reached a new level. Marching through the streets of Sebokeng and Sharpeville, the residents rejected the rent increases, which most of them could not pay.

Following the example of the police (who had begun shooting people in the street that morning, before the march had even begun) the 'community councillor,' Sam Dlamini, fired on the crowd. In indignation and anger, the crowd killed him. At the end of the day, two 'councillors' lay dead, and another lay dying. Altogether, 250 people were said to have been injured that day. The police admitted to having killed ten people, but forbade the hospitals to publish any figures.

Six people were arrested and charged with the killing of Dlamini — Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa, Malebo Reid Mokoena, Oupa Moses Diniso, Duma Joshua Khumalo, Theresa Ramashamola and Francis Don Mokhesi. The case against them was always weak, relying on the uncorroborated evidence of an unnamed state witness, and the coerced perjury of a former detainee.

The appeal judgment upheld the death sentences. The judge stated it was probably true that the case against Malebo Mokoena and Theresa Ramashamola had not been proved. Of the other four, he said it was "debatable" whether there was a causal connection between the conduct of each individually and the death of Dlamini.

He said:

"I shall therefore assume for the purposes of my judgment that it has not been proved in the case of any of the six accused convicted of murder that their conduct had contributed causally to the death of the deceased."

He added that the six people:

"... have been convicted of murder solely on the basis of common purpose."

All pretence at 'proof' has been dropped. According to this judgment, the Six are to be executed, not because they killed Dlamini, but because they shared a 'common purpose' with those who did.

The contempt for natural justice epitomised by this judgment has sent shock waves round the world, giving new impetus to the international campaign to save the lives of all those on death row in South Africa.

The regime still tries new ways of suppressing resistance. Two states of emergency, thousands of detentions and the unleashing of vigilante murder squads have failed to quench an anger that only liberation can satisfy. Pretoria increasingly turns to the gallows to reinforce its tactics of terror.

The appeal judgment broadcast to the whole world a message long understood by the people of South Africa — that mass protest is a capital offence. In other words: Keep off the streets! — the penalty for participation in protest is death!

To those who every day face the bullets and whips of the racists, the answer is equally predictable — the struggle continues! Victory is certain!

THEIR LIVES! EXECUTIONS!

At the time of our writing this, 45 men and two women are awaiting execution in the death cells of South Africa, on charges arising from people's resistance. Most of them are between twenty and thirty years old.

1. *Mohalefa Reginald Sefatsa*
2. *Oupa Moses Diniso*
3. *Duma Joshua Khumalo*
4. *Francis Don Mokhesi*
5. *Reid Malebo Mokoena*
6. *Theresa Ramashamola*
7. *Dickson Madikane*
8. *Desmond Majola*
9. *Patrick Manginda*
10. *Daniel Maleka*
11. *Josiah Tsawane*
12. *Paul Tefo Setlaba*
13. *Similo Lennox Wonci*
14. *Christopher Maleleni*
15. *Ndumiso Silo Sephenuko*
16. *Machezwana Manze*
17. *Robert McBride*
18. *Tyeluvuyo Mgedezi*
19. *Solomon Nongwati*
20. *Paulos Tsietsi Tsehlane*
21. *Mzwandile Gqweba*
22. *Wanto Silinga*
23. *Lundi Wana*
24. *Thembinkosi Press Feet*
25. *Mzwandile Mninzi*
26. *Monde Tingwe*
27. *Philip Bhekisizwe Ngidi*
28. *Oupa Josias Mbonane*
29. *Sibusiso Senel Masuku*
30. *Michael Lukas*
31. *Joseph Chidi*
32. *Menzi Tafeni*
33. *Nico Ledube Mnyamana*
34. *Benjamin Mlondolozzi Gxothiwe*
35. *Johannes Moseki*
36. *Vuyisile Goni*
37. *Tshepo Litsoare*
38. *Gilindola Gxekwa*
39. *Daisy Modise*
40. *Thomas Chauke*
41. *Johannes Tshabalala*
42. *Mxolisi Malgas*
43. *Michael Mambukwe*
44. *Lulamile Maneli*
45. *Thembisile Baneti*
46. *Ngqandu Bottoman Mtutuzeli*
47. *William Ntombela*

Mnyanda Jantjies and Mlamli Wellington Mielies, both from Kwanobuhle, were executed on September 1st 1987. Later in September it was discovered that the Pretoria regime had carried out three executions in secret. Solomon Mankopane Maowashe and Alex Matshapa Matsepane, sentenced for the alleged killing of two informers, had been hanged on December 5th 1986. Elile Webushe, sentenced for his alleged involvement in the Jansenville 'necklace' killing, had been hanged on August 19th 1987. Another political activist — Mlungisi Lumphondo — was hanged on December 6th 1987.

