

MARCH 1985



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



**30th Anniversary
South African Congress
of Trade Unions
WE SALUTE THE WORKERS**

SECHABA

MARCH ISSUE 1985

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Mandela says: 'Your Freedom And Mine Cannot Be Separated.'



Since August 5th 1962, Nelson Mandela has been in gaol. He has served much longer in prison than is normal for anyone given a life sentence: convicted murderers given life are usually released after 12 years, and Colonel 'Mad Mike' Hoare, a mercenary since the 1960 'Congo crisis,' who hijacked a plane after attempting an armed coup in Seychelles, has been released after two years' imprisonment, as a result of an amnesty. Mandela's release is long overdue.

Recently, P W Botha, the racist President, made a fool of himself: he is again at his tricks. He said Mandela could go free if he renounced armed struggle. In other words, he is now holding Mandela at ransom, offering release only on condition that Mandela denounces the policy of the ANC. Otherwise, he remains in gaol. Botha knew that Mandela would not consider that condition. Mandela has more than once rejected such conditional offers, notably from his cousin, Kaizer Matanzima of the Transkei. To Mandela the answer is simple: unconditional release or none at all.

Why did Botha make this offer? Why now? Is it meant for international consumption? Or are there any internal factors forcing him to behave or misbehave in this fashion?

This shift - a shift insofar as they are now saying that Mandela's release is negotiable —

is a reaction to the widespread unrest in the African townships following the new constitutional arrangements. Their 'success' in Nkomati has encouraged some of them to even consider 'another Nkomati' arrangement with the ANC — hence the talks about talks. The escalating struggle is striking fear within South African and international business circles. This explains Lord Bethell's interview with Nelson Mandela. Our worry is, why Lord Bethell? — a man who has been involved in many scandals, the most recent being the kidnap to London of two Soviet Army 'deserters' from Afghanistan. They are now back in Moscow.

The present campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela is important in many respects. The political identification of Nelson Mandela as an ANC leader is also an identification with all ANC leaders and rank and file in gaol. Mandela was not convicted alone, but with others. Botha says nothing about them. One cannot separate Mandela from his colleagues and followers.

The campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela is also an inquiry into the injustice of the apartheid system; it is a demand for a just solution of the crisis. The announcement by Botha was not intended for the release of Nelson Mandela, but to confuse issues; to confuse international public opinion and to sow

division within the ranks of our movement. The target is the ANC.

We say: Nelson Mandela is the leader of the ANC, which adopted the policy of armed struggle. If Botha talks of release of Nelson Mandela, he must **release Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners unconditionally.**

Mandela replied to Botha, in his first ever public statement in South Africa since he was sentenced to life imprisonment, 21 years ago. The statement was read by Zinzi, his daughter, at a rally attended by 8 000 people at Jabulani Amphitheatre, Soweto — a rally organised by the UDF to celebrate the award of the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Tutu. In the statement, Mandela says:

"I am a member of the African National Congress. I have always been a member of

the African National Congress and I will remain a member of the African National Congress until the day I die ...

"I am in prison as the representative of the people and of our organisation, the African National Congress, which was banned. What freedom am I being offered whilst the organisation of the people remains banned? "Only free men can negotiate. Prisoners cannot enter into contracts ... I cannot and will not give any undertaking at a time when I and you, the people, are not free. Your freedom and mine cannot be separated."

This is the voice of the people, the voice of our heroes and heroines — the voice of struggle; the voice of the ANC.



Release Mandela Campaign Rally, Soweto

RENDER SOUTH AFRICA UNGOVERNABLE

President O.R. Tambo's Message Delivered in Lusaka on January 8, 1985.

A new year has begun, bringing with it fresh hopes and new challenges. I am sure that I express our collective conviction when I say that during this decade, each year has brought us closer to our cherished goal — the total liberation of our country.

The bells that rang in the New Year were, for us, a call to battle, summoning us to ever greater involvement and persistence in the struggle for democratic change. We can and will meet the new challenges successfully. The confidence with which we make this bold assertion is based on our unflinching commitment to fight with all our might, making all the necessary sacrifices, until victory is ours.

Today, January 8th, 1985, we observe and celebrate 73 years of the African National Congress. As has been the practice in the past, the National Executive Committee of the ANC addresses an annual message to you on this our national day. To do so is both a duty and a privilege.

It is a duty because history has entrusted us with the destiny of our country, and we therefore must together render to one another, to the allies and active supporters of our struggle, and to history itself, an account of our stewardship over the past twelve months. We must together analyse and learn from our experience on the battlefield to victory, to carve out the path to our historically determined destination.



A Future to Fight For, an Enemy to Face
To address you, compatriots, on January 8th, 1985, is a privilege. For we are addressing a fighting people, who, during a particularly ferocious offensive by the enemy, have accumulated a record of resistance and struggle worthy of our great heroes and martyrs, a people who not only have the resilience that defies defeat, but also the capacity to rise to the challenge of the hour and move on to the offensive, a people with a glorious future to fight for, a tough and brutal enemy to face, an assured and epoch-making victory to win.

It is five years since we rallied our people around the demands of the Freedom Charter during 1980, the Year of the Charter. This year, as we mark the 30th anniversary of that historic document, we can with confidence say that, in struggle, millions of us have reaffirmed that the Freedom Charter constitutes the embodiment of our deepest aspirations and the blueprint for a new South Africa.

1984 saw us take bold steps forward on the road to freedom. The path we have traversed was fraught with numerous dangers and hazards. But, despite these, it is clear at the end of 1984 — the Year of the Women — that we have succeeded in shifting the balance of power within our country in favour of the forces fighting for national liberation, social justice and genuine peace in Southern Africa. Through persistent collective labour and dedication, we have made significant progress in forging a mighty people's movement against the racist monstrosity. As we said last year, it is in the attack that victory is to be found.

Unity of the Oppressed

By attacking, we defeated the efforts of the racist regime to mobilise the Indian and Coloured, or so-called Coloured, sections of the Black population into acceptance of the apartheid constitution.

By our refusal to be bullied into acceptance of the enemy's constitutional schemes, we reaffirmed our determination to defend the unity of the Black people in pursuit of a common victory against a common enemy. We were asserting the truth that freedom is indivisible,

that freedom for some is freedom for none, and hence, that no section of the Black people can be free while another is oppressed.

The defeat of the enemy's plans in August expressed our common assertion that apartheid cannot be reformed. By boycotting the apartheid elections we denounced Botha's "reform" programme as a sham.

These victories were of great importance for the further advance of our struggle. They served to raise the degree of isolation of the oppressive regime, and strengthened the ranks of the forces committed to the victory of the democratic revolution in our country. They confirmed our commitment to the revolutionary perspective of the seizure of power by the people and the building of a new society in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Organised Workers of our Country

By attacking, we frustrated the enemy's attempts to contain the militant democratic trade union movement and transform it into a tame and timid shadow that accords with the regime's wishes.

This increased the fears that the White minority regime has of the power of the organised Black workers of our country.

That is why, during the past year, as at other times in the past, it has imprisoned, banned, banished and even assassinated leaders and activists of the democratic trade union movement. We take this opportunity to salute the workers of our country, who, in the teeth of the most vicious racist persecution, have sustained and kept alive the spirit of militant democratic trade unionism such as is embodied in the policy and programme of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU).

During 1984, in addition to the magnificent shop-floor struggles waged by the workers, we were inspired by the united action taken by Black and White workers, and their various unions, in their confrontation with Highveld Steel. Again, in October, for the first time in 38 years, the Black mine workers embarked on a co-ordinated national offensive in this most sensitive sector of the South African

economy.

The lesson from the victories we have scored and the advances we have made is that, in future, our objective must be that wherever a struggle erupts — be it mine or factory, a farm or a building site, a shop or a service centre — we must emerge from such struggles with stronger workers' organisations, a higher level of political consciousness and a greater determination to fight on as a united force, whatever the cost to ourselves as individuals.

The organised workers formed the core of the historic Transvaal stay-at-home which paralysed industry and commerce in the economic heartland of the country and compelled the capitalist owners of property to speak out. In an unprecedented move, the organisation of the leading capitalists drew the attention of the ruling group to the fact that the continued use of the old methods of repression would only serve to inspire the workers to intensify their offensive.

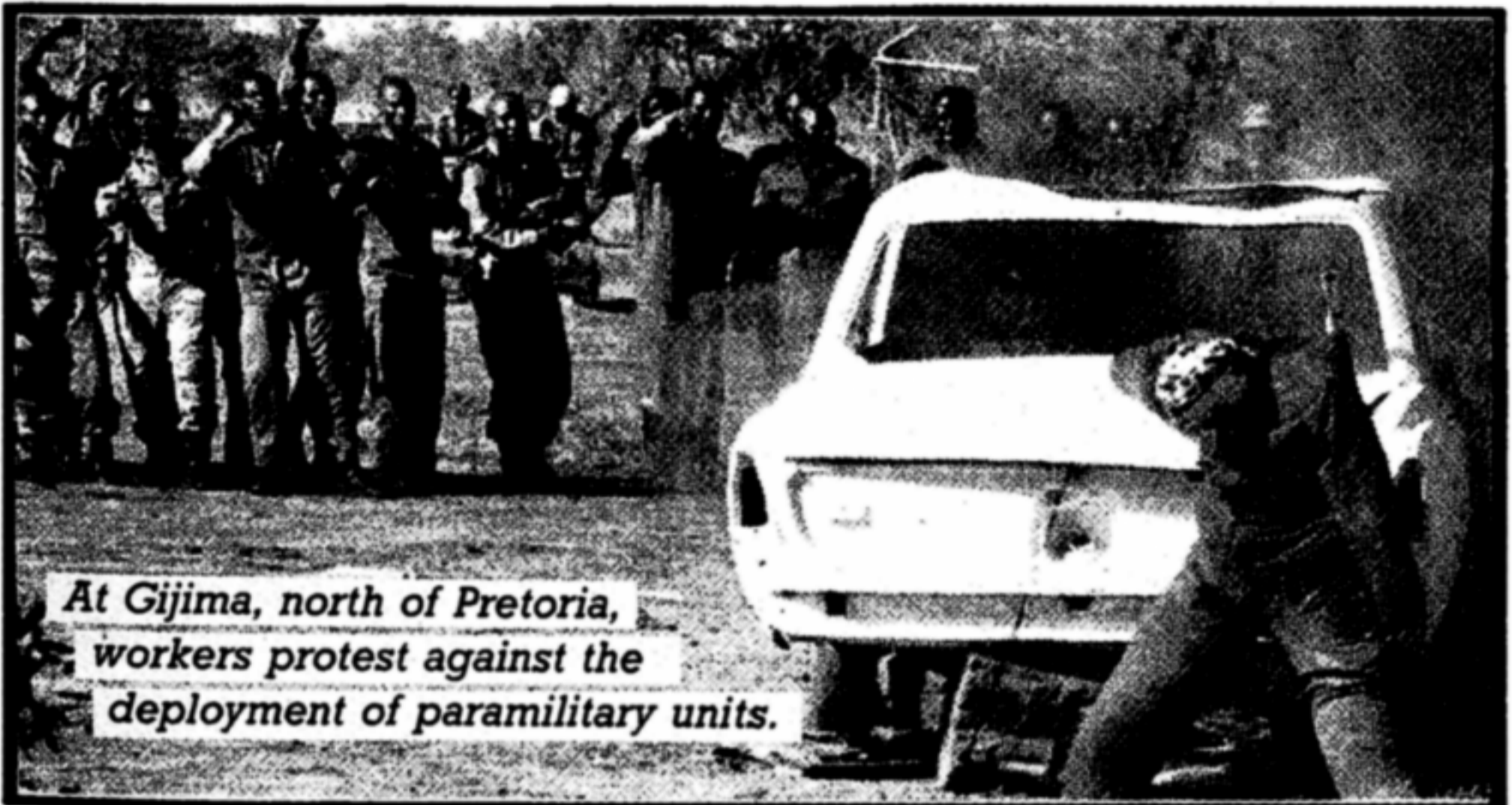
During this massive struggle, we achieved a level of united action among all sections of the oppressed, and the democratic forces as a whole, which must serve as a basis for the further escalation of the united people's struggle for the victory of the national democratic revolution. We warmly salute all the workers and trade unionists who, in action, affirmed

the correctness of the perspective we put forward last year, and the offensive of the working class is, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

