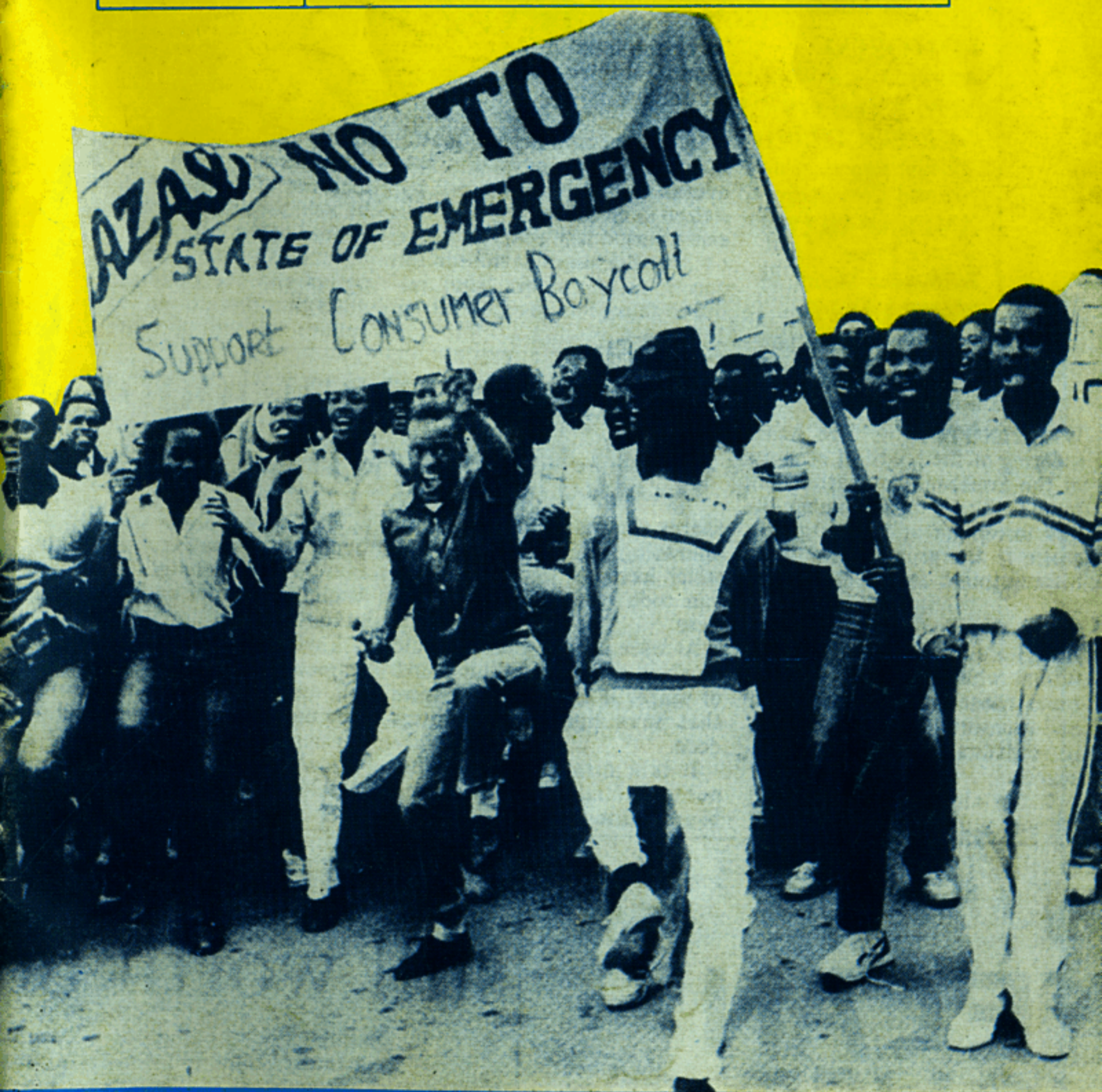


OCTOBER 1985



SECHABHA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



PEOPLE DEFY STATE OF EMERGENCY

SECHABA

OCTOBER ISSUE 1985

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EDITORIAL

Apartheid — A Wounded Beast

APARTHEID — A WOUNDED BEAST

'New blow to apartheid', ran the headlines of the world press as they reported on the recommended abolition of pass laws. We are told that the President's Council Constitutional Affairs Committee, which made the recommendation, however warned against "too speedy a dismantling of the vast network of influx control laws, which are applied by thousands of bureaucrats". The abolition, said the committee, should take place in an 'orderly manner'. This committee further recommended that all South Africans — irrespective of race — should carry uniform identity documents and that the abolition of pass laws should be extended to the so-called 'independent' homelands whose 'citizens' have been subject to the notorious Aliens Act.

There are problems here. Who is delivering the blows? What is the aim in all this? Why now, and not earlier?

We are asking these questions because some 'optimists' have started to sigh with relief: At last apartheid is changing! They forget that apartheid is a wounded beast and that the most dangerous beast in the jungle is a wounded beast.

These days there is so much talk about the abolition of passes — or what have you. This talk is actually about the elimination of the 'hurtful aspects' of apartheid. Not a word has been said about the state of emergency, nothing about state violence and indeed nothing has been said about dismantling apartheid. Surely the apartheid state cannot dismantle apartheid!

The ANC, which is spearheading the struggle against apartheid and colonialism in South Africa and will finally deliver the final blow against the whole apartheid edifice, takes these developments very seriously. Even the much

talked about principle of one-man, one vote in a unitary South Africa is seen by us as an aspect of — indeed subordinate to — our ultimate goal. We are fighting, sacrificing and dying for the national liberation of the Blacks, especially the Africans, and for the social emancipation of everybody, Black and White. Our struggle is for the seizure of power. No tinkering with apartheid, no promise of 'reforms' — especially when apartheid is in trouble — will deter us from this declared goal. The armed struggle must continue. Mandela has said it. It is going to continue.



THE EYES OF OUR PEOPLE ARE FOCUSSED ON THIS CONFERENCE

The Political Report of the National Executive Committee to the National Consultative Conference, June 1985, was presented by the President of the ANC. We are publishing it in parts, of which this is the first.

**Comrade Chairman,
Comrades, Delegates,**

This day, the opening of the National Consultative Conference of the ANC, is a great and moving moment in the history of our struggle for national liberation. The days we will spend here will live forever in the records of that struggle as marking a turning point in the history of all the people of South Africa. Our Conference itself will be remembered by our people as a council-of-war that planned the seizure of power by these masses, the penultimate convention that gave the order for us to take our country through the terrible but cleansing fires of revolutionary war to a condition of peace, democracy and the fulfilment of our people who have already suffered far too much and far too long.

History has therefore placed on the shoulders of the delegates here, both singly and collectively, a responsibility and a challenge which we must all discharge with all due seriousness. We greet and welcome you all and look forward to your constructive contributions in charting our way forward to people's power.

The eyes of our people and the rest of the world, both friend and foe, are focussed on this Conference. That is so because the crime of apartheid has persisted for too long. Almost everywhere, at home and abroad, the peoples are saying that the beginning of the end of the apartheid system has commenced. And



President O R Tambo

everywhere there is an open recognition of the fact that this pioneer of the African revolutionary movement, the ANC, is and will be at the centre and the head of the process which will result in the overthrow of the white minority regime and the suppression of the crime of apartheid.

Aware of the historic importance of this Conference, I would like to express the profound appreciation of the National Executive Committee to the National Preparatory Committee, the Regional Preparatory Committees, the branches, camps, units and individual comrades who took up the work of preparing for Conference with so much enthusiasm and seriousness. That preparatory work has laid the basis for the success that this Conference must be.

Global Offensive of Imperialism

The apartheid regime has survived for 37 years now. Born three years after the destruction of its fascist and nazi progenitor, this regime was an historical anachronism from the very first day of its existence, a remnant of an epoch that was passing away. That it continues to exist to this day is a measure of the tenacity of the forces of imperialism and reaction which, in the last four decades, have sought to reverse the results of the Second World War and to stop the process of the democratic transformation of our planet to which the defeat of Nazism gave a new and added impetus.

It was because of this global offensive of imperialism that as we met in Morogoro in 1969, a war of liberation was raging in Vietnam and the rest of Indo-China. The Arab peoples were rebuilding their forces in preparation of a renewed offensive to annul the gains that Zionist Israel had made during the six-day war of 1967. At the same time, we were still experiencing the influx into our country of a new wave of European immigrants. These were the so-called freedom fighters from Czechoslovakia who fled to apartheid South Africa, there to be received by the Pretoria fascist regime with what it considered well-deserved accolades.

Portugal and Spain still suffered under the yoke of fascist dictatorships. For two years, the Greek people had been living under the tyranny of a military junta that had been sponsored by US imperialism. At the same time, the United States was engaged in feverish efforts to stop Salvador Allende's election as President of Chile the following year, a campaign that led to his assassination in 1973 and the victory of the counter-revolution.

As we met in Morogoro to confer about our own struggle, the peoples of Guinea Bissau, Angola, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe, as well as those in East Timor, still suffered under the yoke of Portuguese colonial domination. Zimbabwe was ruled by the White minority Smith regime whose illegal unilateral declaration of independence was a scant four years old.

Indeed, so confident was the counter-

revolution of its strength in Southern Africa that the US government of the day could adopt, in 1969, the so-called National Security Study memorandum 39. Among other things, this official document said:

"For the foreseeable future South Africa will be able to maintain internal stability and effectively counter insurgent activity."

This infamous document went on:

"The Whites are here to stay and the only way that constructive change can come about is through them. There is no hope for the Blacks to gain the political rights they seek through violence, which will only lead to chaos and increased opportunities for the communists ... We can, through selective relaxation of our stance towards the White regimes, encourage some modification of their current racial and colonial policies ... At the same time, we would take diplomatic steps to convince the Black states of the area that their current liberation and majority rule aspirations in the south are not attainable by violence and that their only hope for a peaceful and prosperous future lies in closer relations with the White-dominated states."

The memorandum dismissed the liberation movements of Southern Africa as ineffectual and not "realistic or supportable" alternatives to continued colonial rule. It ruled out any possibility of victory by these movements and questioned "the depth and permanence of black resolve."

Period of Extreme Reaction

Within our country, the Vorster regime was at the pinnacle of its power. It felt that the period of extreme reaction which the racists had unleashed when it banned the ANC, with Vorster as the general officer commanding the campaign of repression, had succeeded to smash the revolutionary movement. The Pretoria regime also thought that it had further secured itself by helping to suppress the armed liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, in which units and cadres of the Luthuli Detachment of Umkhonto we Sizwe had participated with outstanding heroism and skill. Despite the fact that the UN General Assembly had terminated South Africa's mandate over Namibia

— a decision which Vorster dismissed as "ridiculous and impracticable" — the apartheid regime felt that it could continue its domination of Namibia for as long as it wished.

In opinion polls, white South Africa hailed Vorster as an 'excellent' Prime Minister and helped him in 1970 to defeat the Herstigte Nasionale Party in the White general elections held that year.

1969 Morogoro Consultative Conference

It was in this situation that the Morogoro Consultative Conference was convened in 1969. Yet when it met it was not in a mood of pessimism. Rather, it was characterised by high revolutionary enthusiasm to confront our problems frankly and squarely and find solutions so that we could further intensify the struggle and, in practice, demolish the misguided confidence that the apartheid regime and its allies shared.

