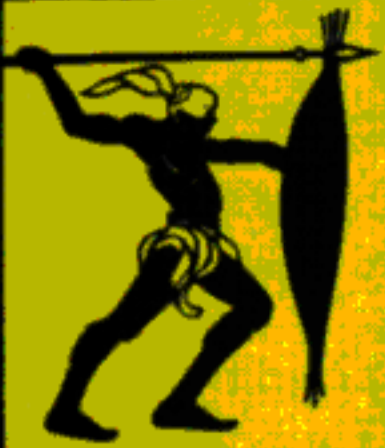


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REV. JAMES A CALATA



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EDITORIAL

THE NEW ANC STRUCTURE

There has been a lot of speculation about the new structure of the ANC. Some newspapers see it as signifying "the end of the phase of armed propaganda" and the "beginning of people's war," or an attempt to "revamp" the ANC's externally-based operational and military structure to enable an intensification of "its low-intensity guerrilla war."

Let us put the record straight. The truth of the matter is that the Working Committee of the African National Congress — as the ANC document states — has been almost continuously preoccupied with the task of perfecting the organisational structure in line with our developing situation. The key word here is 'perfecting' and this is done in line with our developing situation. The document goes on to state that: "It is logical and correct to continuously evolve new or improved structural forms best suited to the unfolding situation in the country, area and the world."

This is seen by the ANC as an "on-going process" whose aim is to increase our ability to strike at the enemy and effect its revolutionary overthrow; one of the central aims of this structure is to clearly pin-point responsibility and accountability through unambiguous distribution of tasks. The central strategic objective that our movement pursues is the seizure of power by the people. This entails continuously to perfect our organisat-

ional structure and our ability to mobilise more and more of our people into the revolutionary struggle headed by the ANC.

The structure states quite clearly that the highest organ of the ANC is Conference and the highest executive body of the ANC is the National Executive Committee and the executive body of the ANC in between the sessions of the National Executive Committee is the National Working Committee which "shall be composed of members of the National Executive Committee present at headquarters at any time plus those especially invited to attend the particular meeting of the National Working Committee." The three main officials of the ANC are the President, the Secretary-General and the Treasurer-General. There is a lot of detail in the document about their functions and sub-committees under them.

Those who know the constitutional history of the ANC will agree that basically there is nothing new in this. Perhaps what is new is the detail which arises out of more than seventy years of experience and the stage of the struggle at the present time.

But this does not mean that there is nothing new in this new structure. The Morogoro Conference of 1969 established the Revolutionary Council. In this new structure we have instead the Politico-Military



Council (PMC) with its sub-departments, and the External Co-ordinating Council (ECC) with its sub-committees. By definition the latter will co-ordinate our external work.

The crucial question which was in the minds of those who worked out the structure was: Is our order of priorities correct? Are we concentrating revolutionary manpower, talent and material resources where they are most urgently required? Are our existing organisational structures making for efficient and effective implementation of our plans? There is a sense of urgency in this because, though historically time is on our side, strat-

egically it is not. This is how urgent the ANC views our struggle.

It is true that there are many new names which feature in the new structure; some known and familiar faces feature in other departments. But there were no demotions or promotions – there was reshuffle or (if we may use a military term) redeployment of personnel. This is natural.

This reorganisation is a result and an aspect of the serious thinking about the revolution which the ANC has been involved in, especially during and after the 70th anniversary celebrations of the movement in 1982.

O.R. TAMBO

NELSON MANDELA IS OUR SIMON BOLIVAR

This is the statement that was made by President O R Tambo in Caracas, Venezuela, on the 24th July, when he accepted the Simon Bolivar Award on behalf of Nelson Mandela.

The time comes in the life of all oppressed peoples that some among them should, as rebels, lay down their lives to affirm the very humanity of the oppressed. The act of supreme sacrifice thus serves as an assertion of the fact that all oppressors are themselves mortal beings who are as subject to the regularities of human development as those over whom they exercise lordship.

That time came to this continent when Simon Bolivar mortgaged his life to the vision of freedom, independence and equality among peoples. The presence here of the Presidents of the independent republics of Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Panama is a striking tribute to the glorious services he rendered to the people of an entire continent. Yet the example of his life must lead us to conclude that if he were able to speak to us today, observing the world we live in, he would ask to live his life over again. For it is not possible that Simon Bolivar could have stood aside while the uprooted Palestinian nation bled to death in the ghettos of Beirut.

He could not have stood aside while the soil of El Salvador and the sands of the Sahara turned russet brown from the blood of the innocents. He would not have been an indifferent observer as the Namibian oppressed were shot down in Katatura and Kassinga, and their South African counterparts were massacred in Soweto, Matola and Maseru.

Simon Bolivar – The Liberator

Simon Bolivar was and is a Liberator. He hated oppression, and because he hated it, fought to destroy it. He hated falsehood, and therefore perished for the truth. He loathed barbarism and consequently sought to secure human dignity. He fought to do away with everything which aimed to impose misery on the peoples of this continent and the world.

The African National Congress and the peoples of South Africa are inspired by the fact that today we are linked with such a man. We feel immeasurably uplifted that on us, among others, should fall the obligation to infuse a new meaning into the glorious example which was set by Simon Bolivar the Liberator.

In choosing Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, an outstanding and esteemed leader of the liberation struggle of the South African people, to be the other of the first ever two recip-

ients of the International Simon Bolivar Prize, the International Jury has bestowed an honour of rare significance upon Africa, upon the struggling people of South Africa and the African National Congress, and, above all, on Nelson Mandela himself.

The presentation of this historic Award to Nelson Mandela alongside so esteemed a personage as His Majesty King Juan Carlos of Spain, and in the presence at this august ceremony of so distinguished a galaxy of eminent leaders and personalities from different countries and continents, must and will penetrate the fortified walls behind which Nelson Mandela and his colleagues are held in captivity. It will reach beyond the isolation of bans and restrictions imposed on Winnie Mandela and other victims of apartheid repression. It is a call proclaiming and promoting support and solidarity for our struggle — a call which will resonate in the hearts of the South African people and of all our allies and supporters the world over.

With us at this ceremony, and living through the emotional experience of a momentous event for her family, is Princess Zenani Dlamini, wife of Prince Tumbumuzi Dlamini of the Kingdom of Swaziland, and eldest daughter of Nelson and Winnie Mandela. Her presence sharpens the meaning of their involuntary absence.

Like Simon Bolivar the Liberator, who "fought neither for (personal) power, nor for fortune, nor even for glory, but for Liberty alone..." Nelson Mandela would not wish to accept and receive this prize for himself.

Accordingly, on behalf of his fellow leaders with whom he is serving life imprisonment, and other captives of the apartheid regime, on behalf of the African National Congress and the combat forces of the people of South Africa, organised in Umkhonto We Sizwe — the Spear of the Nation — in the name of the entire democratic movement and the struggling people of South Africa, in the name, and on behalf, of Nelson Mandela himself, we extend our profound gratitude to UNESCO, and the Director-General, His Excellency Amadou-Mahtar M'Bow, and to



the International Jury, for the award of the International Simon Bolivar Prize.

Men With Clarity of Thought and Nobility of Vision.

Our times and circumstances demand that our people, no less than those of this continent two centuries ago, should produce men and women with the clarity of thought, the nobility of vision, the dedication to the cause of liberty as well as the daring, tenacity, courage and audacity in its pursuit, that Simon Bolivar displayed in his brief life-span of 47 years. At the age of 46, when he was condemned to life imprisonment, Nelson Mandela had already displayed these attributes. In twenty-one years of harsh incarceration, he has lost none of them.

Though they are the products of the different histories of two peoples divided on two continents by oceans and time, Nelson Mandela and Simon Bolivar stand out for the similarities of their lives and understanding of their times.

Each came from a noble background,



yet, renouncing a life of privilege, both chose to devote themselves to the liberation of their people. To the oppressor who sought to judge him a criminal, Mandela said: "If I had my time over I would do the same again, so would any man who dares to call himself a man." Just so did Bolivar declare: "I shall not let my arm fall or my soul rest until I have broken the chains in which the will of the Spanish power holds us."

Simon Bolivar once observed correctly that "an ignorant people is a blind instrument of its own destruction." (The Angostura Discourse) He therefore wrote of the need to mobilise those "(whose) limbs (were) benumbed by chains, their sight dimmed by the darkness of dungeons, and their strength sapped by the pestilence of servitude...(to march) toward the august temple of Liberty ..." and to create "a new equilibrium for the universe."

These words, written more than a century and a half ago, strike a resonant chord in our hearts because they describe exactly the purposes pursued by Nelson Mandela,

Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Dorothy Nyembe, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Harry Gwala and many others who are serving life and other prison sentences because they dared to struggle to create a new equilibrium for the universe.

These words move us because they describe the condition of our own people who have, through struggle and under the leadership of the African National Congress, transformed themselves into an instrument for their own salvation. These masses, whose strength the oppressor had sought to sap by the pestilence of servitude, are today marching confidently towards the august temple of liberty.