The Youth, the Pride of our Nation

The student and working youth of our country have once more confirmed their place in our hearts as the pride of the nation. These relentless fighters for a South Africa that we can proudly call our own have, throughout this past year, swelled the ranks of the mass movement by joining the struggle in hundreds of thousands. Despite the campaign of murder and terror unleashed by the racists against them, including the very young, they have stood firm in their demands. They have refused to break from the ranks of the struggling masses. In saluting our students and working youth, we can truly say that they have earned for themselves the honour of being called the Young Lions.

Through their action, supported and reinforced by the workers and the parents, they have forced the apartheid regime to give ground on many issues. To build on these advances, we must ensure that the Education Charter becomes the common platform of teachers, parents and students in the mass struggle for a democratic system of education.



At Gijima, north of Pretoria, workers protest against the deployment of paramilitary units.

A special responsibility devolves on our youth during 1985. By its decision to observe the International Year of the Youth, the racist regime has thrown down the gauntlet to the youth of our country. Among the numerous crimes this regime has committed and continues to commit against our people, some of its most heinous have been specifically against our youth and children.

On the shoulders of the apartheid regime rest such crimes as the scandalously high infant mortality rate amongst Black children; the stunting of their growth through the use of child labour; the warping of their intellectual development through Bantu Education.

apartheid regime in 1976 and in the subsequent years. This self-same regime, which bears responsibility for these crimes, has, with great impudence, decided to observe the International Year of the Youth, whose motto is: Participation, Development and Peace! We call upon the youth to take this year as their own and to use it as a means to advance our own perspectives of youth participation in society, in development and in the struggle for peace. The gains we have scored in youth mobilisation and organisation provide a basis for greater progress toward the emergence of a society which will defend and promote the genuine interests of our youth.



Youth Must Take this Year

South Africa is littered with the graves of young patriots who were massacred by the

We designated 1984 as "The Year of the Women" with the express purpose of concentrating our efforts on the mobilisation of our

womenfolk as active participants in the struggle waged by our national liberation movement. The response to our call, "Women Organise and Unite for People's Power" has been commendable. New democratic women's organisations have emerged. Greater numbers of our womenfolk have been drawn into struggle.

We observed historic days like the 30th anniversary of the Federation of South African Women at impressive rallies. National Women's Day — August 9th — was turned into a week of campaigning against the fraudulent Coloured and Indian parliamentary elections. In this manner our womenfolk further promoted the unity of all the oppressed and democratic forces, transcending the barriers of race, colour, sex and creed.

Intensive grassroot mobilisation of women as equal participants in the overall national struggle has laid the basis for the creation of a national women's organisation which could be founded on the principles contained in the historic Women's Charter.

Women Fight in the Front Ranks

Our women were active in all the battles which confronted our communities during the Year. In many of these, as in Sebokeng, they fought in the front ranks. As parents, mothers and workers, they stood firmly beside their menfolk and children against forced removals, starvation wages, increased rents and taxes, inferior education and health services, demanding full citizenship rights for all our people in a unitary, non-racial society.

The encouraging response of our women to the call to join Umkhonto We Sizwe, which has resulted in more women joining the people's army during the course of the year, has been one of the best ways of observing the Year of the Women.

The reaction to our appeal by the international community in general, and women's organisations in particular, in practically all the continents of the globe, was most outstanding in mobilising more moral and material support for our struggle. This support was crowned by the presentation of the Eugene

Cotton Award by the Women's International Democratic Federation to our dear sister and mother, Albertina Sisulu.

We call on our women to build on these impressive achievements. We urge other sections of our people to continue to give their support and concrete assistance to our heroic women, mothers and sisters, so that they can play their rightful role as co-fighters and co-liberators of our motherland.



Trade Union Unity

Despite all the achievements we have so far made, we are still faced with the necessity of accomplishing other tasks we have set ourselves, particularly the unity of the democratic trade union movement. 1985 is the 30th anniversary of the founding of SACTU. During this anniversary year, let us consolidate the gains we have thus far registered. We need to intensify our efforts to form one united democratic trade union federation. No democratic trade union should be excluded from such a federation.

The working class of our country has demonstrated its combativeness in the unprecedented number of strikes that took place during the past year. So that this militancy will not be dissipated, we should now strive towards one union for each industry, the organisation of the unorganised and the unemployed, and the launching of a mass offensive against the reduction of our living standards. We should treat the injury done to the 6 500 SASOL workers as an injury to all workers, and to all of us.

We must harness the collective strength of

the working class not merely to improve the immediate economic conditions of that class, but to bring about democratic change in our country. The ANC joins those trade unionists who call for greater involvement on the part of workers and their unions in the struggle for democratic change.

1985 falls on the centenary of May Day. In recognition of the bonds that link the workers of South Africa with those of other lands, May Day was marked in a number of industrial centres throughout South Africa during 1984. We call on all our workers to ensure by their actions that May Day is recognised as a paid public holiday.

In a unique show of international solidarity, the Black mine workers, who are amongst the lowest paid and most brutally exploited of our workers, dipped into their over-lean pockets and made a modest donation towards the strike fund of the British miners, who are waging a life and death struggle to save their jobs. We take this opportunity to commend this exemplary action on the part of our miners.

People's Right to the Land

The dispossession of our people of the land that is theirs remains one of the most burning national grievances. The gross injustice of this historic crime has been compounded by the racists' arrogant attempt to deprive the African majority of their inalienable birthright as citizens of their country, South Africa. Millions of our people in the rural areas are brutally exploited as agricultural workers on farms carved out of their ancestral lands. Their daily lives are dominated by the dictates of the racist White farmers and agricultural companies against whom they have absolutely no redress, because they are the least organised and mobilised. The land question must be resolved, if needs be, the hard way.

In the meantime, we repeat our call to our people to give serious attention to the organisation and mobilisation of our rural masses. Basing ourselves on the needs of the people, and taking due account of the concrete conditions of their existence, we must devise suitable organisational structures and mechanisms to

reach our rural masses and provide them with the organisational and political tools to defend themselves against exploitation and to assert their right to the land. As we said last year, we must place the perspective of seizing the land from the dispossessor in front of our rural masses and educate them to understand that this is a task that calls for dedication, determination and sacrifice.

The solution to the land question is inextricably tied to the struggle against the Bantustans, where the puppets, not content to do the dirty work of the Pretoria racists, have taken it upon themselves to impose even greater burdens on our oppressed people. Some of these Bantustan puppets have taken firm positions on the side of their masters in Pretoria and against the oppressed people and their organisations. Whenever the popular masses rise and deliver telling blows against the apartheid system their puppet voices are heard above the din of battle, denouncing the people and defending the people's enemy.

While opposing the revolutionary violence of the national liberation movement, they have not hesitated to unleash systematic violence against the fighters for the people's cause. They have banned the trade unions and brutalised trade union activists. They are fanning fratricidal conflict amongst our people in order to ensure the perpetuation of the apartheid system from which they benefit. Some have gone so far as to ban the UDF and other democratic organisations. This situation can no longer be countenanced. The offensive against the apartheid system must be extended to reach the Bantustans and other apartheid institutions in all corners of our country and among all population groups.

The plight of the thousands of our people whose homes are regularly bulldozed to the ground, and who are regularly bundled up and transported to distant and inhospitable parts of our country, requires our full attention and concerted actions of solidarity. We must elaborate organisational methods and forms of action to halt this crime against our people and to express, in a concrete manner, our solidarity with them. As we have said, we must organise

the unemployed into organs of struggle, enabling them to engage in a determined offensive for jobs and adequate unemployment allowances.

Pretoria Plots with the West

We have just gone through what was definitely one of the most trying periods in the experience of our movement and struggle. We have survived one of the most lethal attacks on our movement. Our courage and tenacity as a people during the difficult days of 1984 enabled us to withstand a fierce enemy onslaught and proceed to launch the biggest offensive that has inspired our allies and friends to greater supportive action and solidarity.

Effectively exploiting unprecedented natural calamities, the historical legacy of colonialism and by using its own puppet forces, the regime sought to impose conditions on the neighbouring states which were intended to paralyse the ANC and cripple the liberation struggle. A plot was jointly hatched between Pretoria, the United States and some countries of Western Europe which, in a bid to drive a wedge between ourselves and the rest of the people of Southern Africa, sought to coerce their governments to turn against the ANC and the liberation struggle. This plot was equally intended to sow divisions among the Front Line States themselves and to distance them from the rest of Africa.

At great cost to themselves and their people, the Front Line States have borne the brunt of overt racist aggression, deliberate acts of economic disruption and political destabilisation. To their great credit, they have stood united and resolute in their commitment to the cause of African freedom and independence, and especially in their total support for the ANC and SWAPO.

The Kingdom of Lesotho, completely surrounded by racist-controlled territory, has, with singular courage and determination, persistently rebuffed the aggression, bullying and blackmail of the Pretoria regime.

These countries of our region have now been reinforced in their stand by the decision of the 20th Summit Meeting of the OAU to give

priority attention to the struggle in Southern Africa. Under the current Chairmanship of President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, Chairman of the Front Line States, the OAU is poised to intervene effectively during the current year.



World Support for our Struggle

As we stated last year, our struggle consists of four interlinked and mutually reinforcing elements. These are, first, the vanguard role of the underground structures of the ANC; second, the united mass political action of the people; third, the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe; and fourth, the international campaign to isolate the apartheid regime while winning world-wide moral, political and material support for the struggle. With regard to the second of these elements, there can be no doubt that we have registered great successes in raising the united mass action of the people to higher levels.

It is equally undeniable that we also achieved new victories as regards the fourth element, namely, the drive to isolate the apartheid regime and to win world-wide moral, political and material support for our struggle. In this regard, we should mention a few salient successes.

