

NOVEMBER 1981

SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



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**STOP APARTHEID
EXECUTIONS!
SAVE THEIR LIVES!**

SECHABA

NOVEMBER ISSUE, 1981



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EDITORIAL -

BOER MENTALITY

Is there a Boer mentality in South Africa? Some people might say by posing such a question we are engaging in "ethnicity". Ethnicity or not what is happening in South Africa and around South Africa leads one to the conclusion that this is more than just a colonial question. The racists have economic interests. They aim at political domination. There is the question of cultural "superiority" which has to be imposed on everyone. But there is also a Boer mentality.

Recently Hennie van der Walt, one of Botha's top lieutenants, and responsible for "consolidation" of "black homelands" referred to Africans as "kaffertjies" (little kaffirs) in a speech in Parliament!

With typical racist arrogance, van der Walt, who has to negotiate with Africans said:

"I do not deny that those words were used but I emphatically deny that the words were intended to offend anyone in anyway".

And then:

"The words in question were uttered in good humour and with compassion at a stage when a relaxed atmosphere prevailed in the House of Assembly". This is more than just stupidity. This "relaxed atmosphere" refers to a period when they were discussing the issue of Government action against African squatters in Cape Town.

We are not so much worried by this filthy language from the filthy tongue of a filthy man. What worries us so much

is that the fate and future of the African squatters in Cape Town should be discussed in a "relaxed manner". These people have no place to live let alone food to eat or water to drink. They are chased out of Cape Town to the Ciskei or the Transkei (where conditions are even worse). Matanzima and Sebe do not want these people partly because they are "trouble makers". They sleep in tents in the bare veld during the cold winter nights of the Western Cape. Instead of their plight being



taken seriously, they are called "kaffertjies". And this is happening in the age of African decolonisation! It is this mentality which made the Boers attack and invade Angola; misuse Namibia for its invasion and threaten Zimbabwe.

Now they are even talking of opening a "second front", presumably within South Africa. This would mean national servicemen would have to spend more time in the operational area. At present national servicemen do two years compulsory military training and then at least a further 240 days spread over eight years. They feel this is not enough. Surely this "second

front" is not their last front. They will have to open another front whose task would be to dig graves for their fallen servicemen.

In South Africa today racism is preached from the pulpit, press and parliament. It was as a reaction to this racism that the Freedom Charter included the clause:

"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".

GDR SOLIDARITY

In the second week of September 1981, the town of Neubrandenburg became the focus of the GDR people's solidarity actions in the struggle against apartheid. During the week of solidarity, the highlight of events was the visit of an ANC delegation, led by Comrade Antonio Mongalo, Chief Representative of the ANC in the German Democratic Republic, to the "Eric Weinert" factory. It is at this factory that SECHABA, official organ of the ANC, is printed.

The "Eric Weinert" printing workers organised an extensive tour for the ANC delegation during which they were shown the numerous processes involved in producing SECHABA. At a meeting of all the factory workers, Comrade Mongalo emphasised the importance of their work for our struggle:

"Fourteen years ago, the ANC began the printing of its official organ — SECHABA — in this friendly country and at this same factory. Since then we have all witnessed the qualitative and quantitative changes in SECHABA itself and also in the intervals at which it is produced. To keep abreast of internal developments inside our country and in a region that is witnessing fundamental socio-political changes, the need arose to re-organise SECHABA as a monthly journal of our revolutionary organisation. No doubt this change from a quarterly to a monthly production of our official organ made more demands on the workers of the "Erich Weinert" Printers. However, the workers of this factory, like workers in other centres all over this country never viewed this as a heavy burden, but rather



Comrade Mongalo addressing the meeting

Seeing how Sechaba is produced



IN SOLIDARITÄT UND FREUNDSCHAFT MIT DEM ANC VERBUNDEN!



The ANC cultural group performs

as a challenge and an internationalist duty which they had to fulfil.

Indeed the printing of SECHABA in this country has gone side by side with an ever increasing number of our cadres who are being trained here in various educational fields in preparation for the development of a future free South Africa. Last but not least, an ANC Mission has now been firmly established in the Socialist GDR, raising our relations to new and higher levels. These events are a clear demonstration of the committed and selfless support for our just struggle for national liberation and social emancipation by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, by the people and government of the GDR in the general context of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. We are profoundly grateful for this internationalist solidarity and support.”

On behalf of the printing workers, their

foreman expressed great pleasure in the fact that their contribution was of worth in the struggle for a free South Africa. The workers believed, he stressed, that this struggle was a just one “which would be crowned with success”. On behalf of all those present, he expressed deep indignation at the death sentences passed on ANC militants and pledged that the workers of “Eric Weinert” would play their full part in the campaign to save their lives.

This meeting, as well as the series of events organised throughout Neubrandenburg, were an inspiration to all the ANC comrades present. The ANC cultural group, students in the GDR, made this clear in the songs they sang for the people of the town. There is no doubt that the “Week of Solidarity” saw the deepening of the bonds of friendship between the people of the GDR and the struggling masses of our country.

HOUSING – AN EXPLOSIVE ISSUE

As the mass struggles of our people against all forms of Apartheid rule reach unprecedented levels, SECHABA focuses on one aspect of these – the fight for better houses and living conditions.

Since the early 1960s, the impact of Apartheid policies has had its full toll on the lives and living conditions of Blacks in the urban areas – areas which in racist terminology make up “white South Africa”. Apartheid’s avowed aim to force the African majority to become “temporary sojourners” in 87% of their country has been brutally carried out through the rule of law. Depending as they do on the sweat and labour of the black people, the regime’s housing policies take on a seemingly contradictory form.

In order to provide the black working class with the bare necessities for survival, the South African state has carried out a building programme consisting of a limited range of minimum standard house designs, repeated endlessly through cost-efficient “township” lay-outs which are built at some distance from major areas of commercial and industrial activity. The term “cost-efficient” needs to be understood. In 1920, the amount spent on African housing represented 51,02% of the total expenditure on housing for other national groups. In 1977, the percentage amounted to 15,38%.

The other prong of the regime’s policy is the continuing destruction of houses formerly occupied by black people in what are now termed “white areas”. In 1977, it was revealed by the Minister of “Community Development” that some 72,400 “Coloured” families and 34,000 “Indian” families (a total of more than

547,000 people) had been moved from their homes under the Group Areas Act. The removal of Africans has been effected over a much longer period under a range of legislative measures. An example of the scale we are dealing with is the current removal of people from Duncan Village near East London which will eventually affect about 100,000 so-called squatters.

99 Year Bondage

Three years ago, South Africa’s friends heralded the decision by the regime to allow 99 year leasehold schemes to those Africans qualifying under “Section 10”, as a major reform. Here were the foundations on which to build the African “middle class” – a strata, it was hoped, which would buffer the white minority against the force of the masses.

In order to qualify under Section 10 (1) (b) of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1945, a man must have worked in a ‘proscribed area’ for one employer for not less than 10 years or have lawfully resided in that area for a period of 15 years or more. This hurdle overcome, a prospective leasehold buyer faces more problems.

First, he is not entitled to buy the site on which his house is built but may merely rent it from the relevant Administration Board. He must then pay the land surveyor for marking the boundaries of the Administration Board’s site. The prospective buyer has now paid for the right to build a house on the site. There remains the monthly rent payment for the site, repayment of housing loans, water tariffs and electricity. No wonder a frustrated

