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APARTHEID DIVIDES:

THE UDF UNITES

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was launched in Cape Town on August 20th. More than 12 000 people were present.

Since then, much has happened. The UDF has either been portrayed as a directionless, blind rejection of apartheid, or "another ANC front organisation" which is manipulated by the invisible hand of the ANC.

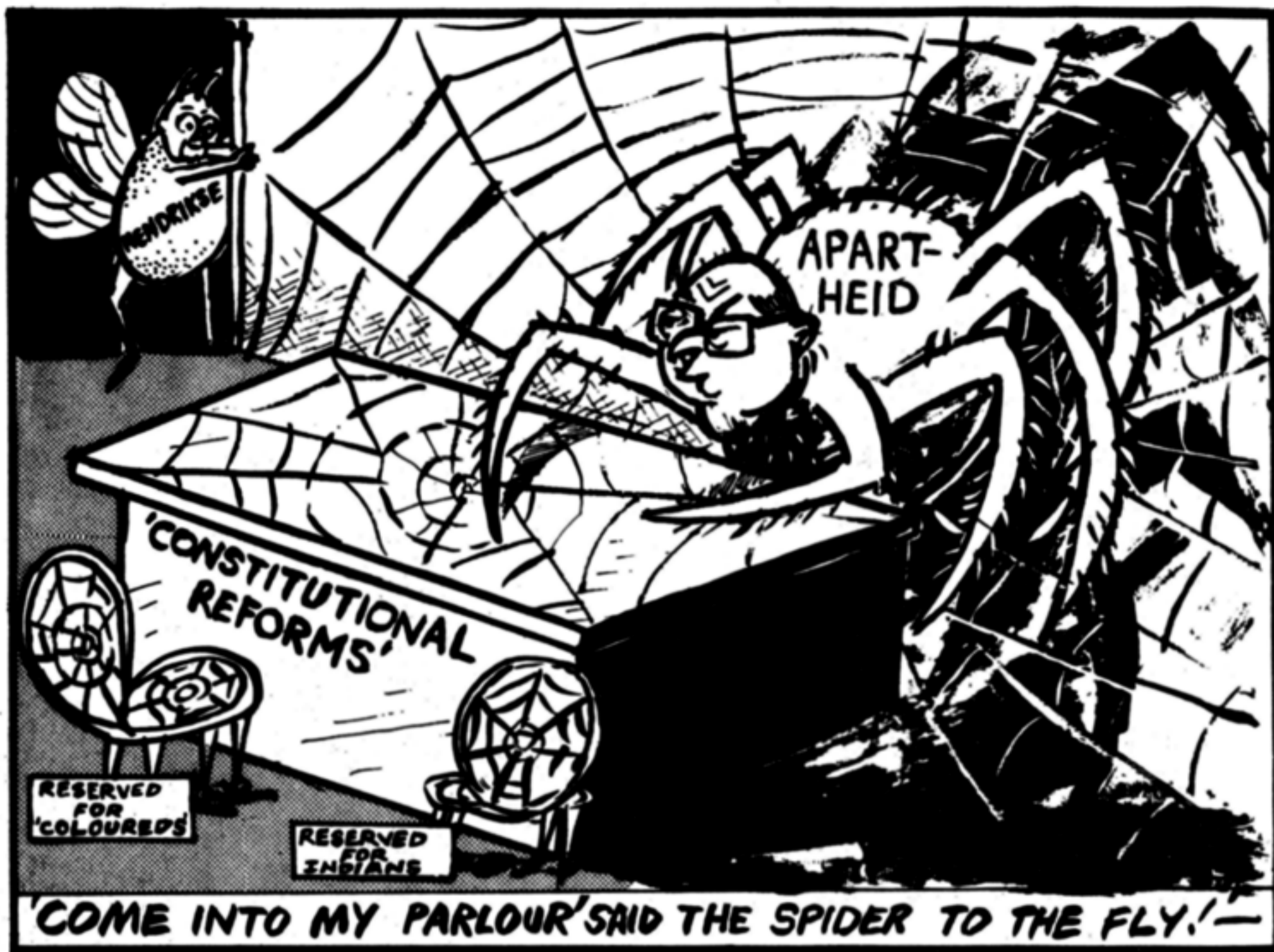
Our task here is not to explain the policies of the UDF or to counter the slanders against it — that will need a whole article — we just simply want to put the record straight.

It was in January at the Congress of the Transvaal anti-South African Indian Council that Dr Allan Boesak made the call for unity and joint action against the constitutional 'reforms.' He called on churches, civic organisations and sports bodies to unite in the struggle for a non-racial, democratic South Africa, to pool their resources and inform the people of the fraud that is about to be perpetrated in their name.

On May 1st 1983 the democratic traditions of the Transvaal Indian Congress were re-activated, when this organisation was re-

vived at a meeting attended by 1 500 people and chaired by Dr E Jassat at Ramakrishna Hall in Lenasia. Since May, regional UDFs — in Natal, Transvaal and Western Cape — were set up. The unbanning of several black political leaders at a time when the Coloured Labour Party — or rather the majority of its leadership who influence policy and opinion in the Labour Party — had accepted the racist government's new constitutional proposals, which, among other things, exclude Africans, aroused the conscience and moral impulses of the people. The racists are forcing constitutional proposals on the people, the tri-cameral or tri-racial constitution for Whites, Indians and Coloureds. The constitution of South Africa, says the UDF, must be written by all the people of South Africa — it must be totally democratic in its conception and implementation.

The other question which resulted in the emergence of the UDF was the Koomhof Bills. Piet Koornhof is the racist Minister of Co-operation and Development. His bills, especially the African Local Authorities Act, which, it is said, offers black townships the



same powers as those enjoyed by white municipalities, are designed to weaken the people's resistance whilst entrenching apartheid.

In other words the emergence of the UDF was a reaction to the disastrous policies of the regime. The whole talk about 'power-sharing' in South Africa is nothing but a journalistic catchphrase. These 'changes' are not genuine 'reforms.' On the contrary, the only action one sees is the 'resettlement' of people, the tightened influx control, Group Areas Act, killing of people, destruction of people's homes as people are thrown out into the bitterly cold night, and ANC militants are sent to the gallows.

In the Western press there is much confusion about Botha's 'reforms.' These have been portrayed as 'benevolence' or the opposite of apartheid. The ruthlessness and violence with which apartheid is being enforced hardly justify the use of the term 'reforms.' 'Reforms' and violence (and naked brutality) are, in practice in South Africa, not mutually exclusive, because 'reforms' are used to just-

ify the use of violence in the endeavour to enforce apartheid — there should be harmony in the country, so they think. This more often than not escapes the Western journalists.

In other words the emergence of the UDF is a reaction to the worsening situation. The UDF mobilises all people into one mass movement and co-ordinates community resistance, but it does not purport to be a substitute movement to accredited people's movements. It articulates the viewpoint of the broad cross-section of the people; the fundamental principle is that the discrimination falls on the poor. Accordingly, the main thrust of the organisation is directed towards the participation of the working people in the work-place, in the communities or wherever they may be.

The UDF is a united front in which all organisations will keep their identity and independence, but co-operate in opposing the President's Council, the new parliament and Koornhof's plans.

They seem to have grasped the essence of the national question in South Africa.

NKOBI SPEECH

THE SCOURGE OF RACISM MUST BE REMOVED FROM THE EARTH



Comrade Nkobi: a picture taken at the WCC Assembly earlier this year.

The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, organised by the United Nations, took place in Geneva on 1st-12th August, 1983. The President of the Conference was Hector Charry Samper, of Colombia, and the African National Congress was represented by its Treasurer-General, Comrade Thomas Nkobi, who addressed the Conference, and whose speech we give here.

Mr President,
On behalf of the African National Congress and the millions of oppressed and struggling people of South Africa, we wish, through you, Sir, to thank the Secretary-General, Mr Perez de Cuellar, for the invitation extended to our organisation to participate in this his-

toric conference. His personal hatred of the apartheid system and racism in all its forms has not escaped the attention of our people. Whilst his resolve to bring about the speedy implementation of the United Nations resolutions and decisions to put an end to the apartheid system and achieve the independence of Namibia might earn him the international pariah's enmity, it certainly serves as a source of inspiration and encouragement to our people and the justice-loving forces the world over.

Mr President,
We wish to add the voice of the African National Congress to the sentiments expressed by the distinguished delegates who have preceded us in saying how elated we are to have

you, another ferocious anti-racist and singularly able diplomat from Latin America, to assume the eminent office of President of the Conference.

We would like to convey the fraternal greetings and congratulations of Comrade President Oliver Tambo, who expresses sincere apologies to you, the Secretary-General, and all the distinguished delegates, for his involuntary absence. He has instructed us to convey through you, Sir, and to all the participants at this historic Conference, his regret that he is unable to personally convey the fraternal greetings of his colleagues, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and all other political prisoners languishing in apartheid gaols.

Despite the exceptionally tight security measures and inhuman conditions under which they are incarcerated at the Pollsmoor Prison and Robben Island, you will no doubt be pleased to learn that Nelson Mandela is aware and appreciative of the moving manner in which a number of governments, organisations and cities observed and celebrated his 65th birthday on the 18th of July this year. They are aware of and strengthened by the honours bestowed on them as part of the campaign for their release. The granting of the freedom of cities like Olympia, Glasgow, Rome; the naming of public places in London and Leeds, the conferring of honorary degrees by universities such as Lesotho, Amsterdam in the Netherlands, City College in the United States, Brussels in Belgium, are but part of these gestures that serve to fuel the fortitude and resilience of all apartheid political prisoners.

Our people's attention and that of the freedom-loving forces of the world is today intensely focused on this Geneva Conference. Their expectations as to its outcome are understandably high. The reasons are clear, and, in our opinion, merit the undivided attention and appropriate action by the representatives of the peoples of the world, whose massive presence we hail.

This Conference has the task of formulating ways and means, including specific

measures aimed at ensuring the full and universal implementation of the United Nations resolutions and decisions on racism, of taking stock of the results of our activities over the past ten years, of assessing our achievements, examining our shortcomings and setting out a programme of action for the struggle to wipe the scourge of racism from our planet.