Many who participated to ensure that the Morogoro Conference was the success that it was are no longer with us. I refer to such outstanding leaders, stalwarts and activists of our movement as Moses Malume Kotane, Uncle JB Marks, Yusuf Mota Dadoo, Mick Harmel, Duma Nokwe, Robbie Resha, Kate Molale, Flag Mokgomane Boshielo, MP Naicker, Ngcapepe Ntunja and others. They left us a heritage of unwavering commitment to the people's cause, a spirit of self-sacrifice for the victory of our struggle and a revolutionary morality and practice which did not allow for personal ambition, factional conspiracies or cowardice and timidity in the face of an enemy counter-offensive. As we observe a minute's silence in their honour, let them serve as our example of the kind of cadre we must produce to carry their work forward to its successful conclusion.

Out of Morogoro came significant results, the most important being the reorientation of our movement towards the prosecution and intensification of our struggle inside South Africa, the restoration and reinforcement of unity within our own ranks and the integration of all revolutionaries within the ranks of the external mission of the ANC.

It is important to observe that, at Morogoro, our movement did not seek to underestimate the importance of or downgrade our international work. Indeed it could not, as the work that our movement had done, up to that point in our history, provided exactly the rear base from which we would carry out our internal work. The Morogoro Conference sought to ensure that we achieved the proper balance between our internal and our international struggle, with the internal being primary.

Once more, this Conference will have to address itself to this question, taking into account the altered circumstances of our struggle, the changed balance of forces at home and abroad and our immediate tactical, operational and strategic tasks. We shall come back to this issue later.

With regard to the issue of unity within our own ranks, the Morogoro Conference drew attention among other things to the importance of strengthening the links between the leadership and the membership, the necessity for the leadership to be accountable to the movement as a whole and the need to have clear strategic and tactical perspectives and a programme of work around which the membership would unite in pursuit of common objectives.

Need for Maximum Unity

These questions remain important still. Conference will therefore need to make the necessary assessment to ensure that we have an organised and systematic way to ensure that, at all times, we enjoy maximum political and organisational unity within our own ranks and that all members are actually involved in activity which contributes to the advance of our struggle.

The question of open membership, as it has come to be called, is also on our agenda. In the period since the Morogoro Conference dealt with this issue, the National Executive Committee has raised it with the membership, at home and abroad, with a view to determine whether as a movement we still felt it was justified to keep the restrictions that were decided upon at Morogoro. There has been extensive discussion of this question. It should not be difficult for us to reach agreement and,

building on what was decided at Morogoro, to take decisions that will take our movement and struggle further forward.

The Struggle Mounts

The decision of the Morogoro Conference helped us to overcome many shortcomings and to gear our organisation to make a more effective contribution to the mounting struggle inside our country and the anti-imperialist offensive of the peoples internationally. For, indeed, as the world forces of reaction basked in a passing glow of superior strength in 1969, the revolutionary and democratic movement was engaged in ever-mounting struggles to wrest victory from the oppressors and the exploiters. Five years after our Conference, the situation in our country, in our region and in other parts of the world was very different.

Already by 1969 the masses of our people had begun to stir, in the process of overcoming the reverses and relative lull imposed on us by the brutal counter-offensive that the enemy had unleashed and which had resulted not only in the banning of the ANC, but also in the Rivonia and other arrests, the assassination and execution of patriots and the systematic use of torture as an instrument of state power.

In particular, the youth and the workers were once more taking up the cudgels, engaging in boycott and strike actions during 1972 and 1973. Student organisations and trade unions were formed which served as the means to arouse the people and mobilise them to attain the level of mass activity which we had last seen with the general strike of 1961 organised to oppose the establishment of a racist republic and to demand one that was representative of all the people of our country. Black consciousness became a fact of our political life during this period.

In part, the resumed mass activity in our country was inspired by the stirring battles that our combatants had fought in Zimbabwe. Our successes in sending cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe into the country through the machineries of the Revolutionary Council which had been established at the Morogoro Conference, raised the confidence of the masses of our people

in their own ability to confront the apartheid regime successfully.

At the same time, our organised contact with the people had improved. The voice of our movement was also reaching our people through increased propaganda, both written and through radio. In short, both politically and militarily, our people were once more beginning to feel the organised presence of our movement among them and drew courage from this, to break out of the state of dormancy that the enemy had sought to impose on us through a policy of terror.

International Developments

Outside our country, on the eve of our conference at Morogoro, the international democratic struggle had erupted with particular intensity especially in Western Europe and North America. In 1968, millions of people in these regions joined in mass struggles for the democratisation of their societies and in favour of a just world order.

But as we have said, the counter-revolution succeeded in Chile in 1973. Salvador Allende was murdered, with hundreds of others. Thousands of others were imprisoned, tortured and driven into exile. With the coming to power of the Pinochet junta, the Vorster regime found an ally in South America. However, these events did not and could not change the fact that the progressive forces were advancing. In 1972, the Soviet Union and the United States had concluded a treaty limiting strategic nuclear weapons. This was an important victory of the world peace forces which had been engaged in struggle for decades to save humanity from a nuclear holocaust.

In 1973, the Arab armies succeeded to inflict a major defeat on Zionist Israel for the first time in a quarter of a century, forcing US imperialism to seek new measures to protect its client state in the Middle East. At the same time, the prestige of the African liberation movements had grown to such an extent that for the first time, in 1973, the OAU Summit voted to sit the liberation movements at all OAU meetings as observers.

That advance within the OAU was also ac-

accompanied by the further improvement of our relations with the independent states of our region. In the years 1973-74, the ANC normalised its relations with the Governments of Botswana and Lesotho. This underlined the importance of the countries of our region in terms of their support for the cause of the liberation of our country.

Tribute to Independent States

In this respect, we should note and pay tribute to the sterling role that the independent states of our region have played in the furtherance of our struggle. Today, we meet in one of these, among people who assisted us even before their independence and who are today hosting this important gathering. All of



Comrades B.B. and Eric Mtshali and Tanzanian friends welcome the youth who survived the Soweto massacres.

these countries have, each according to its ability, including the latest among them to achieve independence, made it possible for us to survive outside the borders of our country and to advance our cause at home and abroad. We have to ensure that, at all times, we guard the fraternal relations that exist between them and ourselves, whatever strains these relations may come under now and again.

Other countries in our continent and Africa as a whole have also played an important role in the struggle against the apartheid regime, confirming the primary importance of our continent as our first rear base.

During 1973, in an outstanding victory for the world forces of progress, US imperialism was compelled to enter into agreements with the genuine representatives of the people of Vietnam, as a result of which US forces withdrew from Vietnam. The puppet regimes of Thieu and Lon Nol were left to fend for themselves.

This victory, in particular, symbolised the end of a chapter in world history which had been characterised by a determined drive by world imperialism, led by the USA, to impose its will on the peoples of the world. The collapse of this policy in the battlefields of Indo-China and in the streets of the USA itself, created increased possibilities for an accelerated progressive transformation of the world, including our region of Southern Africa.

Shift in the Balance of Forces

It was in this situation that Portuguese fascism collapsed, thanks to the heroic struggles waged by the peoples in the African Portuguese colonies and the democratic forces in Portugal itself. That was in 1974, five years after the Morogoro Conference and five years after the US Government had reached its conclusion that "the white (regimes) are here to stay."

It was also during the same year that the leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movement were released from Smith's dungeons in preparation for a negotiated settlement of the Zimbabwe question. Some of them had spent

more than a decade in detention. Further afield, in Europe, again in 1974, the fascist military junta in Greece was defeated and democracy restored to that country.

Thus we can say that in the five year period after the Morogoro Conference the balance of forces had shifted radically in our favour, both regionally and globally. If in 1969 the apartheid leaders were revelling in the permanence and invulnerability of their power, by 1974 they had to sing a different tune.

In that year, Pik Botha made the hollow promise that "we shall do everything in our power to move away from discrimination based on race or colour ..." Vorster followed him a few days later pleading: "Give South Africa a six-month's chance by not making our road harder than it is already ..."

But, of course, the apartheid regime had no intention of addressing itself to the fundamental question of majority rule in South Africa. Rather, it was involved in a determined effort during 1974 to break out of its international isolation and to legitimise itself, particularly in Africa. Through this offensive, originally carried out in secret, which it described as detente, the racist regime sought to isolate the ANC from independent Africa, to defeat the strategy of armed struggle for the liberation of South Africa and drag Africa into a dialogue that would help to perpetuate the apartheid system.

Counter-Revolutionary Factions

In this offensive, the apartheid regime and its allies sought, among other things, to utilise a faction which had emerged within our ranks and which posed as the true defender of the policy of our movement. This is the group which ultimately emerged in public under the name 'ANC (African Nationalist)'.

This faction resorted to the well-tried counter-revolutionary positions of anti-communism and racist chauvinism, in an effort to change the strategic orientation of our movement, undermine the unity of the democratic forces of our country and win recognition for itself by the most backward forces in world politics. By a policy of vilifica-

tion and outright lies, it tried to discredit the leadership of our movement and to foment a rebellion from within the ANC in the hope that it would regain the positions it had lost at the Morogoro Conference. For its activities this faction won the public recognition of the Pretoria regime which showered praises on it as the genuine leadership of the ANC and of our people.

True to the traditions of the ANC and in the interest of the maximum unity of our movement and people, our leadership worked hard to show these people the error of their ways and to reintegrate them within the structures of our movement. Many of them had made important contributions to the advance of our struggle and were leading cadres of our organisation.

As part of this process, we held a Conference of the ANC in 1971 where the differences that had emerged within the ANC were discussed. That Conference reaffirmed the decisions taken by the Morogoro Conference as well as the general strategy and tactics of our movement. It is also agreed that members of this faction should still be given specific tasks within the movement, taking into account their seniority. In the end, our efforts came to nothing as this group continued its factional activities.

Nevertheless, such was the level of consciousness and the commitment of the membership to the basic positions of the ANC, that this faction could not and did not succeed in its purposes. This important victory had important implications in the decisive struggle for the unity of our people and the broad movement for national liberation.

Black Consciousness Movement

As we have said, it was during this period that the Black Consciousness Movement emerged as a distinct political and organisational force within our country. Naturally, the ANC had to define its attitude towards this force. In a statement issued after its second session in 1973, the NEC said:

'In the last few years ... there has come into being a number of black organisations whose programmes, by espousing the democratic,

anti-racist positions that the ANC fights for, identify them as part of the genuine forces of the revolution.'

The NEC went on to elaborate the following important positions:

'The assertion of the national identity of the oppressed black peoples is ... not an end in itself. It can be a vital force of the revolutionary action involving the masses of the people. For, it is in struggle, in the actual physical confrontation with the enemy, that the people gain a lasting confidence in their own strength and in the inevitability of final victory — it is through action that the people acquire true psychological emancipation.'

Proceeding from these positions, the ANC sought to establish relations with the forces represented in the BCM and to impart to them the collective revolutionary experience of our people contained in and carried forward by our organisation. Our aim was to establish close fraternal relations with this movement and encourage it to grow, but as an instrument for the mass mobilisation of our people into struggle.

