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SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

20 years of Apartheid Murder 1961-1981



SECHABA

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LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

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Congress
and Umkhonto
We Sizwe on:

Radio Madagascar —
shortwave 49 m band, 6135 KHz,
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8.30-9am daily.

Radio Luanda —
shortwave, 40 & 30 m bands; medium
wave 27.6 m band, 7.30pm daily.

Radio Tanzania —
shortwave, 19 m band, 15,435 KHz,
8.15pm Sunday, Monday, Wednesday,
Friday; 31 m band, 6.15am Tuesday,
Thursday, Saturday.

NOTHING TO CELEBRATE

The South African Act of Union which was passed by the British House of Commons in 1909 and ratified by the South African Parliament on May 31, 1910 — the anniversary date of the Treaty of Vereeniging (May 31, 1902) signed after the Anglo-Boer War — was based on the colour bar clause that precluded all Blacks from being eligible to become members of parliament. May 31, the date on which our fate was sealed is a date on which the racist regimes — since 1910 — have enacted significant policies. That is why our people and our movement rejected not only the “union of South Africa” but May 31 itself. By the way it was as a rejection of this Act that the ANC was formed in 1912.

Since then — and even before that — our people suffered untold disabilities. This meant repression of all Blacks in every conceivable form: African freedom of movement was curtailed; Blacks were denied the right of trading; Black education was crippled and generally basic human rights were denied as well as chances of equality of opportunity in economic development, cultural welfare and social advance in general. There are many grievances of the Blacks: the pass laws according to which Africans could be arrested and removed from any place to any other place for any reason at any time. This pass system is closely connected with direct taxation. And this intensifies exploitation. This injustice was legalised so that the law itself became a problem — police brutality and sadism became legal.

In these last years we have seen a deterioration in the living standards of the Blacks; their health standards are low; education is abysmal and life in general is intolerable. As if this was not enough the white racists decided to declare a “republic” in 1961. The overwhelming majority was never consulted. And to add insult to injury they intend to celebrate

the 20th anniversary of this so-called republic on May 31, 1981.

We say “No”! to these celebrations; “No”! to the republic. What are they celebrating? Our oppression and exploitation. They are celebrating when Nelson Mandela and other leaders are languishing in jail. How can they celebrate when they killed thousands of our kids in Soweto, Guguletu, Nyanga and other places? Only yesterday they attacked our sons and brothers in Maputo and they refused that their bodies should be buried at their homes. They are attacking Angola everyday — a country which has no border with South Africa. They are occupying Namibia. Not only that. Namibia is being misused to attack Angola, Zambia etc. Their mouths are watering and hands itching because they want to attack Zimbabwe.

But one thing we know is that we are many and they are few. We have friends internationally — powerful friends. They depend on us. They cannot do without us but we can do without them. Slowly but surely we are mobilising ourselves: our labour power is also our weapon. We do not only strike, we also “stay at home”. We resist; we demonstrate. We strike as we did in Sasolburg. We confront the enemy on all fronts. The “Republic Day” celebration is just one of those fronts. On this question there is no compromise — there is polarisation; a demarcation line; a great divide. We shall not leave them to celebrate in peace.

**WHITE REPUBLIC NO!
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC YES!**

WHITE REPUBLIC TWENTY YEARS OF OPPRESSION

“ Racist Republic Day cannot by any stretch of the imagination be a day for the oppressed, for the black people of South Africa, or for any democrat.... We refused to recognise the legitimacy of the apartheid republic in 1961. We have much less reason to recognise it today, when the burning demand is for a People’s government.”

Comrade President O.R. Tambo

On May 31, 1961 South Africa was declared a Republic in the midst of a State of Emergency. On March 25 and 26, 1961, 1,500 delegates representing over 145 political, religious, social, sporting and cultural organisations gathered at Pietermaritzburg. There they expressed the opposition of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa to the creation of the white republic. The spirit and political purpose of that conference has best been described by Comrade Nelson Mandela who in March 1961 wrote the following article:

“I am attending this conference as delegate from my village. I was elected at a secret meeting held in the bushes far away from our kraals simply because in our village it is now a crime for us to hold meetings. I have listened most carefully to speeches made here and they have given me strength and courage. I now realize that we are not alone. But I am troubled by my experiences during the last weeks. In the course of our struggle against the system of Bantu Authorities, we heard many fighting speeches delivered by men we trusted most, but when the hour of decision came they did not have the courage of their convictions. They deserted us and we felt lonely and without friends. But I will go away from here refreshed and full of confidence. We must win in the end.”

These words were said at the All-In African Conference held at Pietermaritzburg on 25 and 26 March. The man who said them came from a country area where the people are waging a consistent struggle against Bantu Authorities. He wore riding breeches, a

khaki shirt, an old jacket, and came to conference bare-footed. But his words held fire and dignity and his remarks, like those of other speakers, indicated that this conference was no talking shop for persons who merely wanted to let off steam, but a solemn gathering which appreciated the grave decisions it was called upon to take.

The theme of the conference was African unity and the calling, by the Government, of a national convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women, on an equal basis, irrespective of race, colour or creed, with full powers to determine a new democratic constitution for South Africa.

Conference resolved that if the Government failed to call this convention by 31 May, country-wide demonstrations would be held on the eve of the Republic in protest against this undemocratic act.

The adoption of this part of the resolution did not mean that conference preferred a monarchy to a republican form of government. Such considerations were

unimportant and irrelevant. The point at issue, and which was emphasized over and over again by delegates, was that a minority Government had decided to proclaim a White Republic under which the living conditions of the African people would continue to deteriorate.

Conference further resolved that, in the event of the Government failing to accede to this demand, all Africans would be called upon not to co-operate with the proposed Republic. All sections of our population would be asked to unite with us in opposing the Nationalists.

The resolution went further and called upon democratic people the world over to impose economic and other sanctions against the Government. A National Action Council was elected to implement the above decisions.

Three other resolutions were passed in which the arrests of members of the Continuation Committee was strongly condemned; and in which conference called for the lifting of the ban imposed on the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress. The system of Bantu Authorities was attacked as a measure forcibly imposed by the Government in spite of the unanimous opposition of the entire African nation.

These resolutions were adopted unanimously by more than 1,500 delegates, from town and country, representing 150 political, religious, sporting, and cultural organisations.

Members of the Liberal Party, the Inter-Denominational African Ministers' Federation, the Eastwood Advisory Board, the Zenzele Club, and scores of other organisations from all over the country, spoke with one voice and jointly faced the political changes thrown out by the Nationalist Government.

For thirteen hours they earnestly and calmly considered the grave political situation that has arisen in South Africa as a result of the disastrous policies of the present regime.

Now and again, discussions were interrupted by stirring tunes sung with intense feeling and tremendous enthusiasm by the entire conference. The favourite song was 'Amandla Ngawethu' composed

by the freedom fighters of Port Elizabeth during the recent bus boycott in that city.

The gathering was a moving demonstration of the comradeship and solidarity and was acclaimed by the South African Press as an outstanding success.

The main resolution showed that the delegates visualized much more than a token demonstration on the chosen dates. The people visualized much more than a token demonstration on the chosen dates. The people contemplated a stubborn and prolonged struggle, involving masses of people from town and country, and taking different forms in accordance with local conditions, beginning before 31 May and which would continue unabated until democratic reforms are instituted.

Delegates fully appreciated that the above decisions were not directed against any other population group in the country. They were aimed at a form of government based on brute force and condemned the world over as inhuman and dangerous. It was precisely because of this fact that Conference called on the Coloured and Indian people and all European democrats to join forces with us.

It will indeed be very tragic if, in the momentous days that lie ahead, White South Africa will falter and adopt a course of action which will prevent the successful implementation of the resolutions of conference.

In the past we have been astonished by the reaction of certain political parties and 'philanthropic' associations which proclaimed themselves to be anti-apartheid but which, nevertheless, consistently opposed positive action taken by the oppressed people to defeat this same policy. Objectively, such an attitude can only serve to defend White domination and to strengthen the Nationalist Party. It also serves to weaken the impact of liberal views amongst European democrats and lays them open to the charge of being hypocritical.

All the democratic forces in this country must join in a programme of democratic changes. If they are not prepared to come along with us, they can at least be neutral and leave this Government isolated and without friends.

Finally, however successful the 3

conference was from the point of view of attendance and the fiery nature of the speeches made, these militant resolutions will remain useless, and ineffective unless we translate them into practice.

If we form local action committees in

our respective areas, popularise the decisions through vigorous and systematic house-to-house campaigns, we will inspire and arouse the country to implement the resolutions and to hasten the fall of the Nationalist Government within our lifetime.



The masses reject the Apartheid Republic

In declaring their virulent opposition to the declaration of a white republic, the delegates to the All-In Africa Conference passed the following resolutions:

A grave situation confronts the people of South Africa. The Nationalist Government, after holding a fraudulent referendum among only one-fifth of the population, has decided to proclaim a white Republic on 31 May, and the all white Parliament is presently discussing a Constitution. It is clear that to the great disadvantage of the majority of our people such a Republic will continue even more intensively the policies of racial oppression, political

persecution and exploitation and the terrorisation of the non-white people which have already earned South Africa the righteous condemnation of the entire world.

In this situation it is imperative that all the African people of this country, irrespective of their political, religious or other affiliations, should unite to speak and act with a single voice.

For this purpose, we have gathered here at this solemn All-In Conference, and on

behalf of the entire African nation and with a due sense of the historic responsibility which rests on us:

1. WE DECLARE that no Constitution or form of Government decided without the participation of the African people who form an absolute majority of the population can enjoy moral validity or merit support either within South Africa or beyond its borders.

2. WE DEMAND that a National Convention of elected representatives of all adult men and women on an equal basis irrespective of race, colour, creed or other limitation, be called by the Union Government not later than 31 May, 1961; that the Convention shall have sovereign powers to determine, in any way the majority of the representatives decide, a new non-racial democratic Constitution for South Africa.

