

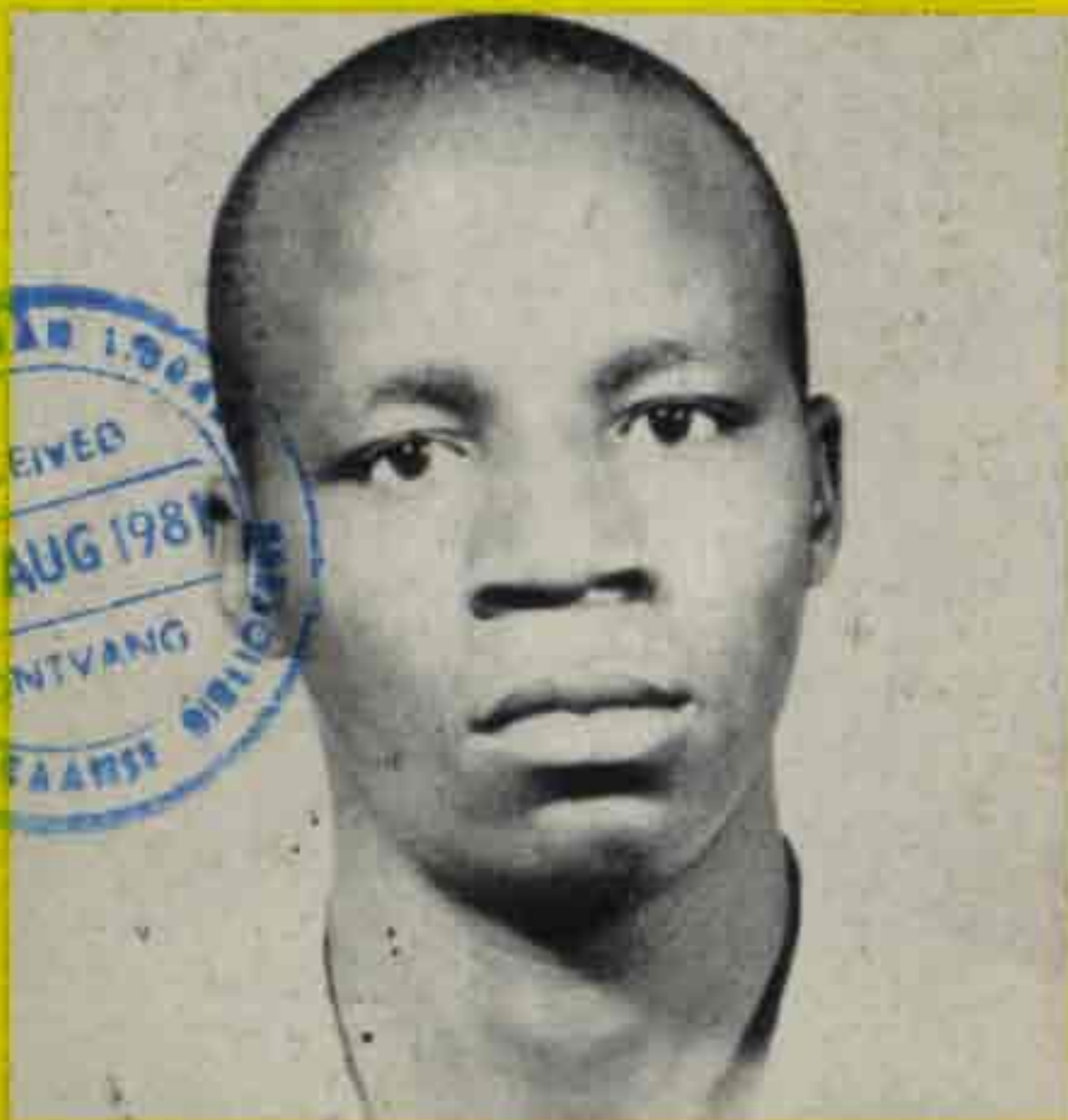
B. 1007 3047
APRIL 1981



SECHABU

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

Remember Solomon Mahlangu



**Demand
POW status for
captured freedom fighters**

SECHABA

April Issue 1981

P.O. Box 38
28 Penton Street
London N1 9PR
Telegrams: Mayibuye
Telex: 299555ANCSAG
Telephone: 01-837-2012

EDITORIAL: 'Unholy Alliance' Reborn	1
INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA	2
OIL DEALS EXPOSED	8
YOUTH & FREEDOM CHARTER	11
POETRY: Towards the Revolution	15
MATOLA: Racist Atrocities	19
MOZAMBIQUE: We are ready to meet the challenge	21
OBITUARY	23
IOJ PRIZE FOR MBEKI	24
LETTER TO THE EDITOR	25
POEM	28
BOOK REVIEW	29
PROFILE: Walter Sisulu	31

Send your orders now to:

SECHABA Publications, P.O. Box 38,
28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR, UK.

All orders of 10 or more copies 50%
discount.

Kindly include a donation with your order
if possible.

Sample copies of Sechaba available on
request if accompanied by postal order
(or in the United Kingdom, with stamps)
to defray postal costs.

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the
African National
Congress
and Umkhonto
We Sizwe on:

Radio Madagascar —
shortwave 49 m band, 6135 KHz,
8-9pm daily.

Radio Lusaka —
shortwave 41 m band, 7.3 MHz,
8.30-9am daily.

Radio Luanda —
shortwave, 40 & 30 m bands; medium
wave 27.6 m band, 7.30pm daily.

Radio Tanzania —
shortwave, 19 m band, 15,435 KHz,
8.15pm Sunday, Monday, Wednesday,
Friday; 31 m band, 6.15am Tuesday,
Thursday, Saturday.

New Annual Subscriptions

USA and Canada (airmail only)	\$ 12.00
Elsewhere	£ 6.00
Single Copies	
USA and Canada (airmail only)	\$ 3.00
Elsewhere	£ 0.50

Cover: Solomon Mahlangu, executed by
the racist regime on April 6th, 1979.

UNHOLY ALLIANCE REBORN

The first months of the Reagan administration in the United States have accelerated the drift towards an extremely dangerous political climate in international relations. Not only are we witnessing a torrent of cold war propaganda but we see daily attempts at destroying the national liberation movement and its gains.

Behind the barrage of repeated warnings on the dangers of what they label "international terrorism" lies an unfolding programme aimed at regaining lost ground for the forces of reaction. The military intervention in El Salvador; the application to lift the arms embargo against Unita; pledges to give military aid to subvert the revolution in Afghanistan; military aid to Morocco; talk of extending Nato activities outside its present sphere — these and more are clear manifestations of the destabilisation policies of imperialism.

After numerous denials, the US State Department finally admitted that the American representative to the United Nations met secretly on March 15 "with a senior South African military intelligence officer" — Lieutenant-General van der Westhuzen. Applauded by the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, the Reagan Administration is starting to openly flout its defence of facism and Apartheid.

Truly, imperialism has given birth to a new "unholy alliance", that of Reagan, Thatcher and Botha. But in response to this frantic attempt to reverse the peoples' gains, the worlds' progressive and peace-loving forces are united in the knowledge that the imperialist powers can not determine the course, direction and pace of history. They may only influence the conditions under which our just struggles are waged.

The peoples of Africa are ready to face



the challenge. We are determined to ensure that this new partnership of open aggression against our continent joins its predecessor, the Unholy Alliance of Vorster, Salazaar and Smith — in the dustbin of history!

CRISIS IN THE WHITE CAMP — Run-up to April Election

As Sechaba goes to press, the white population is preparing for the general election in South Africa. The following article looks at the reasons behind the calling of an early election and the growing tension in the white camp.

Premier Botha has called a general election in South Africa for April 29 — one year before the life of the parliament was due to expire in 1982. With the enormous majority the Nationalist Party enjoys in the House of Assembly, a general election seems an unnecessary and expensive luxury. There is no possibility that the opposition Progressive Federal Party will come to power — in fact the likelihood is that it will lose ground as “public opinion” among the whites seems to be shifting to the right.

The last election, held in November 1977, gave the Nationalist Party victory with 135 seats out of the 165 in the House of Assembly. The Progressive Party won 17 seats, the New Republic Party (the rump of the old United Party) 10 seats and the crypto-Nationalist South African Party 3 (now fully absorbed in the Nationalist Party). The 1977 election was held 18 months before it was due, and Vorster, who was premier at the time, gave three reasons for jumping the gun:

1. South Africa was under attack from international forces — by which he meant in particular the five western powers (US, UK, West Germany, France and Canada) who had delivered to him a “declaration” calling for an end to apartheid, an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, and compliance with Security Council resolutions calling for sanctions against the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia.

2. The electorate should be given the chance to express its opinion on the new constitutional plan drawn up by a Cabinet

committee chaired by P.W. Botha providing for separate parliaments for whites, Coloureds and Indians functioning under an umbrella Council of Cabinets on which all three groups would be represented.

3. The confusion created by the disintegration of the United Party should be cleared up and the extent of the support for the new opposition parties (NRP, SAP and PFP) established.

Since then, the whole scene, nationally and internationally, has changed dramatically. The Parliament that existed in 1977 is no more. Not only has the Senate been totally abolished, but the Assembly has been enlarged by the addition of 12 nominated members whose composition is determined by the strength of the existing parties in the House. Thus of the 12 nominated members, 11 are Nationalists and 1 Progressive Federal Party.

Because of these changes, and the consequences of by-elections, crossings of the floor etc., the composition of the Assembly at the time of writing is: Nationalist Party 133, including 11 nominated members; Progressive Party 18, including 1 nominated member; NRP 8 and 1 independent. There are 17 vacancies, 15 of them in Nationalist-held seats, and this has been suggested as one reason for the calling of a general election — to avoid the effort and expense of all the by-elections which would have amounted in themselves to a mini-general election.