International protest actions against these executions are taking place on the initiative of the ANC. Amongst these have been unanimous resolutions passed by the Congresses of the Trades Union Congress and the Liberal and Labour Parties in the United Kingdom, and a resolution adopted by a vote of two to one in the European Parliament, condemning the executions that had already taken place and calling for the EEC to intervene by instituting comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

We call upon the people of the world to use their influence, and the influence of their governments, to stop the hangings.

PEOPLES OF THE WORLD MET AT ARUSHA

By Borifi Ntathela



In the January and February issues of *Sechaba* we printed the address Ndugu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere made to the Arusha Conference in December, and the Declaration made by that historic gathering. This is an account of the conference from an ANC journalist who was there.

On December 1st to the 4th, Arusha, Tanzania's conference city, hosted the first ANC International Conference. Held under the theme, "Peoples of the world united against apartheid for a democratic South Africa," it drew over 500 delegates from all continents and regions of the world.

Delegates represented inter-governmental organisations like the OAU and various UN agencies; many non-governmental democratic organisations like the World Peace Council, which was

represented by its President, Romesh Chandra, AAPSO, Amnesty International, Socialist International, and so on. We were also delighted to have attending the conference high-level representations from the Front Line States and national liberation movements, such as the Honourable Mavis L Muyunda, MP, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Zambia, Teodato Hunguana, Minister of Information of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and Sam Nujoma, the President of SWAPO.

The broad mass democratic movement inside South Africa — workers, youth, women, the religious community, the Democratic Lawyers among them — also sent representatives to the historic ANC International Conference.

During an open-air rally attended by thousands at the Arusha stadium after the close of the conference, President Tambo summarised the aim of the conference in no ambiguous terms:

"It took a whole world war to destroy German nazism. It will take the determined action of the entire community (international) to dislodge the South African version, the apartheid system."

By organising such a conference, the ANC has done something without a precedent. This was the first conference of its nature to be organised by the ANC, in fact by any national liberation movement.

The objective was to bring together the supporters of the South African liberation movement in one conference to jointly map out an international strategy to advance the struggle for liberation within South Africa and share with us, the ANC and the broad democratic movement inside South Africa, the perspective of a post-apartheid South Africa, a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. We have always held the view that the main theatre of struggle is inside the country, but that international solidarity is a vital and important complement to the efforts of our people there.

In his address to the opening session, Comrade President Tambo put across the aim of the conference as follows:

"We had thought it necessary that as we draw to the end of the 75th anniversary of our movement, and in the light of the developing situation in our country, we should not only put to our allies and friends the central and vitally important task of opposing apartheid, but also seek to focus on the need to support the democratic perspective and the broad movement that is fighting for the victory of that perspective."

Given the situation inside the country and internationally, the conference could not

have been more timely. We are living at a time when the prestige of the ANC inside the country stands higher than at any other moment in our history. The leading role of the ANC in that struggle is above challenge. It is also a time when the Botha regime is isolated as never before, a time when there has developed internationally a huge groundswell of opinion favourable to our cause. No regime in modern times has been opposed by all mankind as is the apartheid regime.

We have built up in the international community a huge and ever-expanding anti-apartheid constituency, that is, people who are opposed to apartheid. Their hatred for the apartheid regime is undoubted. They sympathise with and render support to victims of apartheid in various ways.

Anti-Apartheid — Pro-Liberation

But some of our supporters are not necessarily pro-liberation. What the first ANC International Conference sought to achieve is to transform this broad anti-apartheid feeling into a pro-liberation one — that is, to develop it from mere opposition to apartheid to support for a specific programme of liberation which, in our case, is encapsulated in the Freedom Charter and the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC.

In the words of President Tambo at the opening of the conference:

"The attainment of the level of unity over the question of apartheid as demonstrated by this conference also suggests that the extent of international education and mobilisation we have all brought about enables the world community to set itself additional tasks in the continuing struggle against apartheid. Indeed, that is one of the central reasons that we meet here today — together to consider the future and together to consider how we should shape that future."

Meeting under the wise chairmanship of Salim Ahmed Salim, Secretary for External Affairs in the National Executive Committee of Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Depu-

ty Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of the United Republic of Tanzania, the conference carried out its deliberations in both plenary sessions and commissions.

Julius Nyerere — A Great Leader

Introducing the former President of the United Republic of Tanzania and the current Chairman of Chama Cha Mapinduzi, President Tambo said:

"For us in South Africa, the history of the 75-year-old struggle of the ANC would not be complete without reference to the contribution of such outstanding revolutionaries and world-renowned leaders as Mwalimu Julius Nyerere ... the name Julius Nyerere has become increasingly a household name throughout South Africa.