The efforts of the apartheid regime to break out of its isolation have ended in dismal failure. Botha's visit to Europe ended as a severe rebuff for the racists. The new government of New

Zealand adopted firm positions against the apartheid system, forcing the Pretoria regime to withdraw its diplomats from that country. The widespread and unprecedented demonstrations in the USA against apartheid and the Reagan Administration's policy of 'constructive engagement' are an accurate barometer of the mounting isolation of the apartheid regime as well as of the increasing scope and depth of support for the cause of liberation in South Africa and Namibia.

Likewise, the attempts of the apartheid regime to project itself as reformist have been exposed and condemned by the international community. Accordingly the UN Security Council has rejected Botha's amended apartheid Constitution as null and void, and of no force or effect. It affirmed the need for majority rule in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

And yet these achievements are not sufficient. We need to intensify our international offensive in the New Year, further to isolate the apartheid regime, strengthen our own ties of solidarity with progressive humanity and thus further complicate the situation of the apartheid regime within our country.

During this past year we also took our struggle forward by beginning to carry out another strategic task we had set ourselves. As you will recall, last year we said we must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime.

We Reject Illegitimate Rule

We have now set out upon this path. We have taken impressive strides towards rendering the country ungovernable. This has not only meant the destruction of the community councils; our rejection of the apartheid constitution was, in its essence, a reaffirmation of our rejection of the illegitimate rule of the Botha regime. Other struggles, including those around the issue of education as well as the stay-at-home, themselves pitted our democratic power against the power of the forces of oppression, racism and counter-revolution, for the defeat of the latter and its replacement with popular power.

In this coming period, we shall need to pur-

sue, with even greater vigour, the task of reducing the capacity of the colonial apartheid regime to continue its illegal rule of our country. The destruction of the organs of government weakens the regime and is a necessary part of our continuing mass offensive.

The victories we scored during the year have plunged our opponents into an even deeper political crisis. Apart from denying them the chance to expand their social base, they further sharpened the contradictions and conflicts within the ruling group, and exposed the utter bankruptcy and failure of the overall political programme of the racists. These are important successes as they help further to weaken the enemy and shift the balance of power in our favour.

The Regime Knocked Off Balance

Through struggle, we have forced the apartheid regime into a situation of confusion, indecision and an inability to define for itself any consistent direction of state policy. This situation has arisen because the efforts of this regime to project itself as a representative of the so-called forces of moderation, gradual and peaceful reform, have ended in failure. According to this tactical manoeuvre, the racists sought to present themselves as a reasonable and acceptable alternative to the revolutionary alliance headed by the ANC, on one hand, and the fascist coalition of the HNP and the Conservative Party on the other.

Knocked out of balance by the intensity of our offensive, the White minority regime lurches from side to side, fumbling for an equilibrium it can no longer regain. On one day it pretends to be concerned about the condition of the Black majority and, on the next, pledges itself to the maintenance of White minority domination.

At the same time, the posturing of this regime has angered large sections of the diehard racists among the Whites who see the maintenance of the apartheid system as a holy crusade. Moved by their attachment to the benefits that accrue to them from the system of national oppression and the super-exploitation of the Black majority, the political

representatives of this tendency in White politics are challenging the Botha regime for the allegiance of especially the Afrikaner population.

The disarray in the enemy camp has compelled some to examine the fundamental premise of the entire system of racial oppression. The realisation has begun to dawn on some of Botha's own supporters that no solutions to the problems confronting our country are possible without the participation of the Black and democratic majority, and the leaders of this majority.

There are yet others from among our White countrymen who, more far-sighted than others, have decided to break with a system that is so patently criminal. These have joined the democratic movement. We are confident that the numbers of such White compatriots will grow as an integral part of the forces of liberation which are destined to defeat the apartheid regime and liquidate the criminal system it upholds. In order to hasten the advent of that day, we must give the enemy no respite; no time to regroup and recover lost ground. It requires that we must stay on the attack.

Role of the Masses

We are entering the second half of the 1980s. When we cast our minds back to the Year of the Charter — 1980 — and the subsequent years, the one feature that stands out is the ever-expanding and visible role of the masses of our people in the making of this history. As we enter this second half of the Decade of Liberation, it is necessary that we examine not only our striking power, but, even more important, the direction in which to strike and how to deliver the blow. In particular, it is necessary that we ask the question: at what pace — how fast — are we advancing towards the conquest of power?

The pace of our forward march depends on our success or failure to strengthen the first and the third of the four interlinked elements we have referred to, namely, the all-round activity of the underground structures of the ANC and the armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

With regard to these two decisive elements of our revolutionary struggle, we should neither dramatise our shortcomings nor blind ourselves to the reality that we have not advanced on these two fronts at a pace corresponding to our advance on the other two.

To move forward to victory with the greatest speed, we must pay particular attention this year to the task of building a strong underground presence of well-organised revolutionary cadres, drawn from the fighting masses and integrated among them. Such a body of cadres constitutes the dynamising factor in our situation — a force capable of bringing together the various strands of our struggle, and assisting in the further development and consolidation of all our political and military combat forces into a mighty army of liberation.

The call we are making to all the democratic and patriotic forces of our country is that this year we must take it as our special task to strengthen and reinforce our vanguard organisation, the African National Congress. Already we have made great strides in this regard. And yet the imperatives of our struggle demand that we do not any longer postpone execution of the task we elaborated last year — to strengthen and expand the underground structures of the ANC, ensuring the active presence of our movement everywhere in the country.

Who Are the Cadres?

Who are these revolutionary cadres about whom we speak? Where are they? They are not special people. It is we — men and women, young and old, Black and White — who are involved in daily struggles, making sacrifices in pursuit of the people's cause. It is we, the workers in the factories, the mines, the farms, the commercial establishments and offices of various kinds; we, who work in health and educational services as well as those of us occupied within the residential areas.

The distinctive feature of the revolutionary cadre is a high level of discipline, dedication and courage in carrying out the tasks assigned by the movement. Such cadres are guided by

our goal of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. They fight for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and all other leaders and political prisoners. They accept that our path to victory lies in a combination of the all-round activity of the ANC, united mass political action, armed struggle and international solidarity and support.

It is now 25 years since the illegitimate regime in our country proscribed the representative and leader of our people — the African National Congress. The apartheid regime banned the ANC exactly because it wanted to remove from our midst this dynamising factor in our struggle. Frightened by the fact that we have nevertheless defeated its efforts to destroy our mother body, this regime has now made mere membership of the ANC a treasonable offence. However, through our relentless, daring and death-defying actions, we have compelled the enemy to admit that, as before, the ANC is central to the solution of the South African problem. We must build on this achievement to ensure that in this second half of the Decade of Liberation, the ANC emerges more powerful than it has ever been.

ANC the Alternative Power

We further charge the ANC and all other patriots to continue to shift our posture to the offensive and, as we said last year, to cultivate the spirit of rebellion and the frame of mind which puts the politics of revolutionary change to the fore. The programmes of action that we plan and carry out should result in the initiative passing further into our hands. Our mass democratic and revolutionary movement should emerge ever more forcefully as the alternative power in our country.

Through struggle and sacrifice, we have planted the seeds of people's war in our country, that is, a war waged by all the people against the White minority regime. One of our central tasks in the coming period is to transform the potential we have created into the reality of people's war.

Guided by that perspective, we must build up the mass combat forces that are training themselves in mass political action for sharper

battles and for the forcible overthrow of the racist regime. The mass combat forces of our revolution are the same political forces that are and have been engaged in the popular offensive. These death-defying patriots must now become part of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the vital cutting edge of our onslaught.

It is in this way that we will ensure that the people's army deepens its roots and grows inextricably among the popular masses. It is in this way that we will ensure that it grows in size, in the spread and quality of its operations

and the weight of every blow it delivers.

In the course of our mass offensive, we have, from time to time and with increased frequency, created the situation in various localities such that the democratic forces challenged the apartheid authorities for control of these areas, emerging as the alternative power. With regard to the perspective of people's war, this means that we forged the conditions for us to transform these areas into mass revolutionary bases from which Umkhonto we Sizwe must grow as an army of the people.

In all the struggles that we waged in the past year, regardless of how peaceful they were, the enemy confronted us with its armed might. In Sebokeng and other areas, the apartheid regime deployed thousands of regular troops in an attempt to crush the people's resistance.

At such moments who among us did not feel the urgent need for us to talk to the enemy in the language he understands best? Who has not seen that we too must take up arms as did our forebears, as did Bambata, Solomon Mahlangu, and as did Clifford Brown, only last year!

All we are saying, therefore, Fellow Combatants, is that we have it within our means to increase our capacity to hit back at the enemy, arms in hand. No one but ourselves will accomplish this task. We must all take it as a priority task to build up the popular armed forces, to transform the armed actions we have thus far carried out into a people's war, by helping to root Umkhonto we Sizwe firmly among the people and actively drawing the masses into the prosecution of a people's war.

Furthermore, all the oppressed need to emulate the example of the areas where the democratic movement has emerged as the alternative power. Wherever we are, we must transform our locality into a mass revolutionary base. In such areas, we should also use the democratic power we have accumulated through struggle, to defend and advance the interests of the people. We must use our organised mass strength and, by attacking, consolidate our victorious emergence as the alternative power.

The cultural workers — artists, writers, musicians, poets, sportsmen and sportswomen — have the capacity to enrich the overall effort of our people in our quest for national liberation.

We charge our cultural workers with the task of using their craft to give voice, not only to the grievances, but also to the profoundest aspirations of the oppressed and exploited. In our country a new social and political order is being born. Our artists have to play an even bigger role as midwives of this glorious future. Let the arts be one of the many means by which we cultivate the spirit of revolt among the broad masses, enhance the striking power of our movement and inspire the millions of our people to fight for the South Africa we envisage.

Apartheid Economy in Crisis

The continuing and deepening crisis of the apartheid economy confronts all of us with the task of defeating the efforts of the apartheid state and the bosses to shift the burden of this crisis on to our shoulders. This crisis is not of our making. It is the result of the exploitative capitalist system as well as the huge state expenditures to maintain and strengthen the enemy army and police and to finance the political and administrative structures of the apartheid system.

Why then must we finance the commission of a crime against ourselves by paying an ever-rising General Sales Tax, increased food prices, rents, fares and so on! Why must we continue to lose our jobs, adding to the millions already unemployed, while the apartheid

regime and the employers recruit skilled workers, especially from Western Europe!

We should therefore unite in action to demand food and not guns, jobs for the unemployed, and the diversion of resources to improve the lives of the impoverished masses. The wealth we create with our labour should not go to enrich a small clique and oil the machinery of apartheid, while millions suffer from starvation. In this struggle we expect the organised workers to play a central role, both to fight off the attack on our living standards and to help bring about the democratic society in which the wealth of our country will become the patrimony of the people.