Writing from Jamaica, Simon Bolivar said he had reason to hope that the civilised nations would hasten to his aid in order that he might achieve that which must prove to be advantageous to both hemispheres. (The Jamaica Letter, September 6, 1815) He observed then that not only the Europeans but even his brothers of the North had been

apathetic bystanders in that struggle which, by its very essence, was the most just, and in its consequences the most noble.

The Atlantic Ocean Must Become a Bridge of Solidarity.

We, too, in South Africa, had reason to hope that this continent, true to the ideals for which Simon Bolivar fought and sacrificed, would come to our aid to expand the frontiers of liberty in our part of the globe.

We are, however, deeply concerned that some countries of the continent of Simon Bolivar should continue to entertain varied intercourse with the apartheid regime, whose brutal purposes are little different from those of the conquistadores who invaded this continent, massacred whole peoples and destroyed ancient civilisations.

It is our fervent hope that the people and governments of Latin America will reject every form of relationship, collaboration and alliance with the Pretoria regime. Instead, we stand for another alliance — that between the peoples and governments of Latin America and the independent states of Africa, especially those of Southern Africa. We believe that the act of awarding this peerless Prize to Nelson Mandela, no less than this moving ceremony in the city of Caracas, will contribute to the deepening and consolidation of relations between Latin America and Africa, based on that great vision of international solidarity among free peoples which guided Simon Bolivar as he prepared for the Congress of Panama.

Thus, the great Atlantic Ocean separating our continents must become a bridge of solidarity, uniting Latin America and Africa through a system of political, economic, social and cultural relations. Of necessity, that system of relations must, as far as South Africa and Namibia are concerned, be between the great peoples of this continent and the struggling masses of our countries and their representatives, the African National Congress and SWAPO of Namibia.

Apartheid — Crime Against Humanity.

Simon Bolivar once observed that nineteenth century Latin America had "rejected the atrocities (committed by the Spanish invaders three centuries before) as mythical, because they appear to be beyond the human capacity for evil." (The Jamaica Letter) The region and the peoples of Southern Africa are today suffering under an oppressive, exploitative, aggressive and dehumanising system, whose criminality is sometimes not properly understood, perhaps because the atrocities it is committing daily appear to be beyond the human capacity for evil.

And yet this is a system which has properly been categorised in international law as a crime against humanity, justiciable under the terms of the International Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. Apart from Nazism in Germany, this is the only occasion when any social system has been branded a crime against humanity by the international community.

That crime consists in the denial of all democratic rights to the overwhelming majority of our population, by reason of their race and colour. It consists in the conscious genocidal destruction of millions of Africans by banishing them to the so-called Bantustans which are nothing but vast camps of hopelessness and death.

It means massacres of unarmed civilians, the use of torture, assassination and terror as a matter of state policy against all those who uphold the cause of liberty, and the murder of prisoners of war, as happened on June 9th, when the apartheid regime executed the three patriots and combatants, Simon Mogoerane, Thabo Motaung and Jerry Mosololi. It means the incarceration under inhuman conditions of the most outstanding representatives of our people, some of whom, like Nelson Mandela, have been in prison for more than twenty years.

The crime of apartheid also means colonisation of and aggression against peoples beyond the borders of our country. Accordingly, as we speak here, large areas of the

People's Republic of Angola are under occupation by South African racist troops. The Kingdom of Lesotho is under a virtual state of siege. The Republic of Seychelles has had to beat back an open act of invasion. Countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia are subject to continuous acts of destabilisation and subversion. Namibia remains colonised.

All these activities in South Africa, Namibia and the rest of Southern Africa have but one aim, namely to transform the 100 million people of Southern Africa into political, economic and military vassals of the racist white minority in South Africa and its United States and other western allies. To achieve this aim, the racists, who have no more respect for human life than did their Nazi mentors, have acquired a nuclear capacity which they believe will give them the decisive ability to preserve the apartheid system for ever and to terrorise the whole continent of Africa into submission.

Bolivar and Mandela – Feared by the Enemy
South African patriots such as Nelson Mandela, have therefore always viewed the struggle for the liberation of South Africa as one that must, by its victories, contribute to the creation of a new equilibrium for the universe. It is for this reason that he and his organisation, the African National Congress, are feared and hated by those who do not wish to see a new world order come into being, as Simon Bolivar and his revolutionary armies were feared and hated by those who sought to keep this continent a colonial appendage of an imperial power.

In the new equilibrium that our certain victory will bring about, the world community in general and Africa in particular will be rid of this infamous base of racism, colonialism and reaction, of inhumanity, fascism and war. Thus Africa will be able to devote her undivided attention to solving the burning socio-economic problems confronting her teeming millions.

Our victory must and will contribute to the ongoing process of creating a new equilibrium

for the universe, in which nations can co-operate to mutual advantage, in conditions of peace and equality among the peoples.

As there can be no justice where there is no liberty, or, since, as Simon Bolivar put it, "to practise justice is to practise liberty," the establishment of just social relations in our country, in our region and on our continent demands that we should win liberty for those who are oppressed in South Africa and Namibia.

The flames of revolution in South Africa and Namibia are burning brighter with each passing day as they burned on this continent almost two hundred years ago. It is to their eternal fame that brave and selfless men and women from among us, such as Nelson Mandela, lit those flames, neither for power, nor for fortune, nor even for glory, but for liberty alone.

Many have perished and many more will perish in the titanic contest of arms and of will that the racist white minority regime has imposed on our country and our people. But everywhere in South Africa our people display a level of courage and determination to be free, which has brought joy to Nelson Mandela and his colleagues in Pollsmoor, Robben Island, Kroonstad, Pretoria and other maximum security prisons, and gloom and despondency to their captors. We can truly repeat after Simon Bolivar that ... "Their sublime example is proof ... that a people who love independence will eventually achieve it." (The Jamaica Letter)

It is not only the lives of Nelson Mandela and Simon Bolivar, but also their times which bear remarkable resemblance. The struggle against Spanish colonialism in Latin America succeeded against a background of a divided Europe trying to reverse the ideals of the French revolution. In many countries the people's demands for self-determination, democratic government, liberty and social equality were ruthlessly repressed, as the old 'divine right' monarchies sought to entrench themselves once more, while certain European powers arrogated to themselves the right to intervene across territorial boundaries to

reverse the tide of history. Yet in the three decades following the birth of Bolivar, countries of this region freed themselves from the Spanish colonial yoke.

In Africa the past three decades have witnessed the liberation of millions of people from Belgian, British, French and Portuguese colonialism. But, as revolutionary change has approached the borders of the apartheid system in South-Africa, the racist regime has set itself the aim of once more trying to turn back the tide of history. Resorting to ever-increasing repression within South Africa, the apartheid regime has sent its marauding forces across the borders of South Africa to spread death and destruction in the newly independent countries of Southern Africa.

The apartheid regime echoes Metternich's words: "What peoples want is not liberty but peace," as it seeks, through force, to impose subservience to Pretoria, acceptance of apartheid rule and acquiescence in its continuation.

American Imperialism is our Enemy

In the lifetime of Bolivar, on the pretext of keeping out the European powers, an American president demarcated a United States sphere of influence as he proclaimed the Monroe Doctrine. Today, another President has incorporated the continent of Africa and other parts of the world into the United States sphere of influence. So the right of self-determination of the Namibian and South African peoples is subordinated to the primacy of United States interests; while Angola's right to defend its territory must give way to what is perceived as the paramountcy of US strategic needs. Bolivar displayed prophetic vision when he said:

"The US seems to be destined by providence to spread misery in the name of liberty."

Today, with the American press carrying reports about a new offensive to maintain Latin America as "a sphere of US interests," Boli-

var's fears are being confirmed over and anew.

Sharing similar fears for Africa and Asia, Nelson Mandela warned in 1958:

"Whilst the influence of the old European powers has sharply declined, and whilst anti-imperialist forces are winning striking victories all over the world, a new danger has arisen and threatens to destroy the newly won independence of the peoples of Asia and Africa. It is American imperialism which must be fought and decisively beaten down, if the people of Asia and Africa are to preserve the vital gains they have won in their struggle against subjugation."

OAU and Southern African Liberation

Like Simon Bolivar, Nelson Mandela is and has been a great organiser. In 1962 he travelled to many independent African states in East, North and West Africa to seek united support for the South African struggle. One year later, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was formed, the cornerstone of its policy being the struggle for the total liberation of Africa. For that specific purpose the OAU established the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, with its headquarters in Tanzania, consistent with the crucial role that this country played, and continues to play, in the liberation struggle, especially of Southern Africa.

Because of this fact Tanzania was the first African independent country where Nelson Mandela set foot after leaving South Africa, and the last he visited before returning to South Africa where, a few months later, he was arrested. The charge on which he was arrested and subsequently sentenced to five years' imprisonment in 1962 was, significantly, that he had organised a most successful illegal national strike or stay-at-home, that he had left South Africa illegally to visit African independent states and England, and that he had received military training.

It gives us immeasurable strength that we can count on the United Nations Organis-

ation, UNESCO and the nations represented here to stand side by side with us until victory is won and this burnished Prize is placed on a worthy pedestal within our country, such that our people can reflect on the sombre visage of Simon Bolivar the Liberator, and reflect within themselves that he too was with us when our turn came to lay down our lives in order to assert the right of a people to a free life.