The process I am describing was by no means easy and straight-forward. Already, the idea was beginning to emerge among some circles, particularly outside our country, that the BCM could consolidate itself as, at worst, a political formation to replace the ANC and, at least, a parallel movement enjoying the same legitimacy as the ANC.

It was of primary importance that we should deny our opponents any and both of these possibilities. Despite the severe setbacks we had suffered during the sixties, the enemy had failed to remove the ideas and prestige of the ANC from among our people. This, together with the activities that we undertook within the country, meant that the youth whom the BCM was organising were at least conscious of the ANC, despite the fact that many had grown up without any direct contact with us. This served as a basis for us to score significant achievements in terms of building our relations with activists of the BCM and frustrating the scheme to build up a so-called Third Force.

It is also important at this stage to recall that

during this period, our movement was confronted with strong pressure from within the OAU to unite with the PAC. The leadership and the membership jointly resisted this pressure because we were convinced that such unity must grow in struggle among forces that are actually confronting the enemy. We were, further, not prepared to lend credibility to a group which, even then, had discredited itself as a divisive factor within our broad movement, whose complete collapse would help to limit the possibilities of the counter-revolution to plant its agents among the masses of our people.

In our discussions, we should take all these historical experiences into account because, as we shall show later, the idea of a Third Force did not disappear and is still with us today. Its

creation will remain a strategic objective of the forces of counter-revolution.

In this regard, it is important to confront the matter objectively that within it, our broad movement for national liberation contains both a nationalist and a socialist tendency. Our national democratic revolution has both class and national tasks which influence one another. This is natural given the nature of our society and oppression and our historical experience. One of the outstanding features of the ANC is that it has been able to encompass both these tendencies within its ranks, on the basis of the common acceptance of the Freedom Charter as a programme that encapsulates the aspirations of our people, however varied their ideological positions might otherwise be.



(First row, left to right) Comrades Nzo, Nkobi, Makgoti, Tambo and Hani at the Conference. King Sabata Dalindyebo was speaking.

ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT IN THE US A NEW PHASE

By Monica Moorhead



The writer of this article is a contributing editor of 'Fighting Back,' a publication of the All-People's Congress/People's Anti-War Mobilisation — a nation-wide, grassroots, anti-imperialist organisation in the United States.

The heroic struggle against apartheid that continues to escalate daily inside of South Africa has had a tremendous impact upon the millions of poor, working and progressive people in the United States. The consciousness of the people in this country has progressed by leaps and bounds, thanks to the tumultuous and relentless upheaval of rebellions, strikes and other militant mass actions by the super-oppressed Black majority in South Africa. These developments have struck fear and terror within the hearts of the Pretoria slave masters and their Western imperialist allies, especially the US.

From the east to the west, north to south, students, trade unionists, civil rights activists, progressives, public officials and freedom-loving people have taken on the anti-apartheid struggle as their own, helping to rejuvenate the movement. It is reminiscent of the anti-war and civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

What was the spark behind this act of international solidarity with the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa?

Birth of the Free South Africa Movement
First of all, the development of the anti-apartheid movement in the US was inspired by the struggle inside South Africa. The mass campaign initiated by the United Democratic Front and others to expose and defeat the tricameral parliament ploy, followed by the rebellion in Black townships, strikes by thousands of Black gold miners and a two-day general strike of over a million Black workers and so forth, helped to propel the Free South Africa movement in the US.

This coalition formally began on November 21st of last year, when the Black Congressman, Walter E Fauntroy, together with Mary Frances Berry, a US Civil Rights Commission member and Randall Robinson, executive director of TransAfrica, purposely got arrested at a protest outside the South African Embassy in Washington DC. The three were demanding the immediate release of 21 Black trade union leaders, who had been held in solitary confinement by the Pretoria colonialists. The organisers of this coalition gave

three main reasons for the roots of the movement:

- The re-election of Ronald Reagan, which has emboldened the arch-racist apartheid regime to step up its repression against the oppressed South African masses.

- The defeat of a measure in the all-White male millionaire Senate, that called for present US multinational corporations to divest from South Africa.

- The awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to Bishop Desmond Tutu.

Wide-Ranging Support

Since those first arrests on 21st November, over 2 000 public officials, civil rights activists, religious figures, political activists, entertainers like Stevie Wonder, as well as many everyday citizens, have been arrested in front of South African consulates all over the country. This movement had an impact on the trade union movement, with the arrests of union leaders like Gerald McEntee, vice-president of the AFL-CIO and president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Marc Stepp, vice-president of the United Auto Workers; and Charles A Perlik, president of the Newspaper Guild.

Although more needs to be done to reach out to the millions of rank-and-file workers, these workers, organised and unorganised, will eventually swell the ranks of the anti-apartheid movement, as the struggle deepens and tactics become more and more militant.

A splendid example of international solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa carried out by the labour movement occurred simultaneously with the creation of the Free South Africa movement. In San Francisco, hundreds of members of Local 10 of the International Longshoremen's and Warehouse Union (ILWU) refused to unload South African cargo from the Dutch ship, the Nedlloyd Kimberley. Despite the injunction of a temporary restraining order by the federal court ordering the workers to unload the cargo, the dock workers continued to hold militant picket lines, and for almost two weeks the ship remained untouched. Statements of support

came in from all over the country and in the Bay Area itself. Telegrams and letters of support for the heroic dock workers came from Black Congressman Ronald Dellums, the Oakland and Berkeley city councils, union representatives, as well as political and community activists. This is the type of exemplary solidarity that we can look forward to from labour in the future.

Protests Spread

During the early days of December, the Free South Africa movement began to catch fire and spread to many cities. In Boston, Massachusetts, anti-apartheid protesters forced the South African consul in New England, attorney Richard K Blankenstein, to resign from his 'honorary position.' A few months later, in Boston, a precedent was set when charges were dropped against 12 defendants accused of trespassing at the Deak Perara store, a foreign exchange and precious metals dealer who reaps profits off the sale of South African krugerrands. Deak Perara has become a popular target of the Free South Africa movement in a number of cities. From that time on, not one anti-apartheid protester has been convicted for acts of civil disobedience or trespassing — the authorities did not want their court rooms transformed into chambers of political debate on apartheid.

In Seattle, 1 000 protesters marched in front of the South African consulate during the fifteenth week-end of protests. Over 1 000 Berkeley students marched through the city demanding that the University of California divest itself of millions of dollars invested in companies that do business with apartheid. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the largest trade union body in the capitalist West, reportedly called for the severing of all economic ties with South Africa. In Detroit, Michigan, the heart of the automobile industry, representatives of the Midwest Coalition Against Apartheid forced a meeting with Roger Smith, the chairman of General Motors. Besides demanding that GM pull out its \$200 million investment from South Africa, the Coalition, which included the Rainbow Coali-

tion and the All-People's Congress, demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and support for the African National Congress.

On December 15th, Randall Robinson declared that, beginning on the first of the new year, the Free South Africa movement would initiate more mass arrests — 25 the first week, 50 the next week and so forth — to dramatise further the broad sentiment against apartheid. The Free South Africa movement had spread to Chicago, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, New York City and Atlanta.

Anti-Imperialist Perspective Needed

In February, the All-People's Congress and People's Anti-War Mobilisation initiated the United States Out of Southern Africa Network. We felt that this Network would be a contribution to the Free South Africa movement by specifically targeting those US multinational corporations and banks that have poured close to \$15 billion into the apartheid system.

We wanted to bring to the attention of the American public that the US ruling class dominates vital sectors of the South African economy such as high-technology, transportation and oil. The Network also emphasised the important linkage between getting the US out of Southern Africa and building support for the vanguard national liberation movement such as the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia, as well as supporting the efforts of the Front Line States.

The struggle in South Africa is not only a struggle against apartheid but a struggle against the imperialist system of super-profits, exploitation and militarism, in which apartheid is a vital link. The struggle against apartheid is anti-imperialist in character, one that cannot be separated from the struggle for jobs, equality, and human needs at home. The Network has held a number of picket lines in front of Mobil Oil, United Technologies, Kodak, General Motors, Holiday Inn, Westlin Hotels, Black and Decker, and other companies. A nation-wide ribbon campaign demanding the freedom of Nelson Mandela, along with support of the ANC, has been initiated by the Network for the summer.

Student Protest Grows

The events leading to the barbaric massacre of over 40 people in Langa near Uitenhage on 21st March were deeply felt in the US. Anti-apartheid protests on the college campuses were not just confined to Berkeley or Harvard universities, but began to spread like wildfire to other campuses, that were rapidly approaching the end of another academic year. On April 4th, the 17th anniversary of the assassination of Dr Martin Luther King, students at Columbia University in the middle of Harlem started a militant sit-in and blockade at Hamilton Hall, demanding that the Board of Trustees stop doing business with South Africa by pulling out \$30 million worth of investments. The students, who were Black and White, Latin and Asian, re-named their occupied building Mandela Hall, and held daily rallies at noon and at night to sustain momentum and build broad support for their struggle. The students won support from the Harlem community, and other support nationally and internationally. The Columbia sit-in helped to launch a number of student protests, sit-ins and blockades around the country, from Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, to Atlanta University, and Princeton, and Brown University, as well as Berkeley and Harvard.

The Bay Area was the focus of militant and significant actions by students and labour. Unionists from the Central Labour Council marched against South African Airways, chanting, "South Africa will be free!" Berkeley students staged protest after protest against the University Board of Regents, the overseer of all California state schools' investments in South Africa. The San Francisco Board of Supervisors passed two resolutions calling for the full implementation of Proposition J, a voter initiative passed last year supporting divestment of city pension funds from companies doing business in South Africa.

The struggle for divestment has served as a rallying point for the masses of people in the capitalist countries like the US, who want to increase the size of the anti-apartheid struggle. Divestment bills on a local and state-wide level have been passed throughout the coun-

try, like the one recently passed in the state legislature of New Jersey.

None of these bills would have been passed had it not been for the mass struggle on the campuses and in the streets, and the struggle for divestment must be supported. However, fighting for divestment alone does not raise the basic components of apartheid in the context of the economic, social and political struggle. We have to continue to direct the attention of the mass of the people in this country to the struggle against apartheid in particular, and US imperialism in general, with demonstrations and protests. We cannot neglect other forms of struggle targeting state legislatures, city councils, Congress or the repressive Reagan government.

