

**JUNE 1981**



# **SECHABA**

**official organ of the african  
national congress south africa**

## **5th Anniversary of the Soweto Uprising**



# **1981-YEAR OF THE YOUTH!**



# SECHABA

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# THE NEW DANGER

June is a month which is remembered by all freedom loving South Africans because it symbolises resistance and struggle. The Freedom Charter was adopted on June 26, 1955 and on June 16, 1976 the youth in Soweto revolted against apartheid. The ANC declared 1981: 'The Year of the Youth'. This was a correct decision considering what the deprivations of our youth from the cradle to the grave. This year is also the 20th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe — the spear and shield of our nation — an organisation in which the youth play an important role.

But this year these commemorations are taking place at a difficult time when Reagan, who never got any popular mandate for his policies of war, aggression and dismantling of social gains in his country has entered into an unholy alliance with Margaret Thatcher. This honeymoon seems to be leading to a disaster. Never in the history of US-British relations has there been two heads of state whose ideas are so similar, whose political loyalties and outlooks so identical and whose ideological passions and military theories do not differ at all. This has serious implications on our struggle.

The two are acting like cowboys. They are filling Europe with medium range nuclear weapons; they are causing havoc in the Middle East and elsewhere. Now they want to run our lives. Even for this they have no popular mandate. They are resuscitating Savimbi and his UNITA; giving a kiss of life to the Turnhalle clique. As if this is not enough General Haig and Reagan received and entertained Pik Botha, the racist Foreign Minister. They held secret discussions. This happened immediately after the all-white elections. And just before the racists "celebrated" their 20th anniversary of their racist republic. Perhaps this is an aspect of the "celebrations". We are told now that there

is a new "solution" to the Namibian question: the "American framework" which proposes to exclude the presence of United Nations troops during the pre-independence elections but "to include constitutional safeguards for the white minority".

These tricks are not new. What is surprising is the arrogance and carelessness with which the lives of our people in Namibia and South Africa are treated in the corridors of power in New York and London. Yesterday we were faced with the problems posed by the contact group of 5 imperialist countries. Now it seems Reagan feels they are either too "mild" or not "brave" enough. This "bravery" of Reagan and "toughness" of the Iron Lady has serious dangers for our struggle.

But we know where their weakness lies. They cannot satisfy the needs, aspirations and demands of their people let alone our people. The Botha-Malan clique itself has failed. The workers in South Africa are up in arms. They have taken up the grievances of the youth because they know that the problems facing the youth are their problems. They know that they cannot send their children to school because they are not qualified and they are not qualified because they went to Bantu Education schools. This is the basis of the worker-student alliance in our struggle. These last 5 years have seen this alliance strengthen and deepen to include other social forces. They are being united around and by the working class. They are supported by the freedom and peace loving people all over the world. Recently the French socialist reiterated their resolve to support our struggle and to isolate racist South Africa.

This should be a warning to the Reagan-Thatcher offensive which is forming a conspiracy with the Botha-Malan clique. Our people united behind the ANC and supported by the international progressive forces will defeat them.



# IRISH STEP UP FIGHT AGAINST APARTHEID



*Comrade Ruth Mompoti*

*Statement by Ruth Mompoti on behalf of the African National Congress of South Africa at the Annual General Meeting of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement.*

It is with great pleasure that I bring to this meeting the greetings of the ANC of South Africa. This is my first visit to Ireland, but your country is familiar to me, as it is to my organisation and its militants, because of the great anti-colonial tradition of the Irish people, who themselves fought against centuries of oppression and exploitation by British colonialism, for democracy and freedom.

Ireland's revolutionary heroes, men like James Larkin and James Connolly, to name

only two, have a special place in our minds as great inspirers of the world-wide struggle of people for peace, progress and democracy.

The Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement is known to me and my organisation as an ally of the struggling people of our country—and it is as comrades and allies that the African National Congress greets you today.

Comrade chairman and friends, You are no doubt aware that the Botha-Malan clique have secured another victory for Apartheid in the all-white election held a couple of days ago. Let me say at the outset that the election has got nothing to do with the solution of the burning problems facing the black majority. It has everything to do with maintaining and perpetuating the racist-exploitative system in South Africa, securing the super-profits of the multinational corporations operating there, holding on to the power and privilege of the white minority, and extending the grip of imperialism over the whole of the Southern African sub-continent.

As far as the black majority is concerned, nothing has changed. Nothing will change until we have destroyed and buried racism and Apartheid in our country and established a people's government based on the principles of non-racialism, democracy and social justice.

The struggle continues. Nothing short of the armed seizure of state political power is going to satisfy the oppressed in our country. This is what the ANC is committed to. There is no other alternative. We must at all times vigorously jettison the illusion created by the media in the western capitals that the Botha-Malan victory holds forth prospects for real change in South Africa. We must expose the bankruptcy of the so-called programme of reforms that the racist regime has embarked on, and will now pursue with added vigour.

What, indeed, is the main content of these



measures, and what are they designed for? Let us examine them briefly.

The racist regime has been taking measures along a broad front to defend itself against the growing threat to its survival from the mass upsurge of the black people and the liberation struggle led by the ANC. All these measures have one aim in common — to divert and absorb the demand and struggle of the black people for national and social emancipation. The measures include, inter alia:

- 1) The acceleration of the Bantustan programme to confer a bogus independence on the African majority and serving the function of labour reserves for the white-controlled economy. At the same time the objective is to weaken the growing unity of the African people on the basis of a false national consciousness by encouraging tribalism.
- 2) The proposed new political dispensation for the oppressed coloured and Indian peoples contained in the revised constitutional proposals. This scheme envisages the co-option of individual collaborators among these national groups into a political structure which will be controlled and dominated by the white racists and in which their only function will be as advisors to the regime on how best to implement Apartheid in the Coloured and Indian communities. This is another attempt to divide these communities from their African compatriots, to dilute the demand for full democracy for all the people, and to isolate these communities from their vanguard movement, the ANC, and its revolutionary programme, the *Freedom Charter*.
- 3) The new Bill on labour relations in the wake of the Wiehahn and Riekert commissions, which will have the effect of more curbs and controls and restrictions on black labour, while giving the impression of granting greater freedoms to black workers. The Apartheid regime clearly hopes that these measures will dampen the drive of the black working class for genuine and independent trade unions and for full economic and political rights.
- 4) The gradual lifting of 'Petty Apartheid' restrictions, like allowing blacks to sit on park benches and throwing open some cinemas, theatres and hotels for blacks and whites.

5) The creation of opportunities for the growth of a middle class among the blacks as beneficiaries of Apartheid exploitation and as a social force which will stand opposed to the revolutionary overthrow of the white supremacist state.

6) Together with such rearrangements in the socio-economic structures the Apartheid regime is accelerating its military programme to the point of self-sufficiency in small arms and weapons; is continuing with its nuclear development programme capable of producing nuclear weapons; is increasing its manpower capacity in the army, navy, air force, police and paramilitary units, and with the active involvement of some NATO countries, particularly the United States, is linking up its strike capability, aimed at international and external repression, with that of the NATO countries.

7) In line with this, and in the wake of the revolutionary victories of the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, the Botha clique have launched a murderous offensive against the front line states. The attacks against Angola and Swapo continue with increased ferocity; Mozambique was invaded and ANC and SACTU cadres murdered in Matola; subversive elements from these countries are being trained and armed by the racists — for example, Savimbi in Angola; scores of unarmed refugees are being killed including nationals of the countries where they have taken refuge. The illegal occupation and repression of the Namibian peoples continue unabated. The peace, security and development of the front line states is seriously threatened by the Pretoria fascists. The announcement this week that South African scientists are now producing their own enriched uranium underlines the gravity of this threat. The delivery of the Plessey mobile radar system from Britain to South Africa cannot be ignored, either.

How can these measures be taken to mean progress in South Africa? Yet this is precisely what is being said by Apartheid's friends in the Western capitals. The political representatives of the multi-nationals in Washington, Bonn, London, Tokyo, Rome and other capitals are already acting to give credence to these schemes as positive steps for progress. Remember President Reagan's



recent statement—'The South Africans are our old ally'—this is the attempt of imperialism to maintain its domination and exploitation of the vast human and raw material resources of South and Southern Africa, through the racist-fascist dictatorship.

Within our country the last ten years have witnessed a sharp deterioration in the economic condition of our people. Inflation has been rampant leading to a spiralling in the price of basic necessities such as food, clothing, rents and fuel. The result has been an alarming decline in consumption among the black people: Maize and maize products have declined by 13%; meat by 11% and milk by as much as 33%. The price of maize has risen by 150% in the last five years. Unemployment now stands at over 2-million that is 20% of the total workforce.

This is the reality of life under Apartheid. It is this reality which the ANC and the oppressed are determined to change. Yes, there is change in South Africa, comrade chair. It is the change which our revolutionary struggle is increasingly pushing forward. Change whose main motivators are the action of our people and their revolutionary vanguard, the ANC.

The change is manifest in the sound of gunfire directed by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, against enemy positions and targets like at Sasolburg where the regime's oil refineries were blown up, and Durban recently, when the entire area was plunged into darkness as a result of extensive damages to the electricity generating power plants. Such armed actions are now becoming a growing feature of the South African reality.