3. WE RESOLVE that should the minority Government ignore this demand of the representatives of the united will of the African people —

(a) We undertake to stage country-wide demonstrations on the eve of the proclamation of the Republic in protest against this undemocratic act;

(b) We call on all Africans not to cooperate or collaborate in any way with the proposed South African Republic or any other form of Government which rests on force to perpetuate the tyranny of a minority, and to organise and unite in town and country to carry out constant actions to oppose oppression and win freedom;

(c) We call on the Indian and Coloured communities and all democratic Europeans to join forces with us in opposition to a regime which is bringing disaster to South Africa and to win a society in which all can enjoy freedom and security;

(d) We call on democratic people the world over to refrain from any cooperation or dealings with the South African government, to impose economic and other

sanctions against this country and to isolate in every possible way the minority Government whose continued disregard of all human rights and freedoms constitutes a threat to world peace.

4. WE FURTHER DECIDE that in order to implement the above decisions, Conference —

- (a) Elects a National Action Council;
- (b) Instructs all delegates to return to respective areas and form local Action Committees.



Nelson Mandela, Secretary of the All-In African National Action Council, 1961

The demands for a National Convention to decide on a constitution for South Africa were denied — the white republic was declared. Twenty years of that republic has meant mounting repression and oppression of the African majority. It has meant acute national oppression and exploitation — malnutrition, poverty, the break-up of family life, the loss of South African citizenship — it has meant a fascist onslaught against the black majority. The following facts of life under 20 years of the white republic speak for themselves:

* When the Republic was founded a vast array of repressive legislation had already been enacted by the white minority regime. It had been used to ban the ANC (using the Unlawful Organisations Act of 1960) and to declare a State of Emergency, detain thousands of people without trial and prohibit meetings.

* Since 1961 more than 4,400 people have been convicted under the Suppression of Communism Act, Unlawful Organisations Act, Public Safety Act, Terrorism Act, General Law Amendment Act and the Internal Security Act.

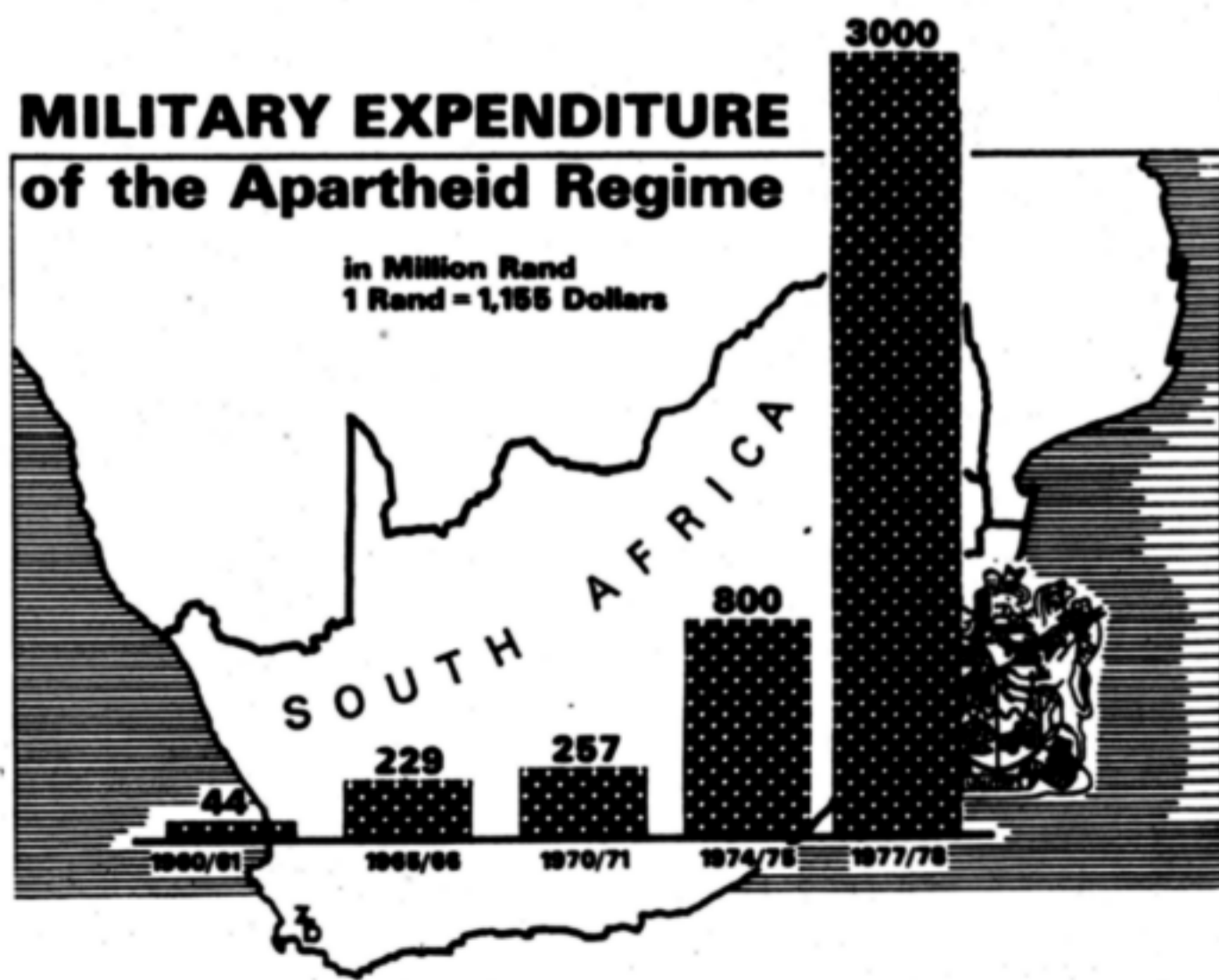
* Since 1961, using powers under the Native Administration Act of 1956, the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and the Internal Security Act of 1976, the regime has banned or banished more than 1,400 people.

* No complete information exists on how many people have been put in political detention since the white republic was declared. But official estimates show at least 2,500 detentions under the security laws since June 1976 alone.

* Over and above the many hundreds of men, women and children killed by the racist police during the uprisings of 1976 and since, the regime admits that between 1969 and 1979 the police killed more than 1,300 people. In addition 50 people were murdered in security police detention between September 1963 and the end of 1978.

* During the 20 years of the white republic the regime has expanded its armed forces from a total number of 106,000 to 592,000. Its military spending has risen from R72 million in 1961 to a staggering R2,800 million in 1981.

MILITARY EXPENDITURE of the Apartheid Regime



The apartheid regime in South Africa has increased its military expenditure considerably with the help of the U.S.A., Britain, France, Israel, FRG, Italy and Canada.

* Since 1961 more than 8 million African men and women have been arrested and/or prosecuted under the legislation known as the pass laws. (Since 1948, the advent of the Nationalists to power, more than 12 million have been arrested under these laws).

* In the same period more than a million people have been "endorsed out" of urban areas because their passes were 'not in order'. The numbers of those endorsed out vary from 30,000 in some years to as much as 90,000 in others.

* About three million black people have been forcibly removed since the republic was declared. Half a million Coloured and Indian people have been moved under the Group Areas Act. Well over 2 million Africans have been removed principally as a result of the removal of so-called 'black spots' in rural areas, abolition of labour tenancy on white owned farms and endorsement out of the urban areas. Using these fascist measures the regime has relentlessly pursued its policy of balkanisation of our country into so called homelands for the African majority.

The response of the people of South Africa to the massive celebrations being prepared by the racist regime to mark 20 years of the white republic has been to say that for the oppressed majority **THERE IS NOTHING TO CELEBRATE**. But the oppressed and democratic forces in our country are not just responding in words but are actively organising to **BOYCOTT THE REPUBLIC DAY CELEBRATIONS**. Below we cover some of the responses to 20 years of the white republic.

The list of organisations and groups who will boycott the Republic Day Celebrations grows daily. Here are some of them:

South African Council of Churches; Natal Indian Congress; Nusas; Black Sash; the Lenasia based People's Candidates; top Johannesburg Soccer Teams; Cosas; Azaso; Azapo; South African Black Alliance; National Education Union; Teachers Association of South Africa; Joint Council of Teachers Association; Labour Party; Democratic Lawyers Association; S.A. Tamil Federation; Pietermaritzburg Coloured Local Affairs Committee and many more.

The South African Council of Churches decided to treat the event as a time of penitence. In a statement the SACC said: "The past 20 years have seen intensified oppression to the extent that the land is being fragmented and the black population eliminated by the Bantustan policy. The

aim of this policy is to turn all black South Africans into foreigners in the land of their birth and to confine them, politically and physically, to impoverished, over-crowded ethnic ghettos. Only those whose labour is needed by South Africa will be admitted or allowed to remain".

At a special meeting of the Natal Branch of the South African Cape Corps ex-Servicemen's Legion, they unanimously voted to boycott the Republic Day Celebrations in protest at the discrimination against black people.

There is no doubt that the scope and breadth of opposition to the celebrations of 20 years of apartheid brutality and oppression will be a formidable force for the racists to reckon with as they prepare for May 31st, to celebrate a system universally condemned as a crime against humanity.

Below we print extracts from JANA SHAKTI, a journal which is circulated in South Africa amongst the Indian community:

What cause have the black people to celebrate this white republic?

Since the arrival of the first settlers in 1652 the indigenous people of South Africa have been systematically robbed of their land and birthright by a continuous war of aggression, conquest, dispossession and exploitation. Thousands were massacred and entire communities such as the San exterminated. Exploitation intensified with the discovery of diamonds and gold. After the Anglo Boer War, British imperialism and Boer colonialism found common purpose in the systematic destruction of African land ownership, and traditional economic patterns in order to drive the African people into labour. Indians also were denied access to land in order to limit their economic independence.

For all the black people the process of dispossession, "resettlement", removals continues to this day.

Do we celebrate the Group Areas Act? Removals and Resettlement?

Up to December 1978, 172, 156 Indians and 374,900 Coloureds were forced to leave their homes. While the removal of Africans runs into millions.

The air and media are full of words like liberalisation, reform, change. For the Black people the real life experience is poverty, unemployment, discrimination, deprivation. So much is said of the rise of black wages - what is the reality? How do our children fare in this era of boom?