We take this opportunity to extend our heartfelt congratulations to His Majesty, King Juan Carlos, on his investiture with the International Simon Bolivar Prize, and feel especially honoured that a South African patriot should have been selected to share this occasion with His Majesty.

We also extend our sincere thanks to His Excellency Luis Herera Campins, President of the Republic of Venezuela, the Government and people of this country, which we are honoured to visit for the first time. We shall depart with fond memories of a warm reception and a spirit of friendship and solidarity of great encouragement to us who are outlaws in our own country.

Our enemies condemned Nelson Mandela; you are honouring him. They entombed him alive; you are making him part of our living presence. They silenced him; you have caused him to be heard. You have done all these because the injustice of his incarceration proclaims the justice of the cause he symbolises – the cause of his people, the cause of humanity. We thank you.

As we accept and receive the International Simon Bolivar Prize with pride and humility, we feel we have acquired the right to inscribe on our battle standards these immortal words that Simon Bolivar wrote in 1812:

“Let us hasten to break the chains of those victims who groan in the dungeons, ever hopeful of rescue. Make not a mockery of their trust. Be not insensible

to the cries of your brothers. Fly to avenge the dead, to give life to the dying, to bring freedom to the oppressed and liberty to all.” (The Cartagena Manifesto)

Long live Simon Bolivar the Liberator!

Thank you.



ANNIVERSARY INTERNATIONAL

Our comrades in prison cannot see or hear the solidarity with the ANC and the praise for its freedom fighters expressed in the rest of the world.

While Nelson Mandela is closely confined to his cell in Pollsmoor Prison, his birthday has been celebrated in many different countries. It is a strange, sad irony that a man who has been awarded the freedom of so many great cities is not free to walk the streets of any of them, nor to take pleasure in the gardens that bear his name, nor to enjoy the music, poetry, painting and sculpture that have commemorated his sixty-fifth year.

German Democratic Republic

Ilmenau, a small town in the district of Suhl in the German Democratic Republic has become a focus of GDR solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa under the tried and tested leadership of the ANC. On the 26th May 1983, Ilmenau, in accordance with a decision of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, named its seventh secondary school after Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela.

John Schmidt, Chairman of the District Council of Ilmenau, said, "We express our firm solidarity with this outstanding patriot and revolutionary fighter."

Other participants in this big solidarity

meeting included the ANC Chief Representative in the GDR, Comrade Anthony Mongalo, a delegation from the Solidarity Committee, the First Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of the GDR in the district of Suhl, and the director of the school.

Comrade Mongalo expressed the gratitude of the ANC for the great honour bestowed on Nelson Mandela, and said, "This historic act is not just an expression of solidarity with the political prisoners in South Africa, but it is also a manifestation of your confidence in the ultimate victory of our just cause."

The ceremony was completed by a cultural programme performed by a brass band and the pupils of the school, and the ANC students in the GDR also gave a moving cultural programme. Rose trees were planted in honour of Nelson Mandela, and afterwards the pupils, teachers and parents went through the new town quarter in a torchlight procession.

Thousands of GDR citizens — including leading personalities — mass organisations, institutions and mass media, have signed petitions demanding Mandela's release.

Britain

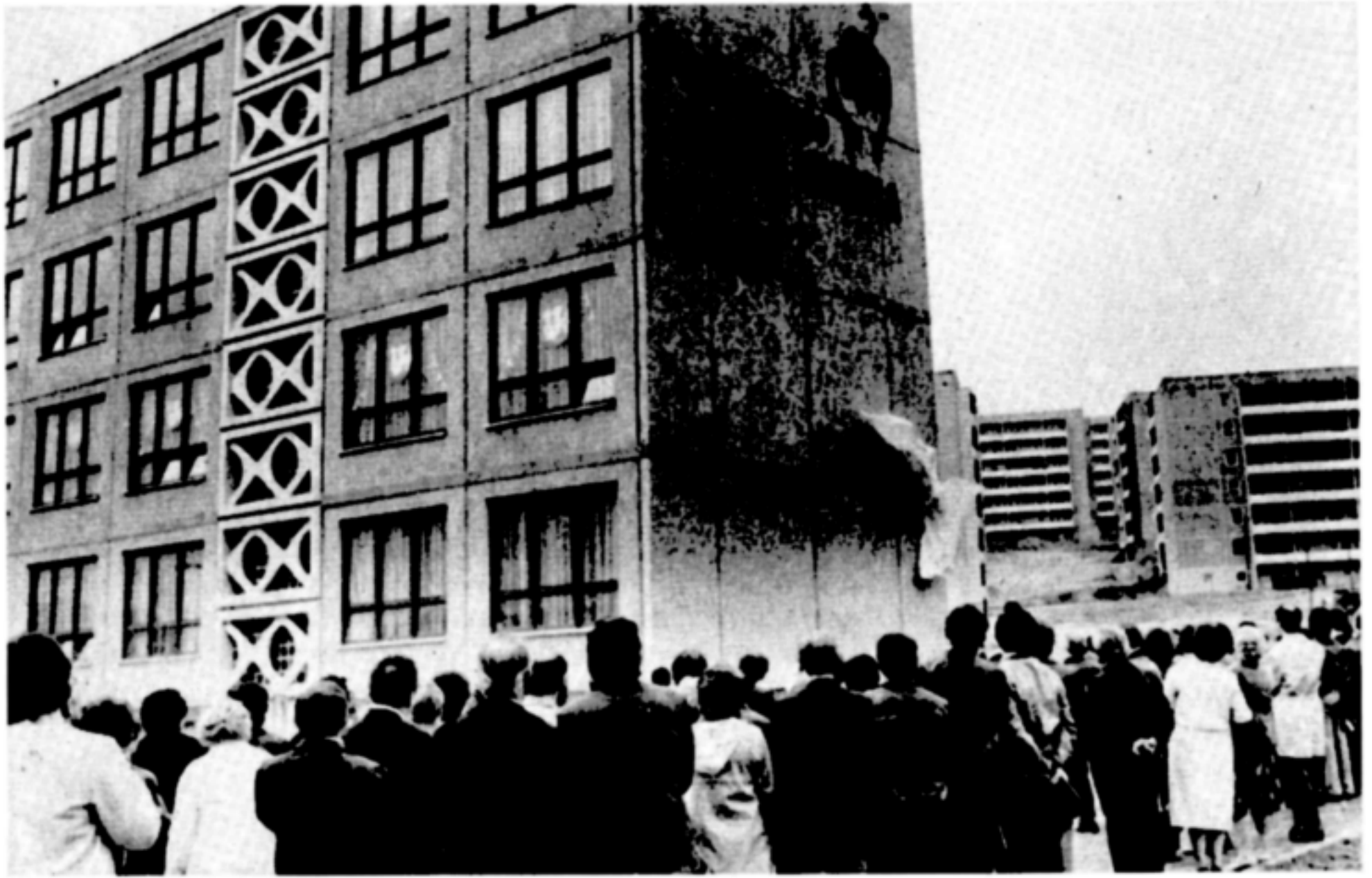
In July, the historic and beautiful London



*Merrion Square, Dublin, at the unveiling of the sculpture, Tribute Head
From left to right are: Father Austin Flannery, President of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement; Comrade Ruth Mompoti; Councillor Browne, the Lord Mayor of Dublin; Mr Kennedy Apoe of Nigera; Mr Donal Nevin, Chairman of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and Mr Kader Asmal of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.*



Comrade Reg September of the ANC photographed next to the plaque at the offices of AUEW-TASS in London. He is holding one of the birthday cards for Nelson Mandela that were signed by hundreds of British people. With him are Kate Clarke, campaigns organiser of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and Ken Gill, General Secretary of TASS.



The new Nelson Mandela School in Ilmenau

Borough of Greenwich granted its freedom to Nelson Mandela; the town of Harlow in Essex named an avenue after him; the seaport of Hull in Yorkshire gave his name to some ornamental gardens opposite the house of William Wilberforce, the anti-slavery campaigner of the nineteenth century; the British engineering workers' union, AUEW-TASS, named its executive committee room the 'Nelson Mandela Room.'

On Sunday, 17th July, Jazz Afrika, Osibisa, Orchestre Jazira, Hugh Masekela and many other musicians played at a twelve-hour 'Africa Sounds' festival in a huge hall in North London, to mark the birthday. Fifteen artists donated paintings to an exhibition that was opened on the 18th July at the Upstairs Gallery of the Royal Academy, by Sir Hugh Casson, Director of the Royal Academy, and Archbishop Huddleston.

On the evening of the 18th July, the birthday was celebrated at a public meeting at the Royal Commonwealth Institute in

London. Trevor Phillips was in the chair, and the meeting was addressed by Archbishop Huddleston, the writer Mary Benson and Comrade Ruth Mompati, ANC Chief Representative in Britain and Ireland. The ANC choir sang a freedom fighters' song and a song in praise of heroes, John Matshikiza read some of his poetry, and the audience heard the splendid, subtle sounds of Hugh Masekela's trumpet.

