

SEPTEMBER 1982



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P. O. BOX 38, 28 PENTON STREET
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Cover pic: Comrade Lilian Ngoyi who was given the ANC's highest award, Isitwalandwe on June 26th 1982, two years after her death in June 1980.



EDITORIAL

THE FATE OF INGWAVUMA

In this issue of SECHABA we publish the ANC Statement on Ngwavuma and Kangwane, areas which the racist regime wants to cede to Swaziland.

There has been a lot of speculation in the South African press about the ANC's stand on this thorny issue: the racist Government's land swap-deal. Some newspapers said the ANC "supports Gatsha Buthelezi" whilst others claimed that the ANC "sides with Swaziland". The assumption here is that the ANC is incapable of taking an independent stand.

What the ANC did on this issue was to define the concept of self-determination as understood by us. This is all in Freedom Charter which states that:

"our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality; that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities; that only a democratic state based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief".

The Freedom Charter goes further to point out the inter-connection between national

liberation in South Africa and peace and friendship in the region, in Africa and the world:

"South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations ...

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close cooperation".

This differs fundamentally from the racist viewpoint which means one thing: they determine it themselves, for us.

The ultimate aim of apartheid is to render all South Africa's 21 million Africans statutory foreigners and make the 4.5 million whites a de jure majority. The Bantustans play a key role in this. They are meant to entrench the powers of the racists; to withhold the political rights from the black majority; to intensify the increasing exclusion of workers from

employment opportunities and the state has to abdicate its responsibility for social services.

They see this as a solution to the crisis. An aspect of this solution is the "ethnic solution" which attempts to confuse and delay African nation-building in South Africa — an attempt to divide and rule.

The "border adjustments" and the so-called "consolidation of the black homelands" mean the division of land between Blacks and whites and Blacks themselves. It has nothing to do with "people's consolidation". It has a lot to do with personal, family and ethnic disputes. It has resulted in the current "land fever". This explains why (according to the Sunday Tribune, July 11, 1982) the slogan in Ulundi, the headquarters of Inkatha, is no longer "amandla ngawethu" (power to the people) but "Ingwavuma ngeyethu" (Ingwavuma is ours).

The background to this land deal goes back to the 1960's. But it was in 1976 that the racist regime attempted to evade Swaziland's claim to Ingwavuma areas by handing it over to KwaZulu — in the hope that the KwaZulu homeland would opt for "independence" in return. This did not happen. The racist Government plans failed. It could not wash its hands of what became an explosive issue. Had KwaZulu opted for "independence" racist South Africa would have distanced itself so that "Africans fight Africans".

Peace and good neighbourly relations between the people of Swaziland and the Africans in Natal — in fact in the whole of South Africa — has been gambled for the sake of a hopeless ideology. The degree of anger being engendered in the black community by the racist Government's cynical amputation of the land and the citizens of South Africa has seen no parallel in the recent past. It should be remembered

that Ingwavuma contains the grave of King Dingane.

This situation has been aggravated by the fact that no referendum was conducted to test the wishes of the people affected. On the contrary agents of the National Intelligence Service became more active in KaNgwane; the KaNgwane Legislative Assembly was dissolved by proclamation R108 in the Government Gazette on June 18. The legal tussle in the Supreme Courts over the 3000 square miles of South African territory proved that the racists had no plans to test the desires of those affected. In any case the racist regime is not representative of the majority of the people including those it is about to deprive of their South African citizenship and make Swazi citizens. This threat to tear apart South Africa is aimed at fermenting border wars and detracting world attention from the illegal occupation of Namibia by racist South Africa and its barbaric invasion of Angola. It is a contravention of the OAU principle of self-determination and the policy of the nine-nation Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) of which Swaziland is a member.

Swaziland which belongs to the South African Customs Union — and about 90% of its imports come through South Africa — is being dragged into the battlefield which South Africa is.

