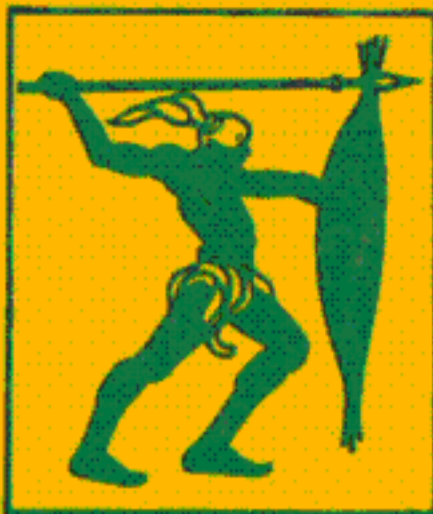


JULY 1986



# SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



**FROM UNGOVERNABILITY  
TO PEOPLE'S POWER**

# SECHABA

## JULY 1986

### CONTENTS:

#### EDITORIAL

The Masses Strike Fear in the Enemy ..... 1

#### THE IDEOLOGY OF RACISM

Speech by President O R Tambo ..... 2

#### PASSIVE RESISTANCE — AND AFTER

The Indian Congress in South Africa  
By Das Gupta ..... 9

ANC INTERNATIONAL ..... 14

#### WHAT CAN THE WORLD LEARN

#### FROM SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE?

By Wally Serote ..... 15

#### CENTRE PAGE

Women Fighters — Inside and Outside Apartheid Jails ..... 16

#### ARTISTS HAVE A MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

Jonas Gwangwa Speaks to Francis Meli ..... 20

ANC STATEMENTS ..... 28

LETTER TO THE EDITOR ..... 30

*The front cover shows part of the funeral of seven people ambushed and shot in Gugulethu, March 1986.*

*The picture on page 2 is by courtesy of the Third World Foundation.*

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## **THE MASSES STRIKE FEAR IN THE ENEMY**

The South African racists are in a panic. They have pulled down the steel shutter on the laager into which they have retreated. They have declared a nationwide state of emergency, four days before the tenth anniversary of the Soweto uprising — June 16th.

This has been done in deliberate defiance of the international community and the demand for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions. This ban on extra-parliamentary opposition has meant that hundreds of activists have been detained, and others went into hiding. Soweto has been sealed off to all "non-residents," including the media. These sweeping powers given to the security forces are so wide-ranging that they ban the taking of photographs, the dissemination of news overseas, and prohibit any writing or recording, as well as uttering "within the hearing of any other person," any "subversive statement."

This state of emergency has been imposed at a time when more than 1 600 people have lost their lives since 1984; after the racists attacked Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia on May 19th and caused untold damage to the economy of Angola.

Far from solving its problems, the regime is compounding the situation for itself. The ANC is the only organisation that can solve the crisis which the regime has plunged the country into.

We have said this over and over again. But now let us hear from others. The Eminent Persons' Group reports that they draw the conclusion that, while the racist regime claims to be ready to negotiate, it is in

truth not yet prepared to negotiate fundamental change, nor to countenance the creation of genuine democratic structures, nor to face the prospect of the end of White domination and White power in the foreseeable future. Its programme of reform does not end apartheid but seeks to give it a less inhuman face. Its quest is power-sharing, but without surrendering overall White control.

This Eminent Persons' Group goes further to say:

"There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the ANC; the breadth of its support is incontestable; and this support is growing."

They have other things to say about the people:

"Put in the most simple way, the Blacks have had enough of apartheid. They are no longer prepared to submit to its oppression, discrimination and exploitation. They can no longer stomach being treated as aliens in their own country. They have confidence not merely in the justice of their cause, but in the inevitability of their victory. Unlike the earlier periods of unrest and government attempts to stamp out protest, there has been during the past 18 months no outflow of Black refugees from South Africa. The strength of Black convictions is now matched by a readiness to die for those convictions. They will, therefore, sustain their struggle, whatever the cost."

# THE IDEOLOGY OF RACISM

## Speech by President Tambo

On May 5th President Tambo received the fifth annual Third World Prize on behalf of Nelson and Winnie Mandela in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia. Nelson and Winnie Mandela were awarded the prize in "recognition of their outstanding contribution to Third World progress." Jointly sponsored by the Third World Foundation and the Malaysian Institute for Social and Economic Studies (London) and the Malaysian Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS), the prize-giving ceremony became an act of solidarity with our struggling people. The Malaysian Prime Minister, Dato Seri Dr Mahathir Mohamad, said, "If we must meet terror with force, this is the time to meet terror with force," and he called on those whose economic clout has the the necessary force to "apply economic sanctions."

We reproduce excerpts from President O R Tambo's speech on the occasion.

We are meeting here today to honour two South Africans, Nelson and Winnie Mandela, who symbolise those prisoners, the first with the narrower and the second, the wider meaning of that term. We meet not to express sympathy either with them or with the millions of people of whom they are part, but rather, to salute and pay tribute to them for their steadfastness in the struggle to give birth to a world in which those of us who are blessed with the skin colour you see on our hands and faces will no longer be victims of oppression, exploitation and degradation.

The cause for which our people are paying the supreme sacrifice daily and for which Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and others have been sentenced to life imprisonment, has a significance which extends far beyond the borders of our country.

### **Pernicious Ideology of Racism**

For, what they are fighting against is the pernicious ideology of racism, the accumulated refuse of centuries of an anti-human prejudice



*President Tambo receiving the prize from the Prime Minister of Malaysia*

which seeks to define people as inferior, as not fully human, by virtue of their race. They are engaged in struggle to end the practice which gave birth to these ideas, the practice of racial discrimination, racial oppression, domination and exploitation.

Racism, one of the great evils of our time, bedevils human relations, between individuals, within and between nations and across continents. It brutalises entire peoples, destroys persons, warps the process of thought and injects into human society a foul air of tension, mutual antagonism and hatred. It demeans and dehumanises both victim and practitioner, locking them into the vile relationship of master race and *untermenschen*, superior and underling, each with his position defined by race.

As Black South Africans, we have lived within the entrails of the racist beast for many a long year. We have seen constructed a system of social organisation based on the premise and the practice that those who are White are inherently superior and those who are Black must, in their

own interests, be the objects of policies decided exclusively and solely by the White people.

Quite clearly, this edifice required some pseudo-theoretical precepts to underpin it and give it the appearance of rationality. The theoreticians of racism in our country drew on the gross perversions of science which assumed their clearest forms during the second half of the last century in Europe and the United States. In these centres of imperialist power, there grew up theories that biology and social anthropology provided the basis to justify the notion that all Black people carried with them both an innate and a cultural inferiority to the White, giving the latter the right and the duty of guardianship over the former.

### **Theoreticians of 'Racial Purity'**

Implicit in this thesis is the idea that these higher human beings have a similar right and duty to maintain the purity of the human species up to the point and including the commission of the crime of genocide.

One of the earlier of these racist theoreticians in our country, this century, was none other than General Jan Smuts, who opposed Nazism only because it threatened British imperial power. Speaking amidst the splendour of the London Savoy Hotel in 1917, Smuts had this to say:

"It has now become an accepted axiom in our dealings with the Natives that it is dishonourable to mix White and Black blood ... We have felt more and more that if we are to solve our Native question, it is useless to try to govern Black and White in the same institutions of government and legislation. They are different not only in colour but in minds and in political capacity ..."<sup>1</sup>

More than 40 years later, when these insulting racist ideas had been translated into the apartheid system, here is what two other theoreticians of this system wrote:

"The three foundation stones of apartheid are Western culture, Christian morality and a specific racial identity. In the case of the Afrikaner, there is a powerful connecting link between these three elements. His own particular bio-genetic character is, for example, associated with a particular socio-cultural way of life and to give up either, through amalgamation with a more primitive culture or race must necessarily result in the destruction of the other."<sup>2</sup>

Of course the inanities that were being conveyed as bio-genetic and socio-cultural theory, during the second halves of both the 19th and the 20th centuries, were nothing but an attempt to justify a colonial relationship of the domination and exploitation of the Black peoples by the Whites. They had absolutely nothing to do with scientific truth.

Once implanted, and despite their exposure as fraudulent and bankrupt, these ideas seemed to take on an independent existence, nurtured by the continued practice of White supremacy in many parts of the globe. Originating from practice, they served to encourage the entrenchment, perpetuation and extension of this practice. To emphasise the point that they reflected an immutable natural order of things, the fertile human mind goes further to enrobe these racist ideas and practices with the cloak of religion.

### **Crime in the Name of Religion**

It is indeed in this way that it becomes possible for racism to give those who believe themselves to be superior, the power to challenge the very God they dragoon to serve their interests and whom they claim to worship. Thus, whereas the Christian scriptures, for instance, see all human beings as having been created in God's image, all racists will, for reasons that are perfectly obvious to them, retort that this cannot be so. And so it is that the foulest of crimes, against life itself, are perpetrated in the name of religion, as is the case in our own country. The idea of a civilising mission, so dear to the earlier missionaries, derived exactly from this view that the European was a higher being deposited on this planet to play God over 'the Natives.'

From what we have said so far, it is self-evident that the practical relationship that characterised the interaction between Europe and the colonised world, today's Third World, could not be but a hothouse of ideas for justifying this relationship. In its essence, racism is therefore about domination and works both to justify existing domination and to prescribe domination as the *sine qua non* for the solution of all future problems.

Among the objectives pursued by our illustrious host here today, the Third World Foundation, are "to assist in the evolution of a fundamentally just and equitable relationship between the Third World and the developed

countries" as well as "to create greater awareness of the problems of poverty, hunger and ignorance in the Third World."

### **Colonial Relations Persist**

That it is necessary to address these issues, as indeed it is, attests to the fact that the imbalance of strength, the inequality of power and the incompatibility of objectives that marked the relations between the imperialist powers and the colonised peoples remain to this day. It is not necessary for us to elaborate further on this to those who are gathered here and have to contend with its disastrous consequences daily.

The point we must, however, emphasise is that it is exactly in these conditions that racism thrives, as it did during the colonial period. Hence we still find current, notions that at the base of the 'North-South' dichotomy, lies the difference between White peoples in the North who are inventive, industrious and disciplined and the Blacks in the South who are innately indolent, imitative and happy-go-lucky.

Western Europe has large numbers of so-called *gastarbeiter* who are mainly non-European

workers from the South. The jobs they do, the squalor in which many of them live, the ghettos in which they are concentrated, once more emphasise the distinction between Black and White as well as the lowly position of the former and the superiority and domination of the latter.

Similarly, in the United States, one has only to see the statistics of unemployment, drug addiction, homelessness, single-parent families and so on, to realise the extent to which the Black population is marginalised and serves as a living example for the most backward elements to 'prove' the assertion that to be Black is to belong to a category of the human species that is less than human and which must be used as befits its status.

All of us present here know that the causes that account for the relationship between Black and White, the North and the South, that we have been talking about, are neither bio-genetic nor socio-cultural. Rather, they are socio-economic and are therefore capable of being changed or removed.