Republic of Ireland

In Dublin, on the 26th June, a sculpture by Elizabeth Frink was unveiled in honour of Mandela in Merrion Square, Dublin's largest and most important square, where it will be on permanent display. The bronze bust is entitled *Tribute Head*, and is set on a plinth of Irish granite.

Unveiling the sculpture, the Lord Mayor of Dublin said, "Today we are concerned with issues that extend well beyond City limits. We are dealing with man's relationship with



Anthony Mongalo with Pupils of Nelson Mandela School

his fellow man. We are dealing with our responsibility to speak against oppression and injustice." Comrade Ruth Mompoti of the ANC reminded the audience that the struggle in South Africa continues, and that three cadres of the ANC have recently been murdered by the racist regime. She said, "This gesture will give the South African people courage to carry on for the liberation of their country."

Messages were read from the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid. Kader Asmal, Chairman of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, spoke. Seamus Heaney, the Irish poet, read to the gathering, and the radio personality, Bill Meek, one-time secretary of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, sang, most movingly, his own composition, 'Cry Africa.'

United States of America

In New York, an organising meeting on July 18th linked Mandela's birthday with the issue of United States involvement in Southern Africa. The slogan of the meeting was, "Organise to make Southern Africa a major election issue in the USA." It was addressed by John Makatini, ANC representative to the United Nations, and a representative from SWAPO.

The meeting was called by the Anti-Apartheid Coalition, based in New York and endorsed by a number of trade unions, organisations of women and students, community, church, peace and anti-imperialist organisations.

On June 16th, the Coalition organised a demonstration in New York, in solidarity with the liberation struggles in Southern Africa. Thousands of people, chanting, "Down with apartheid," picketed, marched and rallied, protesting against US collaboration with the fascist South African regime, and also

against the match that was to take place that night between South African boxer Davey Moore and the Panamanian, Roberto Duran.

Carrying three symbolic coffins wrapped in black flags in memory of the freedom fighters executed by the Pretoria regime on June 8th, members of the ANC led the protesters towards the site of the boxing match. Along the route, thousands of other people joined in behind banners calling for isolation of the racist regime and support for the ANC. The march swelled to nearly 10 000 people before it reached Madison Square Garden, where hundreds of other supporters were waiting.

The rally was addressed by representatives from SWAPO, the US National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers, among others. Black American speakers likened the position of black people in the United States to that of black people under apartheid; speakers from El Salvador and Nicaragua likened the South African liberation struggle to their own struggle against imperialism. John Makatini told the crowd they had come to register their protest in the very "belly of the beast."

Canada

Several organisations in Canada held a demonstration outside the South African embassy in Ottawa on the 18th July. A birthday cake with 65 candles was especially produced for the occasion, and a petition was delivered to the embassy, demanding Comrade Mandela's release. Also outside the embassy was a photographic display of Mandela's life.

In Winnipeg, at the University of Manitoba, there was a celebration of the birthday, and speakers from the ANC described the conditions under which Mandela is being held in Pollsmoor Prison. The meeting sent a cable to the Canadian Department of External Affairs, asking the Canadian Government to intercede for Mandela's release.

Latin American Prize for Mandela.

The first award of the Simon Bolivar Prize was made jointly to Nelson Mandela and King Juan Carlos of Spain, at a ceremony in Caracas, Venezuela, on the 24th July.

The prize is awarded for actions "contributing to the freedom, independence and dignity of peoples and to the strengthening of solidarity among nations, fostering development and facilitating the quest for a new international and social order."

The administration of the award is carried out by UNESCO and the Republic of Venezuela. The selection jury consists of a representative of the Director-General of UNESCO, five people "representing the different regions of the world," appointed by the Director-General, and a representative of the Republic of Venezuela.

July 24th 1983 was the bicentenary of the birth of Simon Bolivar the Liberator, as he is known in Latin America. He was a national liberation leader of the early nineteenth century in the war against Spanish rule; the war that finally led to the independence of Bolivia (named after him), Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, Peru and Venezuela itself.



OAU RESOLUTION ON SOUTH AFRICA

The 19th Summit of the Heads of State and Government of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which met at Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on the 6th-12th June, 1983, adopted the following resolution. This event coincided with the 20th anniversary of the formation of the OAU.

Having examined the report of the 40th session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa,

Having heard the statements by the representatives of the Liberation Movements of South Africa,

Reaffirming that the apartheid system constitutes a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security,

Recalling the relevant resolutions of the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations recognising the legitimacy of the struggle waged by the oppressed people of South Africa in all forms including armed struggle for the seizure of power and the establishment of a non-racial democratic society for the South African people as a whole regardless of race, colour or creed,

Recalling further the relevant resolutions adopted by the Organisation of African

Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, calling on the Pretoria regime to accord the Prisoner of War status to all captured freedom fighters in compliance with the additional protocol to the Geneva Convention,

Outraged by the savage and criminal act of the cold-blooded murder committed on 9th June 1983 by the racist regime in hanging Thelle Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semano Mosololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung, members of the ANC sentenced to death for their heroic role in the fight against the apartheid system in contemptuous defiance of several resolutions adopted by the Organisation of African Unity, the Non-Aligned Movement the Security Council calling on the Pretoria regime to commute their death sentences,

Convinced that this cold-blooded murder committed by the apartheid regime on the eve of the 7th anniversary of the Soweto massacre on 16th June 1983 will further aggravate the already explosive situation resulting from repeated acts of terrorism, assassinations and massacres carried out by this regime against the innocent Blacks in South Africa and the neighbouring countries,

Reaffirming that the policies and barbaric acts of internal repression and terrorism as well as destabilisation and aggression

perpetrated by the Pretoria regime against the independent Southern African States have resulted in the repeated explosive situation in Southern Africa,

Outraged by the activities of certain Western Multinational Corporations which continue to collaborate with the apartheid regime especially in the economic, military, nuclear, petroleum and other fields as well as the financial institutions which grant loans to the apartheid regime in defiance of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations Resolutions,

Considering that the Reagan Administration's policy of 'constructive engagement' with the Pretoria regime has encouraged its intransigence and emboldened it to engage in more brutal acts of internal repression and brazen acts of external aggression against the independent Southern African states,

Noting with indignation that the apartheid regime has stepped up its criminal acts of internal repression, the murder of political detainees in prison and the assassination of ANC members and leaders, both in South Africa and in the Front Line States and Lesotho,

Noting with indignation that faced with the rising tide of resistance raging in South Africa the Pretoria regime has intensified its criminal policy of recruiting, training, equipping and deploying armed bandits to destabilise the legitimate governments of Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia in order to intimidate and blackmail these countries in the vain hope of coercing them to abandon their traditional support of the liberation struggle,

Noting with indignation the Pretoria regime's policy of forced removals of millions of the African people being dumped in barren so-called homelands deprived of South African citizenship and herded into vast concentration camps as displaced persons where they starve and die or provide semi-slave labour as the so-called migrant labourers,

Convinced that the sole obstacle to peace, security and stability in Southern Africa is the apartheid regime and its policies

of internal repression, terrorism and political assassinations as well as destabilisation and aggression against the Front Line States and Lesotho,

Convinced that notwithstanding its apparent military might and continued support from the Reagan Administration and certain other Western countries the Pretoria regime's inherent and proven vulnerability to armed struggle guarantees inevitable eradication of the apartheid system and establishment of a non-racial democratic society for all the people of South Africa regardless of race, colour or creed,

Considering that the Pretoria regime has resorted to paying lucrative fees and inviting famous athletes and artists to play and perform in apartheid South Africa and its bantustans for the purpose of promoting its inhuman policies and regardless access to international sports and cultural events:

* **Vehemently condemns** the Pretoria regime for the cold-blooded murder of Thelle Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semano Mosololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung the ANC members hanged on June 9th 1983, extends sincere condolences to their parents, proclaims them African heroes and pledges to increase moral, political and material support to their movement in order to help hasten the attainment of the goal they sacrificed their lives for;

* **Urges** all Member States to observe every year the International Day of Solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa on June 16th – the Soweto Day when in 1976 over 2 000 school children were killed in cold blood by the Pretoria regime whilst demonstrating against inferior education;

* **Strongly condemns** the apartheid regime for the stepped-up internal repression, assassination of ANC members and leaders as well as the criminal acts of terrorism and massacres repeatedly carried out by the Pretoria regime against innocent South African refugees and nationals of the neighbouring countries;

* **Declares** that the Pretoria regime's continued system of apartheid and acts of internal repression and terrorism as well as acts of destabilisation and aggression against the South-

ern African independent states constitutes a threat to world peace and international security;

- * **Urges** the African group at the United Nations to work towards the early convening of the Security Council for the purpose of strengthening the arms embargo and imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations;

- * **Strongly condemns** the Reagan Administration for its self-proclaimed alliance with the racist Pretoria regime, the violation of the arms embargo and policy of 'constructive engagement' designed to rehabilitate the apartheid regime and isolate the National Liberation Movement in order to ensure the perpetuation of the apartheid system;

- * **Reiterates** its full and unswerving support for the struggle against the apartheid regime in all forms especially the armed struggle for the seizure of power by the people of South Africa;

- * **Commends** the Front Line States and Lesotho for the courageous sacrifice they are making in resisting the policies of blackmail and intimidation pursued by the apartheid regime in order to coerce them to abandon their traditional position of giving moral and political support to the Liberation Movement of South Africa including the granting of political asylum to refugees ...