"Our confidence in Mwalimu knows no bounds today. He is a leader beloved of all who know him, admired and adored for his great leadership of the struggle of mankind, particularly of the struggle of the people of South Africa. In 1959, not satisfied with confining the struggle to Tanganyika, as it was then known, he was one of those with Father Trevor Huddleston who established the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, which has since then spread to many countries and has enveloped the world in opposition to apartheid."

Opening the conference, Ndugu Mwalimu Julius Nyerere paid tribute to all those who have fought for freedom and human equality, within the ANC and in co-operation with it, from 1912 until today. He said:

"... inside South Africa ... the vast mass of the people ... keep alive the flame of freedom, and spread knowledge of it."

He called on the international community to increase the support given to the struggle in South Africa. Acknowledging the economic problems faced by the countries of Africa, and, in particular, the Front Line States, which are daily confronting the military and economic aggression of apartheid, he urged Africa to fight for greater

economic independence, for these endeavours would inflict defeats on apartheid. He reminded the conference of the need for African countries to support the struggle against apartheid, for the apartheid regime cannot long survive if it is deprived of all external support and all external acceptability.

South Africa a Prison

He likened South Africa to a prison, and on the question of 'negotiations' said:

"Negotiations between prisoners and prison authorities are not really about fundamentals and cannot be about fundamentals."

The opening session was also addressed by President Nujoma of SWAPO. He congratulated:

"... the ANC comrades for the impressive achievements in making South Africa ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. I congratulate you for the extensive political mass mobilisation inside South Africa itself — the workers, the women, the youth and students and, indeed, for having caused a split and permanent schism among the Afrikaners. Your struggle has made impressive advances and your people are resolute in their commitment, despite oppression and repression."

President Tambo, in his address, made a profound analysis of the situation inside our country, in the region and internationally.

Call to Battle

He said the imposition of the state of emergency by the apartheid regime is an open admission of the fact that the struggle to liberate South Africa has reached a critical stage:

"In the end, the battery of repressive legislation that the apartheid regime has enacted since it came to power in 1948 proved insufficient in the face of the

determined offensive of the masses of our people. And so the state of emergency will itself prove insufficient to stop our advance to liberation.

"It will prove insufficient because it is impossible to break the will of our people to free themselves. Life itself has proved this. The amount of blood our people have shed since 1976, the number of lives lost, demonstrate two things: the savagery of apartheid and the determination of our people not to be cowed into submission by that savagery. We have broken through the barrier of fear. We have come to recognise death as an inevitable price we have to pay to attain freedom. Our forward march may be slowed down temporarily, but it can never be stopped.

"Pretoria's campaign of repression and terror itself provides the argument why the apartheid system must go, and go now. The greater the number of children racism kills and detains, the more pressing the demand becomes — apartheid must go! The more townships the apartheid army occupies, the more pressing the demand becomes — apartheid must go! The longer the occupation of Namibia lasts and the greater the degree of aggression against independent Africa, the more pressing the demand becomes — apartheid must go! And because that demand is made by the victims of apartheid violence themselves, it serves as a summons to action, a call to battle and not merely a wish for an end to the tyranny."

On the situation in Southern Africa, President Tambo said:

"Everywhere in our region millions of people cannot be certain that they will not die from bombs and bullets. There is no guarantee that development in the independent states can take place or can be sustained, because always there is the threat of deliberate destruction of everything, by forces which see the development of the peoples of Africa as dangerous and impermissible. Democracy and justice are still in bondage. Reaction and tyranny remain unchained, with terrible consequences."

He acknowledged the victories scored in the campaign for the total isolation of apartheid, attributing them to, among other factors, the raising of international awareness of what apartheid is and what it means in practical terms:

"There must, indeed, be very few people in the world who are totally ignorant of this system of racial tyranny and the disastrous consequences it has had for the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the rest of Southern Africa ... Only a few countries maintain diplomatic relations with South Africa. There is a mandatory arms embargo in place. Many countries have imposed selective or comprehensive economic sanctions. There is an extensive academic, cultural and sports boycott. All these are important achievements brought about through the sustained work carried out by all who are present here and others who unfortunately could not attend."

President Tambo paid tribute to the Scandinavian countries, which have taken significant unilateral actions to cut down economic relations with the apartheid regime despite the blockade on sanctions placed in our path by the United States and the United Kingdom in the Security Council.

Strategies for Further Sanctions

With regard to the major western powers, which continue refusing to act against apartheid, he urged the conference to discuss the matter and draw strategies for further sanctions, regardless of the resistance of the governments in question. He said that the campaign for people's sanctions must become a central element in our overall work to isolate racist South Africa.