Botha clique bolstered

However, there are more vital issues at stake. For one thing, the nature of the Assembly itself has undergone a qualitative change. True, as far as the oppressed black majority are concerned, the South African Parliament was never a democratic



SLEGS BLANKES
WHITES ONLY

institution. The token vote enjoyed by a small minority of Coloureds and Africans in the Cape has long been abolished, and was never acceptable in principle anyway. But now the "democratic" character of Parliament in the eyes of the whites has been irreparably damaged. If Parliament is to have any real meaning even for the whites, its composition must be seen to depend on the will of the white electorate. Now, not only has the Senate been abolished, but the electoral basis of the Assembly has been eroded by the addition of the 12 nominated members.

The only purpose of the change is to strengthen the power of the administration at the expense of the electorate, to bolster the power of the Botha clique in relation to its opponents both inside and outside the Nationalist Party. The suspicion is now widespread that Botha, by means of his Parliamentary changes and the creation of a number of Cabinet committees, the national security council etc. is paving the way for far greater authoritarianism in government than the whites have ever

known in the past, possibly for outright military dictatorship. Botha is a former Minister of Defence, and the relationship between his clique and the military is very close. Furthermore, he has eliminated the Van den Bergh element at the head of the security apparatus (BOSS, DONS, NIS or whatever) and brought all aspects of security, internal and external, under his personal control. One effect of the general election would undoubtedly be to strengthen the position of the Botha clique which controls the levers of power.

Why does Botha need these dictatorial powers?

If one returns to the points raised by Vorster to justify the 1977 elections, one can see that the whole position has changed in the last four years.

Point 1: The declarations from western powers demanding an end to apartheid and independence for Namibia have ceased. With the advent of the Thatcher and Reagan administrations, the Botha regime has been brought back to acceptability as an ally, if not yet respectability. Certainly, if the

gangster regimes of Chile, Pakistan, El Salvador, Guatemala etc. are to be bolstered by the west as allies in the global struggle against "communist imperialism" and if the national liberation movements everywhere are to be classed as "terrorists", why should racist South Africa be excluded from the imperialist pantheon?

Point 2: Botha's "three parliament" plan has simply disappeared without trace, to be replaced by his State President's Council of 61 members, which includes a handful of tame (Coloureds and Indians but has a solid white and Nationalist majority. Although this Council has no definable function except to advise the State President on matters referred to it by the regime, it has been hailed as the first "multi-racial" institution established by any South African government since Union. The fact that the Council has been rejected by all black organisations as well as right-wing whites including the HNP and many doubters inside the Nationalist Party itself means that Botha doubtless feels the need for some endorsement from the electorate.

Point 3: To the confusion created by the disintegration of the United Party has now been added the confusion created in the ranks of the Nationalist Party itself. Part of this flows from the disgrace and downfall of Vorster, Mulder, Van den Bergh and company in the Muldergate scandal. Part flows from the pathetic attempts of the regime to placate its enemies, internal and external, by half-hearted measures of "de-segregation" in sport, entertainment and other peripheral spheres. Underlying all this is the growing polarisation inside the ranks of Afrikanerdom as class division intensifies and the power of bourgeoisie grows at the expense of the working class.

White ranks in disarray

Never have the ranks of the white supremacists presented an appearance of such disarray as they do now. Even those twin pillars of the establishment — the Broederbond and the Dutch Reformed Church — are divided. The vote of the right-

The apartheid military's top generals - the faces behind Botha.



Lt Gen M Muller
Chief of Air Force



General M Malan
Chief of SADF



Lt Gen CL Viljoen
Chief of Army



Maj Gen
PW van der Westhuizen
Chief of Staff,
Intelligence

wing breakaway HNP has increased in recent by-elections, and in recent months here have been large-scale defections to it in some areas from the ruling Nationalist Party. On election day, the Nationalist Party will be opposed not only by the PFP and the NRP but by at least one breakaway right-wing faction, including one led by former cabinet Minister Connie Mulder.

Examination of the policies of the various white parties indicates that, despite their superficial differences, all of them are agreed on the need to maintain white supremacy — now called “strategy for survival”. Not one party taking part in the elections supports majority rule based on one man one vote in a united, integrated South Africa. Even the PFP, which speaks of “equal rights” for all South Africans and refuses to serve on the President’s Council, advances a policy of federation which in practice would turn out little different from Bantustanisations.

The Real Challenge

The real challenge to white domination and the rule of the Botha clique is being presented, not by the parties competing for white votes, but by the national liberation movement headed by the African National Congress which speaks and fights on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa. It is primarily to clear the decks for implementing his “total strategy” in the battle against the ANC and its allies, the Communist Party, SWAPO and the frontline states that Botha is calling his general election. His so-called measures of “de-segregation”, the President’s Council etc. are designed, not to satisfy the aspirations of the oppressed people, but to buy them off, to divide and rule; they are part of his strategy for war, not for peace.

The real face of Botha is not that of a “reformer”, but that of the murderer of Matola, the aggressor against Angola and Zimbabwe, the racist dictator threatening Africa with atomic weapons, the man behind the bombings of the frontline states and the man who has been chosen by the



“volk” to uphold white domination and backed by the west to preserve the wealth of Africa for imperialism. The South African electoral system ensures that Botha cannot be defeated at the polls. The log-jam of South African white politics can only be broken up by the struggle of the people for national liberation, by the freedom fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe, by the strikers on the shop floor, by the mass resistance in every sphere of life of the oppressed and voteless masses.

On April 29 let all bear in mind that it is the white supremacists who must bear the blame for the fact that the future of our country is being decided, not by ballots, but by bullets.

'CULTURE FOR JUSTICE' Calls for Boycott Mount

Various cultural and political organisations have mounted an uncompromising campaign against overseas artists and musicians who break the cultural boycott against South Africa. Spearheading this offensive is Azapo (Azanian People's Organisation) and Mdali (Music, drama, arts and literature), as well as individual artists. These organisations have successfully called upon the people to boycott shows in which foreign artists are billed to appear. Efforts have also been made to link up this internal campaign with the already established and growing action to isolate South Africa internationally through the compilation of a "blacklist" to run on lines similar to the sports campaign.

Art for Justice

Speaking on behalf of Mdali, the Secretary General, Mr. Zakes Mozokeng made the following observations:

- † it was odd that overseas musicians performed in South Africa after being urged by anti-apartheid groups abroad not to come to South Africa;
- † Mdali will not identify with black artists in the country or from outside who come "to give us a song so that we should feel all is well in an obviously abnormal society";
- † art is universal, and its purpose "is to promote peace, love, happiness and above all, justice."

These were some of the reactions prompted by the black American artist Millie Jackson's statement that all she wanted from her South African trip were the dollars. She also said her visit had nothing to do with any black "struggle for equality" and that she had never heard of Soweto until she came to South Africa. In the same (bad) breath, she made a statement that she was

in South Africa for the black man.

Of this particular artist Mr Mofokeng said: "Mdali once admired Millie Jackson as an artist but now she has been shrunk to the size of apartheid. We no longer care for her and that goes for all the other artists who come here to enhance the system of apartheid".

Azapo publicity secretary, George Wauchope explains that it was not the music of the artists they were against but "their physical presence". He continued:

"When they come here, they claim they are not politicians but musicians. In the same breath they speak of change in South Africa The multi-racial shows in which they perform give the semblance of equality to that mixed audience, for as long as the show lasts. As soon as it is over, things go back to 'normal'. The curfew laws are back in force."

"Foreign artists are just capitalist and nothing else, and they do not have the feeling of the black people at heart".

Confirming this assessment were the recent visits of Ray Charles and Champion Jack Dupree. "Champion Jack Dupree insisted that he performed on the day which was set aside to commemorate our brothers who were killed in Maputo ... To this artist the feeling of the people meant nothing and all he wanted to do was to make money".

Ray Charles was billed to perform on October 19th, the day set aside to mark the banning of anti-apartheid organisations and black newspapers (The World and Week-end World) — a day of protest. Both these shows were cancelled because of a boycott call by COSAS and Azapo.

Mr Sandile Manase, secretary of PEBCO (Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation) said in support of Azapo's stand "American blacks are our brothers. They must identify

with our struggle. They must not say they are not interested in politics but only money when they visit South Africa."

Arrogant Attitudes of Artists

In response to the cancellation of his show, Champion Jack Du Pree had this to say: "I had the worst feeling ever. I never felt like that even in the war", (he was captured in 1943 and spent two years in a Japanese prisoner of war camp), "whoever was behind that Soweto move is not doing his people a favour. These people have got to realise that they are not going forward but backward. They don't do this kind of thing to white artists". He also said it had taken blacks in America 200 years to organise themselves. Du Pree is attempting to lecture in politics.

Lovelace Watkins, another black American singer told one newspaper in an interview that he would not go to Soweto claiming he was nearly killed by residents during his first visit. He further stated that he loved all people but he was not prepared to risk his life by going to Soweto. He claimed that he had been invited to open a club — but became terrified when a mob of about 600 people rushed to the stage and pulled him off.

The truth is that when Lovelace was last in Soweto, he was given red carpet treatment and invited to Diepkloof hotel where he left the place without singing after people had paid to hear him sing. That's his crime!

Reacting to this a Soweto actress, Miss Eunice Mavundla, said Soweto residents did not like overseas black singers to perform in Soweto because they tended to look down upon residents: "Lovelace is one of them. He is calling us murderers and hooligans for feeding him by attending his shows ... if he cannot come to Soweto we shall not attend his shows in the city. I would advise him to go home because he has insulted the bulk of his fans." A show by Lovelace Watkins due to have been held in Welkom (in the Orange Free State) on March 4, 1981 was cancelled as a result of a boycott call by Azapo.