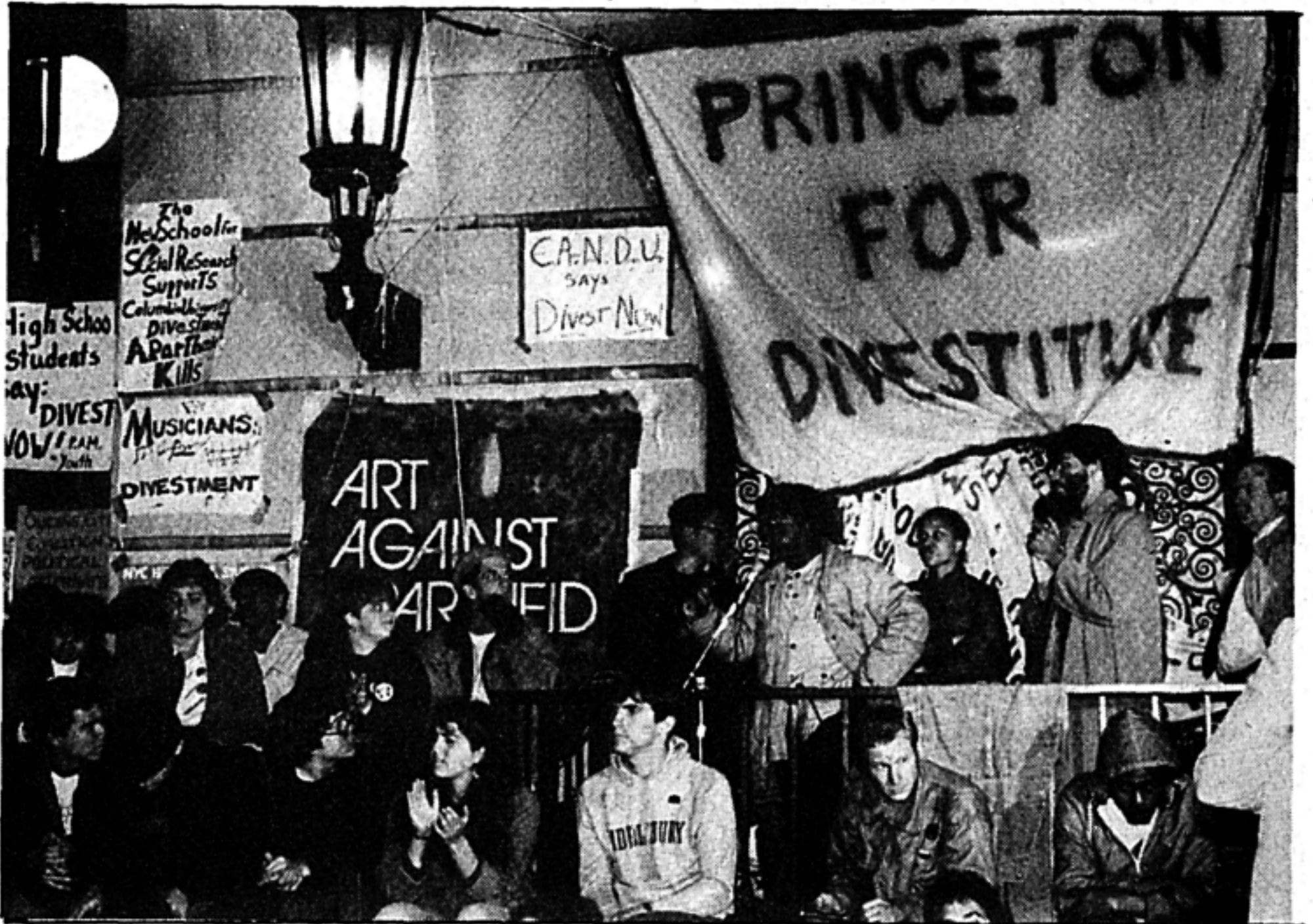
Militant Struggles on the Horizon

We want to continue to popularise in this country the names of the martyrs whose blood has helped to nurture the struggle inside South Africa — names like Solomon Mahlangu,

Simon Mogoerane, and others. We want to continue to raise at every opportunity the names of the imprisoned leaders of the ANC, like Nelson Mandela, and leaders of SWAPO as well as of the UDF and the Black trade union movement.

We want to continue to commemorate the Sharpeville and Langa massacres and the Soweto uprisings, as has been done for several years by the New York Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition.

The anti-apartheid movement, sparked by the Free South Africa coalition, has carried out tremendous struggles up till now, and we look forward to the dramatic launching of an offensive in the fall, on the campuses and elsewhere. What is needed now more than ever is not only a call for the dismantling of apartheid but the promoting and encouraging of the struggle among the workers and oppressed in the US and abroad, against the entire monstrous imperialist system.



MOSLEMS OF THE CAPE

Descendants of Indonesian Freedom Fighters

By Aysha Gamiet

When Mrs Thatcher recently visited Indonesia, she was received with acclaim by the leaders and people of that country. As I watched on British television the students showering her with rapturous gestures of joy, I was filled with feelings of indignation and disgust. It is beyond belief that Mrs Thatcher, who represents the British government, should be so welcomed. By supplying arms and military technology to the Pretoria regime and by economic and moral (sic) support for it, Britain is the strongest prop to apartheid in South Africa. Thus it is partly responsible for the tyranny and oppression inflicted on millions of Blacks in South Africa, and that includes the descendants of Indonesians.

Sadly, the present Indonesian government is a great friend of the present British government, being of the same ilk, as the invasion of Timor bears witness.

To think that it was Indonesian ancestors of the present South African oppressed, who, nearly four hundred years ago, rebelled and fought a long and courageous war against colonial invaders of their native land, this time, the Dutch! I should know. I am one of the descendants of those freedom fighters.

Sheik Yusuf was the brother of the King of Goa in Macassar, Java (now Indonesia). He was an exceptional man, well versed in literature, politics and religion; a philosopher and a born leader. After he married the daughter of the Sultan of Ageng on the island of Java, he assisted the ageing Sultan in his struggle against the Dutch East India Company for his kingdom of Bantam. Even after the Sultan was forced to surrender, Prince Yusuf

fought bravely on, a thorn in the flesh of the Dutch, until he was imprisoned in the Castle at Batavia (now Djakarta). But such was the impact on the people of Java of the personality and deeds of this Prince, that the colonists, fearing further trouble, deported him to the Castle in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), where he languished in prison for years. Even then, the Dutch suspected that the people of Bantam would rescue their leader and bring him back to renew the war.

Exiled Freedom Fighters

Accordingly, Sheik Yusuf was exiled to the other land the Dutch East India Company had grabbed: the Cape. From there, there would be no danger of his trying to escape back to Java.

So it was that in 1694 Prince Yusuf and 49 of his fellow rebels arrived in Table Bay. Another Javanese group, the Orang Malayu (Malay men) were forcibly brought in as slaves. They, too, were a cultured group, with a literature and religion of their own. Batches of slaves from African and East Indian islands were dragged in until the slave trade at the Cape had increased so much that the Raad van Oos Indië (Council of East Indies) put a stop to it.

Prince Yusuf and his followers were banished to a farm at Faure in the Cape. Because they were not allowed to return to their native Java, and because they were confined to that area, they were the first of all Black South Africans to be put under house arrest.

Standing on the dunes at Faure, Sheik Yusuf could have seen the white sands of what is now

called Macassar Beach, washed by the warm Indian Ocean, across which, far, far way, lay his homeland, the islands of Java.

Sheik Yusuf endeared himself to the Cape Moslems, as they call themselves today. His stand against the common oppressor, his preaching and teaching on the evils of colonialism and slavery, resulted in his being regarded as a martyr.

He died five years later, and was buried, along with some of his followers, at Faure.

One of his descendants, the late Mr Shah Mohamed, had a beautiful white mausoleum built over the grave, now known as the Kramat. Still today, nearly four hundred years later, the Cape Moslems, now numbering about 250 000, camp around the Kramat every Easter. They come to pay homage to the man they revered as one of South Africa's first revolutionaries. They cover the grave with coloured, embroidered silks and flowers, burn incense and recite prayers from the Koran.

A Gifted and Creative People

The Moslems of the Cape are a hard-working and creative people. They have lost the dress and language of their ancestors, but retain their religion and some of their customs. They are excellent builders, masons, carpenters and painters, and have been responsible for most of the construction and embellishment in Cape Town. My grandfather built and drove hansom cabs; my father was a tailor; one of my brothers built the first and only air raid shelter in Cape Town during the Second World War. (It was never used!) The women are marvellous needlewomen and designers, noted for their embroidery, bead-work and Batik-painting (a skill handed down from their Javanese ancestors). Given the chance, they would put the French couturiers to shame.

Prominent among the Cape Moslems was the late Dr Abdulla Abdurahman, who qualified at Edinburgh University. He was a tireless worker in the struggle to improve the lot of Blacks in the Cape, starting several schools (for Blacks, of course). In 1904, he was the first 'Coloured' man to be elected to the Cape Town City Council, and, though the

longest-serving member, was, of course, never made Mayor.

Dr Abdurahman's daughter, Mrs Zainunnissa Gool, the first 'Coloured' woman to obtain a Master of Arts degree at Cape Town University, was a fiery fighter all her life, and so was imprisoned by the South African government.

She yet became an advocate when a grandmother! She, too was not eligible to become Mayor of Cape Town, because of her colour, notwithstanding the fact that she served for 21 years as a City Councillor.

In recent years, Mr Abdulla Haroun was murdered by the South African security police. Like his ancestor, Sheik Yusuf, Emaum Haroun was a priest, courageous, a dearly beloved freedom fighter.

Among others, Mr Toyer Keraan and Mr Sedick Isaacs served many years in the notorious Robben Island 'Alcatraz.'

These are the descendants of Sheik Yusuf and his followers, the early freedom fighters. They are industrious and gifted, of a pleasant and hospitable disposition.

Yet White South Africa classifies them and all other Blacks as sub-humans.

How Sheik Yusuf would have turned in his grave if he could have seen how Mrs Thatcher, the Prime Minister of another colonial power, at present helping to subjugate his descendants in South Africa, was so ecstatically welcomed in the land of his birth, Indonesia.

Happily, times have changed. The Cape Moslems at last can no longer be fobbed off with the imperialist ploy of Divide and Rule. They know now that whatever the colour of our skin, the texture of our hair, whatever our religion and customs, whether we originate from Asia, Africa, North or South America, Europe or Australia, whether our hero is Prince Yusuf, Nelson Mandela, Martin Luther King, Fidel Castro or even Margaret Thatcher, we all belong to one race: the human race. We share a common humanity. The oppressed millions of the world are steadily marching towards freedom. There, on the sand dunes of South Africa, Sheik Yusuf will soon rest in peace.

COSAS IS BANNED BUT THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Black high school students were shocked to hear about the banning of their organisation, Cosas, on August 21, 1985 — five weeks after the declaration of the state of emergency on July 21. Congress of South African Students, Cosas, an affiliate of the United Democratic Front (UDF) was the dominant organisation in Black schools. It mobilised and organised militant opposition to apartheid. More than 500 Cosas members were detained between the State of Emergency and the outlawing of Cosas. Cosas detainees accounted for more than one in every five of the detainees.

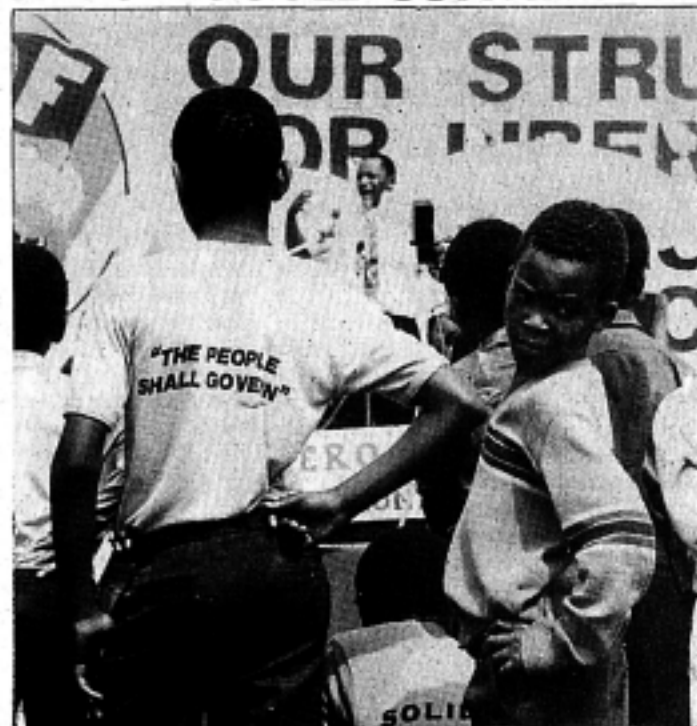
Students, most being Cosas members, constituted the largest single category of the 215 people detained under the Internal Security Act between January and the end of June.