Those who are interested in an end to racism must necessarily be concerned that these



*Colonial rulers give place to people's leaders: the base of the King George statue on the Grand Parade, Cape Town*

organisations should succeed. Inasmuch as the huge nuclear arms expenditures are incompatible with development, so is the growing relative and absolute underdevelopment of millions upon millions of Black people incompatible with the objective of ridding the world of racial arrogance, discrimination and tyranny.

### **Need for a New Economic Order**

The urgent need for a New International Economic Order has been dramatically illustrated by the famine in Africa, the international debt crisis and the collapse of the price of oil and other raw materials. The hard and continuing struggle for the New Order is fundamentally about the redistribution of the world means of production, to bring about the economic independence of the Third World and enable its peoples to banish hunger, disease and ignorance for ever, to assert their dignity as human beings and bring fulfilment to their lives. The accomplishment of this objective would itself redress the political imbalance which threatens the independence of many nations, thanks to the extension of the infamous Monroe Doctrine by the present US Administration to cover the entire Third World.

We, the peoples who were objects of imperialist expansionism, for ever the infantile dwarfs who required the benign or brutal patronage of the White superperson, in earlier times had to be liberated from the state of noble savagery. Whether this resulted in our transportation across the seas as slaves or in enslavement in our own countries, as subject peoples, was but the unfolding of the manifest destiny.

Today, still the infantile dwarfs as of yore, unable to think for ourselves, inanimate fruit ready for the picking by whosoever has sufficient strength to rule the garden patch, we are being taken under the protective wing of the United States, to save us from falling victim to an alleged communist expansionism.

Angola and Mozambique, Nicaragua and Libya, Grenada, El Salvador and Namibia are the victims of this eminently racist policy which asserts the supremacy of the interests of the United States over those of the peoples of the Third World, which presumes, as General Smuts put it, that we have neither the minds nor the political capacity to exercise the right to self-determination.

It is clear that the fate that has befallen these

countries will be visited on even more of us. Over the last few years, we have seen a discernible swing to the right in all the major Western countries, with the dominant social groups infusing public consciousness with the notion that might is right. And, in good measure, we have seen the exercise of White might against the Black people, be it in the street brawls in British or French towns or the invasion of countries.

### **Apartheid — Concentrated Racism**

Apartheid in South Africa exists as the concentrated expression of the worldwide cancer of racism that we have been talking about. In our country, the ideas and practices of racism reign supreme, as they did in Nazi Germany — the essence and the purpose of state policy, the instrument to effect and guarantee the domination and exploitation of the Black majority by the White minority.

Because of its high pedigree in reactionary political thought and praxis throughout the world, the apartheid system serves also as the nursery for the cultivation and propagation of the same man-hating policies which the United Nations Organisation was formed to stamp out. It is because there is today widespread recognition of this reality that there exists that important instrument of international law — the Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Apartheid Crime Against Humanity.

We assert it as an incontrovertible truth that mankind is under an obligation to suppress and punish this crime against humanity. On the basis of the experience of our own people of the horrendous practice of racism, we can categorically state it here that this crime cannot be suppressed by means of words or by persuading its perpetrators to desist from the commission of a crime.

Racism, the theory and practice of the domination of one race by another, and specifically its apartheid expression, cannot be reformed. Like Nazism, its antecedent and sister crime against humanity, it must be overthrown and uprooted forcibly, in its totality. Those who argue to the contrary and even claim that Pretoria has embarked on reform, are either grossly misled or are bent on protecting the regime or racial tyranny by seeking to refurbish its image to make it more acceptable.



In any case, a cancer cannot be its own cure. The fanatical racists, who have spent more than half a century drawing up the blueprints of the apartheid system and transforming those theoretical constructions into the South African society we know today, cannot, at the same time, be the agents for the abolition of the system.

### **Bloodshed and Genocide**

All they know and will ever know, is the need to maintain the system of White supremacy, and to maintain it by the use of all the violence that they can muster. Today our people are dying in large numbers, murdered on the orders of Pretoria's army and police generals. The blood-letting continues without reserve because, after all, those that are being killed are, in the eyes of the generals, lesser beings who can be disposed of without compunction, because they are less than human. Some Western governments are pleased to describe this as the maintenance of law and order!

The same mentality and objective of the defence of White minority domination, has instructed and continue to inform the attitude and policy of the Pretoria regime towards the frontline and other independent countries of

Southern Africa. Its regular forces as well as its armed puppet formations have wrought untold damage especially on the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, with an enormous loss in human lives. Racism cannot accept any relationship between Black and White except that between servant and master. Southern Africa will know no peace until the apartheid regime in South Africa is defeated and the system it upholds is destroyed.

When that day dawns, only then will the full horror of the genocide being carried out in the Bantustans become visible for all to see. Whereas the Nazis resorted to the gas chamber to annihilate peoples they considered superfluous and no better than vermin, the Pretoria regime has used the method of death by starvation to carry out its mission to purify the human race. The destruction of a system that has as one of its cornerstones such deliberate mass murder, is surely long overdue.

Yet the reality of the perpetuation of racism in South Africa is that the apartheid regime is supported by the same forces which, during the last century, deemed that the perspectives held out by the French and American Revolutions were not for the colonised. The dominant forces in the



major Western countries do this not despite the system of apartheid, but because of it.

They support racism because it expresses the imperative of the system they represent, namely, to dominate, and serves their purposes as an instrument for the extreme exploitation of those who are dominated. For these reasons, they spurn our appeals for comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa, which we repeat today and urge upon the world community as the most effective means to bring about change in our country with the minimum of violence and destruction.

### **Imperialism Seeks to Dominate**

It was not a slip of the tongue but a frank admission of the truth when Ronald Reagan characterised the apartheid regime as an ally of long standing. His policy of constructive engagement with apartheid represents an engagement with racism that arises from the nature of imperialism — an engagement which, in the context of his goal to dominate the Third World, is constructive because it helps to strengthen the allied apartheid regime.

True to character, the Reagan Administration and others in the West make certain, whenever they address the question of negotiations to resolve the conflict in our country, that they put

the supposed interests and aspirations of the White minority first. They turn their own national experience of political change on their heads in order to serve the cause of racism in South Africa.

For example, it is argued forcefully that it is inappropriate and unreasonable for us to demand that all South Africans, both Black and White, should have an equal right to elect the government of their choice — in other words, to have a system of one person one vote in a unitary state. Similarly, it is argued that it is we, the victims of the violence inherent in the apartheid system, we who have to bury our murdered children every day, who must lay down arms and cease our armed struggle to make negotiations possible. Countries which are proud of the armed revolutions which brought their peoples democracy are, because of their support for the racists, equally fervent in their denunciation of our armed combatants as terrorists.

Likewise, we must renounce all claims to the national wealth of our country, which we have created with our labour, because, by some queer logic, to say that the wealth of the country must be shared by all the people is, in the South African context, to threaten the human rights of the White minority.



*March to Pollsmoor to demand the release of Nelson Mandela, 28.8.1985*

From Washington, London, Bonn and Paris issues the call that it will be absolutely vital to safeguard the rights of the White minority. And yet from all these, which pride themselves as the centres of democracy, there is never a word about the rights of the majority — the non-racial majority! Instead, these centres of democracy are engaged in a desperate bid to find flunkeys and collaborators from among the Black people who will be imposed on us as our true representatives and paid for their services, in order to preserve White privilege.

### **We Shall Abolish Racism**

But certainly, no amount of political manoeuvring or killing of our people will blunt or stop the offensive of our masses, under the leadership of the African National Congress, to destroy racism in our country. Already the realisation is abroad among our people that victory is in sight.

It is a victory that we will use to build a truly democratic South Africa, one in which we shall abolish racism once and for all, and end the unjust and unequal relations of domination and exploitation that exist between Black and White in our country today and which are expressed in the concept and the practice of apartheid.

By that means, we shall also make our contribution to the struggle for a just and equitable international political, economic and social order and add as much as we can to the construction of a new world, free from hunger and poverty and free from the threat of termination of life itself through the use of nuclear weapons in a Third World War.

We count ourselves fortunate that we have among our people such outstanding humanists as Nelson and Winnie Mandela, as well as others such as Albertina Sisulu, Greta Ncapai, Dorothy Nyembe, Thandi Modise, Frances Baard, Vesta Smith, Amanda Kwadi, Barbara Hogan and Marion Sparg, people who hate racism and love all humanity enough to be prepared to die in the defence of liberty of all persons, regardless of their colour or race.

We are proud that we come of a people that, like all others, is not prepared to tolerate evil and acquiesce in the perpetuation of tyranny. In their names, we are happy to receive this eminent prize. We thank the Third World Foundation and all who are associated with it for having so honoured us. This prize will serve as a further



*Zinzi Mandela*

spur for us and, we are certain, for the rest of humanity, to redouble our efforts to free all the political prisoners in our country and to liberate the millions of our people who are held hostage by a racist clique.

1. Quoted in: Wilkins and Strydom: *The Broederbond*, Paddington Press Ltd, London 1979.

2. Quoted in: Pierre van den Berghe: *South Africa — A Study in Conflict*, University of California Press, Berkeley 1967 — quoting N J Rhodie and H J Venter.

# PASSIVE RESISTANCE — AND AFTER

## ■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■ The Indian Congress in South Africa ■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■■

*By Das Gupta*

In the calendar of events in the freedom struggle, June is certainly the most crowded and significant month. Ten days after the Soweto anniversary of June 16th is June 26th, recognised the world over as South African Freedom Day, which originated in a series of struggles culminating in the Congress of the People in 1955.

However, before June 16th is another anniversary that should not escape our attention. 40 years ago, on Friday 13th June, 20 000 Indians in Durban and several thousand in Johannesburg observed *hartal* — a stoppage from work, school and business — and marched to plots of land prohibited to Indians, which they then occupied. They marched in protest against fresh anti-Indian legislation, the Asiatic Land Tenure and Representation Act, the main purpose of which was to curtail the already limited rights of Indians to occupy, own and use land. The South African Indian Congress aptly dubbed this act the Ghetto Act.

### **Suffocating Restrictions**

After the African people, the Indians were the next most restricted. They were trapped within their provinces, and then further restricted to living and trading only in certain parts of the province. In the Transvaal, they were confined to "streets, wards and bazaars," as far back as 1883, and there were 60 "Asiatic Bazaars" in the Transvaal, where Indians lived. They were totally prohibited from living in the Orange Free State, and only allowed in transit, and even then only by permit. In the Cape only small numbers were allowed, and those by educational qualification. Indians were certainly not allowed in the Transkei.

In Natal, where the bulk of Indians lived, their lives were suffocating. In Northern Natal, their

movements were restricted, because at one time Northern Natal was part of the old Transvaal Republic. They were barred from Zululand. Some coastal towns were lily-white — Indians could only work there as waiters, and were confined to their quarters when off duty.

In Natal, Indians were controlled by the Pegging Act of 1943.