In relation to the cultural and academic boycott in particular, President Tambo emphasised that the task of defending and strengthening the mass democratic movement is vitally important. While intensifying the campaign for the isolation of apartheid South Africa, the world should dis-

criminate between those forces within South Africa which represent apartheid and those which oppose it and actually struggle for a democratic order — for the latter are part of this whole humanity united against apartheid and cannot be treated as forces that must be isolated and destroyed.

He also conveyed to the conference Govan Mbeki's warmest regards:

"He looks forward to the day he will be able to travel out of South Africa so that he can, in person, convey to you and the peoples of the world the profound appreciation of all who are imprisoned, for the sustained campaign you have waged for their release. He feels a pressing need that everything be done to secure the immediate and unconditional release of his comrades-in-arms who are still in prison.

"Being conscious of the decisive importance of the international community to the victory of our common cause, he also asked us to inform you that he looks forward to the results of this conference, which he assesses as of great importance. He wants us to assure all who are gathered here that he is in good health and will use all his strength and capabilities to contribute what he can to the emergence of a non-racial, democratic and unfragmented South Africa."

This session was also addressed by Madame Lisbet Palme, the wife of the assassinated former Prime Minister of Sweden, Olof Palme, who was an outstanding champion and supporter of the cause of national liberation. It closed with a message of greetings to the conference from Masupatsela a Walter Sisulu (ANC Young Pioneers) who are learning at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, Tanzania.

Heads of delegations presented their statements at the plenary sessions. The conference also received a large number of messages from many heads of state and governments, from inter-governmental and non-governmental organisations, solidarity organisations and support groups from all parts of the globe. Mikhail Gorbachov, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, also sent a message to the conference.

Participants From The Field of Battle

One of these sessions was devoted to addresses given by participants from the mass democratic movement in South Africa, representing women, the youth, workers, the religious community, the democratic lawyers, and so on. They all presented moving accounts of battles raging in the different trenches they occupy in the struggle. Organisation and mobilisation continue to grow in spite of the regime's campaign of terror and repression. What came out very clear from their presentations is that the people, our entire people, are no longer prepared to live under Botha's yoke, and to get rid of it they are prepared for everything, even if it means laying down their lives. They are looking to the ANC as their authentic representative.

Mention should be made of a different category of freedom fighters — Klaas de Jonge and Pierre Albertini. Klaas is a citizen of the Netherlands, and Pierre is French. They were both involved in the activities of the ANC underground and Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Pierre was arrested by the Ciskei police, who tried to force him to give evidence against the Reverend Stofile, former UDF Secretary of the Border region (part of the Eastern Cape). He refused to break, and was given a term of imprisonment. Klaas de Jonge evaded arrest and sought refuge at the Dutch embassy in Pretoria.

They were released as a result of the exchange of prisoners that took place between Angola and racist South Africa. Klaas de Jonge declared:

"What the South African police achieved is that we are even more committed than before."

The conference also sent an appeal to the meeting of the Heads of Government of the European Community held in Copenhagen from December 4th to the 5th, urging them to commit themselves to securing the adoption of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions as adopted by the United Nations

Security Council, and to agree immediately on a programme of sanctions based on the measures adopted by the Nordic countries.

Individual States Should Apply Sanctions

The appeal called on the countries of the EEC to cease using lack of unanimity to justify its failure to impose sanctions on racist South Africa, as happened in September 1986, during the Council of Ministers meeting, when a ban on the import of coal from South Africa was under discussion. It called on individual member states to act at national level in such an eventuality. The appeal concluded:

"The European Community cannot escape from its responsibility for the situation in Southern Africa arising from the historic role of European countries in the region and the existing links between members of the European Community and South Africa, as well as illegally-occupied Namibia. We commend this appeal to the Heads of Government in the belief that this responsibility will be discharged in a manner which will contribute to securing independence for Namibia and the creation of a non-racial and democratic South Africa."

Four commissions sat during the conference to discuss the following topics:

- The international isolation of the apartheid regime,
- Mobilisation for people's sanctions,
- Pretoria's regional policy,
- New perspectives on international solidarity.

Out of these intense discussions, the **Arusha Declaration on South Africa** and a **Programme of Action** emerged, covering measures:

- For effective economic sanctions,
- For mobilising for people's sanctions,
- Against nuclear collaboration,
- For the oil embargo,
- For the academic and cultural boycott.

The Programme of Action also addresses different interest groups like religious bodies, professional bodies, minority groups, trade unions and the media.

Addressing itself to the regional policies of Pretoria, it called for increased aid to the victims of apartheid destabilisation, and emphasised that such aid cannot be restricted to economic assistance but should also be geared towards strengthening and improving the defensive capacities of the countries of Southern Africa.