Recently Gatsha Buthelezi has been quoted as saying that the Blacks in South Africa face a second Blood River. This analogy (or should we call it comparison?) cannot be correct because in 1982 the Blacks are nearer and more certain of victory than they were in the last century. What we can say with certainty is that the case of Ingwavuma and Kangwane has convinced us more than ever before of the accuracy and foresight of the Freedom Charter which has an answer even for such sensitive and emotive questions as the "border adjustments".

RACIST REGIME'S LAND DEAL

MEMORANDUM OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF SWAZILAND ON THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN SWAZILAND AND THE PRETORIA REGIME ON KANGWANE AND INGWAVUMA

1. The National Executive Committee of the African National Congress presents its compliments to His Majesty King Sobhuza 11, the National Council and the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland. We pray that the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland will consider this memorandum with the seriousness we are convinced it deserves, in the interests of the unity of the African peoples and as a reaffirmation of our common resolve to liberate the mother continent from racist and colonial apartheid domination.

2. The reported agreement between the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland and the apartheid regime is fraught with grave dangers for the brother people of Swaziland and South Africa. If implemented, it will seriously complicate and impede the struggle for the liberation of South Africa, and transform Swaziland into an ally of the apartheid regime, a regime which is objectively an enemy of the people of Swaziland. Conscious of our responsibilities to the people of South Africa, Southern Africa, and the continent as a whole, we humbly urge the Government of the Kingdom of

Swaziland to renounce this agreement and desist from carrying it out.

3. Since its foundation nearly 20 years ago, the Organisation of African Unity, of which Swaziland is a member, has stood firm on the position that, in the interests of peace and unity, the colonial boundaries delimiting the states of Africa should not be redrawn except by free and mutual consent between the countries and peoples involved. Experience has shown that where this principle is violated, inter-African conflict and disunity do inevitably follow. Already this agreement has generated intense animosities between Swazi and Swazi and between Swazi and Zulu, involving millions of African people. This situation gravely undermines the cause of African unity and gives rise to the possibility of fratricidal strife among the African people. This fits in perfectly with the divide and rule strategy of the apartheid regime and can only serve to extend the lease of life of this regime.

4. As in other parts of Africa, the nation states of Southern Africa are composed of people who speak various languages and who

emanate from different ancestral origins. Many of these are to be found in more than one state as large settled communities. Accordingly, there are Swazi-speaking people in South Africa as there are in Swaziland. There are Sotho-speaking people in Lesotho as there are in South Africa. Tswana-speaking people are to be found both in Botswana and in South Africa, as are Shangaan-speaking people in Mozambique and South Africa and Venda-speaking people in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Conscious of their obligations towards the goals of the larger African community, none of the independent states in the region have pressed claims of annexation of the relevant sections of the South African population. Similarly some have correctly refused attempts by Pretoria to have these sections declared aliens in South Africa and nationals of the relevant independent neighbouring states. Since its formation 70 years ago this year, the African National Congress has fought against all attempts by successive South African regimes to annex Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, attempts partly argued on the basis that the population of these countries constituted extensions of population groups living in South Africa. We would consider it highly regrettable that Swaziland should, at this late hour, set herself apart from the rest of the African people of our region by breaking with the tradition described above, by electing to separate the Swazi-speaking people of South Africa from the rest of the African population of our country and by joining hands with the apartheid regime in carrying out a policy which aims at transforming South Africa into a white man's country by declaring the African people aliens in the country of their birth.

5. Our feeling of regret is made more intense by the fact that the Royal house of Swaziland, representing the Swazi people, helped to found the African National Congress in 1912. Then and during the subsequent decades to date, Swaziland recognised that the peoples of Southern Africa and of Africa shared common interests and a com-

mon destiny. Accordingly, the Swazi people were at one time with those of South Africa, in the struggle to forge even greater African unity and to liberate the oppressed African peoples. Over the decades, the leaders of the peoples of Swaziland and South Africa have worked strenuously to teach their peoples about the fact that they were in actuality one people who had been forcibly divided by the colonial powers. When the founding fathers of the ANC, including the distinguished Royal house of Swaziland, voted in January 1912 to strive to 'bury the demon of tribalism', they cherished the ideal not of the separation of the peoples of Southern Africa, but of their unification, emphasising the common African bonds that unite us and pointing to the grave harm done to our welfare by the stress on ethnic divisions. The Pretoria regime, the arch enemy of the African peoples, actively seeks to worsen these divisions, in its own interests. In this situation, the people of South Africa count on the Government and the people of Swaziland to recall the heritage of unity and African brotherhood which Queen Regent Labotsibeni left us and, as before, to reaffirm, practically, their loyalty to this heritage.