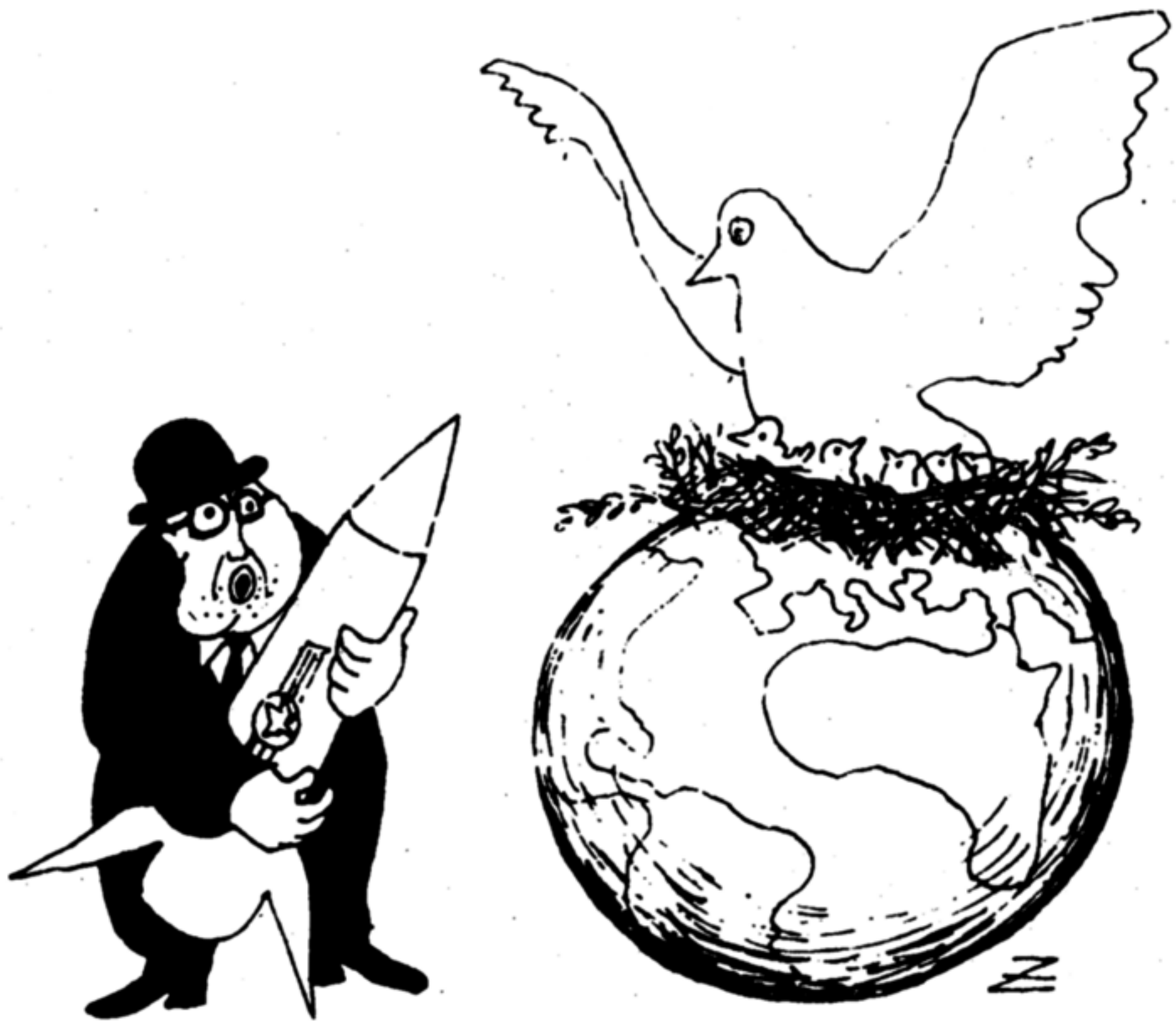
The Conference takes place when the Pretoria regime's utterances and actions clearly show that it is determined to perpetuate its illegal occupation of Namibia, consolidate the apartheid system in South Africa itself, and intensify the destabilisation of the Front Line States and its acts of aggression.

Although the Decade to Combat Racial Discrimination has not been wholly successful, there has been appreciable moral and political support for the elimination of racism and apartheid. The collapse of the erstwhile buffer zone in Southern Africa, in other words the independence of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, has brought the freedom frontiers to the doorstep of South Africa. This, together with the growing struggle of the peoples in South Africa and Namibia, has pushed the regime into an unprecedented political and economic crisis.

The South African racist regime, acting out of desperation, has stepped up internal repression and is engaged in brazen acts of aggression against neighbouring independent African states. In this it is not alone. It has won the active support of a powerful friend and ally, whose utterances and actions in support of the Pretoria regime are justified by its global strategy and the need to counter the so-called spread of Soviet influence.

This Conference coincides with the resurgence of fascism and the increase of racism, not only in Western Europe. For instance, the *International Herald Tribune* of 30-31 July 1983 reports that fascists in Italy and elsewhere in Europe are celebrating the hundredth birthday of Mussolini.

Racism can be traced to the advent of colonialism and slavery. In order to rationalise and justify the untold crimes of plunder and genocide committed in foreign lands ag-



"Damn, she's hatching already!"

against indigenous populations, the colonialists and slave traders evolved theories that described people belonging to racial groups different from theirs as inferior and sub-human. The invading expeditions were described as pilgrimages or crusades to 'civilise pagans.'

Today, racial discrimination stands condemned as a violation of basic human rights, totally indefensible, a stain on any country or people who dare to accommodate and foster such practices in their society. Racism does not only affect those against whom it is directed. It is a cancer which tends to spread beyond national boundaries and poison the whole atmosphere of international relations.

Hence the task is not only to destroy it at national level, but to give maximum assistance to those confronting this evil in all countries.

The conscience of mankind is still deeply disturbed by the fact that human beings could have been led to participate in some of the worst atrocities in the whole of human history under the Nazi banner. After the Nazis had exterminated over six million Jews, and at the cost of more than 50 million lives, they were defeated. Their defeat, however, did not uproot and destroy the ideology of racism and Nazism. For three years after the end of World War Two, the true followers of Naz-

ism, united in the Nationalist Party which is today led by P W Botha, came to power in South Africa and set about the creation of a South African version of the Nazi Third Reich. Today the apartheid regime is the most brutal form of race tyranny the world has known since the days of Nazism.

There are important similarities between Hitler's Germany and racist South Africa ruled by P W Botha. Hitler's followers in South Africa have meticulously planned and ruthlessly built, on the basis of the same racial theories, a regime which is, in practically every aspect, an exact replica of Hitler's Nazi regime, complete with its 'final solution' of the so-called 'native question.'

Permit us, briefly, to compare the two regimes. Three weeks after Hitler's advent to power, on 21st February 1933, the Reichstag Building (Parliament) was set on fire in Berlin. One week later massive arrests of communists took place throughout Germany, with most communist party offices closed and property confiscated. Then, in May 1933, having persuaded President von Hindenburg to suspend certain sections of the constitution, Hitler banned the communist party. Thereafter, all critics of the Nazi regime were branded communists, tools or agents of communism. This step marked the beginning of the Nazi racial dictatorship.

Similarly, in South Africa in 1950, the 'Suppression of Communism Act' was passed, the communist party banned and all critics of the Nationalist Party regime labelled communists or tools of communism. The definition of communism was so wide that anyone or any organisation opposing the regime could be — and hundreds have been — charged, listed or banned under this law.

In September 1935 the Nazi congress in Nuremburg enacted legislation that had far-reaching and tragic consequences for the Jewish people. The first set of the Nuremburg laws were 'Laws for the Protection of German Blood and German Honour.' Marriages between Jews and citizens of German or kindred blood were forbidden. Marriages concluded in defiance of this law were void, even if, for

the purpose of evading this law, they were concluded abroad. The stated purpose of this law was to preserve the purity of the German blood. In addition, extra-marital sexual relations between Jews and Germans or kindred blood were forbidden. Heavy penalties were imposed, including, in one case at least, the death penalty.

In South Africa, one of the first laws enacted by the Nationalist Party government was the 'Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act' which prohibits marriage between Whites and Blacks, and declares null and void any such marriage entered into outside South Africa. Introducing this law in Parliament, Donges, the then Minister of the Interior, explained that this law was necessary in order 'to check blood mixtures and promote racial purity.' The following year, 1950, the 'Immorality Act' was passed, prohibiting sexual relations between black and white.

In South Africa the 'Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act' of 1959 seeks to deprive all Africans of citizenship rights in South Africa. Several million black South Africans have already lost all rights to their South African citizenship, and according to the stated intentions of the regime, there will in future not be a single black South African. They will all be citizens of the Bantustans, and therefore foreigners in the land of their birth, South Africa. This is part of the 'final solution' to the 'native question' in South Africa. In Nazi Germany, at the Nazi Congress in Nuremburg, the 'Citizenship Law' was passed. It read as follows: "A Reich citizen is a national of German or kindred blood only ... according to law only Reich citizens will have full political rights." Overnight, all German Jews became stateless.

In education, the place of the Jewish child in Nazi Germany was the same as that of the black child in South Africa. The Nazis passed a law entitled, 'The Law Against Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities' which led to a drastic reduction in the number of Jewish children in mixed schools and higher institutions of learning. Later, all

Jewish children were expelled and excluded from German schools. Similarly, in South Africa, the Nationalist Party Government passed the 'Bantu Education Act' in 1953, and in 1959 the 'Extension of Universities Act.' Introducing this law in the 'whites only' Parliament, Prime Minister Malan declared, "For a white minority to face a large majority of civilised and educated non-whites wishing to share our way of life, and striving for equality in all respects, would make the fight for a white South Africa immeasurably more difficult." The aim of this piece of legislation was to reduce the African people to semi-literate, servile, modern slaves of the racist regime.

The law compelling Jews to carry identification documents was passed in 1938. It read, "Jews who are German subjects, in accordance with their characteristics as Jews, have until December 31 1938 to apply at their respective police stations for identification cards. As soon as they have the identification cards, Jews over the age of 15 must, upon official demand, prove their identity by producing the identification card. Failure to comply with these regulations will be treated as an exceptionally serious offence." In 1957 the Nationalist government passed the 'Natives (Abolition of Passes and Coordination of Documents) Act,' which requires all Blacks over the age of 16 years to carry an identification document known as a 'pass book' or 'reference book,' and "any native who fails to produce the reference book on demand shall be guilty of an offence and liable to the penalties prescribed."

In both Nazi Germany and South Africa laws were passed to exclude Jews and Blacks from certain categories of work; to prevent mixed worship or mixing on a social level; to deny trade union rights and collective bargaining; to deny both Jews and Africans property rights; to control their freedom of movement, of expression and opinion, sporting activities and so on.

We have in some detail tried to demonstrate the basic similarities between the Nazi regime and the Nationalist Government in South Africa.



ionalist Party regime in Pretoria. The racial theories which form their basic ideologies are well known. Furthermore, we wish to emphasise that, despite talk about 'reforms' in South Africa — and supporters and apologists of the racist regime are actively promoting the falsehood that South Africa is changing in the right direction — despite the talk of reform, not a single one of these Nazi-like racist laws has been removed from the South African statute books. If anything, these laws are being implemented with ever-growing brutality, whilst new and more vicious ones are being enacted.

Today, the racist apartheid regime has demonstrated in bloody aggression and atrocities the danger it poses to the whole of humankind. In our condemnation of the racist aggression of apartheid South Africa, the inheritors of the mantle of Nazi Germany as indicated above, we must also note that these policies are supported by the United States' policy of 'constructive engagement.'