Now, with the Land Tenure Act, control was going to be country-wide and uniform. As a sop, the Smuts Government offered Indians separate communal representation, in the form of the right to elect three White MPs to the racist parliament.

### **Defiance of the Law**

The action of June 13th and the campaign that followed was a total rejection of second-class citizenship, a deliberate defiance of racist laws. It was led by the South African Indian Congress, under the leadership of Dr Yusuf Dadoo and Dr 'Monty' Naicker.

The *hartal* and the march were curtain raisers to the launching of the passive resistance campaign in Natal and the Transvaal, an action that lasted two years. As one group occupying a prohibited plot of land was arrested, another group would take its place. Some groups from Natal broke the law by crossing into the Transvaal without permits; if they were not arrested at the border, they made their way to 'Red Square' in Fordsburg. In the same way, volunteers from the Transvaal joined those in Durban, who were occupying sites in Gale Street and Umbilo. The volunteers included 200 women and many young people.

What the Indian people did was consistent with their long traditions of resistance against racial discrimination, from the days when M K Gandhi was in South Africa — Gandhi, who later was to lead India to freedom from the British Empire.

## **Africa and Asia: Struggles for Freedom**

The Passive Resistance of 1946 had a number of significant historical features, several of which were to influence the course of political events in South Africa.

The campaign was launched within ten months of peace being settled in Europe and Asia. 50 million lives had been lost, and Europe and Asia were in ruins. Emerging out of the ruins of Asia were new nations, after a desperate bid for independence. Two such giants were China and India.

In South Africa, Black people also believed that what was in store for them was relief from racial persecution and oppression. They were to be disappointed. White South Africa was not going to alter its system of racial domination.

The South African Indian Congress made a demand for equality. During the two years the Passive Resistance Campaign lasted, it made the racial disadvantages of all the Black people of South Africa and Namibia internationally known. This caused much discomfort to General Smuts, to Britain and the other western European powers. For Smuts it was a sort of humiliation, as he had had a hand in drafting the Charter of Human Rights.

Ever since 1946, the plight of the Black people has been the subject of discussions and resolutions at the United Nations; initially led by the newly independent India and strongly supported by the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies of Eastern Europe. It was India which first called for sanctions and the diplomatic isolation of South Africa, and the first to resolutely carry this policy out. Its steadfastness was again reiterated by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, on a visit to Zimbabwe in May of this year.

The South African Indian Congress was mindful that freedom would not come to the Indian people so long as the African people were oppressed. Their future was an integral part of the future of the African people. This did not prevent Indians from making their own protests; but it meant that they were simultaneously working for unity with the African people.

### **Pioneers and Heroes**

In the late 1930s, such pioneers as Dadoo, Naicker, Dawood Seedat and H A Naidoo had already charted the course of unity in the struggle. Both Dadoo and Seedat were prominent in the anti-pass campaigns.



*Dr G M (Monty) Naicker addresses a meeting of passive resisters in 1946*

The launching of Passive Resistance posed tremendous challenges to the South African Indian Congress. It needed volunteers; the volunteers' dependents would need welfare assistance; it needed a newspaper to express its views; it needed international support; it needed people, particularly young ones, willing to do the backroom work for propaganda productions, bill posting, organising of platforms and transporting. Most of all, it needed funds. The sheer logistics of such a campaign was frightening.

In time, it turned out some of the most talented and dedicated people. So it is fitting on this occasion to salute the calibre of people like H A Naidoo, Ashwin Choudree, Toti Khan, I C and R A Meer, M D Naidoo, Roy Naran Naidoo, George Poonen, J N Singh, Zaynab Asvat, Surayakala Patel, Goonam Naidoo, Vella Pillay (still in his teens and a promising and skilled youth organiser), Ahmed (Kathy) Kathrada, now a national leader, in his 23rd year of imprisonment.

### **Winning International Support**

The Indian Congress sent teams of people to lobby abroad. Dadoo and Naicker went to visit India; Nana Sita and Debi Singh to East Africa; Sorabjee Rustomjee, H A Naidoo and Ashwin Choudree to Paris and New York.

In New York they were to meet the Reverend Michael Scott, himself a passive resister in the campaign, and there to plead the case on behalf of the Namibian people against the illegal occupation of their country by South Africa; Dr A B Xuma, the President-General of the ANC, and Hymie Basner (a senator representing the 'natives' in the racist parliament), all in a joint attempt to win international support. Together, they were a powerful force against General Smuts — some of them were to lay eyes on 'their' Prime Minister for the first time, 6 000 miles away from home.

Our leaders were assisted in every possible way by Paul Robeson, chairman of the American Council of African Affairs, who, with limited funds, did much to enlighten American public opinion on South African racism.

A newspaper, *The Passive Resister* was launched, and ably edited by Ismail Meer.

There was the founding of the Transvaal Indian Youth Volunteer Group, under the chair-

manship of Kathy Kathrada. In 1955 it was to become the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress, one of the most militant youth movements. In Natal, a similar youth wing was formed, led by Dawood Seedat.

These young people seem to have been made of a special mettle. Such assets were Zainab Asvat and Abdul Patel, medical students; Violet Solly, a factory worker, thrice imprisoned, and her brother Harold, who, together with Jackie Govender were given lashes because they were under age; Kesval (Kay) Moonsamy; Ismail Bhanja, Suleiman Esakjee and Amin Kajee.

On another level, there were Maulvi and Yusuf Cachalia, M Thandray, M P Naicker, S V Reddy, Cassim Amra, Maulvi Saloojee and Goolam Pahad. These were people of powerful standing in the community.

Helping in the campaign and in solidarity work were the Communist Party; members of the ANC like J B Marks and Dr A B Xuma and Dan Tloome; George Carr and James Phillips from the Coloured people, and Cissy Gool from the Cape Muslims.

Newspapers like *The Guardian*, *Inkululeko* and *The Searchlight* gave wide coverage. Another journal that distinguished itself was *The Democrat*, edited by the eminent psychologist, Dr Wulf Sachs.

### **Achievements of the Campaign**

What the campaign achieved was to break the rusty mould the Indians had got themselves into after Gandhi's departure from South Africa in 1914. It led to the isolation of a narrow and conservative element in the Indian community, an element that had been opposed to militant action. The campaign alerted the Indian people to the tricks that were being played on them, and delivered a resounding defeat to the government plans for separate representation — it could not even find three White candidates to stand as 'Indian MPs.' This was a case when the boycott was effectively used as a weapon of struggle.

The leaders of the Indian and African Congresses were brought closer to unity, and, a year later, there was the famous Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact.

The campaign also led to the hardening of White attitudes, and gave rise to strong anti-Indian agitation, nourishing the Nationalist Party of Dr Malan, which was waiting in the corridors of parliament.

After nearly two years, when the campaign was petering out, it was suspended. Its suspension must be seen in the light of several facts:

- Enthusiasm was declining.
- There had, perhaps, been an over-emphasis on the role of the United Nations, overlooking the fact that its composition was still very much dominated by the imperialists.
- The post-war recession had a grinding effect on the people.
- The Indian working class had become disenchanted with the business community.
- The United Party had been defeated by the Nationalist Party.
- The ANC had not quite emerged as a united, powerful body.
- The late 1940s was a time of anti-communist hysteria.
- The Communist Party of South Africa was fighting for survival.

The Nationalist Party made great play of the United Party's 'liberal' offer of Communal Representation to the Indians. It successfully raised the scares of the 'Black Bogey' and the 'Red Menace.' Such slogans as '*Die Hotnot op sy bek, die Kaffer in sy plek en die Koelie uit die land,*' ('Boot the Coloured in the mouth, keep the African in his place and the Indian out of the country') found fertile ground with many Afrikaner Whites, many of whom were beginning to feel the effects of job losses. As for the Jews, they were referred to as either 'the capitalists' or 'the communists.'

Shortages gave rise to black marketeering. Some Indian traders and property owners took advantage, ruthlessly exploiting the poor of all national groups, and the African people were the most affected. This, and the racism of some Indians, was a contributing factor triggering off the African/Indian pogrom in Durban in 1949.

African and Indian leaders went to the riot-torn areas to restore order and calm and to explain to the people who the real enemies were. (Gangs of Whites moved among the Africans, egging them on. More Africans died from gunshot wounds from the police than from Indians.) It was certainly a setback for African-Indian unity.

These events took place within a year of the election to power of the Nationalist Party, which set about implementing its apartheid policy in a blitzkrieg-style attack on the limited rights of the

people. The pass laws were tightened; mixed marriages and so-called 'immorality' laws were passed, forbidding sexual relations between Black and White; the Communist Party was outlawed; and, in 1950, the Indian Representation Act was repealed.

This was followed by the passing of the Group Areas Act, with devastating results for the Black people.

### **May Day 1950**

By 1950, a new era of political unity was achieved. May Day 1950 was a breakthrough for the joint efforts of the Communist Party (just before it was outlawed) the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Transvaal ANC and the Orange Free State ANC.

May Day 1950 was marked by the death of 18 people, killed as a reprisal for the successful one-day stoppage in the Transvaal. This led the ANC, as a national body, to call for a day of mourning on June 26th. After a thorough analysis, the ANC Youth League, led by Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and O R Tambo, gave its full backing. That decision can be considered the turning point for the liberation movement. From then onwards, the unity of the African and Indian Congresses was accelerated, through all the major struggles, right up to 1961 and beyond. From then on, the Indian people were always up front; perhaps not always in sufficient numbers, but nevertheless they were there.

Police repression did not discourage people like Nana Sita and Mohamed Bhana from conducting their own non-violent struggles, nor the hundreds of Indian women who joined the march of 20 000 women to Pretoria in 1956.

When the ANC took its momentous decision to launch MK, some of its first recruits came from among the Indian people. There were such names, now highly honoured, as Billy Nair, Isu Chibba, Reggie Vandeyar, Indres Naidoo, George Naicker, Shirish Nanabhai. These were all to undergo torture and long terms of imprisonment. They have come out from these experiences even more defiant. Kathy Kathrada is still the symbol of that determination.

### **New Tasks and Problems**

From the mid-60s up to about the late 1970s, there was a lull in Indian political activity, largely caused by bannings, imprisonment and exile. This left the field wide open for the regime to

hoist the Indian National Council (later called the South African Indian Council) and the Local Government Extension Act of 1963, drawing in a collaborationist element. These government stooges carried on without public concensus, and later the regime felt confident that the South African Indian Council could go public by allowing for elections in the hope of gaining the acceptance of the Indian people.

The elections to the South African Indian Council gave some of the old Natal and Transvaal Indian Congress members an opportunity to revive their organisations, and this led to the formation of anti-SAIC committees, which delivered a resounding rebuff to the plans of the regime from the majority of the Indian people. However, in spite of the low poll throughout the country, the regime persisted, and in 1983 revealed its plans for the creation of the tricameral parliament; a dispensation being peddled as a genuine attempt to reform the political process of the country. The regime sought backing from the Whites through a referendum and got favourable support.