Salute to our Heroes

We salute and pay tribute to the many heroes and heroines of our country who have laid down their lives in our struggle for liberation. We extend our greetings to the leaders and activists of the democratic movement who, despite arrests, detention, and every form of persecution by the enemy, have stood firm and persisted in the common struggle to defeat and destroy the racist regime. Once more, we pledge to our leaders incarcerated on Robben Island, Pollsmoor and other prisons that we shall not rest until the cause for which they have sacrificed emerges triumphant. The very fact of the arrest and detention of UDF and other leaders, some of whom have been charged with treason, emphasises the continuing importance of the struggle for the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners.

We take pride in the fact that the international conscience, expressing itself through the Nobel Peace Committee, has decided to award the 1984 Nobel Peace Prize to a Black South African — Bishop Desmond Tutu. This is the second instance within 23 years that our people, and Africa, have been given this honour. Bishop Tutu walks in the steps of our beloved Chief Albert Luthuli.

There is no doubt that this is a tribute to our selfless dedication and our resistance to one of the most cruel and inhuman systems the world has ever known. The award does great credit to the role of our religious communities

in the struggle for liberation and should be an inspiration to all of them to get the heresy of apartheid expunged from the statute books and from our lives. It once more emphasises the importance our people and the rest of the world attach to the contribution the religious leaders and masses of our country must continue to make in the struggle for justice, peace and life itself.

Sister Nations, Sister Movements

We greet the fraternal people of Namibia and especially welcome among fighting ranks of our sister movement, SWAPO, the new Secretary General of SWAPO, Comrade Andimba Herman Toivo ja Toivo and his colleagues, whom the apartheid regime was forced to release from long terms of imprisonment. Their release and continued involvement in struggle will bring closer the day of freedom and independence for Namibia. In this regard we, the people of South Africa, demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African racist troops from Namibia and Angola.

We pay tribute to the Front Line States and the Kingdom of Lesotho for their firm and principled actions in defending our right of struggle and upholding the legitimacy and duty of Africa and the world to support our struggle.

We recognise the important contribution made by the OAU and various international organisations including the United Nations and its Agencies, the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Peace Council, the Socialist International — to mention but a few. They are largely responsible for ensuring that apartheid remains at the centre of world attention as a crime against humanity.

We congratulate our Palestinian brothers and sisters for successfully overcoming attempts to liquidate the Palestinian struggle. We support the call by the PLO for an international conference in furtherance of the struggle for a sovereign Palestinian homeland.

We condemn the continuing efforts of the US Administration to destabilise and overthrow the popular government of Nicaragua

and express our firm and militant solidarity with the fraternal people of that heroic country.

We express our solidarity with the people of Grenada whose right to self-determination was grossly violated and continues to be circumscribed, following the naked aggression by the US armed forces.

We salute all people engaged in struggle for national liberation, especially El Salvador and East Timor. We pledge solidarity with all those struggling to defend their sovereignty, including the peoples of Southern Africa, Sahrawi Arab Democratic Republic, the Middle East, Afghanistan and Cyprus. We welcome the successes of the democratic forces in Latin America, and are confident that the foothold of the apartheid regime in the American sub-continent will be totally eliminated.

Our people have come to appreciate and value the consistent solidarity and growing support for our struggle given by the socialist countries, the Nordic States and other countries.

Our ties with various governments, political parties and parliamentary groups in Western Europe and Australasia have grown stronger and we look forward to ever-closer relations and greater co-operation with them in the struggle against the apartheid system.

We pay tribute to the millions of people involved in the ever-expanding work within the worldwide anti-apartheid movement. They constitute a solid base of support for our struggle internationally. It is through their daily, and sometimes unknown, efforts that governments and peoples are kept alive to, and mobilised in action against, the numerous ploys of the South African racists to whitewash apartheid. In this context we welcome the momentous campaign undertaken by the people of the United States, which involves legislators, judges, bishops, trade unionists and other outstanding personalities and government officials, and which is targeted on pressurising the Reagan Administration to reverse its support for the Pretoria racist regime.

We salute all these supporters and unsung heroes working for the cause of world peace

and closer fellowship within the human race.

We take this opportunity once more to dip our banners in memory of that outstanding friend of our struggling people and movement, the late Indira Gandhi. We are certain that her successor as Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, will continue in her footsteps further to extend much appreciated all-round support to our struggle.

Year of the Cadre

Rumours, emanating from the South African mass media, have been circulating about 'talks' between the African National Congress and the Botha regime. There have been no such talks. Your organisation at this juncture is concerned to improve our capacity to accomplish the tasks we have set for ourselves in the unfolding year. In this respect we shall, as you know, be holding a National Consultative Conference this year, from which we shall emerge united and doubly strengthened to carry our struggle forward.

The strength of any organisation lies in the calibre of its individual members and units. In order to advance in keeping with the momentum of our struggle we must improve the quali-

ty and expand the quantity of our membership. We need cadres of unquestionable loyalty, dedication and understanding of our struggle. In order to achieve such a high standard and spur our nation into a greater onslaught on the enemy and its institutions, we declare this year, 1985, the **Year of the Cadre!**

Let this year see us take big strides in further strengthening the organised underground structures of the ANC. Let it see greater mass political actions in all the provinces and districts of our country. Let it see us extend people's war to all corners of our land. Let it see the fastest and furthest possible co-ordinated advance on all fronts towards the goal of people's power.

There is no going back. **Forward Always** is our battle cry. The enemy cannot stop us. Our future is in our hands.

**Forward with the Year of the Cadre!
Mobilise and March Forward to People's
Power!**

**Amandla Ngawethu!
Matla ke A Rona!
Power to the People!**



YEAR OF DEFIANCE

Centres of Protest in 1984

TRANSVAAL

1. Total stayaway and peaceful demonstration in protest against rent increase. Residents' anger erupts after councillor shoots and kills student. Running battles with police leave over 100 dead and thousands injured or in detention. Councillors' houses and businesses burned down. 40 000 people attend two mass funerals. At 1 funeral, more than 500 mourners arrested. 7 000 SADF soldiers enter Sebokeng and SADF later moves into other townships. 3 Lekoa councillors resign.

2. Katlehong

2 000 students at 6 high schools boycott, joined later by 26 000 primary school students. 2 killed in clashes with police. 2 UMMAWUSA unionists detained. Attacks on 3 Development Board offices and the homes of the mayor and a policeman.

3. Thokoza

8 primary schools and a secondary school in boycott. Councillors' businesses burned down.

4. Germiston

2 000 workers strike at 8 factories.

5. Tembisa

4 000 high school students boycott classes, later joined by more than 24 000 primary school students. Daveyton 5 000 students boycott classes. 4 killed. Unionist detained.

6. Duduza

300 workers strike. Students in class boycotts.

7. Actonville

Anti-election meeting broken up by tear-gas.

8. Rathanda

Community protest leads to the scrapping of rent increases and the resignation of 3 councillors.

9. Witbank

9 000 workers strike in 3 disputes over wages and dismissals.

10. Brits

2 000 workers strike in 3 disputes over wages and dismissals.

11. Randfontein

500 workers strike.

12. Sasolburg

Workers down tools after wage deadlock, in the first national legal strike. 6 000 workers dismissed after stayaway.

13. Modderfontein

Workers down tools after wage deadlock, in first national legal strike.

14. Roodepoort

4 500 mineworkers involved in solidarity strike with NUM strikers.

15. Warmbaths

600 students boycott classes.

16. Vosloorus

10 primary and 2 secondary schools out on boycott.

17. KwaThema

21 000 students in 19 primary, 5 secondary schools boycott classes. 4 killed in clashes with police. Over 4 000 workers involved in strikes over dismissals and working conditions.

18. Tsakane

7 primary and 2 secondary schools in boycotts.

19. Wattville

6 000 students at 12 schools boycott classes.

20. Soweto

Sporadic boycotts and clashes with police at many of the 63 high schools. At least 5 students killed, including Bongani Khumalpo, COSAS office-bearer.

21. Johannesburg

At least 36 strikes involving thousands of workers. 3 000 attend August 9th Women's Rally. Widespread police action against anti-election demonstrators. White democrats launch JODAC.

22. Lenasia

Extensive police harassment of anti-election demonstrators.

23. Alexandra

Youth and civic organisations spearhead month-long bus boycott in protest over fare increases. 3 000 students boycott classes.

24. Potchefstroom/ Ikageng

1 500 students in anti-election march to polling station tear-gassed and sjambokked by police. Over 10 000 workers involved in 2 strikes.

25. Pretoria

20 strikes involving over 20 000 workers. Massive retrenchments in motor industry. 1 000 Medunsa students boycott in protest at elections.

26. Atteridgeville/ Saulsville

15 000 people attend funeral of police victim Emma Sathekge. 6 000 high school students boycott classes, and primary schools later join the boycott. Police fire tear-gas at Education Charter launch. SADF presence after November stayaway.

27. Mamelodi

Clashes with police at 3 secondary schools; 50 people in hospital. 2 000 students boycott classes.

28. Shoshanguve

10 000 students boycott classes.

29. Mahwelereng

Student boycott at Mokopane college.

30. Pietersburg

3 000 students at Turfloop protest at tricameral elections; violent clash with police. 2 500 workers strike in 4 disputes over wages.

31. Makweng, Seshego

Students boycott classes at Dwena Noloto College and 3 high schools.

32. Penge

1 700 miners stage sit-in for higher wages.

33. Messina

Abel Dube banished to Messina after two and a half years in detention.

34. Hartebeesfontein

8 000 mine workers at Hartebeesfontein Mine strike when NUM recognition is refused.

35. Motlatla

3 000 people face removal to Delareyville.

36. Machakaneng, Rustenburg

182 people face removal to Kafferskraal.

37. Magopa

Remaining 300 families removed forcibly to Pachsdraai.

38. Mathopestad

Resistance to removal of entire community to Onderstepoort continues.

39. Leandra

Police use tear-smoke, rubber bullets, buckshot and sjamboks to break up meeting of 5 000 residents gathered to discuss resistance to impending removal.

40. Valspan

Resistance continues over planned removal to Pampierstad. Some residents already moved to Onverwacht.

41. Odi/Moritele districts

Hundreds of squatters arrested.

42. Bosplaas

150 000 residents face removal to KwaNdebele.

43. Klipgat/Nooitgedacht/Makanyeneng

Hundreds of non-Tswana residents flee to KwaNdebele after harassment by BophutaTswana officials.

44. Winterveld

300 families moved to Mabopane to make way for the Lucas Mangope Highway.

45. Lothair

Lothair and Warburton community face removal to KaNgwane.

46. Bethal

Many people removed; dumped in KwaNdebele.

47. Daggakraal

Resistance to removal of entire community to KaNgwane continues.

48. KwaNgema

Community continues to resist removal to KaNgwane.

49. Badplaas

Community resists removal to KaNgwane.

50. Luckhof

165 people removed to Botshabelo.

51. Driefontein

Resistance to removals continues. Court finds Constable Johannes Nienaber not guilty of murdering community leader Saul Mkhize.

ORANGE FREE STATE

52. Bloemfontein

Students win re-admission of fellow students after class boycott.

53. Tumahole

Police clash with residents protesting against rent increases. Over 50 people arrested, including Bonakele Ngalo, who was later found dead in his cell.