- * **Convinced** that the sole obstacle to peace, security and stability in Southern Africa is the apartheid regime and its policies of internal repression, terrorism and political assassinations, as well as destabilisation of and aggression against the Front Line States and Lesotho;

- * **Condemns** the policies of certain Western countries and Israel as well as Trans-National Corporations that continue to maintain and strengthen collaboration in the economic, military and nuclear fields with the Pretoria regime;

- * **Commends** certain individuals, anti-apartheid support groups, non-governmental organisations, parliamentarians and elected officials in the Western countries for their

relentless and invaluable campaigns in opposition to their countries' policies of collaboration with racist South Africa and in support of the liberation struggle;

- * **Mandates** the Secretary-General to work towards the strengthening and expanding of the OAU Secretariats in the major Western capitals and New York in order to render ongoing assistance to the liberation movements in their efforts to mobilise international support especially in the United States and Europe;

- * **Urges** Member States to organise regional, cultural and sporting events in order to invite and honour the famous athletes and artists who, in compliance with the Sports and Cultural boycott, have turned down invitations to play or entertain in apartheid South Africa;

- * **Commends** the African National Congress, the vanguard of the National Liberation Movement of South Africa, for the continued intensification of the armed struggle, and salutes the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe (MK) who continue to register victories.



World Protest there and world Protest here. We in South Africa will go our own way

INTERVIEW

with
KING SABATA



«Everything there is done by the Boers»

King Sabata Dalindyebo of the Tembus, head of the Transkei Democratic Progressive Party, became the centre of a wide movement of resistance in the Transkei. He was forthright in his criticism of the Transkeian 'government,' and spoke of Kaizer Matanzima, the head of this 'government,' with open contempt.

He was detained in July 1979, and later charged under the Transkei Public Security Act and the Transkei Constitution Act. His political associates and some of his relatives were also harassed by the Transkei Security Police.

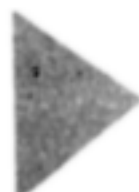
During his detention, angry Tembus gathered outside the Palace of Justice in Umtata demanding his release, and later, while

he was out on bail, he was unanimously re-elected leader of the Democratic Progressive Party.

At his trial in April 1980 he was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment, with the option of a fine. Another attempt to strip him of his leadership was made almost at once, when a Transkeian regional authority charged him with 'misconduct.' He left the country illegally, and, once outside the borders of South Africa, openly declared his support for the ANC.

King Sabata is a relative of Kaizer Matanzima, and also of Nelson Mandela.

This interview was made with him in Tanzania in July 1983.



What is the nature and extent of resistance to Matanzima rule in the Transkei Bantustan?

When I left the Transkei, the people were beginning to realise that the Matanzimas were driving them nowhere, nothing was done by the Matanzimas to help the people. I remember one time, because, as you know, Matanzima said the people must eliminate all their donkeys and must dip their sheep, and he raised people's taxes, for example a person was paying R10 for each donkey, 50 cents for each sheep. I remember some people in the locations in the district of Umtata did not take their sheep to the dipping tank, and all those people were charged, and they refused to pay the fine imposed on them ... The case was then taken to the magistrates' court.

People have been trying by all means to show to Matanzima that even the independence of the Transkei is not theirs. This is not what was asked for by them. It was only brought by the Matanzimas, who negotiated with the Boers without the mandate from the people. The people in the Transkei were trying by all means to show to Matanzima, though they feared his army, because whenever they tried to strike or refused to do anything they were asked to do by the Matanzima government, Matanzima would call his army, and that is how the people were dealt with. People were even detained, not brought before courts, and the people complained about all such things.

In the Transkei there is the situation where people are recruited to the mines, to the urban areas, and the Matanzimas are paid R10 for each person so recruited; that is how Matanzima was making money. People complained about such things, so that people went to look for work themselves, without being recruited by the Matanzimas.

You mentioned the Transkei army and its use as a force of repression. Can you elaborate a little on the Transkei army and how it is used as part and parcel of the South African army of repression?

The Transkei army is being trained by the Selous Scouts which have been brought into the Transkei by the South African Government. Even before I left the Transkei, the Boers had gone back into all the offices, in so much that in departments such as the Department of Justice, you would find there were officers from Pretoria who were inspecting all the files, and people like Ngceba were just told what to do and whom to arrest by those officers from Pretoria.

The army in the Transkei is being used by the South African government to help in suppressing the people. Even if they want to go and raid our freedom fighters, you find there are soldiers from the Transkei amongst them. Even in that Lesotho raid last year I was told there were soldiers who were there who were sent by the Matanzimas and who were told to go and identify me, as I was not known by most of the Boers who were sent to conduct that raid in Maseru. The army in the Transkei has been used in many operations by the South African government, and they have been trained by the South African army.

Corruption is reported to be widespread throughout Transkei. Could you give us some details and examples of this?

I have some knowledge of the corruption going on in Transkei. For example, I was once told in all the hotels in the Transkei Kaizer Matanzima is having shares, together with one called Dr Mbageni. One time I was told that all those departments in the Transkei were signing cheques of not less than R250 000 for Matanzima, and nobody knew where that money was going to. Some of these businessmen from South Africa, particularly furniture shops, gave Matanzima signed cheques, each for not less than R91 000, for scholarships. We do not know where that money went to, as it was not used for what it was given for.

The Matanzimas have bought many cattle from overseas, ordered for the 'State,' but when they got to the Transkei they were all

in Matanzima's name. You find that Matanzima is owning not only one farm or two, but he has three or four farms, and there are so many people who are starving, people who haven't got enough land to plough, but there is only one man who is owning so many farms in the Transkei, and he doesn't care for the people.

Even George Matanzima is trying to follow his brother's footsteps. As you know, George Matanzima was a very poor man, but today you find he is one of the richest men in Transkei, because of what they are doing. There are so many taxes imposed on people, people who do not work, people who are starving. They do not know how to help themselves. Instead of the Matanzimas trying to help these people, they are trying to destroy them, or even trying to eliminate them. I really cannot tell, but there is too much corruption going on in Transkei.

The Matanzima brothers are one pair of brothers. The other pair that are notorious are the Sebe brothers. The Ciskei is infamous for its repression and brutality, particularly with trade unionists and anyone suspected of being associated with the ANC. Could you tell us a little about developments in Ciskei?

Sebe refused, originally, to accept the independence that was given to him by the Boers. I don't know what changed his mind, but he decided to opt for independence of the Ciskei. The people of the Ciskei, just like those of the Transkei, realise that the ANC is the only organisation that will liberate the people of South Africa. The people of the Ciskei have been trying by all means to fight the Sebe brothers. Though Sebe was fighting against the Matanzimas, he has now also joined them by oppressing the people of Ciskei who are also starving, who have no means of helping themselves, and instead, even Sebe himself is not trying to help the people of the Ciskei in his area.

He has got his brother, just like Kaizer uses his brother George, Lennox has got his

brother, that Charles Sebe, who is so cruel to the people, and though he says nothing will happen to him, everything in the Ciskei will change only "over his dead body," but I would want to remind Charles Sebe of what happened in Zimbabwe, where Ian Smith was using the same words, saying the people of Zimbabwe would rule that country over his dead body, but they are ruling it today, during his lifetime. The same thing will happen in the Ciskei. He is arresting and detaining some of the freedom fighters there, more especially those from the trade unions, and those people are not prepared to give up, because they know that one day they will be free, and they recognise the ANC as the only body that can liberate them.

Over the last twenty years there have been mass forced removals in many areas, forcing the population into what could be called 'rural concentration camps.' Could you tell us some of the consequences for the people, their living conditions, and what you would say both to the people and the international community about the genocidal policy of the regime?

I was in the Ciskei and I went to a place called Dimbaza, where some of those removed had been sent, including those from Robben Island. Among those people there are some who are paid only R40 a month. There are not enough jobs, many people are starving, water facilities are so scarce, they haven't even got firewood. Nothing has been done to help these people by the government.

As you know, there is that big location which was built near East London, called Mdantsane. What was meant by building that location there? The Boers were trying to accommodate all the people driven away from other urban centres like Johannesburg and Cape Town, and some of the people chased away were sent to places in the Transkei, and rural areas of the Ciskei.

As you know, the people of the Transkei and Ciskei in the rural areas were always 'law-abiding people,' but because of the dif-

difficulties they come across, things have changed in places like this. You will find that there are so many 'thugs' today in the Transkei, it is not quiet as it used to be ... I do not blame these 'thugs,' because they are also starving, they have not got money, and they survive by thieving. So today you can't differentiate country life from town life, people are just the same, because they are all starving. You will find in places like Transkei there are soldiers who are always visiting the rural areas.

The international community has been fed the propaganda by the regime that the so-called independence of the bantustans is real, is viable and is wanted by the people of those regions. Could you discuss and elaborate on this concept of independence, as distinct from that of a unified South Africa, which is the policy and goal of the ANC?