Formed in 1979, Cosas moved from 'purely' students' politics to a much more nationally-oriented and explicitly political programme. This is because they are students and members of their community. Rent hikes affect the amount of money their families have for schooling. Inferior education affects their possibilities of getting jobs after schooling. Black students have other grievances such as per capita expenditure on Black education which is one seventh of that of white pupils; pupil-teacher ratios are much higher (43:1 for Blacks as against 18:1 for Whites); nearly three quarters of Black teachers are under- or unqualified, whereas nearly all White teachers are qualified:

The matriculation results are abysmal. Less than 50 per cent of Blacks graduate successfully from high schools. These drop-outs are not only unemployed but unemployable in the present recessions. These were battles that Cosas was engaged in.



They shall not pass — youth man the barricades.



Young girls defy the military occupation of the townships.

12TH YOUTH AND STUDENTS FESTIVAL IN MOSCOW

By Nyawuza

The eight days between July 27th and August 3rd were hectic days in Moscow. 20 000 foreign delegates from 157 countries and from West Berlin, representing youth and students of most diverse political orientation — Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, Liberals and Radicals; trade unions, children's, ecological and religious organisations, peace movements, creative unions and different public organisations — converged on Moscow. 3 285 journalists were accredited at the International Press Centre of the Festival, 1 280 of whom were foreign newsmen from 80 countries. Not a single participant, guest or journalist can boast of having seen the entire Festival.

This Youth Festival, which was not only a tremendous success and a widely representative forum, was also a large-scale political event which showed that the Soviet youth had not only excellently prepared it but was also prepared for it. The foreign delegates were offered the opportunity to learn about how the youth in the Soviet Union live and what they aspire for.

The Festival also destroyed western propaganda myths about 'the Kremlin's aggressiveness' and 'the Soviet military threat' and 'Moscow's perfidy.' The young people saw Moscow as it is — always associated with peace proposals and initiatives, support for the national liberation struggle, aid to developing countries. The statement during the Festival by Mikhail Gorbachyov, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the Soviet Union's decision to impose a moratorium on tests of nuclear weapons gave a powerful impetus to the drive for peace, and inspired many young people at the Festival.

World Youth Say No to Nuclear War

At Festival sites, during rallies, meetings and entertainments, the young envoys of five continents demonstrated what they can do for peace, friendship and solidarity. In discussions it became clear that the world is becoming more and more fragile. A real danger of nuclear war is looming over mankind, threatening to destroy civilisation. The arms race is threatening to spill over to space. The deployment of American nuclear missiles continues in Western Europe. Imperialist interference is all over. Imperialism is trying to stifle the national liberation struggle. Humanity is threatened; animals and birds as well — in short, our earth, which is a living organism. In view of the epidemics which would plague the health of succeeding generations, it is clear that the next world war would be the last one.

Today's youth faces the same task of saving the world from war — as did their parents 40 years ago — with the difference that now there is a real possibility to prevent it. Now there exist real forces which can prevent the outbreak of a fire of war: the USSR and the other socialist countries, the international working class movement and the national liberation movements. The youth has to ally itself with these forces. There is need for unity of the world youth; need to act together — **the youth must speak, persuade, demand and act.** The motto of the World Youth Festival — "For Anti-Imperialist Solidarity, Peace and Friendship" — reflected the spirit of the Festival.

The ANC sent a delegation 150 strong, led by Andrew Mkhize, head of the ANC Youth Section. These were soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe, students from different countries

throughout the world, ANC youth activists, and ANC media workers. There were veterans of our struggle, such as George Naicker, who headed the ANC delegation at the 1957 Moscow Youth Festival, and Ntate Mashigo, veteran of the Second World War.

The ANC a Strong Presence

The ANC delegation participated in almost all events - political discussions, cultural events, art and so on. We did not feature in sports. Our delegation met representatives of national delegations, regional and international organisations; interviews were given to the press — the ANC was all over. *Amandla*, the cultural ensemble of the ANC, attracted huge crowds. The presence of Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, who addressed meetings together with such political giants as Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, and Angela Davis, the Black American Communist leader, gave weight to the ANC presence. Alex and Blanche La Guma were also there. So was James Stuart.

The report about the Moscow Festival would

be incomplete if we did not comment about the artistic and cultural performance of the Soviet youth — from all the Soviet republics. There was laughter, joy, love and merriment. There was relaxation and peace. There was beauty and dignity. There was more to it. It was a display of Soviet achievements; of the superiority of socialism over capitalism. This is the sort of competition we would support — not Reagan's arms race.

At the end of the Festival, John Darkey, a delegate from Ghana, said wise words. He said that although the Festival was over, its ideals and goals would certainly find their continuation in the daily life of the youth of the world. For the youth of the world it is important not to stop at what has been achieved, but to go on strengthening the solidarity and building up the combined efforts in the anti-imperialist fight.

I am sure he was speaking for all those who were going back to their countries to continue the fight in the knowledge that the world youth is a powerful force that stands fully behind them.



Reginald Mpongo of the ANC together with Angela Davis at an anti-imperialist forum.

ANC INTERNATIONAL



NIGERIAN WRITERS HONOUR MANDELA

A Nigerian organisation, the Writers and Journalists Against Apartheid, has conferred the title of Life Patron on Nelson Mandela. In its letter to the ANC, the WAJAAP spoke of Comrade Mandela's "glowing commitment to the liberation of South Africa," and said that it is:

"... another manifestation of the superior organisational ability, discipline and method of operation of the ANC to produce precious cadres like Comrade Mandela."

SOLIDARITY IN BRITAIN

Two more local authorities in the United Kingdom recently gave recognition to the South African freedom struggle by honouring the ANC and its imprisoned leader, Nelson Mandela.

City of Hull

The port of Hull on the east coast awarded the Freedom of the City to Comrade Mandela, at a civic function in the Guildhall, the seat of local government.

Comrade Solly Smith, ANC Chief Representative in the United Kingdom and Ireland, was the chief speaker at the ceremony. He called for the maximum involvement of all movements, trade unions, political parties and local government authorities, in the international campaign to smash apartheid and secure the release of Nelson Mandela.

The occasion was the launch of a new novel, *The March of the History Animal*. The writer, Ray Flint, said that the courageous struggle of Mandela and the members and martyrs of the African National Congress had made him decide to dedicate his book to Mandela as a contribution to their struggle.

Borough of Islington

The ANC London office is in the Borough of Islington, and the ANC flag was flown from the Town Hall of this borough in June, in tribute to Nelson Mandela.

The Deputy Mayor of Islington, and Comrade Francis Meli of the ANC addressed the gathering at the ceremony when the flag was raised.

SCANDINAVIAN YOUTH GIVE SUPPORT

During the last week of March 1985, over half a million high school students participated in Operation Day's Work for Education. 25 million Swedish kroner (three million US dollars) was the spectacular result of this tremendous collective act of solidarity to mark the International Year of the Youth, 1985.

Was it easy for the students to choose the ANC as one of the recipients? Hardly. The entire globe stood before them. A hard debate! At the end of the day, National Committees of pupils of Denmark, Sweden and Norway decided that 75% of the collection would go towards construction of two ANC projects, the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania, and Dakawa, the ANC Development Centre nearby. 25% would be for schools in Zimbabwe.

Why the ANC? "We know ANC. We trust ANC. We have seen the laboratory at SOMAFSCO built with money raised by Swedish school pupils in 1980. We know our money and efforts will be put to good use," summed up the winning reason. It did not matter to the students what political colour the ANC has. They themselves represented the entire political spectrum from ultra-left to conservative religious groupings. "The apartheid system," they said; "is anti-human." Never has so much literature on the history of the ANC, Bantu Education, destabilisation, the present-day struggle, been produced by young and old for schools. Newspapers, booklets, slide shows, plus a movie on SOMAFSCO, flooded everywhere. Many a teacher was inspired into the campaigns. Translated novels, short stories and poetry against apartheid found a place in the curriculum. Co-operation of the parents secured, various school administrations giving support, prime ministers and ministers of education behind the drive, the youth had an unstoppable mission. ANC became, and still remains, a household word.

From January to the end of April, six SOMAFSCO students travelled through Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Finland. They

spoke of their experiences in South Africa, their home life, the school system they abhorred, participation in student struggles, political brutality directed at children, the reasons for leaving, and about SOMAFSCO — a school with a difference. Their Nordic counterparts remember that encounter with nostalgia.

"To actually meet a person who has lived the things we read about or see on TV was a school in itself,"