Another overseas band, Supermax (a West German based multi-racial group) which opened its tour on the 13th March also came under pressure from Azapo. Their manager, Mr Rainer Potner commented after a meeting with Azapo: "We will continue with the tour, but we are now aware of what they feel. When we return to Europe we will explain the situation here".



We have quoted at length from press reports to convey the feeling of the people generated by the attitudes of overseas artists and mainly to report the intensification of the campaign to isolate racist South Africa. This is a continuation and build-up of the call of the African National Congress first made in 1959 for the total isolation of the South African racist regime. We urge all democratic forces in the international community to redouble their own efforts in this field. A sustained and well coordinated international campaign with the one inside South Africa itself will put the spanner into the works of imperialist collaborationist ploys.

We call upon musicians and artists, in particular the blacks in the U.S. to stop entertaining apartheid. If they want to identify with the plight of millions of their fans in South Africa, they must raise funds to give material and financial assistance to the liberation movement of the people of South Africa, the African National Congress.

Oil Deals With Apartheid Exposed

Pretoria's attempts to reduce its vulnerability to an oil embargo have recently received a number of set backs. The cloak of secrecy with which it has tried to surround its deals and manoeuvres has proved ineffective, and a great deal of information has now been published showing how the regime has been trying to obtain oil.

At the same time Pretoria's intransigence during the Geneva conference on Namibia, and its repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring countries have strengthened the efforts at the United Nations for comprehensive mandatory sanctions. They have also served to convince many of the smaller countries of Western Europe of the urgent need for an oil embargo.

The Netherlands Parliament, has been urging the Government to take unilateral action to impose an oil embargo and to make it illegal for Dutch citizens to be involved in assisting the apartheid regime to obtain oil supplies through any means.

The jurisdiction of the Netherlands Parliament would cover the Rotterdam spot market as well as the activities of Royal Dutch Shell.

In Belgium, Denmark and Sweden questions have been asked in Parliament and debates held in which significant numbers of Parliamentarians have urged their governments to act.

Norwegian seamen have alerted their unions and the press to the transport of oil to South Africa in Norwegian tankers. Norwegian shipping has been shown to carry a very substantial proportion of the imported oil now fuelling apartheid. The scale of the involvement has provoked demands from all sections of the Norwegian public for governmental action.

While the Government of Norway has

hitherto not taken the initiative to control its tanker fleet. However an embargo has been placed on oil from the Norwegian continental shelf being sent to South Africa. An attempt to deliver Norwegian oil in violation of this embargo was thwarted by prompt government action. The tanker involved was the Norwegian registered Jane Stove.

Abetting crime of apartheid

Of the world's major oil exporting countries, today only the United Kingdom and United States have failed to impose an oil embargo against South Africa. The British government in keeping with its stated intention of bringing South Africa in from the cold has refused to embargo either oil from the North Sea or from Brunei, a country whose external relations remain under British control. Thus oil from Brunei continues to be openly shipped to South Africa.

British guidelines for the sale of North sea oil give priority to members of the EEC, the International Energy Authority and some others. South Africa is not listed, but in the absence of an embargo there is nothing to stop the diversion, resale or transshipment of British North Sea oil. The British Government has sanctioned swap arrangements for North Sea oil on a number of occasions in order to facilitate the supply to the Pretoria regime.

The major part of the oil supplied to the racists by western based oil and shipping companies is embargoed oil, as is oil purchased on the spot market or transshipped from points such as the Netherlands Antilles. The report published by the Shipping and Research Bureau (Shirebu) in Amsterdam in March 1981, reveals the degree to which western based companies

are violating the embargo imposed by producer countries. In doing so, they are not only aiding and abetting the crime of apartheid, but are also denying sovereign states the right to control their natural resources and determine their destination and use.

The Shirebu report provided the first detailed overview of oil tankers going to South Africa. It listed 150 tankers which had called at South African ports in the 15 months following the revolution in Iran. A large number of the tankers that were considered most likely to have delivered oil sailed to South Africa directly from points in countries that have imposed an embargo.

The shipping and oil companies involved in this nefarious trade use a variety of methods to evade the embargo. Sometimes oil is directly delivered to South Africa by the same company that purchased the oil, notwithstanding that it agreed to conform with the embargo. Where states have required proof of delivery, documents relating to other deliveries have been fraudulently submitted.

Need to Tighten Embargo

Shipping companies engage in similar practices. One Norwegian ship, the Havdrott has been operating a shuttle service carrying embargoed oil to South African ports. Oil is also transhipped on the high seas. On occasions oil is sold and resold with the embargo clause dropped somewhere among the series of sales. Often the sales are mere technicalities. Companies are specially registered for this embargo busting trade, and those involved disappear when their activities are exposed.

The purchasing arm of SASOL in particular and some other companies have been involved in deals which perpetuate frauds and are criminal. The lives of tanker crews are jeopardised as safety precautions are ignored in the desire to maintain secrecy. Ships which might provide evidence of frauds are scuttled or otherwise sunk. The Salem was sunk off the West African coast after discharging oil in South Africa. Another tanker, the Mycene also sank in the same area, and is believed to have previously discharged its cargo in South



Africa. The 240,000 ton tanker, the Albatross B mysteriously exploded and sank off the Tanzanian coast. It has since been admitted by the charterers that the tanker had discharged oil in Durban prior to the explosion.

The Pretoria regime and its supporters have devoted much time and considerable resources to promoting the notion that even if sanctions are imposed it is not possible to make them effective. This is manifestly not so.

The Organisation of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OAPEC) concerned by the reports of repeated violations of the embargo imposed by its members has been examining ways of tightening the embargo.

Following the scuttling of the Salem and the revelation that it had previously delivered oil from Kuwait to South Africa, the Kuwait government terminated its contract with the Italian company Pontoil which had initially purchased the oil from Kuwait. When it learnt that oil from its continental shelf was being transported to South Africa, the Norwegian government also acted with determination and stopped the delivery. Thus it has been confirmed that where the will exists it is possible to prevent oil and shipping companies violating embargoes.

Vigilance and Action

What is required is vigilance and determined actions at all points from the initial sale of oil by the producer, through any sale and resale, to the transport and delivery. Action is required by all member countries of the U.N. to prevent the involvement of companies and individuals within their jurisdiction, and to impose penalties on any person, company or ship involved in the supply of petroleum and petroleum products. A blueprint of the action necessary is embodied in General Assembly Resolution 35/206D adopted on December 16, 1980.

The United States and Britain have made known their intention of thwarting action by the Security Council through the threatened use of their veto power. In these circumstances to merely express support



for a mandatory embargo is effectively to do nothing. The ANC has therefore urged all countries to implement the General Assembly resolution and to take other measures unilaterally and regionally to stop the supply of oil to the apartheid regime.

An oil embargo would ensure the more speedy collapse of the system of national oppression and exploitation in Southern Africa. An internationally isolated South Africa means a weakened enemy, an enemy incapable of attacking our people as they did recently in Maputo; an enemy less able to be the aggressor against independent African countries; an enemy which is unable to play the role of gendarme and the bastion of imperialism in Southern Africa. South Africa, like a wounded beast, would still be dangerous -- but vulnerable!

YOUTH AND THE FREEDOM CHARTER

In this Year of the Youth we publish an article on Youth and the Freedom Charter, the inspiration for which was due in large measure to the discussions held at the ANC Youth Summer School in Hungary during August 1980.

“What is the Freedom Charter?” The Freedom Charter contains the fundamental perspectives of the vast majority of the people of South Africa of the kind of liberation that we, all of us, are fighting for. Hence it is not merely the Freedom Charter of the ANC and its allies

Rather it is the charter of the people of South Africa for liberation. It was drawn up on the basis of the demands of the vast masses of our country and adopted at an elected Congress of the People. Because it came from the people, it remains still a People’s Charter, the one basic political statement of our goals to which all genuinely democratic and patriotic forces of South Africa adhere...”

President O.R. Tambo

In order to place the youth in the context of what is said above, it becomes imperative to define their social position in our society. First, it is important to note that historical revolutionary experience characterised by heightened struggles for national and social emancipation, has shown us that the youth, also, have an important role to play. This however, has led some people to evolve false theories about the youth constituting the most revolutionary class which has to be the vanguard in the struggle. These dangerous and reactionary “theories” have been embraced by a tiny section of the South African youth. This has resulted in frantic efforts to detach the youth of our country from older generations of our fighting people with a view to weaken the revolutionary movement as a whole.

Though these ploys have failed, it still becomes necessary to tackle this aspect to ensure that our youth become the rightful heirs to the collective revolutionary experience of our people.

A Social Group

The youth are not and should not be viewed as a class, but as a social group (which is not homogenous) that corresponds fully to the social structure of a given society. Its specifics as a social group are determined by the circumstances that every new generation experiences in the given historical stage of social development. In South Africa, the youth is born in a colonial society characterised by institutionalised racism, national oppression and exploitation of the majority of the people and their bitter life and death struggle against this. Thus the youth are born into and experience the same sufferings as the whole of the oppressed population. The aspirations and demands of the youth therefore cannot be different from those of the rest of the population. Thus, the struggle for youth rights, universal education, against unemployment etc. is part of the mainstream of the national liberation struggle headed by the African National Congress and its allies.

The understanding of the present and future perspectives of our struggle is an essential pre-requisite in moulding the type of revolutionary that our struggle demands. All South African youth must be mobilised and made to understand the policy, strategy and tactics of our movement. We have to explain to them what the Freedom Charter is and the crucial role it plays in the present and future South Africa. Only in this way can we ensure that our youth does not allow itself to be deceived that it has any important role to play outside the national liberation movement.