6. Having refused to recognise the legitimacy of the racist and colonial apartheid regime, from its inception the OAU has rejected the claim of this regime to represent the people of South Africa. In keeping with these positions, the OAU has recognised the liberation movement as the authentic representative of the people of South Africa and has, therefore, granted our movement the status of observer at the OAU. These positions have been endorsed, and the course pursued by the OAU followed by the Non-Aligned Movement and the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation as well as the specialised agencies of the UN. Accordingly, we are convinced that it is both politically and morally incorrect to enter into agreements with the illegitimate apartheid regime which affect the territorial integrity of our country. The people of South Africa and their liberation movement would therefore be within their right if they

refuse to recognise the validity of such agreements. This position already has force in international law to the extent that the international community has formally declared invalid the decisions of the apartheid regime to balkanise the territory of South Africa through the Bantustan policy. It is our hope that Swaziland will continue to respect these positions which she herself helped to formulate.

7. We believe that it is fundamentally wrong to change the nationality of any people without their express consent. In this particular case, the decision to change the nationality of almost a million South Africans has been reached without any consultation whatsoever with these people and, indeed, against their express wishes. The imposition of a new nationality on these people would, in essence, mean that they are being colonised. There is no possibility that such a development can be acceptable either to the people of South Africa or to the international community.

8. The purpose of the apartheid regime in seeking to alter the boundaries of South Africa and to expatriate almost a million are clear. They are:

- (a) To further the policy of transforming South Africa into a white man's country by depriving the entire African population of their South African citizenship.
- (b) To impose on the Government of Swaziland the obligation to ensure that this population of one million South Africans does not participate in the struggle to liberate South Africa and that the ANC, the recognised leader of the oppressed and struggling masses of South Africa, is denied access to these people.
- (c) Further to integrate Swaziland within the South African economy, in pursuance of the policy of the apartheid regime of forming a neo-colonialist 'constellation of Southern African states'; and
- (d) To alleviate the problem of African unemployment, which has assumed crisis proportions, by denying a million South Africans the right to employment in South Africa, since they will be turned into foreigners.

It is our firm belief that the Government of Swaziland, realising the grave injustice which the apartheid regime seeks to inflict on the people both of Swaziland and South Africa, will join hands with us to rebuff the manoeuvres of our common enemy.

9. An equally disturbing aspect of this agreement is the intention to develop the area along the Indian Ocean, reportedly to be ceded to Swaziland, as a naval base for use by the Western and South African navies. This refers specifically to Kosi Bay. Quite clearly, this is a very dangerous ploy designed to transform Swaziland into a military base for the purpose of terrorising and committing aggression against the rest of independent Africa, policing the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic in the interest of the Western powers and providing these powers with a base from which they can easily and at the opportune moment, dispatch their military force into South Africa to save the apartheid regime from its inevitable defeat by our liberation movement. As an expression of its intent, the apartheid regime is already building an all-weather road, at the cost of tens of millions of rand, to link Kosi Bay with the rest of the South African road network. We are convinced that the Government of Swaziland, in keeping with its obligations under the Charters of the OAU, the Non-Alligned Movement and the UN will defeat this effort to turn the Kingdom of Swaziland into an enemy of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America and a base which threatens international peace and security.