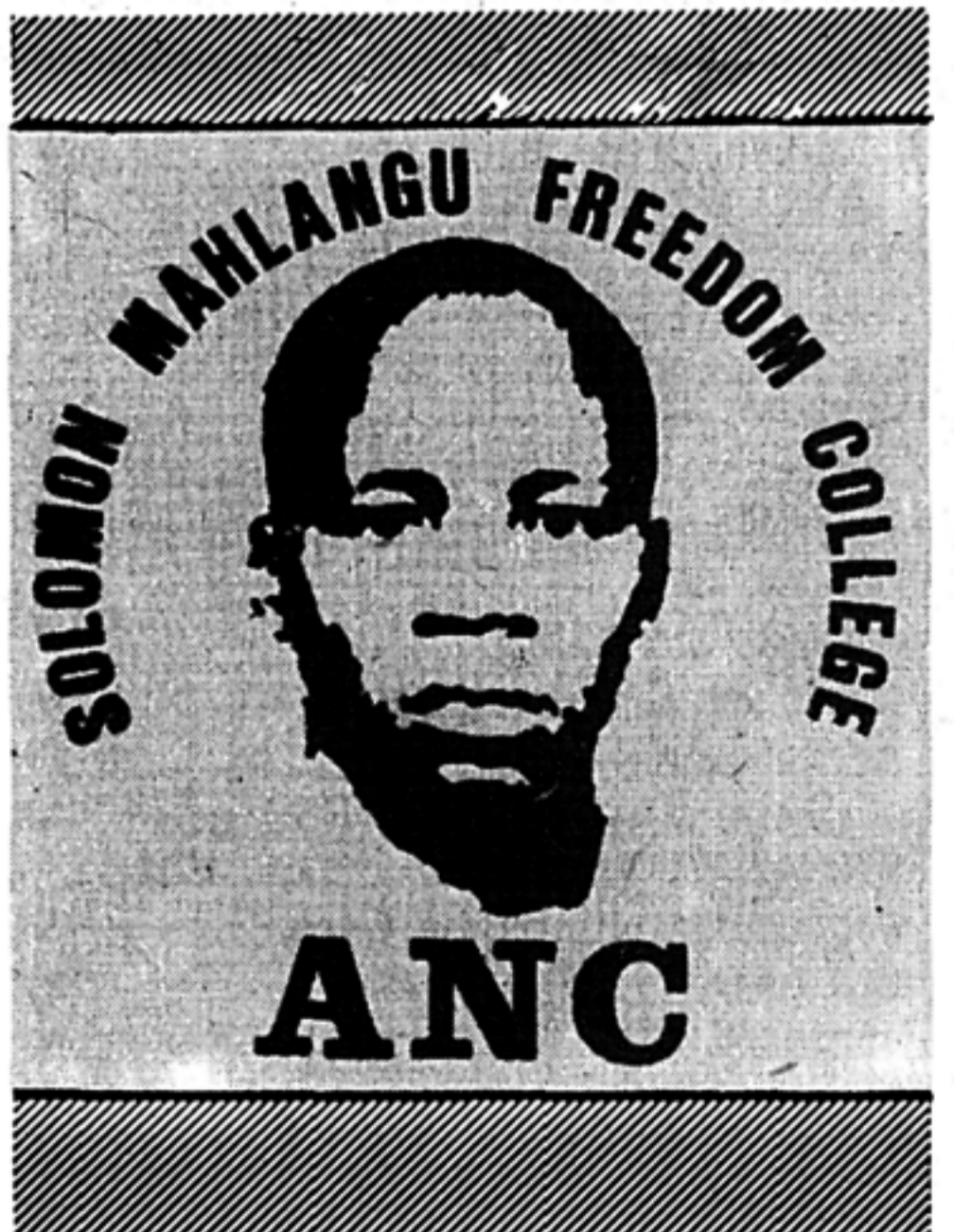
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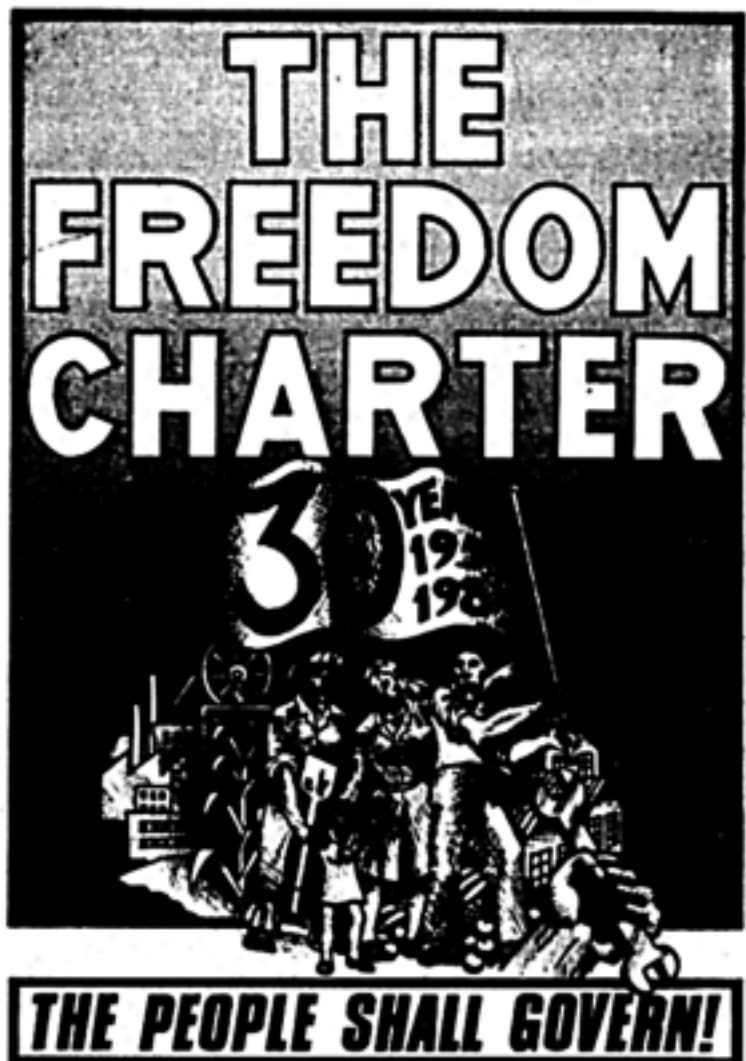
"I am proud of our decision to help people who ask for no pity ... it is good to be part of a proud history,"

were some comments.

The message of the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, struck at the core of this particular breed of young Scandinavians in his letter of tribute to them:

"At a time when young people the world over are being diverted into a wide range of non-productive and escapist activities, the students and youth stand out as a shining example of the new person which the principles enshrined in the ANC's education policy seem to create ..."





THE FREEDOM CHARTER IS OUR LODESTAR

PART 4

By Comrade Mzala

Poster produced by the Transvaal Indian Congress to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the Freedom Charter.

Apartheid colour bar determines the limits of the economic position of people in the Black middle stratum, in spite of whatever improvements they can have. In their daily life they come up against all the humiliations meted out to the Black man.

This Black middle stratum is quite capable of marching side by side with the workers and rural toilers in the national democratic revolution.

The Preamble of the Freedom Charter opens thus:

"We the People of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know: that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

Does the Freedom Charter, by asserting the unity of the Blacks and Whites in the struggle for democracy in South Africa, and further claiming that South Africa belongs to all its people, Black and White, deny the existence of the oppressor-oppressed relationship in our country? Does it equate the oppressor's interests with those of the oppressed? Are we equating "the horse and the rider," as the Pan-Africanist Congress says?

The Charter and the National Question

There is nothing to suggest that the Freedom Charter denies the national contradiction in South Africa, the contradiction between the racist regime of national oppression and the oppressed Black people. The Freedom Charter nowhere pretends that Blacks are not oppressed and are therefore enjoying equal rights with their White countrymen.

The Preamble of the Freedom Charter first rejects the racist premise of the South African constitutional life, and recognises that the real South Africa is inhabited by all who live in it and consequently belongs, not to one section of the inhabitants, but to all of them. It then proceeds immediately to challenge the authority of a government founded on national oppression, by asserting that in South Africa there is a "horse and rider" situation, and that:

"our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality."

In this way, the Freedom Charter, in approaching the national question in South Africa, focuses unambiguously and accurately on the national relationship between oppressor and oppressed.

In other words, the Charter does not underestimate the urge of the oppressed Black

people towards the formation of a truly independent national state in South Africa, and their need to exercise the right to self-determination. The Freedom Charter, from every angle, asserts the right of the Black people to political self-determination just as it is exercised by the White people, so that:

"every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws."

But then the Freedom Charter is not like Jeremiah's Book of Lamentations. It is a political document that seeks solutions to the national oppression and inequality in South Africa; if it only mourned or interpreted our plight, and failed to suggest change and the manner of change that should be, it would cease to be a revolutionary document. In this way the Freedom Charter proposes the solution of the national question in South Africa by the creation of a single South African nation at present in the process of birth.

A Free Country, a Free People.

We stand for a free South Africa, for a free people who enjoy equal rights whatever their colour, race or creed. It is for that reason that we are opposed to the narrow nationalism. The words, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White," embody the principle that all people can live in South Africa whatever their colour, and that this is their right that will be defended constitutionally, not a mere privilege or favour extended to one section by another. The future constitutional law in South Africa shall guarantee and defend the right of all peoples that inhabit South Africa, irrespective of the colour of their skin, to South African citizenship, and such citizens shall live in equality and democracy. Our future constitution shall ensure that, unlike what it is today, South Africa shall not be a country divided unto itself and dominated by a particular national group. And those in our country who desire the ideals of genuine freedom, not chauvinists, will inevitably rally round the banner of the Freedom Charter. We must develop a revolutionary perspective of democracy that is uncompromisingly hostile to narrow

nationalism.

While not a socialist document, the Freedom Charter nonetheless has these two dimensions: the present and the future. It neither loses touch with present realities — the robbery of our birthright — nor does it ignore future conditions, when present circumstances shall have been changed, when the two nations shall have fused and merged through the revolution into a single South African nation. While championing the cause of the oppressed Black people, the Freedom Charter equally strives to create a single nation on South African soil, the most logical development in an economy that has reached the capitalist level of development.

These two distinct but closely interconnected dimensions of the Freedom Charter correspond to the historical fluidity of the South African situation. For this reason it would be incorrect to argue that the Freedom Charter cannot transcend the year 1955, and to deny its relevance in the future, during the consummation of the national democratic phase of our revolution. This is clearly so, because the democratic demands it makes have not yet been attained.

United Democratic Movement

The Freedom Charter lays a revolutionary basis for a united democratic movement of all forces opposed to oppression, irrespective of racial affiliation. In this way the enemy is correctly defined, not as White people, but as a system of White supremacy and national domination; similarly, revolutionaries do not have to include the likes of Matanzima, Mangope or Mphephu, even if their pigment is blacker than coal.

It might be understandable for some drunk man in a shebeen to shout abuse against the Whites in general, but for someone claiming to be a revolutionary leader not to be able to differentiate White revolutionaries from White racists would be inexcusable. We therefore sincerely question the honesty of a nationalist who claims that he strives to create a non-racial South Africa whilst showing an intolerant attitude to non-Black revolutionaries. We question, even more, the sincerity of a socialist who

creates a Chinese Wall between members of the proletarian class, thereby prettifying apartheid.

Our new 'socialist' teachers of 'Azania' should have known in drafting their Manifesto that by simply leaving the question of the position of the White workers at the level of "allies of the capitalists," and further to maintain in their arguments that there is no place even for the serious democratic Whites within the liberation organisations, they are travelling on the skin strategic path. This is an even worse crime for people claiming to be socialists. The socialists that we are acquainted with are the kind that heed the words of Lenin, who once advised the Jewish proletariat that:

"we must act as a single and centralised militant organisation, have behind us the whole of the proletariat, without distinction of language and personality, a proletariat whose unity is cemented by the continual joint solution of problems of theory and practice, of tactics and organisation; and we must not set up organisations that would march separately, each going on its own track; we must not weaken the force of our offensive by breaking into numerous independent political parties; we must not introduce estrangement and isolation and then have to heal an artificially implanted disease with the aid of these notorious 'federation' plasters." (*Collected Works*, Vol.6, p.335)

Our new 'socialist' teachers of 'Azania' should have known, furthermore, in drafting their Manifesto and resolutions, that the task of the socialists is not to legitimise the separation of the Black and White workers by the capitalists. If they did not know this, then they should not have rushed to offer half-baked theories to our people.

The other aspect of the national question that has led the National Forum to reject the Freedom Charter is the clause of the Charter that says, "All national groups shall have equal rights." In his paper, oscillating between narrow Black Consciousness and left-wing Marxist rhetoric, Dr Neville Alexander (who was obviously the chief theoretician of the National Forum Conference, since his paper was adopted into the Manifesto with precisely his

formulations) told the Conference that they should reject this formulation of the Freedom Charter, since it is based on the concept of race, and a more revolutionary position would be one that "opposes the perpetuation of the ideology and theory of 'race.'" Proceeding from this theoretical premise, the National Forum has found worthy targets in the Natal and Transvaal Indian Congresses for "their perpetuation of this four nation or race theory."