What it did not calculate on was the degree of opposition to the tricameral parliament, from Africans, Coloureds and Indians. The anti-SAIC Committees and the Release Mandela Committee laid the basis for united action, and thus was born the mighty United Democratic Front.

### **Unity is Necessary**

While we commend the Indian people for their record of militancy, it is necessary to debate why the Indian people are now not complementing the struggle to the degree of the Africans, who are making the supreme sacrifice. It is the task of the liberation movement to examine this problem in a positive and constructive manner, as ignoring it or skirting it will not help — only compound the problem and create new ones.

One does not know precisely what factors are present here, but we can suggest some likely ones, in the hope that it will lead us to greater understanding.

One factor is the basic system of apartheid in its stratification of the people into White, Indian, Coloured and African, with a disparity in jobs, wages, education, housing, business and so on — this has been a divide-and-rule technique of the regime.

Apart from this stratification and the ploy of the tricameral parliament, the regime has made other attempts to woo the Indians. There is an Indian cadet force, and recent recruits include women. Indians with rifles — a thing unknown in the past — have been shown on television screens, standing side by side with White policemen.

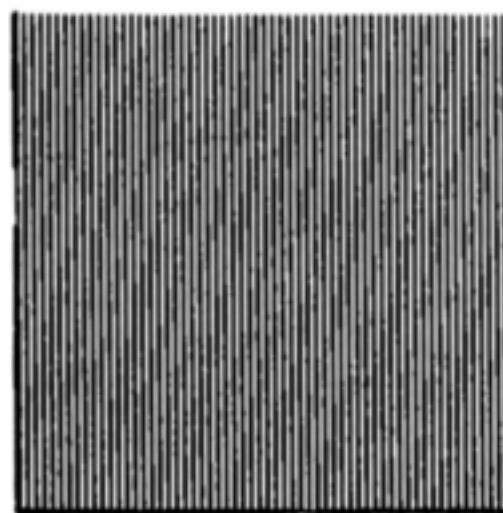
The presence of Inkatha in Natal poses a problem not only for the ANC, the UDF and COSATU, but a serious threat to unity between Indians and Africans. Inkatha demonstrated its attitudes when its hoodlums attacked the Gandhi house, and the Indians in Inanda and Phoenix, and later Indian people on the beaches. Gatsha Buthelezi is on record as making veiled threats to Indians by reminding them of the troubles of 1949.

The expulsion of Indians from East Africa (as a result of the problems created by British imperialism) was highly exploited by the regime and media in South Africa.

The revival of the NIC and the TIC was most impressive, and impressive, too, are the campaigns they led. However, the absence of workers in the leadership would mean the political relationship with African workers, in factory and office, would be a distant one. Present political forces in South Africa are built on worker level.

Some elements of communal sectionalism have surfaced from time to time, especially among Indian collaborators.

Political activists and leaders in the Indian community need to put stronger emphasis for greater involvement in the struggle, if we are to make the slogan of seizure of people's power a reality.



# ANC

# INTERNATIONAL

## **INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS SEMINAR**

An International Seminar, organised by the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid and the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa, met in London from 28th-30th May, and agreed a Declaration which incorporated a series of 14 proposals to strengthen the arms embargo, and ensure its strict implementation. These recommendations were forwarded to the world conference on sanctions, with an appeal for their endorsement.

There were 150 participants at the seminar. Over 30 governments were represented; national liberation movements, including ANC, SWAPO and the PLO; and non-governmental organisations. Special experts were invited to read papers.

The seminar expressed its concern at "the growing threat that the apartheid nuclear bomb presents to the peace of Africa and the world," and did not accept that "in the case of South Africa a meaningful distinction could be made between collaboration for peaceful purposes and that for nuclear weapons production." The seminar also stressed the importance of the mandatory arms embargo, which has created serious shortages for the South African military, depriving them of vital supplies. It discussed the supply of weapons sent by the United States to UNITA, deciding that the supply of arms to South African surrogate forces amounted to a major breach of the arms embargo, and urging the United Nations Security Council to give immediate attention to the matter.

In a message to the seminar, President Tambo pointed out that the United Nations Security Council arms embargo remained riddled with loopholes, because the logical steps to strengthen it had been resisted by certain member states. Referring to the failure of the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions following Pretoria's aggression against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe, President Tambo concluded:

"The latest abuse of the veto power by the United States and United Kingdom are an act that flies in the face of the world-wide condemnation of Pretoria's attack on three Commonwealth countries in order to torpedo the Commonwealth peace initiative, and must be vigorously condemned. It must be taken as a challenge by the international community in general, and the Commonwealth countries in particular, to strengthen the arms embargo and to take effective measures, especially the imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa."

## **NETHERLANDS UNIVERSITY HONOURS WINNIE MANDELA**

On 11th June, as part of the celebrations marking the 350th anniversary of its foundation, the University of Utrecht in the Netherlands presented an honorary doctorate in law to Winnie Mandela. As Winnie Mandela could not be present, the award was received on her behalf by Comrade Rose Motsepe, of the ANC mission in the Benelux countries.



# WHAT CAN THE WORLD LEARN FROM SOUTH AFRICAN LITERATURE?

*By Wally Serote*

*This was an address given at the Second Conference of African and Swedish Writers in Stockholm in April 1986.*

The ANC, and as a result the people of South Africa, have a history of having had to sacrifice all basic human needs: family warmth and friendship, the right of living in one's country, demanding from each individual to make the demand from themselves of the highest form of discipline so that their actions define them as freedom fighters. And then, that each South African forges a lifestyle which equates freedom with life. That is one part of the story. The other is that the ANC, having demanded only the best of itself and of the people of South Africa, then forged alliances and friendship with governments, organisations and peoples whose purpose for living is to make the world a better place to live in.

The people of South Africa have not only rejected apartheid, but have gone further, and created an alternative to it, the ANC. If we agree that culture is how people organise themselves to harness nature so as to better their lives, and also, that it is when they make rules for themselves so that they know how to relate to each other in the process of harnessing nature, ensuring that the rights of individuals, groups, and the nation are protected, in order that the national collective talent contributes to progress, joy and peace of the world in general, then simple logic would inform us that apartheid, whose basic principle is discrimination based on skin colour and super-exploitation of the majority by a minority which apartheid defines as the "master race", we then understand how apartheid itself is a violent cultural and political programme. In the South African context, a few get the best, the majority the worst.

## **Lessons of History**

History has taught us that it is not in the nature of man to accept oppression and exploitation, and the people of South Africa are no exception to this rule. Therefore, a regime in power which

formulates apartheid and implements it, will naturally be faced with rejection and hostility from its victims, and therefore will have to devise strong means of making its violent cultural and political programme acceptable.

The minority White regime in South Africa then, having devised apartheid and having created a strong security system to protect and implement it, has had also to seek allies and friends to make progress out of its backwardness and to share the loot. On the other hand, as I pointed out above, the ANC and the majority of the people of South Africa by saying, "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," faced with the might of the "master race," set new cultural reference for the people of South Africa and the world to relate to.

This is the story about two forces, one fighting for the oppression and exploitation of the majority, and the other fighting for the majority to become free, non-racial and democratic. It is a story of how a people can degenerate to the lowest form of human life. It is also a story about how a people can emerge in glory as they release their power for creativity to utilize the individual and collective talent and put these to the use of all — to the glory of humanity!

Three hundred years of living under oppression and exploitation is a thorough process of generations upon generations being subjected to a systematic programme of dehumanisation; and seventy-four years of being an organised people struggling to become part of humanity is, on the other hand, a pointer to the size, depth and height of odds faced, and also to the vastness of the wealth of experience gained. This, in varying ability, has been the exploration of the cultural manifestations of South Africa.

It is against this background that South African cultural work and cultural workers must be judg-

*(Continued on page 18)*

# WOMEN FIGHTERS INSIDE AN

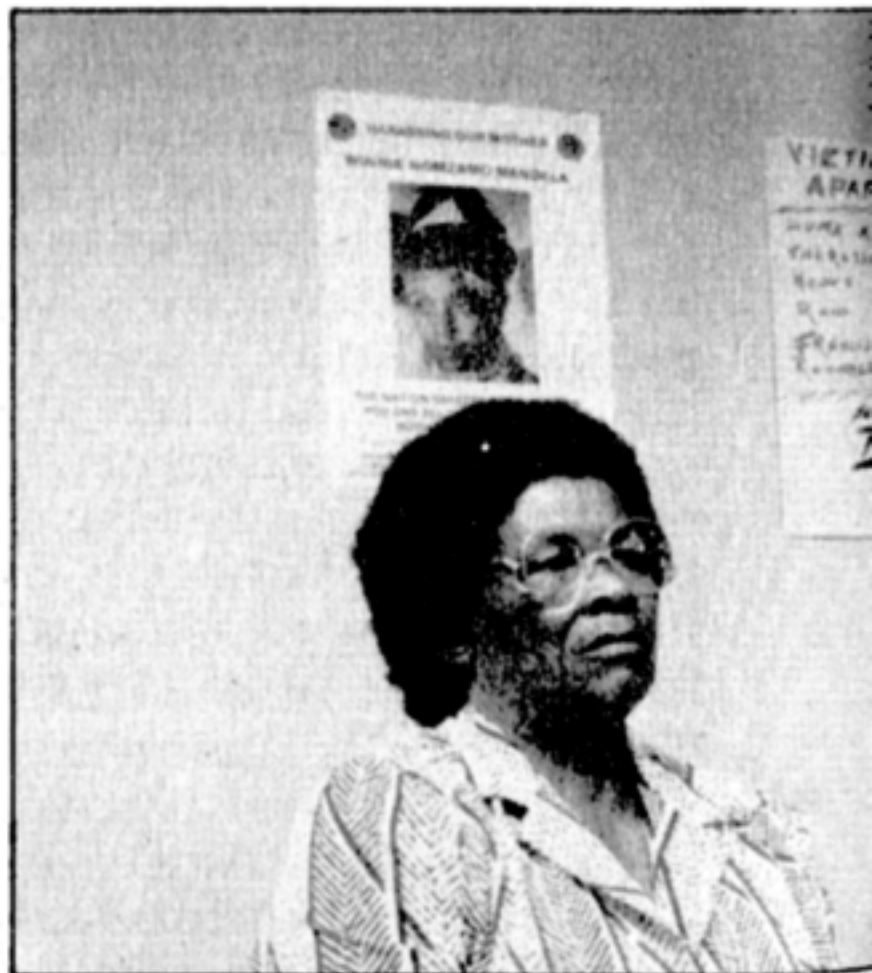


STOP HARASSING OUR MOTHER STOP  
WINNIE NOMZAMO MANDELA



Left: A shopper in central Johannesburg supports the other political activists.

Above: Dideka Heliso, outside Pollsmoor Prison in A trialist Raymond Mhlaba. After 22 years, Mhlaba m



A meeting of the Federation of Transvaal Women, in March 1986, condemns detention, on the Sharpeville Six. From left to right: Sister Bernard Ncube, President of Fedtraw, and to life — June Mlangeni, Albertina Sisulu and Irene Mkwayi.