10. The people of Swaziland and of South Africa can and will, in future, solve any territorial disputes between them peacefully and amicably, in the spirit of African brotherhood and mutual solidarity. For this to be possible, it is, however, necessary that the people of South Africa should, like those of Swaziland, govern themselves. It is, therefore, our considered view that the Government of Swaziland would be perfectly within its right to raise any territorial questions with the government of a liberated South Africa, should there be such questions. In the meantime, it would, in our view, have been an advantage both to Swaziland and ourselves, if the Government of Swaziland

had sought the opinion of the ANC on the question under discussion before entering into negotiations with the Pretoria regime.

11. We wish to assure the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland of our high fraternal esteem and of our conviction that we can and must, between ourselves, reach an honourable agreement which will

advance the cause of African liberation and unity.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Lusaka, July 15, 1982

JOIN HANDS WITH US TO
REBUFF THE MANOEUVRES
OF OUR COMMON ENEMY

INTERVIEW

ANC PRESIDENT SPEAKS ON LAND DEAL

The African National Congress of South Africa hopes to meet with King Sobhuza 11 of Swaziland in the near future to discuss the South African 'offer' of the Kangwane Bantustan and the Ingwavuma strip to Swaziland. Speaking at a press conference in Maputo this morning, ANC President Oliver Tambo said that the ANC had already held two sets of discussions with the Swazi authorities. The second took place last week in Swaziland. The ANC delegation was headed by Mr Tambo himself, while the Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, led the Swazi side.

'I cannot say that agreement was reached on the two principal issues,' said Mr Tambo. 'First the border question and secondly the intention of the South African regime to denationalise some one million black South Africans and throw them into Swaziland. But agreement was reached,' he continued, 'that it was necessary to see the King himself.' Mr Tambo expects the meeting with King Sobhuza to take place shortly after the OAU heads of state summit. He stressed 'that the ANC wants to avoid a con-

flict among opponents of the Pretoria regime. We have felt that this is a matter we can discuss and reach an agreement upon between the ANC and the Swaziland authorities, or between the Swaziland authorities and the leaders of the Southern African region.'

'As a result,' he added 'the ANC has made few public statements on this affair, in spite of the fact that we all feel very strongly about it.' However, many statements had emanated from Mbabane and Pretoria, some of which had misrepresented the ANC. 'It is necessary to correct false impressions,' said Mr Tambo. He described the land deal 'as a move against our struggle and against the interests of Africa.' He condemned the attempts by Pretoria to deprive a further million South Africans of their citizenship and make them citizens of another country. 'The apartheid regime,' he continued 'wished to destroy the Southern African Development Coordination Conference, and build up instead the Constellation of Southern African States, in which it would like to see as members Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland as well as the independent Bantustans. We have pleaded' he said 'and we are pleading with our brothers in Swaziland, a country



Comrade President O.R. Tambo

which supports our struggle, to stay its hand in this matter, and to avoid being pushed into a position in which it is allied with the Pretoria regime against everybody else.'

Mr Tambo said that 'beyond a willingness to discuss the matter, there was so far no indication that the Swaziland authorities were prepared to change their minds'. But the ANC did not intend to take the matter to the OAU. 'We think we should first exhaust the possibilities of having it resolved by the leaders in this region, if the ANC itself does not succeed. What Pretoria wants,' he continued 'is to compound divisions and conflicts inside the OAU. The ANC has no intention of helping the regime in this. Border questions,' he said 'are the subject of bitter conflict, and some of them are threatening the very life of the OAU. Only an enemy of the OAU would want to add another border question. The ANC has not gone into the merits of where the border should be. We have contented ourselves with saying that it is possible to prove that any border in Africa is in the wrong place. It's the easiest thing to do.'

Asked if he believed that Swaziland had agreed to end its support for the liberation movement as part of the land deal with South Africa, Mr Tambo said he did not think that Swaziland would 'enter an express agreement under which it would withdraw support for the ANC. But the land deal set off a dynamic of conflict, in that the ANC could not accept that a million South Africans were to be declared foreigners in their own country and made citizens of Swaziland instead. It's not a declared policy of withdrawing support from the ANC,' he said, 'its just that conditions are being created whereby the interests of the Kingdom of Swaziland are being set in conflict with the interests of the struggle for the liberation of the people of South Africa.'