The Programme Concerns Ordinary People

What is of utmost importance and significance to note is that the ANC did not come with this Programme of Action as a blueprint to the conference; the Programme emerged from the conference itself. Furthermore, the Programme envisages the activity of ordinary people, in all walks of life, in isolating apartheid. It states:

"Grassroots action involving the people in every country is vital to the success of the sanctions campaign. Through a concerted people's sanctions campaign, even the most intransigent opponents of sanctions can be compelled to reverse their position."

The first ANC International Conference was, in all ways, an impeccable success. No tribute could have been more fitting to the 76 years of unbroken offensive on the part of the ANC. But the best measure of the success of the conference will be the swift and determined implementation of decisions taken. If the Programme of Action is not pursued rigorously and to the letter, the conference will, in fact, have been a failure. In the words of President Tambo:

"What we have to see is a further shift in the balance of strength so that the world forces against racism and for a democratic South Africa, including the central contingent that we represent, reach the point where they overpower the apartheid regime."

REPORT ON THE AMSTERDAM CULTURAL CONFERENCE

THE QUIET THUNDER

By Mandla Langa

The conference and festival named Culture in Another South Africa (CASA) took place in Amsterdam from December 12th-19th 1987. The ANC Department of Arts and Culture in all its ramifications, the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement and, mainly, the CASA Foundation, made this event a staggering success.

Hundreds of cultural workers from inside and outside South Africa, notably from the UDF and COSATU, took part in strength; the outside world was represented by an impressive array of cultural workers — writers, graphic artists, film-makers, musicians, poets, dancers and clothes designers. The old and the vulnerably young shared platforms to give expression to one of the quintessential elements that bond a people into a nation: culture.

For many delegates, Amsterdam was intertwined with the notion of Afrikaners; Amsterdam is as different from Pretoria as day from night. Amsterdam houses people who still remember the ravages of nazism; Pretoria still houses nazis.

The opening night saw emotional performances from children whose everyday existence means facing Casspirs, bullets and punctured bodies that lie sprawled in the everyday streets. They sang, these children, and it was perhaps in their eyes that it became clear why apartheid, like nazism, needs to be destroyed. The Jazz Pioneers, Abdullah Ibrahim, the *Amandla!* Cultural Ensemble, Mmabatho Nhlanhla and the hundreds of Dutch voices, gave all of themselves. There was electricity in the air, energy generated by South Africans meeting freely for the first time in years.

The conference grappled with all aspects of the arts, but in this instance within the framework of the struggle. There was no mincing of words: the arts are a weapon in the struggle for national liberation and democracy in our country. There is no way to separate culture from politics. These

discussions were conducted in the most serious atmosphere; people could sing and dance, but it was borne in mind that all this expression of a people's value system could not thrive in a situation of racist domination and exploitation.

One question discussed at length was the position of women in the conditions of our country. The triple oppression of women was condemned. It was a moment for soul-searching for some of the participants, in that this question has always been glossed over; it was stressed that democratic culture should strive to "consciously promote the norms of equality between men and women."

A highlight in the evenings was poetry reading, chaired by Cosmo Pieterse. Poets such as Mavis Smallberg, Vernie February, Breyten Breytenbach, Baleka Kgositsile, Koerapetse Kgositsile, John Matshikiza and this writer read from their works. Njabulo Ndebele started the trend by reading from one of his stories earlier in the day. The absence of Mongane Serote, one of the main organisers of CASA, was strongly felt.

The exhibitions made it painfully clear that South Africa is a potentially beautiful country with a people who, though surrounded by steel bars and barbed wire, can still let their imaginative creativity leap out and weave these tender images. We remembered gifted artists like Thami Mnye, one of the 13 people butchered by the SADF in Gaborone on June 14th 1985.

In the smoky, crowded night club called "The Milky Way," Basil 'Mannenburgh' Coetzee and his group, *Sebenza*, were to perform; standing in the wings were Jonas

Gwangwa and Dudu Pukwana. When music started and the people were dancing and chanting freedom slogans, Thabo Mbeki, the ANC Director of Information and Publicity was given a chance to say a few words. And few they were. He spoke of the obscene anniversaries the regime is going to celebrate in 1988. He asked the gathering to remember what King Dingane said when faced with the enemy: "*Bulala abathakathi!* — "Kill the sorcerers!" This became a battle-cry at the conference.

The main impulse in the discussion was the social responsibility of the cultural worker. This was outlined in the opening address by Barbara Masekela, the ANC Secretary for Culture. It became clear that cultural workers cannot divorce themselves from the preoccupations of a struggling community. This was reflected in all papers that were delivered. Delegates all agreed that the apartheid system must go. The media were enjoined to become a vehicle of this consciousness.