In the words of our President, Oliver Tambo:

"Under the US policy of 'constructive engagement' there has been an increase in US investments, loans and the financing of apartheid; new avenues of military and nuclear co-operation with the racist regime have been opened up — as for example the sale of Helium-3, which is used in the production of thermo-nuclear weapons and the sale of sophisticated computers and technology directly related to the nuclear research and development programme of the regime. 'Constructive engagement' has destroyed rather than saved life. For the black majority, infant mortality remains the highest in the world while life expectancy is the lowest in the world; unemployment of black workers has now reached the astronomical figure of 2½ millions — more than 20% of the economically active population; educational spending for Blacks continues to be 20 times less than for white South Africans; more than 80% of the black people live below the poverty datum line; millions of African people have

been denied their birthright and dumped in the bantustans ... All this is happening whilst the Pretoria regime is proclaiming a policy of reform. But it is not a policy of reform: it is a policy of ever more violence and repression. As *Newsweek* magazine (21st March 1983) has stated, apartheid has a 'harsh new grip.' A 'harsh new grip' is part of the reality we have come to associate with 'constructive engagement.'

On the African continent, racism has manifested itself as an offshoot of fascism, and for every victory scored against colonial forces, the sphere of operation of racism has been reduced. Thus the victories scored by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola against Portuguese colonialism, the defeat of British colonialism in Zimbabwe, have greatly strengthened the prospects of complete elimination of racism on the African continent.

The question of apartheid has occupied a prominent place on the agenda of the United Nations and its agencies for more than 35 years, and has been well documented and exposed to the international community. The task of the ANC at this important conference is not only to document the effects of racist South Africa on the majority of its population, but to give our perspectives of how the international community can, in practical terms, assist our cause.

The genocidal forced population removals — demographic engineering on a scale equivalent only to Nazi German's liquidationist 'final solution' — in which more than three million of our people have been forced, often at gunpoint, into rural concentration camps and left to die; the more than half a million people imprisoned annually by the regime for being without a 'pass'; the starvation of millions of black people in the midst of plenty; the death from malnutrition and its related diseases of hundred of thousands of our children; and the denial of South African citizenship to, ultimately, all black South Africans through the balkanisation of our country into so-called 'homelands' or 'independent national states,' is well docu-

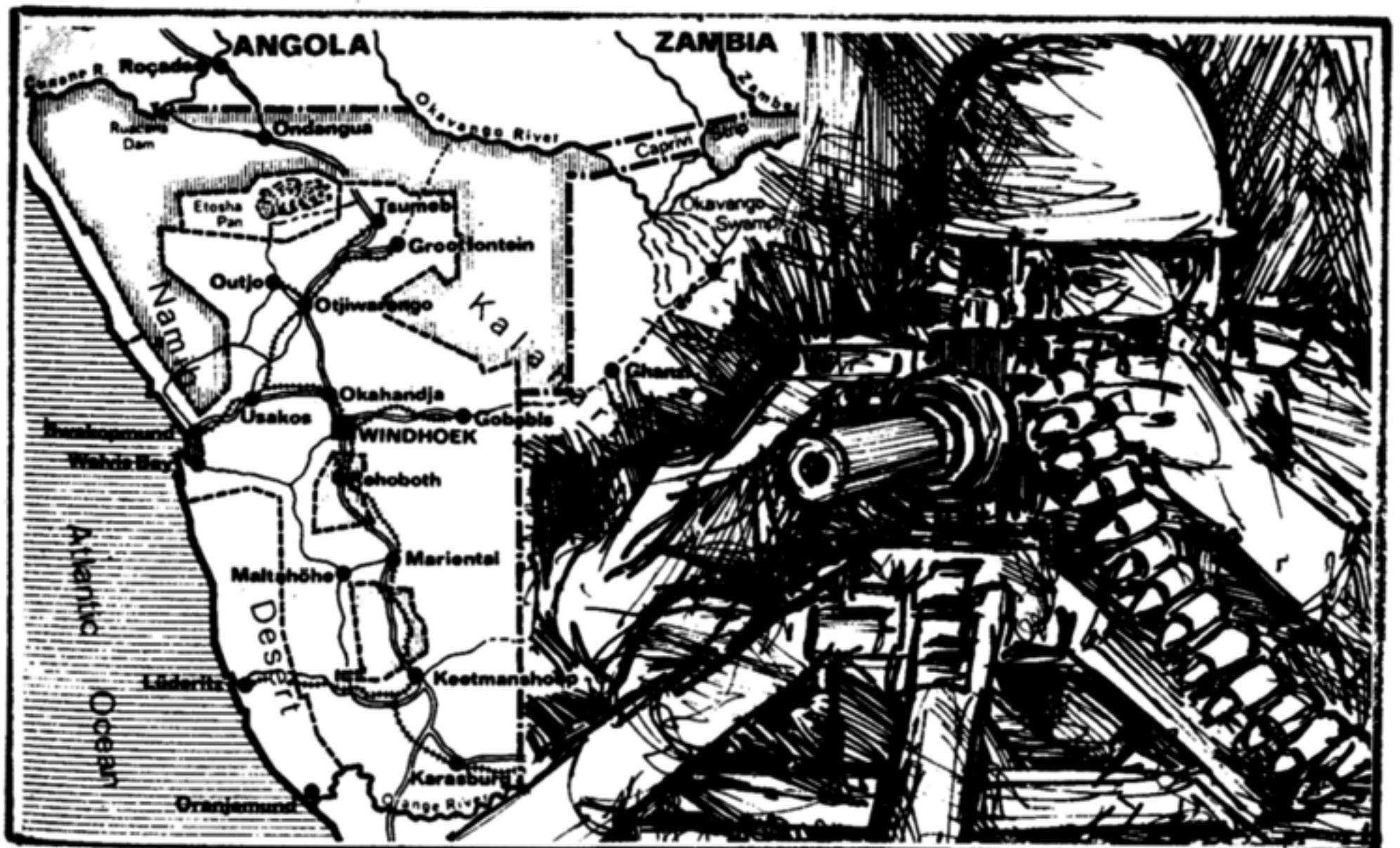
mented and available for all to read. It is not possible to say of apartheid, as was said by some after the full horrors of the Nazi holocaust became known at the end of the Second World War, that 'we did not know.' The whole world knows, but unfortunately some still condone and actively lend support to apartheid — especially the United States.

Racist South Africa's policies and practices constitute a breach of international peace and security, especially in the region of Southern Africa. We in the African National Congress call on the international community and the world progressive forces to actively oppose the illegal apartheid regime. Just as the world forces united to defeat Hitler's National Socialism in all its bestiality, so let the world unite to assist us by all means possible to rid the world of the modern-day Nazis, to rid the world of the scourge of apartheid.

Over many decades Southern Africa has been the theatre of bloody conflict between the forces of revolution and reaction. There has hardly been a moment of peace. The cost

in human lives lost, maimed and displaced, to say nothing of the destruction of material wealth, has been enormous. The regime is responsible for 50% of the world's legal executions. In 1980 alone, 129 people were hanged.

In addition, thousands upon thousands have been mown down in cold blood. The catalogue of racist Pretoria's crimes against the people of South Africa is a grisly record of invasions, assassinations, massacres, destruction of the economic infrastructure of countries, attempted coups d'etat and general destabilisation. It is a record of barbarism. The daily experience of our whole region is one of violence, of continuing episodes of unceasing war that we have lived with ever since imperialism sent its first soldiers to our soil. Our land was taken from us by war, our independence was destroyed by war, and when we peacefully asserted our claims to the most elementary human rights, we were gunned down with the instruments of war. Now, when our people have answered the brutality of the racist and colonial regime with spear



in hand, when the goals we seek are supported by the whole organised international community, we are attacked as obstacles to what is called a peaceful settlement of the South African problem.

It is a matter of proud historical record that the people of the United States took up arms to wrest power from British colonialism. Furthermore, the United States constitution underlines the right to do this. Yet the US Under-Secretary for Political Affairs, Eagleburger, says that whilst the United States accepts the need for a non-racial order in South Africa, "it must be given and not taken."

There is only one source of war in our region, and that is the racist and fascist regime. Apartheid is synonymous with war; it makes war on the people of our country; it shoots down children in the streets; it murders trade unionists and others in prison, and wages undeclared war against African independent states. The challenge that faces the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, is great indeed, for we must intensify the struggle. Today, inside our country, combining legal and illegal methods of struggle, the ANC has been able to draw into mass action millions of oppressed people, resulting in ever-heightening resistance at all levels to the racist regime.

At the same time the intensification of our armed struggle has led to an important qualitative development in our struggle for national liberation and social justice. Thus, despite being banned for over twenty years, the ANC has been able to impose its own legality inside the country. The Freedom Charter has become the rallying point for all democratic forces in South Africa, and its declaration that:

"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; and all apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside,"

is basic to the goals and aspirations of our people, as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

To help in achieving the eradication of the apartheid system, the African National Congress calls on the international community to:

- * Increase political, diplomatic, material and other assistance to the people of Namibia, through SWAPO, their sole and authentic representative, and to demand the immediate and unconditional implementation of the UN Plan, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 435 and other resolutions

- * Accelerate the campaigns for the release of all South African and Namibian political prisoners

- * Demand that the apartheid regime treats captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war under the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Additional Protocol One thereof, in accordance with Paragraph 17 of the UN General Assembly Resolution 37/69A of 9 December 1982

- * Fight for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations

- * Demand the cessation of all collaboration with South Africa in the nuclear field, in particular by certain Western states and Zionist Israel

- * Prohibit all technological assistance or collaboration with the apartheid regime in the manufacture of arms and military supplies, and ensure the maintenance of an effective, mandatory arms embargo

- * Prohibit all loans to and investments in apartheid South Africa, and the termination of all trade with the regime

- * Impose a mandatory oil embargo, especially in the countries in which are based the transnationals and shippers who supply and deliver oil and oil products to the apartheid regime, to render the oil embargo effective

- * Strengthen and render effective a comprehensive sport and cultural boycott of South Africa

- * Expose and denounce as widely as possible the acts of aggression, subversion and econ-

omic sabotage through which the apartheid regime seeks to destabilise the Front Line, Indian Ocean and other neighbouring states

* Secure the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the apartheid regime's armed forces and bandits from those parts of Southern Angola which they continue to occupy

* Stop the apartheid regime from recruiting, training, equipping, financing and rendering intelligence, logistical and other support to armed bandits and mercenaries, especially from Western countries

* Mobilise all countries to condemn apartheid as a crime against humanity.

* Increase political and material assistance to the African National Congress, the vanguard movement of the oppressed people of South Africa, and recognised as such by the OAU

* Pledge all-round support for the African National Congress in its fight for the elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a free and democratic South Africa by all

means possible, including that of armed struggle.

In conclusion, the African National Congress would like to place on record our appreciation and thanks to all who have campaigned so actively over the past decade in exposing racism and apartheid, those who have fought untiringly to ensure that the world knows about the criminal apartheid regime and its activities, who have, at the same time, rendered invaluable assistance to the ANC, both material and political, and ensured that the struggle continues!

For our part, and in the name of the heroic, fighting people of our country, we pledge that we shall not betray the trust you have placed in us as the ANC, to spearhead the offensive for the overthrow of the illegal apartheid regime, and to remove for all time this intolerable blight on human society.



WE HAVE TAKEN A DECISION TO LIBERATE OURSELVES

This exclusive Radio Freedom interview with Comrade Joe Modise, Member of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, was first printed in the ANC journal, Mayibuye, No 4&5, of 1983.