# D OUTSIDE APARTHEID GAOLS



campaign to protect Winnie Mandela and

April 1986, after her marriage to Rivonia  
y now receive contact visits from his wife.



and calls for the lifting of the death sentences  
three wives of freedom fighters sentenced



**Thandi Modise**, sentenced in 1980  
to eight years for Umkhonto we Sizwe  
activities.



**Barbara Hogan**, sentenced in 1982  
to ten years for treason.



**Helene Passtoors**, sentenced in  
April 1986 to ten years for membership  
of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

ed. Whether we are looking at films, paintings, photographs, theatre, dance, and/or music, all the time, our guide is what role have these cultural manifestations played to record the story of the people of South Africa, to portray the state of this country, to contribute to the betterment of their lives, to inspire these same people to reach their aspirations, and to give lasting and sustaining hope, so that their lives are led forever optimistic.

It is not possible then, under these circumstances, to have cultural workers in South Africa who create art for its own sake, or cultural workers who have taken no side in this serious conflict. Nor is it possible to be alive and creating in a world which is, on a daily basis, fighting for peace for all in it, while its other part creates means and prepares for the complete annihilation of humankind, and be neutral. We as cultural workers, like everybody else, must take positions on these matters.

Having said that, I want then to confront a very difficult and very serious reality which confronts everyone on a daily basis, for, without doing this, art becomes irrelevant. Also, since I am dealing with South Africa, it is best to focus at the recent reality in that country. The ANC made a call to our people to make apartheid structures unworkable and the country ungovernable. The apartheid regime has directed all those who support it, especially its supposedly invincible security system to, by all means, defend apartheid, this crime against humanity. What do these opposites mean for the people of South Africa on a daily basis?

### **The Writer Must Face Reality**

I want here to use literature, since that is what has brought us here together, to look at the issues of my country. The pictures of today's reality are grim, and can be blood-curdling. Let us isolate one incident, which is grim, which most people in the world are aware of because it was taken from bloody streets of South Africa into the homes of people inside the country and into large parts of the world. A young woman who was still a student was hurled into living-rooms at news time. She had just been bound, made to wear the necklace, and we watched as she wriggled beneath the raging flames which were con-

suming her clothes, her flesh and, eventually, her life. Those who did it said that she was working for the police. They were doing this as they were burying seven young men of their age who had been killed by grenades. The people of the township where this was happening said the grenades were a booby-trap set by the police, and that this young woman who died such a grim death was responsible for, and had directly participated in, planning this grim incident of killing the seven youngsters. A funeral procession which was held together by revolutionary songs and had been brought together by the deaths of the seven young fighters, whose bodies were in the coffins which the procession suspended into the air as it marched, watched as the young woman was caught, bound and burnt. What is all this?

Well, the death of this girl, more than anything else, must make us sober. It must demand of us to find out why it is possible for a little girl, for that matter, for anyone, to die such a ghastly death.

Suppose it is true what the people are saying about this little girl, what does this say to a writer, and what can a writer do with such grim information? Suppose it is not true what the people were saying, the question remains, what does this say to a writer and what can a writer do with such information? What are the tools and skills which a writer must have to handle such matters? And, why must a writer deal with such matters, or does a writer have a choice: is it a matter of take it or leave it?

That is one incident. The other is that the world has been witness, as daily for the past twenty or so months, the South African regime, with frightening coldness, sends its soldiers and police into the streets of townships all over South Africa to kill hundreds of young girls and boys in defence of White domination. We also heard what the reasons are for all this. What does a writer say to the many, many other fighting young girls and boys who have decided that no one will stop them from facing the soldiers, for as long as the white minority regime remains in power. We also know what the regime says about all this, and daily we witness what it does about those who say it through flowing blood, their own blood, that South Africa must change, will change. We have also heard the ANC call to the people of South Africa to render South Africa

ungovernable and also that they must form organs of popular power. Each side is going to use all its resources to achieve its objectives. Whose resources are South African cultural workers?

### **Apartheid Does Not Respect Life**

We must answer this question, for then the answer to it enables us to answer once and for all the issues raised by the death of the girl and the death of the seven young fighters. We may not know the details of these terrible incidents but we know one thing: the minority regime has no respect for international law, for the sovereignty and independence of other countries, as the people of Southern Africa have come to know. It has no respect for life, will stop at nothing to maintain white domination. To them, we can say, it must be very clear that we do not want our children to be used for, or killed to save, apartheid which is a crime against humanity. Then we must, as writers, arm the minds and hearts of our children with knowledge, with hope, with optimism, with courage, that not one of them must be used to save apartheid.

South African literature which does not address itself to these issues is irrelevant. Writers who are not part of this unfolding process cannot write about the lives of these people. Why? That is so because we can only know how green the grass is and how many brown patches of earth hide themselves by reducing the distance between us and the grass we are looking at.

A bloody conflict is ensuing in South Africa. The people are saying that they have created street committees. These committees are taking control of the hearts and minds (to use words that have been made bloody) of the oppressed. These committees are receptacles of new ideas which must challenge and do away with old ones. What literature must these people read, or what can the world read and learn from the literature of these embattled people? That to me is the issue which South African writers must answer through what they know best, and it is the only tale they can tell well to their people and to the world.

The courage, the hope, the optimism of these people, young and old, including children, who are part of the street committees, hold and hang on every second, every minute and hour which passes every day as blood flows, as gunshots crack, and gun-smoke smells.

*Oh comrade*

*We would love less*

*You and I*

*If we loved not freedom more*

says Lindiwe Mabuza in her poem, *To a Comrade*.

### **ANC Leads the Struggle**

There is one truth that a South African writer knows: the world hears a lot about young men and women, the under thirties, who, through their lives, articulate the day-to-day struggle of the people — that the world knows; we as writers also know that the day-to-day struggle of our people is a manifestation of the presence of the African National Congress which is leading and guiding the process of struggle. This struggle is for the people to seize political power so that they can use the creative ability of everyone to build a new South Africa. What contribution can the South African literature make to this process? It is my view that one reason for our being in this conference is about that question; that the presence of writers from other countries enables us to learn from them and their people, and that they can learn from us and our people, and since South Africa is part of the world and as a result of this conference, it is our task as writers to support firmly this noble objective of the people of South Africa, also, to learn from them for our creativity.

Lerato Khumalo, a South African poet, in her poem *Childhood in Soweto*, in which she so ably portrays the life of a child who has to grow up in this township, where "There are no playgrounds" and "There are no stars/ to twinkle twinkle little eyes," concludes:

*But I have seen new plays*

*in one act*

*announcing the birth*

*of childhood*

*grenades clearing the night*

*of blinders of smoke*

*and hurdles*

*passing the child*

*into star-grappling teens*

*adulthood without passes*

*in Soweto*

*in towns and cities*

*north and east*

*growing from*

*Soweto.*

# ARTISTS HAVE A MORAL RESPONSIBILITY

*Jonas Gwangwa Speaks to Francis Meli*

*Comrade Jonas Gwangwa, you were involved in the field of music and arts in South Africa since the 50s. Can you tell us more about your involvement and development in the 50s and later?*

I will start from how I got to be a musician. Of course I came from a quite musical family, although all we had was a piano in the house, and my sister was an accomplished pianist and singer and we just used to have family singing like everybody else had. But, then I went to St Peter's Secondary School in Rosettenville. At the time, Father Trevor Huddleston was the chaplain, I think, and principal at the priory and also taking care of the school. After a couple of years, I mean in '53, following the request of one of the students for a trumpet, and after Father Huddleston got it, a lot of the artists, I mean the students, started asking for various instruments — I was amongst those and I asked for a trombone.

The instruments arrived, donated by various people who were sympathetic to our struggle as Father Huddleston, now President of British AA,

was one of our champions in the struggle for the black people of South Africa, and there were a lot of people who were sympathetic and liberals. They all were sending instruments, buying second-hand instruments here and there. As the instruments trickled in, we started a band. This band we called the Huddleston Jazz Band. I coined the name, coincidentally, I guess.

But, as the band grew and became popular as the first African High School Band in South Africa, we were performing little concerts here and there, we took a tour to Durban and were doing a lot of fund-raising for various little fraternities, little societies — women's — and raising funds for the struggle. We were, for instance, invited to raise funds for the Congress of the People in 1955 and we raised funds at Orlando Communal Hall and of course we were in Kliptown for the drawing up of the Freedom Charter. The way it happened is that ANC members came to St Peters, went to Father Huddleston to ask for

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*Jonas Gwangwa plays the trombone*



the band and he told them that, "This is not my band; it is my name, but go and talk to the boys." I can't remember who it was, but he just came in and said, "We work with Huddleston," so, niyi Band yomzabalazo, and that was it. We were just told the venue, time and place and when to perform. Then, of course, going around we were discovered by the newspapers, the *Bantu World* at the time had good write-ups and I was picked up as one, the trombone being a rare instrument in South Africa, I was particularly noticed by the reporters and one thing led to another — we kept on playing around and a lot of professionals took interest in me. People like Kippie Moeketsi, Mackay Davashe, Zakes Nkosi, Ntemi Piliso, Sol Klaaste, Gideon Nxumalo — I know a lot of musicians — Elijah Ngwenyane, of course, who was also giving lessons to some of our trumpeters. Then I was picked up by a group called the Boston Brothers who called me to come and back them up, seeing that the Ink Spots had a trumpet player. Elijah Ngwenyane and Manhattan Brothers had Kippie Moeketsi and MacKay Davashe, so they would have a different sound with the trombone, so I was backing the Boston Brothers.

That's where I started learning a whole lot of different tunes, which extended my repertoire and I had a chance of course through MacKay Davashe to play with the famous Muddy Black Band which was the existing big band that was doing all the ballroom concerts. I played with the Jazz Dazzlers under MacKay Davashe, which was one of the big groups, jazz groups in South Africa with great musicians like Kippie, Mackay, Rubushe, Sol Klaaste, Mzala Lepere, General Duze ... I joined in and I was very lucky. They gave me a lot of experience.

Then as time went I was also contracted to be one of the musicians in *King Kong*, *King Kong* being the first black musical in South Africa. We and a friend of mine were involved in writing, not writing as such but being copyists, that is after the music is written out on the score, we copy it from the score to the individual, copy to the individual instruments. We did that and that also gave us different experience because we went out there with a team that was arranging, which was composed of the people I have mentioned. We took off from there — of course we were big musicians — to South Africa with *King Kong*, which *King Kong* folded up, that was in 1958.

And then we formed a group, a jazz group that was supposed to be going to a jazz festival in Switzerland. We went to Cape Town, that is Kippie, Hugh Masekela and I, who went to Cape Town to look for musicians, where we found Dollarbrand Ibrahim with Makhaya Ntshoko who is presently in Switzerland and Johnny Getse ... Makáya was on drums and Johnny Getse on bass.