Journalists from home talked about their newspapers. The war against the *New Nation*, whose editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, has been in detention for more than a year, was a case in point. The paper was represented by its deputy editor, Gabu Tugwana. It was made clear to all of us that South Africa had grabbed the tiger by the tail; the people of South Africa are in need of responsible reporting. They have the right to know.

The question of language was discussed. Writers such as Nadine Gordimer, Lewis Nkosi, Njabulo Ndebele, Jennifer Dunjwa Blaiberg — who came all the way from Brazil — sought ways to deal with this sensitive issue. The Freedom Charter states that all shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture. It was borne in mind that certain languages such as Afrikaans were regarded with contempt because of their association with the repressive regime. The duty of writers and academics was to appropriate this language and infuse it with democratic values. All of us had to be aware, though, of the way the regime has 'promoted' languages, with the aim of legitimising and enforcing the bantustan system. The idiom of democratic culture must strive for authenticity, and be accessible to the mass of our people. The

writer has a responsibility, too, to counter illiteracy.

The conference addressed the issue of the cultural boycott, and decided that:

"The struggle for the total isolation of the apartheid regime must continue. Among the tactics to be employed during this campaign, the academic and cultural boycott are crucial and must be maintained. However, in view of the growing significance of democratic culture as an alternative to the racist, colonialist culture of apartheid, the conference recommends that South African artists, individually or collectively, who seek to travel and work abroad, should consult beforehand with the mass democratic movement and the national liberation movement."

The African National Congress was present, from the highest council to the membership. The Secretary-General and the Treasurer-General, Comrades Alfred Nzo and T T Nkobi, were there, and other NEC members present were Comrades Thabo Mbeki, Aziz Pahad and Pallo Jordan. Comrade Pallo delivered a paper on cultural policy, an invaluable contribution that helped steer the conference.

The CASA Foundation, Connie Braam and the Mayor of Amsterdam, Ed van Thijn, did much to make the occasion a success. Dutch people opened their hearts to South African people.

The last day was perhaps the most touching. Outside a church, metres and metres of the black, green and gold of the ANC billowed in the air. Inside, was the photographic exhibition, "The Hidden Camera." The images the photographers brought were a damning condemnation of the South African regime.

The hardest moment was the moment of parting. Here were South Africans from all over the world, including South Africa itself, who, for seven days had discussed, argued, resolved issues, moved using the same step, laughing, singing and sometimes crying. The moment of parting was laden with a mixture of sadness and hope; sadness that we should be separated by all these boundaries, hope because we all felt that the event had become another rock against the edifice of apartheid.



ANC INTERNATIONAL

President Tambo Honoured in the Soviet Union

In November 1987, the Soviet Union celebrated the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. In 1987, President Tambo celebrated his 70th birthday. On November 9th 1987, President Tambo, together with Comrade Gilberto Vieira, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia, was awarded the "Order of People's Friendship" of the Soviet Union. The ceremony took place in the Kremlin.

Conferring the award, Comrade Andrei Gromyko, President of the Soviet Union, said:

"We are conferring the Order of Friendship among the Peoples to the President of the African National Congress, for his accomplishments in the service of national liberation, peace and democracy, and his contribution to the development of friendship between the peoples of South Africa and the Soviet Union.

"Your life, Comrade Tambo, is an example of tirelessly serving the interests of the peoples, of fighting against racism and oppression, for freedom and justice.

"Over two decades you have been at the head of the African National Congress — an organisation which is resolutely following the road of resistance to the inhuman system of racial segregation.

"Today this organisation is the rallying point for all honest South Africans, both Black and White, for all those who cherish peace, security and prosperity of the country in the south of the African continent. The struggle for freedom of South Africa in its various forms — from diplomatic efforts to armed struggle — meets with growing sympathy and support from the public throughout the world.

"You are also well known in the Soviet Union as a person who did a lot to strengthen friendship and solidarity among the peoples of our two countries."

In reply, President Tambo said:

"Official relations between the ANC and this great country, the USSR, have existed for 60 years now. They were established when the then President of the ANC, Josiah Gumede, visited the USSR to participate in the 10th anniversary celebrations of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Our presence in Moscow today to take part in the activities marking the 70th anniversary of that historic event signifies a continuation and reaffirmation of those relations.

"The relations we speak of have throughout these decades been characterised by



the consistent and unwavering support of the CPSU, the government and fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, for our struggle. That support had one aim and one aim only, namely the destruction of colonial and racist domination in our country and

therefore the emancipation of our people.