Nosizwe's Fertile Imagination

The title of Nosizwe's book, *One Azania, One Nation*, has become the rallying slogan of the ideological trend that opposes the Freedom Charter. It is stated on page 97 of this book:

"... it is immediately obvious that this idea of four 'national groups' has persisted from the pre-war caste interpretations of the national question which were shared, from different theoretical points of view, by liberals, many marxists and petty-bourgeois reformists."

He calls this clause of the Charter:

"the unambiguously liberal bourgeois formulations of the national question in South Africa," (p.100)

and, further down the page, says:

"... the uncomfortably close parallel between Bantustan theory and the essentially pluralistic theory of the Congress movement and the SACP, together with mounting criticism both inside and outside these organisations, has led in recent times to soul-searching and reassessment which may still prove to be of great significance to the whole liberation movement in South Africa."

On page 103, he brings forth the following judgment:

"All in all, however, it does not appear that the Congress contributions to the continuing discussion on the national question have taken the matter much further on the theoretical level, and the patent confusions concerning concepts such as national groups, national minorities, racial groups, nationalities, bear this out clearly."

What particularly annoys Nosizwe about this 'national groups' theory of the Freedom Charter is that:

"They (ANC and the SACP) really do perceive of the colour-caste groups, the four so-called 'racial' groups of South Africa, as nations or national groups who are nationally oppressed like overseas colonials. That national oppression can conceivably have a different meaning is not properly understood. It is understood in part, because the consistency breaks down at the fundamental point concerning the right of nations to self-determination." (p.110)

Nosizwe's obsession with 'national groups' being 'nations' haunts him like a demon:

"National groups, strictly speaking, are either nations properly so-called, or they are groups striving towards nationhood including the political fulfilment of nationhood, the creation of a separate state ... the 'races' of South Africa are not 'national groups' precisely because they are not nations or because they do not desire separate statehood. By definition, therefore, the concept favours tendencies interested in the fragmentation of the population into potentially or actually antagonistic groupings. Such fragmentation then facilitates the maintenance of hegemony by the ruling classes. In South Africa this means simply that the bourgeoisie, in the absence of a radical change in property relations, will continue to hold real power, since it can enforce its will on the political leaders of the 'national groups.'" (p.139)

What a fertile imagination! If only what grew there was not political weed but historical facts! There is probably no other theoretical question in the history of our liberation movement that has received as much attention as the national question. True, the initial positions might not have been those that are held today, but the truth of the matter is that long before the existence of the Nationalist Party of the Boers and their Bantustan theory, long before their Population Registration Act, and even long before the Unity Movement came up with the theory that South Africa has one nation, the South African liberation movement worked out and adopted a systematic theoretical position on the national question in South Africa based on a concrete historical perspective, a history that is not only ignored by Nosizwe's *One Azania, One Nation*, but also which, when he is forced to admit it, he

dismisses from the point of view of revolutionism and places next to the liberals and the petty-bourgeois reformists.

All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights

Today both the ANC and the SACP recognise the existence of two nations in South Africa, the oppressed and oppressor nations, and to us it is from this division (one which forms the essence of imperialism) that our definition of the right of nations to self-determination follows.

This means liberation of the oppressed from national and colonial domination, and assertion of their national right to independence. The demand for the self-determination of the oppressed Black people implies, not racial domination by Blacks over Whites, but, on the contrary, the creation of a non-racial democratic national state that develops on African soil, which then, for historical reasons, can only be overwhelmingly Black (hence the correctness of the slogan of the "Black Republic." This means that a victorious people's democratic revolution in South Africa will necessarily establish majority rule and, consequently, the correction of the colonial injustice whereby the Black majority was made subject to the White minority. Again, this demand for self-determination does not mean the division of South Africa into Black and White states, but is only an expression of the need for national freedom, an inevitable demand under national oppression.

And when our Freedom Charter says, "All National Groups Shall Have Equal Rights," the Charter is giving a reply to the present racist policies of the apartheid regime, which has created social differentiation between Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans. These groups at present differ in economic and even political privileges. In spite of the new Botha constitutional gymnastics, there are enshrined in the laws of South Africa a host of insulting provisions directed at the dignity of the Black people and the humanity of the oppressed masses. In a free South Africa, as far as this clause of the Freedom Charter is concerned, a silly racist who shouts, "Coolie", "Hotnot"

or "Kaffir" shall be brought before revolutionary justice charged with violating human dignity.

When the Congress movement talked about national groups, it was not referring to nations, hence the principle of self-determination is not applied to these groups in the Charter. Nations, we know, came about only at a certain stage of productive development, whether such development was inherently dynamic or was imposed from without by colonialism; and nations, we know, are, as Lenin said:

"an inevitable product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development."

But what Nosizwe's learning in Marxism has forgotten to tell him is that apart from nations proper, there exist what are called "nationalities" or what the Freedom Charter calls "national groups", and these are by no means the same as nations.

No Bantustans in the Freedom Charter

The Freedom Charter, obviously, does not concern itself with theoretical motivations of its terminology in sociological fashion. It merely refers to the existence of national inequality under South African conditions. This is all that it is concerned with, after all, as it is a political declaration.

There is therefore nothing that parallels Bantustan theory in this formulation of the Freedom Charter, as is alleged by Nosizwe. The Bantustan theory of apartheid rests on the assertion that the Zulus, Xhosas, Sothos, Tswanas and so on, are nations, and that the granting of independence to these Bantustans is tantamount to respecting the rights of these "nations" to self-determination.

Congress policy, on the contrary, and that of the SACP equally, holds that the oppressed constitute an "internally" colonised nation that will finally merge and integrate all the peoples of South Africa into one nation without oppression. This process started effectively in 1912, with the unity of the African ethnic groups in the African National Congress. On the other side of the political fence, a similar unity of the oppressors had taken place in 1910, as expressed in no uncertain terms by General

Smuts, quoted by K Hancock in *Smuts, The Fields of Force*, p.36:

"The whole meaning of Union of South Africa is this: We are going to create a nation — a nation which will be of composite character, including Dutch, German, English and Jew, and whatever White nationality seeks refuge in this land — all can combine. All will be welcome."

The reply to Smuts was the famous unity call by Pixley ka Seme at the founding Conference of the African National Congress in Bloemfontein. Thus continued the tale of two nations, the oppressor and the oppressed.

What is "One Azania, One Nation"?

One of the most curious ideas filtering through Nosizwe's book, *One Azania, One Nation*, is that:

"the nation consists of all people who are prepared to throw off the yoke of capitalist exploitation and racist oppression." (p.178)

But stranger still is the following passage on p. 80:

"The nation of South Africa is struggling to be born. The working people are exercising their right to self-determination in the only way that is possible for them to do. They are resolved to bring to an end the archaic divisions that have debilitated the nation and kept it in subjugation for more than a century."

And, on p.181:

"... the working class, in short, has become the leading class in the nation and is about to constitute itself as the nation of South Africa ... This is the infallible conclusion to which my investigation of the national question leads me."

When, in the beginning of the October Revolution in Russia, N Bukharin suggested that it was necessary to replace the slogan of self-determination of nations with the slogan of self-determination of working people, Lenin sharply responded:

"He says we must not recognise the right of nations to self-determination. A nation means the bourgeoisie with the proletariat. And are we, the proletarians, to recognise the right to self-determination of despised bourgeoisie? That is

absolutely incompatible! Pardon me, it is compatible with what actually exists. If you eliminate this, the result will be sheer fantasy." (Vol. 19, p. 170)

Again, he wrote against Rosa Luxembour's thesis in *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*:

"For the question of the political self-determination of nations and their independence as states in bourgeois society, Rosa Luxembour has substituted the question of economic independence. This is just as intelligent as if someone, in discussing the programmatic demand for the supremacy of parliament in a bourgeois state, were to expound the perfectly correct conviction that big capital dominates in a bourgeois country, whatever the regime in it."

These fantasies and these fears, however, are not admissible in the theory of the national question and its principle of self-determination of nations. The working class cannot be a class and a nation at the same time. Nations and classes, while overlapping, are quite distinct categories nevertheless. To attribute to the principle of self-determination of nations the emancipation of labour from capital, is to ridicule this principle. It would be wrong to interpret the right to self-determination as meaning anything but the right to national independence. This is an inescapable conclusion, if one is looking at the question from an historical and economic point of view, from the point of view of the history of imperialism and its division of the world into oppressed and oppressor nations.

The Economic Heritage

It is true that there are economic factors on the basis of which the nation is formed, and it is true that a nation can truly determine its destiny only when it is free from imperialist economic exploitation; but such freedom is that of a nation as a whole, and not the labour part of it only, its working class only. That is why our Freedom Charter talks of "the national wealth of our country." In this way it is asserting the right to self-determination in the economic sphere, as a struggle against the imperialists in defence of the nation as a whole (in this case a free South Africa). This:

"heritage of all South Africans shall be restored to the people."

This national right must not be confused with the social right of the working class. It belongs strictly to the sphere of national relations, and should be assessed from the angle of the economic history of national movements.

Even socialists (not the Azanian type, of course) do not counterpose the socialist revolution with the national question. While insisting on the leadership of the national liberation struggle by the working class, as a condition for the continuation to socialism, they do not impose socialist aims at the stage of national liberation.

Again, it is true that South Africa is a single capitalist society, with a single state of oppression, and that under normal conditions of capitalism a single nation should be existing here. As Lenin correctly pointed out in *The Right of Nations to Self-Determination*:

"states of a mixed national composition have for some reason or other remained abnormal for capitalism."

South Africa, incidentally, is such an abnormality, a special colony. Apartheid is not a norm of capitalism, it is backwardness, some kind of pre-capitalist political and economic relations. Apartheid South Africa's rules of political operation lack conformity with what is best adapted to the requirements of capitalist society. Apartheid is a colonial system of domination of Black South Africans, and the White republic is an internal colonial power. A characteristic feature of the colonial type of the country is the almost complete landlessness of the Black population, absence of rights to political administration, absence of the right to freedom of movement, and so on.

The two-nation thesis of our liberation movement, a thesis that recognises the right of the oppressed to self-determination but recognises also the need to create a single South African nation, is dialectical in approach and historical in principle.

Instead of advancing a consistent theory on the national question, one that states quite unambiguously what kind of national relations

exist now in South Africa and how they shall be in our free country, Nosizwe is busy playing a verbal game, and attributes to the Congress movement labels that do not correspond to our real stand.

The Land Question

What were the policies of the National Forum Conference on the land question? Here is how the conference addressed itself to the question:

"And further noting that:

1. The usage of the land shall not be to the benefit of Azanians only but for the benefit of all Africa, the Third World and the international community as a whole."

Such was the formulation of Resolution Two on the land question. This approach obviously sounds more evangelical than political. Does this suggest that South African land shall be free for use by everybody? Who are these people in Africa, the "Third World" and the international community as a whole, who shall benefit from the usage of our land?

In the past and present history of South Africa, we have witnessed imperialist interests from foreign countries benefiting from our land. Obviously the socialist countries, because they do not have transnational companies exploiting the lands of other peoples, have not desired, and do not desire, to exploit our wealth. Imperialists, however, do! The South African rural toilers have been deprived of land ownership by a racist government, and yet the National Forum is telling them now that the usage of the land that should actually come back to them shall benefit the international community as a whole! And our rural masses are supposed to agree to that, to a resolution on their own land, made by some intellectual gentry without consultation with them, made behind their backs? Our rural people will never hear a thing, shall have nothing to do with this turning of South African land into a Garden of Eden for the international community as a whole.