The change is manifest in the countrywide upsurge of our people. At every instance they are confronting the Apartheid state and resisting the system. Young and old, workers, youth, students and women are involved in the strikes, boycotts, stay-at-homes and opposition to job reservation, bogus works committees and codes of conduct in wage settlements. There are boycotts and protests at high rents, increased bus fares, bantu education and Apartheid sports. The people's boycott and protest extend to all those who come to our country in violation of our express call of all-round isolation and boycott of Apartheid.

The boycott includes pop groups and actors. It very definitely includes Irish rugby players. We of the ANC condemn this tour and call upon the Irish Government to stop this tour. We would like to commend the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement and the people of Ireland on the popular campaign supported by all the people of Ireland for the struggle of our people.

Comrade Chair and friends,  
Let us be clear about one thing: the decisive feature of South African political life—election or no election—is that **strategically the initiative for change, real change, has shifted into the hands of the liberation forces headed by the African National Congress of South Africa.** This has forced the white minority regime into a position of permanent strategic defence of the system. This factor governs everything that is happening within South Africa as well as internationally in regard to the question of Apartheid. The racists have been forced into this position by the growing strength, stature and successes of the liberation struggle and the realignment of forces on the side of our revolution in Southern Africa. We expect, therefore, that there will be greater militarisation of the South African society, increased military contacts between the racist regime and the military and intelligence establishments of the West, as witnessed in the United States recently. There will be more acts of brutal suppression of the liberation movement both within and outside of South Africa, and increasing and worse acts of aggression against the front line states.

All this serves to emphasise yet again the importance of intensifying our all-round offensive against the Botha-Malan regime to shorten its lifespan, reduce its capacity for murder and destruction, and sooner rather than later, destroy it. In this situation concrete political and material support for the African National Congress is a material force in our liberation drive.

We ask you, our friend and ally, to continue and raise even higher your efforts at solidarity and support.

**Fight for the total isolation of the Pretoria regime!**

**Fight for the implementation by your gov-**



ernment and the United Nations for comprehensive mandatory economic sanctions and an oil embargo!

**Fight for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners!**

**Fight to stop the apartheid murder of ANC freedom fighters Lubisi, Manana and Mashigo. Demand the unconditional release and handover to the government of Mozambique of ANC cadres Selby Mavuso, David Thobela and Thibe Ntsekang, kidnapped by the racist troops during their murderous raid on ANC residences in Maputo, Mozambique. Fight for the recognition of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war!**

**Do this and much more, comrades. And Apartheid tyranny, racism and colonialism in South and Southern Africa will be destroyed sooner than later.**

**AMANDLA! MATLA!  
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

**Resolutions and Motions Adopted by the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement AGM**

***EMERGENCY MOTION  
ON THE ARMS EMBARGO***

**This Annual General Meeting:**

**Appalled to learn that the mandatory arms embargo imposed by the United Nations is being broken by the delivery of a weapons system from Britain to South Africa, namely the Plessey Mobile Radar System AR/3D, which in the mobile control unit contains Digital Electronic Corporation computers (PDP 11/34) which it is believed are manufactured under licence by Digital Equipment International of Galway;**

**Notes that Digital Electronic International have confirmed that they supply computers to Plessey;**

**Notes that the Irish Government has failed to stop this breach;**

**Urges the United Nations Security Council Committee on the Arms Embargo to immediately investigate and**

**Demands that the Government take urgent measures to stop the supply of these computers to Plessey, and to bring in measures to strengthen the arms embargo so as to make such breaches of it impossible in future.**

**MOTIONS**

***1) Collaboration with South Africa***

**This Annual General Meeting:**

**Views with alarm the ease with which over the past year South Africa has extended its links with Ireland, not only in the field of rugby but also in trade and cultural matters; Warns that if the Irish Government continues to allow this infiltration, its stand at the United Nations will appear as a hollow mockery and its relations with African countries will be endangered; and therefore Demands that the Irish Government give concrete effect to its condemnation of Apartheid by imposing complete sanctions, economic, military, nuclear, diplomatic, trade, sporting and cultural against South Africa; and that as a matter of immediate urgency it should:**

(a) Rescind the no-visa arrangement between Ireland and South Africa, which in the past few months has allowed both the South African Ambassador to the UK and a delegation from the puppet Bophuthatswana bantustan to enter Ireland unchecked;

(b) Halt all links between South Africa and state, semi-state or publicly funded bodies;

**Condemns participation by Irish representatives in the Skal Congress in South Africa next November;**

**Calls on the organisers of the World Convention of Junior Chambers of Commerce, due to take place in Wexford in June 1981, not to invite the South African body to take part; Calls on the Irish Federation of University Teachers, in accordance with the policy of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, to oppose the participation of the South African branch of the International Association of University Professors and Lecturers in their conference to be held in Ireland in the autumn;**

**Calls on all those organisations and individuals who oppose the rugby link with South Africa to bring the same determination to end Irish trade and cultural links with South Africa, and to stop Irish emigration there; Appeals to the trade union movement to support a Week of Action against Apartheid in October, 1981.**





*British Anti-Apartheid activists demand the release of all political prisoners*

### *Rugby Tour*

**This Annual General Meeting:**

**Records its condemnation of the forthcoming rugby tour of South Africa and the selfish obduracy of the Irish Rugby Football Union in continuing with the tour in the face of near-universal opposition in Ireland;**

**Pays tribute to the work of all those individuals and organisations, especially the trade union movement under the guidance of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and its affiliated unions, as well as members of missionary orders, churches, youth bodies, political parties and members of the Oireachtas, who have expended so much time and effort in their endeavours to stop the tour;**

**Congratulates the Zimbabwe government on its stand in stopping a tour of their country by Greystones Rugby Club;**

**Commends the Taoiseach and Government for their condemnation of the tour;**

**Calls on the Executive Committee to alert the United Nations, Organisation of African Unity, Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, and other appropriate bodies to take all possible measures against the tour and those involved in its organisation in order to stop collaboration and with a view to preventing such tours in the future; and in addition urges all who have been involved in the Stop the 81 Tour Campaign to join the IAAM in its efforts to prevent collaboration**



with South Africa in all fields.

### *Namibia*

**This Annual General Meeting:**

**Applauds the efforts of the Namibian liberation movement, Swapo, to bring Namibia to independence and to end Apartheid rule;**

**Condemns South Africa for the brutal war of repression it is waging in Namibia in order to maintain its power and to continue exploiting the people of Namibia and the wealth of their land;**

**Deplores the duplicity of the five Western 'contact' states who still refuse to take decisive action against South Africa in spite of previous commitments, and whose inaction has encouraged the Apartheid regime to instal a puppet assembly elected on Apartheid lines, whose representatives are now being received in the USA and in other parts of the world;**

**Draws attention to the recent manoeuvres by the Contact States, which are attempts to bypass the United Nations, in particular Resolution 435 of the Security Council which they themselves initialled earlier;**

**Regrets the Irish vote at the United Nations in favour of affording a hearing to the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance, the largest puppet grouping in the Turnhalle Assembly, since the issue is not negotiation but the withdrawal of the illegal administration of South Africa from Namibia, and of the South African occupying forces and condemns Ireland's abstention on the sanctions vote at the United Nations Security Council this week;**

**Urges the Irish Government to support the imposition of mandatory United Nations sanctions against South Africa as long as the latter keeps its stranglehold on Namibia;**

**Urges the trade unions and other bodies to take measures to implement Decree No 1 of the UN Council on Namibia; and**

**Resolves to maintain and promote solidarity with the struggle of the Namibian people under Swapo's leadership.**

### *Aid to the Struggle*

**This Annual General Meeting:**

**Salutes the trade unionists, students, community action workers and people of South**

**Africa who are constantly expanding their courageous resistance to the Apartheid regime;**

**Warmly greets the remarkable successes of the liberation struggle led by the African National Congress of South Africa; and**

**Recognising that Apartheid is increasing, not lessening, its grip on South Africa through the process of bantustanisation and through the brutal repression visited by the regime on its occupants, the death sentences passed on a number of combatants, and the violence practiced against blacks which has led to an ever-growing flood of refugees from South Africa to the independent states neighbouring South Africa;**

**Calls for greater national and international support for the front line states who are the targets of vicious South African aggression and who have nonetheless continued their assistance both to the liberation movements and to the thousands of refugees who have taken shelter in their countries; and therefore**

**Urges the Irish public to respond generously to IAAM appeals for humanitarian aid to the Southern African refugees, who are desperately in need of assistance; and**

**Requests the Irish Government to respond to the initiative of the ANC, which in November 1980 declared its adherence to the Geneva Conventions and its intention to treat captured troops of the South African regime as prisoners of war.**

### *Zimbabwe*

**This Annual General Meeting:**

**Congratulates the people of Zimbabwe on their tremendous achievement in winning the struggle for independence; but**

**Recognising that the victory cannot be complete or assured as long as South Africa continues as a threat to peace;**

**Resolves to intensify support for the independence and self-determination of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, which will finally bring about conditions for the political and economic liberation of the whole of Southern Africa.**



# WHITE ELECTIONS REJECTED

The only choice black people have is to take matters into their own hands and to change society.