Fascist police attack students in the Cape

Youth in Struggle

The various forms of battles waged by our entire people including the youth are backed and motivated by the same demands that our people made at the historic congress of the people. Today, the unity in action in pursuit of these demands, expressed through various organisational formations representing all the social structures of our society (in which the youth are to be found) points to the unifying role of the Freedom Charter. That this document embodies the aspirations of our youth also, is no accident, but indicates the democratic procedure followed in its compilation and final adoption.

The main part of the vast battlefield in which our youth are making glorious sacrifices and advances is in the sphere of education. Since the imposition of the bantu education system, the struggle against it was launched and has since intensified, reaching a high level. A record of the demands for a just, universal and non-racial education system is to be found in the Freedom Charter. What the students are currently fighting for and sacrificed

for in 1976 and earlier is an important aspect of our struggle and forms a basis for the mobilisation of our youth in the multi-frontal assault against the enemy.

The Freedom Charter states that the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all. In our country, the oppressors' culture dominates and the cultural development of society is determined by them. In all the years of colonial and imperial domination and Apartheid rule in our country, the oppressors have tried to eliminate the most important value of our culture and to preserve and present that which furthers his interests. Apartheid colonial education has the prime aim of instilling the oppressors' values so as to promote his material interests.

The youth, because of its very nature, is that part of the society that absorbs and transforms cultural values from one generation to another. It is therefore, most vulnerable to the influence of imperialist ideology which aims to use the youth to penetrate a society with the goal of undermining its cultural development and exploiting this for its own ends.

Culture as a Weapon

In guarding against this onslaught on our culture, the youth must wage a determined battle against the abuse of our culture for commercial gain and misrepresentation of its values. Our culture must be revived and used as a lethal weapon in our national liberation struggle. Drama, dances, poetry and music must be used to depict our true culture as well as hitting at the enemy. The formation of cultural groups, writers clubs etc. must be encouraged as forums of constant discussion of our cultural heritage. Those of our young artists who are not in our movement should recognise the connection between art and politics. In this way we will be striving towards the

development and encouragement of national talent for the enhancement of our culture and thus making an essential contribution to our total liberation.

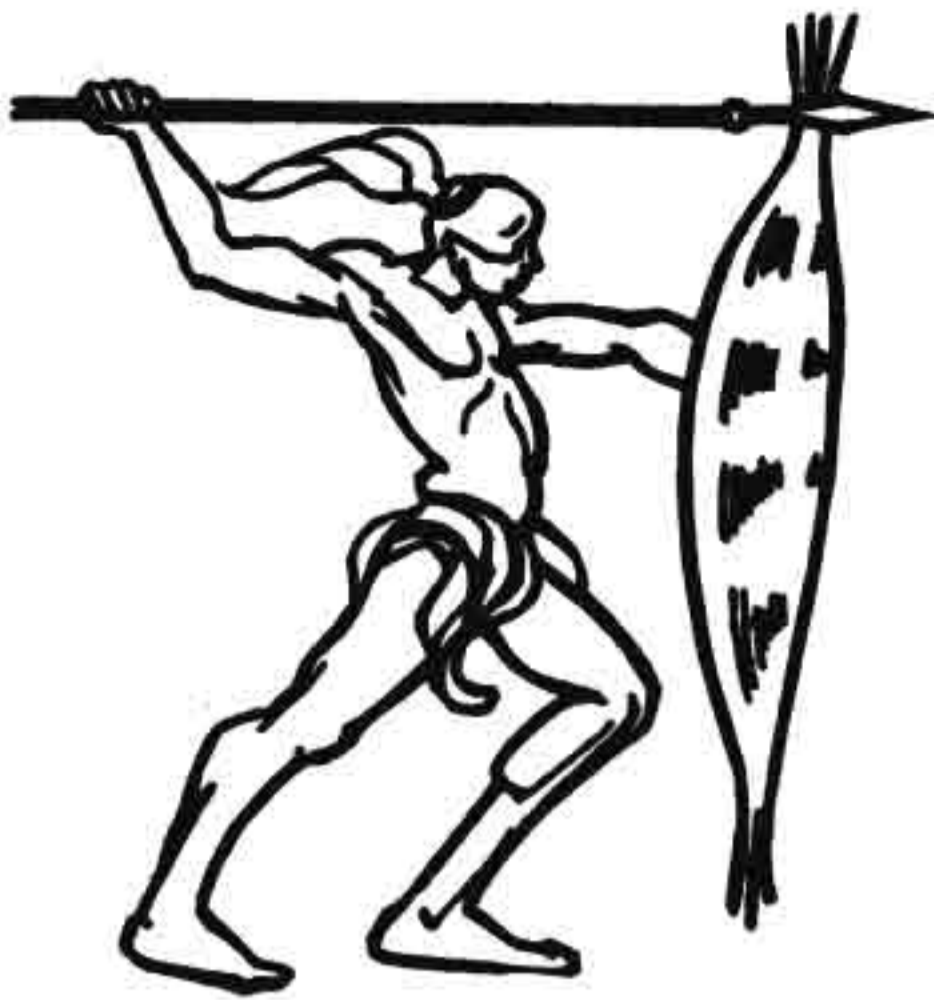
Working Youth

The establishment of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College should arm our youth not only with the technical knowhow but instill in them the required social, political, moral and cultural values of our fighting people. In the words of the Freedom Charter to "teach the youth, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace".

The youth is also represented in the production process. It is part of the huge working class. Youth involved in production are active. Sparing neither strength nor



Youth head funeral procession of Lilian Ngoye



courage, together with their parents they demand not only economic rights and changes in labour relations but also political rights. They are involved in all the working people's demands for higher wages, better working conditions and the right to trade unions. They are also found in the ranks of those marching to work in protest against rises in the bus fares. Since many have also been forced to be breadwinners for their families, they are directly affected by and thus are involved in the fight against rent increases. These demands which are central to these various struggles viz. — work and security, equal pay for equal work, housing, right to form and belong to trade unions and for a fair share in the wealth of the country — are what our movement is mobilising and agitating for on the basis of the Freedom Charter.

Forced social segregations and separate but unequal development, strengthened by a string of racist laws, characterises the contradictory society that South Africa is. The standard of living of the whites is amongst the highest in the world whilst the majority of the people live in misery, poverty and ignorance. The pass laws restrict their movement, they are heavily taxed, families are separated through the migrant labour system, all these resulting in social problems and distress.

Health-care hardly reflects the

tremendous achievements in the medical field in our country. The high scientific standard and technological achievements of our country is negated by the unmitigated practice of racial discrimination and disparity in all social amenities to the total exclusion of the oppressed and exploited blacks. The low standard of living and the unequal social development has given rise to the frighteningly high percentage of social misfits, criminals, hooligans etc. This has denied thousands of young people the opportunity of playing an effective role in the uplifting of living standards and the raising of the social and political consciousness of the oppressed masses. In the final analysis, our people are denied the opportunity of participating in the social, cultural and scientific development of our country.

It is clear therefore, that the implementation of the Freedom Charter, and the construction of a free and democratic South Africa, according equal opportunity to all has as its basic pre-requisite the raising of the social standards of all the oppressed groups to that of the privileged minority. While actively participating in the liberation struggle, the youth must exploit whatever opportunities available, even within the legal framework, to fight now for the social upliftment of our people and eventually for social integration.



Poetry Towards the Revolution

by Mokoena Xihoshi

Below we publish the first in a series of articles dealing with South African poetry over the past twenty years.

In the next few issues of SECHABA we shall be looking at some of the poetry that has been produced by South Africans during the last twenty years or so. This poetic production is itself a phenomenon of some considerable moment, not the least because of its nature and volume, but also because of some of the questions raised by its existence and an analysis of this body of material, and also because of its emptying on our scene at this particular juncture.

Our examination cannot be exhaustive: it is an exploration that wants to invite contributing to an ongoing discussion; it additionally wants to pose questions that have been raised in a number of ways, have generally gone begging, and need in-depth consideration and constant re-thinking continued re-action. Most of our examination springs from the publication, during the last few years, of a number of volumes of poetry by writers such as Wally Serote, Dennis Brutus, Mazisi Kunene, Keorapetse Kgotsisile, Arthur Nortje and Oswald Mtshali, as well as of collections like *Seven South African Poets* (ed. Pieterse; pub. Heinemann), *Poets to the People* (ed. Feinberg, pub. Allen & Unwin, enlarged issue pub. Heinemann), *Black Poets in South Africa* (ed. Royston, pub. Donker, reissued Heinemann) and *Malibongwe*, a volume of poetry by women of the ANC; this last volume, published by the ANC and hitherto only available in its German translation, has already sold over 3,000 copies — and it highlights one of the first questions we should like to raise.

Cynics have asked, and this only occasionally in a humorous vein, whether one can confront the enemy by waving a volume of poems or reciting a heart-

stirring epic. This question, sometimes covering a layer of philistine dogmatism, is basic. Is it enough to say that the human constitution does not survive by bread alone? At what point is the butter of a lyric, the jam of an eulogy, the slice of meat and the lard of literary art not only a super-structural expression of life (and especially of struggle) but also a very necessary pulse in the blood of a people?

No long answer to our question will be attempted here. We merely draw interim attention to the fact that, from whatever pressures and in many different circumstances, the artistic expression of the needs, longings, aspirations and impulses of our people's struggle for an egalitarian and just, non-racial, society has been a very important component of that struggle. A. C. Jordan, in his "Towards A South African Literature," has traced many important threads in this literary weave. And it is interesting to note that already in the late 19th century a scribe advised his fellow-fighters to resort to the pen — as well as the gun.