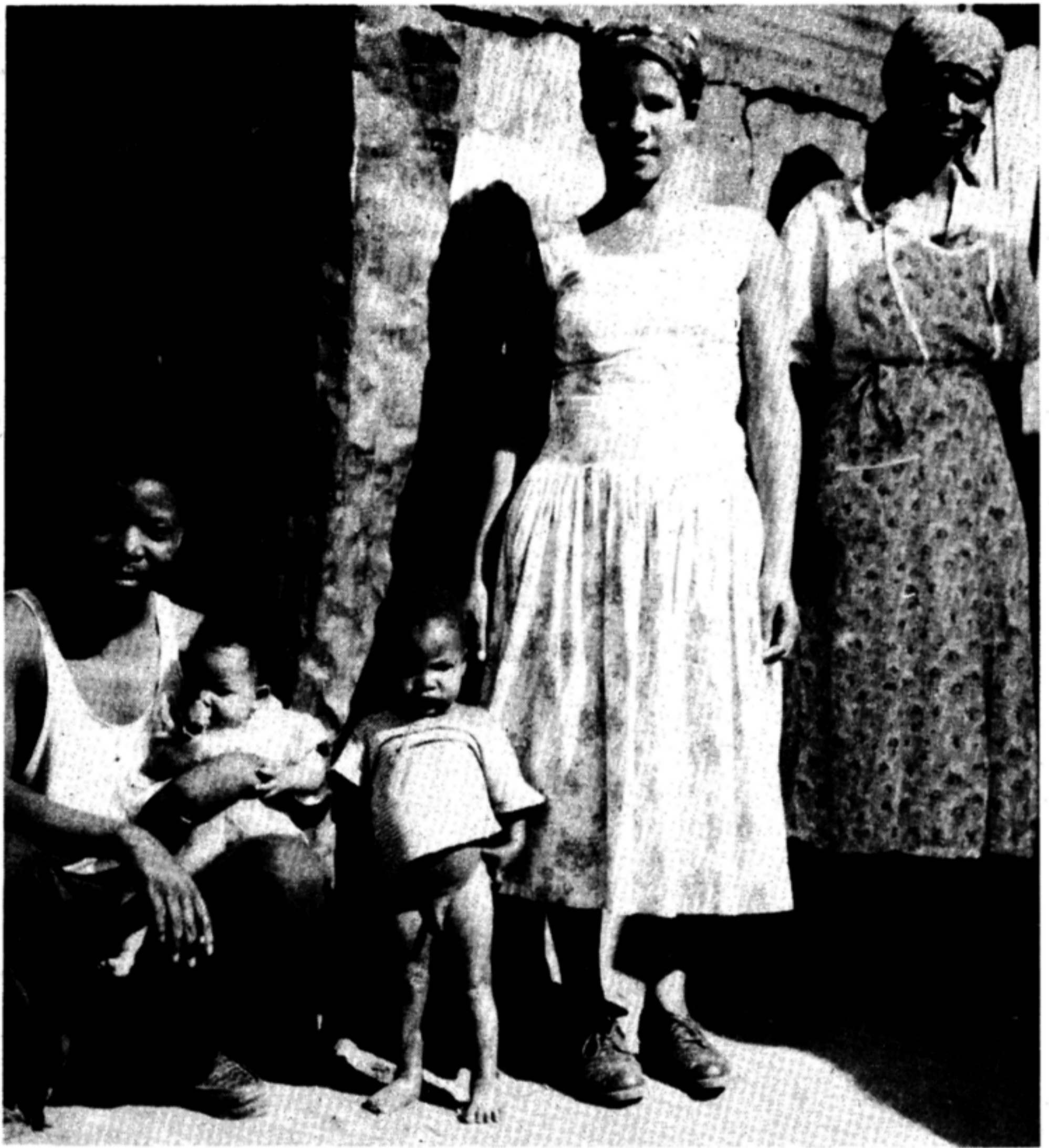


The misery of overcrowded living conditions

Sowetan recently wrote that the aim of the regime is to transform Soweto and the like into outwardly "beautiful middle-class locations of starving wretched creatures". Only 1,130 Blacks throughout South Africa have acquired homes under the 99 year leasehold scheme since its inception three years ago.

Toy Telephones

The Administration Board system set up by the regime in 1973 has, using the old dictates of colonial rule, channelled its policies through community councils and management committees. These "toy telephones" have been rejected time and



A tin shack — "home" for a family

again by the black community. Their true status was again exposed when the West Rand Administration Board (WRAB) omitted even the formality of informing them of huge increases in service charges for Soweto's residents. From October 1 this year, every house in Greater Soweto will have to pay R96 a year more in service charges.

The people's response to policies which make them shoulder the cost of their own oppression is one which is becoming more organised and unified throughout the country. Below we look at some examples of community action.



"Resettlement" in the Ciskei Bantustan

Thomsville Struggle

In 1963, people originally moved from Kliptown near Johannesburg were "temporarily" resettled in Thomsville. Here houses consisted of two tiny rooms with no bathrooms, no electricity and no ceilings. Taps and toilets had to be shared by four families. This "temporary" situation lasted for 18 years. In 1980, dismissing the worth of the Lenasia Management Committee, residents formed their own organisation. Meetings were called in every street. At these two representatives were elected and the Thomsville Residents Association was born.

The Association approached other civic, religious and student organisations in the area for support. A survey was conducted to determine just how overcrowded the area was. Involving the entire community, house meetings, house visits and mass meetings were organised. By June, about

95% of the original residents were given homes in Extension 10 and 11 in Lenasia. But the struggle goes on! There are no schools, roads, proper drainage or transport facilities in these areas. In every new extension Residents' Associations have been formed.

Cape Action

Since July of this year, Bonteheuwel residents in the Cape have protested at the poor maintenance of council houses. At a mass meeting, more than 15,000 people united under the banner of the Cape Areas Housing Action Committee (CAHAC). Support for their campaign came from the Electricity Petition Committee and the Western Cape Traders Association. Banners displayed in the hall read "A people united will never be defeated!" and, "An injury to one is an injury to all!"

In October, residents marched to press

for their demands. A pensioner summed up the mood of the community: "We are tired of complaining, they take no notice of us. So, we have come here today to speak with one voice and we are demanding to be heard".

During the same month, more than 1,000 residents from Nyanga, Gugulethu, Langa and Crossroads called for the formation of one residents' association for all these areas. A speaker addressing the crowd explained: "The authorities have exploited our disunity. We must be united and organised to take up the many problems facing our people in the townships".

Rent hikes evoke Protests

The latest rent rises for Greater Soweto have evoked mass protest. In a joint statement, the Soweto Committee of 10 and the Soweto Civic Association attacked the unilateral decision by WRAB stating that "we maintain that the average household earning for Soweto is between R150 and R220 a month. We reject WRAB's figure of R394. The internationally accepted principle is that no person should be made to pay more than 25% of his earnings towards house rent. In apartheid South Africa we are about to reach a stage where black households will soon be paying 50% of their salary in rent".

Protests were held in Orlando and Central Western Jabavu. Other mobilising meetings to organise against accepting the rent increases were planned for Diepkloof, Meadowlands, Orlando East, Moroka, Emdeni and Klipspruit.

Explosive Issue

There is no doubt that the housing shortage has reached crisis proportions. Both Atteridgeville and Mamelodi have a 3,000 name waiting list. The Mamelodi population tops 100,000 and there are 13,864 houses. In the black townships of Pretoria, 8,000 families are without homes. On the East Rand the shortage runs to 21,000 houses. In Katlehong alone there are about 12,000 families living in backyard shacks.

The overall housing situation has led to an unprecedented level of community action. And as the Chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, Dr Motlana recently warned:

"Housing is the greatest single disability of the urban blacks. It is an extremely explosive issue."



PARTY CONGRESS IN MALAGASY

On September 25-27, the 9th Congress of the Solidarity Committee of Malagasy (Fifanampiana Malagasy) took place. Local delegates from all regions and centres turned up in full force.

Major speeches made to the Congress were those of comrades:

(a) Maurice Ratokobe, AKFM President, on international socio-political situation — entitled international solidarity for peace;

(b) Gisele Rabesahala, AKFM Secretary General and country's Minister of Culture and Revolutionary Art, analysed the Malagasy internal socio-political situation;

(c) Arsene Ratsifehera, AKFM Politburo Secretary, Member of the DRM Supreme Revolutionary Council, spoke on the international struggle for Disarmament, Equality, Justice and Peace in the World.

In the afternoon session of the second day of the Congress, the ANC delegate was invited to address the Congress. This speech was interrupted with applause. Other foreign delegates were afterwards invited to take the floor as well. Right through the Congress, AKFM leadership and foreign delegates, especially AAPSO, expressed their firm continued support for:

(a) the just and courageous struggle waged by the oppressed Black majority in South Africa and Namibia under the vanguard leadership of the ANC and SWAPO respectively;

(b) the people of Angola who are being invaded by racist South Africa and a special message of solidarity with the MPLA-Workers' Party and the People's Republic of Angola was despatched.

The Congress reaffirmed the AKFM support for the country's 'Charter of the Socialist Revolution' under the leadership of

President Didier Ratsiraka. Between sessions of Saturday 26th, foreign delegates also participated in a solemn ceremony led by the Antananarivo Mayor in naming two streets in memory of two fallen heroes of the Malagasy revolution — the late comrades Henri Rakotobe and Joseph Jaozandry.