One journalist asked if the ANC would be prepared to discuss border changes after the overthrow of apartheid. Mr Tambo said that this would be perfectly possible. 'After



achieving our fundamental aim, our common objective, we could then sit down and discuss how we wanted to arrange ourselves. Once the minority regime had been destroyed it should be possible to enter into all kinds of adjustments and arrangements.' Mr Tambo praised Lesotho's refusal to take part in any similar land deal with Pretoria. He pointed out that Lesotho laid claim to the entire Orange Free State, 'but the Lesotho government discussed these matters with the ANC, and we agreed that it is wrong to pursue this kind of claim in the middle of a struggle for the liberation of the whole of Southern Africa, including in a way the liberation of Lesotho itself, and that this matter would be better resolved by a freed people of South Africa. Lesotho understands that South Africa has not suddenly become generous about land, and that it is using states on its borders for its own ends. One of these was to obliterate the distinction between independent states and Bantustans, so that eventually the Transkei and other Bantustans could win international recognition.'

Mr Tambo stressed that: 'It is precisely because we think that our people might find themselves fighting the wrong enemy that we urge that the issue be discussed by those who have an interest in the unity of our

people against oppression, white minority rule, against the exploitation of our working people. And we believe that Swaziland does have an interest in that kind of unity.'

AIM, Maputo, July 31 1982

APARTHEID

BREEDS DISEASE

THE CHOLERA EPIDEMIC IN SOUTH AFRICA

One of the world's six most formidable diseases, cholera usually gets a hold in populations living without a purified water supply. Cholera affects people, not animals. If exposure occurs to an infected source, it affects rich and poor alike. The source is water contaminated by human excrement, or more rarely, contaminated from vegetables or fruit which has come into contact with infected water supplies. It is very rare for cholera to directly spread from one person to another. A few hours after swallowing the cholera organism, the vibrio cholerae, the symptoms begin.

The disease usually starts with sudden, severe diarrhoea, without pain or blood, and may be followed by vomiting. The characteristic stools, initially brown, soon become clear, with mucus, and are described as 'rice-water' stools. The hands and feet of the infected person become cold, and the eyes become sunken, due to loss of water

and salt. The sick person may develop muscle cramps, and breathes slowly. A tremendous amount of fluid may be lost. If not replaced rapidly, the sick person may die from dehydration. If water and salts are replaced, then death should not occur.

The relationship between infected water supply and the spread of cholera has been known ever since John Snow, the 'father of epidemiology', studied a cholera outbreak which occurred in London in 1853-4. 4000 people died, a death rate of 15.3 per thousand population. Cholera had been reintroduced to the Thames river by some sailors from the Baltic. John Snow proved that the disease had been spread by water supplied by a certain water company. This company did not purify the Thames water which it supplied to its customers. It was cheaper not to do so. Snow proved his theory by breaking the Broad street pump which conveyed the contaminated water,

which was said to 'smell like sewage'. A massive decrease in the number of cholera cases followed.

During the twentieth century, only sporadic cases of cholera have occurred in Europe, largely 'seeded' along the travel routes of major airlines. These minor outbreaks have been quickly contained. Wherever a piped water supply is available from a chlorinated source, as in present day Britain, Europe, and America and 'white South Africa', cholera is readily controlled.

Cholera no longer affects urban areas. It flourishes in rural and periurban areas, where contaminated canals, streams, rivers and wells may be a source of drinking water. Where open defaecation, or pit privies, abound, the water table may become infected, leading to a rapid spread of the disease. And where people still live under the inhuman conditions found in the balkanised Bantustans of rural South Africa, cholera, once introduced, soon reaches epidemic proportions.