Maybe we are rushing an interpretation here.

How To Distribute the Land?

Let us be practical. Let us stop making proclamations with high moral value but practically useless. The land question in our revolution is a very sensitive issue, one that needs to be approached with sober attitudes. The indigenous people of South Africa have fought bitter wars of resistance lasting hundreds of years because they were deprived of the land. Today in our country all the land is controlled and used as a monopoly by the White minority. The African people have always maintained their right to the land as a traditional birth-right of which they have been robbed. In fact, the ANC slogan, *Mayibuye i-Afrika!* is precisely this demand for the return of the African land to its indigenous inhabitants.

The White minority has no right to be land barons while we work for them as serfs. This is why the Freedom Charter says that:

"The land shall be shared among those who work it."

If the present land barons and absentee landlords want to remain on the land, our Freedom Charter rules that it shall be on condition that they should, like others, till it. In practical terms, this means that the task facing our struggle on this question is to take this land away from exclusive White control, and to divide it among farmers who do not exploit the labour of others, but who shall work co-operatively to produce wealth from the soil. It is the landless peasants who till this land, and therefore it needs to be distributed among them.

Since the Freedom Charter is a statement of aims, it does not go into real depth as to what form this distribution of the land will assume. If our national democratic revolution is not aborted, if it does not miscarry, but finally ends as the revolutionary political power of the working class and the peasantry (the people), and if the leading working class is definitely to put its imprint on it, then we have no reason to believe that the land shall be distributed to individual capitalist farmers. We have reason to believe, instead, that land shall be distributed in such a way that collective farms are created to exist side by side with state farms:

"to banish famine and land hunger."

And certainly this is hundreds of kilometres away from the assertion that the use of our land shall be for the benefit of the international community as a whole.

A revolutionary democrat, one who understands the exact position in history and society that a victorious national democratic revolution occupies, will reject the contention that the re-division of our land will take us back to the era of individual landowners who will then step into the shoes of the departed land barons. A revolutionary democrat understands that, in resolving the land question, the peasantry is acting in close unity with its leading ally, the working class.

In *The Two Tactics*, Lenin argued:

"Without thereby becoming socialist or ceasing to be petty-bourgeois, the peasantry is capable of becoming a wholehearted and radical adherent of the democratic revolution. The peasantry will inevitably become such if only the course of the revolutionary events, which brings it enlightenment, is not prematurely cut short by the treachery of the bourgeoisie and the defeat of the proletariat. Subject to this condition, the peasantry will inevitably become a bulwark of the revolution and the republic, for only a completely victorious revolution can give the peasantry everything in the sphere of agrarian reforms — everything that the peasants desire, dream of, and truly need in order to emerge from the mire of semi-serfdom, from the gloom of oppression and servitude, in order to improve their living conditions, as much as they can be improved within the system of commodity production."

And the more enlightened the rural toilers become, the more consistently and resolutely will they stand for a complete democratic revolution; for, unlike the bourgeoisie in South Africa, they have nothing to fear from the people's revolution, but, on the contrary, stand to gain from it.

Democratic Demands

So we are not arguing for the socialist transformation of agriculture by so asserting; we are demonstrating the significance of the total victory of the revolution of the workers and peasants in the sphere of land reforms. Some

people think that the Freedom Charter carries within it the mechanism for socialist transformations in South Africa, but such a viewpoint is incorrect.

The democratic demands advanced by the Freedom Charter in the socio-economic system, and the changes it proposes, do not in themselves imply the complete undermining of the system of capitalism. The Charter says, for instance, that all people:

"shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and enter all trades, crafts and professions."

The Black middle strata probably understand the meaning of this clause better than anybody else, because it is they, in particular, who have been deprived by the colonial regime of these rights under the 'free enterprise' system. This clause implies the opening of the ground for the wide development of these middle strata, based on the laws of development of commodity production.

Dynamic Revolutionary Democracy

Even the demand that the:

"restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger,"

does not necessarily propose, strictly speaking, the nationalisation of the land under state control. This distribution of the land in favour of the peasants and in accordance with their desire may as well (given a certain course of events) give an impetus to production competition in the countryside and lead to the class differentiation of the peasantry itself. And whatever our personal desires can be, it is important that we should see the Freedom Charter as expressing the interests not only of the working class but of the petty-bourgeoisie as well; such, in any case, is the nature of a national democratic revolution as different from a socialist revolution. With this understanding, the forward-looking elements in the liberation movement must defend the interests of the working people. And if the working class is politically unconscious, then the compromis-

ing sections of the middle stratum will be at the head of this revolution and will impart a self-seeking nature to it, will make all manner of compromises with imperialism.

Clearly, our revolutionary democracy as expressed in the Freedom Charter is not a static category neatly fitted in a strait-jacket, but a dynamic socio-political category; there exists in it the possibility and necessity for movement, for motion, which is inherent within the class forces struggling to realise their essence.

More Socialist Than Socialism

The last aspect we would like to expose in this Azanian Manifesto is one other confused economic clause.

Both the resolution of the National Forum Conference, as well as the Azanian Manifesto, state:

"All proceeds accruing from collective labour shall be distributed according to the needs of each and every individual in Azania."

This is sheer utopia! These gentlemen were attempting to be more socialist than socialism. This is certainly not what manuals of political economy suggest, and neither is this 'Azanian' economic principle applied anywhere in the world.

In a socialist society, the whole product of labour belongs to the working people. There is no profit accruing to private individuals. One part of this product — the means of production — is distributed among the various sectors of the economy, industries and enterprises, and is consumed collectively; while the other part — articles of consumption — is distributed between the working people for their personal consumption according to the quantity and quality of their work.

Distribution according to need was possible during primitive communal society, when man's needs were at an extremely low level; only, what was needed basically to keep people alive! This is no longer the case nowadays, when people's requirements have markedly increased, far out of proportion to existing productive possibilities for their satisfaction. A principle of distribution must reckon with this fact.

It was Trotsky (whose disciple Dr Neville Alexander is) who advanced the utopian principle:

"shared work in production, egalitarianism in distribution."

This principle, under modern economic conditions of social production, would greatly slow down the economic processes of development because virtually everything would go for the satisfaction of consumption needs; and when one takes into account that even under socialism there is still distinction between mental and manual labour, between skilled and unskilled labour, this principle would not only be unfair to some workers, but would bring the whole economy to a standstill within a few weeks.

Inequalities of Need

The 'socialist' gentlemen of 'Azania' must remember that the socialist economy is not built in an historical void; it is built of material inherited from the capitalist system and, naturally, retains traces of the old society. Socialism can therefore not eliminate the differences in the extent to which needs of the people are satisfied. There exist under socialism, big and small families, and so on — clearly, a socialist society cannot yet do away with the inequality, which demands that consumer goods be distributed according to work performed and not according to needs.

The socialist principle of distribution eliminates the division inherent in the exploitative society, the division of people into a minority that does not work and yet enjoys all the blessings of life, and the overwhelming majority that is doomed to an intolerable existence because they do not own the social means of production. Under capitalism, workers receive only that part of the product which corresponds to the value of their labour power, whereas under socialism producers create the product for themselves and for their own society. In other words, as members of a socialist society they have a similar status with respect to the means of production. But although the socialist citizens have the equal duty to work and are co-owners of the means

of production, socialist society as yet does not ensure them full economic equality.

This inequality can only be overcome gradually, by the acceleration of scientific and technical progress which helps to raise the educational, cultural and technical standards of the members of society or reduce the difference in consumption arising from dissimilar family conditions; when the growth of the economic resources appropriated by the socialist state enables it to maintain those members of society who are unable to take part in social production because of age or for other reasons. Under socialism, he who does not work neither shall he eat.

Under socialism there still exist commodity-money relations, too. That is why a part of necessary product meant for distribution according to work assumes the money form. But, since labour power here is not a commodity, wages cannot be the price of labour power. Wages here are a form of distribution according to work; they are a monetary expression of that part of the necessary product created at the socialist enterprises and which goes for the workers' individual consumption in accordance with the quantity and quality of the labour expended by them in social production.

Of course this is not so with the 'socialist' gentlemen of 'Azania,' to whom the immediate goal, after the usage of the land has been to the benefit of the international community as a whole, is that:

"all proceeds accruing from collective labour shall be distributed according to the needs of each and every individual in Azania."

Politically conscious people in general, and students of political economy in particular, have nothing to learn from this evangelism.

Let Our People Discuss the Charter

One profound mistake is made by those who marvel at our tenacious defence of the Freedom Charter. They accuse us of making the Freedom Charter a sacred or absolute document, such that anyone who challenges it is deemed to be committing some political

sin. Such a view would be a grievous fault. We, the upholders of the Freedom Charter, do not regard it as some righteous document before which all men must kneel and worship; we, instead, understand very well that no programme, no constitution, is immutable for all time. Conditions change, and so do attitudes. Even the most seemingly sacred or absolute principles or policies should be held constantly under review, endorsed if found still to be correct, altered or scrapped if found to be out of date.

Let our people discuss the Freedom Charter to check its relevance to the conditions of today, let those patriots who disagree with this clause, or that, voice their views in a discussion! This is fine! Our liberation movement is not a church, it must never be measured by the criterion of some fantastic and infallible ideal, but should always be regarded as a practical movement of ordinary people. The Freedom Charter was drawn up by such ordinary people. But even those who might differ with this clause or that must realise what the Freedom Charter actually is, from an historical point of view. Whoever differs with it should at least acknowledge that it is indeed a product of the people's democratic demands in the South African context, and that equally, developments from it have a corresponding historical magnitude.

We defend, fight and die for, the ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter, not because it is an all-time document, but because it is a revolutionary guide to a life free of misery and oppression. It is the demands of the people, that have yet to be won. These are the kind of ideals which most nations achieve, ideals for which men and women stubbornly and heroically resist torture in detention and gruelling lives in exile, ideals for which our martyred dead stood firm and unflinching to the last minute of their lives. Such ideals cannot be taken lightly. Such ideals need to be defended from malicious slanders and ill-conceived political theories.

END

EVIL MAN

Evil man
Give me back
What belongs to me.

You have robbed my soil
Enslaved my mind
With Bantu Education
Built monuments
Of your civilisation
Of plunder and murder
On my shoulders
Forcing me to
Crawl under your dark shadows
To be on the run all the time.

Why this heavy load
On my shoulders
Why should I mourn
All the time
Go to the cemetery
Every minute of the day?

Evil man
Now you are going too far
Too fast
For the movement of time.
You are digging out
The bones of my ancestors
By throttling my children
And hurrying them
Into shallow graves
Under the cover
Of the dark night.

What are you doing to me
Under my peaceful star?
You are building
A tower of skulls on earth
On the shifting sands of your few
"Last few remaining heavens on earth."

Evil man
This is the last straw
Give me back
What belongs to me
Before the moon is full
Before the harvest moon. *James Pitse*

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ANC YOUTH AT THE MOSCOW FESTIVAL