Immediately after the so-called "general elections", the ANC Secretary General, Comrade Alfred Nzo, in a statement said: "... It is an insult and a challenge to the oppressed and democratic majority of our country that at this point in human history it is still possible for white South Africa to play out in the open their assertion that the Black majority is incapable of governing itself and its motherland. Committed to the intensification of the struggle for People's Power, the African National Congress categorically denounces Botha's elections as illegitimate and their outcome as totally unacceptable to the vast majority of the people of South Africa ..."

Reaction at home to the Whites-only elections has been one of widespread condemnation. In a statement the Natal Indian Congress said:

"... until elections in this country are based on democratic principles which involve all its peoples, black South Africa will have no real interest in the outcome... Nothing that has been said or done so far in the "election campaign" has given the slightest hope that Whites seriously intend giving genuine freedom to Blacks. Even the meagre, reluctantly-given, salary increases to the huge, wealth-producing black labour force has been more than swallowed up by immediate increases in the prices of essential commodities. With absolute indifference, callousness and greed the white minority always takes the cake, doles out the crumbs as a magnanimous gesture of goodwill and feels disappointed when a standing ovation is not forthcoming. It

does not matter to this ever-so-blind minority that many blacks die of hunger each year; it does not matter that the entire world outside South Africa, including the so-called friendly Western nations, is totally opposed to its evil policies of white supremacy... Not a single discriminatory law has been removed from the statute books - despite all their sayings - on the contrary, many more discriminatory laws have been added ..."

Other protests came from the Johannesburg Student's Union which organised a one day boycott of classes in protest against the racist whites-only "general elections" and the country's political system. Some schools were covered with slogans reading: "... We are also South Africans, we want to vote" and "Away with white elections."

So-called "general elections" mean nothing to the oppressed Black people of South Africa. They are five-yearly reminders to the white minority that their privileges; and favoured positions as whites need to be constantly protected in a continued vote for white privilege through whites-only parties.

It can be predicted that as the struggle intensifies, more and more Whites will feel themselves under more threat. Some will be less prepared to bolster up a system which is ready to be buried by the mass united actions of the struggling people of South Africa. A People's Government, based on the will of the people will be established no matter how much the fascists resist.

Never before have any elections in Africa received such widespread daily publicity overseas as the recent racist elections in



South Africa. The most striking feature of all the publicity is the way in which P.W. Botha and his racist party have been projected as agents of change who could bring democracy, freedom, peace and stability to the oppressed black people of South Africa. It became apparent that there was a massive conspiracy to white-wash apartheid and to make racism respectable.

One cannot doubt that the imperialists have come out openly in defence of Botha's racist regime. They are going all out to soften world public opinion so that they can end South Africa's international isolation. The question which comes to mind is why the imperialists are so keen to save a regime which is rotten to the core, which has no international credibility, no support from the black oppressed people of South Africa and which is a major threat to peace and stability in Africa. The imperialists realise that their billions of dollars bolstering apartheid are being threatened. To save their interests, a new unholy alliance has grown up between Reagan, Thatcher and Botha.

Whilst the Whites participated in so-called democratic rights, to vote in minority racist and illegal elections, the black people of South Africa looked on from the sidelines at this parody being played out before their eyes.

According to "The Citizen", a white-owned paper in South Africa, 778,371 (53,32%) Whites voted for P.W. Botha's Nationalist Party; 265,297 (18,7%) Whites voted for the Progressive Federal Party which is financed by Harry Openheimer

and other big magnates in South Africa: 191,294 (13,1%) Whites voted for the Herstigte Nasionale Party of Treunicht and other die-hard fascists; 93,603 (6,41%) whites voted for the New Republican Party and 19,149 (1,31%) Whites voted for the New Constitutional Party. It is clear from the statistics that less than 8% of the entire population voted in so-called "general elections". Western media tells us the elections were in the interests of the black people of South Africa when in fact our people did not vote, they continue to suffer the most appalling inhuman conditions, they are imprisoned and banished to remote and barren areas of South Africa.

In an editorial in "The Sowetan" of the 1st May 1981 the paper stated: "... The significant aspect of yesterday's poll results was not really the Nats' win. Nor was it the fact that the Progressive Federal Party gained a few more seats. The slight swing to the PFP can be explained as being not because of a swing to the left but rather because of the PFP's shift to the right..."

The Whites have themselves become the victims of their own propaganda. The PFP can never be a movement for black people because even the PFP do not believe in one-man-one-vote. They propose a qualified franchise, whereby certain categories of Blacks can vote if they have property, money and education. If the so-called white Progressive Federal Party voter believes this to be the solution in South Africa, then obviously they say nothing different from P.W. Botha. They will continue to wallow in their privileges; and unpatriotic and undemocratic activities.

## THE SPEAR LIVES ON!

On the 6th April 1981 — at noon — a bomb went off shortly after a goods train had

passed over a section of a railway line in the North-Eastern Transvaal.



The explosive charge was placed on the line in a remote and mountainous area near Cottendale on the rail link between the mining towns of Kaapmuiden and Phalaborwa. Six metres of railway was damaged on detonation — trains were not directly affected except for two hours delay caused to a passenger train and a few goods trains. Repair work on the wrecked rail-line was evidently hampered by the difficult terrain.

According to police "experts" — TNT was used for the charge.

### DURBAN POWER STATION

In an armed propaganda action, an electric sub-power station became the target of sabotage. The operation was launched at 12.10am on the 21st April 1981, 15 Km outside Durban, in the black township of Lamontville.

Newspaper reports had estimated the damage caused to the station transformers at R2.5 million. Police's "guess" was that limpet mines similar to those which consumed oil at Sasolburg were used for the attack. The huge explosions — total of eight — caused short circuits resulting in a black-out, stretching from the south of Durban to Winkelspruit on the south coast.

It is also reported that the explosions were heard and felt as far as 15Km away and flames seen leaping into the air. Hundreds of factories in the industrial area south of Durban lay idle as a result.

Residents in the surrounding black Townships were not affected by the black-out since their electricity supplies had long been cut off by the racists following months of formidable resistance to the increase in rents and rates. The racists were spared the strain of cutting supplies but had to concentrate on "better things" — repairing the damage.

Police announced that holes were cut through the security fence to gain entry into the sub-station. Though the two security guards on duty saw nothing suspicious — they definitely heard the blast. No one was hurt in the attack.

The reaction of the Minister of Police and Prisons Mr. Le Grange was typical and revealing. He appealed for calm and warned that "well trained saboteurs have infiltrated into South Africa and are particularly active in Natal". He went on further to admit that they have become more organised and more sophisticated recently."

### RICHARDS BAY

On the evening of the 14th April at 8.10pm, an electric locomotive detonated an explosive charge at Emakwazini between Richards Bay and Vryheid in Natal.

The explosive destroyed 15 metres of rail track, a bridge and damaged the electric locomotive. Three of the five coal trucks affected were completely derailed and two partially damaged. Traffic on the line was disrupted. Railway workers had to work throughout the night and the following morning. The line could only be opened to normal traffic at about noon.

Further reports quote the Public Relations Officer for the South African Railways in Johannesburg, Mr Mike Adendorff, as saying nobody was hurt during the explosion.







*Michael Dingaka being welcomed by relatives in Botswana after 15 years on Robben Island*



# POETRY TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION

BY XIHOSHE

Our article this month takes the form of a long analysis of one poem, and a short selection from the work of Ms Amelia House, who wrote "I WILL STILL SING" in Kentucky, U.S.A., in 1975. She is a South African teacher and actress who worked in Cape Town and in London before settling in America. The analysis of her poem is by a colleague who has done numerous readings of South African poetry, including Ms House's, before live audiences and for radio.

Following, then, is "I WILL STILL SING", itself followed by the analysis, which in turn is followed by a further eight of Ms House's poems.

## I WILL STILL SING

It is my celebration  
I will drum my drum  
I will sing my song  
I will dance my dance  
I do not need your anemic hands  
brought together in pale applause  
I do not need your  
"You are such musical people"  
toothy smile  
It is my celebration  
You wonder what I have to celebrate  
What does the drum tell me  
If you must speculate  
Watch Out  
One day as you throw your head back  
As you gather your hearty laughter  
I will change my dance  
I will still sing  
The drum will scream  
Celebration

I WILL STILL SING is a poem that mainly relies on almost elementary lexical material

to achieve a complication of drama, philosophy and philosophies, and of musics.

"Musics"! Because one starts off by listening to the self-awareness of a herald's proud voice shouting the fact that the persona of the poem is self-confident and yet not self-centred: a community participating in a rite, a ritual of joy and high purpose, a victory, a happening that betokens success, regeneration, song. The line that says all this starts by being short, sharp, staccato, monosyllabic? it has no metre; it is emphatic in its assertiveness, and the first three words have a strength that grows out of the stress they take, a strength that gathers momentum from the statement they make — firmly, directly.

It is my ... :

A brief tension is established: the indefinite pronoun "it" that opens the statement, attains quasi-person identification in "my", and their combined tension is increased and resolved in the spill and blood-flow of

... cele/bration — the polysyllable? the first singing word (it has two trochees); the first word that by itself is semantically complex. "Celebration" has denotation, and also many connotations, and all its suggestiveness vibrates with the rumour of song and music, of fulfillment, renewal and measure. And the next three lines of the poem bear out this promise. A syncopated metricality is achieved:

I will X my X

A pattern is established.