54. Toekomsrus

Anti-election protests. Houses of 5 tricameral election candidates fire-bombed.

55. Thabong

Over 3 000 students boycott classes when their demands are ignored.

NATAL

56. Durban

Rent increases scrapped for 23 000 Glebeland hostel dwellers, after JORAC action. 7 000 workers strike in 19 separate disputes. 6 UDF office-bearers shelter in British Consulate. Wentworth COSAS branch launched.

57. Lamontville

All students boycott classes in protest over tricameral elections, and all secondary schools close. JORAC and UDF supporters come under attack.

58. Ntuzuma, KwaMashu

500 students boycott classes in protest over enforced Inkatha lessons.

59. Hammarsdale

2 000 workers strike over unfair dismissals.

60. Pinetown

Residents walk to work in show of solidarity with 200 bus drivers striking over union recognition. 2 000 workers strike in disputes over dismissals and wages.

61. Pietermaritzburg

17 student teachers in Imbali suspended following mass student boycott. 9 000 students dispersed with tear-gas and sjamboks after protests against Koornhof inaugurating the Imbali town council. Mewa Ramgobin, George Sewpersadh, detained in Pietermaritzburg prison.

62. Newcastle

Anti-election protesters arrested. 300 workers strike over dismissals.

63. Port Shepstone

12 arrested during an NIC protest march.

64. Steincoalspruit

Residents under threat of removal to Ekvukeni resettlement camp.

65. KwaMthanti

40 families removed to Qinisa near Paulpietersburg.

66. Estcourt

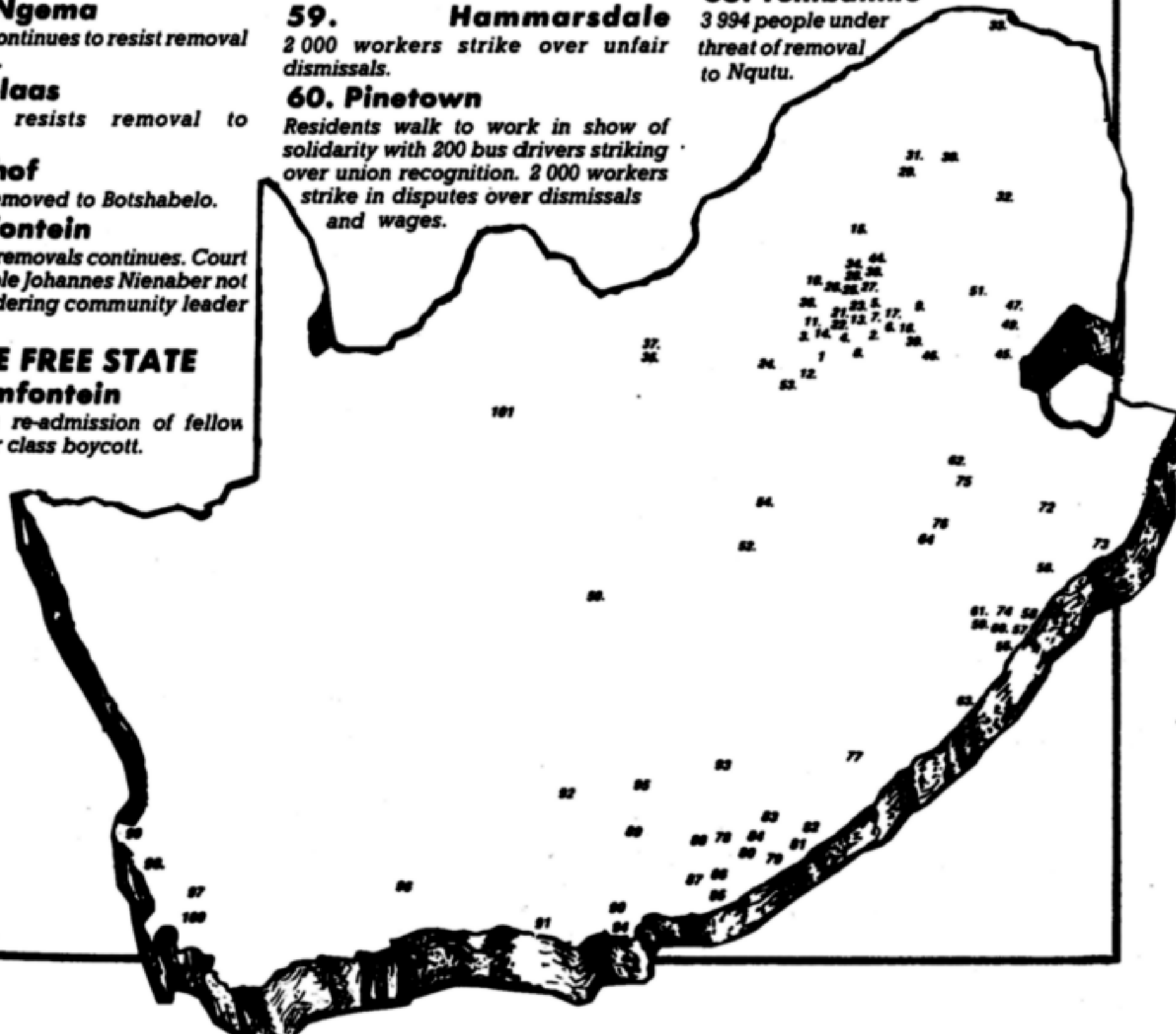
902 families moved to Tempe and Loch Sloy.

67. Sibongele

8 506 people under threat of removal to Nqutu near Dundee

68. Tembalihle

3 994 people under threat of removal to Nqutu.



69. Nqutu

Vryheid/Paulpietersburg/Babana-ngo communities to be moved to Nondweni near Babanango.

70. Matiwane's Kop

12 000 residents to be moved to Uitvlugt

71. Inanda

230 squatters to be moved to Compensation to make way for a new road.

KWAZULU

72. Workers at 8 factories strike in protest against sexual harassment by supervisors of workers at 1 factory. 700 people involved in strikes at 6 other factories.

73. Ngoye

11 students expelled after repeated boycotts. University closed until 1985.

74. Hambanathi

3 councillors resign in protest over planned incorporation of Hambanathi into KwaZulu. Alleged Inkatha supporters burn down the houses of 8 JORAC and HRA members, killing 3 people.

75. Dannhauser

1 233 people moved to flint farm near Newcastle.

76. Ladysmith

100 000 people in area face removal to area near Msinga; mass rallies. 400 workers down tools.

TRANSKEI

406 in detention.

77. Umtata

Students at Unitra boycott repeatedly following collusion between university administration and Security Branch. University closed.

CISKEI

107 in detention.

78. Fort Hare

Police intervene as 3 000 students boycott.

79. Zwelitsha

Lennox Sebe Training College closed after student protests. Charles Nqakula, Steve Tshwete, banished to Ciskei.

CAPE

80. King Williamstown

Students boycott classes.

81. East London

Friends of the UDF spearhead anti-election protests in Coloured and Indian areas. Shots fired at the house of friends of UDF leaders. 6 000 workers down tools. Mdantsane bus boycott continues into its second year.

82. Duncan Village.

700 shacks demolished. 1 300 residents face removal to Mdantsane.

83. Mgwali

9 members of MRA detained after organising opposition to the removal of 7 500 residents to Mdantsane.

84. Ekuphumleni

Resettlement camp under construction for people removed to Ciskei.

85. Port Alfred

Heavy police action against students boycotting classes at 3 schools. Stayaway called.

86. Glenmore

600 families resettled there in 1979 now to be removed to Peddie.

87. Grahamstown

3 000 students boycott. 70% of residents stay away in protest over death of 2 students killed in clashes with police.

88. Fort Beaufort

2 schools on boycott since August. Clashes with police leave 1 student dead.

89. Somerset East

All schools on boycott since August.

90. Uitenhage

3 high schools on boycott. House of prominent activists burned down. Uitenhage Youth Congress launched.

91. Humansdorp

Students boycott classes. Administration Board raids factory and arrests 100 pass offenders. Group Areas removals in Willowdene.

92. Graaff Reinet

Rent protests. 5 schools on boycott, COSAS leaders detained.

93. Queenstown

1 500 students from 3 high schools boycott. SAAWU, AFCWU and COSAS members detained. 200 workers down tools.

94. Port Elizabeth

28 000 students boycott classes and clash repeatedly with police. COSAS hit by widespread detentions. Massive retrenchments hit motor workers.

95. Cradock

Transfer of CRADORA leader Matthews Goniwa from local school, massive protest. 78 people detained, 3 held for 6 months. 7 000 students boycott classes.

96. Oudshoorn

Students demand SRCs and organise against new constitution. Community newspaper, Saamstaan launched.

97. Paarl

1 000 students boycott.

98. Cape Town

Widespread anti-election protests. Heavy police action against thousands of boycotting students. 8 597 shacks demolished and many arrested. Nyanga residents march on Development Board offices over demolition of backyard shacks. Pressure exerted on residents to move to Khayelitsha, 40 km out of Cape Town. 1 200 Crossroads residents sign a UDF declaration stating their refusal to move to Khayelitsha. UWC students boycott in support of their demands. Two day bus boycott in protest over fare increases.

99. Saldanha

West Cape UDF launched.

100. Somerset West

Workers down tools after wage deadlock in the first national black legal strike, involving workers also at Modderfontein Umbogintwini, Sasolburg, Midlands.

101. Huhudi

Proposed removal to Pudimoe of 14 000 residents scrapped after protest co-ordinated by HUCA, which has signed up thousands of members. Union organisation penetrate the area for the first time since the 1950s.

RELEASE STATE CONGRESS OF
CAMPAIGN SOUTH AFRICAN
STUDENTS

TRANSVAAL
INDIAN CONGRESS

WESTERN RESIDENTS
REINVEST WEST

WORKERS STRUGGLE
NATIONAL COMMITTEE
LET'S
ORGANISE!

RENEWED
YOUTH
CITY IS
STRONG

POLITICAL TRIALS:

Spirit of Rebellion in 1985

By Justitia

With 1985 only a few weeks old, and with many political trials in progress or about to begin, the courts of apartheid witnessed two examples of the 'spirit of rebellion' of which our President spoke in the January 8th statement.

In the Northern Transvaal, a 37-year-old teacher, after ten months in detention, chose to go to prison for one year rather than give evidence in the Tzaneen Regional Court against Regan Shope (who was later imprisoned for three years for furthering the aims of the ANC). Emma Ntimbana, refusing to testify even after the court had given her two months to think of the consequences, said she could not betray the cause of liberation.

In an act of defiance of a different kind, proceedings were brought to a halt in the trial of 14 men in Johannesburg on charges of treason and 'terrorism.' When the accused were led into the dock they stood on their seats and, turning their backs to the court, began to sing freedom songs, which were taken up by their supporters in court. The magistrate retreated from the court and, in another room, in the absence of the defendants, adjourned the case for four weeks.