It is in the general arc and circle of the word as medium that, spread in its written form as well as the spoken, helps to articulate as well as to organize that we see the value of the continuous poetic tradition in South Africa of the freedom songs of our fighters like Vuyisile Mini, the adaptors and developers of folk-music and folk-poetry, of labour songs and the hymns of militancy and national consciousness. And neighbouring our struggle in South Africa, there are the actualities and beauty of the poems born out of and carried into the struggles for liberation in Mozambique and Angola: the names, these abound we need mention, here, in passing, only Marcelino dos Santos (Mozambique) and Agostinho Neto (Angola). The inner resonances of this vast body of utterance

— of our freedom songs (which cry out to be collected, translated, published, recorded) and of the poetry which was expressed by the struggle against Portuguese colonialism — the deeper layers of substance, that they convey are those that inspire to continued struggle, that remind of the needs of the people who are bent by oppression and yet unbowed, that insist on humanity, humaneness and peoplehood.

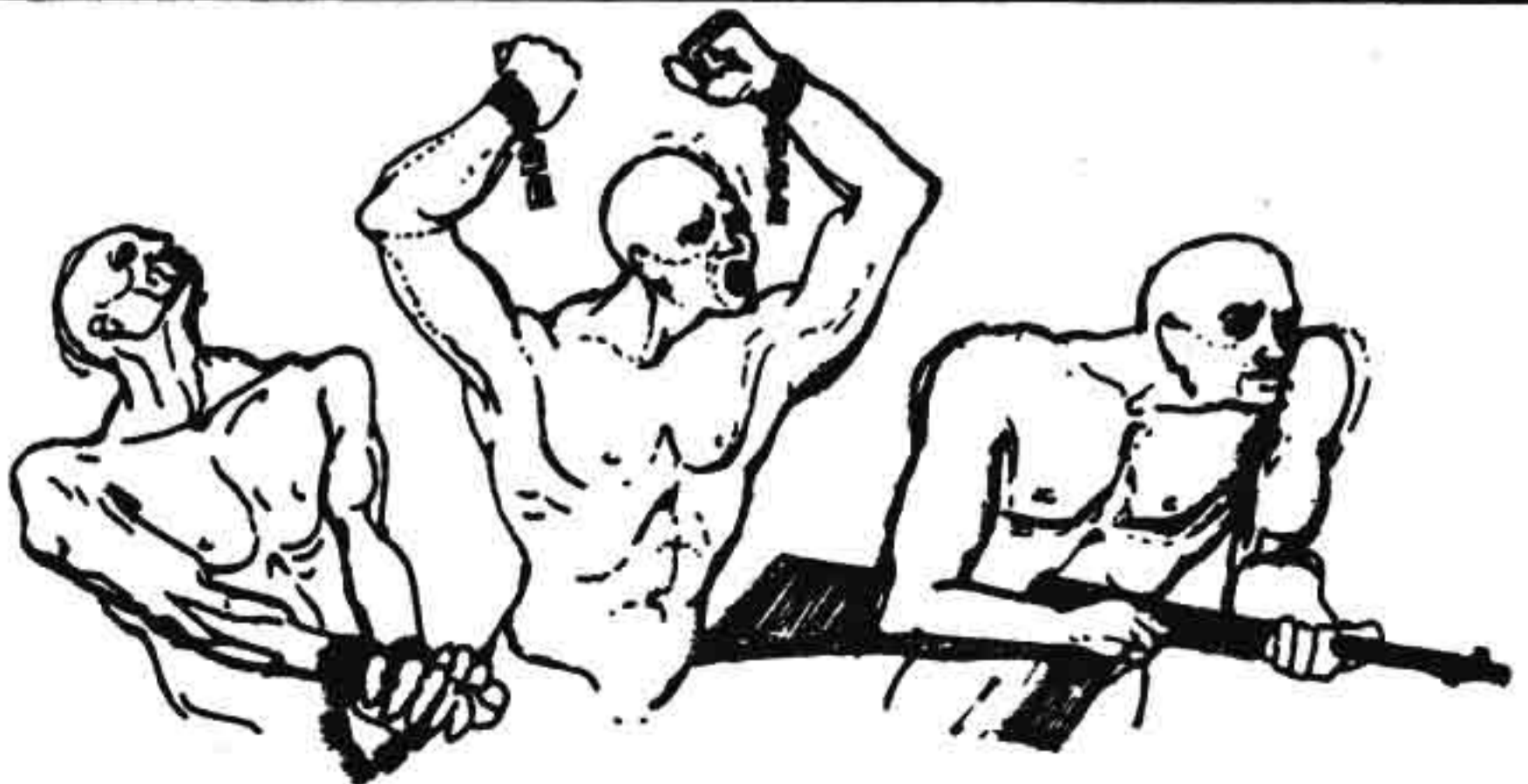
Interestingly, in the past, from the time of Sol Plaatje's *MHUDI* to the works of writers like Peter Abrahams, Enver Cassiem, Richard Rive, Ezekiel Mphahlele, and Alex la Guma; a considerable burden of expression was borne by the novel and especially by the short story in the hands of black South African writers. We shall have to return to the question of the possible situational "why's" of poetry during the last few years; meantime, another basic consideration has insinuated itself into our survey.

We have spoken of literary genres "in the hands of black South African writers." We have isolated, for specific mention, the works of black poets. What right have we, writing in the organ of a movement that is dedicated to the eradication of apartheid, the colour-bar, the colour-caste system and racism, what call have we to discriminate between South Africans? And, at the same time, what attention do we pay in this series to material that is produced in (and out of) South Africa which is not

available in English? Is not the use of English itself — by our writers and by our literary commentators/critics — an instance of our being victims of an insidious kind of cultural imperialism?

On the other hand — should the movement encourage its cultural cadres to express themselves in song, dance, music and writing in indigenous, regional idioms, as is the professed aim, for instance, of the Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o who insists that in future he will write primarily in the Kikuyu language? How, in the words of a Mozambican liberatory and revivifying slogan shall we "die a 'tribe' to live a nation" and at the same time ensure the continuing contribution to the South African cultural pool of the tremendous and awesomely rich variety of styles, modes and languages that constitute our South Africa? To what extent is the apartheid regime's Bantu-*stan* policy a pre-empting of our own resources (and to what extent was that policy a neat calculation that was meant partly not only to divide and rule, but also to cut the movement from its roots; in other words, are we, in the matter of "culture" constantly to look and react to the oppressors' initiatives?).

Not quite peripheral to this consideration of the importance of "vernacular" next to "vehicular" languages in our literature, there is the matter of the place of Afrikaans which is one medium of writers like Paul Roubaix, the dramatist, and Adam Small,



the essayist and poet. And close to this matter, is that of the stance of poet, the tonality and tendency of the medium, and the aesthetics of the idiom when poetry has recourse to what has variously been called street-language, slang, "patois" and "urban pidgin" — amongst other names.

We shall leave these issues open at this point, and only remind ourselves that with regard to traditional orature, which, by all accounts, is a living tradition, some compilation has been done and published e.g. of Zulu praise poems (ed. Cope), praise poems of Tswana chiefs (ed. Schapera) and of Sotho oral material (ed. Daniel Kunene) — all published by Oxford Univ. Press. Xhosa narratives have been transcribed and analysed by a sometime student of A. C. Jordan, Harold Scheub, who has himself not only looked at the evolution of the written literature, but also "transmuted" some of these tales.

Some of the material that we have mentioned, from the Mozambican and Angolan poetry for freedom, to the oral material, no doubt served as inspiration and springboard, as influence and raw material, or as inception for a fair amount of the work we shall be looking at. So also, doubtlessly, did the written literature produced by people like the Dhlomo's, Vilakazi, Noni Jabavu, Alfred Hutchinson, Arthur Maimane et al.

What is particularly significant, however, is that this outpouring of poetry occurred from the mid-to late sixties and seems to have continued unabated. During that period a number of magazines started to give an outlet to poets who had started appearing in tiny trickles in the late forties and early fifties.

Periodicals of this kind include: FIGHTING TALK, THE NEW AFRICAN, especially CLASSIC, AFRICA SOUTH, PURPLE RENOSTER, and recently magazines eg. STAFFRIDER, published by Ravan Press. What needs to be done but cannot be attempted here, is to examine both the sponsorship and direction of distinct publications, and the actual authorial input, especially because political parties like the then Liberal Party of South Africa, and multinational companies and conglomerates like Lonrho and Anglo-



American may have (had) much to do with funding particular publications — as almost certainly the C.I.A. may have channelled funds to the prestigious (East) African magazine TRANSITION.

Some of these magazines provided a means of publication. More important is the fact that much of the poetry produced in South Africa initially was made public at meetings, at poetry readings, at mass gatherings of all kinds. Especially noteworthy here is the fact that when Oswald Mtshali's SOUNDS OF A COWHIDE DRUM was first published, in South Africa in 1971, it sold 10,000 copies during its first year of availability.

What made for this appetite for verse.

A Synoptic view of the landscape of South African life reveals a number of climactic features during the period 1950-1980. The Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter were born in the first years of that epoch. The Treason Trial followed shortly. And in the wake of that the banning, banishment incarceration and exile of many freedom fighters, especially after the Sharpeville Massacre and the



banning of, the ANC in 1960. The forces of oppression quickly became complete agencies of utter suppression, not least because the people in South Africa were becoming increasingly clament, adamant and militant for the achieving of a nation with full participation by all people. Synchronously there were the talks of the winds of change blowing over Africa and of independence being "given" to the erstwhile British and French colonies; watchwords were "Uhuru" and "Pan-Africanism". Mau-Mau had, it was finally clear, brought about some change in Kenya, and the Gold Coast had become Ghana.

It was during this phase that in South Africa itself the liberatory movement by and large had to go underground. At the same time, many South African writers who were progressive and productive, were forced to go into exile, if they escaped going to prison.

Articles, essays, the short story — certainly the novel — would be time-consuming in both production and dissemination. Internal censorship was fighting. In such circumstances, what more expressive and deceptive, what more immediate and mercurial than the direct and gnomic, the passionate and rhetorical, the voice of the poet? South African poetry — and drama — grew: on its own soil and in exile.