The repetition is triply important — it is a choir's singing of a refrain: it is, thus, choral? it achieves its own asymmetrical symmetry via grammar: the use of the notional auxiliary "will" and of the self-fulfilling prophecy of the cognate object —



“drum my drum” and “dance my dance” in LL. 2 & 4 is contained in and also disturbed-continued in L.3 “I will sing my song”. Now, this “natural” device not only enriches the music by bringing in a variation; It also hints at the possibilities of something other being introduced into the body of the celebration. And all this is done with exquisite subtlety. But it is organic. For, was not there a hint of the “other” already in the title: in the word “still”; and in line 1? in the insistence of “my” the single personal, possessive that became communal in its syntactic relationship to “celebration” - the expressive enactment of the joy of a coherent group that seek to enhance life and share a life-view.

And now the other? very clearly here as a negative.

Line 5 might scan:

I do not need your anemic hands.

The dancing-song-like metric and rhythm of the previous three lines has been disrupted. Instead of “I will” in its positive and determined semi-futurity, we now have “I do not” in its adamant present opposition. The n-sound of “not” achieves prominence because of its meaning and place — the whole phrase has almost elided in its rush to reach this anger: I do not; and its contempt continues in the contraries of “need” which reaches centrally balancing and strongly vocalised as it is — which reaches up and out. It is a climax that initiates a series of explosive little new climactic high-points and it simultaneously achieves alliterative association back with “not” and next in anemic.

The line only stops momentarily to isolate “your” (the “other” made explicit) in this context of self, identity and identification, a context that has been created by the textures and laxis of “my”, “celebration” = “drum”, “song” + “dance” and the use of “I” in manifold strength.

“Manifold strength” because the “I” repeated is also the “I” of a society, a healthy community whose togetherness and tradition are suggested by the words “dance” and “drum”, which words also want to resonate with the notions of enjoyment, activity, group-involvement, liveliness — And especially of blood-rich

liveliness as opposed to the “anemic” existence of this other, an audience, a spectator group.

In the same line “hands” functions phonically as well as lexically and as image, symbolically. In the system of music that has developed in the poem, there is an alliterative harking back to “anemic”, “need”, and “not”, and now there is a new link-distinguish relationship that its assonance-(half) rhyme establishes with the “dance” of the previous system.

These “hands” are “brought together”: they are passive. The alliteration of t’s and p’s (“pale applause”) emphasise the anger of the persona who abhors the condescension of the self-indulgent, non-participating hand-clappers who do not dance, like feet, on the earth.

Those “hands” do not work, have no energy or urgency, have to be “brought together”: and are themselves “anemic” and their applause “pale”. Sickly: Sick. Lacking life. Blood. Honesty. Lacking: Generous appreciation. Lacking humaneness as well as humanity. Because of having “othered others”.

At this stage the possible perjoratives of “drum”, “sing” and “dance” crowd into the mind, because the possible applauding audience (which is not needed) is seen more clearly now also as one that dealt with others in terms of patronising and stereo-





typing: "Your are such musical people".

So: "pale" and "anemic" next to "dance" and "drum" are elegant, ill, onlooking, patronising Europe in Africa, missionary vis-a-vis savage, wealthy theatre-goer as opposed to and juxtaposed with underpaid but duly "appreciated" black entertainer, song and dance man.

"Your are such musical people".

This poetry is such a flux and interpenetration of ideas, cumulative, multi-directional, and significant on planes of history, culture, politics, Weltanschauung and life-style, and on levels of verbal organisation as systems of sound, phrase clause, sentence, and stanza, that their final "high sentence" preclude punctuation and visual stanzaic ordering.

Hence, and also by virtue of the poem's being what it is about, a celebration, a chant, a praise poem that is a satire; hence the structuring as a single flow.

For how else does one signify the impetus and impact of synchronic totality of terrifying immediacy that life may generally have and that (particularly but not uniquely) black-white situation presents, as confrontation and as a daily wearing and dismantling of fronts, of affront.

"You are such musical people" smacks of the lie in the tooth that's also the slap in the face, and our poem dramatises this with the two-line adjective which typographically could also have appeared as: (I do not need your/)

You-are-such-musical-people, toothy smile.

The satire is obvious, the sarcasm and irony patent; but not so, indeed not at all predictable, is the dramatic re-enactment the double transition that carried us from the disfunctional praise of "You are such musical people" to the sneer of "toothy smile".

And to the new, deeper, more meaningful sneer become smile (of menace) of the celebrant who is asserter, active, opposed, resolved: "It is my celebration"!!

The dynamic of the writing is such that systems of scoring this drama and music would clutter the page; instead the simple words themselves become ringing symbols, resonant organs and systems of description of things that are, forces that grow, futures that must ensue, and of a

history of yesterdays that are alive and need to be recognized in their need for expiation.

The poem contracts and dilates in terrible and beautiful, simply stated, unobtrusive tensions that reside in a thousand-and-one verbal crevices and crannies.

The ambiguity of "wonder" carries one, meaning into the cerebration of "speculate" whose own poetic ambiguity ties one meaning of the word back towards those applauders who as lazy, blase spectators — mere spectators — also will have to

"Watch out"!

When "you throw your head back" you may be stretching a sacrificial neck;

When "you throw your head back" you may be stretching a sacrificial neck;

when "you gather your hearty laughter" you may be beginning to gather heart = courage

or to gather heart = charity; just beginning to recover from your present habit of heartily laughing at my antics, heartlessly laughing at my savage sub-humanized entertainment as I sing for you in night clubs and do my native dances in the mine-compounds for your tourist interest and drum my primitive drum to your anthropological and ethno-musicological musings when, subtly, using the rhythms of:

"I will drum my drum" but syncopating

"I will change my dance" so that though

"I will still sing"

"The drum will scream

Celebration".

This is only a surveying of the surface of I WILL STILL SING. This is only one of the half-a-dozen or so of Ms House's poems that achieve, almost completely, this tremendously relaxed tension, this strain and stress under a simplicity and apparent limpidity; that achieve explosive truth, immediaty, life, meaning, drama, beauty. At their best these qualities are instanced and lie waiting in AT DIMBAZA.

But rather than analyze that poem and its achievement, or the drive, power, phenomenal and metaphysical vividness of FOR SOUTH AFRICA, let us rather generalize and say of Ms House present poetic oeuvre that its seemingly effortless simplicity is really a great daring and a startling presence, and a complex,







## TRUANT

He stayed from school today  
bad Billy bad  
boys of eight  
don't protest  
Mr. Vorster's laws  
bad bad Billy  
don't call names  
don't throw  
sticks and stones  
break policemen's bones  
bad Billy bad  
policemen beat with sticks  
throw gas  
bullets tearing  
in the back  
dead Billy dead

(for Cape Town Sept. 76)

No Freedom  
birth without blood  
No birth without Afterbirth  
more blood  
Purification  
Celebration.

## HARD LABOUR

When we are condemned for planting seeds  
of freedom  
Pain  
    we must endure  
        And  
when you bulldoze our planted fields  
to destroy our freedom harvest  
Pain  
    we must endure  
        But  
when our deep rooted crops escape your  
freedom crushing  
And we tend them with back breaking labour  
Pain  
    we  
    will  
    endure.





## DELIVERANCE

Bear down  
My Mother Country  
Push  
You who have carried the seeds  
full term  
Bear down  
Push  
Only you can give birth  
to our freedom  
Only you can feel the full  
ripe weight  
Bear down  
We will stand by you  
We must relieve your pain  
Bear down            bear down  
Push.

## for SOUTH AFRICA

Like a woman gone  
beyond her time  
                                 My Country  
you amble on  
with a heavy burden  
                                 pressing low  
you amble on  
We can no longer  
wait for nature's course  
We must deliver  
You  
    with  
    force.



In our next articles we hope to look at work by Sipho Sepamla, Wally Serote, Oswald Mtshali, Dennis Brutus, Masisi Kunene, and Arthur Nortje.

Meanwhile, we are eager to receive from readers any material that pertains to the present series: poems, biographical data on poets, bibliographical matter, versions of freedom songs with translations, details about diffusion of poetic material (public readings, availability of "scripts" broadcasts etc)



# KICK RACISM OUT OF SPORT!

*In this second article on the sports issue Sechaba looks at the questions raised by the so-called blacklist of athletes who are breaking the sports' boycott.*

The press, British sports officials and apparently the Government have been thrown into some confusion by the news that British sportsmen and women who are proven to have played sport in South Africa or who have promoted South African sport abroad are to be made unwelcome by many countries. In January two British girls were not allowed to play in a tennis tournament in Kenya, in February three British tennis players were deported from Nigeria and Robin Jackman was not welcome in Guyana when he arrived to replace an injured cricketer on the MCC tour of the West Indies.

A great deal of heat is being generated by the so-called "blacklist" which the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid announced in October 1980 that it would circulate to all countries. Wild allegations are being made about the unfairness, even anti-libertarian implications of compiling such a list or taking action against sports-persons for their "private" decisions to play in South Africa.

Many of these criticisms are misplaced or unfounded. We therefore feel it is important to clarify the principles involved and explain why these steps have been taken against individuals.

## Why South Africa has been Isolated

First of all it is important to be clear about the reasons why South Africa has been

isolated. In this respect, the decisions taken by world sports bodies should not be confused with the resolutions passed by governments or other non-sports institutions.