Comrade, the propaganda that is spread by the Boers to the world is false. The so-called independence of these bantustans is not for the benefit of the citizens of those bantustans. It is only for the benefit of certain individuals in those bantustans, and the Boers were trying to help themselves, they were trying to protect themselves by creating those bantustans. The Matanzimas call themselves president or prime minister of the so-called State of the Transkei, though he is getting instructions from the South African government. He is doing nothing for the people of Transkei. The same thing is happening in places like Ciskei, Bophutatswana and Venda-land. Everything that is done in those 'independent homelands' is done in carrying out instructions from Pretoria.

I remember I took one of my citizens to the Department of the Interior in Transkei, who wanted a licence for trading, but before we were answered a telex was sent to Pretoria in my presence, and then we were told to wait until the afternoon session, when we were given the answer, which came from Pretoria.

The Boers realise that their policy is a

failure in all these homelands, because what happens is not what was asked for by the people, but is what was done by the Boers to polish their apartheid system. In other words, even though people say the Transkei and others are independent, those people are not independent, because everything that is done there is done by the Boers.

The level of struggle in the whole region of Southern Africa has increased over the last few years. One aspect which is a cause of great concern for all of independent Africa and progressive mankind is the licence South Africa grants itself to raid independent neighbouring territories. One such raid was into Lesotho at the end of last year. Could you tell us some of the consequences of South African aggression and destabilisation of the front-line states. and of the Lesotho raid?

I would say the racist South Africans must be asked to leave places like Lesotho and Mozambique alone. I know the racists usually say those two countries are harbouring the ANC people, the freedom fighters. There is no such thing. What is being done is by the ANC inside South Africa, to hit inside the country. The people of Lesotho and Mozambique have done nothing, and I really appreciate the stand that has been taken by the Prime Minister of Lesotho, trying to make relations with places like China, the Soviet Union and Korea, and I think those are the only people who will help the Lesotho government against those terrorists.

The Boers call us terrorists, whereas they are the real terrorists, who terrorise our people in South Africa, and now they are trying to terrorise the people of Lesotho and Mozambique. They are trying to pressurise the government of Swaziland, but we do not want to fight the Swazis, they are our blood.

Another thing, I think the Boers are frightened, they are lamenting, they do not know what is really going to happen, and although some of them do understand what is going to happen in the near future, because what is being done by our leadership now is

really to show to the people of the world that victory is certain, we are going to win the struggle.

Let us discuss the question of corruption. The Matanzimas claim they are free, but they are dividing the African people, Transkeian from Ciskeian, and so on. To me it seems as if they are turning the clock of history backwards instead of making progress. The ANC saw as early as 1912 that unless we are united we stand weak, and that is what the Matanzimas are doing, creating divisions.

In Transkei you will find that the Boers have tried by all means to divide the African people — their policy of divide and rule. Today, if you go to Natal from the Cape, you are going to a separate state from your own, and when you get there you must produce a lot of documents, a thing that never happened in the past. What is going on, what is happening in South Africa, is that the Boers have created, and are trying to encourage by every way possible, divisions among the African people. It is their policy of divide and rule.

Furthermore, the Transkei corruption has taken many forms. If you go to the 'big bosses' themselves, you will find that most of those cabinet ministers got those positions by sending their own wives to go and talk to the Matanzimas. And that poor lady will stay there three or four days — when she comes back, her husband is a cabinet minister. I am not exaggerating, what I am saying are the things that are really happening in the Transkei.

I remember one time when the so-called Prime Minister of Transkei, that is George Matanzima, was Minister of Education, what he used to do was to take an 'ugly' woman from the school near to him and throw her far away, and take a beautiful woman from another area and bring her near to him, because George Matanzima is only for women. He is a playboy, in so much that you find he has opened so many accounts in large stores, buying furniture etc for his 'ladies.'

Today, this is not only the situation af-

fecting the Matanzimas, but each and every one who works with them is doing the same. Even if you want to open a shop, you must pump out a lot of money first to George Matanzima, which will be taken to the state president himself. Kaizer Matanzima is today a multi-millionaire.

What is the nature of official opposition in Transkei? Is the party still functioning, and, if so, in what way?

At first, our leader in the Opposition Party was the late Paramount Chief Victor Poto, followed by Knowledge Guzana, and after him it was Hector Ncokazi. The people, my organisation, decided I should take over as leader in 1978. Since then things changed. Things became very difficult for the Matanzimas because they could see that the people were behind me, most of the people in the Transkei were behind me as a Paramount Chief, fighting against the government, a thing which I used to do even before we got independence in the Transkei.

Now, I understand that the Opposition Party in the Transkei is still strong, they are still fighting against the Matanzimas. George Matanzima threatened Mda, the new leader of the Opposition Party, saying that they heard the Opposition Party in Transkei was working hand in glove with the ANC, so they must be careful, something is going to be done to them. I can't be sure how Mda reacted to that, but the Opposition Party is still going very strong. So much so that there are people who want to see me, even though I am outside the country, wanting word from me as to what they should do.

In the army, you find that most of the young chaps in the army have joined the army because there was no place for them to work, that's how they joined the army, not that they are there to fight for Matanzima and the Boers. The Transkei is divided, many are with us, and as such the Matanzimas and the Boers cannot count on them.

I have my own relatives in that army, who have been sent to come and shoot me,

but they refused because they knew that, besides the fact that I was their Paramount Chief, I was also their blood.

I remember one chap during a session in 1978 when one lady raised a point, trying to warn Matanzima about what they have been doing, sending our own boys to the borders to go and fight against the freedom fighters. One chap came from the gallery and took off his coat and showed the wounds that were

on his arms, saying, "You have helped, because it is not known by our parents that we are being sent to the borders, and we die there, but our parents are not told that we are being killed by the freedom fighters."

Those boys have joined the army, not to support the Matanzimas, nor the Pretoria regime, but they can't help themselves, as it is the only work available.



DOMESTIC SLAVERY

IN

SOUTH AFRICA

We South African women must analyse our oppression as women under apartheid in order to formulate our demands for a future, free South Africa. The Women's Section of the African National Congress in Tanzania discussed the paper "The Domestic Servant in South Africa Today" and put forward ideas about how this type of brutal exploitation can be eliminated when we have liberated our country. Below is the paper, a powerful account of the degradation and deprivation suffered by thousands of South African women, and thereafter a summary of the discussion the paper provoked.

The Domestic Servant in South Africa Today

The black domestic servant is a computer. She knows the park, where she airs her small Boers, perfectly well. The warmest spots, as the sun travels across the brown gravel, grey concrete, green grass and trees, are more familiar to her than her own family.

At middle age, she wears a white cap and a washed-out white smock, with their appearance of clinical sterility. This uniform brands her with her own 'childlessness' but bestows on her authority to raise the offspring of her most hated enemy, her exploiter.

She cannot raise her own offspring. It has been brutally torn off her breast by the notorious influx control. The children have been thrown into the wilderness of the bantustans to give her the freedom to slave. Even

more, for the small Boers will be calling her 'stinking kaffir' very soon.

Her home is a room in the back yard of a big, spacious block of flats. It is furnished with a single bed, a candlestick and some store furniture, discarded when the missus bought a new suite. On top of the dressing table stand a few bottles of cosmetics. These help to make life a bit tolerable.

Born in Johannesburg, but endorsed a citizen of the Transkei, Bophutatswana, etc., she can only live in the city if she sticks to this one missus. She cannot complain. It is very difficult for domestic workers to form trade unions, especially because they do not come together at one place of work. After twenty years of service, she has turned into a robot. Rightly, experience has taught her that defiance against the missus could cause her expulsion from her and her abandoned family's 'treasure mine.'

18 to 24 hours' service is the order of the day. She is forced to work overtime, for it is very important for the master and madam to go out for refreshments and relaxation, after 'a long day's work.'

Nanny must stay with the small Boers for an extra two shillings on her meagre wages, and an extra centigram of food on her lunch plate.

'Sheila's day' (Thursday) is her day off. With aching bones, she either goes window-shopping or to visit friends. No sick leave, no

maternity leave pay. If she falls sick, the missus decides her plight, to take her to a bantu doctor, or to dismiss her, and find a healthy one. If she falls pregnant, and the missus finds out, she is chucked out, to give birth in the bantustans, or in squatter shacks if she manages to dodge the escort's pick-up van.

For Blacks, the reality of a family unit, let alone a stable family relationship, is virtually non-existent. The possibility of a wife and husband living together, bringing up and caring for their children, remains something to be desired.

Discussion

The truth of the paper was confirmed by numerous examples given by women from their own experience. One comrade worked for R7 a month, and was not allowed to live with her husband. When she objected, both she and her mother, who worked for the same racist employer, were sacked and told that their hair was short and their brains even shorter. Another woman was employed to look after a dog. She earned thirty rand a month and was never given any time off. Yet another woman was sacked by a university professor when she asked for an increase in her wages of R24 a month after twelve years of service.

It was felt that, until apartheid has been destroyed, the domestic workers must struggle for an eight-hour day, paid maternity and sick leave, a month's paid leave every year and a five-day working week. Efforts to form trade unions for domestic workers should be strengthened, and a minimum wage and proper working conditions should be enforced by law.