The Courts Are Fields of Struggle

These were courageous acts, because those who find themselves in the courts of the apartheid regime are in a field of battle in which the enemy has immense powers and has proved ruthless in their use. The regime and its apologists pretend that South Africa's legal system is a fair and impartial one. As far as Blacks are concerned, this has never been true, but in recent years it has become obvious to even more people that the courts are instruments of repression.

In many cases, the courts in reality only for-

malise matters already settled by the security police. Many defendants and witnesses, like Emma Ntimbana, come to court after long periods of detention in solitary confinement, when they have been forced to make the statements which the police want to use in court. As one lawyer put it, detention is "a witness factory, a place where evidence is manufactured for court." Witnesses who refuse to co-operate in court face prison.

Today there are more political trials in South Africa than for some years, as our editorial in the February issue of *Sechaba* made clear, a reflection of the rising level of struggle in our country. During every period of mass action, the courts have been filled in this way. In the 1960s 120 000 people were convicted in political trials, and in 1976-79 nearly 44 000. Those now in court are drawn from every sector of struggle.

The thousands who expressed their anger in the demonstrations and protests of last year, or who gathered for the funerals of victims of police violence, were all attacked by the police with the army in support. Now many of them face the courts, whose job it is to label their actions as 'public violence' and 'illegal gathering' and the like.

Campaigning is 'Subversion'

For those who organise and mobilise, and who occupy leading positions in the legal mass organisations, there are different charges and potentially heavier sentences. In December four trials began in which political trade union or community leaders were charged with 'subversion.' This included people from the UDF and NIC (also charged with treason), members of the Transvaal Regional Stayaway Committee, and others.

'Subversion' is one of the innovations of the

1982 Internal Security Act. It covers non-violent activities which endanger the 'authority' or 'security' of the state by promoting disorder or dislocation, or interrupting economic activity. The creation of this new 'crime' was a direct response to the rising level and increasingly open nature of resistance in recent years. The boundaries of open political mobilisation were pushed forward through the unity in action of campaigns like the 1980 school boycott, the anti-republic campaign of 1981 and the campaign for a boycott of the South African Indian Council elections. Those now being charged were in the forefront of the recent campaigns and mass action, and some of them were involved in earlier campaigns. By bringing these charges now, the regime is showing its determination to try to reverse the gains of recent years.

Statements Under Torture

The most violent side of the legal system is seen in trials arising out of the armed struggle. Almost every political trial of his kind brings evidence of violence against detainees, and other forms of torture.

In spite of this evidence, courts regularly ac-

cept statements forced out of people in detention, even where their health has been seriously or permanently damaged. In a recent trial in Grahamstown in which every defendant described the torture and assault used to get statements out of them, Siphon Hina and ten others were nevertheless convicted on the basis of the statements tortured out of them. Two of them, Rufus Nzo and Douglas Tyutyu, got 25 years.

In January there were trials relating to the armed struggle in several areas: Tzaneen, Johannesburg, Durban, Bloemfontein, Pietermaritzburg. In the last case the two accused faced a charge of murder as well as ones of 'terrorism' and possession of arms.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The courage and commitment of those who go through political trials, facing the violence and torture of the police and the repressive procedures of the magistrates and judges, should be an example to us all. They should lead us to strengthen the campaigns in support of people on trial and of those convicted, like Malesela Moloise, sentenced to death for an act he did not commit.



SACTU

Celebrates its 30th Anniversary

This month sees the 30th anniversary of the founding of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), which was established on the 5th March, 1955. To mark the occasion, we publish excerpts from the New Year statement made by the General Secretary of SACTU, Comrade John Nkadimeng.

Comrades, militants and activists of the democratic trade union movement, on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, SACTU, its entire membership and its supporters, at home and abroad, we extend our revolutionary greetings to you.

We greet all the working people of our country, in the towns and in the countryside, in the spirit of working class fraternity as fellow fighters in the front line trenches in the struggle against the capitalist exploiters and the racist state that serves them.

The year 1985 comes at a time when the balance of forces in our country is visibly shifting in favour of the forces of liberation. This is partly as a result of the struggles that we have waged over the last 30 years in pursuit of the objectives we set ourselves when SACTU was founded. During this period, particularly the last five years, we have built a powerful trade union movement and drawn hundreds of thousands of workers into active struggle.

As we enter the new year, 1985, the 30th anniversary of the founding of SACTU, the workers and all working people in our country can look back with pride at a record of hard battles and successes during 1984. The wealth

of experience we have gained over the past year paves the way for the battles to be waged during this and coming years...

Our country is today in the throes of a deep economic and political crisis. There is one single and overriding cause for all the ills our country suffers — the continued existence of the minority racist regime and the exploitative system it upholds.

The apartheid regime and the capitalist exploiters are deliberately shifting the burden of this economic crisis on to the shoulders of the working people.

While all the major companies continue to reap fabulous profits, the standard of living of the working people continues to fall as a result of increased food prices, rents, bus fares, general sales tax on all goods we buy. Adding insult to injury, the proceeds of this tax go towards the maintenance and strengthening of the oppressive state machinery created to hold us down.

Our Will to Resist

The apartheid regime is responding to the political crisis by intensifying its campaign of repression. During 1984 it murdered more than 200 patriots, including children, arrested over a thousand trade unionists, other activists and leaders of the democratic movement, some of whom have now been charged with high treason.

The enemy has gone further, to use its military might as an instrument of terror against the struggling masses. Massive state violence against the people has become a daily occurrence.

★ None of this will change without the will on our part to resist and make the necessary sacrifices!

★ None of this will change without the united effort of all the workers!

★ None of this will change without a determined fight-back to uproot the whole system of national oppression and economic exploitation! ...

During 1984, South Africa experienced a record number of strikes. Many of these were in the engineering and mining industries. We saw for the first time, since 1946, the Black miners take well-planned industrial action which shook the mining companies. The eagerness of the mine owners to reach a settlement before actual strike action tells us a lot about the strategic importance of the mines to the South African economy as a whole. It is absolutely important that we build on these gains we have made in the mining industry. The organised strength of the Black miners must be increased, and co-ordination amongst the mine workers' unions improved.

A fine example has already been set by the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, which mobilised its members

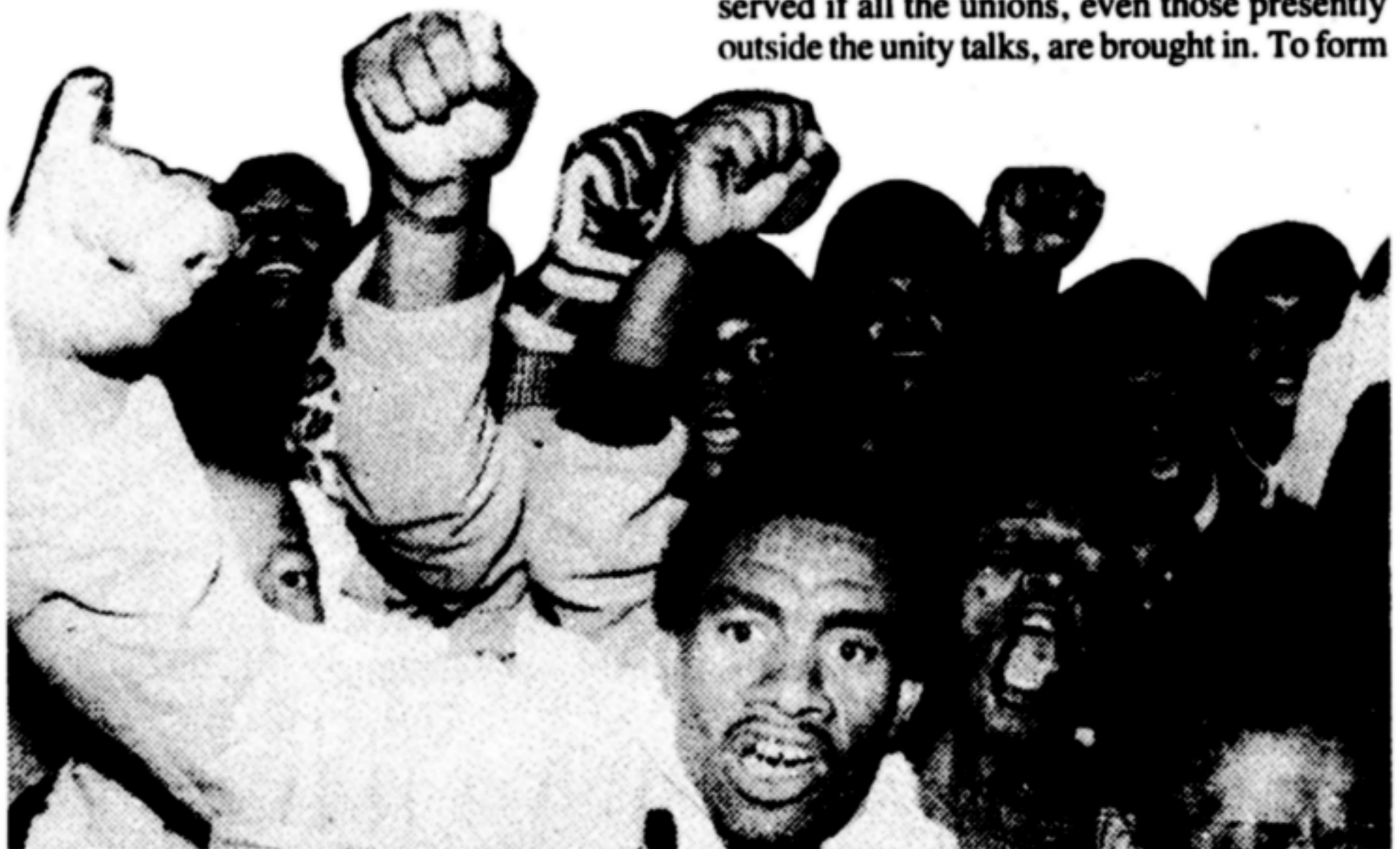
to support the National Union of Mine Workers — and thus applied in action the internationally recognised working class slogan: **An injury to one is an injury to all!**

We should use this experience to work towards the formation of one union in the mining industry...

In spite of the difficulties we have faced, the number of workers who joined the trade unions has grown. Between 1980 and 1983, Black trade union membership increased from 220 000 to 670 000. In other words, it increased by over 200%. By 1984, the number of Black unionised workers had grown to 1 545 824, that is, more than double the figure for 1983...

Unity in the Trade Union Movement

To mark the 30th anniversary of SACTU in a fitting manner requires that all of us, in our various unions and other organisations, join hands to improve co-ordination and co-operation as well as to build the unity of the democratic trade union movement. The task of creating a single national federation still seems beset with a number of problems. It is our considered view that unity will best be served if all the unions, even those presently outside the unity talks, are brought in. To form



a federation which does not include all the democratic unions would be harmful and only serve to weaken the whole trade union movement. Unity will not be achieved as long as any unions are excluded or relegated to the role of observers.