Cholera in Southern Africa

Cholera is not a new disease in Southern Africa. Vasco da Gama's expedition was probably struck by cholera in 1490. During the colonial period cholera spread throughout East Africa, along the trade routes, leaving hundreds of thousands of people dead. The first time cholera is alleged to have reached the South African coast is in 1890, when a ship containing 400 Indian labourers arrived from Madras. Nine deaths with 'acute diarrhoea' were reported, and those survivors, who were placed in isolation, were confirmed to be suffering from cholera. After over 40 years' absence from the subcontinent, an outbreak occurred in Rand mineworkers in 1974. 63 mineworkers were affected on one mine, and 6 on another. Apart from this sporadic outbreak, which was quickly controlled, the disease was unknown in Africa south of the Sahara.

Cholera has now spread through most

countries in Africa, killing thousands of people. In January 1980, the Zambian authorities announced that 14 people had died from cholera, and that a further 18 cases had been hospitalised. A cholera epidemic also broke out in Mozambique in January 1980. Sporadic outbreaks were reported from Angola, Zimbabwe, and Malawi.

The disease hits apartheid South Africa

In August 1980 the disease spread, possibly via Mozambique, but possibly via seeding from major airlines, to Nelspruit and KaNgwane, in the Eastern Transvaal. KaNgwane Bantustan, situated along the Swaziland and Mozambique borders, has an estimated population of 150,000 people, and the population density is estimated at 144 per square mile. It consists of three separate areas, known as Nkomazi, Nsikazi, and 'new area'. A township in KaNgwane obtains its water supply from open reservoirs containing piped water from an open irrigation canal known as the Crocodile-Malulane Poort canal, leading directly from the Crocodile river. There are no purification works. This canal and the dirty waters of the Crocodile river have been proved to be the original source of the cholera epidemic in the Eastern Transvaal.

In the same way that the Broad street pump in the East End (poorer end) of London conveyed sewage-contaminated Thames water to the local Londoners, similarly the Crocodile-Malulane Poort Canal conveyed the vibrio cholerae to the people of KaNgwane, and for the same reason. It was cheaper to do so than to purify the water. As a result, six weeks after the initial case had been confirmed, 844 cases had already been diagnosed, and 28 had died. This relatively low death rate is due to the fact that the strain of the KaNgwane outbreak has been shown to be a relatively non-virulent subtype of cholera: the El Tor biotype. It is also likely that many deaths remained unreported.

By March 1981, 1756 cases had been

This is
the face of
starvation



The face of starvation in South Africa . . . a Tswana child who, says Dr. Rachel Mackenzie, no longer "has the will to live".

proven, most of these occurring in the Eastern Transvaal, with a few isolated cases on the Rand, in other parts of the Transvaal, and in Natal. 3 cases were reported in Swaziland. Over 50 cases with subclinical infection occur for every case diagnosed as cholera. This means that well over 80,000 people, just under half the population of KaNgwane, had been infected. Many will remain carriers of the disease.

'Resettlement' breeds disease

'Resettlement' areas have no amenities whatsoever, no running water, no sewage, no schools and no clinics. 'Squatter towns' have been developed in Matsulu, where 11,000 people have recently moved. These are tenant families recently moved off white-owned farms in the Eastern Transvaal.

Hundreds of thousands, some say as many as 3 million Africans have been similarly relocated, but neither rehoused nor reemployed, in similar squatter camps throughout South Africa. This banishment of the urban unemployed, so-called redundant agricultural labourers, tenant farmers, the old, the sick, the women and children, to impoverished, overcrowded and unhygienic slums can only be called mass genocide. Under such conditions, not only cholera, but other diseases, such as gastroenteritis, typhoid fever, poliomyelitis, tuberculosis, malaria and kwashiorkor, flourish. The infant mortality rate in most Bantustans is 240 per thousand live births, and in the Transkei 282 per 1000 live births. These figures should be compared with 20 per 1000 live births among white South Africans.