Can we celebrate the fact that in some areas over 250 per 1000 babies died in their first year of life; at a conservative estimate in 1981 some 50,00 children are expected to die of poverty associated diseases and the lives of another 100,000 are at risk. In the area of PMB at least 40 children die of kwashiorkor every month. Over a period of 16 years 45% of pediatric admissions to King Edward hospital in Durban suffered from severe malnutrition. The situation in Lenasia, Chatsworth, Phoenix and other ghettos is as grim.

Do we celebrate death from malnutrition and poor health and housing facilities? Indians are suffering under a chronic housing shortage. In 1978 it was said there was a housing backlog of 19,300 for Indians. We all know that the situation is much worse. For example in Lenasia alone over 2,000 people are living in garages and outbuildings and more than 3,000 in grossly overcrowded housing. The official figure for the Durban complex (i.e. Durban, Queensburgh, Illovo, Umboqintwini, New Germany, Kloof, Yellowwood Park) was given as about 12,000. The falseness of this is reflected by the fact that the Durban Corporations Housing list for Indians in mid 1978 was over 25,000 of which nearly 17,000 were for sub-economic housing (another manifestation of the dire economic position of our people). The Phoenix Working committee has reported that approximately 70% of the "re-settled" community were in financial trouble and that malnutrition was rife.

Do we celebrate discriminatory education? Between 1978 and 1979 the percentage of Indian children in primary school actually decreased. In the financial year 1977-78 a measly sum of R51,848,690 was allocated for Indian education, while for the privileged white minority it was R886 mill.; we study under difficult conditions without basic facilities and the ratio of students to teachers continues to increase; thousands are still subjected to education under the platoon system.

Can we celebrate detentions, imprisonment and bans? New repressive legislation is being introduced all the time. Hundreds of our people are being arrested, tortured and intimidated and an increasing number are being killed in detention. The banning of organisations and individuals continues unabated.

The essence of a Republic is surely the participation of all citizens in the process of government and decision making by representative institutions. Could anyone

but a lunatic claim that this is the situation in South Africa? An appointed powerless advisory-only Presidents Council, a laughing stock of an SAIC half elected by 100 people, and useless LACs are the institutions this white republic provides for us. Do we celebrate these institutions?

Within days of the announcement of the celebrations our black people began to give their answer — organisation after organisation has made clear that the black response can only be **BOYCOTT THE REPUBLIC CELEBRATIONS.**

The South Africa of today is different from that of 20 years ago. 1961 marked a turning point in our history. After decades of representations, protest and demonstration it had become clear that we needed to find new methods of struggle if our people were to win freedom. The ANC and its allies took the decision to prepare for armed struggle. On December 16, 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe - the peoples army - launched itself by a series of sabotage acts throughout the country.

Despite setbacks, bannings, deaths, detentions, imprisonment the people have continued to resist apartheid, and have refused to be intimidated.

The unity, courage and determination of our black people and the growing strength of the liberation forces has brought fear among those who celebrate the white republic.

Today the struggle marches ahead! The continuing militancy and organisational capacity of the working class, of the rural masses, of the youth and students, of community, religious and sporting organisations are the genuine manifestations of our people.

Our honour bound duty is to mobilise our entire community for full participation in this boycott.

This year marks three major anniversaries-
July 30th — the 60th anniversary of the South African Communist Party;
August 9th-S.A. Womens Day, 25th Anniversary of the march on Pretoria;
December 16th -- 20th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These are the occasions that we commemorate.

**BOYCOTT THE REPUBLIC DAY
CELEBRATIONS!
WHITE REPUBLIC NO!
PEOPLES REPUBLIC YES!
JANA SHAKTI!**



Natal Indian Congress Meeting, March 1961

South African **AGGRESSION** **CONDEMNED**

After a Summit Meeting held in Luanda on April 15, 1981, the following official communique was issued on behalf of the Frontline States.

The Presidents of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania and Zambia and the Representative of Zimbabwe met in Luanda Angola, April 15, 1981 and held discussions in a fraternal and most cordial atmosphere. The President of Swapo also participated in the talks.

In their discussions, the leaders reviewed the current situation in Southern Africa since their last summit meeting in Lusaka February 17, 1981. They viewed with deep concern three disturbing and inter-related developments:

(a) The increased acts of aggression against the frontline states as well as threats aimed at destabilising and undermining their governments.

(b) The continued refusal of the South African regime to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978).

(c) The intensification of repressive measures taken by the illegal regime in Namibia and the creation of new fait accomplis with the aim of giving a semblance of legitimacy to its puppets.

The Summit reviewed the threats and direct attacks against the sovereignty, stability, and security of the frontline states. They expressed their particular concern at attempts aimed at the destabilization of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola. To that effect, they affirmed their unqualified support for and solidarity with the Government and People of Angola led by the MPLA Workers Party. They solemnly called for scrupulous respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola, a member

of the OAU, UN and Non-Aligned Movement as well as an invaluable member of the Frontline States, which has made and continues to make enormous sacrifices in the struggle for Africa's freedom and dignity.

The Summit expressed grave concern at the reports that the Reagan Administration is considering measures to destabilise the legitimate government of Angola by providing assistance to Angolan puppet traitor groups in service of the Pretoria regime. In this context the Summit viewed the efforts to repeal the 'Clark Amendment' as manifestation of that objective. The Summit denounced any move on the part of the Reagan Administration geared to destabilising the government of Angola. Such action against Angola would constitute a flagrant interference in the internal affairs of a member state of the OAU and the UN and a clear affront and challenge to free Africa.

The Summit condemned the intention of the United States to strengthen its relations with South Africa at a time when the apartheid regime has not only embarked on systematic acts of aggression against independent African states, but has also resorted to the training and equipping of traitor groups from the Frontline States with the view to destabilising their legitimate governments and ultimately therefore undermining the freedom of the African continent.

In this connection, the Presidents noted with satisfaction the collective expression of indignation and condemnation made by African States at the United Nations.

The Leaders of the Frontline States reaffirmed their total support for Swapo.

and appealed to the international community to redouble their efforts in rendering effective assistance to this sole and authentic representative of the Namibian People in order that they may prosecute more effectively the struggle on all Fronts for the independence of their country. The Leaders recalled with satisfaction the Declaration of New Delhi Ministerial Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement and the resolutions of the OAU Council of Ministers at their 36th Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa in respect to Namibia. They stressed the importance of the Extraordinary Meeting of the Coordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Movement scheduled to meet in Algiers beginning April 16, 1981 and expressed their confidence in the world community in its support of the struggle for Namibian independence.

The Summit reaffirmed their support

for the UN plan as provided for under Security Council Resolution 435, and stressed the urgent need to implement this plan without any further delay, prevarication, qualification or modification. They stressed the responsibility of the Western Five to ensure the implementation of the UN Plan of which they are the authors. In this context, the Summit underscored the special obligation of the Western Five to exert the necessary pressure on the South African regime to comply with Resolution 435.

The Summit agreed on the need for continuous and frequent consultations in order to collectively strive to thwart any manouvres and schemes of imperialism and racism in the region.

Tanzania High Commission
London
April 16th, 1981



ZIMBABWE ANNIVERSARY

**H.E. THE PRIME MINISTER
COMRADE ROBERT G. MUGABE
PRIME MINISTER'S OFFICE
SALISBURY REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE**

APRIL 17, 1981

ON THE OCCASION OF A HISTORIC AND JOYFUL DAY FOR THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE, THE FIRST BIRTHDAY OF THE REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE, MAY I ON BEHALF OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, OUR POPULAR ARMY UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PATRIOTIC FORCES AND THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, WISH YOU COMRADE PRIME MINISTER AND THROUGH YOU THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE OUR SINCERE CONGRATULATIONS. OUR PEOPLE WILL ALSO CELEBRATE ON THIS DAY BECAUSE WE ARE CONVINCED THAT YOUR VICTORY IS OUR VICTORY'

THE LAST TWELVE MONTHS HAVE DEMONSTRATED PRACTICALLY THAT THE SUCCESSES YOU SCORED ON THE BATTLEFIELD, AT THE POLLS AND IN THE DEFENCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF ZIMBABWE CONSTITUTE A DECISIVE BLOW FOR THE TOTAL LIBERATION OF AFRICA FROM COLONIALISM, RACISM AND APARTHEID; FOR NATIONAL EMANCIPATION, DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL PROGRESS AND PEACE.

ONCE MORE COMRADE PRIME MINISTER PLEASE ACCEPT ASSURANCES OF OUR HIGHEST FRATERNAL ESTEEM, THE PLEDGE OF OUR UNEQUIVOCAL SUPPORT FOR YOUR NOBLE EFFORTS TO DEFEND AND ADVANCE THE GAINS OF THE PEOPLE OF ZIMBABWE AND OUR BEST WISHES FOR THIS DAY AND THE COMING YEAR WHICH WILL SURELY WITNESS FURTHER ADVANCES TOWARDS THE REALISATION OF OUR COMMON GOALS.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

**OLIVER TAMBO
PRESIDENT AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA**

Poetry Towards the Revolution

Here is the second in a series of articles on the nature of South African poetry in the South African revolution.

By Xiboshe

I see; therefore I feel; therefore I think; therefore I do.

It is this progression and meshing of a complicated spiral of sensory awareness or affective experience and active assertion of self and communality that makes, marks and musicalises the South African poetry we are presently looking at in its differing dimensions of daring, defiance and humaneness.

Let us look first at some poems by Njabulo S. Ndebele.

In "The Man of Smoke," the persona is a little child.

"I am wide eyed / I am shorter than the table / and dancing legs are massive pillars." The setting and the immediate event are a room and a fervent prayer meeting. There is a recurrent drumbeat: "GOGOM GOM..... GOGOM GOM" and: "I am a child watching / from a corner / I am a child clinging / to my corner". The entire atmosphere is imbued with an energy which is both anxious and ecstatic:

"I watch my aunt who is mad / quite mad. / All are mad here. / They kneel before the face of smoke / they cry, they shriek, / they breathe in gasps / they say a wind must enter them / they are mad quite mad / rising to sing and dance and clap hands. / I fear." The tension is relieved only when the child and his aunt are out in the street, on their way home, and later, when the child, re-enacting the trauma of his corner, projects it into his future sleeping: "and I dream of the man of wood wood / standing next to my bed in the dark, choking me with his smoke. / and I cry; / Poor boy, you are hungry auntie says."