Closely linked with the growth and the very survival of the organised workers' movement is the whole question of retrenchments and unemployment. The growing army of the unemployed could easily be used to undermine the trade union movement and its achievements, unless the unemployed are themselves organised. A campaign to demand the right to work and for adequate unemployment benefits has come to the top of today's agenda. The unemployed, in the industrial centres as well as in the bantustans, must be organised, not as an act of charity, but in the vital class interest of all workers. In this regard, we salute the unemployed workers in the QwaQwa bantutustan, who organised themselves and engaged in struggle demanding jobs...

Centenary of May Day

In 1986, we shall be observing the Centenary of May Day. On May Day, 1984, we put forward the demand that this day must be a paid public holiday. We must aim to ensure that through our united action this demand is met as from 1986. Therefore, our activities in 1985 must aim to build up the forces which will compel the apartheid regime to bow down to our wishes...

We salute and pay tribute to the many gallant working class fighters who have made the supreme sacrifice during the course of the

struggle. We recall the names of stalwarts of SACTU like Looksmart Solwandle Ngudle, Lawrence Ndzanga, Elijah Loza and Alpheus Madiba, all of whom died in the hands of the racist regime's torturers.

We dip our banners in memory of William Khanyile, who was murdered by the racists at Matola in January 1981. We remember Zola Nqini, Phakamile Mpongoshe, Gene Gugushe and many others who were butchered in Maseru in December 1982. We also remember, on this day, the death in detention of trade unionists like Dr Neil Aggett, and the mysterious death of Joe Mavi, the President of the Municipal and General Workers' Union of South Africa.

We extend our greetings to the leaders of the democratic trade unions, who, in defiance of police harassment, detention and imprisonment, are standing firm and are refusing to waver in the struggle for freedom and social justice.

We pledge our solidarity with all political prisoners, including trade unionists, on Robben Island and the other prisons of apartheid, and swear that we shall not rest until we have thrown open the doors of the dungeons in which they are imprisoned.

During this 30th Anniversary of SACTU, let us all move forward, in rising waves of intensity of struggle, to the Centenary of May Day.

Let us mobilise for massive campaign against the continued impoverishment of the masses of the people!

Let us demand food and not guns!

**AN INJURY TO ONE
IS AN
INJURY TO ALL!**

ANC INTERNATIONAL

WORLD DIALOGUE ON PEACE

Between the 23rd and 25th November 1984, when the news of the re-election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency of the United States was still fresh, representatives of Peace Committees, and other political and social groups with strong peace content, met with members of the Bureau of the World Peace Council in Toronto, Canada, under the banner, "World Dialogue on the Prevention of Nuclear War, for Disarmament and Peace."

It was an open dialogue between Canadian and US peace activists of various social backgrounds and political persuasions, representatives of peace forces and national liberation movements, and leaders from newly independent nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America. The dialogue also included representatives of the peace forces of the socialist countries, and the peace and progressive forces of Western European countries. Church organisations, women's and youth organisations, political parties and solidarity groups were among the various participants. The Secretary-General of the ANC is a Vice-President of the World Peace Council and hence a member of its Bureau; and though he was unable to be personally present because of other pressing demands, he had a representative at the dialogue.

Peace and National Liberation

Among these peace activists there was an appreciation of the relationship between the peace struggle and the struggle for survival and life and development of peoples in the national liberation struggles. The memory of the brutal subjugation of the 100 000 Grenadan people by the military might of the USA, and the threats by the Reagan administration to dictate settlements in Nicaragua and El Salvador,

regardless of the will of these nations, constituted part of the atmosphere of urgency for the peace forces.

The representatives were also saddened and angered by the assassination of Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India, Chairperson of the Non-Aligned Movement and champion of peace. The forces for peace did not wish for India to be torn by internal strife and division; these forces rejoiced at Indian development and efforts to restore its heritage by eliminating the dark heritage of colonial backwardness.

The participants in the Dialogue also heard of the alarm and condemnation expressed by smaller nations about the US declaration of its National Security doctrine, which the International Court of Justice in The Hague had ruled was contrary to international law.

ANC Joins the Dialogue

We of the ANC emphasised to the delegates the fact that the United Nations General Assembly has declared apartheid a crime against humanity, and that it is with the apartheid regime that the Reagan administration has entered into "constructive engagement." We pointed out that the United States doctrine of national interests contradicts our policy — as set out in the Freedom Charter — that our natural resources are our national wealth. We expressed alarm at US-sponsored aggression in the Middle East, and pointed out the similarity between the forced removal of the Palestinian people from their country and the South African regime's declaration that the country of South Africa is the heritage of the Whites.

The US and Canadian delegates responded with the information that the American people were alert to the manoeuvres of their government. They said that the masses of pro-

gressive forces and progressive Americans are not hoodwinked by their media, and the propaganda of the multinationals and their government, and would take to the streets in defence of our legitimate struggle for national liberation, as they also would to defend the first elected government of Nicaragua, which was made possible only after the overthrow of the Somoza dynasty. They reminded us that the Reverend Jesse Jackson in his presidential campaign had brought together some five million people who sought a positive international and home policy for the US, and that these people would be prepared to act for these principles.

Who Is Responsible?

The Dialogue had to deal with questions of whether the "two superpowers were equally responsible" for the arms race. The fact of US votes at the United Nations against measures for arms limitation and disarmament; its refusal to renounce first use of nuclear weaponry; its placing in Europe of Cruise and Pershing II missiles, which are first-strike weapons — all contradicted the equal responsibility propaganda. This was intended to divide the peace forces of the world and so detract from the noble cause of broad forces uniting to preserve world peace and prevent a nuclear holocaust, which would destroy the whole world.

These forces also had an affinity for the people who struggle for national liberation, and are potential allies for the New International Economic Order, if they were made aware of the issues involved.

The dialogue covered the issues of the arms race and unemployment, the reality of conversion from war industry to peaceful construction, the relationship between the women's movements and the movement for peace, and, as pointed out, unity of the peace forces against the nuclear arms race and "star war" extensions.

Optimistic Note

When the delegates departed there was a more realistic and optimistic note, because the North American peace forces assured all the delegates that they and the American and Canadian public wanted peace, and that they would hold President Ronald Reagan to the peace proposals he made in his election campaign.

The anti-fascist and anti-war forces of the world were further strengthened but are not complacent, and are pledged in this 40th anniversary of the victory over Nazi fascism and the founding of the United Nations to rid humanity of the scourge of war, and to work for a better future for the peoples of all the world.

SOLIDARITY IN BELGIUM

At a solemn ceremony in Brussels, two major economic development-funding groups bestowed the honorary chairmanship of their organisations on Comrade Nelson Mandela. The organisations are the Centre National Cooperation Development and Centrum National.

Mayor of Antwerp Receives ANC Delegation

The racists of South Africa have always regarded Flanders as one of their bastions of support, by virtue of historical links and similarities of language and culture. However, delegates from our Women's Section were recently received by the Mayor of Antwerp, right in the heart of Flanders, so even here the tide of opinion is turning against the apartheid regime.

The delegation was led by Comrade Florence Maleka of the ANC Women's Section. With her were Comrade Felicia Mzamo also of the Women's Section, Comrade Rose Motsepe of the ANC office in Brussels and Professor Paulette Pierson-Mathy of the Belgian Committee against Colonialism and Apartheid.

All Support For ANC and SWAPO!

The Conference in Bonn

By M D Naidoo

The first regional Conference in Europe for Peace in Southern Africa, for Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles in South Africa and Namibia and for Solidarity with the Front Line States, was held in Bonn on the 12th-14th October, 1984. It reflected significant advances in the mobilisation of Federal German public opinion in the campaign for the isolation of the apartheid regime. The main participants were over 400 delegates, representing 93 organisations from the FRG, 47 of which were national and the remainder local or regional. They were mainly solidarity groups, youth and student organisations and church representatives, Protestant and Catholic. Political parties, peace organisations, women's organisations, trade unions and others were also present.

The President of the Conference, was Erika Runge, writer, film producer and a national leader of the peace movement. Other members of the praesidium included Eckart Spoo, Chairman of the Union of Journalists; Hildegard Zumach, General Secretary of the Protestant Women's Association; Wilhelm Flender, a leading figure in Solidarity Church Rhineland, and former member of the anti-Hitler Confessing Church. There were also representatives of the UN Council for Namibia, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the OAU Liberation Committee, the WCC Programme to Combat Racism, ICOSA, ANC, SWAPO and the Front Line States. Among other participants were Gunter Verheugen, Chairman of the SPD Parliamentary sub-committee on Southern Africa; Walter

Schwenninger, MP, the Greens; Martha Buschmann, member of the praesidium of the DKP (the Communist Party of the FRG); Manfred Coppick of the Democratic Socialist Party and leading member of the alliance of parties known as the Peace List; Mr Andreas Schillo, member of the Praesidium of Pax Christi; Professor Manfred O Hinz, Mr Markus Braun, Speaker of MAKSA, and Mr Alexander Schubart of the Federal Congress of Independent Peace Groups.

Collaboration — The Central Theme

The central theme of the Conference was "Collaboration between the FRG and South Africa" in all its forms and aspects. The proceedings took place in 19 commissions and workshops and four plenary sessions. Each commission had a well-documented report before it, and the topics included:

- ★ Apartheid — a Threat to World Peace,
- ★ Decolonisation of Namibia,
- ★ Destabilisation of the Front Line States,
- ★ Trade Unions, churches and women in the struggle against apartheid,
- ★ Sanctions — military, economic and cultural,
- ★ Material aid.

Discussions in the commissions and the plenary were wide-ranging and lively, with a high degree of active participation.

The Conference received a large number of messages of support, the most important of which were from President Julius Nyerere,

Chairman of the Front Line States and now Chairman of the OAU, Barbara Simons, representing the socialist faction of the European Parliament, the Metal Workers' Union of the FRG, and the Christian Peace Conference.

In his message, President Nyerere crisply set out the task before the Conference:

"The purpose of external support must be firstly to weaken the apartheid regime in all possible ways, and secondly to strengthen the forces resisting apartheid so that they can be more effective ... At the very least, nothing must be done which lends international respectability to apartheid, its institutions or its advocates ... In addition, the liberation movements and groups operating in South Africa and Namibia, and also the Front Line States, must be strengthened ... I ask for intensified support for the anti-apartheid and anti-colonial struggles ..."

Alfred Nzo Speaks

In his address to the Conference, Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, pointed out

that South Africa was being swept by a wave of popular opposition to the apartheid regime of unprecedented dimensions; workers (including over 70 000 mine workers) and students were in revolt, whole communities in many areas have been demonstrating in mass militant protests against Black local councils, the campaign to boycott the new apartheid tri-racial constitution had convincingly demonstrated the people's determined challenge to the legitimacy of the regime of apartheid colonial exploitation. Typically, Pretoria had responded with increased repression. It had admitted using batons, sjamboks, rubber bullets, birdshot, tear gas, tear smoke and armoured vehicles against unarmed men, women and children. Hundreds had been killed (many actually shot), hundreds more injured — many of them seriously. Meetings had been banned, hundreds had been arrested and detained, including most of the leaders of the United Democratic Front. He expressed the confident expectation that the Conference would intensify the efforts of the people of the FRG to mobilise public opinion and exert mass



pressure to ensure that the Government of the FRG accedes to the United Nations Convention for the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and will take effective steps to put an end to all forms of collaboration with the apartheid system; that the Government and people will give every moral and practical support to the struggle for national liberation of the people of South Africa.