Where an international sports body suspended or expelled South Africa, it has done so for the essentially straightforward reason that South Africa has breached the constitution of the federation concerned or the rules of the IOC which bans racial discrimination. The rulings of such a ban are binding on all affiliates of the specific federation because they share the same constitution. To be reinstated South Africa must simply prove that discrimination no longer exists. This is not a political decision; in this instance, South Africa has been suspended or expelled for constitutional reasons, reflecting international sports' commitment to universal sporting values (which white South African sportspersons also claim to share).

In contrast, declarations like the Gleneagles Agreement or resolutions of the United Nations, are taken on moral and political grounds. The countries of the Commonwealth which signed the Commonwealth statement on apartheid in sport, popularly known as Gleneagles, all agreed that they were opposed to apartheid and to apartheid in sport. The Gleneagles Agreement declares, on the basis of this agreement, that the countries of the Commonwealth will discourage sporting contacts with South Africa:

"Mindful of these and other considerations, they accepted it as the urgent duty of each of their Governments vigorously to combat the evil of apartheid by withholding any form of support for, any by taking every practical step to discourage



contact or competition by their nationals with sporting organisations, teams or sportsmen from South Africa or from any other country where sports are organised on the basis of race, colour or ethnic origin.

They fully acknowledged that it was for each Government to determine in accordance with its laws the methods by which it might best discharge these commitments. But they recognised that the effective fulfilment of their commitments was essential to the harmonious development of Commonwealth sport hereafter."

The resolutions of the United Nations reflect the concensus of international opinion among governments, that sporting contacts with South Africa promote the interests of apartheid and racial discrimination in sport, while isolation of South African sport forces white South Africans to consider changing their policies.

Within South Africa, sportsmen and women affiliated to the South African Council for Sport (SACOS), support both the international call for isolation declared by the United Nations (reinforced by the Gleneagles Agreement) and the decisions of International Federations to suspend or expel South Africa for breaches of the constitution. Affiliates of SACOS refuse to play abroad and will not receive foreign sides of whatever complexion.

They support the isolation campaign first and foremost on sporting grounds: they believe that it is not possible to play non-racial sport under the laws of apartheid, and in consequence support the decision of international bodies to exclude South Africa while apartheid is enforced in sport. Because they do not believe they can themselves comply with their own non-racial constitutions, under apartheid, the sports bodies within SACOS include themselves in this ban and do not seek immediate international recognition.

They equally support the isolation for the moral and political reasons which motivate the resolutions of international bodies. The sports associations affiliated to SACOS are morally opposed to apartheid and to apartheid in sport; and they believe that isolation is the sporting world's most

effective way of expressing disapproval of South Africa, and the only policy which will cause change to occur in South African sport. What is happening in South African sport is ample testimony to this.

Contact gives respectability to the System

White South Africa always sees any visit by overseas sportsmen as a support for the system. Sportsmen who defy international appeals not to play in South Africa are hailed as "our friends" by the Whites.

The following are extracts from the racist South African government's documents:

"Although it is true that there was no competition in the main types of sport, there is nevertheless proof that South Africa still has many sports friends and that sportsmen from abroad still wish to compete against us."

(Report of the Secretary for Sport and Recreation for the Calendar Year 1978)

"In the year under review, from 1 October 1978 to 30 September 1979, we can look up how many sportsmen visited South Africa from Western countries and practised their sport here. Sport is a wonderful catalyst which brings people of various international convictions together and makes them forget their differences in the challenge of the sport. We must not relegate sport to an insignificant component of our international counter-offensive, but South Africa should rather use the platform that sport offers in order to build bridges between nations."

(P.J. Badenhorst -SA Parliament - 22 May 1980 - Debate on Sport)

"In South Africa, at the present time, we need every international friend we can get. We are one of the world's major trading countries, and an essential part of trade is that one has relations with international bodies. If sport can be a vehicle for maintaining overseas links, I think we should use sport in such a way. Moreover, if we can give our overseas sporting friends ammunition with which to get us back into international sport, I think we should

seriously consider making those changes that would help them to help us to get back into international sport."

(B.B. Goodall - SA Parliament - 22 May 1980 - Debate on Sport)

"in cases where we have been kicked out, it has not, except in isolated instances, been the Western countries which took the initiative or which were in favour of it."

Western countries tell us that they have no objection to playing against us, or to our attending this or that sports meeting of theirs."

(B. J. Vorster - Prime Minister of SA - SA Parliament - 23 April 1971 - Debate on Sport)

### The Effectiveness of Isolation

In all the major team sports — rugby being the most notable exception — South Africa has been isolated relatively successfully. It has been expelled or suspended from international competitions in almost all the sports disciplines and Commonwealth governments have discouraged tours from taking place.

However, in sports which have a strong Western influence or control, it has proved much harder to isolate South Africa. In this respect it is significant to note that Western countries which support South Africa economically and politically are also the ones which wish to have sports exchanges with apartheid.

South Africa still enjoys a fair degree of international exposure in tennis, golf, rugby, professional boxing, squash, yachting and equestrian sport simply because these disciplines are controlled by Western countries. The motivation for retaining South Africa's membership is purely political.

Africa and the other countries wish to seek a total isolation of South African sport and are constantly frustrated by Western support for apartheid sport. This motivated the compiling of a register of sportsmen and administrators who collaborate with South African sport as a method of intensifying the isolation campaign.

There is no prima facie reason why

tennis players, golfers, boxers, etc. should be permitted to play with South Africa when players of other sports are not. It has been suggested that it is unjust to single out these individuals, but players of other sports suffer equally from the moratorium. Nor are they a special case because their livelihoods are endangered: most professional footballers, WBC boxers and professional swimming coaches have accepted this cost for years. Nor is it fair to argue that the sports concerned are of "marginal" influence on the political issues involved: neither tennis nor golf nor boxing are marginal sports in any sense of the word; and if it is wrong for players of many popular team sports to play with apartheid, it is wrong for all sportsmen to do so.

The problem has become more preoccupying recently, since the South African regime and its recognised sports establishment have begun actively to promote sports not directly affected by isolation. In addition to the regular golf tennis and others tournaments in which professionals from all over the world continue to participate as a matter of routine, the South African sports establishment has organised several spectacular events which visibly evade sanctions. In 1979 and 1980, the WBA World Heavyweight Boxing Championships were staged in South Africa, and in 1980 an attempt was made to arrange a "super-match" between Borg and McEnroe. This tennis match, if it were not aborted, would have been sport's biggest money spinner outside professional boxing.

The problem posed by sportsmen who choose to contravene the general rules of their international or national body against contact with South Africa, became acute for another reason. Racist South Africa has become adept at breaking isolation by deception. For instance, individual footballers and cricketers have been assembled in South Africa for matches against South African teams. The international sports federations and national governments both have cause to be concerned at the spread of this kind of deception, which weakens racist South Africa's isolation and flouts decisions



which implicate the authority of the bodies concerned.

### No "great changes"

South Africa, an African country of some 27 million people rules solely according to the dictates of its 4.6 million white minority, is today engaged in a world-wide campaign to regain admission to international sport. Such campaigns are not new. Years ago their catchphrase was "building bridges with South Africa" — bridges soon found to be marked "whites only" at both ends. Now, the plea is to be "sporting" to South Africa, a land whose rulers and supporters remain wholly un-sporting towards those five in every six of its people whose skins do not happen to be white. "Great changes", we are (again) assured, are on the way.

Another new theme of South Africa's massively-financed propaganda is that it is not South Africa which puts politics into sport, but South Africa's anti-apartheid critics. Those who believe that white political laws which exclude blacks from opportunity in sport are somehow not putting politics into sport, will presumably believe anything, but it is worth noting that even twenty years ago, a letter dated November 22 1961 from racist South Africa's U.S. public relations advisers (produced by Senator William Fulbright at a US Senate hearing) affirmed "the value of positive non-political propaganda to create an effect essentially political", and went on to name sport as a good example. And only six months ago the South African government's consulate in New Zealand, in a thorough investigation by the reputable journal, "NZ Listener", was shown to be handing out pre-typed propaganda letters, praising apartheid, to New Zealand residents who added their own names and sent the letters to New Zealand newspapers for publication as "objective" views of South Africa. (Issue of October 25 1980). At the time, the national controversy over the Springbok tour was reaching a crescendo.

Disinformation of another kind has long been practised by racist South Africa. Some facts, in chronological order:

1975: A South African government advertisement in the U.K. press accuses black states of being "irrational" for saying South Africa has unequal racial opportunities in sport.

1976: The racist South African government sends letters to sports clubs (e.g., a Vrededorp cricket club) reminding them that South African sports policy is strict racial segregation, a basic cause of unequal opportunity in sport.

1978: a well-known white South African states in the U.K. press that "sport has now been normalised on a non-racial basis in South Africa."

1979: On may 21, a South African MP assures his parliament that "racially integrated sport and sports clubs still involve less than one per cent of total sporting activities in South Africa."

1979: Later that year, the British Home Counties Rugby Union states it has been assured by South Africa that rugby there is now "non-racial".

1980: In February, it is discovered that Craven Week, the major annual schools rugby event in South Africa, is still strictly "whites only", proving that even the roots of South African rugby were still racist.

1980: Late in the year, against a chorus of claims that South Africa is now "committed" to non-racial sport, a white interschool sports festival in Pretoria has to be abandoned when all the white teams withdraw; because one black child has been invited to enter.