In a future, free South Africa, however, the aim should be to have children cared for during the working day in proper institutions, staffed by trained people. This will help to ensure that women can be active in all spheres of society and will not be restricted to the home. No one should have to be a domestic servant.

We must also begin now to combat the

negative attitude to child care and catering which has been created by the exploitative system in our country. This work is very valuable and should be done by skilled, competent people who enjoy it. It is not inferior work to be avoided. What must be avoided are the brutal, exploitative conditions under which this work is at present being done in apartheid South Africa.

Let us intensify the struggle to destroy the hated apartheid system. We, the oppressed women of South Africa have suffered long enough! Apartheid denied us education, decent work, family life, health, decent housing, a future for our children. We are even more oppressed than our men. We suffer MORE from unemployment, low wages, the pass laws and forced removals. Let us stand up in our millions and crush the racist tyrants! Let us come forward now to play our part in building a democratic, free and peace-loving South Africa. Let us swell the ranks of the African National Congress and the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. Let us fight for our future!



BOOK REVIEW

CHILD LABOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA

Child Labour in South Africa – A General Review (Anti-Slavery Society Child Labour Series, Report.No 7 – 1983, London, 1983)

Farm labour scandal! Those who have seen the documentary, 'Working for Britain,' produced by Anthony Thomas in 1977 and depicting the working conditions of the Natal sugar cane labourers, will understand what we are talking about. But this booklet is not exactly about that.

It deals, as the title suggests, with child labour in South Africa, mainly in agriculture. It starts off by stating the simple fact that South African child labour differs from its counterpart elsewhere in that working children are black. This practice has its origins in the slavery practised by the Boers in the Western Cape in the seventeenth century, and in the 'apprenticeship' system common throughout the country in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries:

"The South-Western Cape, settled by Europeans during the seventeenth century, developed into a prosperous wine and wheat farming area by using slave labour ...

Between 1721 and 1775 slave owners in the area demanded the unpaid labour of the children of slave fathers and Khoi Khoi mothers brought up on the farms in return for maintaining them ...

Commandos had been capturing and 'apprenticing' San women and children since the 1715 extermination raids on the San ...

'Apprenticing' spread throughout the country during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries."

Until its repeal in 1974, domestic and farm workers were subject to the 1856 Masters and Servants Act. But things have not changed.

Who are these child labourers? These are mostly children between 9 and 14 – at any rate below 18 years of age. They either come from the Bantustans or are the children of permanent farm labourers; some are drawn from families in townships and from street gangs in the bigger cities, and from landless families living on white farms.

These children do not come voluntarily to work; they are either 'recruited' under false pretences from those labour pools, the Bantustans, or kidnapped. A few case histories will illustrate this. Two boys, part of a ninety strong harvesting team which was being driven 600 kilometers back from Heilbron to Dordrecht, froze to death on the back of a truck. The two farmers involved claimed to be unaware of how cold it was. (p. 51) Child newspaper sellers were burned to death in 1977 when the delivery van they were travelling in burst into flames. (p. 56) Children were kidnapped by a farmer from Eastern Transvaal and after work they slept in a hole. The farmer was acquitted. (p. 74) What about the 13 Transkei children who were offered 'joy rides' which led to enforced work in the cane fields near Edendale? (p. 75) There are many such case histories in the book.

Their parents are not better off. There has been a shortage of farm labour, especially seasonal labour, in the Bethal district since the nineteen thirties. In order to deal with this shortage a system of prison labour was developed. This involved the building of prisons, with the primary object of providing farm labour. By 1966 the Eastern Transvaal had nine prison outstations out of a total of twenty-five for the whole country.

Some of these children live in compounds, which may have served as stables, with 'windows' which are merely holes in

the wall covered with metal sheets to keep out the cold, no toilet or water facilities apart from an outside cold water tap. There is no light. Fires have to be made on the floors in winter for both warmth and light. No furniture apart from the cement beds built into the wall. The only blankets are those which the children bring with them.

Broadly speaking, there are three categories of work:

1. Domestic: cooking, cleaning, looking after children, washing clothes, gardening;
2. Seasonal work: hoeing, picking, reaping, harvesting, thinning fruit, bush clearing, weed control on grazing land, veld burning, silage making, wool sorting, herding, dipping, dosing, calving and lambing;
3. Short day work, such as milking and feeding stock.

There is of course the other category of child labourers, which is not dealt with in the book, namely the urban child labourers. These sell newspapers, work in shops, on market stalls, as errand boys, car park attendants, gardeners and street vendors. These children are clad in rags and often barefooted; they work in the heat, cold and rain. What about domestic service, that source of child employment and child neglect by the working parents, who have to care for the children of other women at the expense of their own?

These children start at 4.00 am and stop work at 8.00 pm. They earn next to nothing – 20 cents a day, or get some rotten tomatoes instead of money. The working conditions on the farms and the attitudes of the farmers make conditions unbearable. The brutality of the white farmers is unimaginable; electric shocks are commonplace; a sjambok is used all the time. There is no security for these children. They are vulnerable and unprotected in the absolute sense. An example might illustrate what we are talking about. A young child, untrained, was asked to drive a tractor, and he drove a tractor into a river and drowned. The farmer alleged that

the boy had driven the tractor without permission. He claimed a goat from the child's parents as compensation for his tractor!

It should be remembered that the parents do not want their children to work, but have no alternative. The children's meagre income stands between them and starvation. Besides, the rights of residence and of movement of Blacks are monitored and controlled through the pass laws, influx control measures and the migrant labour system.

Child labour is morally abominable. Poverty, deprivation, illiteracy, drug addiction, malnutrition, prostitution, endemic alcoholism, etc, are its side effects.

What is often forgotten is that agriculture — which makes use of child labour — contributes a lot to South Africa's gross domestic product, and agricultural exports also make an important contribution to South Africa's revenue. Besides the economic angle, there is also the political angle. South Africa's ability to export food — when millions in the country have no food — has become an important element in the racist government's plan for the creation of the so-called constellation of South African states under South African hegemony. It was none other than the Minister of Agriculture who, in 1979, stated that "full grain silos will mean we can talk and negotiate from a position of strength. With rising populations all around us, more and more black states will depend to some extent on this country for basic foods. It is strongly in our interests that we should be able to meet the demand."

That sums it all up. Those who are against sanctions because apartheid is an 'internal' problem of an 'independent' state should listen.

This booklet is valuable for many reasons. But it has serious weaknesses. In parts it tends to moralise on the injustices and malpractices of apartheid. Its conclusions are weak. What we need is a strategy that will link the question of child labour to the whole question of apartheid and the struggle against it.

APARTHEID THE FACTS

Hilda Bernstein: *Death is Part of the Process*, (Sinclair Browne, London, 1983, £7.95)

This novel is set mainly in Johannesburg, where the writer was politically active for many years, and it deals with the beginnings of Umkhonto We Sizwe, in the early sixties. A small network of sabotage groups is set up, composed of people who want to fight oppression and injustice. The groups train, carry out acts of sabotage, and are broken up by arrest; as one comrade turns out to be a police informer, and others are, in different ways, destroyed in the interrogation room, the members of the groups learn the reality of illegal struggle. At the same time, a new generation of freedom fighters is watching, learning and growing up.

Perhaps the strongest presence in the novel is that of light, which accompanies all crucial events in the plot. Sunlight is 'vibrant' in Dick's garden the day his concern over his servant causes him to make his choice; it reflects off metal in 'blinding flashes' at the moment the police capture Thabo, the bravest of them all. When Indres and Siphon blow up the pylon, the light is 'incandescent,' and it is 'brilliant' at the end of the story, when Cass carries out his triumphant act of resistance. The strong natural light of the highveld is in this way identified with the fires that are the harbingers of freedom; Africa was created light, the novelist suggests, and to light it will return.

The absence of light plays an opposite role in this system of imagery. In the powerful description of Thabo's suffering and death under torture, it is 'darkness' that finally explodes 'in his skull.' The child of Dick and Margie, too innocent to understand racism, fears not the light but the dark;

while Pila's sister, silly, spoiled and racist, has to wear a cardboard shield to protect part of her face from the sun.

In the Sunday conversation of Pila's family, the dialogue quickens and becomes the living voice of white Johannesburg masters and madams, talking carelessly and callously about money, investments, black servants, black thieves. On the other hand, there are characters like the woman who works for Dick and Margie, and who sits patiently baby-sitting, but cannot quite overcome her resentment of the child she is obliged to look after, while her own is far away. Hilda Bernstein's pictures of Johannesburg are authentic, these characters are consistent and credible.

Apart from Thabo (whose soundness and strength are shown to derive from his sense of being one with his people) and perhaps Indres also (who gains stature from his driving determination to finish the work he has to do), the central characters are insubstantial. They seem too slight for the part they play in the plot, and lacking in any kind of real motivation or seriousness.

The naive and well-meaning Pila, whose brief and peripheral involvement in political activity comes to a pathetic and ignoble close, would be satisfactory at one end of a range of characters, but the range isn't there. Margie, Dick's wife, has little more weight; she learns some kind of independence while Dick is in detention; she harbours Indres, and while harbouring him gives him the kind of consolation she has learned to give in her years as a sheltered wife; but her political involvement and her political education end there. When it seems that Dick may be going to give state evidence, the only support she seems able to offer him is a message that he must do what he wishes.