"Over the years, we have come to understand and deeply appreciate the fact that the Soviet Union has extended and continues to extend political and material support to us, not in pursuit of selfish purposes and a desire to advance any special interests of the Soviet Union. Rather, this support is an imperative which derives from the very essence of socialism, which everywhere seeks the national and social emancipation of the peoples.

"It is therefore natural that there should have developed between our organisation

and people, who fight for their national and social emancipation, strong and unbreakable ties of friendship and comradeship with the land of the Soviets, born of the common resolve to end imperialist and colonial domination. That shared commitment to the liberation of the peoples goes together with the common pursuit of the humane vision of a world free from the threat of a nuclear holocaust, to guarantee the very existence of our planet.

"The eminent award of Friendship of the Peoples, which was announced on the occasion of my 70th birthday and which I am



At the ceremony where the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples was presented: Left to right — Comrades Joe Slovo of the SACP; Anatoly Dobryinin, Head of International Relations, Central Committee of the CPSU; Pavel Demitchkev, First Deputy Chairman of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet; Andrei Gromyko, President of the Soviet Union; Gilberto Vieira of the Colombian Communist Party, President Tambo of the ANC, Alfred Nzo of the ANC, and two other comrades from the Colombian Communist Party.

honoured to receive today, symbolises that spirit of deep friendship and comradeship as well as the practice of united action among our peoples, which are inspired by our joint adherence to the noblest of principles. I accept it, dear comrades, in the name of the ANC, our entire leadership, including those who are in prison, as well as our struggling people as a whole. All of us, and I especially, feel greatly inspired by the act of this investiture, because it reaffirms the stability and permanence of our relations.

"We accept it with all humility because it is awarded to us coincidentally on the occasion of the historic and momentous celebrations of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which comes at a time when Soviet society is involved in a process of reconstruction and renewal which is truly revolutionary in its scope and its depth.

"We accept it with all humility because it conveys to us the desire of the Soviet people to guard, develop and deepen the relations that exist between us, signifies your confidence in us as protagonists of this view. It is indeed an objective to which we, too, are committed, and which we shall continue to pursue, however small our own contribution might be, towards its fullest realisation.

"Long live the friendship between our respective peoples!

"Our common victory on all fronts is assured!

"Thank you very much, dear comrades."



'Footballer of the Year' Pays Tribute to Mandela

When he was elected European 'Footballer of the Year' and presented with the 'Golden Ball' trophy, the Black Dutch foot-

baller, Ruud Gullit, said:

"This Golden Ball I dedicate to my hero, Nelson Mandela ... We must never forget Nelson Mandela. It is great, the way he has dedicated his life for something noble, for justice and against apartheid. His cause is mine also, and I want us all to think about him."

Gullit, who is 25 years old, is the driving force behind the Italian club, AC Milan, and is often compared to the legendary footballer, Alfredo di Stefano, used the greatest moment of his glittering sports career to make a political statement.

When interviewing him, the newspaper, *France Football*, commented that he is the first player to have used the Golden Ball to serve his beliefs. Gullit replied:

"Why not? It is an occasion when one should reflect on the problems facing the world. If we are unable to solve them it will mean we are passing them over to our children. And they will have enough problems of their own. We are today in the year 1983 and we are still dragging round problems from the Middle Ages. Do you think this is normal?"

Gullit believes that sport and solidarity are indivisible. The Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Netherlands tells us that he also supports the ANC Radio Freedom Campaign.



BOOK REVIEW

Gerhard Mare and Georgina Hamilton: *An Appetite for Power — Buthelezi's Inkatha and South Africa*, Ravan Press, Johannesburg and Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis, 1987.

For almost three hours I sat with Gerhard Mare at the offices of the Catholic Institute of International Relations in London when he made a stop-over on his way from France to South Africa, and listened to a fascinating account of the present role of Inkatha and Chief Buthelezi in Natal. Having read his newly published book (written jointly with Georgina Hamilton), I realised that most of this account was missing in the book. The reasons for this, however, are stated by the authors in the Preface.

Mare and Hamilton comment that this book arose out of the need for a critical examination of Inkatha at a crucial period of the history of South Africa, and particularly of Natal. Not only is the country under a permanent state of emergency, but also Inkatha vigilantes have so terrorised people in the townships, that "access to information and the means to disseminate ideas and news are extremely restricted." They also complain that the very racist nature of South Africa made it difficult for them as Whites to conduct proper research about an essentially African organisation. "The racial categorisation and separation that have remained the essence of South Africa even during reform," they write, "have meant that many case studies of the day-to-day experience of African people in Inkatha-controlled KwaZulu and Natal remain to be done in order to flesh out our wider and more structural investigation."