We formed what was the most powerful jazz group in South Africa and played around Cape Town and went to Jo'burg. That was in 1960 already, and right around that time there was the Sharpeville massacre and with the Sharpeville massacre, no more than five people, Africans, were to be seen in one place because of the State of Emergency at the time, and then we, being six, were already illegal, without an audience.

The group disbanded and Hugh Masekela left for England. When the State of Emergency was lifted, we continued with Kippie Moeketsi and I as the horns, and the same rhythm section, but that did not take long.

We disbanded because *King Kong* resumed. This was the export version. We had made a record and it being South Africa, we were not paid a penny for the LP that we made. We had been fortunate, I mean the three of us, Kippie, Hugh and I, to have met John Mehegan who came to South Africa on a lecture tour. He was a pianist and I think he came the end of '58, then he did give us a few scholarships, so we opened with our Violi Harmony — had quite a few sessions with him and we had jazz workshops around Jo'burg. We also made an LP and I must say that was a first LP for black people because black people were not allowed to have any long-playing records at the time — we could only make 78s. So we made the first LP, *Jazz in Africa*, with John Mehegan and the second LP was with our group, *The Jazz of the People, Verse 1*.

After the formation of Jazz Special, Dollarbrand went back to Cape Town, and the rest of the guys, because they came from there and we played in Johannesburg with *King Kong*. Kippie and I were in *King Kong* again which left for London on the 8 February 1961. We went straight to the West End, the Princess Theatre, which is Shaftesbury Theatre now and after six months, I left the show to go to the United States on a scholarship.

I went to the Manhattan School of Music where

I joined Hugh and was in school for four years for a bachelor's degree in Music. In the interim, being in the United States, I was able to work with people like Miriam Makeba. I was also able to work with Harry Belafonte, but I didn't have a work permit at the time. But then later on in 1965 Harry Belafonte asked me to come and do an album for him, which was the album he was doing with Miriam Makeba, *An Evening with Belafonte/Makeba*, which has been a very successful album. It was voted the best folk album of 1965 and it was a winner of the National Academy for Recording Arts and Sciences and was nominated for a Grammy Award. This album consisted of revolutionary songs from South Africa and it's still selling very well to this day.

That sort of launched me and I had a whole lot of people coming to me to help them do arrangements, after which I did *Phata Phata* for Miriam Makeba, which was a hit. Then I formed a group of my own, African Explosion, which was managed and produced by Ahmed Jamal the pianist. I was able to do a few television spots, that is I was on TV and also able to arrange TV commercials. I was in New York, playing around New York, where I formed a group of dancers and singers to accompany the band and I was touring colleges and doing nightclubs here and there. That is where I started to get into using traditional dancers. As a matter of fact, in 1964, a group came from South Africa, called Sponono with a show which was to be on Broadway. It was successful and ran for 16 days from preview to close and then of course whilst the singers and dancers were around, they got a job with the New York World's Fair and performed there. I was helpful in the music and then the next year, in 1965 they were called back again. So, that's where I started directing them.

I used them in various reviews with Harry Belafonte that we had at the Philharmonic, where it was my very first time to direct a big show, co-directed with Harry, when he had Ballet Africain visiting the United States. So we had Ballet Africain and the Zulus, a Zulu group.

### *Ballet Africain is from West Africa?*

Ballet Africain is from Guinea, Conakry, and they are professionals that have been travelling the world over for a long time. But we had a very powerful show.

Anyway, then I directed the World's Fair in 1965 and continued to travel with the group of dancers and singers. I then made a record which was on Jamal Records which had good reviews but Ahmed Jamal did not have the bread to push it, so it went under.

Then I left New York and went to California where I joined Caephus Semenya and Hugh and Letta Mbulu. Then we formed the Union of Artists, which was a group consisting of Caephus, Hugh and I and some American musicians. We cut a record which was quite a success in South Africa. Unfortunately, I never got a penny out of it. It, too, is still selling to this day, internationally, not only in South Africa by the way.

I moved back to New York with a group whilst we were touring, and I had an accident, a car accident. I was hit by a car and I was laid up for five months in New York. I came out of a hospital — a friend of mine, Joe Manong, was directing a movie, so he called me to come and write the theme to the movie, the music. Right, straight from hospital with my crutches and all, I went to Ohio to look at the shooting and I came out with a theme. It was unfortunate that there is an injunction on the movie right now because the producers all got into a misunderstanding and the whole thing is with the sheriff in New York.

Then from that movie, some of the musicians that were there introduced me to other producers; there was a producer who had written a short script of *Othello*, with Yaphet Koto as the lead, and I had to do some music there because they wanted *Othello* with the setting in Africa — the Moor's home. So I did the whole soundtrack of the movie; the script is somewhere in Birmingham in the archives but I still haven't heard from the people. I might have a little boodle out there somewhere, in New York somewhere. Anyway, I left New York whilst they were still selling it.

I was then contacted to direct music for a musical, actually it was a straight play with incidental music, but there was so much music that it was bordering on a musical. Because a certain number of songs make it a musical, we had to cut one song out to make it a play, technically speaking, but it was really a musical, and this was at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island. That was a success, it was a good experience. From there on, I was back in New York again and moved over to Boston where I was do-





*Striking BTR Sarmcol workers enact the relationship between P W Botha and British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher*

ing nightclub work and recordings for various people.

When I left the United States in 1976, I went to Botswana with Caephus Semenya and Letta, where we toured the country and I was left there when they went back. I then formed a band in Botswana using Botswana musicians, teaching, and we played at the Holiday Inn there, but of course I had to get a work permit so I had to leave the country to get that, and I went to Zambia where I met the Broadway Quintet and started playing with them at the Intercontinental Hotel. That has been something that I have not stopped doing; each time I pass Zambia I know I got a little job there playing with the Broadways.

I went back to Botswana, and that job was gone, but I toured Botswana advertising a local brew there, with a local band, and I was training musicians. I trained three female vocalists, the only ones that ever sang in Botswana, I think, because Botswana could not believe that they had singing girls, and we toured the whole country very widely, pretty successfully.

Then the same year I left to go to Nigeria where we had the Festival of Black and African Arts and Culture, FESTAAC. This was in 1977. Out there of course I was under the wing of the African National Congress, our movement. I came with a few musicians and poets and we all converged with the choral singers coming from the GDR, and Poppie, with Veteran, coming from Zambia as dancers. From Tanzania came students that came out of South Africa during the

'76 uprisings. There were musicians that came from London, Dudu Pukwana, Julian Bahula, people like that. Johnny Dyani came from Sweden and we all converged in Lagos for the Festival. We had never worked together. I took the initiative in forming one show with permission from Comrade Thabo Mbeki.

I went ahead to direct the show and formed one ANC group which had music, poetry, dance, both traditional and urban dances, both modern music and tradition, both traditional poetry and modern poetry, and the same with songs, and of course drama that came from the students. This show was quite successful and I must mention that this is where the name Amandla! started.

So after the Festival we were requested by the Movement, the ANC, to tour Tanzania and after that tour Zambia as Amandla! Then, because the NEC was satisfied with the effort from Nigeria, it was decided that Comrade Lindiwe Mabuza and I sit down to write the Cultural Memorandum. We sat down to draw that up in Lusaka; we had a meeting with the NEC and it was decided at the time that there should be a standing Cultural Group of the African National Congress. In 1978, this Group was called and put together in Luanda and they went to the 11th Youth and Student Festival, the World Youth and Student Festival in Havana.

At the time, then, I was in Botswana, and I got a call from the United States and I joined Herb Halpert of the Tijuana Brass, the famous Tijuana

Brass, and Hugh Masekela. We had a national tour of the United States culminating with a record in Los Angeles at the end of the tour. We then parted and I went back to Botswana, and in 1979 I went back to the United States to do a record with Caephus and from there I went to Germany to open up a Festival there called Horizon 79.

### *That was West Germany?*

That was actually not West Germany but West Berlin. After that I went back to Botswana and continued teaching the students that were there and playing in the local halls, trying to raise the consciousness of the people there, I mean, so that there could be a concert-attending audience. There wasn't a concert-attending audience because, on the weekends, Batswanas who were living double-standard lives, they were farmers, they went to the cattle post on the weekends and you never had an audience. Botswana, I mean Gaborone, was a very small little town then. Of course it has since sprouted and has several clubs, most of which I have opened with groups that have formed there, and it's a jumping town.

Then in 1980 I was called by the National Executive Committee to give direction to the band of the group that went to Cuba in '78. It was just felt that they were not playing the music of the people of South Africa, the indigenous music of the people of South Africa, *Umbhaqanga*. So I went to Luanda. Actually at the time I was on my way getting to London to go and do a record, but I went to Luanda; when I got to Lusaka and hearing what I was wanted for, I went to Luanda, and when I got there I found that there were these 40, about 40, talented youngsters who were singing and dancing, and I had to form a show. One cohesive show that was a political show but also had all the dances and all the music of South Africa. I worked at this show night and day writing scripts, doing the choreography, introducing other dances that I knew, writing new music — and in the middle of all this I was again in a car accident and I was laid up in hospital for some time.

We were supposed to go on tour of the Scandinavian countries, so the show was unfinished. I asked the doctors to let me go, if they felt that I could go, of course, I was on POP — I had plaster of Paris from my neck down to my toes — I was just one big flat piece of plaster and I

was staying at a hotel. I used to be taken out of the hotel daily to where the rehearsals were. I wasn't allowed three days by the doctors a week, but as time went on I had to go there almost daily because it was nearing the time of the tour.

I went and completed the show. Somebody else had tried to complete the show but it was different, so we had to get back to the line of the show and what it was supposed to be and then it was completed and sent off to tour the Scandinavian countries. It was a success. It was a great success, and they came back all very happy and of course the following year I was hospitalised again, but came back when they were in Zambia and joined them, and I have been doing that, changing the show wherever, improving it every year since then to date.

*Amandla! was a result of the efforts of the students and the young people from home and also the initiative from you, a combination of both factors?*

Yes, there were songs that they were singing, that they formed in Cuba in '78, and dramatic scenes they had made, and there were a few musicians you could say were playing professionally at home who were also helping. So that there was a show, a sort of variety kind of show, where you had people singing, but they weren't just singing whatever songs they knew. A few songs they had written and of course they had written a few of the dramatic acts, sketches.

So with that, that was the inspiring point, I decided to add on and write a much more coherent show, which is in theatrical form, you see. I added scripts, I wrote some songs and added dances, put out a lighting chart, put out a sound chart, put in costumes, you know, different costumes with different dances with different ethnic groups from home and entrances and exits, really just a whole professional show, you know. That's how *Amandla!* came about. I did use some of the material that was available and I added on a whole lot of material.

*Can you tell us something about Dorkay House in Johannesburg?*

Around 1955, a musician by the name of Gwigwi Mrwebi, who was at the time working for *Drum* came over to St Peter's with a few other musicians, MacKay Dvashe, well-known composer and saxophone player, and I think they came with

Mr Ian Bernhard and there was the late comrade Duma Nokwe. They came to St Peter's because the Huddleston Band had acquired some money from some donors, anonymous donors who wouldn't give their names, and we had well over £1 000 that was supposed to be some money that was going to help us with our music, that is our tutors, where we can learn our instruments and theory. So they wanted to work with the Huddleston Band and there was the advantage of this money because they were going to have a union of musicians and where we were going to be taught all of this.