Q. How do you assess the level of armed struggle in South Africa?

A. The armed struggle inside our country is widespread. It covers the four provinces of our country, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, Natal and the Cape. Umkhonto We Sizwe has carried out varied operations inside our country. Some of them are sophisticated, while some are simple operations which enable the masses also to participate. MK has managed to carry out these varied operations because of the participation of the people. The people are participating in carrying out the operations themselves, assisting MK cadres with information, food supplies where necessary, and also hiding them.

In showing the level that our operations have reached inside South Africa, I would like to enumerate a few operations. If one must go through all operations carried out by MK, we will spend the whole evening discussing. Of course, most of the operations that I am going to cite are the ones that have been admitted by the enemy himself. Among them is the operation out at Mochaneng in the Western Transvaal. There, our forces had a skirmish with the enemy forces, and the enemy lost ten of its men.

At Voortrekkerhoogte, the headquarters of the South African Defence Force, our men used heavy artillery. Five rockets were fired on Voortrekkerhoogte, and the result is that more than fifty enemy soldiers died. This we know, even though the enemy put a news black-out over the operation.

More recently, there was Komatipoort. An enemy encampment was assaulted, together with a police station. The encampment, which held more than 40 enemy personnel, was flattened. As usual, the enemy tried to suppress this information, and said only two policemen were injured. In Soweto and many other places, scores of policemen have been injured and killed by our daring combatants.

I need not say much about Sasol. The whole world knows about Sasol. The flames of Sasol were not only seen in South Africa but were televised throughout the world. In Paulpietersburg, Mkhuzi and Hectorspruit, large petrol storage tanks were destroyed by our heroic cadres. The people still remember those flames with jubilation.

The other operation I would like to touch upon is the Koeberg Nuclear Power Station. This is a top secret plant. It is a place where the enemy has organised his security to such an extent that he feels that nothing could ever enter the place. But because Umkhonto We Sizwe is an organisation of the people — it is part of the people — it was possible for us to penetrate it. A number of

powerful explosives were placed on this plant.

Four explosions rocked the place.

Now, this station, which was supposed to have started operation early this year, we are told will start operating later this year. We do not believe that the station is going to be in operation by late this year, and if it is, there is a very big risk involved because a nuclear power station, once an explosion has taken place on the outside, the naked eye cannot see the effects of the explosion on the inside encasement of the reactors. Thus, there is always the possibility that there could be a crack. The power of those explosions leaves us in no doubt that such a crack must have occurred in the casing. And if they are going to start activating this power station there is the risk of radioactive particles escaping through the cracks, and will be a hazard to the people of that part of the country.

Now, comrade Joe, you have touched on the question of the involvement of the masses in the struggle. Would you say that MK enjoys maximum co-operation and support from the masses?

There is no doubt about that. I have repeatedly said that if it were not for the assistance of the masses MK would not have succeeded in carrying out these operations. MK is rooted in the people. It owes all successes to this fact. The ANC, which is the creator of MK, articulates the aspirations of the people. It is championing the struggle inside the country for national liberation, and that is the cause of the people. It is for that reason that we say MK enjoys full support and co-operation of our people.

I want to go a little further and touch upon the activities of MK and the people. MK has given hope to our people. Our people are now confident of the success of their struggle. Before these operations became so widespread, the enemy was able to give an impression of invincibility, and oppress our people ruthlessly. We were at a point where the people were afraid to talk about their

struggle, where they spoke of the ANC in whispers. But after the operations of MK were intensified, the people gained a new confidence. Today, young people of our country identify openly with Umkhonto We Sizwe. The colours of our organisation are worn openly, and slogans of the ANC are chanted openly, in defiance of the regime.

For the past few years Umkhonto We Sizwe has been concentrating on military and economic installations. Will this continue to be the pattern, in view of the enemy's stated goal of physically eliminating the ANC?

You will notice that the operations that I have enumerated were not confined to military and economic targets. They have gone beyond that. I have said that MK cadres have had clashes with the enemy where the enemy has suffered casualties. Camps and police stations have been attacked where the enemy has suffered casualties. Notorious informers and policemen have been singled out and attacked by MK cadres. We are going to continue with enemy military installations and economic targets. It is imperative for us to deal with military installations and personnel because if we do not we are denying ourselves the opportunity of weakening the enemy because it is from these that he draws his strength. Economic targets have already shown their effect on South Africa. South Africa has had to borrow one billion dollars to continue the struggle against us.

In future we are going to increase the frequency of the assault on these military installations and economic targets, and to add to that, we are also going to increase the assault on enemy personnel. Over the coming few years the number of encounters against the enemy is going to increase. We are going to make it a point that South Africa becomes unsafe for those who are bent on oppressing our people.

Now, comrade commander, the ANC is noted at home and abroad for being selective in its military operations. This approach has been

a centre of discussions inside and outside South Africa. Could you explain the ANC attitude now?

The ANC is a people's movement. It is not a terrorist organisation. It is bound to be selective in its targets. It is going to deal with those who have taken up arms against the people. Those who are suppressing aspirations of the people with arms in hand are going to be targets of the African National Congress.

The African National Congress is not going to go out to kill women and children. This is not our aim. Our aim is to deal with those who are enforcing the laws of that country, those who are making apartheid what it is today.

During the funeral of one of the leaders of the ANC, the late Comrade Joe Gqabi, the President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, said that we are going to bleed and die, but this is going to apply as well to the enemy. How should we understand this?

The President meant that if the South African government persists with its oppressive laws, the scale of clashes between the oppressor and the oppressed is bound to rise. And naturally, in such a situation, there is going to be casualties on both sides, but if the Botha regime persists with its oppressive policies, that level is bound to rise. There are definitely going to be a lot of fascist South African soldiers dying on the one hand, and us as well on the other hand. But we are prepared to pay the supreme sacrifice for the emancipation of our country.

No people can accept slavery for ever. We have reached a stage where we have taken a decision to liberate ourselves, and no force on earth can stop us from attaining that objective.

I suppose, comrade commander, you would now like to discuss the state of affairs in as far as six of our combatants who are condemned to death are concerned. The enemy

has been continuing to impose death sentences on combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe. What should be our response?

First and foremost, we think that this is illegal murder on the part of the enemy. Secondly, we regard those combatants as prisoners of war; they are not criminals, they are not terrorists, but they are freedom fighters. They are a group of people who made up their minds to fight for their own emancipation. It is exactly what the Boers did themselves against the English during the Anglo-Boer war. Their men who were arrested by the British were taken in as prisoners of war, and after the war they were set free. We maintain and believe that our people should be accorded that status. If they proceed with these legal murders, it will only harden attitudes, it will create a situation which will bring about bitterness and strife amongst our people. We are saying that they should heed that warning for the sake of South Africa. They should spare the lives of those young men, and accord them prisoner of war status.

To add a little to that question. With the march of time, I believe that the ANC shall also capture enemy soldiers and various other types of enemy personnel. What will be the attitude of the ANC towards these people?

I am happy you have asked that question, because not far from now on, we are going to capture some of their people. We are going to make it a point to capture them. Our attitude and treatment will be determined by what the enemy does to our people. If they accord them prisoner of war status, we shall also accord their people the same status. If they are going to murder them, then the decision on their people shall have been made by them and not us. They will bear the responsibility for what will happen to their people whom we are going to capture in the very near future. And I must say we have got the capacity to do so. They may not think so, but we do have the capacity to capture their people.

CISKEI IN TURMOIL

BY NYAWUZA

Things have been going steadily downhill in the Ciskei since the flagpole fell over on 'independence' day. We have reported about these incidents before. Today we want to concentrate on the latest developments, especially the deep rifts in the Ciskeian hierarchy.

Cowboy stuff

It all happened when the Mdantsane 'Councillor,' Caweni Sotyelelwa, spoke at the annual congress of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party. Caweni Sotyelelwa was not scheduled to speak, but stood up after 'President' Lennox Sebe, and passed a vote of full confidence in him. He warned that people who want to oust Lennox Sebe are those who are close to him. He was cut short, and was detained. He was accused of wanting to divide the Sebe family.

At a cabinet meeting the Minister of Works, Doyle Jongilanga, was so incensed at the remarks made by Sotyelelwa that he seized an ashtray and flung it across the Cab-

inet room at the old man. The old man ducked and the ashtray struck the 'Foreign Minister' B N Pityi, on the eyebrow, causing a nasty gash.

At another cabinet meeting, Lennox Sebe struck his brother Namba in the face, causing Charles Sebe to draw his pistol on his brother, the Ciskeian 'President.' This is all cowboy stuff.

The Sebe Brothers: Charles Sebe

The Sebe brothers are known for their lack of modesty.

Charles Sebe's rise through the ranks from a police sergeant to Commander-General of State Security in only five years was spectacular. He was aided by his elder brother, Lennox, who is the 'President.' His rapid promotion — in terms of last year's National Security Act — made it possible for him even to "exercise the powers of the President in urgent cases."

He detained and arrested scores of people, 15

mostly trade unionists, Fort Hare students, church field workers and people resisting re-settlement, under the pretext of fighting communism and maintaining 'state security.' People were locked up without recourse to courts. In 1981 Ciskei detained 318 people – the highest number among all bantustans. Charles became the most feared and hated man. He was powerful: he controlled the military police, prison, traffic and intelligence forces. Even before his appointment to head the Ciskei Intelligence Service in 1977, Charles was deeply involved in anti-ANC campaigns in the Eastern Cape during the nineteen-sixties. Then he was working for BOSS. At one stage his job, for South Africa, was to watch over the late Steve Biko.

Charles Sebe, this man who talks with the frenzy of a man possessed, is a typical product of the South African Police – both uniformed and security branch. He once said: "I know the communists are after my blood, but I cannot be killed by heathens. God has spoken to me. He won't kill me until communism is eradicated from South Africa."

Perhaps that is why he slept with a machine gun next to him, and why his house was patrolled by dogs and policemen with machine guns, and why he had half a dozen bodyguards who stayed with him day and night – that is, before his arrest by his brother.

Lennox Sebe

Lennox Sebe, a commoner by birth, was appointed a chief after he became Chief Minister ten years ago. Today he is 'President for Life' in the Ciskei and he gets R29 808 a year plus another R12 000 personal non-taxable allowance. Altogether the equivalent of about £24 500. (Matanzima of the Transkei, whose income was roughly the same, has now had his salary raised to R75 000 without allowances, which makes him the highest paid politician in South Africa, higher paid than the Prime Minister or the State President.)

Lennox Sebe is said to own a R3 million eight-seater jet aircraft rumoured to have be-

longed to Menachem Begin of Israel. This jet has become a permanent monument at East London's Ben Schoeman Airport, where it has been parked since delivery, because Ciskei has no airfield where it can land. Sebe's other aeronautical joy is a four-seater helicopter. He has a Ronald Reagan-style Cadillac limousine, three expensive West German cars and another 'ordinary' sedan in which he is chauffeured around. He intends to obtain a 'seafaring' vessel. Part of this luxury are his never-ending trips overseas.