Some material gifts to the AKFM literacy and primary schools, to the country's handicapped and to collective farms were also displayed, officially handed over to respective regional recipients — sewing machines, blankets, exercise books, pencils, rubbers, typing machines, etc. These were mainly from the Soviet Union, GDR and French delegates.

Congress adopted resolutions on: AKFM schools; Malagasy students in socialist countries; alphabetisation struggle; informa-



tion methods — books, journals, newspapers, etc; the International Year of the handicapped; cooperation with decentralised cooperatives; combatants of 1947; cooperation with democratic organisations; homage to foreign organisations and countries; international solidarity; improvement of the work of AKFM regional and national bureaux; permanent commission for defence of the rights of women and the child; Tananarive regional AKFM committee; authorities and organisation; homage to the late comrade Henrique Rakotobe and Joseph Jaozandry.

After the announcement of a new Central Committee which included, among

others, two young women, Congress closed with a moving speech by AKFM Honorary President and member of the country's Supreme Revolutionary Council, Comrade Richard Andriananjato (a priest) and a national anthem was sung. This was on Sunday September 27.

This Congress, like the previous one, was a success. It underlined the solidarity of all patriotic, democratic and progressive forces in Africa and the world. Their unity is imperative, especially during this period of the Reagan-Thatcher-Botha alliance which is a menace to humanity, especially those living in Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean.

UN DECLARATION OF BERLIN

An International Seminar on Publicity and Role of Mass Media in International Mobilisation Against Apartheid was held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, from August 31 — September 2, 1981. This seminar, which was organised by the UN Centre Against Apartheid in collaboration with the GDR Solidarity Committee, was attended by almost 100 delegates representing international organisations, solidarity committees, anti-apartheid movements, governments and liberation movements.

In a thoroughly researched paper, the ANC analysed the history of the press in South Africa, its role and tasks, and stated in relation to the attack on Angola:

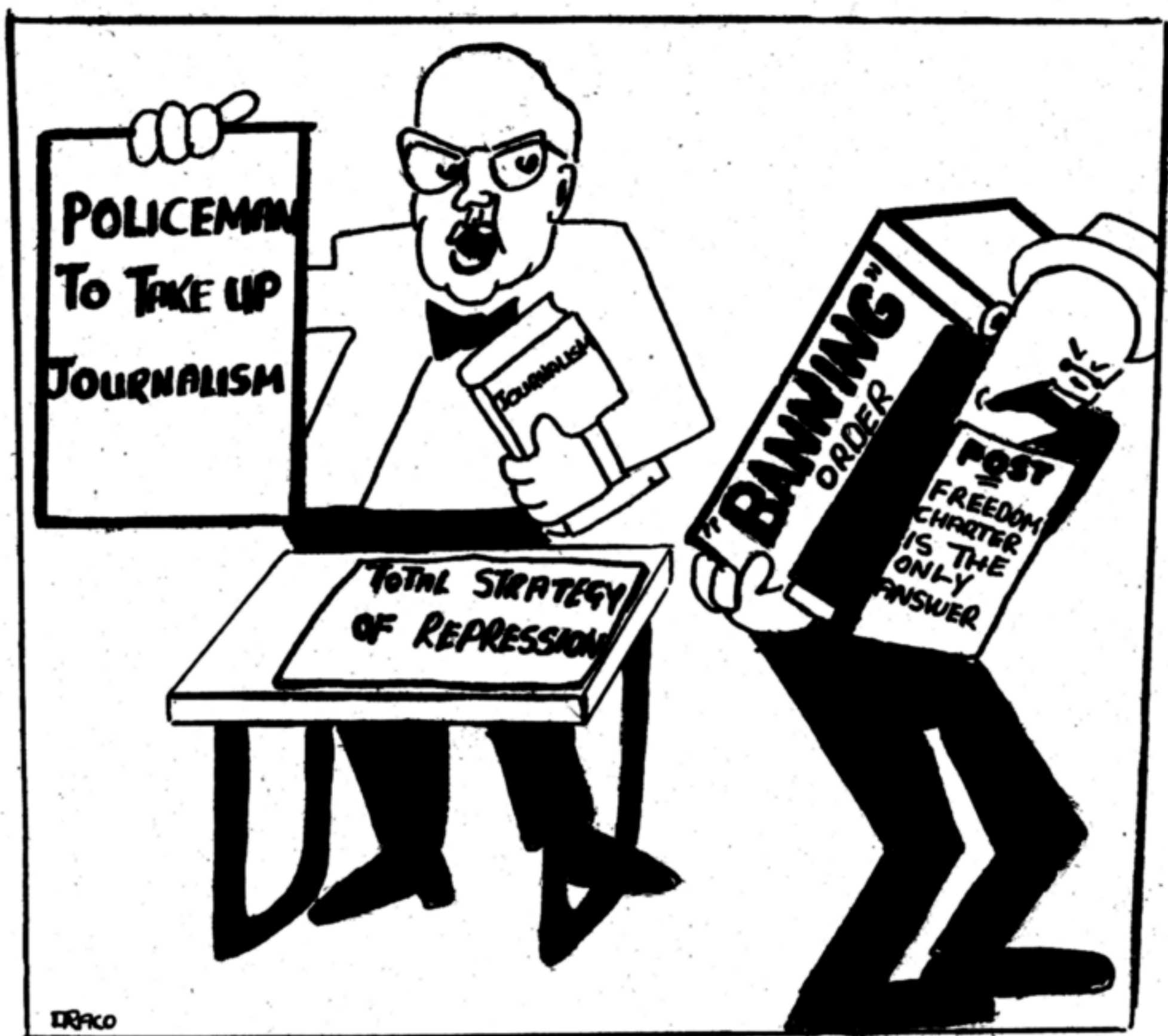
'Yet all the South African press carried was a glib statement by the Commander of the occupying forces in Namibia, General Lloyd, that "some hot pursuit raids were being conducted". Thus, in the face of repeated barbaric acts of aggression and a massive invasion of another country,

the people of South Africa are not told, a further example of the extensive control of the press as well as the conspiracy of silence that pervades the media in South Africa. It is only through the MPLA-Party of Labour and the Angolan Government that we know the truth about what the racists are doing.'

DECLARATION

The Seminar on Publicity and Role of Mass Media in International Mobilisation against Apartheid, meeting in Berlin, German Democratic Republic, from 31 August to 2 September 1981, wishes to emphasise:

- (a) The vital interest of humanity as a whole in ensuring the speedy triumph of the struggles for national liberation in South Africa and Namibia;
- (b) The grave dangers posed by the policies and actions of the fascist apartheid regime in South Africa, and the persistent obstruction by certain



Western Powers of international action against apartheid;

(c) The imperative need for greater efforts to inform the world public of the situation in South Africa, and southern Africa as a whole, and for promoting public action to totally isolate the apartheid regime, support the national liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia; and

(d) the crucial role and responsibility of the mass media — as well as of governments, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements and other organisations.

With the march of independence in Africa, and especially the victory of national

liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies and Zimbabwe after heroic armed struggles, the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia has assumed historic world significance.

Freedom in South Africa and Namibia is the last major task to secure the total emancipation after centuries of humiliation, oppression and exploitation; to ensure the end of the tragic era of colonialism in the world; and to reach a turning point in the efforts to abolish the crime of racism and racial discrimination.

The oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia are, therefore, fighting not only for the freedom of their peoples and nations but for all humanity.

The Seminar also recognises and salutes the heroism of the national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia which have the full support of the African, non-aligned, socialist and other states.

They have struggled for decades in the face of inhuman repression and great odds, and have consistently upheld principles cherished by humanity.

Apartheid is a crime against humanity which has entailed immense suffering to the people and has no parallel in modern history except for Nazism. Apartheid is imposed by a minority racist regime through the use of massive repression and torture.

The apartheid regime, by exploiting the enormous human natural resources of South Africa and Namibia and by the assistance rendered to it by certain Western powers, has built up a powerful repressive and military apparatus. In order to perpetuate its rule, it has not only crossed all bounds in repression of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and has embarked on incessant acts of terrorism, subversion and aggression against independent African States.

The expansion of its military power, and its acquisition of nuclear weapon capability, pose an enormous danger to peace in the entire region and, indeed, in the world.

While the international community has recognised for many years the need to eliminate apartheid, effective international action under the United Nations Charter has been blocked by the persistent obstruction by a few Western powers and the greed of numerous transnational corporations to profit from the crime of apartheid. A continuation of this situation poses a grave peril to humanity. The USA and other Western powers bear a great responsibility in this respect.