Then of course Father Huddleston called us, and we had a meeting with these people, and we agreed that we'd share premises with them, and Gwigwi Mrwebi went and found the premises, the present Dorkay House, and there we were sharing half of it. The Huddleston Jazz Band was sharing half of it and Union Artists were sharing the other half.

We were paying £35 per month and this is where we met most of the professional musicians. At the same time I realised, as treasurer of the Huddleston Jazz Band, we would run out of money very soon, so it was best that we pull out £35 a month and join in as members and let the professional people go on and raise money for the officers. So we abandoned the idea of sharing the rent of £35 per month, because the rent was £70 a month and we joined as members and Dorkay House has since been the place that has brought about most artists converging there and where *King Kong* started from. That was it.

*Amandla! has toured quite a number of countries. Can you tell us more about these tours, your reception, and the reaction of the international community towards the ongoing struggle in South Africa?*

In 1980, Amandla! toured the Scandinavian countries: Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark, and Holland. They they came back. Of course, these were national tours — in each country they went from town to town. Then in 1981, they were in Zambia and Mozambique. Then in 1982, we went to the GDR, Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria. Then, in 1983, we were back in the Scandinavian countries, plus Holland and Belgium and of course we had been to Mozambique and Libya. In 1984, we went to Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, and in 1985 we went to

the GDR, to the UK, Ghana and Nigeria, and in 1985 was Moscow, UK. Now '86 was GDR, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

*And of course you went to the Youth Festival?*

The Youth Festival in Moscow — that's where we attained — were given a diploma as best performers, and of course in all the places we have been going to, I must say that one thing that you would notice that most of them were not English-speaking countries but we have been successful in projecting the message of our people, being able to tell the people about our struggle through song and dance. In all these years I have been performing, the only English-speaking countries we have been performing for were Zambia and Tanzania — Tanzania was also in 1981 — until we got to the UK, Ghana and Nigeria. But everywhere we went to the people understood the show and they understood the message.

*What are the politics behind Amandla? What I'm talking about is the question of arts and politics, of the artists and the liberation struggle of South Africa.*

Yes, I'll firstly talk about the nature of the show, the structure of the show. We have music, drama, poetry, dance and song, and the show starts with a drama showing South Africa, the old South Africa before the settlers, the colonisers landed; how we used to live, freely, a free and uninterrupted life. Then of course we go away to show city life and how derogative and oppressive it is. We are showing the pass laws, we are showing the police harassment and we are showing thievery, we are showing stabbings, people dying in urbanised South Africa. I mean we show from the free and uncolonised South Africa, we show the advent of the colonials, the colonialists and the introductions of slavery up to Johannesburg, of course, which is a typical example of an urbanised industrial South Africa. That shows already the political change that was coming about in South Africa, the introduction of slavery and the resistance of our people from that time on.

The show is actually a documentary that is telling of the history of South Africa and our struggles. We are highlighting some of the flashpoints within our struggle, we are showing the history of South Africa, but you can't tell the history of South Africa without talking about the history

of the African National Congress, so we show the formation of the African National Congress, we show the drawing up of the Freedom Charter, we show the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we show the students' strikes in '76 and we show the peoples' resistance to the forced removals and all the flashpoints and highlights as our struggle unfolds. Our songs in the show are songs of praise for our leaders, songs of praise for some of our cadres for what they have done, songs of encouragement to our leaders and our people, songs of unification for our people to get together, songs of condolence to those who have lost friends, relatives and all our cadres, songs of encouragement to our people and songs of resistance against the pass laws, the forced removals and all the other atrocities that are inflicted on our people. The dramatic scenes are also depicting some of these atrocities.

And we don't have a catalogue of grievances in Amandla! we also have songs and dramatic acts that are showing our aspirations and the plight of our people, what they are looking forward to, I mean a free and democratic South Africa. We show what we envisage to be a free and democratic South Africa at the end of the show so that we don't end up with a tragedy. **We have hope and our songs also have that hope and that light showing.** Of course, whilst we are going around on our tours, we have all these meetings after our performances. We have interviews with newspapers, radio and television, and because of the show, the people understanding what our plight is in South Africa, what we are actually fighting against, the people tend to understand more what they probably have been reading about or have been seeing on TV and by meeting South Africans, actually people who are coming out there, it has been easier for people to understand and to accept what our fight is about, so that we have been able to mobilise a whole lot of people because it is even easier to get people to come to a show than to come to a meeting. **People come in for the entertainment and they leave the place having been entertained but they also leave the halls being educated about our struggle. That has been the job of Amandla! Also we have been able to expose the oppressed culture of our people. In our country, South Africa, the present regime does not allow our people to sing about the status quo. Our songs are censored before they can be recorded or even**

**played over the radio. That goes for our books, our poetry, even our painters have to paint behind closed doors and they never have a chance to exhibit what they have painted, people have been arrested just for drinking out of cups with ANC colours.**

We don't have schools for art, we don't have music auditoriums, or theatres, cinemas to go to, we are self-taught all the art forms really, that we are involved in. We don't own the means of production — that is, our people are exploited by the recording companies, they are exploited by the TV stations and jobs are few and far apart. As a South African, a Black South African, you are self-taught or you grab from your fellow musicians or artists what you can, otherwise you are out on your own, and on the other hand, the pass laws are always harassing you because musicians have not been accepted as workers. **We are trying to bring about a consciousness amongst our artists to be aware that they are cultural workers and that they really fall amongst the working-class so that they are able to form unions and be protected by unions and that is our task at the moment.**

*In other words, what you are saying is that the act of national liberation, struggle for national liberation, led by the ANC, is also an act of cultural revival?*

Yes, it is true that the artists in Amandla! under the leadership of the African National Congress have so far made an example to most of our artists at home that have shown them that the artists have a role in this revolution. That they should not stand in the wings and wait for the soldiers and everybody else to fight and then we'll come up to entertain them. We have a moral responsibility like everybody else; before we are artists we are South Africans, and we feel that with art, which is our weapon, we should be able to employ this in the struggle. Artists should, like politicians or military men, be able to perform songs, dances and whatever paintings or pictures, that are relevant to the struggle, otherwise we don't have any way of identifying ourselves as South Africans. I mean we could be anywhere else but in South Africa, because what we will be singing about is what we are about, that is who we are, and who we are — **we are a people in struggle.**

*Thank you very much, Comrade Gwangwa.*

*AMANDLA! CULTURAL ENSEMBLE*



**"ARTISTS HAVE A ROLE IN THE REVOLUTION"**

## NUSAS & THE ANC

*The following communique was issued from a meeting between the African National Congress and the National Union of South African Students. It was signed by Brendan Barry, the President of NUSAS and Mac Maharaj, a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC.*

Delegations of the National Union of South African Students and the African National Congress met in Harare from the 30th March to the 1st April, 1986. The delegations were composed of the President of NUSAS and representatives of the Universities of Cape Town, Natal (Durban and Pietermaritzburg), Rhodes, Stellenbosch and Witwatersrand, and a representative of the South African Students' Press Union on the one hand, and two members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and representatives of ANC youth and students on the other.

The meeting took place at the request of NUSAS, acting on the mandate of students at each of the university campuses, on the basis that there would be no solution to South Africa's problems without the participation of the ANC, which is recognised by the majority of the South African people as their genuine representative.

The ANC appreciated the significance of NUSAS' decision to meet the ANC, and the democratic manner in which it was taken. The meeting discussed a whole range of issues pertinent to the solution of the crisis in our country. The discussions were in the main guided by the questions and concerns posed and expressed by students at the campuses represented. The delegations agreed that apartheid is the central cause of conflict in our country and that the Pretoria government is incapable of resolving South Africa's problems. Apartheid cannot be reformed. As such, the creation of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa on the basis

of one person one vote lies in the hands of the democratic forces of our country.

The delegations reviewed the educational crisis and came to the conclusion that this crisis can only be resolved through establishment of a non-racial, non-militaristic and democratic educational system which will be realised through struggle. This forms part of the efforts to secure a peaceful and prosperous future for all South Africans — Black and White.

The meeting expressed concern at the ongoing militarisation of our society, the use of brute force in a vain attempt to quell popular resistance, the continued occupation of Namibia and destabilisation of neighbouring countries by the apartheid state. In this respect, the call by NUSAS and other democratic organisations for the withdrawal of troops from the townships and for an end to conscription was seen as an important contribution to the overall efforts of the democratic movement for a peaceful future.

Both organisations agreed that one of the major objectives of the moment is to secure the unconditional release of all political prisoners and detainees, including Nelson Mandela.

The ANC outlined its strategy and tactics, and explained the central role of armed struggle as a means of defending the people and advancing the struggle for the seizure of power by the democratic majority. The ANC further emphasised the need to mobilise all the people of South Africa for united mass political action against the apartheid regime.

The delegations agreed that the real interests of the majority of White South Africans do not lie in the system of racial domination and national oppression. Both were at one that White South Africans have an important role to play now in the endeavour to achieve a non-racial and democratic society. In this respect NUSAS has an important contribution to make within its constituency and as part of the national democratic movement.

The meeting was held in a cordial atmosphere, with a positive and productive interchange of ideas.

# NAFCOC & THE ANC

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*The following communique was issued by the meeting of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce and the African National Congress, in Lusaka, on May 27th, 1986. It was signed jointly by Sam Motsueyane, President of NAFCOC and President Tambo of the ANC.*

During the weekend of 24th to 26th May, 1986, delegations of the National African Federated Chambers of Commerce (NAFCOC) and the African National Congress (ANC), led by their two presidents, met in Lusaka, the capital of the Republic of Zambia.

Meeting in a cordial atmosphere, the two delegations discussed a wide range of issues of concern to all the people of South Africa.

The two delegations agreed that an urgent task facing all our people is to find a solution to the crisis which has engulfed our country.

In this regard, the NAFCOC delegation explained that their organisation has, for many years, been involved in various efforts to encourage a peaceful resolution of the conflict which is now tearing our country apart. NAFCOC is committed to continuing these efforts. For that reason — and acting on the decisions and spirit of its national council, which were endorsed by its 21st annual conference — NAFCOC decided to send a delegation to meet the leadership of the ANC. Bound by its own decisions, NAFCOC will continue to act as a catalyst and will, as before, seek contact and dialogue with other people within the broad spectrum of the leaders of our country.

The NAFCOC delegation explained that the purpose of these efforts is to help create the situation when it will be possible for all genuine leaders of the people of South Africa to enter into dialogue aimed at a just and agreed resolution of the fundamental problems facing our country. The delegation further explained that organisations that are currently banned as well as leaders that are imprisoned necessarily have to be part of these discussions if the dialogue is to be meaningful.