There is a vast drama here in this short episode-poem, an interplay of actors and agencies that encompasses the dynamic of profound longing for human fulfilment

and the opportunities available to satisfy such yearning; moreover, in its limited space and by means of its tremendous tempo, the poem delineates the warping and the warming of a human group and, of an individual. Its resolution — which is open-ended, interim — is still, and though pro-tem, one that implies the immediacy of intimate concerns, the primacy of personal relationships.

Ndebele's two Dudu-poems, "Little Dudu" and "A Child's Delirium," are, in their different ways, more nightmarish. In both there is a surrealistic element that derives from their being dream-like, semi-mystical, surrealistic metaphors and allegories that are infused with powerful, fabular realism. From "Little Dudu" Sect. II "Little Dudu was the beggar's wish-bone; (Men, demented, would moan, / Until a thorn of conscience burst ..."

Sect. III "Little Dudu lay on his belly / On the dome of a hippo's mouth; / A small speck on the dome, / He lay and wept; / 'Where am I?'"

Sect. VII: "Now, exposed to the grin of heat, / An emryo swells gradually like a wicked smile / 'No!' he cries"

Sect. VIII: "(O play: O butterflies; O Moles; O birds ... / O my own blood! / O my own blood flowing over the roots of my desires.)"

Section IX: "O! / (And Dudu thrown the child into the dust-bin. / It dies in the fumes of its own bright soul)

Sect. X: "And the hippo's mouth snapped / Dudu is behind bars of teeth. / Dudu will never be Dudu again. / ... His soul, occasionally, / Would leap out of the bars, / And fly with the birds, / Then it would come back, / But the birds wait always."

These are excerpts from the poem, and 13

although we have quoted at fairly great length in order to convey the form of narrative and elements of the argument as well as some structures in the strategy of LITTLE DUDU, the poem itself is such an explosive compound that it needs to be totally experienced.

The reader/listener who is carried through this imaginative exploration of sentence and sentiment, of joy, hope, pain, anguish and infatigue, is made aware again of the many-faced character of life, and of the plight that living in South African black ghettos does inevitably impose on many lives.

"A Child's Delirium" fleshes out these tragic consequences in, for instance:

"who are you? / your necks have no heads / but blood gushes out of your throats throats / like the fountains in town. / yet it is only i who can see you. / who are you, men, six men?" which later in the same second section of the poem becomes: "stop laughing at me, / you scare me; you shame me, / i'm only a child / can you not see?"

Let us quote the whole of Section III: "my doll's eyes/ are as deep as mine./ the ghost says it's hunger, / but i don't believe; do we? / mama simply hates us/ because other people hate her."

The weight of consciousness in this youthful mind is almost intolerable: it is a burden that in this case can only be borne in a resolution that is both tragedy and pathos, a partial self-immolation that is altruistic sacrifice: iv "fly away little bird / before the flame harms you: / look, the candle flame / does not harm me, / look, i put my finger in /

STOP DUDU! STOP IT! /.....

you flew away little bird, / never shall you be harmed."

There is a hope that remains; it is thin and possibly illusory; but it is true because it is sincere. And it is a paradigm of the self-sacrifice that is called for to purge the corners of consciousness, to cleanse them of fear through acts of positive, directed-other-directed selfness. Or else withdrawal into a solipsism, which is a defeated individuality become individualism and escapist narcissism may result: as Ndebele allows the persona of "I Hid My

Love" to indulge in.

"I hid my love in the sewerage / of a city ..." to go to a long ago "wilderness" where "I was king My arms akimbo, / I knew the secrets of the world, / I knew the secret pleasures".

Other forms of escape do offer too: "By candle light, in the dead of night; / By eyes clutching at words in the gloom / Of light, / I wade through a mire of lights / searching for another light, / My own light:" ("A Carol".)

But this kind of weariness is one that is universal, and when faced with the candour and integrity that this poem generally and Vilakazi's poetry often exhibits, it is therapeutic. In exorcising the putative spirits of self-pity and exhaustion that may be tenants of the mind, or in at least allaying their clamour for an important while, which can be done only by acknowledging them and challenging them, the poetic experience prepares and arms one — whether maker of the work, or partaker — and gives perspective, vision. Then there is room for satire and alarm, for the persistent present (here and now) to be dealt with alongside the painful panoramas of history. Thus, "Invention": "invention is dazzling them, / those who are selling their lives with 'the time being' / invention will dazzle them, / those who'll never say 'now!'/ and the Vaal flows like the innocence of moonlight. / they are such petals — / the faces of ancestors in the water — / such moonshine / as if streams never carried blood. / what petals are the appearance of the dead / to the eyes of torment!"



Before leaving Ndebele's poems to the reader's own closer attention, let us pause briefly only to underline the pointed ambiguity and its concomitant ambivalence in : "such mooshine!" This figure speaks very directly to the multiplicity of potentials in the South African landscape of people and pursuits of beauty. The phrase is a forked tongue that reminds of the actual physical attractiveness of South Africa's scenery, of its possible openness for general enjoyment, of the romantic mists with which we can film and veil the ugly realities of South Africa's history and politics, of the untruths that are variously told, and of which we have, with open eyes, clear minds, and strong hands, to rid ourselves.

When Stanley Motjuwadi looks at life and language, in South Africa, in history, in Europe, in religion, in the Near East and in the United States of America, he sees the corroding effect of "White Lies," i.e. the symbology of diametrically opposed and irreconcilable antinomies and absolutes that has so much permeated "colour" relationships and so much poisoned them as to call for a drastic revaluation and the positing of new points of departure, points of contact and planes of action : "Humming Maggie" ... "corrodes a sooty face," and "braves a hot iron comb." The aesthetic ideals of a light skin and straight hair suffuse our thinking, are diffused into many aspects of our doing if we live in a pigmentocracy, a colour-class-caste system such as South Africa's whether in so-called voluntry, historically determined, traditionally accepted segregation, or under openly enforced apartheid. We know the psychological and even eschatological ramifications of language that expresses percepts and concepts in terms such as "pure white, / a white heart, / " when we've been "brainwhitewashed" ! Hence the inversion of standards that the poem calls for, both realistically and hyperbolically, in a strategy reminiscent of some W.E.B. du Bois's poems: "On a canvas stretching form here/ to Dallas, Memphis, Belsen, Golgothe, / I'll daub a white devil. / Let me teach black truth."

The rhetoric here is inflated, high-flown, and apt, functional. "Let me unleash a volty bolt of black, / so all around may know black right." But it is also playful

in the bombast, lightly punning in the peripheries of the diction, but this subtly enough not to undercut the serious intent and attainment. It is a rich rhetoric and an easy one, and one returns to the poem often to draw together its surfaces and its centre; then there still remain exciting questions that ramify into a myriad speculations, a pyramid and a babel of verbal and philosophical, political structures and ventures.

Not so in diction, when, with Motjuwadi's other persona, we are "TAKEN FOR A RIDE": "... the glint in the cop's eye" means that "... I have to find it" for "Without it I'm lost, with it I'm lost, ... I hate it. I nurse it, / my pass, my everything" Looking for it, looked at by a loving, loved one, the searcher becomes frantic "liked a crazed trible dancer. / Moimo!// The doors of the kwela-kwela gape, / I take a free ride." There is a intricate play of language with language and diction into diction, of meaning entering meaning and enriching reference and allusion which the South African reader will recognize immediately. It is the gallows' humour, the macabre wit, the defence mechanism of laughter in the face of adversity and a simultaneous girding of the loins that was part of the armoury of survival in European ghettos despite pogroms and discrimination in the case of Jews in the diaspora, and was part of the culture of jokes and tales and songs and codes that made the dispersals of black slavery, the suppression of humanity and the oppression of persons on ante-bellum plantations and in house service, and the shortcomings of reconstruction less than the annihilating processes they might have been ...

In Motjuwadi's poem, there is the mind-exploding and reintegrative juxtaposition of (the expletive) Molimo (God) and the kwela-kwela, here, more directly the police pick-up van whose "... doors swing lazy, sadistic like Jonah's whale/", but also, more indirectly the township dance of that name, both the van and the dance deriving from "kwela" = climb in. Throughout this poem, the diction is generally, with its accompanying rhythms, light, conversational, anecdotal, colloquial. This

partly derives from the blending of languages, and in the case of the use of "indigenous" words inside the English framework form their counterpoint of reference and region. What happens finally, to state a complex matter briefly, is that again the poem allows us to be expert by proxy, to enter through the channels of language and its attributes, areas for exploration and strata of experience that would otherwise have been relatively remote, fairly abstract.

"Black Zionist Meeting" and "Nonkululeko" A Child of Freedom" present, quite differently, and chiefly by way of pure statement, different aspects of seeking to achieve freedom in an enslaved society : The religious, "revivalist" congregation are "unsung poets" "who swear undying / loyalty with jehovah /" and " .. the bearded preacher / ... leads his flock / like Moses out / of the house of bondage" so that

"For a few hours
they
are
free."

Underneath the statements, and finally encompassing and resonating them, there are other layers of sound, historical parallels, a mythology for the present, a teleological grouping of instances. In a public reading the reverberations of these can be explored almost endlessly; on the page the echoes ring into continuity and new music, and marching. But in the context of the poem, and explicitly stated, there are very real limitations, very definite flaws in this freedom. Quite other is the freedom of bequest, the nurturing into freedom of an offspring who would be made aware of the real world of politics as well as a world of wishes, prayers and aspiration:

"Your opened your eyes / to vietnam, / ireland, -/ uganda, washington, moscow/ and pretoria." There had been, there was night, ripeness, love and the land, and (yet) "Nobody bothered to say / You'd grow black / and be an extension / of me." ("Nonkululeko ...")

It is as if this very extension, nullified by the high rated infant mortality that is endemic to black South Africa in town-



ships, "resettlement schemes" or on farms, is the positive and negative fact of Mandlenkosi Langa's "Mother's Ode To A Stillborn Child": "Your languished patiently / to join the dead / living world." These lines come from stanzas one and three respectively; in stanza two, still-born child is told, "You had every right/ to riot and complain/ or raise your voice in protest or defiance". In the concluding (fourth) stanza, the extension is completed-truncated: "It is not my fault / ... that your head did not stop / a police truncheon / that you are not a permanent resident / of a prison island."