The political momentum that the end of the Second World War brought to Africa was, of course, a Smith's U.D.I., and,

conversely, in the "Lusophone" colonies (Mozambique, Angola, Guine-Bissau and the Atlantic Islands) struggling all out on battlefields and in the minds of the to-be-decolonized. Further afield, in the U.S.A. and the Caribbean, and also in the U.K., an apparently belated expression of the Negritude — more really a redirection of some of the energies of aspects of the work of people like Du Bois, Langston Hughes, Marcus Garvey etc., and a need to face immediate threats — surfaced as Black Power and Black Is Beautiful. Different though these movements were, and as their moods and momenta and monuments may be, they left an identifiable mark on South Africa.

One indication of that influence is the growth during the 1970s of the Black Consciousness movement in South Africa.

But the pressures of oppression and the will of the people also meant the waves of strikes and demonstrations, by youth and by workers. This culminated, in a way, with the Soweto uprising and shootings in 1976. Simultaneously, the Zimbabwean struggles were deepening, SWAPO was growing more active and from Frelimo and M.P.L.A. the call came, was picked up and re-echoed:

Liberty or death.

A LUTA CONTINUA.

And this call, these other, earlier and sometimes different sounds, all was picked up by the poet as fighter.



RACIST ATROCITIES IN MATOLA

On January 30, 1981, during the barbaric attack on ANC residences in Matola, Mozambique, racist South African troops abducted three ANC members: Selby Mavuso (26), David Thobela (26) and Thibe Ntsekeng (25). Reports in the South African press suggest that the regime is preparing to put them on trial in connection with the SASOLBURG attack of June, 1980.

The African National Congress has appealed to the international community to take urgent action **TO SECURE THEIR RELEASE AND IMMEDIATE HANDOVER TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE.**



Three ANC members murdered by racist commandos at Matola



The SACTU residence at Matola where William Khanyile was killed .



Captured South African equipment , Matola (note swastika on helmet)

'WE ARE READY TO ACCEPT THE CHALLENGE'



President Samora Machel of Mozambique with ANC President Oliver Tambo

The attack on ANC residences in Matola, Mozambique on January 30, 1981 evoked world-wide condemnation. On March 21st a special protest meeting was organised in London by the Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Information Centre, Anti-

Apartheid Movement and the ANC, UK Mission. Overleaf we print an extract from a message sent to the meeting by Comrade Joaquim Alberto Chissano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Peoples Republic of Mozambique.

“South African aggression is not new to the people of Mozambique. In 1965, less than a year after the start of our independence struggle against Portuguese colonialism, contingents of the South African armed forces invaded our then semi-liberated zones in the Province of Niassa. We successfully drove them out and continued with the struggle.. In 1971, 1972 and 1973, in conjunction with the forces of the Rhodesian regime, South Africans conducted a series of attacks against FRELIMO positions and the liberated areas of Tete Province. Once again we succeeded in beating them back. Still in the year 1972, South African planes and pilots were involved in spraying defoliants and other chemicals in Cabo Degado Province. Our fire was so intense for that programme to continue. Later, during the Zimbabwean liberation struggle, many South African soldiers and mercenaries participated in racist aggression against the People’s Republic of Mozambique. Once again they confirmed their diabolical nature at Nyanzonia, Chimoio, Mapai and elsewhere

More recently, on 30 January this year, the South African army mounted a commando raid against three houses in Matola which were the residences of ANC and SACTU refugees. They murdered 12 of the refugees. We subsequently found out that some members of our armed forces in key positions had been bribed to facilitate this action.

A few days later the South African government decided to withdraw their personnel who were stationed in Maputo with South African Railways, South African Airways and other offices.

At the same time we witnessed an unprecedented build-up of arms and personnel along the borders. At the beginning of this month, South African Railways informed us that they were not authorising any further movement of South African rolling stock into Mozambique, in what amounts to an embargo against us.

On the 17th of this month, one South African infantry company penetrated into our territory at the holiday resort of Ponta do Ouro, in the very south of the country. They fired against a defence position of our armed forces and people’s militia. They

were beaten back, leaving behind one dead white racist soldier.

In the meantime, violations of our air-space by South African aircraft has been a daily occurrence.

About ten days ago, the Government of the People’s Republic of Mozambique expelled four American CIA officials who had been working in Maputo under diplomatic cover, arrested a number of foreigners and Mozambican citizens. From the investigations and from statements made by some of those who were arrested, it is abundantly clear that the CIA has been actively working since our independence to corrupt and recruit Mozambicans in key places like the foreign service, the armed forces and the national airlines. Their interest has been to gather information about movements, habits and relationships of the Mozambican leadership, information on all defence material acquired by Mozambique from the socialist countries and its deployment, ANC militants living in Maputo, etc.

We know that one month before the South African raid against the ANC houses in Matola, the CIA sought and obtained information related to the location of those houses.

Our Government undertook this action and immediately informed the people about it. As a result, the American government has decided to suspend an important shipment of food to Mozambique.

It is interesting that the CIA claims to have acted only against Cuba and the Soviet Union. On our side, we Mozambicans will claim only to defend our country. We will not be intimidated. We will continue to support the struggle of the South African people led by the ANC against apartheid. We will support with the greatest intensity the struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO, their sole and legitimate representative, until their final victory. We will always be side by side with all workers of the world and all peace-loving people in the struggle for justice and peace.

At a mass rally held in Maputo on 14 February, President Samora Machel issued the watchword ‘Let us bury a pickaxe in the head of each invading Boer’. Since then all our people have been getting ready for total war. Pickaxes, hoes, machetes,

pitch-forks, every conceivable weapon is being made ready. But our people will not be waiting passively for wave after wave of racist assaults. If South Africa makes war against us, the Mozambican people, side by side with the 23 million oppressed people of South Africa, will make sure that the war ends in Pretoria. As President Samora said, we do not want war but we are ready to accept the challenge: "We had to shed blood in order to achieve independence, and we are ready

to shed blood in order to defend and preserve that independence.

Today as in the past,
A LUTA CONTINUA

Joaquim Alberto Chissano
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Maputo 19/3/81

OBITUARY

The passing away of comrade Maruping Seperepere came as a shock to the ANC community. Comrade Maruping Seperepere who is well known among the ranks of our struggling and oppressed people from the time of the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1943 as an active participant in our struggle for freedom, will, without doubt, be missed by all of us. It is to the tribute of comrade Seperepere that we remember him for his courageous opposition to the diabolical policy of Apartheid and particularly for his role as Volunteer-in-Chief for the Transvaal province during the heroic defiance campaign of 1952.

Comrade Maruping Seperepere has over the years established a singularly exemplary record of single-mindedness and purposeful dedication to the cause of freedom and

independence for our country. He will always be remembered and remain dear to all those who are engaged in the struggle for the total and genuine liberation of our motherland.

We of the ANC share the grief that has befallen the Seperepere family and particularly the immeasurable loss that his beloved wife and comrade, Mitta Seperepere, has sustained. To comrade Mitta we say "Bear your loss with courage in the knowledge that your husband has died a hero among our people and has left a memory that will always be cherished, respected and admired by millions of our people".

Tsela Tshweu — Tsamaya Sentle —
Maruping Seperepere.



IOJ PRIZE FOR

On the occasion of March 21, the International Day of Solidarity with the Struggle of the people of South Africa, the General Secretariat of the IOJ decided to award the Medal, The Julius Fucik honorary medal to Govan Mbeki — the South African journalist, political scientist and freedom fighter now languishing on Robben Island. Dr. Hans Treffkorn, the IOJ Secretary officially handed over the Award on March 11, at the ANC office in London.

Comrade Ruth Mompoti, Chief Representative of the ANC in the United Kingdom, who received the medal on behalf of the NEC of the ANC, expressed her heartfelt gratitude to the IOJ and described the decision for the award as a genuine act of active solidarity by the IOJ with the oppressed masses of South Africa and for the unconditional release of all political prisoners in our country. Govan Mbeki, she said, is physically not with us but politically and spiritually he is everyday with us. The question of the release of political prisoners is one of the main tasks of our liberation movement. She described the appalling conditions under which journalists work in South Africa. Despite intimidation and repression, she said that the young generation of journalists are inspired by their predecessors among whom Govan Mbeki features prominently.

Dr Treffkorn reminded us that Govan Mbeki is a laureat of the International Journalists' Prize of 1971. The South African Journalists' Circle, he said, is an honourable member of the IOJ and is fulfilling its task honourably.

In thanking the IOJ, the need to strengthen our Journalists' Circle; to give more support to our fighting journalists within the country; to publicise their cause and expose the enemy manouevres to muzzle the press were emphasised. Let us follow the example of Govan Mbeki because in a sense we are his products! fulfillin



Comrade Govan Mbeki

GOVAN MBEKI

Letter to the Editor

**'We are not playing at politics,
we are bent on liberation'**

Dear Comrade Editor,

The question of the patriotic unity of all our people under the banner of the ANC is as relevant today as it was 25 years ago. Racists and imperialists are using various methods to try to divide our people by attempting to create so-called "third forces" and hoping to cause ideological confusion within our ranks. The racists and imperialists are being actively assisted by forces hiding behind revolutionary-sounding phrases who are in reality reactionary and counter-revolutionary elements bent on imposing their confused ideas on our people and Movement. They seem to have forgotten that the revolutionary programme of our movement remains the Freedom Charter which contains the demands of our people for a future democratic people's republic of South Africa for which we are fighting.

The Freedom Charter indicates clearly that the fundamental pre-requisite for our revolutionary struggle is revolutionary unity based on equality. It calls on our people 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 the people. It reaffirms our people's determination to fight side by side until we have won our liberty.