The NAFCOC delegation also explained that, as an organisation of Black business people, its members are affected by all the problems facing the Black community in general. NAFCOC is therefore committed to do everything in its power to ensure that the Black people of our country live in freedom and equality with our White compatriots.

The ANC expressed its appreciation for the initiative taken by NAFCOC to enter into dialogue with it to discuss these vital issues. The ANC explained its own commitment to strive for a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa, and explained that it sees NAFCOC as playing an important role in the creation of such a society within the context of the decisions of its own national conferences.

The delegations agreed that the meeting constituted a valuable experience which helped to clarify the respective contribution each organisation was making in the effort to create a peaceful, happy and prosperous society.



*Demonstration at the University of Cape Town*



*Khoi warrior*

Dear Comrade Editor,

Richard Elphick, the author of *Kraal and Castle*, wrote: "In 18th century England's most celebrated insults, Lord Chesterfield declared Dr Samuel Johnson to be no more than a 'respectable Hottentot'" and: "Lord Salisbury, 19th century British prime minister, created an uproar among Irishmen and sensitive Englishmen when he equated Irish and Hottentot capacities for Home Rule."

In twentieth century Canada, Slim Evans, leader of the On to Ottawa Trek, declared Prime Minister Bennet "unfit to run a Hottentot village" let alone this vast dominion of North America.

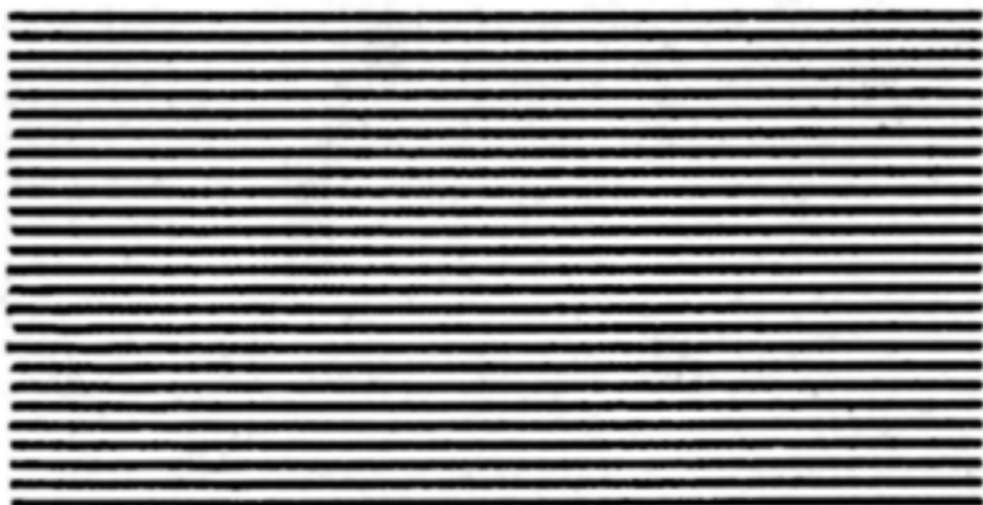
Both 'Hottentot' and 'Trek' are words which have their origins in South Africa. The former has since been replaced by 'Coloured' and 'mixed race' and the latter has been taken into outer space, conquering, in the words of Ronald Reagan, new frontiers.

The reason for this European familiarity with the South African people is quite simple. During the 16th and 17th centuries, European plundering was primarily aimed at the Americas and the Far East. Thus, to or from the East, enough replenishment could be found at the Cape of Good Hope to make further stops on the African coast almost unnecessary.

### **Company Profits**

The Dutch, who first started settling here permanently in 1652, were in the employ of the Dutch East India Company governed by a board of directors, 'The Gentlemen Seventeen.' All transactions were of course conducted for maximum profit with least expense to the Company. What started as bartering soon degenerated into wholesale plundering.

The first full-time administrator of the Cape, Jan van Riebeeck, was transferred to another





Dutch possession after he was found guilty of theft. That is, in addition to stealing stock for the Company, he stole some for himself. Subsequent administrators didn't behave any better, but never allowed themselves to be caught.

As for the bosses in Holland, they were perfectly happy as the replenishment station showed increased annual profits. Their mission was not to proselytize; they were out to make money at the least expense to themselves. When enough stock had been pillaged for breeding and trading, the local tribes became redundant in the Company's scheme of things.

The Dutch couldn't very well employ them to look after the animals that were essentially the tribesmen's own. Instead free burghers (citizens) were brought from Holland, along with rebels from the Dutch East Indies (as Indonesia was then called in Europe), to mind the herds.

This left the Gorachouqua, Goringhaiqua and Cochoqua tribes (or what was left of them) absolute beggars, living on the fringes of a land formerly their own.

Thus without examining the causes of the wretchedness of this society, learned scholars in Vienna, Berlin and London wrote volumes of literature on the degeneracy of a people who, for Europe, had come to represent Africa south of the Sahara. One Dutch historian, Olfert Dapper, never set foot in Africa but succeeded in writing a 400-page history of the Western Cape on the basis of accounts related by sailors in 1668.

To this day the myth is perpetuated in South Africa's schools that the history of the Khoi-Khoi is so permeated with barbarism and degeneracy that it is best for them to forget their past and concentrate on the future, where at some nebulous point, 'Coloureds' will be equal to Whites. If not on earth, then through sufficient piety we'll be able to work our way into heaven to be equal not only with the Whites but with all angels.

As such, most 'Coloureds' are loath to talk about their Khoi-Khoi ancestors. If any ancestor is mentioned, it is usually a White male. As for the Khoi woman, who was his wife, she is conveniently omitted. Quite recently a 'Coloured' woman was very offended when I simply asked whether her parents had previously lived in Namaqualand before emigrating to Canada. The reason for that anger was that such a place of origin would give immediacy to her Khoi-Khoi ancestry. She had become a victim of a self-

perpetuating myth.

The fact of the matter is that official history books used at schools completely omit our heroes such as Chiefs Autshumayo or Gonnema, who valiantly led their people against Dutch oppressors.

### **The Heritage of Language**

Another myth commonly held in the West is that a person's cultural background is distinguishable by appearance, hair or skin pigmentation. Hence anthropologists in Cape Town argue that there are only so many thousand 'pure' Khoi-Khoi alive by judging hair texture, facial characteristics, build and so on, as opposed to the vast majority who do resemble these few but have somewhat less kinky hair, straighter noses or whatever. By this procedure they have reduced us to, and equated us with, pedigree dogs which have to display prescribed characteristics in order to be classified as 'pure.'

While it may be true that through inter-marriage/cohabitation cultural effects from both parents are rubbed off on the offspring, one's cultural roots are essentially with one's mother. The vast majority of us have adopted Afrikaans as a first language. Yet, it is still spoken with the rhythm, idiom and accent of Khoi language previously used in a given area. For example, in the Boland area a term like 'eitsa,' expressing admiration, has been adopted by the Afrikaners, especially their women, to display appreciation for a job well done, beauty, or something of importance. The full expression is 'eitsi eimib' literally meaning 'not from here, but from afar.' In our own idiomatic Khoi-Afrikaans, the expression used for admiration is 'nie van hier rond nie,' meaning the person who is praised is 'not from hereabout.'

Through this example I wish to show the following paradox: — that the oppressor has adopted some indigenous words to suit himself, while the oppressed has taken the language of the oppressor in its totality and rearranged the same words to fit the patterns of a language long considered dead except in the north-west Cape and Namibia.

Adam Small, a noted South African poet, tried in the late sixties to establish authenticity for our Khoi-Afrikaans by insisting that ours is a patois and comparable to pidgin French and English spoken around the world. How wrong the man

was! As a slave he wanted to give his master's language greater authenticity and power and therefore reduce the worth and stature of his own language. At the same time he wanted his master to recognise his manhood, without first coming to grips with himself and his own being.

In addition, 'Coloured' teachers have for generations tried to thrash this language from the mouths of little children and replace it with the master's Afrikaans.

### **Cultural Traditions**

Three hundred and fifty years of oppression and cultural enslavement have not completely removed all vestiges of our Khoi culture. Buchu is still an elixir used from Namibia to the Kei river. Traditional medicines are applied at the onset of illness, and as a final attempt when Western medicines fail as a cure. Even women servants refuse to touch cold water during monthly sickness. The coming-of-age birthday celebration has replaced the traditional initiation ceremony. Still, the list of taboos and observations are as exhaustive and complex as any other African people's.

The argument that so many people brought as slaves to the Cape intermarried with the local Khoi-Khoi that an authentic local identity was lost, holds no water whatsoever. With the exception of the Cape Muslims, who were able to retain their religion and culture because of economic reasons, the vast majority of slaves were dispersed across the Cape Colony, where they adopted the speech and habits of indentured Khoi-Khoi labourers. Of course this new blood brought changes to the physical appearance of the indigenous people but its cultural contribution was quite minimal.

As for the Cape Muslims earlier mentioned, their good fortune to have remained a relatively homogeneous group after an absence of 350 years from their homeland is almost entirely due to economics. As skilled artisans, tailors, painters, blacksmiths and so on, their services were very much in demand in cosmopolitan Cape Town. Hence the community could retain some stability in exile thousands of miles away from Djakarta. If, however, they had been dispersed throughout the Cape Colony, as happened with other unskilled slaves, this common identity would not have been able to withstand the test of time.

In addition, C R Boxer, author of *Zeevarend Nederland in Zijn Wereldijk 1600-1800*, informs us that in 1612 "Muslim women are less suitable as wives (for the Dutch colonists), because they deliberately abort children fathered by Christian men."

Today in the West, the 17th century scorn and revulsion expressed in the term 'Hottentot' which came to mean "a person of irredeemable savagery" or "the very depths of human degradation," has been replaced by a feeling of compassion for a people who are supposedly caught between the forces of Black and White. Good-intentioned as this sympathy may be, it is somewhat misplaced. Sympathy should be with all South African Blacks.

### **'Khoi-Khoi' Means 'People of People'**

The time has come for 'Coloureds' to take stock of themselves and view their position entirely within a Southern African context. We are nowhere between two opposing forces. As part of the oppressed we have only been given third-rate status as compared to the vast majority of Blacks who occupy a fourth-rate position.

Anachronistic as this may sound now, there can be no greater or dignified name to call ourselves by than by the name our ancestors were known by to themselves and others: as the "People of People," that is, as Khoi-Khoi. All other names, whether 'Hottentot,' 'Coloured' or 'mixed race,' were forced upon us. Whether these names were used by the Dutch, English or Boers is immaterial. To this day they remain insults. Similarly, the term 'so-called Coloured' is intended to negate this whole succession of name-calling

There is much that can be learnt from our Nama neighbours in Namibia. Most important, that it is possible to be eloquent, sophisticated and worldly in the twentieth century while retaining our awareness as a people of Africa. Nicholas Waterboer and Adam Kok have been made caricatures by the oppressor's history books, but they were our leaders and part of our national disillusionment with broken promises.

Archibald Crail

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