There is a cold bitter anger here that is not the less because of the (seemingly pathetic) pain. And in the quasi-documentary laconic style of the body of the poem "The Pension Jiveass" which describes South Africa's bureaucracy-civilian, official-white to sub-citizen black relationship, the cool conclusion "She loses her person any how." does not minimize the sarcasm of the title or the irony of the old lady's untranslated "...my father slit your likes' throats!"

We are constantly stretched across such dimensions of existence as the present and the past — to be catapulted into the future, senses intact? .. and this happens inside the body of an individual poem, or from poem to poem of the same author, or from poet to poet.

So it is that Stanley Mogoba's "Two Buckets" seems to develop into, interact with and be complemented by Mafika Mbuli "The Miners". In the former: "A sleepy voice / from the confined space" warns to beware of movement: "Any

false move, / You fall into a lavatory bucket,
 bucket, / Or into drinking water next to it.”
 In life some proximities are inevitable, the
 very stuff of being on our earth and of it;
 in social life, such juxtapositions are
 unnecessary, are the basest obscenity the
 violation of dignity, a violence against the
 person subjected to such confinement.
 It is like slums next to affluence; it startles
 one to come across it: “In this startled
 manner, / I made my Entry / Into a dark
 world, / Where thousands of men / Pine
 and are forgotten.” “This dungeon,” we
 have it in “THE MINERS,” “Makes the
 mind weary / Kneaded with the sight of /
 A million stores / Passing through my
 hands / With our hands manacled / With
 weariness / We mine / All our lives / Till
 the mind is numb / And ceases to ask ..”
 The fatigue is far-reaching, seemingly
 affecting, infecting even us, the onlookers,
 even if it’s momentarily. And we are moved
 to ask, why should some endure this
 throughout most of adulthood, and often
 from earlier than that.

Out of this grows the empathy that does
 not exclude realistic assessment of negatives,
 an understanding of the whole picture that
 neither blames and despises nor absolves
 and glamourizes the victim of racial
 injustice, whether they be tsotsi, shebeen
 queen or good-time girl. Mbuli’s “OUT”
 and M. Pascal Gwala’s “The Shebeen Queen”
 touch on these issues. And then also Gwala
 gives us the relaxed ambience, with its
 near the surface shivers and jitteriness;
 the itch and frisson of having from time to
 time to live for the moment’s surface the
 moment’s surface of an enjoyment



that could have been so much deeper:
 “An attempt at communication”:
 “Speak easy, brother / There’s a lively chick/
/ There’s auntie’s cool mama-look /
 lest we start some shindig ///
// Hot it cool, right / We have the
 music blues /:.....jazzhappy.//Cool
 it hot, yes/ that mbaqanga / stirs you too?”
 And the dance-musical references run
 wide, alluding also to the socio-economic
 analogies between Afro-American music
 and South African township music. The
 perential mixture, and the mix of languages
 drives the point home that we are in a here
 and now that have to be assessed and have
 to be shaped somehow, especially because
 that here and that now penetrate our lives
 with increasing destructiveness, as depicted
 in Gwala’s “Gumba, Gumba, Gumba”:
 “Been watching this jive / For too long./
 That’s struggle.” The poem goes on to show
 us the dereliction that overtakes an area,
 the alienation that faces people when the
 world that confronts them allows them
 only the dehumanisation of “ ... your
 Black arse / Can’t rest on a ‘Whites Only’
 seat” whether it is a (“black”) Soweto
 near Johannesburg or “brown” Bonteheuwel
 near Cape Town, or Chatsworth: where
 “you have seen: Seen queues at the off-
 course tote; / Seen a man’s guts — the man
 walking still / Seen a man blue-eye his wife;/
 Seen a woman being kicked by cop.”

The sensory data that inform one’s
 life in this harrowing of the soul and hell
 for the body are further catalogued, when
 we are told.

“You seen struggle. / If you have heard:/
 Hears a man bugger a woman, old as his
 mother; / Heard a child giggle at obscene
 jokes / Heard a mother weep over a dead
 son;/ Heard a foreman say ‘boy’ to a
 labouring oupa / Knowing words
 don’t kill / But a gun does. // For no
 more jive/ Evening’s eight / Ain’t never late./
 Black is Struggle.’

Gwala gives us lighter, ironic and sly
 innuendo-filled, satirical verses too, as in
 “PAPER CURTAINS” and “Election
 Pincers”, both of which imply stances of
 conscious, active togetherness.

The acid of the wit of Stanley Sepamla’s
 “To Whom It May Concern” etches a clear
 statement of nay-saying to the thunder of



12/12/37
Malangataba

Pass/Reference Book, the final poem of the anthology that we've been glancing at, but the final note of confident self-assertion is struck by Basil Somhlahlo: "Do not do things for me, let me do them. / Think no thoughts for me, let me think them." which ends: "Show me the way, do not walk the way for me. / / I know my goal so / Do not mother me." (Who Wants To Be Mothered?)

We shall at some other stage look at some of the work of Oswald Mtshali and Mongane Serote, both of some are represented in the compilation **BLACK POETS IN SOUTH AFRICA**, edited by Robert Royston (pub. as *To Whom It May Concern - Donker. Johannesburg; 1973.* under above title - Heinemann, Afr. Writers Series (H. Deuc. Bks.)- 1974). Royston's hope, expressed the end of his brief, thoughtful and at times debatable introduction, was that the anthology was just a beginning.

It was.

People saw and sang. People sang, and felt Felt and moved, and would not be moved from the road to freedom. As they marched, students or workers, young and old, they sang.

It is, after all, a long tradition, this of the maker of verse, the poet, being also a man/woman of the people. The Englishman, Percy Shelly sang to the workers: "You are many, they are few," exhorting the productive bees to rid the world of social drones. Jose Marti, the Cuban patriot, spoke his and his people's dreams and resolve in the popular "Guantanamera". And Pablo Neruda of Chile engrossed love, land, suffering, struggle, a world of experience and living, in his impassioned lyricism, alongside his committed political and patriotic activity.

It is of this kind of activity that the following has been said, with reference to Palestinian. Literature, in an interview published in **SOLIDARITY - Czech. Comm. for Solidarity with the Nations of Africa and Asia**, 1, 1981:

Milos Mendel - Interviewer: This reminds me of a thought expressed by the Palestinian literary critic, Ibrahim Jabra : Our poetry might perhaps be seen as a fragile toy used

against weapons , but, in fact, it is equally useful as dynamite.

Yahir Yakhlif - replying: "quite so. This attitude to (of?) the Palestinians; to poetry has, of course, its historical and cultural roots, resting in the traditional popularity of poetry in the Arab world. Palestinian poetry is today rightly regarded as one of the most popular, and is also well known in Europe and the Americas, for its progressive and revolutionary character. However, it will have to look for new sources and impulses."

A bit earlier Yakhlif had named some of the poets whose work "meets with a much more sensitive response among our people" (than that of novelists): Fadwa Tugan, Taufiq Zaiyad, Mahmoud Darwis. (The last named was awarded a Lotus Literary Prize in the same year as the South African novelist, Alex la Guma.) These names, Yakhlif had continued, "are known to every guerilla, every Palestinian child. Their verses are chanted and sung at demonstrations of Palestinians living in occupied territories, and read in Israeli jails."

Not all the poetry we have thus far reviewed is definitively revolutionary. Much of it is in many respects memorable. Much more remains to be collected, sifted, published, memorised, made active. Part of the hope of this series is not only to do a bit of the (possibly unnecessary) task of analysis, but to stimulate readers into responding to the opinions and world-view of the poets and the commentator, and above all, to contribute both data (experience of readings, facts surrounding the making of poems, biographical details of poets) and material to the living library of the South African freedom struggle in song and verse.

'OUR RESOLVE IS A CALM RESOLVE'

The body of the dead Boer soldier covered in mud, blood and sea-sand, stares at you from the front page of "NOTICIAS", the Mozambican daily newspaper. Around him are strewn his weapon, binoculars, helmet and other equipment. He lies awkwardly, stiffly, almost like a shark hauled out of the nearby Indian Ocean. He is one of the two Boer soldiers killed in a clash with Mozambican soldiers at the small seaside resort of Ponto do Ouro which is situated on the border with South Africa.

The racists' troops were attempting to infiltrate into Mozambican territory during the early morning of March 17th. They were spotted by a local villager who alerted border guards. The Boers were quietly encircled. Firing broke out. The Boers retreated in panic, carrying one of their dead with them, leaving the other behind.

This is not the first dead man the South African racists have left behind in the People's Republic of Mozambique. They left another in the garden of the ANC residence in Matola on that fateful night of January 30th when twelve of our comrades were either butchered in their beds or machine-gunned down against a wall, Chicago gangster style, by these racist aggressors who crudely daub swastika symbols on their helmets.

The local media in Mozambique, press and radio, have been quick to point out that in all the criminal incursions into Mozambique launched by the Smith regime never was a precious white corpse left behind. The Mozambican media rightly points out that this attests to a certain timidity and panic that is sown amongst the Boers when they are on the receiving end of hot fire.

The raid on our residences illustrated this perfectly. For all the advantage of surprise on their side, superiority of numbers, heavy weaponry, rockets and so on they failed to press home the initiative. This was to be seen clearly at one house where comrades were lined up against the wall, and where the Boers found themselves under fire. There they scattered in panic and this gave some comrades the chance to escape. There the Boers scattered because they could not stomach the battle and there at least three of them were stopped dead in their tracks. Reliable eyewitness accounts indicate that several must have been wounded. Half a dozen weapons were abandoned together with the dead body and there was ample evidence that others had been seriously hit. This was indicated by pools of blood, by drag marks as bodies were hauled away, and by blood soaked pieces of uniform and army webbing cut from their wounded.

The racists pride themselves on their invincibility. They might be outnumbered by the Blacks but "By God each one of us is worth twenty of them" they boast. This is the racist psychology; their psychology of warfare which is somehow meant to guarantee their immortality. "Don't worry Boetie if you're hit we'll get you home", the sergeant promises his subordinates. It is all designed to boost morale and confidence, to instil in the minds of the racist troops the belief that they are always on the winning side.