The continuing protection of and collusion with the apartheid regime by these powers require intensification and greater coordination of efforts by the great majority of governments which are genuinely committed to freedom in southern Africa, the many anti-apartheid and solidarity movements inspired by the heroic struggle for liberation in South Africa and Namibia and, indeed, all organisations and institutions which value

APARTHEID



peace and freedom.

All those committed to the liberation of South Africa must make every effort to mobilise public opinion in all countries, especially in Western and other countries which provide vital support to enable the apartheid regime to survive, and promote widest public action, in concert with the efforts of committed governments and in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and other international organisations.

In this context, the mass media have a crucial role and responsibility.

The mass media must publicise the legitimacy of the struggle against apartheid waged by the national liberation movements.

The media must make the world aware of the inhumanity of apartheid, the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia under the leadership of their national liberation movements, and the need for effective international action.

The media must expose the nefarious propaganda of the apartheid regime and its allies including the efforts to defame the national liberation movements.

The media must investigate, publicise and expose the sustenance of the apartheid regime by certain Western powers and transnational corporations through:

- Supply of arms, technology and other vital resources in contravention of United Nations resolutions;
- Integration of racist South Africa into imperialist military alliances;
- Development of further links with the apartheid regime as an ally in the context of aggravating international tension and conflict.

The media must expose the links developed by the apartheid regime with racist and fascist regimes and groups all over the world.

Neither the media nor anyone else can be neutral on apartheid which is the greatest moral challenge of our time and a grave threat to peace and international security and cooperation.

Any action which provides comfort to the apartheid regime constitutes collusion with the crime of apartheid. Any action which seems to undermine the struggle of

the oppressed people against apartheid is a disservice to humanity and human values.

Governments, anti-apartheid and solidarity movements, trade unions, religious bodies, organisations of youth, students, women and others as well as academic, cultural and other institutions therefore have also an important role in disseminating public information and promoting public action. Many of them have made a valuable contribution in this respect. It is essential that their activities should be further expanded and coordinated.

The Seminar commends the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the Centre against Apartheid for their efforts to promote the dissemination of information against apartheid and public action against apartheid.

The Seminar recalled the results of the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, held in Paris from 20 to 27 May 1981, which reflected the overwhelming consensus in the international community for action against the apartheid regime and its collaborators, and adopted historic declarations on effective international action.

It welcomed the proposal to proclaim 1982 as the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa in order to promote the most effective mobilisation by all governments, organisations and individuals in support of the declarations of the Paris Conference.



PAGES FROM HISTORY

What is PAC

The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) has been making a lot of noise internationally and — this is interesting — very little inside the country. It is our duty on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the ANC and in paying homage to the founding fathers of the ANC to put the record straight, to tell the story of what is the PAC, what do they want to achieve and what methods did they use. We confine ourselves to the first two years of their existence — after all they did not live longer than that, at least in South Africa. But like all naughty children, the effects of their “infantile disorder” are still with us today, especially here outside the country.

The Origins

Since the mid-1950's, especially after the adoption of the Freedom Charter and the establishment of the Congress Alliance a small minority within the ANC started to grumble. Their voices and intentions became obvious at the Transvaal Provincial Conference of the ANC which was held under the auspices of the National Executive Committee at Orlando, Johannesburg, on November 1st-2nd, 1958. They tried to “pack” the conference with their supporters

obviously with the aim of “seizing power”. But these supporters failed to qualify as delegates. They tried to break the conference by force — for the second time they failed. They withdrew to form a new organisation. In April 1959 the PAC was born. It is worth noting that the founding conference of the PAC was held “in the luxurious premises of the library of the United States Information Service (USIS) in Johannesburg ... Thus the dark schemes of American imperialists' subversion of the successful development of the national liberation revolution against apartheid fascism were clearly exposed to the light of day.”

Their Theories

What were their “grievances” and demands? They claimed “to be the direct heir and legitimate successor to the original Congress which was founded in 1912”. This was justified by a “discovery” that the original Congress “died” in 1943 “when its constitution was scrapped” and the “new one” also “died” in 1953 “with the birth of the (multi-racial) Congress Alliance and was finally buried in December, 1957, with the incorporation of the Charter into

its new constitution". They therefore referred to the ANC as "the Charterist Congress, its adherents as the Charterists, and its policy, programme and philosophic outlook as Charterism". They accused the Congress Alliance of being "a union of exploiters and the exploited" and the ANC was supposed to have "betrayed the material interests of the African people. They have sacrificed these interests upon the political altar of an ungodly alliance, an alliance of slave-owner, slave driver and

slave" and the African members of the Congress Alliance are "self-confessed lackeys and flunkeys of the white ruling class and the Indian merchant class". The ANC was led by a "white pseudo-leftist directorate". By adopting the Freedom Charter the ANC had repudiated the 1949 Programme of Action. The PAC rejected cooperation with other sections of the country's population because they preferred to be a "mouthpiece of the African people" and not of the "people of South Africa".

Inconsistencies

Before we answer to these accusations — and therefore put the record straight — it is worth pointing out that the Freedom Charter was not the bone of contention and the cooperation between the ANC and the other population groups could not be the cause of differences because these elements accepted the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947 which was ratified and endorsed in subsequent ANC annual conferences. These PAC adherents participated in the Defiance Campaign which involved all population groups. This campaign was planned by a Joint Planning Council consisting of the representatives from the ANC and the SAIC and the plan was then approved at the Bloemfontein Conference in 1951.

In its preamble, the plan categorically states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, and before and during the campaign itself, the ANC and SAIC invited all who love democracy, irrespective of race, colour or creed to participate in the defiance of unjust laws. Those who later became PAC members did not object nor did they

condemn the preamble to the plan or the prosecution of the campaign in alliance with other "non-African" groups in the country.

Therefore it is correct to conclude that the reasons for their breakaway lie elsewhere. But before we analyse the roots and reasons for this phenomenon — indeed it was a phenomenon — let us state the obvious fact that African nationalism has always been a contradictory phenomenon with different and at times antagonistic trends and tendencies. These differences of opinion were not a new phenomenon in our movement — at times the source of these differences was external in origin i.e. outside our ranks as a liberation movement. Let us take the example of R. V. Selope Thema as an illustration of this fact.

Away from Struggle

Selope Thema was born in Mafarne in Northern Transvaal on February 10, 1886. He went to Lovedale for education. In 1912 S.M. Makgatho, then President of the Transvaal ANC came to Pietersburg to form an ANC branch. Selope Thema became the branch secretary. He started to organise the ANC in the Northern Transvaal. Early in 1915 Selope Thema left Pietersburg "after having organised a strong branch of Congress which was destined to play a prominent part in the years that followed".

He found his way to Johannesburg where he immediately came into contact with the ANC headquarters — his long cherished wish, if not ambition — and came to know the editor and important role of Abantu-Batho, the official organ of the ANC. Thema confesses — in his unpublished autobiography — that Abantu-Batho "helped me in my journalistic endeavour and made it possible for me to express my views on questions that affected Africans". The message of unity which came out week by week in the columns of Abantu-Batho carried with it the vision of freedom and thus sent a thrill of hope throughout the country. At the end of 1915 he was elected Secretary-General of the ANC under the presidency of John Dube — Sol. Plaatje, the ANC Secretary-General was in England at the time. When Thema went on an ANC

delegation to England in 1919 he was interviewed by Sylvia Pankhurst, the editor of the left-wing weekly, "Worker".

Again there were other influences which disturbed Thema's political career. The visit of Dr. Aggrey — liberal Gold Coast African then resident in the US — to South Africa in 1921 and the subsequent activities of some white liberals notably Howard Pim, Dr. C.E. Loram, Rheinhold-Jones and others who later launched what became known as the Joint Councils — a liberal institution of Africans and whites, a form of "race relations exercise".

Thema had to pay dearly for joining the Joint Councils. Letanka, the Vice-President of the ANC attacked him and "I was forced to resign my position of provincial secretary to the Congress".

This was Seloje Thema's first step out of the movement. He, together with Le Grange and Paver, launched the Bantu World (later known as The World) in 1932 and ended up joining the Moral Rearmament in the 1950s.

In 1950 he led a group, the ANC National Minded Bloc which attacked the united front the ANC was forging and called the ANC leaders "paid agents of the Indian merchants". Seloje Thema was ultimately expelled from the ANC.