Nepotism is rife in the Ciskei: four policemen were banned there for giving the President's son a ticket for a traffic offence, and a public prosecutor who gave bail to a man accused of stealing something from the President's bottle-store found himself in gaol!

But in July this nepotism came to an abrupt end. Four members of the Sebe family – including Charles – and ten other top-heavy military-cum-security police officials were arrested. The son of Charles, a member of the Anti-Terrorist Squad, is among them.

These people are not detained because of any excesses – big official mansions, luxury cars, big salaries or arbitrary misuse of power – but because they attempted to coup Lennox, the 'President' of the Ciskei, who had to return unexpectedly from a short-lived visit to Israel.

What Actually Happened?

Many things happened. There is the difficult to explain case of two Cape Town women tourists who were involved in a shooting incident with six Ciskei police in mid-June. This was followed by another shooting incident at the house of the so-called Foreign Affairs Minister, B N Pityi, a staunch supporter and confidant of Lennox Sebe. There was also a rumour that an anonymous letter (probably from Charles and his friends) listing Lennox Sebe's shortcomings was sent from the Ciskei to the racist South African Prime Minister, P W Botha. Lennox Sebe cut short his trip to Israel. At Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg he was received by Pik Botha, the racist For-

eign Minister, and senior officials of his department.

There were rumours that Charles had tried to stage a coup while his brother was away. Within twenty-four hours of his return, Lennox called an emergency Cabinet meeting. Charles was demoted and later detained. His wide-ranging powers, which posed a potential threat that he might oust Lennox, were transferred to Lennox, who decided to make himself (through a Bill unanimously passed by Parliament) President for Life. There was a 'restructuring' of the security services.

The South African papers call this a palace coup or family feud.

But the fact that not only members of the Sebe family have been arrested means that there is a crisis in the Ciskei.

The Nature of the Crisis

The developments in the Ciskei are another indication — if any was still necessary — that apartheid is in crisis. The intrigues, corruption, detention of those who have themselves not scrupled to detain others, and more besides, are signs that the Ciskei is dangling at the end of strings pulled by Pretoria. It is the rotten fruit of apartheid.

Tyranny in the Ciskei is only possible because the bantustans are a creation of racist South Africa, which aids and abets them.

For the year prior to 'independence' Ciskei's entire budget was only R98 million, and R69 million of that was provided by racist South Africa. Lately, the South African grant has not kept pace with inflation. Ciskei overspent its budget in the 1975-76, 77-78 and 78-79 financial years.

Landlessness is a problem. The population pressure is doing enormous physical damage to the land; only 23% is free of erosion: almost half the pasturage is over-grazed, a figure which has probably shot up as a result of the drought — the worst drought in 200 years.

The role of the chiefs and headmen has changed radically over the years. They are

now recruited as functionaries of Sebe's ruling Ciskei National Independence Party — of the 'independent' bantustans. Ciskei is the only one in which nominated chiefs outnumber elected members in the National Assembly by 33 to 22, and seven of the eight Cabinet ministers are chiefs. Lennox Sebe made himself a 'chief' in the nineteen-seventies.

The chiefs are supposed to be allocators of land, but the number of people who are given land is getting smaller. Only 25% of Ciskeians have land rights, and the policy of encouraging the emergence of capitalist farmers is meant to reduce the proportion further. People are removed from the land within the Ciskei and relocated to settlements. The emerging class of farmers dare not protest against injustice lest they be deprived of their land. The people are being made dependent on chiefs and appointed headmen, and this dependency is supposed to produce acquiescence and not generate rebellion.

Almost half the population has been resettled there in the past twenty years. About 670 000 people live in the Ciskei — a further 1 300 000 are resident in South Africa, but have been stripped of their South African citizenship. Nearly half of the Ciskeians live in the townships of Zwelitsha and Mdantsane. There is one hospital bed for every 338 people — the worst ratio of all bantustans.

Ciskei 'exports' labour to South Africa: Mdantsane and Zwelitsha are dormitory townships to the East London industrial area. But Ciskei has the task of 'exporting' a docile work force; there is no room for militants — hence the trade union bashing and arrest of students. A Black Sash study found that it is better for a Ciskeian to spend nine months in a South African gaol and to work there for only three months than to stay at home.

The latest estimates are that it costs R10 000 in capital investment to create one job in the Ciskei. To absorb only the new work-seekers coming on to the market, Ciskei would have to spend R370 million — or build a new R1 million factory every day of the year including Sundays — and even that would not reduce existing unemployment.

Lennox Sebe has a simple formula to the solution of these problems: one meal a day for all!

The People React

The Sowetan (5.8.83) reported that 15 people were killed and another 35 injured in shooting incidents when Ciskei police and train commuters clashed in a 'bloody riot' in Mdantsane, the second largest township in South Africa after Soweto. Mdantsane was built in 1964.

The cause was a bus boycott by commuters over a 10% fare increase. The people preferred to use trains. Soldiers, all armed with rifles, were lined up along the railway line. When the people came to get on to the trains they were told to go and use buses. The people refused. And it happened.

The reaction of the Ciskei authorities was partly due to the fact that the Ciskei 'government' owns half the bus company that was boycotted. They reacted badly. A state of emergency was declared in Mdantsane. Arrests were made. A curfew was imposed from 10 p.m. to 4.30 a.m. People were shot, others shot dead. It is forbidden that more than four people should walk together in the street or to be in any house during the day. Garages close between 5.30 pm and 6 am, and restaurants, general dealers and bottle stores close at 7 pm. The penalty for contravening the regulations is R2000 or two years in gaol. People 'encouraging' - whatever that means - commuters to take part in a boycott could be gaoled for up to ten years. Ciskei security forces patrol the townships and people are kept indoors. Men armed with

clubs and swords - the so-called 'vigilantes' - acting with the connivance of the Ciskei authorities - are terrorising the people. The Ciskei authorities impound the cars of people who give lifts to workers, saying they are carrying passengers illegally. "Kubi" - "Things are very ugly out here!" say the people!

Conclusion

Apartheid is in crisis. These puppets who were hand-picked by the racists have become greedy, they further their own interests and careers and feather their own beds. Ciskei is dangling at the end of strings pulled by Pretoria, It is a rural prison and a dumping ground. By the way, Ciskei is not unique in this position, though it is probably the worst bantustan.

These developments in the Ciskei have reinforced the attitudes among Whites that Blacks are unfit to govern themselves. The problem is that these Whites are looking in a mirror, because Ciskei serves the interests of big business in South Africa as well as of the ruling elite in Ciskei. As a labour reservoir for South Africa it is an integral part of South Africa's political economy.

In the Ciskei the expectations of the people have not been met - and cannot be met - and the military-political elites have tightened their grips on the people. This and much worse is the price Ciskei is paying for 'independence.' What they are doing is sowing the seed that is begging for revolutionary solutions.



ANNOUNCEMENT INTERNATIONAL

World Council of Churches Sixth Assembly

The Sixth Assembly of the World Council of Churches took place in Vancouver, Canada, from July 24 to August 10, 1983. A veritable United Nations of the non-Roman Catholic world Christian community, the Assembly was attended by nearly 1 000 delegates, and an even larger number of observers, visitors and press people.

Meeting as it does once in seven years, the Assembly, among other things, had to formulate policy for the WCC for the period up to the end of the decade. Prominent among the issues that the Assembly had to consider was the question of apartheid South Africa in particular and Southern Africa in general.

In a powerful statement on the issue of apartheid, adopted with no opposition, the Assembly observed that:

“Apartheid raises barriers and denies the fullness of life in Christ. Christians and the Churches are called in obedience to Jesus Christ, the life of the world, and to maintain the integrity of the church, to oppose apartheid in all its forms, to support those who struggle against this sinful system of justice, and to denounce any theological justification of apartheid as a heretical perversion of the gospel.”

The Assembly went on to adopt a programme

of action which includes support for the Churches and for the liberation movements, material assistance for refugees, the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa, as well as condemnation of Pretoria's aggression against independent Africa, and denunciation of the proposed apartheid constitution currently being debated by the white minority parliament in Cape Town.

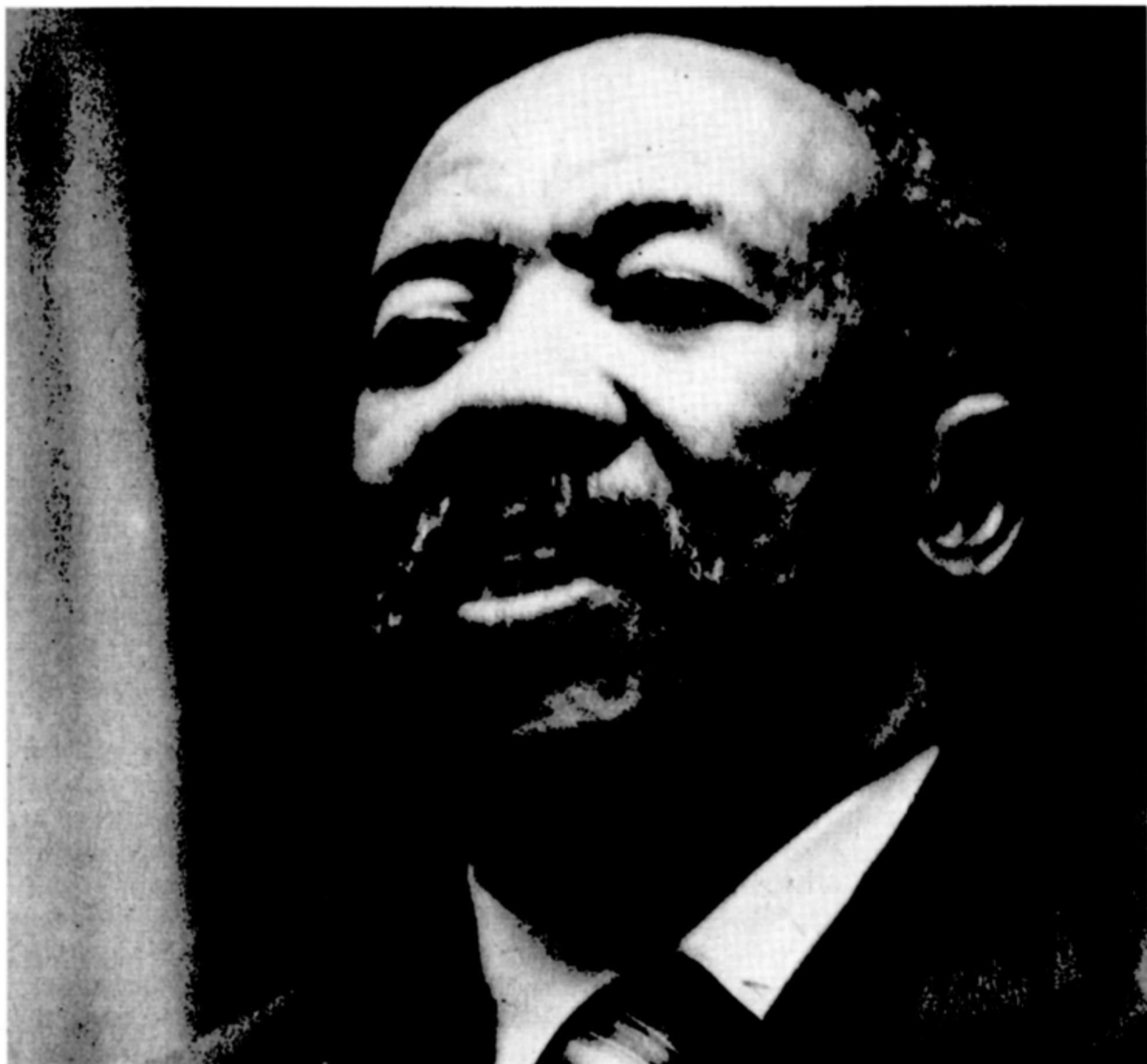
The delegation of the African National Congress to the Assembly was led by its Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo. The message he brought was not only of struggle, but also of confidence in a bright future for South Africa.