And shortly after this, in Britain, a black member of the Sports Council announces that he has been barred entry into South Africa, where he had planned to look at sport from the black majority's viewpoint and publish his findings. The Sports Council's Chairman supports South Africa's ban. Not many weeks later, a white writer tours South Africa without hindrance, joins the Sports Council, and publishes his findings. Not an eyebrow is raised, nor any bans even hinted at.

This is the remarkable background against which many sportsmen around the world are now arguing, in effect, that the proper way to fight apartheid in sport is to visit South Africa — and collaborate



in apartheid. That they do indeed collaborate with apartheid is proved by rugby, where overseas teams in South Africa play only with the apartheid bodies: the African SARA, Coloured SARF and white-controlled SARB; while firmly ignoring and refusing to encourage the one genuinely non-racial body, the South African Rugby Union. (Black South Africans say that such curious behaviour is like a doctor who having found something — isolation — that works, throws it away and reverts to an old treatment — playing apartheid sport — that for decades has produced no discernable improvement whatsoever.)

In truth, it seems that those who play apartheid sport fail not only to understand what apartheid is, but what sport is, either.

Surely sport must always be based on "let the best man (or woman) win", regardless of race, creed etc. And this test of true sport must apply at all levels. For instance, a national sports system which allowed the majority of a country's sportsmen to be "nobbled" by a racial minority before they even reach the selection trials, is just not sport. Yet in reality, this is what apartheid does to South African sport — and will continue to do, even if all sports trials are one day non-racial and above-board.

Apartheid, then, is far deeper, far more cruel than most people can imagine. Yet it goes even deeper than that. Perform a little arithmetic with apartheid's allocation of 13.7% of South Africa for 20.5 million Blacks, and 86% of South Africa for 4.6 million whites, and what is revealed is nearly thirty times more land for a white man than for a black man — under policies made solely by Whites. Compare the official South African literature which seeks to "historically justify" such an anti-black division of the land and its resources, with the true facts of history as proven years ago by South Africa's own professional historians and archaeologists, and the whole policy is exposed as a fraud. The Blacks settled South Africa centuries before the first whites arrived. Most "white" sports fields from which Blacks are still barred are actually part of the genuine African homelands. That is apartheid, with its disguises removed. That is what those who

play sport under such a system irrevocably if unwittingly support and defend — to the delight of apartheid's shrewd propagandists.

### The U.N. Boycott List

It is against proven facts such as those detailed above, that the so-called sports "blacklist" must be seen; a list created in the spirit of the Gleneagles Agreement. So it is perhaps worth pointing out that those showing most indignation at this list are oftenseen to be those who have over the years raised little or no outcry at the real "blacklist" — apartheid itself, which still bars innocent millions from their own country's sport, wealth, freedom and opportunity, solely because they are not "racially-pure whites", a form of racial exclusivity we are supposed to have defeated for ever in 1945.

The so-called "blacklist" is therefore an attempt to apply the spirit of the Gleneagles Agreement and the various international resolutions to sports teams and individuals who choose to continue to play sport in South Africa. The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) has compiled a list and has submitted it to the United Nations for consideration.

"The international community cannot but take appropriate action to stop sports events of this kind in South Africa. In this connection, the Director of the Centre against Apartheid, Mr. E.S. Reddy announced today that in accordance with decisions by the Special Committee, the Centre has initiated the compilation of a register of sportsmen, sports administrators and others who flagrantly violated the sports boycott against South Africa. The register will be made available to governments and organisations all over the world to facilitate action against the collaborators with the apartheid regime."

(Centre against Apartheid - United Nations - 24 October 1980 - No. 53/80)

The boycott list has not yet been officially released but SAN-ROC has released the names of sportsmen and women who, it is certain, have visited South Africa between 1 September 1980 and 31 December 1980. The list has been compiled from various documents. There is nothing inaccurate



PLEASE  
BOYCOTT  
APARTHEID  
SPORT



about the list although there might be an odd mis-spelt name. It might be true that the odd sportsman or woman who has played in South Africa during the said period has not yet featured on the list. This is simply because these sportsmen or women have not yet been identified or his/her presence in South Africa is still being verified.

We are hoping that individuals appearing on the official list will be refused visas by governments or will be prevented from participating in sports competitions in countries which wish to see the total isolation of South African sport.

As this exercise is aimed solely at effecting the total isolation of South African sport any player who commits himself to not going to play or coach in South Africa will automatically be taken off the list.

It must be stressed that action taken against sportsmen because they have chosen to play in South Africa is not really a form of threat based on blackmail, but a declaration of principle, which offers the sportsman or woman the same choice that sportsmen and women, associated with federations which will not condone exchanges with South Africa, face. It should be understood that many countries in Africa, the "Third World" and elsewhere, feel revulsion for the political and social system of apartheid, which is based upon violent racial exploitation. The governments of these countries are merely making it clear, as they did at the 1976 Olympics, that they do not wish to play against sportsmen who entertain and are entertained by South

African sports federations which practise racial discrimination and apply the laws of apartheid. They are not imposing their views upon the individual sportsmen concerned any more than South African racial federations can be said to impose their ideas on the visiting sportsmen they have invited to South Africa. The individual player must make his choice, between playing with South Africans under conditions of racial discrimination and enforced inequality, or playing with sportsmen from the Commonwealth, the "Third World", etc. For both parties, the issue remains what it always has been, a question of conscience.

Indeed, it is most significant that objectors to the U.N. list evade its most crucial fact: those on it have always had the option not to visit South Africa and collaborate with the anti-black policy of apartheid, whereas no black South African sportsman has ever had the option of not being black, that is apartheid puts racism into sport and everything else. The U.N. list is designed to take racism out of sport. Who, then, has the greater right to start casting stones?

"South Africa is a holiday camp for whites, but a prison camp for blacks", said a black South African sportsman many years ago. To those who, from the utter luxury of the holiday camp, proclaim that conditions are "not so bad today" in the prison camp, we would like to remind them of what one of the greatest South Africans once said:

"A compromise with racism is always a victory for racism", said the late Chief Albert Luthuli, the former President — General of the ANC. Is it not time we listened to him?





# LETTER TO THE EDITOR:

## THE NATIONAL QUESTION

By Madoda Tshawe

**'In analysing the national question we attempt to analyse the processes that take place in our country and try to interpret reality in the light of facts and theory.'**

*I was particularly thrilled to see an article on the National Question in the November 1980 issue of Sechaba. In this article I would like to touch on some aspects of this question and pose some problems which we encounter in solving it. I am far from suggesting that my ideas are final. On the contrary, this is a contribution to the on-going discussion and should be viewed as such.*

This question has been with us since the emergence of the liberation movement in the latter part of the 19th century. Those who have followed the discussion in our journals and newspapers over the last 70 years will understand what I am talking about. In the 1950s Jack Simons, Lionel Forman and others revived the discussion. It was a sensitive question in our movement. Besides that, there were differences of opinion. It is not our task here to analyse these trends and tendencies. But all the same I would like to say one or two things about the significance of the discussion on the national question in our movement in the 50's and the contribution of Lionel Forman to this discussion.

Lionel Forman was very sensitive to the national question, perhaps even impatient.

One needs only to read his published, but especially his unpublished works to notice this. His approach is interesting because:

(a) He posed the question before the adoption of the Freedom Charter, to be more precise, early in 1954. After the adoption of the Freedom Charter one notices a shift of emphasis in his formulations, and perhaps even in his concept;

(b) His central theme on this question was the Africans and it is interesting to note that even those who differed with him did not differ on this but on his remarks on the whites, especially the Afrikaner.

It is relevant to remark that Lionel Forman and his contemporaries were preoccupied with the attempt to define a nation, and discussions went beyond that and posed the question whether there was a nation in South Africa or not.

I agree with a lot of what Lionel Forman said, but there are questions on which I definitely disagree with him. I am sure that if he had lived longer he would have changed his ideas—in any case our movement has changed a lot since 1954. He has contributed to this development.

The discussion went beyond the South 25

African boundaries—he corresponded and exchanged ideas with Professor Potechin, the Director of Africa Institute in Moscow, and an international authority on the national question in South Africa. Lionel Forman was involved in a discussion on this topic in *Marxism Today*, the theoretical journal of the Communist Party of Great Britain, in 1959 and thereby helped to internationalise the discussion. He was invited by Professor Potechin to an International Congress of Orientalists which was to be held in Leningrad in 1960, but he could not attend because he died in 1959 at the early age of 31.

I am mentioning all this because some of us do not know this background. We are definitely indebted to such people—whatever their shortcomings—that today we look at this problem from a somewhat different angle. By 'different angle' I mean the simple fact that today we no longer analyse the national question only in the light of Stalin's definition. Not that Stalin's definition was wrong. The problem is that those days there was either a definitional approach or mechanical application of social and political arrangements. We have not yet overcome this problem. But one of the greatest dangers in dealing with the national question is the problem of dogmatism; we need creative thinking; let us discuss but we should not make a mistake of hurrying to final conclusions; we need more flexible opinions—more so that the national question is such a difficult problem; a politically emotive question; a question which needs careful handling.

In analysing the national question we attempt to analyse the processes that take place in our country and try to interpret reality in the light of facts and theory.