A striking Feature

We relate this story of Seloje Thema because it demonstrates a trend within the liberation movement — a trend away from politics of liberation to downright reformism. What about Bhengu's Bantu National Congress which called for a "purified Bantu" organisation and no cooperation with Indian and other population groups? Or Dr Xuma's allegation that the ANC has "lost its identity as a national liberation movement with a policy of its own and a distinctly African leadership"? By the way he played an important role in the forties in laying a foundation for the unity he denounced in the fifties.

We are far from maintaining that the PAC was a resurrection of these forces but there is a common thread running through all of them. Analysing the policy



of the PAC as propounded by P. Nkutsuoe Raboroko, Duma Nokwe, then Secretary-General of the ANC, stated:

"A striking feature of their policy is its silence on the fundamental political and economic rights of the people. Do they accept the principle of adult universal suffrage? Would they distribute the land and wealth of South Africa to all? Or do they believe that only the Africans, as indigenous, are entitled to fundamental political rights? Do they avoid any concrete policy on these questions precisely because they refuse to be committed one way or the other?"

Besides this "silence on the fundamental political and economic rights of the people" there was another aspect to the policy of the PAC what one can call a "semantic revolution": "Sometimes one feels sheer anarchy is loosed upon the world of language".

Robert Sobukwe, their first President, found it difficult to resist the temptation to "manipulate" language. At the "inaugural convention" of the PAC he told his followers that "multi-racialism" is "racialism multiplied, which probably is what the term connotes" and by implication that is what the ANC and its allies stand for. And he went further:

"Politically we stand for a government of the Africans for the Africans by the Africans, with everybody who owes his loyalty only to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of an African majority being regarded as an African.

We guarantee no minority rights because we are fighting precisely that group exclusiveness which those who plead for minority rights would like to perpetuate. It is our view that if we guaranteed individual liberties, we have given the highest guarantee necessary and possible".

There are problems with this speech. As for the formulation in this quotation they are dangerous to say the least. Here the word "African" means all things to all men. It is all subjective: you need to owe loyalty only to Africa and "accept democratic rule of an African majority" then you are an African! But why did they close their doors to "Africans of Dutch, English or even Indian" or other extraction? Was it

not Madzunya, one of their leaders, who said: "No white man is sincere"?

Dangers in PAC nationalism

The dangers with the PAC policy is that this "majority nationalism" which does not take into consideration the interests and aspirations of "minorities" — "We guarantee no minority rights" — would lead to "minority nationalism", exclusivism; breaking the broad democratic front of patriotic forces which the ANC was building. They were pushing everybody into this ghetto and therefore making it easy for the enemy to rule and ruin us. There is no class analysis; the interests of the masses are ignored; to be done is to "guarantee individual liberties" which are regarded as "the highest guarantee necessary and possible". Individual guarantees for whom? Perhaps for the African "merchant class" — a term they like to use in reference to the Indians. As for the struggles of all oppressed people in Latin America, Asia, the Middle East and even Europe it is regarded as irrelevant because Sobukwe emphasised "loyalty only to Africa".

Sharpeville and Langa

In the practical-political field they did not excel except in sabotaging ANC initiatives — the examples are so many, we shall confine ourselves to the one which is well known throughout the world; the Sharpeville massacres.

As early as December 1959 the ANC had finalised its plans for launching a nationwide campaign of massive resistance against the fascist regime. This campaign was to take the form of national stoppage of work, burning of passes etc. By March 1960, the ANC massive campaign was already underway throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. Thus the masses of oppressed people were successfully mobilised for the March 31 Anti-Pass National stoppage of work."

However on March 21 — 10 days before the start of the campaign — the PAC "issued a treacherous call to the people to go and stand outside police stations. To dupe and



confuse our people, the "leaders" of this organisation said that the call was being issued by the Congress — a generic title for the African National Congress among political and non-political circles in South Africa". What happened in Sharpeville and Langa is well known — 69 dead and many more injured. Writing about these Sharpeville incidents Jack Simons remarked:

"Taken by itself, the campaign did not amount to much. Only at Sharpeville and Langa was there a big response to Sobukwe's appeal. PAC's action was smaller than the

recent upsurge at Zeerust, Cato Manor, Windhoek or Paarl. It was the shooting that made March 21st a red letter day. The shots echoed round the globe, caused a panic in ruling circles, sent the share market rocketing downward, unleashed a storm of criticism of racial policies, produced the State of Emergency, precipitated the banning of the ANC and PAC and changed life for many people."

This is not to say that the ANC does not sympathise with those who lost relatives and friends at Sharpeville and Langa; on the

contrary we have more reason to mourn because these people were largely ANC members who were confused by PAC false propaganda and misinformation.

Many leaders of the ANC spent lots of time explaining to its membership and the community at large about the essence and character of the PAC. Meetings were held, leaflets were distributed and articles were written in progressive journals. One of them was Dan Tloome. He wrote a series of articles on the subject of PAC in *Fighting Talk*. In the first of this series he revealed another aspect of the PAC, namely lies. He wrote:

“Have the Africanists anything to offer besides cheap and vulgar abuse of the Congress leaders? Yes, they have lies. Big lies and little lies, lies of a truly breathtaking audacity.”

What is POQO?

There are many of these lies. One of these is that POQO is “an underground codename for the PAC” as Matthew Nkoana says. Indeed it was no other than Potlako Leballo, in a characteristic fashion, revealed at a press conference in Maseru, Lesotho in 1963 that PAC is one and the same as POQO. There are two problems with this declaration. Firstly it is not true but even if it were true, why should a “leader of a movement” reveal a “codename” in a press conference at a place of security for himself? What about his “followers” in the country “underground”.

This brings us to the question: what is then POQO? Perhaps one should start by giving a background to its emergence in 1962 — not in 1959 when the PAC was founded. It all started in Stellenbosch, a little wine-farming town in the Boland about 30 miles from Cape Town, the legislative capital of South Africa. It is a unique town that features prominently in the history of oppression in South Africa. It is named after the only Coloured Governor in the history of South Africa — Simon van der Stel who took over control of the Cape from Jan van Riebeeck, the Dutch who established the first white settlement in South Africa.

It is also the town where Dr. Malan, the former Prime Minister and “father of apartheid” lived and from where, together with other leaders of the now ruling Nationalist Party, he gave the world the term “apartheid”. It is at Stellenbosch, at the University named after the town, that the former Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd, the “father of Bantustans” received his education, academic and political.

It is also at Stellenbosch, the town that feeds Afrikaner nationalism, that POQO — “the underground terrorist movement was first introduced to the world”. This was in April 1962. A number of African farm labourers were sentenced in the Stellenbosch Magistrate’s Court for attempted murder. It was said that, acting on the instructions of their “leaders” in Cape Town, they had sharpened car springs and made pangas from them “in preparation for an attempt to murder the farm foreman and his family, set fire to the farm buildings and then march on Stellenbosch, firing buildings on the way.”

This was the first time POQO — as a movement — was heard of, at least outside Stellenbosch or rather the Western Cape. The term itself means “pure” or in political terminology “we go it alone”. Um Afrika poqo would mean a “pure African”. Though this was the first indication that there existed in South Africa a movement whose cry was “kill or be killed” it was “not until months after the trial that it became possible to establish a definite pattern of thought and activity of the POQO movement”.

It is true that in the Western Cape there was some cooperation between POQO and PAC. But things were not running smoothly. POQO consisted of young men from among the unemployed as well as the low-paid African workers — especially the farm labourers of the Western Cape, Paarl, Stellenbosch, Wellington and Worcester. At one stage there was a cell in De Aar but that soon collapsed. They are a frustrated and desperate lot who believe, fanatically, that Black domination must take over from white domination”. At one time these two groups were rivals: POQO opposed bitterly those PAC men who openly flirted with the white Liberal



Party and its members and POQO called them "Katangese" — the treacherous ones who are playing the same role as Moise Tshombe in the Congo.

The POQO group had no economic policy, no programme, no set of aims or beliefs except an ingrained belief in "African exclusiveness". It rejected cooperation with other population groups, believed that only the African can liberate the country and regarded white participation in the struggle as anathema.

By 1963 — when Leballo made his press conference "revelation" that POQO is PAC — POQO was on the decline. It had no mass base. In fact it was terrorising the people in the townships and locations:

"Groups of POQO members have conducted campaigns of terrorism against the African people, forcing them to pay 'a joining fee' of 25 cents. Those who refused were assaulted and their homes were stoned at night. In Langa, Paarl and Stellenbosch, the residents of the locations formed vigilantes to protect themselves from the organised terrorism of POQO. Instead of achieving a following with this method of organisation, POQO instilled fear and hate into the hearts of the people".