Unfortunately Ponto do Ouro and Matola, despite our own losses, and the numerous engagements in Angola and on our own terrain at home are denting this master race psychology. These might



Body of Boer soldier on the beach of Ponto do Ouro, Mozambique

be little actions, but it is through this process, this process of facing up to the Boers weapon in hand, hitting back in the only language they understand, that we build up our superior psychology of warfare, our superior bravery and determination to fight.

The whites have never had it so good. For all their weapons and bravado they are not so keen to die. They have other things on their minds like their comforts, their good life, sweethearts and beer, a rosy, cosy retirement. The oppressed have nothing to lose but their chains. Ours is a just cause and we fight a just war. Fidel pointed out when he visited Angola after the Boers were defeated and had retreated in panic that "What makes the difference between a brave soldier and a coward is the cause that you fight for".

The superiority of this fact was shown in Zimbabwe with the defeat of Smith's minority regime. We see this in Namibia with the progress recorded by SWAPO's fighting forces over the racists. We see this in regard to the People's fighting forces of Angola and Mozambique as they resolutely defend their sovereign territory against Boer aggression. We see this in the fighting determination of our MK cadres. We see this in the heroism of an MK combatant, Gordon Dikebu, who died fighting the enemy like a lion in a Chiawelo house last year. This heroic death is yet another page in the combat record of Umkhonto we Sizwe in this the 20th anniversary of our People's Army.

A CHALLENGE

Matola, Ponto do Ouro and Chiawelo are all interlinked and are part of the process that spells out the inevitable defeat of the enemy in the whole region of Southern Africa. These events are a challenge to us. They call on us to be vigilant and alert like the peasants at Ponto do Ouro who summoned the Frelimo soldiers and the MPLA who have repulsed the Boer aggressors and like the young lion, Gordon Dikebu, hero of Chiawelo, who faced the Boers with pistol and grenades and who refused to be taken alive.

The struggle is reaching a high stage,

a point of increased dangers but a point of increased opportunities for revolutionary advance. The Boer aggression against Mozambique is part of their overall strategy to export their contradictions into neighbouring states. They are attempting to turn the whole of Southern Africa into a region of war, from the Indian to the Atlantic oceans. But they are biting off more than they can chew. Their raids into Angola are designed to intimidate the MPLA from supporting SWAPO and the ANC. Their aggression against Mozambique is designed to warn Frelimo against supporting our movement. But these plans are blowing up in their faces.

Solidarity between Frelimo and the ANC has been strengthened and reinforced by the Matola raid. Likewise, Boer aggression has helped to bind SWAPO and the MPLA closer together. This is happening on a regional basis between all the forces of national liberation and socialism. President Samora Machel said in his February 14th speech denouncing the Matola murders that "We thank the Boers for bringing the Cubans to Angola". The aggression of the Boers is strengthening the ties of the revolutionary forces of our region with socialism and is increasing the resolve of the joint millions of our people to overthrow apartheid. "Let the South African come", says President Samora Machel, "But let them be sure that the war will end in Pretoria, and that the majority will take power in Pretoria".

We, of the ANC and MK, whose heroic duty is to spearhead the struggle within our own country, must respond to the challenge thrown by the Boers and take heart from the words of our President, Comrade Tambo, who in the funeral oration for our Matola comrades stated:

"Our resolve is a calm resolve. It is a cool resolve. It acknowledges that we are dealing with a kind of Hitler here, which is Nazism and Fascism. It is merciless, it is strong even, it can yet put up a fight, but let us rise like one man, as one people, to overthrow that regime."

ATTEMPTS TO BREAK SPORTS BOYCOTT

As attempts by the apartheid regime to break through isolation in international sport intensify, Sechaba publishes the following article which exposes the nature of these manoeuvres.

Over the last few years South Africa has been busily engaged in re-assessing and re-lining its policy on apartheid sport. The regime considers that it has now made the necessary adjustments and effectively sealed the glaring holes in its apartheid policy and consequently it has devised new methods in its offensive for international acceptability.

Inside the country Blacks are regularly conscripted to venerate the apartheid policy with respectability. These Blacks are then assembled into organisations which receive subservient affiliation to national white sports bodies. Sponsorship money by apartheid commercial concerns and multinational corporations also helps lure Blacks to succumb to subservient affiliation. Outside the country South Africa has secured the services of several agents from western countries to canvass for its re-entry into international sport.

Adjustments to Apartheid Sports Policy

As soon as one form of veneration over apartheid sport is rejected by the world another is immediately introduced. This veneration always provided for a degree of mixing on the sports field so that the regime could con the world that it has complied with international requirements. The mixing also provided adequate ammunition for South Africa's friends to support the racist regime's re-entry into international sports federations or its right to retain its membership (if not yet expelled). Basically, to provide mixing for international consumption, a series of permits are granted

to go round the myriad of apartheid laws. The recent adverse publicity that followed the granting of these permits forced the racist regime to further re-adjust its policy.

The new cliché is that sport in South Africa is now completely normalised and permits are no more necessary to play mixed sport. Further, the government statement that "The autonomy of sports bodies in respect of sport is recognised", is constantly quoted by South Africa's supporters but the latter part of the statement "on condition that good order does not suffer and that the general laws of the country are recognised" is fraudulently omitted. The "general laws of the country" are the apartheid laws which are detested the world over and which make the playing of mixed sport at all levels virtually impossible.

South Africa's new sports policy as announced on 22 February 1980 was just old wine poured into a new bottle. The Sports Minister himself reiterated that this:

"involves no policy change but only a change in procedure aimed at streamlining the present system."

This "change in procedure" was necessitated because the apartheid word "permit" had

to be substituted by more subtle but "acceptable" words for international consumption. The words "consultation" and "co-operation" are now official terms for permits. The regime has made it clear that "unnecessary deviations must be guarded against and exceptions must be dealt with in such a way that they do, in fact, prove the rule." (Minister of Sport and Recreation, S.A. Parliamentary Debate on Sport, 21 May 1979).

Nevertheless sport in South Africa, with the exception of events for international consumption, is strictly segre-

gated according to government policy which was announced in 1976 and still prevails:

“That the Sportsmen and Sportswomen of the Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Black People belong to their own clubs and control, arrange and manage their own sports matters.”

No provisions of the permit system, which was created to by-pass apartheid legislation, have been rescinded. But by word substitution white South Africa, with the help of its overseas supporters, hopes to con the world that “permits” are no longer needed to participate in mixed sport.

All the laws that directly affect the playing of mixed sport are still embedded in the statute books, viz:

The Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950;

Group Areas Act No 36 of 1966;

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act No 49 of 1953;

The Liquor Amendment Act No 58 of 1975;

Bantu Laws Amendment Act No 76 of 1963;

Native Laws Amendment Act Nos 36 and 79 of 1957;

Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No 25 of 1945.

Blacks must still undergo the humiliation of being treated like second class citizens for a few sports concessions which will re-open the way for white international participation.

As long as legislation which affects sport directly or indirectly remains on the statute books it is not possible to play non-racial sport. Permits, whether they are called “consultation”, “cooperation” or anything else, will always regulate and control the degree of mixing on the sports field. The changes effected in South African sport can, therefore, only be cosmetic and never fundamental — NOT UNTIL THE APARTHEID LAWS ARE OVERTHROWN.

Stooges

Ever since South Africa’s all-white teams were internationally rejected Black participation at competitor and administrator level was absolutely necessary to veneer the

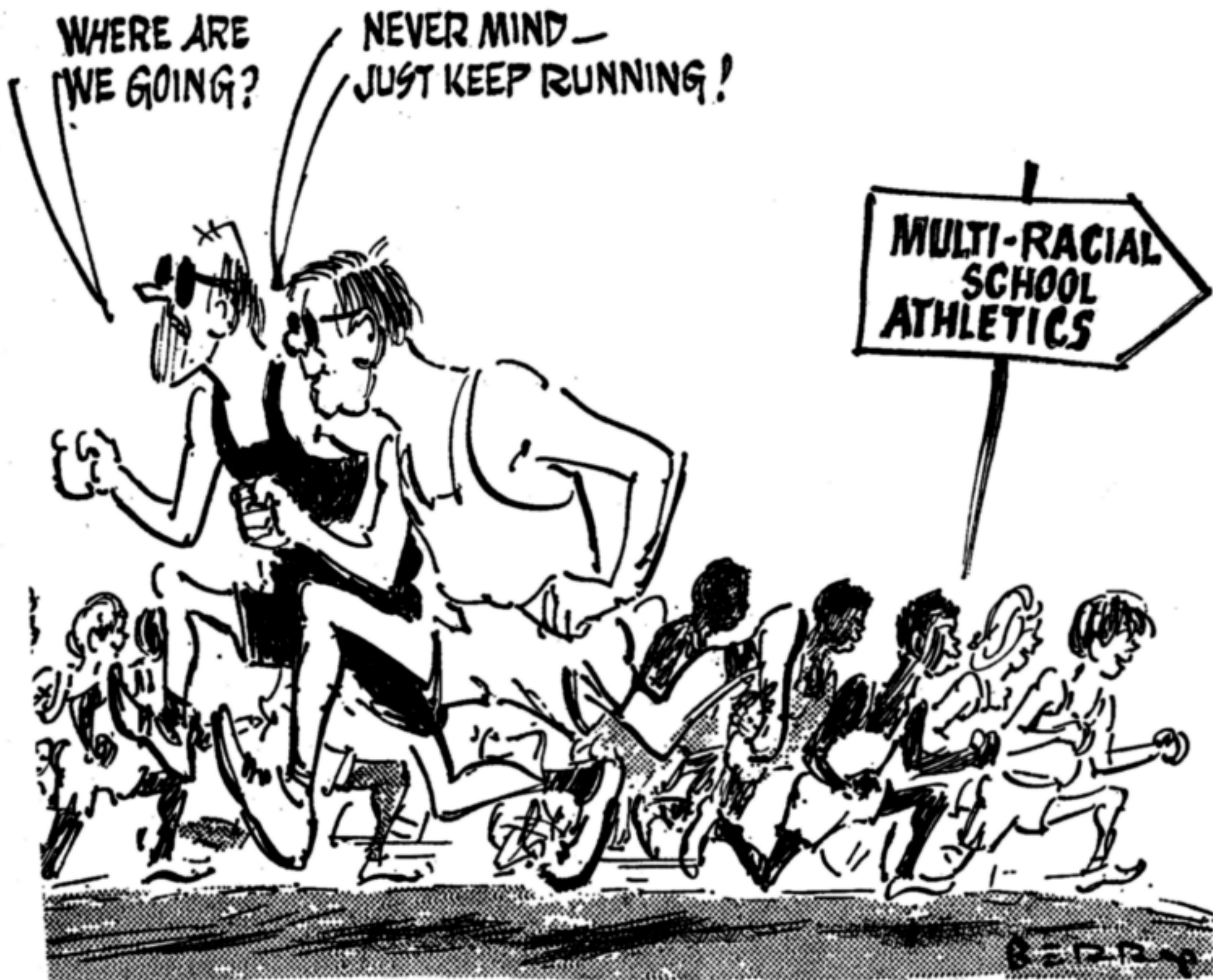
apartheid sports policy with respectability. To work the system effectively employers of mining combines, government agencies and multinational corporations which benefit tremendously from the apartheid system, are conscripted by white sports administrators. Very few Blacks dare to opt out of this system because they are bound by the prescribed conditions of labour. Blacks could lose their jobs if they showed dissent. No wonder, observers are surprised at the vigour with which these Blacks defend the government’s sugar-coated apartheid sports policy now defined “multinational”. These black stooges who do not benefit at all from international participation are now campaigning more vigorously than Whites for lifting the sports boycott. South Africa’s white sports administrators having subjugated a few Blacks feel confident that they can break out of isolation.