The Freedom Charter is an invitation to those who love our country and our people to join the struggle. It is a rallying call for revolutionary nationalism and stands diametrically opposed to racist chauvinism. The Freedom Charter is not just the alternative to the racist constitution, it is the public repudiation of tribalism, negative nationalism and racial supremacy. This repudiation comes from the people of South Africa themselves.

The Freedom Charter does not stand

in isolation from the various militant actions undertaken by our people in the past. It is based on previous popular programmes of action and mass campaigns such as the Bill of Rights adopted in 1943, the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947, the Programme of Action of the Youth League adopted in 1949, the May Day rallies of 1950, the nation-wide Defiance Campaigns of the 50's and numerous other mass actions of opposition to apartheid, oppression and imperialism. In the words of Comrade President O.R. Tambo: "... Because it came from the people, it remains still a People's Charter, the one basic political statement of our goals to which all genuinely democratic and patriotic forces of South Africa adhere."

Since the founding of the ANC, the role of the Movement has moved from organising the African people to a wider perspective of uniting and mobilising all the democratic and patriotic forces to seize political, economic and military power in a democratic people's republic of South Africa. It is exactly this perspective which has brought qualitative and quantitative changes in our movement. The people's demands can therefore not be watered down or in any way tampered with. Comrade Nelson Mandela, writing in 1953 in an article entitled "The Shifting sands of Illusion", said: "... No organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands". In another article entitled "In our Lifetime" written in June 1956, Comrade Nelson Mandela says: "... The Freedom Charter is more than a mere list of demands for democratic reforms. It is a revolutionary document precisely because the changes it envisages cannot be won without breaking the economic and political set-up of present South Africa".

When one examines the demands of our people in the factories, the schools, the locations and pondokkies, the churches, the universities, the homes and rural farmlands 25 years after the Freedom Charter was adopted, then one will see that the demands have not changed. The young white resisters are rejecting the racist army and the aims it is fighting for. This is patriotic participation in essence!

Our people are calling for an end to apartheid, bantustans, pass-laws and other repugnant racist laws. In the schools and universities, the students are rejecting apartheid education, bush colleges and "tribal" universities. The workers are demanding higher wages, a share in the wealth they are creating. They are calling for houses, better working conditions, trade union rights, better health care, the right to live and work with their families where they want to. Throughout our country the call is for political rights, the right to elect popular leaders and not "tribally" imposed puppets in "tribally" orientated barren and remote areas. There can be no doubt that the Freedom Charter is still as relevant today as it was 25 years ago.

But time has not stood still and since the historic Congress of the People, the Sharpeville massacres have occurred, Umkhonto we Sizwe has been formed and is confronting the enemy, the Morogoro Conference has taken place, strikes have occurred throughout the country, hundreds of students and youth have been murdered in cold blood in Soweto and other parts and a new revolutionary fervour has gripped our country. Inside the country our movement has grown and Umkhonto we Sizwe has developed into a powerful and organised army. Although the Freedom Charter unquestionably remains our political programme and guide, conditions in our country have changed. In the words of Comrade Nzo: "... no document, however profound or correct in its content, and especially no document born of struggle and dedicated to change stands still, motionless in the onward rush of history". It is necessary therefore to see the Freedom Charter as the essence of the struggle and the changing factors which we have to

adapt to as the tactics for implementing the Charter.

The Morogoro Conference was an attempt to interpret and set out clearly the strategy and tactics of our Movement. In an article entitled "In Our Lifetime" written in June 1956, Comrade Nelson Mandela wrote: "... Whilst the Charter proclaims democratic changes of a far-reaching nature it is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state, but a programme for the unification of various class groupings amongst the people on a democratic basis".

The Freedom Charter lays the basis for ending the double exploitation of black people and once it has been realised, it also lays the basis for the beginning of a clear-cut and defined class struggle which will end with the destruction of exploitation of man by man. Whilst the Charter demands unity of all people, reaffirms and defines revolutionary democracy, it denounces racism and defines revolutionary nationalism as "we the people of South Africa". Whilst it demands total economic emancipation, it clarifies how this should be done, namely the nationalisation of the wealth, the land and monopoly industry. Our Strategy and Tactics reinforces this demand: "To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the root of racial supremacy and does not represent even the shadow of liberation".

Whilst the Freedom Charter calls for unity of all patriots and democrats, there are narrow nationalists, Trotskyists and other ultra-left elements working to undermine this unity. Comrade Nzo in a speech said: "... We remain vigilant against the danger of so-called leaders and organisations whose primary task is to subvert our revolution or to bring about changes that do not accord with the aspirations of the masses". Tribalists, the PAC and Group of 8, the Unity Movement Trotskyists, theoretical revisionism, political opportunism and the strategy of "entrism" used by modern Trotskyists based on the "infiltrate and subvert tactic" are threats to this revolutionary unity. It is therefore necessary to build the revolutionary movement into solid cadres which will withstand narrow nationalists, anti-communist propaganda, left-wing

confusion and infantile disorder.

We need only to look at the experiences of the Soviet Union with Trotsky, Neto Alves, Jonas Savimbi and Holden Roberto of Angola, the Pol Pot Clique of Kampuchea, Chikerema, Sithole and others of Zimbabwe, Andreas Shipanga and others of Namibia, the PAC and Group of 8 who were once within our ranks and numerous other examples. The politically naive ultra-left, the "tribalists" and other childish political elements try to sap the strength of the revolution, they try to exploit the successes of the revolutionary struggle of the masses and later become reduced to squabbling factions, multiplying like bacteria spreading confusion and calling themselves all sorts of "tendencies", always claiming to be more authentic than the others. In fact one is led to believe that in proportion to their small numbers they are assisted and encouraged by the enemy and imperialism to disseminate their views and to sow discord. Our fight is therefore aimed not only at racist ideology but at those who want to divide and cause ideological confusion and chaos. Lenin wrote about Trotsky as being a man of left-wing phrases and right-wing alliances and said "... Always true to himself by twists, swindles, poses as left, helps the right so long as he can". (Collected Works Vol. 35 p.288)

Chief Lutuli in his book entitled "Let my people go" says: "... Nobody in Congress may use the organisation to further any aims but those of Congress" and again "Resistance movements cannot afford the luxury of McCarthyism nor can they allow themselves to be divided up into innumerable little homogeneous groups. We are not playing at politics, we are bent on liberation".

The Freedom Charter and the Strategy and Tactics state clearly that unity of all forces is the prerequisite for a strong movement. In the words of the Strategy and Tactics: "to accomplish the glorious task of the revolution, maximum unity among all national groups and revolutionary forces must be created and maintained. All South African patriots, whatever their race must take their place in the revolution under the banner of the ANC". Those elements who reject the unity of all our

people under the banner of the ANC and who want people to rally to their revolutionary sounding ideological banners are not interested in genuine freedom, but only in subversion and counter-revolution. They stand shoulder to shoulder with the "African Nationalists", the PAC, the racist regime and imperialism against the ANC and our people. Those who adopt anti-communist and anti-ANC positions are unwittingly or consciously part of the overall strategy of imperialism to weaken the world progressive and democratic movement. If we become accomplices to reactionary anti-soviet and anti-communist propaganda, then we are abandoning our people, the people of Angola, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, Palestine and others for imperialism. The Freedom Charter is an anti-imperialist programme. It is internationalist in content and chooses the side of progressive mankind.

In the people's republic of South Africa, there will be no place for racists, splitters, revisionists and "tribalists". We are not bent on revenge but some of the confused elements will require extensive and long programmes of re-education, reorientating them to the interests of all the people of South Africa. There can be no place for selfish interests and it will be the task of the Assembly of the people to establish and safeguard our national interests.

To achieve the South Africa of the Freedom Charter, Comrade Nelson Mandela says: "Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of armed struggle, we shall crush apartheid and white minority racist rule".

We all need to take heed of the last few lines of the Freedom Charter for unity: "Let all who love their people and their country now say as we say here: These freedoms we will fight for side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty". If we can understand this rallying call and respond to it unselfishly and politically, then we are well on to the road to final victory and a democratic people's republic of South Africa.

Amandla!

G.J.

NEW LIFE

Under the evergreen trees
In the forests of Angola
We sang the song of freedom
During Cultural nights in Angola.

In the ravines of
"Our other Country"
We pitched our tents.

We pitched our tents
Under coffee plantations
Singing the song of freedom
In our other Country.

Those trees
Those ravines
Those coffee plantations
Those forests

Those tents
Blew new life
Into Solomon Mahlangu
Whose song is sung
In every house
Of our tormented motherland.
For the love of freedom
For the Motherland.

James Pitse

TRIBUTE TO MANDELA

Benson, M. Nelson Mandela, London 1980.

The rise of national liberation movements in Africa from the fifties to the independence of Zimbabwe in 1978, has stimulated a strong desire amongst those who participate in that struggle and their friends internationally to explore on a wider scale the depth of the roots of these movements, the motivating forces, the culture and history of the people of Africa. It is a known fact that any increase in the sum total of human knowledge is desirable. But the problem is that some of this knowledge is distorted, partly because of prejudice and partly because of ignorance. Any book written on the liberation movements helps either to fill the gap, correct the distortions or to reinforce them.

In South Africa today we witness a concerted campaign to muzzle the press. South African journalists and the black press are being harrassed. Zwelakhe Sisulu, Subramoney and others are banned as well as the Post and Sunday Post. One of their "crimes" was to initiate a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela, a campaign which soon took the form of an international condemnation of Apartheid and a demand for a people's government. Walter Sisulu, Zwelakhe's father, a close colleague of Nelson Mandela for close to forty years, is one of the political prisoners on Robben Island.