This article in Fighting Talk — published a few months before Leballo's press conference — stated:

"Both groups — (PAC in the Western Cape and POQO) have little or no contact with the so-called "headquarters" of the Pan Africanists, neither do they have contact with PAC abroad ... POQO is not a national organisation. It is confined to the Western Cape, although people who have similar views and beliefs can be found throughout the country. It was not formed on the orders of the PAC's national leadership but was an inevitable reaction of young men driven by desperation into 'action — virtually any action'. Leaders are not chosen on political merit but on physical strength. There is no organisation cohesion, no constructive thinking in POQO. POQO activities, although used to an extent by the PAC abroad for its propaganda value, are in fact an embarrassment to them".

These were desperate young men who, because they had no legal way of fighting

the laws of apartheid, were looking for new ways of struggle and this was a search for inspired, but responsible leadership; for sacrifice but not needless suicide; militancy not wild recklessness.

When Leballo claimed POQO to be the PAC confirming Dan Tloome's assertion that the PAC "have lies. Big lies and little lies, lies of a truly breathtaking audacity".

Some Conclusions

In a penetrating article on the PAC Sisulu pointed out that the PAC sought to impose the experience of other African countries to a totally different situation in South Africa. Due to differences of historical development and present conditions, African liberation movements in many other parts of the African continent did not find allies in their struggle among other population groups. The PAC unfortunately mistook this or "misunderstood" or distorted this to imply or mean that Africans oppose such alliances on principle. They were negating our experiences and our contribution to the African revolution and therefore moving against the tide of history and the African revolution. The PAC, Sisulu said, used Africanism as a sort of escape from discipline, the hard slogging day to day work, and the personal dangers which face the ordinary Congress member. On a warning note Sisulu concludes:

"Yet, these truths should not blind us to the fact that there are men and women amongst them who genuinely believe that the salvation of our people lies in a fanatical African racialism and denunciation of everything that is not African. And such a policy is not without its potential mass appeal.

It would be unrealistic to pretend that a policy of extreme nationalism must, in the nature of things, always be unpopular. The people are quick to detect the insincerity of the mere demagogue, and they have confidence in the courage and wisdom of their tried and trusted leaders. But in a country like South Africa, where the Whites dominate everything, and where ruthless



laws are ruthlessly administered and enforced, the natural tendency is one of growing hostility towards Europeans. In fact most Africans come into political activity because of their indignation against the Whites, and it is only through their education in Congress and their experience of the genuine comradeship in the struggle of such organisations as the Congress of Democrats that they rise to the broad, non-racial humanism of our Congress movement.

With a State policy of increasingly barbaric repression of the African people; with the deliberate destruction of every form of normal human contact between people from different population-groups; and with the systematic banning and isolation of the convinced and fervent anti-racialists among the Africans from political activity, there is no knowing what the future will hold".

He went on to say that the PAC has thus far failed "but their mere appearance is an urgent warning to all democratic South Africans. The Africans have set a wonderful example of political wisdom maturity to the rest of the country, but they are not perfect, any more than any other community of men and women sorely beset. In certain circumstances, an emotional mass-appeal to destructive and exclusive nationalism can be a dynamic and irresistible force in history ... It would be foolish to imagine that a wave of Black chauvinism, provoked by the savagery of the Nationalist Party (and perhaps secretly

encouraged and financed by it too) may not some day sweep through out country. And if it does, the agony will know no colour-bar at all".

We have quoted at length from this article by Sisulu because it goes to the core of the matter; it points out the socio-economic roots and the backing by reactionary forces of the nationalism of the PAC and indicates that this phenomenon is not accidental but endemic in the society and will disappear with the disappearance of colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. In fairness to Sisulu it should be stated that the article was written in 1959, when the PAC was just emerging, before the innumerable splits and murders, desertions into the Transkei and other Bantustans, before the PAC "degenerated" into what it is — a toothless bulldog. It was before the formation of MK which is not only attacking the enemy but neutralising the PAC influence.

Surely Mandela had this political background in mind when, in his Rivonia speech, he said:

"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die".

STUDENTS SEMINAR IN DAR ES SALAAM

At the initiative of the Tanzania National Student Union (MUWARA) and in conjunction with the All Africa Students' Union (AASU) and the International Union of Students (IUS), an International Student Seminar took place from the 20th to 25th September 1981 at the University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Delegates came from over 22 countries and student organisations. The discussions focussed on the problems and role of student organisations in Africa.

An important aspect of the discussions was the current situation in Southern Africa and the role students and student organisations could play in the common struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism for unity and solidarity of the student movement.

The Student Seminar hailed the victories scored by the people of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Afghanistan and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen against colonialism and imperialism. Every delegation spoke highly about the fraternal material and moral assistance given by the socialist countries and progressive forces throughout the world to the liberation movements.

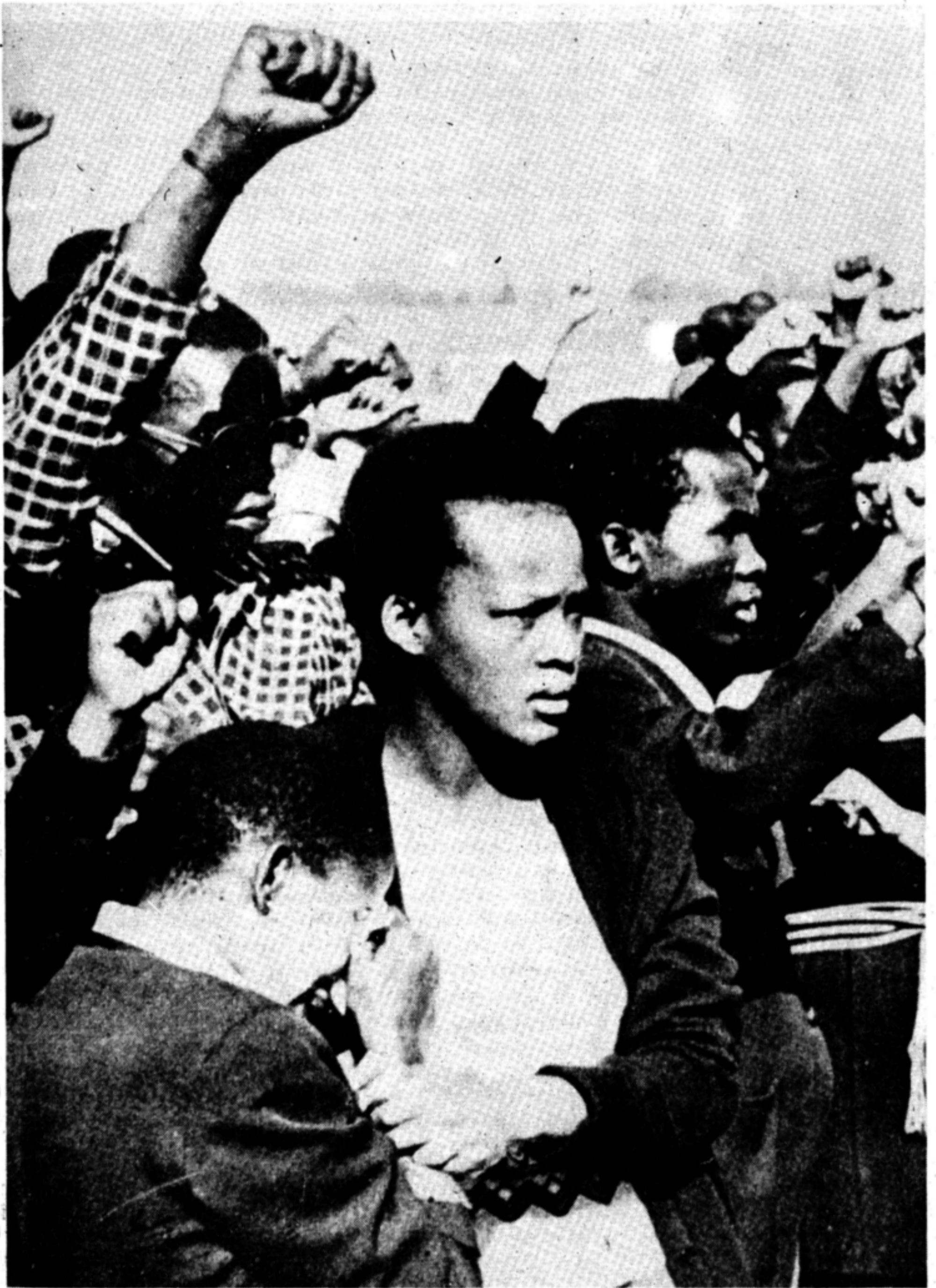
The aggressive policies of American imperialism were condemned, especially the arms build-up, the establishment of U.S. military bases in Somalia, Kenya, Sudan, Zaire Egypt and other parts of the world as well as the attempts to subvert progressive countries.