The ANC has always sought to encourage and develop a unity of ideas in our movement, especially on the national question; a discussion and even polemics on this question is welcome. But if we cannot achieve a unity of ideas, we must achieve, at least, a demarcation of differences. This is also allowed. The clarity of ideas is the essential condition for giving the people confidence in the liberatory movement for winning mass support and giving proper guidance.

## Our Stand

It is our firm belief that every people, despite its level of development, despite whether it has formed a nation or not, has a right to determine its destiny, that is the right to self-determination. The right to self-determination in South Africa expresses itself in:

- a) The struggle for political liberation and social emancipation from Apartheid;
- b) The right to national self-determination of the different cultural-linguistic groups under conditions of complete equality.

We should remember that the oppression of the blacks in South Africa is not the result of racism but of capitalism. The racist laws are capitalist laws. But this does not mean we should underplay racism and national oppression more so that, in South Africa, the colonised differ from the coloniser not only in culture but also in physical type, the physical differences rather than the cultural became the basis for discrimination.

In short national self-determination does not mean territorial secession, separation, fragmentation or formation of small states. It means the right to self determination for a single South African nation within the whole of South Africa. That is the destruction of the present state apparatus and its replacement with a new state apparatus—that state's right to self determination; the right of the Blacks to their own state power with sovereignty over every inch of South Africa. This does not mean that the state will be completely black. But it does mean that the majority of the people, the Africans, will definitely predominantly determine the form the state will assume. The numbers mean a lot and the social position of the Africans in society means more. In other words in South Africa we are not primarily dealing with the problem of changing South Africa's relations with a foreign nation, outside our borders, as was the case in colonial Africa, including Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The national question revolves around the question of internal arrangements within South Africa itself. The destruction of the present state will alter the status of the majority. This entails equalisation of political and legal rights (full



franchise); the right to sell one's labour power in any field of activity (abolition of the colour bar) and the right to buy and possess property in any area (abolition of reserves and homelands as well as the abolition of laws which restrict on the grounds of colour). The overthrow of oppression is closely connected with the extension of democracy.

### **On Nationalism**

Progressives in South Africa used to be shy, suspicious or even afraid of the term 'nationalism' with the result that mostly reactionaries posed themselves as 'nationalists' in order to get popular support. By supporting or even upholding the revolutionary nationalism of the oppressed you are better able to distinguish between revolutionary and reactionary nationalism—the people will see things in their true light. What is important is the 'class position' even on the question of nationalism. The revolutionary national feeling of the oppressed people and the need to put forward a correct policy to gain the confidence of the people and direct the struggle towards the winning of national liberation are compelling practical political questions which need to be taken seriously. Any slight misunderstanding of this question inevitably or automatically leads to an underestimation of the internal strength of the national liberation movement; to a lack of understanding of the profoundly popular and profoundly revolutionary nature of the national liberation movement. The profoundly popular, profoundly revolutionary national feeling of the Africans expresses itself in the fact that the common people cherish their languages and culture—the defence of the national or rather ethnic languages especially when they are under attack, and the demand for full recognition of the African languages have always been an important demand of the people. The demand for full status for the African languages in every sphere is an essential part of any policy of national liberation. We aim at developing ethnic and national cultures and languages so that they can flourish and reach full bloom as a prelude to fusion.

The unity of the Africans does not necessarily mean the disappearance of ethnic

languages and cultures of different African peoples. On the contrary, their development means that a possibility will arise when they will merge and a new African language might emerge.

This brings me into conflict with Lionel Forman's thesis which states that:

'... the likelihood is that a number of different nations will come into being in our country, and that they will flower and prosper before they merge'.

He develops his thesis:

'A single African nation in South Africa is likely to develop before a single South African nation does. And similarly it seems likely that Zulu, Basotho and other nations will develop before they merge into a single African nation'.

Surely Lionel Forman is looking at a future South Africa and is dealing with a delicate issue of periodisation of the evolution of the national question in South Africa. But even then a new South Africa will be a product of our actions and thinking today. It is true when Lionel Forman wrote these words in the late 50s the force and power of African nationalism (and for that matter the degree or depth of inter-ethnic relations amongst the Blacks) was not as advanced as it is today. Those days there was no Umkhonto we Sizwe which is playing a vital role in unifying our people. Since the 1960s—despite Apartheid and Bantustans—various ethnic groups have interacted.

### **Enemy Manoeuvres**

African nationalism attaches importance to the recognition and development of oppressed languages and cultures, but it also aims at the achievement of equal and democratic rights.

The ruling class has always sought to preserve aspects of African culture and incorporate them in the oppressive system e.g Zulu dance is meant to entertain tourists who visit mines, so is gumboot dance. It is true that the development of capitalism since the discovery of diamonds and gold meant serious inroads into the traditional forms of organisation of Africans and their culture with the result that the distinct cultures peculiar to specific African ethnic



groups seem to be a relic of the past. But this does not mean that we should despise or ignore them. Our task is to develop them.

In short the Boers, though they pretend to revive African tradition (through Bantustans etc) aim at stamping out all national traits and characteristics of the Africans.

### **The Whites**

If in this article I have not said much about the whites, it is not because I do not see their relevance in the struggle now and in the future. To quote Saso: They have to choose either to be part of the problem or part of the solution. Since the Morogoro Conference of 1969 the ANC allowed whites to be members of the ANC. In reply to our enemies we say: by allowing whites into our movement the ANC was far from making concessions to white arrogance or chauvinism. On the contrary the ANC seemed to have foreseen what was going to face and complicate issues in other parts of the continent. By opening the doors to the whites— and it must be said to their credit that in South Africa we have (comparing with other former African colonial countries) a relatively large number of whites who have joined us—the ANC was implementing internationalism of the Africans, the need to prove in practical terms the meaning of internationalism. So that I should not be misunderstood, I am one of those who are convinced that internationalism cannot be reduced to the so-called 'international scene'. When Bram Fischer died his soul was bubbling with internationalism: the identity of interests of people all over the world including the relationship between black and white in South Africa.

Lenin dealt with the question of internationalism on the national question and he was of the opinion that internationalism 'must consist not only in the observance of the formal equality of nations but even in inequality of the oppressor nation, the great nation, that must make up for the inequality which obtains in actual fact'.

What Lenin had in mind was not simply the question of 'pitying the blacks' or 'helping them with gifts' or 'compensating' for the lack of trust, suspicion and daily insults to which the Africans have been

subjected all these centuries. What he was saying is simple: after independence we shall have to arrest the development of the whites in the interest of the development of the blacks. This will affect every aspect of social life, education, army, economy etc.

But we shall have to make use of white expertise without losing our principles. I don't want to be misunderstood as suggesting that blacks are incompetent. What I am saying is that it will take an ANC government some time to produce experts who will manage the economy—and in the meantime we shall need some white experts. This will be on our terms and in the interests of the revolution. This is of great significance because you cannot feed the masses with political slogans and when they are starving they will be used against the new government or perhaps start 'complaining': the Boers were better than this new government

### **Some Solutions**

In conclusion I want to state that in South Africa there is no evidence to suggest that there is any national group, African or not, which demands an existence separate and apart from the rest of the other South African national groups; there is no demand for a separate national culture; no demand for separate education—on the contrary, the demand is for universal, uniform education. The move towards Bantustans, 'Bantu Culture' and Bantu education stems from the ruling racists.

It seems to me important, if not vital, to have a homogeneous national movement which will unite the heterogeneous ethnic groups; a combined movement of all classes and groups consisting of the oppressed nation including revolutionaries from the oppressor nation; a movement that will wage a national struggle primarily directed at the overthrow of political and legal discrimination. The ANC is definitely fulfilling this task. The existence of an oppressed nation that does the struggling and therefore has a right to national self-determination—that is a national group or groups that have the right for conditions to be created by which they may become nations.

The encouragement of a people's nationalism, a progressive nationalism, at this stage of our revolution is of great significance, but



this presupposes that we must know the demands of our different national groups and desires which ring the strongest chords among the people.

The ruling class seeks to accentuate our differences and we, on the other hand, emphasise the similarities of the oppressed: our common and indivisible oppression, our common interests and our common destiny, even psychologically we are one because we think of ourselves, we act and behave as members of the oppressed nation. But this should not be interpreted as to mean that blacks are homogeneous. Even their attitude as groups or sections within groups is not the same—some see national liberation as a leverage. The black 'petit bourgeoisie' sees only national oppression and the black workers see both class and national oppression. The peasant sees the oppressing national group as coming to take his land, his cattle, his money if he has any, or even his wife and perhaps his children. This means that after independence some sections of the community might have different interests and views, but to raise that question now when there is no such demand would be a dangerous move.

But the most urgent task of today is unity—the welding together of this vast human mass in the flux of a single grievance: the disability put upon them by law; that great mass is becoming mobile, learning to co-operate and moving irresistably forward to demand equality of opportunity and a state of their own creation.

The slogan of the ANC has, throughout the ages, been **FREEDOM IN THE LAND OF OUR FOREFATHERS** and not **AFRICA FOR THE AFRICANS**. There was and still is ample reason for this.

But I am convinced that one day we shall refer to each other only as 'South Africans' not as Africans, Coloureds, Indians and Whites. Till that moment there is still a long way to go. But when we become 'South Africans' we shall all obviously be Africans and only then shall the slogan 'Africa for the Africans' make sense in South Africa.