Perhaps Mary Benson was motivated by these reasons to write a biography of Nelson Mandela. She was faced with a complicated task. One of the difficulties she faced was the fact that it is impossible to write of Mandela in the past — and in fairness to Mary Benson she does not do this — because as the slogan painted on a wall in Soweto proclaims: Mandela is with us still. This means his ideas, his practical

political activities in the past and present embodies our aspirations; his story is an aspect of and a stage in the history of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The other difficulty is that Mandela was a practical revolutionary and theorist, whose revolutionary vigilance led him to be wary of the informers, Special Branch, prosecutors and judges — people who forced him to be careful about how he expressed himself for fear of incriminating his colleagues and the movement which were so dear to him.

Mary Benson could have solved this latter problem by interviewing the colleagues, comrades and friends of Mandela — and there are so many of them in exile who would have helped to sort out the complicated question of the relationship between "diplomacy", tactic and fact. Perhaps she did this but it does not come out clearly in the book. This is all the more surprising because — judging by her earlier works — she is so fond of interviewing people and at times those interviews are her only source of information!

The book lacks coherence partly because it is more of a chronological explanation of facts which are not woven into a systematic framework of Mandela's ideology and ANC's philosophy. She would have been more successful had she traced Nelson Mandela's political career in the context of a changing world and changing South Africa in which the Blacks were becoming more and more aware that their emancipation shall come from the African National Congress and therefore they should build and organise the ANC inside South Africa. There are some errors of fact and interpretation: the President of the ANC in the twenties is said to have been James (instead of Josiah) Gumede (p.23); she



Comrade Nelson Mandela in London

Talks of "the clergymen, lawyers and others of the black bourgeoisie" (p.20) and Nelson Mandela is referred to as a "proud aristocrat" (p.27).

This biography has all the signs of a book written in a hurry without proper digestion.

But with all its shortcomings Mary Benson has written a book whose value lies in the fact that it focusses on the release of political prisoners in South Africa as an aspect of our national liberation struggle. This struggle includes the campaign to save the lives of Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana recently sentenced to death by the Pretoria regime. The other significant aspect about the book is that it is published by "Panaf Books" which in its series of Panaf Great Lives has published books on Nkrumah, Sekou Toure, Patrice Lumumba, Eduardo Mondlane and Frantz Fanon and thus portrayed Nelson Mandela as what he is

— a giant on the African continent.

This book, appearing as it does on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the ANC in 1982, will perhaps help us to look at the broader aspects of Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela's struggle which he called his life. This will be a tribute to a great man, to his colleagues and predecessors and above all to his successors who founded a great movement, the ANC, laid the foundations for the present political ferment and militancy in the country and formed Umkhonto we Sizwe which is harrassing the enemy on all fronts.

With these comments we recommend the book to readers of Sechaba.

F.M.

Profile

WALTER SISULU

Born on May 19, 1912 at Engcobo in the Transkei, of peasant origin, Walter Sisulu's formal schooling ended at the age of fifteen in standard four. Then he became a mine-worker in Johannesburg, working a mile underground in arduous and dangerous conditions, each night sleeping on wooden boards alongside the cruelly exploited miners in the grim barracks in one of the Reef compounds. His next job was in East London as a "kitchen boy". Then back to Johannesburg to work in a bakery for a miserable 18 shillings a week.

Having picked up some information about trade unions he led the workers on strike for higher wages. The strike was defeated and he was sacked. He went through a succession of factory jobs and clashed repeatedly with white bosses and his relief became a delving back into Xhosa history and writing articles about national heroes for the African press. As he went from job to job he studied for his senior school standard.

Sisulu joined the ANC in 1940, the same year that A.B. Xuma, also from Engcobo, assumed the position of President General of the ANC. In 1944 together with O.R. Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Anton Lembede etc. founded the ANC youth league and became its first national secretary. In 1949 he was elected the first full-time Secretary-General of the ANC. When Walter first took on the complex job of Secretary-General of the ANC he brought natural gifts, a deep political seriousness from a life of struggle as a youth, an unconcern with the usual status symbols of educational and social success - for he had none and learned that other qualities were more important - and a steel nerve for crisis situations.

As the ANC grew after the great African miners' strike of 1946, Walter grew too.

His political experience in the struggle against tyrannical white minority supremacist dictatorship taught him that simple nationalist slogans were inadequate; that behind the great repressive state in South Africa was a ruling class based on complex forms of class and colour exploitation, each supplementing the other to oppress the African as a worker, peasant or human being.

Walter Sisulu began to study and write, to plan mass campaigns and to formulate strategies. He was a leader of the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and together with Nanbhai (Nana Sita) President of the Transvaal Indian Congress led the first batch of African, Coloured and Indian defiers in breaking the law of entering Boksburg Location without a permit. The defiers led by Walter and Nanbhai, sang and shouted slogans. This had an electric effect on the residents.

Word seemed to have reached the inmates of "Blue Sky" prison in Boksburg about the Defiance Campaign so that when the defiers arrived at the prison the inmates gave the Congress volunteers a rousing reception. They sang freedom songs until the early hours of the morning.

The following day a furious superintendent arrived to give the prisoners a "dressing down" for upsetting his prison. Walter fearlessly stepped forward and announced he was the leader of the resisters and before he could continue any further, the superintendent ordered Walter removed and put into solitary confinement which lasted for three weeks.

In 1953, Walter Sisulu was the guest of the World Federation of Democratic Youth to its third World Youth Festival in Bucharest, Rumania. Included in the delegation of South Africans were several who left illegally amongst whom were 31

Duma Nokwe, Alfred Hutchinson; Henry "Squire" Makgothi, Paul Joseph etc.

Walter was most impressed with what he saw in the socialist countries, the highlight of which was his visit to the Soviet Union. Being of working class origin and a member of the most oppressed nationality, the Soviet visit was an unforgettable experience. He then saw the progress of the working people. Here he was meeting people of different nationalities who were once oppressed by Tzarist rule. He was invited to speak over Radio Moscow.

In the meantime at a rally in Johannesburg to mark the 36th anniversary of the October Revolution, Ahmed Kathrada made the announcement that Walter Sisulu and his colleagues were in Moscow celebrating the November 7, anniversary. The announcement caused a sensation to the packed Trades Hall and much annoyance to the Special Branch.

On his way back Walter stopped over in London where he immediately set about meeting political leaders, both British and from other parts of Africa. He addressed a rally on South Africa in the Holborn Town Hall.

On his return to South Africa he was enthusiastically received by a series of receptions and report-back meetings called by the South African Society for Peace and Friendship with the Soviet Union. Heavily armed police raided these meetings and made arrests.

Later Walter and his colleagues recorded their impressions in a publication called "South Africans in the Soviet Union" edited by Ruth First of which thousands of copies found their way throughout the country. The police made a point of confiscating and destroying this publication as was shown when they went on an orgy, smashing the literature stall at the Congress of the People.

Walter was one of the accused in the Treason Trial in 1956. In 1960, during the State of Emergency, he was detained without trial. The next year he faced prosecution twice. Sisulu was arrested six times in 1962 and placed under 13 hour house arrest on October 26 and under 24 hour house arrest on April 3, 1963.

Pending an appeal against a six year

sentence, Walter forfeited bail of R6,000 on April 19 1963, and went underground. The next time the nation heard from Walter was when he spoke on our underground Radio Freedom on June 26, 1963 assuring the people that Umkhonto we Sizwe has decided to fight on an "eye for an eye and tooth for a tooth" basis.

On 11 July 1963, Walter Sisulu was arrested and detained under the 90 day law. At the Rivonia Trial, Sisulu was the main defence witness and was subjected to fierce attack from the prosecutor, Percy Yutar. Sisulu told him: "I wish you were an African. Then you would know..."

An observer at the Rivonia Trial characterises Sisulu's performance in the following words:

"Once Sisulu had taken the measure of the prosecution, it was as if he forgot he was in the witness box. It must have been eleven years since he had last appeared on a public platform and now again he dominated the situation".

He was charged with sabotage and other offences in the Rivonia Trial and on 14 June 1964 he was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island.

Walter Sisulu is a man of tremendous integrity, which made his communication with people of different political views very easy. He enjoyed a very high standing with our people of all nationalities and ethnic groups who not only loved him but sheltered and protected him from police persecution at great risks to themselves. The man's dignity, warmth and dedication have made him one of the most esteemed leaders. From all accounts his status remains much the same on Robben Island and in the country.

Walter Sisulu's outstanding contribution is also due to the sacrifices of his wife, Albertina Nontsikelelo Sisulu — a brave, militant comrade who throughout these difficult years, has acted like a rock of ages.

We demand Sisulu's unconditional release and that of all political prisoners in South Africa.

**SECHABA
and other
ANC Publications
are obtainable
from the following
Addresses:**

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 1791
LUSAKA
Zambia

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 2239
DAR ES SALAAM
Tanzania

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 3523
LUANDA
People's Republic of Angola

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
Federal Government Special
Guest House
Victoria Island
LAGOS
Nigeria

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
26 Avenue Albert Sarraut
DAKAR
Senegal

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 680
MOROGORO
Tanzania

African National Congress –
South Africa
5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
ALGIERS
Algeria

The Representative
African National Congress –
South Africa
5 Ahmad Hishmat Street
ZAMALEK Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
310 East 44th Street,
NEW YORK, N. Y.
NYC 10074 – USA.

African National Congress –
South Africa
Box 302
Adelaide Postal Station,
TORONTO – Ontario M5C-2J4
Canada

African National Congress –
South Africa
F- 68 – Bhagat Singh Market
NEW DELHI – 1
India

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
P. O. Box 2073
S-103 12 STOCKHOLM 2
Sweden

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
Via Capo d'Africa 47
00184 ROME
Italy

SECHABA Publications
28 Penton Str.,
LONDON N1 9 PR
England

DDR-1106 BERLIN
Angerweg 2
Wilhelmsruh



WALTER SISULU