By December 1981 a second cholera epidemic was spreading throughout other 'homelands', this time through Bophuthatswana and Kwazulu. The epidemic in Bophuthatswana had already claimed 4 lives, and put 200 people into hospital. During the last two weeks of September 1981, 60 more cases were confirmed in the Moretele district, 45km from Pretoria. Between 50-70 cases were being diagnosed

in Stanger and the Mapumulo district daily. Tests carried out by travelling health teams discovered that at least 45% (almost one half) of the rural population studied (25,000) showed positive evidence of previous cholera infection. The disease spread to Pinetown, on the outskirts of Durban. 5 further cases, one from Kwa Mashu and one from Inanda, one urban 'location' and a periurban 'black spot' respectively, were admitted to King Edward VIII Hospital, a hospital for blacks, situated in Durban itself.

The spectre of cholera was haunting the white city. So great was the alarm of the white residents that, despite public health reassurances, great public agitation developed to evict immediately the 180,000 squatters resident on Indian-owned land in Inanda, as this periurban slum relies entirely on local streams for its water supply. This attempt of urban whites to 'relocate' black people 'out of sight, out of mind' seems to have become the familiar pattern in South Africa today.

The cholera toll

The true number of cases of cholera, and the true number of deaths from the disease, is unknown. Many people are too weak, or too poverty-stricken to travel long distances to treatment centres, clinics or hospitals. The hospitals are overcrowded, and turn all but the most serious cases. Statistics for Blacks are notoriously unreliable. In the absence of sufficient doctors in the rural areas (1:900, white areas; 1:50,000 Bantustans) many cases probably remain undiagnosed. It is clear that figures supplied from official sources, if not deliberate underestimates, are likely at best to be inaccurate.

During the second outbreak described above, a further 1425 black South Africans were confirmed as suffering from cholera. The number of notified deaths was 56. The majority of deaths were in children. Other gastrointestinal disorders, such as gastroenteritis and typhoid fever, can



At the water-hole "drinking diseases".

simulate cholera. So many children die annually from gastroenteritis and kwashiorkor that statistics are no longer kept of these diseases. It is almost certain that the above figures are an underestimate, particularly if the figures reported from Kwazulu that 50-70 cases were notified per day are to be believed.

The following are the number of cases reported from various parts of South Africa during the second epidemic:

<i>Lebowa</i>	283
<i>Kwazulu</i>	580
<i>Natal</i>	212

Qua Qua

<i>Southern Transvaal</i>	82
<i>Northern Transvaal</i>	41
<i>Bophuthatswana</i>	266
	1425

(Note that no figures are given for the Eastern Transvaal (KaNgwane) which the racists aim to cede to Swaziland)

Prevention of cholera

Cholera can only be prevented by providing purified and chlorinated water supplies.



Living conditions in a 'resettlement' camp

During an epidemic, chlorination of water can prevent the spread of the disease. Immunisation against cholera, although available, is not considered to be effective. Once the disease has developed, its ill effects can be reversed by drinking water solutions containing specific amounts of salt and sugar: to one litre of water, 8 teaspoonsful of glucose (sugar) and 1 teaspoonful of salt should be added. The individual should drink as much of this water as possible, and an interim treatment, whilst on the way to hospital. In hospital, tetracycline, intravenous fluids, particularly potassium, are used in the treatment of the serious cases.

Between August 1981 and May 1982 it was reported that 185 people died, and 46, 164 persons were treated in Natal and Kwazulu alone. These figures are likely to be more accurate than the figures quoted above.

So far this major health hazard in South Africa has been a hazard for Blacks only. Not a single white person is known to have suffered from, or succumbed to, cholera during the two epidemics which occurred in 1980 and 1981-82. It has taken this cholera epidemic to refocus world attention on the deplorable living and health conditions to which the apartheid regime condemns the majority of South Africans.

FIGHT TO SAVE THE LIVES OF ANC FREEDOM FIGHTERS

In the last issue of SECHABA we looked at the implications of a forthcoming political trial involving three ANC combatants charged with high treason. Since then, Telle Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Semano Mosololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung have been sentenced to death. Below we look at the course of their trial and the need for a concerted effort by the international community to prevent the judicial murder of the six ANC freedom fighters currently in Pretoria Prison's notorious death row.

.....