In a statement distributed at the Assembly, Alfred Nzo said:

“We too are forced to contemplate the violence and destruction of all that is good, human and of lasting value to our country, have to keep renewing our resolve to go back and rebuild and reconstruct the ruins, not now for privilege and racial bigotry, but for freedom, peace and opportunity with justice for all.”

The Secretary-General left the participants with a challenging message when he said,

“One need not remind a Christian Assembly that life is not simply a matter of 19



Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, at the WCC Assembly in Vancouver

breathing and the continuing functioning of organs ... It has to do with quality and not existence. We believe also that if life is to be lived it must also be defended ... where life is denied, we affirm it; where hatred between races is the gospel, we guarantee love; and where so many are engulfed in darkness, we hold out the promise of light. All that, however, takes place in circumstances of conflict ... In ANC, perhaps, in a small way, we attempt to represent today, wherever we are, a community of love and justice."

The WCC Assembly clearly agreed with these sentiments, for it accordingly decided to con-

tinue its support for the liberation movements of Southern Africa, having refused to support the Botha-Reagan axis, which seeks to discredit the Councils of Churches and present them as the very incarnation of the anti-Christ.

Christian Socialists Meet in Sweden

Peace and employment were the themes of the Congress of Christian Socialists, held in August in Bonnersvik, Sweden, and the discussion widened to include national liberation and the economic order in the world.

The Congress was organised by the League of Christian Social Democrats and the International League of Christian Socialists,



Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, at the WCC Assembly

and brought together delegates from 27 countries in North, Central and South America, Africa and Europe.

Addressing the Congress on behalf of the ANC, Comrade Father Michael Lapsley SSM spoke of massive black unemployment in South Africa as a direct result of Pretoria's racist policies. He spoke, too of the warlike and aggressive nature of the regime, and reminded the congress that the forces of imperialism have been responsible for giving this regime its nuclear capability. Quoting from both the Freedom Charter and *Strategy and Tactics of the ANC*, he said, "Before our decision to take up arms in defence of our people there was no effective way to stop the

hand of apartheid terror," and told the delegates that Christians in South Africa today are joining Umkhonto We Sizwe in increasing numbers.

He concluded by saying,

"Peace and employment will only come through the implementation of the Freedom Charter ... It is peace we want, and peace for which we are living and dying. It is peace for which we are waging our just war for liberation."

The Congress adopted a statement calling for nuclear and general disarmament, for a just economic order for the whole world and for



Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, at the Vancouver Assembl.

support for the struggle against racism. It described the war in Central America as "the result of expectations and rights of the Central American peoples to overcome the present conditions of injustice and oppression."

The statement also denounced apartheid as a threat to human dignity, calling for support for sanctions against South Africa, disinvestment, and for material support for the ANC, SWAPO and the Front Line States.

ANC Women's Representative Visits Australia

Comrade Mavis Nhlapo of the ANC Women's Secretariat in Lusaka visited Australia recently on a speaking tour. She was the guest of the All-African Students' Union in Australia,

and her tour was funded by the Australian Council of Churches and the Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (CARE).

She visited Melbourne, Sydney, Adelaide and Canberra, and the meetings were well attended.

Her visit led directly to the formation of ANC Support Groups in Melbourne and Sydney, and a similar group is being set up in Canberra. A member of CARE reports, "The groups — and, indeed, the visit by Mavis Nhlapo — are urgently needed because the 'ambassador' of the white minority South African regime is working energetically to influence Australian public opinion and the government."

He adds that as a result of her visit,

people in Australia are now more aware of the need to support the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

SACTU Comrade Visits Australia

Comrade Andrew Moletsane of ANC and SACTU toured Australia in August and September, as the guest of the Australian Union of Students and the newly-formed Melbourne ANC Support Group. He visited Adelaide, Canberra, Perth, Sydney and New Zealand as well as Melbourne.

Comrade Moletsane had talks with repre-

sentatives from a number of trade union and other organisations. He also made a number of media appearances, when he described the position of black South African workers, and urged the Australian Government to impose trade sanctions on South Africa, in line with the ILO resolutions passed in June 1983. He addressed a public meeting and a conference organised by the All-African Students' Union, presented a paper on apartheid at the Commonwealth Students' Conference, and addressed the Convention of the Australian Confederation of Trade Unions.

AFRICAN SOUNDS

MUSICIANS PLAY IN LONDON

For a number of years I have hoped to have an opportunity to stage a festival of African music, primarily Southern African music. This year I decided that the time had come to put my plan into operation. I considered that African music is on the verge of a long-heralded breakthrough, until recently overshadowed by reggae and shamefully ignored by the media, African music is on the move.

I intended African Sounds to be a celebration of this music and culture, and wanted the event to confront both audience and media with a challenge; demanding that the music should be heard and given its true status as part of current popular music in Europe. As the life force of the majority of European and American popular music owes its genesis to Africa, I felt the time had come for the music to be presented on its own terms, and not as 'plunder'; putting the record straight by showing the true strength and diversity of the talents of our people.

Coverage has been given in times past to purely so-called traditional aspects of Afri-

can culture, and I felt this had often been done in a way derogatory to our people; this festival therefore had to show the talents we have now, and those which are current in the African continent.

In the past I have been representing the ANC at festivals in other countries; in both the Festac in Nigeria and the festival in Cuba I looked at what was being done, and how the event was organised. I felt that there should be a possibility to do something similar in London, and as no-one seemed to be doing anything positive towards this, I decided to take the initiative and do it myself.

At the beginning of this year, I started to put my plan into action; I first contacted the organisers of festivals held regularly in Britain i.e. Capitol, Bracknell, etc, to ascertain which dates they were planning their festivals, and having done that the date of Sunday July 17th appeared to be open to me for African Sounds.

I approached various artists, and contracted them to appear on that date. The Alex-

andra Pavilion was obtained as the venue, and I applied for funding to various bodies, the total costs being very high for the staging of this festival. Financial assistance was promised, and I started to go ahead with publicity.

In the process of this initial publicity run I discovered that the Borough of Greenwich was to honour Nelson Mandela in the event of his birthday, July 18th. It therefore seemed to me that I could not let such an event go virtually unnoticed, and that my choice of date was proving to be fortunate, in that a celebration of Nelson Mandela's birthday deserved a much larger celebration than the Borough of Greenwich would be able to give it. As anything done previously had always been done on a small scale, the time had come for something larger, more ambitious, and more likely to generate attention within the public at large. I felt it was also time for artists to stand up and honour a worthy leader of the people, and to use their role as entertainers to do this in the most public way.

I therefore amended the publicity for African Sounds to include the celebration of Mandela's birthday, and informed all of the

artists involved of my intentions. They were all in agreement with my motivation.

The second problem came with this amendment. The bodies who had agreed to the financial assistance towards a purely musical/cultural festival, suddenly and without adequate explanations withdrew that assistance, leaving me with a problem of finance and therefore organisation. I felt that there was no way in which this should stop the event being staged, and was determined that it should happen regardless.

Whatever money I had, and whatever I was able to borrow, I put into the festival. This political involvement made the financing bodies withdraw, and gave me an even greater determination to see the festival succeeding. From here on the problems abounded, money being the important factor in all plans to both publicise and stage African Sounds. The Alexandra Pavilion were demanding the full fee for the venue, and were threatening to cancel the event. With plans so well advanced, and much interest in the festival already generated. I initially approached Haringey Council, knowing it was Labour-controlled, and therefore, I



"Tell them . . . that they celebrated the victory of their oath." Tshepo and Vusi, the sons of Thelle Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Thabo Motaung.

Poem

CANDIDATES OF DEATH

(Lines dedicated to Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane and Marcus Motaung.)

*A minute of silence elapsed,
as we bowed our heads
to the memory of fallen soldiers.*

*Let us bow our heads once more,
I plead.*

*This time to the memory
of a fateful moment
which removed their being,
and in our midst
left their enduring images,
our pride.*

hoped, sympathetic, to try to overcome this hurdle. The Anti-Apartheid Movement also came to mind, as having worked with them before, I felt they had a role to play.

Anti-Apartheid came in at this late stage but were able to help a great deal with both voluntary help and with aspects of the festival which they were well qualified to handle.

The results of this festival have, I feel, been positive in many ways. It has served to publicise the situation in South Africa, and in particular has brought to the attention of many people the plight of our leader, Mandela. Parts of the media who would normally have ignored Mandela's birthday, were forced to acknowledge both this and his existence through the musical part of the event. The music and culture of Africa could also not be ignored, as the bringing together of so many bands and artists had not happened in this country before, and was also impossible to brush aside.

The bringing together of so many of the Black people of this country in one place was a positive aspect; bringing into one place even for a short space of time, Africans from every part of the Continent of Africa, West

Indians and British, in an enjoyable, cultural and meaningful event.

Financially, I felt it would be unwise for myself as an individual to handle the sums of money taken for the purchase of tickets etc, and discussed the matter with Anti-Apartheid. It was decided that the wisest course to take would be to open an account specifically for this purpose, and incomings and outgoings would be accounted for in a proper way; no one individual therefore having the ultimate responsibility.

The number of people who attended the festival was in the region of 3,000, and in order to cover costs totally, this was not quite enough. Personally, I have not been able to recoup sums laid out, but I consider this to be unimportant.

The major important factors to come out of this festival are a live recording made of the event which will be brought out as an album to be sold for the benefit of the ANC and others concerned; the basis set by this festival as a strong foundation for future events of this kind, which after the response for this one cannot fail to be even more successful culturally, politically and financially.

*Think not of busts,
ornamented in gold and bronze;
mediators between the living and the dead!*

*Dream not of monuments,
that shall dwarf cities
and fill coffers
of the agents of tourism.
Nay! Strip from their form
the human garb,
and leave them naked
to the cruel mercy of connoisseurs!*

*But think of their offsprings
and of generations without end.
Tell them of the Candidates of Death,
that they celebrated
the victory of their oath. Alex Mashinini*



BOOK REVIEW

WRITING BLACK IS NOT ENOUGH

Rive, R.: Writing Black, Cape Town, 1981

Richard Rive is — according to his own words — ‘one ordinary Black South African who has been luckier than most of his fellow Blacks’ (p 24). He studied in Cape Town and Columbia in the United States and obtained a doctorate from Oxford for his thesis on the South African writer, Olive Schreiner. He is a famous South African writer and a well-travelled man.