Black stooges, who overall are very shrewd opportunists and have no scruples in obtaining professional and financial favours, are cleverly inserted into overseas delegations and other positions thereby eliciting credence for the South African sports policy. A Black, George Thabe, has been made President of South Africa’s umbrella Football Council and another, Rashid Varachia, is President of South Africa’s Cricket Union. Two Blacks have been put on the Executive of the White South African Rugby Board although this very same Board will not allow Black teams to participate in their premier provincial championships because “they are not good enough”.

Cover-up by Intimidation and Slur-Campaign

White South Africa does everything possible to prevent publication of racial incidents which could expose their sports fraud. The regime and its white sports administrators have gone out of their way to discredit the anti-apartheid sports organisations. Opposition sports organisations are termed “unpatriotic”. In May of this year the South African Council of Sport (SACOS) was vilified by the white parliament:

“It is clear that SACOS is working against South Africa ... recently some



newspapers speculated that there was a possibility of SACOS also being responsible or partially responsible for some of the unrest in schools here in the Cape Peninsula ... I want to ask the hon. Minister to launch an investigation into this organisation. If necessary, a judicial commission should even be appointed. I am sure that this organisation is neutralising the good work done by many sports administrators to a large extent."

(S.A. Parliament, Debate on Sport, May 22 1980.

South Africa's newspapers are branded as "negative" when they report racial incidents. The Minister of Sport accused newspapers of "making a fuss" when racial incidents appear. White South Africa is hoping that the Blacks and the Press would join the conspiracy of silence so that no one would know that there are still ugly

discriminatory laws in the country which prevents genuine mixing.

Exposures

Despite all these measures and cover-ups the ugly face of discrimination still emerges. More recent events include:

- * The gala opening of the new \$250,000 athletics track in Oudshoorn was barred to Blacks because there were no separate toilet facilities.
- * A Black who was included in an all-white provincial athletics team was left behind in his room because the apartheid laws prevented him joining the others for a film show.
- * Cricket clubs use separate halls to entertain black players.
- * Johannesburg's recreation centres ban Blacks.

- * The government has banned mixed swimming and skating.
- * A white soccer coach returning from coaching a black side was arrested by the police for not having a permit.
- * Seven black boxers and an official were arrested for failing to produce their reference (pass) books.
- * The Pretoria City Council has banned Blacks from playing or watching football at their local stadium (Caledonian Stadium).
- * A so-called mixed schools athletics meeting had to be cancelled because Afrikaans schools boycotted the meeting. Only one Black had entered to take part.

Sponsorship

Private sponsorship and government funding play a major part in aiding the government recognised white establishment bodies to maintain firm control over sport in South Africa.

Millions of dollars are spent each year to attract Blacks to join the apartheid multinational sports leagues. Last year alone over a million dollars were spent in maintaining a window-dressed black teams and white teams super football league which is most corrupt and chaotically run.

Large sums of money are spent in luring Blacks to accept subservient affiliation. No doubt, commercial concerns gain tremendously by this manoeuvre as they benefit from maintaining apartheid. Sponsors which are most guilty include:

Datsun Motor Company
provides amongst others golf (\$75,000), cricket (\$150,000) and tennis (\$100,000).

South African Breweries
provide over a million dollars annually for racist sport.

Sigma (Peugeot and Mazda Cars)
provides tennis (\$65,000), golf (\$120,000) and many other multinational events.

Kronenbrau
cricket (\$40,000)

Barclays Bank
cricket (\$30,000)

Holiday Inn Hotel Group
has built a soccer stadium for "multinational" fixtures. Also provides soccer and golf sponsorship.

Mobil Oil
arranges and finances the visit of sportsmen to South Africa.

International Agents

The white racist government hands out astronomical sums of money to its white sports administrators to be used for international propaganda. Many western sports administrators and their wives are invited regularly to South Africa on all-expenses-paid holidays.

South Africa entertains lavishly to buy votes at international congresses. South Africa even goes out of its way to invite sports administrators from strongly anti-apartheid countries to meet in "neutral" countries by offering first class all-expenses-paid trips.

South Africans have motivated several self-appointed commissions to visit the country to give its sports policy international credibility. These commissions are usually filled with observers who are strongly biased in favour of the Whites. They are told that the sport is being used by Blacks as a means to overthrow the white government and that this will only lead to chaos.

White South Africans often confront observers with issues, such as: "Standards and quality of life will degenerate if Blacks take over."

"The Blacks want to run before they know how to walk, we want evolution, not revolution."

"The sports bodies that oppose the Whites are only interested in politics. They have no interest in sport whatsoever."

"The isolation of South Africa is politically motivated by Africa and the communist countries, and South Africa's internal opposition gets its inspiration from these two groups and their funding comes from communism."

The observers, who are by and large white sympathisers and who go to South Africa specifically to obtain ammunition to defend apartheid, immediately identify themselves with white South Africa and are prepared to support more ardently the apartheid cause at international congresses.

Dick Jeeps, the chairman of the British Sports Council, made two recent visits to South Africa with all expenses paid and fully supported the apartheid regime when it refused entry to a Black Briton who was invited by the anti-apartheid South African Council on Sport (SACOS) to see for himself the conditions prevailing in South Africa.

The regime even employed a nonentity from New Zealand to compile a book on merit selection in South African sport. This New Zealander, under the pretext of being motivated by the Olympic principle of non-discrimination, painted a glowing picture of apartheid sport.

The question of who provided the finance for the visit of a French parliamentary delegation to investigate sport in South Africa is still unanswered.

The regime has also enlisted the support of very many sympathetic journalists to project a favourable image for apartheid in the international press.

Collaborators and International Boycott List

The United Nations Centre Against Apartheid announced in October 1980 that it is compiling a register of sportsmen and women, sports administrators and others who flagrantly violate the sports boycott against South Africa. This register will be made available to governments and organisations all over the world to facilitate action against the collaborators with the apartheid regime. Some time ago the government of Guyana announced that it would bar anyone entering the country who has played sport in South Africa. If similar action is initiated by member countries of the SCSA and its friends and sympathisers the fight against apartheid sport could be strengthened tremendously.

In this respect it will help greatly to bring to book sportsmen and sports organisations from Britain and the USA — apartheid South Africa's major sports allies.



South Africa's racist rugby administrators, aided and abetted by their government, are now mounting an international campaign to break out of isolation. They have now secured the services of administrators in New Zealand, France, Britain, Ireland and several South American countries to initiate rugby exchanges with South Africa. It is believed that South Africa is spending millions of dollars to get administrators to disregard international and Commonwealth sanctions against apartheid sport. In the last six months alone national teams from Britain and Ireland, South America and France have visited South Africa ... all at the expense of South Africa. South Africa even invited itself to tour Chile, Uruguay and Paraguay. Next year South Africa has been invited to tour New Zealand, and Ireland is scheduled to tour South Africa.

Rugby in South Africa closely reflects the racist politics of the white minority. Therefore, by outlaying large sums of money to influence rugby administrators and players it is confident that it will break out of isolation.

It is crucial that all anti-apartheid forces take immediate action to counter this apartheid manoeuvre.

BOOK REVIEW

The Power of the Human Spirit

Poppie by Elsa Joubert, Hodder and Stoughton, 1980.

The Diary of Maria Tholo by Carol Hermer, Ravan Press, 1980.

The chief interest of these two books lies in what they reveal of the life black women lead in apartheid South Africa.

In both books the central character is an African woman; in each case her story has been transcribed by a sympathetic white woman.

The 1976 black uprisings in the western Cape (particularly in the African townships of Nyanga and Guguletu) form the main subject matter of "The Diary of Maria Tholo" and an important last section in "Poppie".

"Poppie" was originally published in South Africa by Tafelberg, in Afrikaans, under the title of "Die Swerfjare van Poppie Nongena". (The Wandering years of Poppie Nongena). The author herself has done the English translation, and has retained the simplicity and beauty of the language of the original, though some of the peculiarly Afrikaans colloquialisms are inevitably lost.

Poppie Nongena is an Afrikaans-speaking Xhosa woman. The book is the story of her life as told to Elsa Joubert, by Poppie Nongena and also by some of her family.

The novel spans over 40 years: her early life in northern and north-western Cape; her marriage and the life she and her husband lived in Cape Town; her eventual "endorsement out" to the Ciskei; her later return to Cape Town; the death of her husband, and later the death of her grandchild in the uprisings, and the fleeing of her younger brother into exile.