Yet, despite these disadvantages, the authors have succeeded in grappling with the nature of Inkatha in a definitive way. Research is extensive and wide-covering, and as a result this book is a superb examination of the way in which Chief Buthelezi projects and sells his politics to

those who are prepared to buy. It should be remembered that a huge political marketing operation advertises Chief Buthelezi's virtues as the prophylactic against violent revolution in South Africa and as the promise of measured progress to racial reconciliation and a democratic regime. The operation involves monopoly capitalism and its political representatives both in South Africa and abroad. Chief Buthelezi also describes himself as "the politician of the market-place." No one who reads Mare and Hamilton's book can reasonably doubt that the proper response of knowledgeable people to the Buthelezi merchandising operation is: Buyer Beware!

The authors allow Buthelezi to crucify himself by his own words. For example, a quotation is provided at the beginning of Chapter 8 when he was reported to have said:

"I think it is time for Inkatha to establish training camps where branches and regions are schooled in the employment of anger in an orderly fashion."

This was said by him as early as 1980. Some people did not realise then what was coming. Seven years later, corpses which can fill a whole standard graveyard have been buried in Natal because of the activities of what is supposed to be a non-violent organisation, but whose leader already has a reputation of favouring the policy of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

No one who is based in South Africa can, however, dare attribute the violence of Inkatha vigilantes to Chief Buthelezi, since the courts of the South African regime, particularly in Natal, go to a ridiculous extent in defending Chief Buthelezi. So that, in addition to the limits already mentioned by the authors, their work is further circumscribed by the detentions, fear of reprisals by the courts and the combined iron fist of apartheid South Africa with its

bantustans, including KwaZulu, for whom Chief Buthelezi is Minister of Police.

The authors, however, do not overcome the tendency, already accepted as truth among many people in South Africa and abroad, of regarding Chief Buthelezi as having been a good person from the early fifties and sixties, one who resisted joining Bantu Authorities, and who only started becoming a good-boy to the apartheid regime in the late seventies. Reality is more complicated than that. Sufficient research on the background of Buthelezi will actually reveal that the man is an old collaborator with the apartheid regime.

In the early fifties, when his brother Mceleli Buthelezi challenged his eligibility to the chieftaincy of the Buthelezi tribe, Gatsha, actively assisted by the police (in particular a certain Major Keyserlink), managed to secure the position for himself whilst his brother was deported to Sibasa in the Transvaal by the government so that he would not make any more troubles for his brother, Gatsha.

Again, though Buthelezi has claimed otherwise, he was never persuaded against his will by anybody to take over the chieftaincy of the Buthelezis. Instead he himself was anxious to take up this position as was revealed by a number of letters he himself wrote to certain influential people (including Senator Cowley, Edgar Brookes, Alan Paton), requesting them to intervene with the government on his behalf so that he, and not Mceleli, should be officially installed as chief.

When Bishop Alpheus Zulu (then a member of the ANC) advised Buthelezi not to be concerned about whether or not the government recognised him as chief, Buthelezi insisted that he wanted his position confirmed as required by the Native Administration Act of 1927. This was the time when Chief Albert Luthuli and numerous other chiefs in Zululand and elsewhere in South Africa refused to be part of the government's programme in the selection of chiefs.

The absence of this detail, however, cannot be blamed on the authors since their work is essentially not about Buthelezi but about Inkatha. Another book is needed to examine Buthelezi himself, including some of his pretentious claims to Zulu royalty, again a matter which Mare and Hamilton take for granted. On page 16, for example, they provide a "genealogy of the Zulu kings" in which Buthelezi features. Incidentally he is the only one among all the names mentioned whose surname is Buthelezi and not Zulu. Such an error cannot be blamed on the state of emergency or even the threat of Inkatha vigilantes.

The strength of this book is in its analysis, almost to a point of being academic. Its weakness, from the point of view of writing style, is that it includes within the text abbreviated sources of its information, which make the book very cumbersome to read, especially for the class of people who would benefit tremendously from it. For example, such phrases within the text as "also see Stanwix, 1983" and "Sitas et al have discussed ..." and so on, while being useful as an immediate source of reference without breaking the thoughts of the reader by having him/her look elsewhere for this source, nevertheless require the reader to search at the back of the book or end of the chapter for where these references are fully cited.

This is an insignificant mistake when the merits of the whole book are taken into consideration. As a pioneering work on the subject, and the fact that the events in Natal are still topical and will most probably remain so for the foreseeable future until a meaningful and lasting solution to the Buthelezi phenomenon has been found, this book will make essential reading for all those who are concerned with the development of counter-revolution in Southern Africa — the MNR in Mozambique, UNITA in Angola and vigilantes in South Africa.

— Mzala

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31 m. band,
Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday,
6.15 a.m.

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