The book under review is his autobiography. It tells us more about these travels rather than about his life in South Africa. The first three chapters do give us a glimpse of his childhood days in the notorious slum of District Six in Cape Town, and his academic and literary career.

Rive’s observations are very sharp and accurate. He distinguishes between a South African emigrant and exile. We shall quote at length so as to get the whole picture:

‘There is a distinct difference between the South African emigrant and the South African exile. The emigrant has left voluntarily, the exile has left under duress. If the exile’s position is sad, then the emigrant’s, in many ways, is pathetic, although he refuses or is unable to realise it. He is metaphorically adrift and geographically disoriented although superficially he gives the appearance of being satisfied and settled. He has a modest home, owns a car or two, and has children at school or university. In spite of this he still ekes out his dull, lower-middle-class existence in a kind of psychological limbo...

The political exile is in a more favourable position. In most cases he has been a very active member of some or other Black political movement in South Africa, where he would have been subjected to severe pressures, surveillances, proscriptions and even jailings. He has been forced to escape or leave on an exit permit. Unlike the emigrant, he does not leave voluntarily on a South African passport. Whereas the emigrant prefers Canada and Australia, the exile goes to England or some other African country. His political activities there become an extension of his political activities at home ... He is a fulltime activist or, if forced to do some other mundane job in order to earn a living, accepts one which will at the same time allow him sufficient time and scope to continue his political activities ... his dedication is such that he forgoes his future in the interest of his children and his children's children. He is fully aware of his insecure position in countries often not enamoured at having to accommodate him and his cause. Thus he seldom becomes an Englishman or a Nigerian or a Zambian. He remains fanatically a South African whose major objective is to make of his homeland a country in which all can share full citizenship.

The emigrant again lacks the sense of dedication of the exile. He is usually a professional or skilled craftsman from the ranks of the 'Coloured' middle class. He is seldom a Black South African as such. He used to emigrate to England initially but over the last decade has gone to predominantly white Commonwealth countries. He has no interest in emigrating to any African country since his interest and aspirations do not lie in that direction. In most cases he has never been politically active back home and has suffered fewer indignities and harassments than the majority of unenfranchised South Africans. An important reason for his leaving is the thwarting of his upward social mobility aspirations, so that the decision to go abroad is not in order to assert his basic humanity but to entrench his middle class status, free from the impediments of colour discrimination.

He has all the prejudices of that group and seldom identifies with the working class, either at home and abroad. He exports his attitudes to his new country and maintains his class exclusivity and aspirations. In Canada and Australia he is also comparatively safe from the Black South Africans he has left behind, since they have neither the means nor the inclination to join him. He can identify by proxy with their cause without the embarrassment of physical contact. Not that the emigrant is ever found spouting such racialism. Technically he claims to be non-racial; essentially he is non-political. He often rationalises his position either by a seemingly shallow identification with the politics of his adopted country or, if there is still a vestige of interest in South African affairs, he runs functions to raise money for the more militant movements in exile. Although, once abroad, he voices his disapproval of apartheid, he seldom mixes with his Black countrymen; and when he does it is with those who share his class interest ... The attempt by the emigrant to become a Canadian or an Australian is a self-defeating one ... Changing one's accent, habits, thinking and even lifestyle does not imply the ability to change the most identifiable aspect of all, one's skin colour'. (P 195 - 196)

This is Rive at his best. In this passage he went beyond the limits of a literary writer and entered the domain of sociologists. Of course, he is discussing the position of 'Coloureds' abroad. Did I say 'Coloureds'?

Richard Rive himself rejects such labels as 'Coloureds', 'Non-Whites' and 'Non-Europeans', because:

'Non-European and Non-White are highly insulting labels. They imply that the persons described are negative entities, non-some-things ... The term 'Coloured' I find as offensive in the South African context because it has hierarchic implications by implying inferior to Whites and superior to Blacks'. (p2) He prefers to call himself either Black or African. This is acceptable if one takes into

account that the enemy seeks to accentuate our differences and we, on the other hand, emphasise our similarities as oppressed people our common and indivisible oppression, our common interest and our common destiny as members of the oppressed nation.

But this should not be interpreted to mean that Blacks are homogeneous. Our strive for unity should not blind us from seeing the differences which, if ignored, can cause problems exactly for that unity we are striving to achieve. It is not enough to say the so-called Coloureds or to put the word Coloureds in inverted commas. A positive approach to this problem needs to be worked out because we are dealing with a group of people who are identifiable and distinguishable.

From a different angle and in a different context Richard Rive seems to be acutely aware of the problem of distinguishing even amongst the Blacks when he says about PAC characters he met in Ethiopia:

'Our approaches were poles apart and irreconcilable because our experiences had been so different. Which makes speaking of the African experience as a common and unified one such a futile exercise'. (p.43)

One might agree with him here insofar as the PAC is concerned, but if one goes beyond this and starts to generalise this thesis, then problems emerge. By the way, Richard Rive's rejection of the PAC is not based on a deep political assessment and judgment, but on his rejection of racism — from wherever it comes from — and his commitment to what he calls 'my strong views on egalitarianism'.

There are problems with the book. One of the problems is the mind-boggling political naivete and shallowness of the author — in this he can compete without any difficulty with some of the third year Fort Hare students. He tends to look at everything, literally anything, through the spectacles of a Westerner. He confesses:

'I was a sophisticate, albeit a Black sophisticate, with all the trappings and accoutrements of Western European culture. During this trip and afterwards in America and Europe I presented an enigma, the West-aculturated Black, the Anglo African, the cultural been-to. Those who were unable or unwilling to accept me for what I was, searched carefully for the crack that would show the savage beneath, the tell-tale marks of the primitive'.

And continues:

'I was doing post graduate research at Columbia University in New York. One evening I heard strains of Chopin coming from a piano being played. I set out to investigate and found a North Korean student playing to himself in a deserted common room. My mind refused to accept this at first and I felt that his playing Chopin was a cultural intrusion'. (p.23)

But why should an anti-racist like Richard Rive think like this? He gives the answer:

'I, personally, am able to empathise with no other world than that of Western European sophistication and unsophistication. I have never had the opportunity to identify, like Langston Hughes in *The Weary Blues*, with:

The low beating of the tom-toms,

The slow beating of the tom-toms ...

I am Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town.
I am Langa, Chatsworth and Bontheuwel ...
I am buses, trains and taxis ... I am urban South Africa'. (P.23)

Richard Rive, this 'urbanised African' who prides himself on knowing 'English better than Xhosa', has a tendency of using words like 'savages' and 'primitive' very loosely when it comes to describing things African — the rural Africans, the illiterate people. His attitude towards and impression of independent Africa are at times puzzling, to say the least:

'Of contemporary creativity Tanzania had little to offer. There was no meaningful

writing as such either in English or in Swahili. I saw no paintings and was unable to see any drama. There were plenty of night clubs and coffee bars and cinemas. The only sign of creativity I saw were airport art figurines made out of wood. Although a Ministry of Culture existed, it did not seem to be over-active or enthusiastic'. (P.32)

And on Sudan he says:

'I found Khartoum more modern than I expected'. (P.45)

Richard Rive, a man who is fighting against 'prejudice' and 'attitudes' is himself a victim of the same disease. He does admit that cultural contrasts, diversity and differences do not necessarily lead to contradictions. I suspect his problem is political.

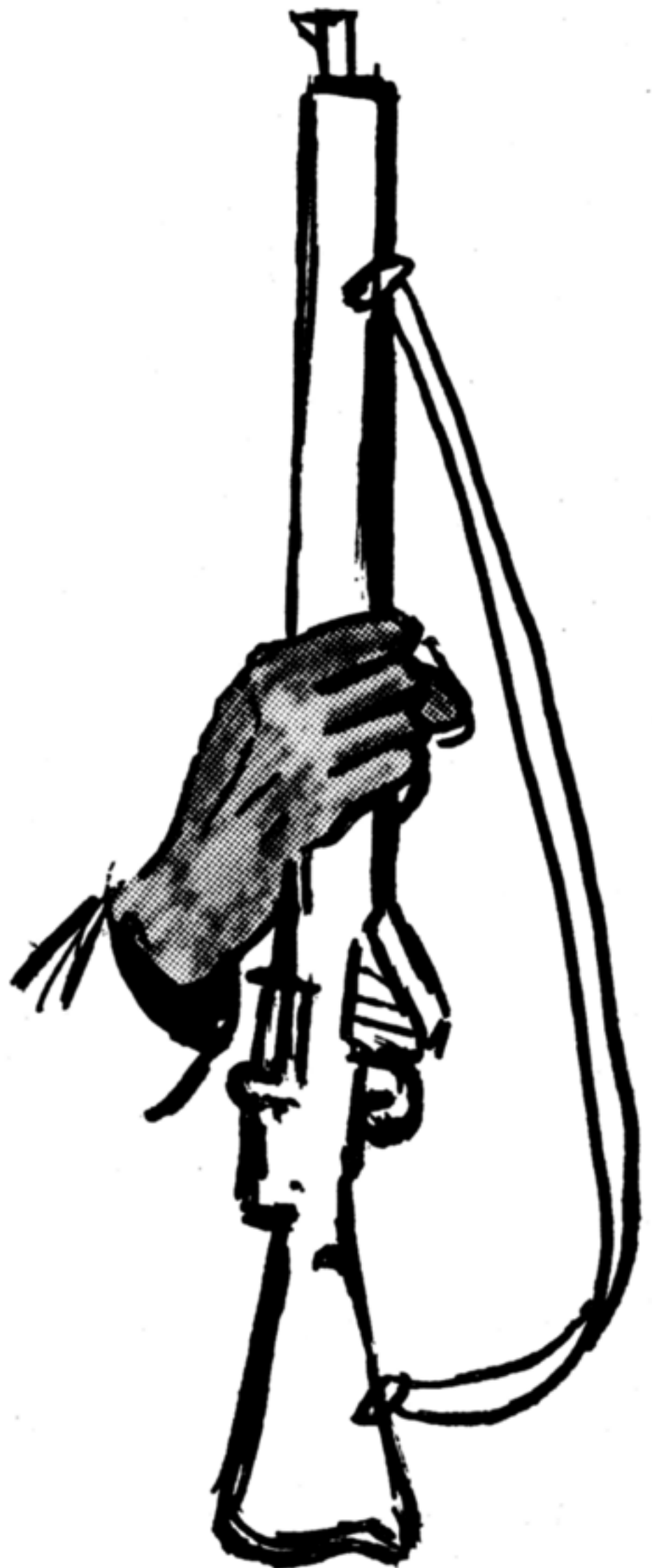
The other problem with the book is that the central theme is the author himself — everything, including the world, revolves and rotates around him. He then becomes the axis, a yardstick or perhaps a symbol of a Black 'that has made it' — at any rate that is how the book comes across to the reviewer.