The Students' Seminar came out unanimously in support of the armed liberation struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia under the sole leadership of the ANC and SWAPO. The conference

condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia and the continued occupation and violation of the sovereign territory of the People's Republic of Angola. The conference endorsed the demand for the withdrawal of racist troops as well as condemning the United States of America for the support and encouragement it is giving the racist regime. The participants undertook to convene an International Youth and Students Conference in Solidarity with Southern Africa which is to be held in Luanda in November 1981.

The conference also discussed the exploitative role of transnational corporations in Africa which contribute to the deteriorating of the living conditions of the mass of the people. All the participants agreed that students cannot stay in isolation from the masses of the people and it should be necessary to forge stronger links amongst students for this purpose. It is necessary therefore to rally around the aims and principles of the All Africa Student Union and the International Union of Students which has been in existence for over 35 years. They stressed the need to be vigilant against various manoeuvres aimed at disrupting and dividing the student movement. It is for this reason that the participants stressed the importance of the forthcoming IUS Executive Committee Meeting, the holding of the 6th Congress of AASU in 1982 for strengthening the anti-imperialist unity and the struggle against imperialism for peace, social progress, the democratisation of education and students rights.

The final draft resolutions called for:
1) providing material assistance, including



South African youth protest at the funeral of their murdered comrade

school materials, to the ANC and SWAPO;
2) moral and material assistance to the Front Line States to enable them to repel the constant attacks of the racist South African forces;

3) all Youth and Student organisations in western countries to intensify their campaigns against the apartheid regime as well as to provide material assistance to the ANC and SWAPO;

4) organising a campaign to save the lives of the six ANC freedom fighters currently being threatened with death by the racist regime;

5) to support by all means the preparations for the successful holding of the International Youth and Students Solidarity Conference with the peoples, youth and students of Southern Africa which is scheduled to be held in Luanda, Angola from November 13th to 15th, 1981.

6) that AASU Secretariat continue to undertake initiatives to organise sub-regional

consultative meetings with the view to further strengthening the unity of the African Student Movement and its organisation, AASU;

7) all Progressive Africans and Students and their organisations to participate actively in the preparations for the International Youth Year proclaimed by the UN;

8) Organise student activities in marking the 35th Anniversary of the foundation of IUS as well as 17 November, International Students Day;

9) carry out joint action against the US military bases on the African continent as well as to intensify the struggle to make Africa a zone of peace and a nuclear-free zone.

Finally, the participants reiterated their support for the struggle of the people of Western Sahara, Latin America especially El Salvador and the PLO.



PROFILE -

DOROTHY NYEMBE

Dorothy Nyembe, known for the respect she commands as Nkosazana, was born in Natal in 1930. Brought up in an ANC family, she joined Congress in her early 20's. She was a courageous volunteer in the Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952, during which she served two short terms of imprisonment.

Four years later, she led the Natal contingent of women to the historic demonstration against the extension of passes to women, outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria. At this time Dorothy was Vice-Chairman of the ANC Womens' League, Durban Branch. She was also a leading activist in the Federation of South African Women.

In December 1956, she was arrested together with 155 others and charged with high treason. Dorothy spent most of the next year at court until the charge against her and 60 others was withdrawn on December 18.

Dorothy was an energetic organiser in Cato Manor where she worked as a part-time street trader. In 1959, after disturbances in the area, the City Council pressed for the banishment of Nyembe and other leaders from Durban. But the full City Council, by a majority of one, rejected

the recommendation. In that year, 200 delegates to the ANC Womens' League Conference in Pietermaritzburg, elected Dorothy as their Natal President.

Rural Struggle

In 1962, after the banning of the ANC, Dorothy Nyembe was elected Chairman of the Natal Rural Areas Committee at a conference held under very difficult conditions. The following year saw women in nearly every rural area of Natal refusing to fill cattle dipping tanks. Instead, they destroyed them. The women argued that the racist authorities compelled them to fill tanks without any pay and in most cases they were made to carry the water from water holes or rivers at some distance from the tanks. During this campaign, which became known as the Natal Womens' Revolt, Dorothy was arrested again, charged with furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress and sentenced to three years imprisonment.

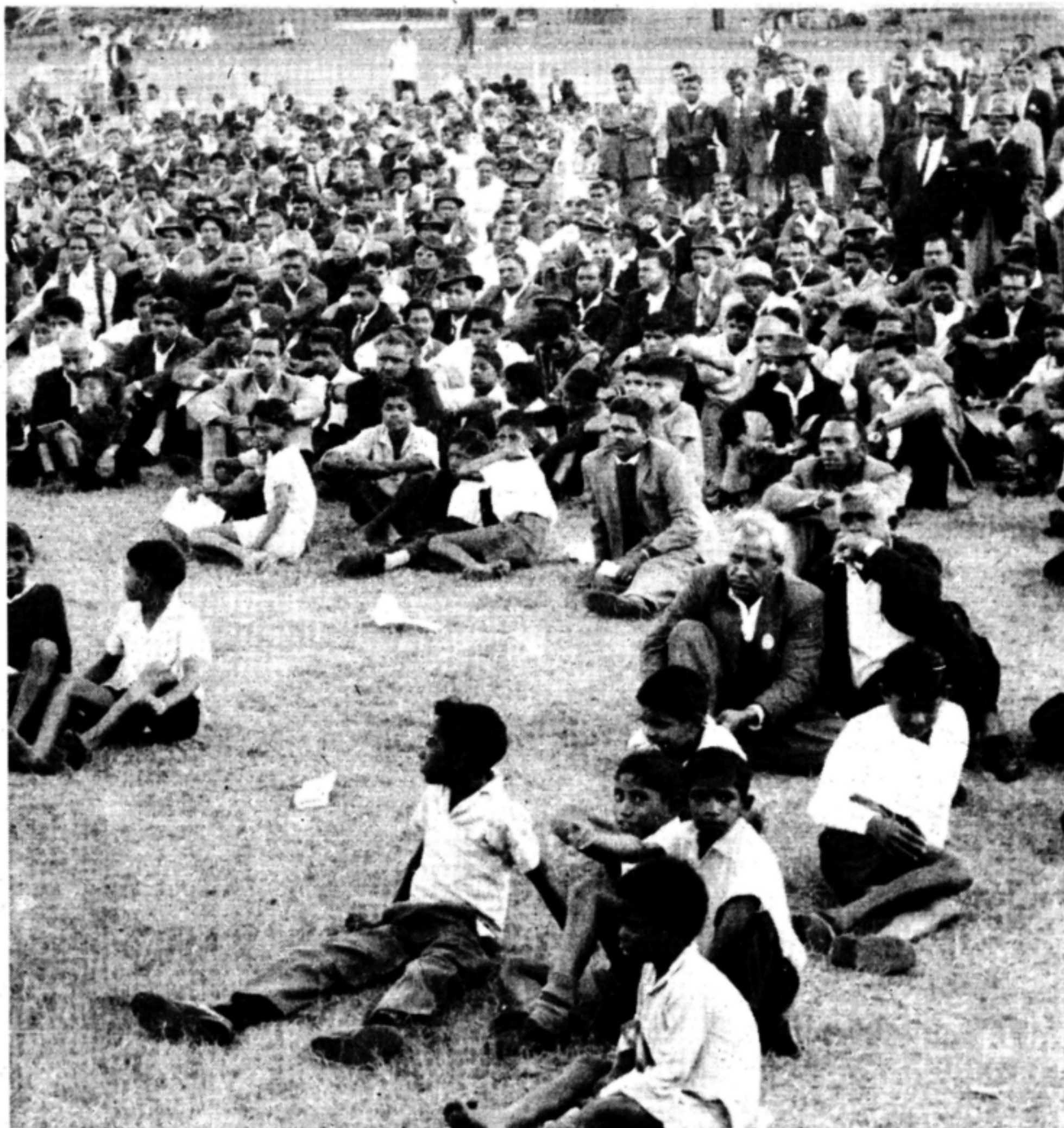
On her release in 1966, Dorothy was banned for 5 years, restricted to Durban, prohibited from certain types of employment and from attending any gatherings. 27

But this did not deter her.