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## PROFILE:

# Ishwarlal 'Isu' Laloo Chiba

Round about the month of October of next year Ishwarlal 'Isu' Laloo Chiba will be released after completing 18 years of rigorous imprisonment on Robben Island.

No doubt he will come out as confident as he went in, smilingly giving the clenched fist salute. This would be a typical characteristic of the man we knew with an abundance of energy, courage, warmth and a total sense of dedication.

He will come out into an ever turbulent situation. A situation which he and many like him were the trail blazers of, the new

form of struggle launched on the 16th November 1961 by Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

Isu had always been dedicated to the freedom struggle but his commitment to his parents, his family and the education of his younger brother placed heavy responsibilities on him. This meant starting work in a dairy at 5 am each day of the week—a job he did for 8 years without leave; helping his father with the tailoring in the evening and trying to sell insurance to supplement his income, thus doing 18 hours of hard work, so

there was hardly much time left for anything else. But he did manage to read *New Age* regularly, the odd pamphlet or two and the occasional exchange of greetings and brief political discussions with the local Congress activists in the suburb of Fordsburg, which was noted for its political militancy.

But one day something exploded in him. It was his anger and utter revulsion to the Sharpeville massacre followed by the detention of some 2,000 political people during the state of emergency.

Isu gave up the tailoring and the insurance work to devote his time to keep the Congress machinery functioning. He worked with some of the leaders like Moses Kotane and Reggie Vandeyar, and the wives whose husbands were in prison. Now he had even less time and barely a few hours sleep before starting his 5 am job at the dairy.

When the Fordsburg activists came out of several months of detention they were amazed and inspired by the stories of the 'wonder boy'. Who was this young man who appeared from nowhere and was now at the helm of the Congress organisation in the area? Isu is the sort of person a people's movement throws up. He carried with him the stamp of a working class background and racial oppression. That he excelled in skill and talent was due to his experience and the oppression of his people.

Isu was born in 1930 into a poor family whose conservative Hindu father slogged day and night. Isu managed to complete secondary education and joined his father in the family craft of tailoring. This soon bored him. He was restless and wanted to be out in the gallivanting world of the young. His energies, he felt, could be put into better use in the poolrooms and hanging out with the tough guys. He seemed to always come out tops in a brawl.

These activities caused endless distress and traumas for his parents and elder brother. Eventually Isu accepted their counselling. Now he went 'straight' and later got married—a decision which he cherished for Bhabhi, as she was affectionately called, was to be a pillar of support and courage for the coming years.

And the early years of the Sixties were indeed testing times. In 1963 Isu was amongst a group of activists arrested in a pre-dawn swoop. He was brutally assaulted and held in detention for 90 days. Three of his comrades, Reggie Vandeyar, Indres Naidoo and Shires Namabhai were to serve their 10 years on Robben Island. A fourth, Abdulhay 'Charlie' Jassat made a dramatic escape from Marshall Square.

Isu was released without any charges against him. His release created a complex situation. Were the police trying out a cat and mouse game? Did they want him to skip the country? What exactly was the game?

For Isu the elements of risk in activity were very high. He consulted with a few comrades available. He calculated to carry on and evade the police as much as possible. Opting out for him was not his desire. The leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe had taken a savage toll through misfortune and, to a lesser degree, through imperfections. This new form of struggle was still at an infant stage. Wilton Mkwayi re-entered the country to assume the leadership of the High Command of Umkhonto we Sizwe. But he needed tough and experienced people. Isu was to meet that requirement.

In this assignment Isu was to excel again in his organising abilities. His sense of discipline was his reputation. His time keeping was like the precision of a Swiss watch. If one were a minute or two late Isu would leave. He would later express his annoyance: '... time cannot be wasted. It is dangerous. The lives of people are involved.'

In 1964 the net was closing in but Isu never shirked. Now there were fewer people to discuss problems with. This time when the police moved in Isu scaled an 8-foot fence and had hoped to make his way to alert another comrade in the neighbourhood. He was caught having sustained a broken thumb in the attempt. Later he was to learn that not only his comrade in the neighbourhood but several others were picked up at the same time.

Once again he was in the hands of the notorious Captain Swanepoel and Major Britz who prided himself as the man who arrested and deported 'that kaffir Clements



Kadalie to Nyasaland', and Swanepoel promised to 'blow up Fordsburg'. Isu would chuckle when he related an anecdote about Major Britz, who lived in a flat above the dairy where Isu worked in Brixton, a vicious Afrikaner stronghold. Major Britz lamented: 'I have been coming to your dairy for years and little did I know that such a nice, decent chap like you was so deeply involved.' Major Britz had come a long way from mere deportation to breaking the bones of political prisoners, even if they were 'nice and decent'. Even through this grim experience Isu did not flinch.

In prison Isu was to meet some of his comrades—Wilton Mkwayi, Dave Kitson, John Mathews, Mac Maharaj, Steve Naidoo and Paul Joseph. Whilst awaiting trial Isu was again to show his courage and leadership qualities. He and his comrades were being subjected to the humiliating 'Thawuza'—the scanning of the anus accompanied by abuse for this ritual. The warders, black and white, would not accept Isu's request to lay off and treat the prisoners decently. The

African warder raised his knobkerrie ready to bring it down on Isu's skull. The comrades—stark naked, were ready to take their cue from Isu who warned the warders that he would kill the first warder he laid his hands on. The warders froze when they saw the fury of the man. They realised this was no idle threat and from that day the searches were not so humiliating.

Isu was charged with Wilton Mkwayi, Dave Kitson, Mac Maharaj and John Matthew. Isu's charge listed 58 acts of sabotage, preparing guerrilla warfare and furthering the aims of communism.

He will come out having spent more than a third of his life in prison. He will no longer go to Fordsburg but to Bhabhi and his three daughters in the Group Area of Lenasia. Modest and somewhat shy, Isu would not want to be regarded as a hero. He would prefer to be one of the people. But the people know this true son of the soil, and would regard him as such—a people's hero.

## BOOK REVIEW

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# — SOWETO — FIVE YEARS ON

'WHIRLWIND BEFORE THE STORM - The origins and development of the uprising in Soweto and the rest of South Africa from June to December 1976.'; by Alan Brooks and Jeremy Brickhill. (IDAF, London, 1980).

This month is the fifth anniversary of the heroic uprisings which began in Soweto, and 16 June 1976 will always be known as one of the great landmarks of our struggle.

What is the relationship between the uprisings of 1976/77 and student and community militancy, Umkhonto assaults and workers strikes which have swept

South Africa over the past 18 months? To what extent did the Soweto uprisings lay the basis for the present phase of the struggle? And how in turn did the struggles of preceding generations inspire the youth who took to the streets to brave the murderous police bullets?

A large number of books and booklets have been produced on the Soweto events and their aftermath. Very few of the books provide answers to these questions, because they do not contain any serious understanding of the events in Soweto or their origins. A re-look at these books, in 1981, reveals that most of them, in their

predictions alone, have been hopelessly wrong.

The one book which remains an authoritative work on the uprisings is "Whirlwind before the Storm" published in 1980 by the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa. It is much better than any of the other books on the subject because of its real understanding of the revolt and its causes.

The book provides a fascinating and detailed study of the progress of the uprisings of why they took place, and of their aftermath.

Although the book concentrates on the period from June to December 1976, it does discuss how some of the main developments continued into 1977 and even 1978. The book is long (364 pages), and contains a great deal of information, including an appendix which details the day-to-day demonstrations and clashes with the police for the six-month period.

One of the most valuable aspects of "Whirlwind" is that it provides a comprehensive and penetrating study of the political and social context in which the uprisings took place, and as such provides an unequalled account of the modern apartheid state. Particularly impressive is the book's analysis of the social, political and economic control of urban black life.

The bantustan policy and the "Bantu Education" policy of the racists is also examined in detail, giving a readable account of these two fundamental aspects of apartheid.

This story of Soweto retains a freshness on reading today, not only because of its direct relevance to an understanding of the mass demonstrations sweeping the country today, but also because there is much original material in this book, which has not appeared in print before.

What is new in the book's material? Firstly, the book is unique because the authors have relied substantially on interviews they themselves conducted with participants in the revolts. The interviews were conducted outside South Africa and thus those interviewed were fairly free to reveal substantial information.

One of the most horrifying pieces of information obtained from some of those

interviewed is the accounts of secret burials at night by racist police in specially dug mass graves in Soweto cemeteries.

This shows the authors' estimate of the numbers murdered by the police in Soweto and elsewhere, of anywhere between 1,500 and 5,000, to be realistic.

Another unique aspect of the book is its detailed guide to the different youth and student movements that made up what is broadly called the black consciousness movement.

The book shows something of the relationship between these youth movements and the underground of the ANC. Of course the full story of this relationship cannot be told by the participants even now, but enough emerges to show how the ANC played the key role in guiding and assisting the acts of resistance by workers and students, and in organising the beginnings of armed struggle.

The book is occasionally disappointing when it does not draw out fully the political implications of what it describes by late 1976. No book written in the present period could claim to be the full story of the uprising, and the authors certainly do not make any such claim.

A real sense of history pervades their account of the modern apartheid state and the people's resistance to it. The struggles of the mass of the people, stretching over many decades, are recalled when workers' strikes, school boycotts and stay-at-homes are discussed.

"Whirlwind" remains an invaluable document on this phase of our struggle.

J.C.



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