It is usually said that one of the problems with South African Black writers is that one is not sure whether they are fighting against the irritations of apartheid or against the capitalist system that nurtures apartheid. Surely Richard Rive is not fighting against capitalism as he himself confesses:

'I was a lapsed capitalist with progressive tendencies'. (p. 175)

Writing Black is a book worth reading. The contradictions, inconsistencies and shortcomings in the book are an indication that it is not enough to 'write black'.

F.M.



OBITUARY

HAMBA
KAHLE

DORA
TAMANA

It is with our deepest regret that the ANC (SA) Women's Section announces the death of our dear Comrade Dora Tamana on Saturday 23rd July 1983 in her Guguletu home, Cape Town. News of her death shocked us deeply.

In her death we have lost a dedicated, loyal, courageous fighter for a free, democratic and progressive South Africa.

Dora Tamana was born on the 11th November, 1901, at Hlobo, Gqamakwe. The nearest town was Idutywa, three to four hours' walk to the nearest shop.

There were no buses in Hlobo, roads were extremely rough, medical facilities were non-existent, and a two-roomed mission school catered up to standard six. Dora attended this mission school up to standard four. Her father worked a small allotment on which she and her sisters helped before or after school. The nearest water supply for the family was a spring about half a mile away. Every day Dora and her sisters made several trips to collect water, working in and around their homes.

Under these conditions Dora grew up with little or no knowledge of politics or the outside world. Women traditionally occupied a junior position, yet increasingly, the burden of all agricultural work was falling on women and Dora was no exception.

Her father and two uncles were followers of Enoch Mgijima, and were killed in the Bulhoek Massacre, in which 163 people were shot dead. The massacre was condemned by the then United Communist Party, which distributed a pamphlet headed, 'Murder! Murder! Murder!' The Bulhoek Massacre made a deep impression on the 20-year-old Dora.

In 1923 Dora married John Tamana, also from the Transkei. Living in Queenstown, Dora scraped together a meagre income by fetching thatching grass from the surrounding hills to sell in the locations. By that time, she

had four children, three of whom died from starvation and tuberculosis. In 1930, in desperation, she insisted on joining her husband in Cape Town, where he was working.

The family settled in the shanty area of Blouvillei, near Retreat. Dora soon became a leader in the community. They organised a branch of the ANC and succeeded in resisting attempts by the authorities to demolish their camp.

When war broke out, Dora, together with other African and Coloured women, responded to the shortage of food and the savage increases on food prices, and built Women's Food Committees, which forced the authorities to bring food in lorries at controlled prices, not only to District Six but to Langa, Retreat and other outlying areas.

She joined the Communist Party in 1942, met other women Party members, and appealed to them to assist her in establishing the first ever creche for African and Coloured children in a shack at her small but clean home. This was not only a pioneering action, but a pioneering idea, with the barest minimum of facilities – a shack, cardboard boxes for the babies to sleep in, a large pot and fire to cook on. She organised this creche with local mothers in 1943 – forty years ago.

Dora fully participated as a leader and organiser in the nineteen-forties, in every campaign against passes, influx control, demolition of homes and against increases in bus and train fares, in school feeding schemes for African children, and in the 1952 Defiance Campaign.

When the WIDF convened the World Congress of Mothers in 1955, we elected Lilian Ngoyi and Dora Tamana as our delegates. We arranged for them to go by boat, and they were dressed up like Cape Malay women going to Mecca. After all the trouble we took, after we had got them on the boat, and they had left at 4 p.m., we were very happy it had worked! – but the special

branch got to hear about it. They got them off the boat, but we succeeded in sending them by air. They worked as a team and were a real credit to our organisations. to our struggle.

Dora, together with other comrades, organised the big contingent from the Cape Province to participate in the courageous march to the Union Buildings in 1956, when 20 000 women presented petitions carrying 100 000 signatures against the pass laws, singing the famous song,

“Strijdom, you have tampered with the
women,

You have struck a rock
You have dislodged a boulder
You will be crushed.”

She was detained in 1960 for four months. She was from time to time harassed by the police, and on one occasion when they came to arrest her during the night she dressed all her children and grandchildren and insisted they come with her, as she was not going to leave them alone. Her determination forced the police to leave her. She was an inspiration to all her comrades with her.

When the Rivonia comrades were imprisoned in 1964, Dora, together with other comrades, organised to receive their relatives when they visited the comrades on Robben Island. She organised food parcels for our comrades at Christmas and on their birthdays.

She never deserted the comrades or gave up the struggle for freedom. Right through the years of reaction, she saw to it that August 9th was remembered, though in small gatherings – round the fires, children were told about our big demonstration of 1956.

Together with others, she organised the big rally in Hanover Square on August 9th 1978, and helped to establish the United Women's Association, a forerunner to the

United Women's Organisation.

When Cape Town women commemorated August 9th 1980 in a hall in Landsdome, holding the pride of place at the gathering were three honoured guests, all veterans in the struggle for women's rights; Mrs Annie Silinga, Mrs Dora Tamana and Mrs Francinah Baard.

On Saturday 4th April 1981, about 300 people — women and men — from all over the Western Cape gathered in the hall of the St Francis Cultural Centre, Langa. People came in from Paarl, Worcester, Wolsley, Stellenbosch, Montagu, Ashton, Elsie's River, in minibuses, cars and by public transport. Women from Nyanga, Guguletu, Langa and the Cape Flats, as well as Capetown, came and joined in the spirit of the first Conference of the United Women's Organisation (UWO).

This is how UWO was formed, by Dora's leadership.

She said, "I have come to speak to you out of love for you." She spoke with fire in her heart. She called on everyone present to speak out.

"You who have no work, speak. You who have no homes, speak. You who have no schools, speak. You who have to run like chickens from the vultures, speak.

We must share the problems so that we can solve them together. We must free ourselves."

Men and women must share housework. Men and women must work together in the home and out in the world. There are no creches and nursery schools for our children, no homes for the aged, or people to care for the sick. Women must unite to fight for these rights, Aunt Dora said.

"I opened the road for you. You must go forward!"

The government put us in stables for horses, not houses. There are no ceilings, no floors, no doors, but the rents are high.

We have to find a strong organisation to fight for us. This organisation is the UWO.

Now that we are strong, call the women to join. Hambani Makhosikazi! Mothers, release yourselves. All people are crying for relief, people of all colours.

Senzenina? Senzenina? Senzenina?

What have we done? What have we done?

Women, stand together, build the organisation, make it strong!"

Through her family, she became personally involved in the armed struggle at an early stage. Her son, Bothwell, fought Rhodesian and South African troops in Zimbabwe as part of a joint campaign by the ANC and the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU). He was captured, and spent thirteen years in the Smith regime's maximum security prisons, only being released when Zimbabwe became independent in 1980.

During the year of UDI, Dora managed to make the hazardous journey to see him and other South African prisoners in gaol. At first she travelled on a South African document. After 1976 she was told to apply for a Transkeian passport, and so she was no longer able to visit her son. For to have done this would have implied recognition of the 'independence' of the Transkei bantustan. She died without seeing him.

The Women's Section of the African National Congress and indeed the entire membership of the African National Congress inside and outside the country feel the loss of the gallant fighter. For her we dip the revolutionary banner, and vow to continue the struggle where she left off. Her spirit will blaze as brightly as ever, and we shall always remember her.

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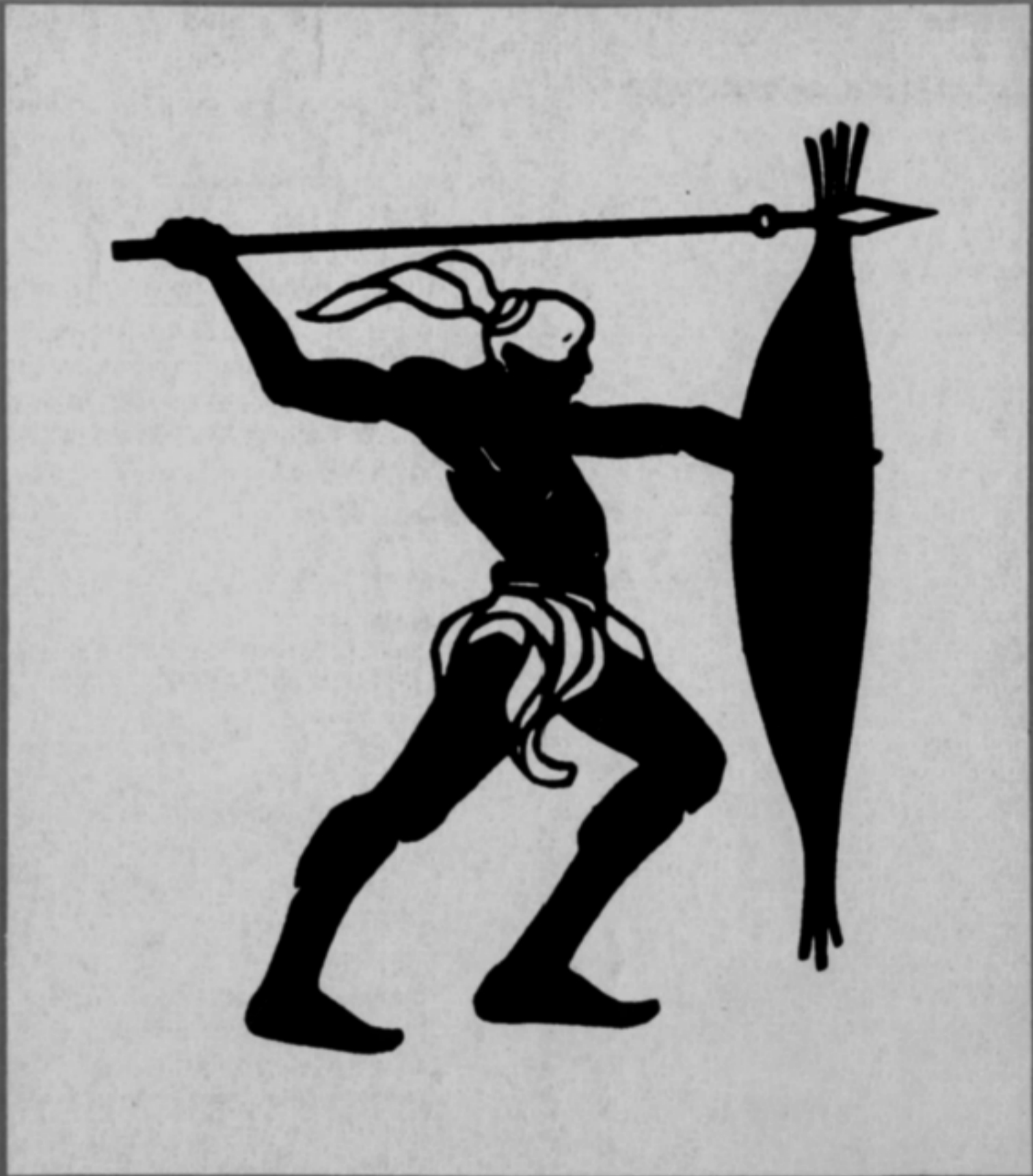
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