While Dick is in solitary confinement, his self-centred urge to protect himself at all costs from the pressure of his environment is shown with great insight (and indeed this chapter is one of the best pieces of writing in the book), but before he goes to gaol, he is sketchy. Why did he take the step of joining



Umkhonto? — we see only his anger at the plight of black prisoners in the police cells, and we are told he was on a 'committee' at the university. This adds up to a character scarcely more solid than Pila. Even Ralph, the organiser, has few revealed motives; he exists as a shadowy leader figure, recruiting Dick into Umkhonto We Sizwe (though not into any political organisation) because of Dick's technical 'expertise,' and later, urging Dick not to become a state witness.

In the course of their experience, these characters don't seem to gain any further political knowledge or understanding, and the training received by little Cass, the future freedom fighter, is concerned with the mechanics of underground work rather than with the political theory that should inform it. The effect (though this is not intended) is to imply a certain triviality in the organisation these characters are working in.

The impression of the central characters gained by the critic David Caute is quoted on the dust jacket. He describes them as, "the small band of despairing rebels ... who embark on a heroic but doomed campaign of sabotage in protest against apartheid."

Despairing? Doomed? the organisation that is the subject of the story is Umkhonto We Sizwe, the South African people's army; the novel doesn't seem to have communicated any feeling of its dignity and purpose, only a kind of romantic thoughtlessness. The history of 'Umkhonto in later times' has been characterised by courage, dedication to the struggle, level-headedness and political clarity; these qualities are not demonstrated in the novel.

Death Is Part of the Process won the Sinclair Award for 1983. It should be of interest to readers who never knew the time and place it is set in, as well as to those who did.

JM

DEATH IS PART OF THE PROCESS

Apartheid – The Facts: (International Defence and Aid, London, 1983, £3.00)

This book is intended to explain the history of apartheid laws, from the days of the first white settlement; how the legislation operates; what it means for the exploited black majority; how it is defended by the white minority government, and the struggle for liberation.

International Defence and Aid prides itself on the accuracy of its information, and there is a great deal of information here, up to date, concisely put, and arranged under headings. It is a very useful book, at an accessible price.

The photographs are good. Some speak for themselves, some are captioned; some aren't captioned, but should be.

JM

OBITUARY

HAMBA KAHLE, CANON CALATA

On Saturday, June 25th, more than 3 000 people carrying ANC flags and banners braved midwinter weather in Cradock to bury Canon James Arthur Calata. The Rev. Calata, died on June 16th – a significant day in the political history of South Africa.

Mourners from all over the country converged on Lingelihle Township to listen to tributes to the Rev. Calata by representatives of various organisations. Archie Gumede, the Natal chairman of both the United Democratic Front and the Release Mandela Committee, and former cell-mate of the Rev. Calata, said:

“During his time he was the spine of the African National Congress, and he never changed his mind until the last day of his life ...

“Of the many sons and daughters of Africa, Rev. Calata was surpassed by few in nobility and patriotism.”

Other tributes were made by representatives of the General Allied Workers' Union, the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress and the Congress of South African Students, while messages of condolence came from the President of the World Council of Reformed Churches, Dr Allan Boesak, and Mrs Helen Joseph, veteran leader of the Federation of South African Women.

Born in 1895 into a peasant family at Debe Nek near King Williamstown in the Cape, James Calata trained as a teacher at St Matthew's, the Anglican training college in the Cape. He taught at St Matthew's for many years before going to Port Elizabeth in 1921 to become principal of the St Cyprian's Mission School at Korsten. He became a deacon soon after, and was ordained as an Anglican priest in 1926. After ordination, he worked at Somerset East, and in 1928 was transferred to Cradock, a town whose white population is mainly Afrikaner, where he served as a minister at St James' Mission for over 40 years until his retirement in 1970.

Besides his involvement with the church, Rev. Calata was active in cultural activities. He composed many choral songs (for example about Ntsikana) with a patriotic content, and freedom songs, some of which we sing even today. Rev. Calata was a master in combining religion, music and politics. Mary Benson remembers:

"It was at a crowded conference of the Cape ANC, in Calata's church hall in Cradock, that Professor Z.K. Matthews recommended that the ANC should call a Congress of the People, to draw up a Freedom Charter. The conference became exultant when Calata's choir of young people, whom he had trained and for whom he composed the freedom songs, began to sing, and soon aroused the crowd, until the hall was filled with music."

Lilian Ngoyi is said to have once remarked that Calata was one of the men she admired for the way in which he lived his religion. He was also one of the leaders of the Inter-Denominational African Ministers'

Federation (IDAMF), for a time serving as its President.

Religion and politics were his life, for he maintained that Christianity would never develop genuine roots in South Africa until African grievances were redressed politically. He fought within the Anglican church for a larger and more responsible role for the Africans. In 1943 he was nominated for the bishopric of the Transkei, but some white clergy prevented his election. Only in 1960 was he installed as a Canon of the Cathedral Chapter of Grahamstown — the first African to receive this honour.

James Calata joined the ANC in 1930 — he had become interested in politics as far back as 1919. In 1930 he was elected President of the Cape ANC, replacing the Rev. Elijah Mdolomba. He held that office until 1949, when he was succeeded by Professor Z.K. Matthews. In 1936, Rev. Calata became Secretary-General of the ANC, and worked under three Presidents-General, Seme, Mahabane and Xuma, until his retirement in 1949, when he was replaced by Walter Sisulu. For nineteen years as Cape President and fourteen years as Secretary-General of the ANC, he exerted a significant influence in Congress affairs and African politics in general.

We should remember that the nineteen-thirties were difficult years. These were the years of depression and drought. This situation affected the Africans adversely. These were the years of the rise of fascism. These conditions were partly responsible for the fact that the ANC was weak and ineffective. Those were the days when 'experts' and 'specialists' like Heaton Nicholls, Senator Brookes, Marwick and so on, with their patronising and paternalistic attitudes, gave themselves as 'authorities' on the 'Native Question,' and therefore tried to bypass or 'replace' the ANC leadership. The provisions of the 1913 Natives' Land Act were reinforced by the Natives' Land Act Amendment of 1935, and the Hertzog Bills, which, among other things, aimed at the disfranchisement of the Cape Africans, added insult to injury.

Calata believed firmly that the ANC

should be revived, and he found support, particularly from J B Marks and Mofutsanyana. It should be remembered that at this time Moses Kotane had settled down in Cape Town – not far from Cradock – and was equally concerned about the reorganisation of the ANC.

The ANC was penniless. But Rev. Calata, together with Rev. Mahabane, the President-General, toured the country. It took them three years, until 1939, to reach all four provinces. This exercised an important influence in reviving Congress, especially after the 1937 celebrations of the ANC's silver jubilee.

They solved local problems in the process, initiated provincial activity and drew in younger blood and influenced other bodies which began to work in collaboration with the ANC, and even began to articulate ANC policies.

Their efforts to revive the ANC began to bear some fruit, but a strong and dynamic leadership was still lacking. Through his efforts, Port Elizabeth – later to become one of the ANC strongholds – established its first ANC branch. Those were the days when the ANC Women's League was initiated; the ANC constitution modernised; the Atlantic Charter adopted; the Indian resistance campaign launched and the Mine Workers' strike started and the ANC Youth League formed. These events laid a foundation for the later co-operation between the African and Indian communities.

We should remember that the revival of the ANC coincided with the resistance of the Ethiopian people against the fascist attack by Mussolini's horde – an attack the African people in South Africa regarded as an attack on them.

Rev. Calata was a signatory of the 1949 Programme of Action, but could not stand for re-election because he felt the Programme of Action was too "drastic" and also he felt that the ANC needed a young man as Secretary-General. That was when Walter Sisulu was elected. But Calata continued to serve on the National Executive Committee, and

in 1950 was chosen the ANC Senior Chaplain, and later acted as Congress Speaker.

In 1952 Calata was served with bans under the Suppression of Communism Act, prohibiting him not only from ANC activity, but from religious and educational gatherings for months. In 1954 he was restricted by a local authority from marrying people, and was ordered to renew his permit for sacramental wine each month. Also his minister's railway concession was withdrawn.

Rev. Calata was one of the 156 treason trialists. In 1960 he was among those detained in Port Elizabeth gaol during the State of Emergency, and the conditions in gaol revived his tuberculosis. Rev. Calata was imprisoned in 1961 for having two historic pictures of ANC leaders – he appeared in one of the photographs – hanging on his wall. He received a six-months' sentence suspended for two years.

Rev. Calata was a highly respected man – on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday his congregation bought him a car. He spared neither time nor energy for his people, showing selflessness in his devotion to the cause of Congress. He was staunchly loyal. A poor and a tubercular man, humble and unassuming but forceful, he did not fear to lead, and was prepared to be led. He was a man of many talents, and used all his talents to further the cause of the ANC, the organisation to which he had sacrificed and contributed so much. The people in Cradock – old and young – called him "Tato." Indeed, he was our father.

The ANC dips its revolutionary banner in honour of this fallen hero.

Hamba qhawe la maqhawe!