The book is not a political statement, in fact overt "politics" barely enters into it, and yet Poppie Nongena's story conveys the terrible sufferings that African women

in South Africa endure; and it also bears testimony to their great courage and endurance.

Her family came from the Upington area but later moved to Lamberts Bay. From the age of nine, Poppie was acting mother to her younger half brothers and sisters. At the age of 13, she went out to work at the fish factory at Lambert's Bay.

She married at the age of 18, and after the marriage went and visited her in-laws in the Ciskei, her first ever visit to her supposed homeland. After her second child was born she and her husband were forced to leave Lamberts Bay by the regime — this was at the beginning of the policy of forcing African people out of the Western Cape. (Poppie's family had lived in the Western Cape for three generations).

Poppie then travels to Cape Town and manages to get a job as a domestic servant. Her husband can only get a job in Cape Town by taking out a contract; he works on contract in the dairy; milking cows for hours at a stretch. The strain of the job gets to him; he becomes ill and never really recovers. Later it is discovered he has T.B. For years he cannot work and then later he manages to get light work, but he dies at a comparatively young age.

But above all Poppie has to struggle all the time with the authorities to stay in Cape Town, she cannot get any permanence and she has to travel again and again round the pass offices, battling to get one-month or six-months permits to remain in Cape Town.

After more than ten years, the authorities finally say: no more. The regime's policy of forcing Africans out of the western Cape, particularly wives and children, was being applied with great viciousness.

Poppie is forced to go to the Ciskei — to Mdantsane, a resettlement town near



East London — where she is allocated a small bare half-completed house in the open veld amongst rows of similar empty houses. She has only her children with her; she knows no-one and they are the first to be dumped in this area. She feels “the emptiness of being completely alone; discarded”.

For Poppie work is much more difficult to find in East London and the wages are much lower than Cape Town. Her will to survive, and for her children to survive, in spite of the regime’s genocidal policy of dumping “superfluous appendages” in the poverty-stricken bantustans is what keeps her going both at this time and throughout her life.

Poppie leaves her three school-going children in the Ciskei in the care of her in-laws and the youngest two stay with her mother in Nyanga again.

She continues to work and pay for all her children at school, and to help her brothers and mother and other relatives when they need.

When the uprisings of 1976 hit Cape

Town she is glad her older children are in the Ciskei and out of harms way. She is upset by some of the things the youth do. Her friend tells her “Many parents are grateful the comrades have turned against liquor,” and she agrees. She also comes to terms with their underlying fight.

And later, during the fighting between migrant workers and residents, Poppie’s only grandchild dies while on her back as the residents flee the migrants and police. It is not clear whether a stone or police buckshot killed the child.

The book ends rather suddenly in early 1977. Elsa Joubert got to know Poppie Nongena when Poppie came to see her for help during the uprisings. The names of the characters were changed but otherwise the story is true. It is told both in the first person (Poppie) and in the third, (as the author interviewed Poppie’s family too). It is a story told simply and yet it contains great power - the power of the human spirit.

“The Diary of Maria Thola” is one woman’s story of the 1976 uprisings in 29

Guguletu and Nyanga.

Carol Hermer, an academic at the University of Cape Town, began interviewing Maria Tholo as an anthropological study — to research a detailed life history of one family.

However the uprisings began in the Cape at this time, and the idea of the project changed. The weekly tape-recordings of Maria's experiences are the basis of the book:

Maria's diary makes very interesting reading. She goes to meetings and observes (rather than participates in) much of the happenings.

She captures the mood of the great majority of the adults during the early stages of the schoolchildren - led revolts.

Although limited, the diary turns out to be a unique document, as it is one of the few full accounts from 'the inside' of what happened during the uprisings in Cape Town. She saw and heard the amazing inventiveness of the youth in their tactics against the police, and the brutality of the police and the migrant workers, whom the police managed to use temporarily.

Like "poppie", the diary has power merely as a straightforward authentic account of life for black people.

The real bond between the militant youth and the older people is revealed again and again. Early on in the book, Maria says:

"Whatever people's opinions, we have all developed a tremendous respect for the youth. Within a day they showed such power, and without weapons."

Also interesting is that the book shows that women played a leading part in the uprisings: both young schoolgirls in the student activities, and women within the community giving support to the struggles.

Carol Hermer contributes a commentary after each month or so of the diary. This is to give the main details of the uprising as they appeared in the press, to supplement Maria Tholo's account.

Although quite useful, it is no more than a summary of newspaper reports. It is also irritating (and misleading) at times. Despite her academic, objective tone, she uses words like 'mob' for a crowd of student protesters, on occasion. Furthermore she

gives serious credence to a few token condemnations of apartheid by white business at this time, as real signs of change. And she seriously presents Andrew Young as someone who made it clear that the United States would no longer tolerate apartheid!

In her introduction and in a later footnote, Carol Hermer rather blandly tells us that Maria Tholo is part of the "small but growing black middle-class".

Maria Tholo runs a small creche in Guguletu, and her husband had become a relatively well-paid supervisor in a retail chain. Maria came from a well-educated family, and her brothers were all teachers.

Of course in a scientific sense, Maria is not middle-class (bourgeois), at all. She is essentially from the middle strata (the petit-bourgeoisie), as are virtually all Africans who are called "middle class" in the loose way used by Carol Hermer here (and so often by pseudo-Marxists).

But because of racism and national oppression in South Africa, the black petit-bourgeoisie are forever pushed back into the ranks of the mass of the people. The diary illustrates this very clearly, as all the children of the residents of the townships come under threat from the police, and soon the residents themselves are under threat too. All blacks suffer the indignities of apartheid and the lack of political rights.

Carol Hermer makes this point herself in a way; but only in terms of what she calls the race/caste system in South Africa, an analysis which does not get to the root of national and colonial oppression in South Africa. When one understands this, then one understands why "race prejudice" cannot simply be "done away with" in South Africa.

Like "Poppie", the book is the story of not merely the the story of one black woman, but of millions of black women fighting against both their "traditional role" in African society, and the genocidal policies of the apartheid regime.

J.D.

PROFILE: *ALFRED NZO*



Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC(SA)

Born on the 19th June 1925, in Benoni, Transvaal, Alfred Baphethuxolo Nzo is the eldest of a family of 5 (four girls and one boy). The family had to depend on the meagre earnings of his father who had been employed, first as a labourer, and later "promoted" to the position of a clerk at the Modder "B" goldmines in the district of Benoni. The maximum salary that his father received in his capacity as head-clerk was £10 a month.

His early secondary schooling was first at the Roman Catholic Missionary

Institution at Mariazell in the district of Matatiele where he completed the Junior Certificate in 1942 and later at the Missionary Institution in Healdtown at Fort Beaufort where he finally obtained his matriculation certificate. Later he moved to Fort Hare University College where he commenced studies for a B.Sc. degree. But his studies had to be cut short at the end of the second year in 1946 to give his sisters a chance to receive their education.

Alfred Nzo later pursued his studies as 31

a part-time student at a technical college in Johannesburg where he finally completed the Sanitary (Health) Inspector's course under the Royal Sanitary Institute in London in June 1951. From then on he worked as a qualified Sanitary (Health) Inspector in the Municipal area of Alexander Township outside Johannesburg until December 1958 when he was finally sacked from his work for political reasons. At the National Conference of the ANC held in December 1958 he was elected to the National Executive Committee and this was the final straw for his employers.

However his 12 years experience in the Public Health field (1947-1950 assistant health inspector and 1951-58 as a qualified health inspector) had brought him face to face with the impoverished condition of the black community in South Africa.

Alfred Nzo's first political baptism took place at the Mariazell Institution in 1942 when the students organised a strike as a protest against the poor diet they were given by the school authorities. These were the formative years of the African National Congress Youth League. At the beginning of 1946 students at the Lovedale Institution went on strike protesting against living conditions at the institution. By this time he was at Fort Hare helping to give temporary accommodation to the summarily expelled students from Lovedale and assisting in seeking legal assistance for those arrested.

In 1950 Alfred Nzo became a card-carrying member of the ANC and soon became actively involved in the organisation of the May Day Strike of 1950 and later the nation-wide strike of June 26, 1950.

Then came the campaign for the Congress of the People which culminated in the adoption of the Freedom Charter in Kliptown on the 26th June 1955. Nzo's active involvement in this campaign earned the first visit by members of the Special Branch who came to raid his house for subversive literature. From that time onwards he was a marked man.

At the beginning of 1957 he was elected secretary of the bus boycott co-ordinating committee which organised the historic 3-month Alexandra bus boycott which

lasted from January to March 1957.

Nzo was served with a restriction order in 1959 prohibiting him from attending gatherings for a period of five years. This was followed by a series of other orders. From 1959 he was subjected to constant arrests for failure to produce a residents' permit in terms of Section 10 of the Urban Areas Act. He became a virtual outlaw. In 1961 he was sentenced to 5 months without an option of a fine and served the sentence at Modder "B", paradoxically at the place where he had spent his early childhood. The mine premises had been converted into a prison after the closure of the mines at the end of the 50s. Again in 1961 he was issued with an order prohibiting him from visiting Alexandra Township and was confined to Mofolo. And in 1962 he was served with a House arrest order confining him to the four walls of his house.

In June 1961, Alfred Nzo became accused No. 13 in the case of the African leaders arrested in the aftermath of the All-In African Conference which was held in March 1961 in Pietermaritzburg.

One of the most gruelling periods of his political career was the 238 days he spent in detention under the 90-day detention. Together with a group of about 40 political activists he was arrested in Johannesburg on the 24th June 1963 to February 1964. On his release in February 1964 he was instructed by the underground leadership of the ANC to leave South Africa and join the External Mission which had been in operation from 1960 under the leadership of Comrade O.R. Tambo.

From September 1964 to August 1967, he worked in the Cairo office of the ANC as its deputy representative. Then he became Chief Representative in New Delhi, until June 1969 when he was recalled to the ANC Provisional Headquarters at Morogoro, Tanzania after his appointment to the position of SECRETARY — GENERAL OF THE ANC — a post he still holds.

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People's Republic YES!

The Freedom Charter

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together—equals, countrymen and brothers—adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation—not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates—Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: "THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY."

White Republic NO!