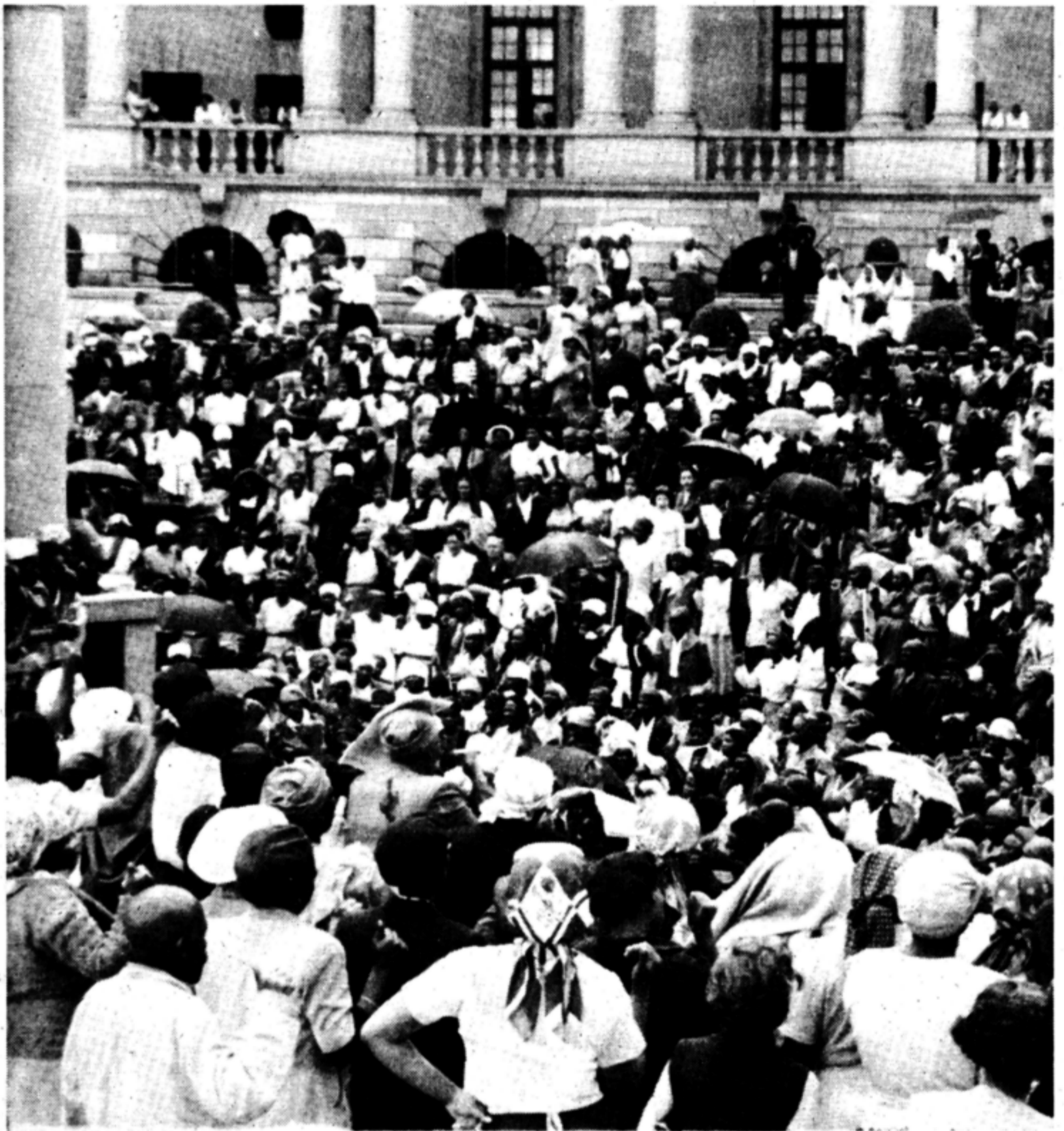
With the decision to move to armed struggle, Dorothy was, despite all obstacles to be found at her post. In 1968 she found herself back in the hands of the security police and was held in solitary confinement for many weeks. Eventually, in January 1969, she was brought to court along with 10 men and charged on 5 counts under the Suppression of Communism Act. All

but one of the accused were found guilty and sentenced to terms ranging from 5 to 20 years imprisonment. Dorothy Nyembe was found guilty of one charge — that of “harbouring terrorists”. For the aid she gave to MK militants, she was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

Although young in years, Dorothy Nyembe displayed natural qualities of leadership. With a deep-felt loyalty to the



Part of the crowd at a rally at Cato Manor



Mass anti-pass rally in Pretoria

ANC, she learnt from and worked with leaders of the calibre of M.B. Yengwa, Moses Mabhida and Harry Gwala.

Dorothy began her sentence in March 1969 in Barbeton Prison. She was later moved to Kroonstad and is now with the other women political prisoners in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison. Her defiant spirit and confidence in her people and her organisation remain uncowed. Last

year, along with other women prisoners, she took part in a hunger strike in protest at the appalling treatment they were suffering at the hands of the prison authorities. Dorothy Nyembe is due for release in 1984.

LET US FIGHT FOR THE IMMEDIATE AND UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF DOROTHY NYEMBE AND ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!

BOOK REVIEW

SOWETO REMEMBERED

Soweto Remembered, Conversations with Freedom Fighters by Paddy Colligan; New York, July 1981.

"Soweto Remembered" is a selection of interesting interviews with various people active in some aspect of the liberation struggle against the racist regime. Some interviewees are ex-students from Soweto, a political actor and playwright, a Namibian nurse and a war resister.

The book, which is dedicated to the youth and the workers fighting for the liberation of Southern Africa fills the gaps through the personal accounts of those interviewed, about the background and events which led to the Soweto uprisings. It also highlights the dedication and personal commitment of the interviewees to the struggle who recall emotionally the murders, sufferings and brutality perpetrated against the people of Namibia and South Africa. We are left in no doubt that we the people do not have to mourn but have to mobilise. The ANC and SWAPO feature prominently in the accounts of the interviewees and they are all convinced about the inevitability of the overthrow of the racist regime through the armed struggle.

From the evidence which we are presented with, it is clear that the apartheid system politicises one because

it is the root of the misery of millions of black people in South Africa and Namibia.

The Namibian nurse recalls her experiences, the torture and imprisonment and her final decision to join SWAPO to go and fight to end the illegal occupation of Namibia. All the people interviewed recall sad experiences but one cannot help feeling that they speak about the future with hope, a revolutionary vision of a free and democratic South Africa and Namibia.

"Soweto Remembered" is an indictment of imperialism led by the USA. The book reminds the readers of the CIA intrigues against liberation movements, assassinations of leaders of movements fighting for genuine freedom, espionage, economic sabotage, counter-revolutionary plots, support for puppet and fascist regimes and the connivance with South African racists to murder, oppress and terrorise the people of Southern Africa.

What the book does well is to educate one about the policies of the ANC and SWAPO and it exposes the racist regime for its brutality. The book leaves us with the message that we have to work for the overthrow of the racist regime at all costs and we need to isolate South Africa at all levels. The book which makes easy and quick reading is to be highly recommended.

G.J.



Soweto June 1976

poem

VOORTREKKERHOOGTE (Past, Present and Future)

We are at war
For our own freedom and liberation
For what yesterday we were
We did not grumble in the formation
Of the heroic Umkhonto we Sizwe
But did what we were told to do.

We did what we were told to do
For our own freedom and liberation
By honestly swearing not to undo
What our heroes poured libation
For our own Umkhonto we Sizwe
To heroically do and to die for.

We are to heroically die
For our own freedom and liberation
With many a heroic sigh
With our own heroic excelleration
With which heroic Umkhonto we Sizwe
Militants are taming and maiming the enemy

We did not all die
Before our own freedom and liberation
For we honestly swore not to lie
On what our own heroes poured libation
For our own heroic Umkhonto we Sizwe
Militants are doing and dying for.

We did what we were told to do
For our own heroic Umknonto we Sizwe
And did not grumble in the formation
For what yesterday we were
For our own freedom and liberation
For we are at war.

JAMES PITSE

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AMANDLA NGAWETHU MATLA KE A RONA



Dorothy Nyembe