The Infamous Berlin Conference

Hidipo Hamutenya, SWAPO Secretary for Information, referred to the fact that the Conference was taking place on the centenary of the infamous Berlin Conference, where Africa was divided up into colonial spheres of domination. The colonial oppression which Germany introduced into Namibia 100 years ago was still claiming the lives of thousands. Some of the best sons and daughters of Namibia were shedding their blood and sacrificing their lives in a determined struggle to end the agony of colonial enslavement, while many were locked up in the racists' prisons and torture chambers throughout the country. After outlining recent developments in Namibia, he called for continuing moral and material support to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia through their legitimate representatives, the ANC and SWAPO.

His Excellency Jorge Bayona of the Special Committee against Apartheid brought warmest greetings and good wishes from Ambassador Joseph N Garba, Chairman of the Special Committee. He described recent developments relating to South Africa and Namibia and went on:

"I should like to pay tribute to the distinguished leaders of SWAPO and ANC ... we know that both their peoples will be free ... Non-governmental action in bringing down apartheid has shown its worth. If it had not been for trade unions and anti-apartheid campaigners, we would never have heard about the arms traffic going out from North America to support the apartheid regime in violation of the arms embargo.

We would never have heard of the oil tankers doing their stealthy business of supplying South Africa, in spite of the OPEC and Arab oil ban. We would never have learned that in the UK a company like Plessey was training military personnel ... The anti-apartheid movements ... have done their bit in building up support through the rank-and-file ... in exposing collaboration with apartheid. This is a considerable achievement, and I know you will go on to build upon it ... On behalf of the Special Committee (I) assure you that we will welcome every call for co-operation, consultation or support that any of you makes upon us."

State of Anarchy

On behalf of the OAU Liberation Committee, Ambassador Laban Oyaka stated:

"The racist Pretoria regime is a clique of death and destruction; one question that comes to mind immediately is, how does such a regime continue to enjoy the unconditional support of countries which claim to be the champions of democracy and human rights? ... participants of this important Conference do not need a lesson on the state of anarchy inside apartheid South Africa. They do not need a lesson on the irrelevant manoeuvres being perpetrated to deny the people of Namibia their independence and sovereignty; they do not need a lesson on the arrogant aggression of the Pretoria regime against the Front Line States ... the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are waging a bitter struggle against the militarily and financially powerful apartheid authority. They need the support of the international community."

The Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches was represented by its Programme Secretary, Rob van Drimelen. He pointed out that the apartheid system is unique in its evilness because of its claim to be based on Christian principles. Hence apartheid was the grave of the dignity and

credibility of Christian religion. He said that the WCC had declared that apartheid is a sin and a perversion of the Christian gospel. Since 1972, resolutions have been adopted by the WCC Central Committee on the withdrawal of foreign investments, the cessation of trade, a halt to bank loans, an arms and oil embargo and the discouragement of White immigration to South Africa and Namibia.

The WCC, he said, represented more than 400 million Christians in more than 300 churches in over 100 countries. The 1983 Assembly affirmed the need for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, paying special attention to the need for an oil embargo. The WCC believed that the policy of so-called "constructive engagement" with South Africa is nothing less than destructive engagement, since it strengthens the position of the White minority regime, which is determined to entrench White domination.

The Conference received wide and favourable coverage from the media — remarkable, considering that it did not receive the support, or even blessing, of the Federal German political establishment — and more than 30 interviews and reports were published in the newspapers and broadcast on the radio during October and November. It was a tribute to the success of the organisers in reaching the mainstream of public opinion.

The Final Declaration

The Final Declaration adopted by the Conference recognised that:

"the struggle against this criminal regime is a legitimate struggle."

It called on all peace-loving, anti-colonial and anti-fascist forces of the world to unite for the total eradication of the apartheid system, and noted that 1984 had seen a new strategy — Botha's "peace offensive" which it characterised as:

"a step in the world-wide neo-colonialist concept that is led by the USA. It seeks to roll back the wave of independence, self-determination and non-alignment also in Africa by using its main ally there — the

Pretoria regime ... South Africa and her allies intend to use this 'peace offensive' to break the ANC, SWAPO and the OAU, torpedo the efforts of SADCC, pave the way for international respectability of the apartheid regime and counter the call for sanctions ... The participants ... categorically reject all attempts to sabotage the unity of the Front Line States and the liberation movements, ANC and SWAPO, and to declare their unshakeable solidarity with them, including Lesotho ... In cognisance of the special responsibility of the people of the FRG, deriving from the most sinister chapters of human history 100 and 50 years ago, the participants of the Conference pledge their determination to spare no effort in fighting for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and for increased support for the liberation struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia as well as for the Front Line States ... including Lesotho."

A comprehensive Programme of Action was adopted which incorporated detailed specific programmes adopted by all the relevant commissions. Delegates undertook to campaign energetically on a broad range of issues for the total isolation of the apartheid regime, including a demand for the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions (and an oil embargo), cancellation of the cultural agreement, and strengthening of the arms embargo. The Conference also adopted a resolution calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia.

To focus on the implementation of these programmes, the Conference decided to organise a nationwide week of action in the summer or autumn of 1985 on the following three main issues:

- ★ Racism in Southern Africa,
- ★ Colonialism against Namibia
- ★ Military collaboration between the FRG and the racist regime.

'Bra Joe From Kilimanjaro'

Kiepie Moeketsi was born in 1925 in the slums of Johannesburg, and he grew up in George Goch Township. He left school after standard five and got a job sweeping the floors of a men's hostel.

Then he learned to play saxophone. He started with a small band called The Band in Blue. They played Marabi music — the music of the people. From all over the slums the people came to listen to them. It was then that Kiepie's fame started.

In 1948 the Harlem Swingsters offered Kiepie a job. This was a famous band which played in Western Native Township (popular name, "by die Kasie"). Todd Matshikiza played for them. The band toured the country.

But apartheid and its laws influenced music as well. George Goch location and Western Native Township were demolished. This meant that jazz concerts had to stop. Bands scattered. Black musicians had other problems. They could not play at Black centres. The Group Areas Act applied to music as well.

Kiepie left the Harlem Swingsters and started the Shantytown Sextet. The famous swinging group, the Manhattan Brothers, sang with them. Together they played all over the country and sold thousands of records. They always performed in packed houses and made money.

The group visited Cape Town as well. They did not have a pianist. They found a young boy playing piano in a cinema hall. He was the now great Dollar Brand.

"Dollar knew nothing about music at that time," is what Kiepie said once. "He followed me everywhere. I taught him a lot. Now he is a great man in music."

Dollar joined Kiepie, and they went back to the Big City Jo'burg and played at Dorkay House. They met other local musicians, by the names of Jonas Gwangwa, Johnny Gertz and Hugh Masekela. Together they formed the "Jazz Epistles."



They played together for four years. Then Kiepie joined the cast of *King Kong*. He went to London with the show.

When he came back from the tour abroad, he found out that most of his great friends had left. Many great Black musicians found they could no longer work under apartheid. Jonas Gwangwa, Dollar Brand and Hugh Masekela were in America, to seek for greener pastures in the world of music, art and culture.

The South African recording companies had made thousands of rands from Kiepie Moeketsi's music, but he had nothing. He died in poverty in 1982. He had no money, no work, no house.

In the music of Dollar Brand and other South African musicians, his music lives on.

"Bra Joe from Kilimanjaro" is how Dollar Brand used to introduce Kiepie at concerts. The funeral of Bra Joe from Kilimanjaro was a celebration of his great talent. All the great South African musicians were there to pay homage.

When Kiepie joins his old buddy Mackay Makhwenkwe Davashe, what a great reunion it is going to be of two tenor sax maniacs.

No Time To Grieve

*And when i start to talk
i start to sing
and when i start to sing
i start to cry
but i must stop
there is no time for tears
no time to grieve
for the struggle
continues to continue*

*And when i start to talk
i must listen to what
i am saying
and when i sing
I must know what to sing about
for the tears must move me to action
actions designed to win
no plaintive-excuse me motions
must guide me
but well thought out
revolutionary actions
actions designed to win*

*my enemies try to force my hand
but i must guide my emotions
into well-conceived
revolutionary actions
actions designed to win*

*my children are in gaols
and i am so far away
in another gaol
my actions must be designed to win*

*my brother has passed in a foreign land
and there is barely time to bury him
let alone grieve*

*and there are husbands separated from wives
still i must not cry*

*our children are shot down
in the streets of Soweto
for daring to grow
for daring to be
our children are made to refugees
and the struggle continues to continue*

*and in Lesotho
those refugees are gunned, shot in their beds,
fathers, mothers, children
while they lie
sleeping —
my grief knows no bounds
and yet i must not cry*

*no time must be wasted
in destroying these capitalists
these imperialists
these fascists
these dogs
enemies of the Sun*

*and when i start to talk
i start to sing
and when i start to sing
i start to cry
but i must stop
there is no time for tears*

Nomusa Xaba



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor,

The article on education in the January issue brings out the key significance of the ongoing revolt against racist education, but there are some points of elaboration that should not be left unsaid.

Education in South Africa is one of the main arenas of mass struggle. It is a struggle rooted in the traditions of the liberation movement. It is fuelled not only by the glaring injustices of the education system, but also by the consciousness and level of activity of the wider, national struggle.

Students naturally will be in the front ranks of the fight for education, but this does not mean that it can be left mainly to the students and, with a bit of luck, to their parents and some brave teachers.

The huge two-day stayaway in the Transvaal in November last year, drawing the workers' and students' movements together in struggle, firstly confirms the correctness of the liberation movement call for Unity in Action, and secondly points the way to ever more successful campaigns.

The heightened struggle against racist education over the last decade has had extraordinary significance for the ANC and its allies, an importance equalled only by the increased strength of the working class movement. Several developments are now presenting an opportunity to bring these two strands still closer together.

There is great restlessness among the teachers of all races over the turmoil in education. Some of their organisations have been

engaged in joint activity, and there have been various 'unity talks'. One of the biggest problems is that the pressure for unity comes from the need to confront apartheid policies, but many teachers fear bringing politics into their profession. The Education Charter Campaign (ECC) could be just the stimulus to help solve this problem.

The ECC has the support of the main student bodies (COSAS, AZASO, NUSAS), as well as organisations such as the National Education Union (NEUSA) and others. It seeks to explore the implications of the demand in the Freedom Charter that "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened." The intention of the organisers is to gather in the demands of the people from every corner of the country, in the same way as was done for the Congress of the People.

It will certainly be hard for our people to win any of the elements of a truly national and democratic education system while apartheid still survives. However, victories such as the legal recognition of African labour as 'workers' proves that in the face of overwhelming pressure the regime can be forced to retreat.

Forward to another year, another decade of struggle for a just education system! The foundations for great victories have well and truly been laid down.

Yours in struggle,

London, Stephen Lee.
February 1985.

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