Despite South Africa's attempts to project an image of 'reform' and relaxation of apartheid laws, it is, in its efforts to halt the onward surge of the liberation struggle, relying on more and more barbaric forms of repression.

In August, 21 year old Ernest Dipale was found murdered in his cell "hanged by a strip of his blanket". Those detainees, alleged to have participated in the revolutionary armed struggle who survive to face trial, are dealt with by simply making the murder an act of court. At present six ANC members are facing sentence of death. Moise, Shabangu and Tsotsobe await the hearing of their appeal on September 3rd,

1982. And now they have been joined by the "Moroko Three" whose trial again revealed the excesses of fascist brutality that have become commonplace in apartheid South Africa.

The State's Case

Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung were found guilty of 'high treason' and 20 alternative charges. State evidence at their trial focussed on the attacks on Moroko and Orlando police stations in 1979 in which three members of the apartheid police force died, and the action against the Wonderboom police station near Pretoria on December 24th of last year. The Prosecution also detailed actions on the New Canada railway line and the Capital Park electricity sub-station as part of the charges against them.

The "Moroko Three" pleaded not guilty to all the allegations made by the apartheid court. The so-called crimes they were accused of committing were armed actions by the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, a component part of the just struggle for national liberation being waged by the South African people. Indeed, it became clear during the trial that their determination to fight for freedom had



been forged during the 1976 student uprisings. The "Moroko Three" had seen their young sisters and brothers mowed down in the streets by the fascist police.

It was precisely actions like those in Orlando and Moroko that heralded in a new phase in the armed struggle in South Africa, that signified that the army of the people had developed a greater and more effective combat capability. The reaction of the racist regime to this reality is most starkly revealed by the horrific torture to which the accused were subjected.

Evidence of barbaric torture

The Counsel for Defence in their trial gave graphic evidence of the torture of Simon Mogoerane. In an attempt to force Mogoerane to disclose the location of their weapons, the security police tied a rope around his neck and one of his hands behind his back. They then pulled a plastic

bag over his head and hung him from a tree, making him stand on his toes. A dog was then unleashed to savage him.

He was suspended from a pole between a table and a chair while being subjected to electric shocks. A pistol was placed in his mouth while another policeman banged the table, making a sound like a shot being fired. When the police threatened to arrest and torture his mother, he finally agreed to write a statement.

It seems beyond comprehension, but it is true, that Justice D.J. Curlewis allowed this statement as evidence after deciding that it had been made "freely and voluntarily". In giving his judgement, Curlewis described Mogoerane as "a compulsive liar".

Evidence given on the treatment of Marcus Motaung again implicated the South African medical profession in the crimes of the racist state. On his arrest,

Motaung was shot three times by the security police. He was only given medical treatment three hours later. What did this "treatment" consist of? Pretoria local district surgeon, Dr M.S. Snyman merely gave Motaung painkilling tablets and then delivered him back into the hands of the security police who took him away "to point out certain things". Dr Snyman had not even put disinfectant or dressings on his gunshot wounds. Asked by the Defence if it was not her duty in terms of the "Hippocratic Oath" to attend to the wounds, Dr Snyman said she had only painkilling tablets to give him and that "she thought Mr Motaung was in a good enough condition to go with the police".

Firm in their commitment

Despite their experiences, the "Moroko Three" stood firm in their commitment to their people's struggle throughout the trial. Motaung told the court of his political development as a member of the ANC, and how he had been affected by the sight of children shot and choked by teargas in 1976. All three described how they had joined the people's army "to come and fight for the liberation of black people."

Motaung explained how he had discovered that the ANC had been formed with the purpose of fighting for the rights of black people. But the regime had not been prepared to work with them. He referred to the long history of peaceful struggle which had been met by events such as the massacre at Sharpeville. Motaung defended the ANC's political programme, the Freedom Charter, which he said "puts into perspective the fundamental principles of interest to democratic South Africans".

Fight to Save their Lives!

It is going to require a new level of international mobilisation to save the lives of the Moroko Three. There is no doubt that the racists see them as a symbol of everything they fear and are fighting against. For the South African people and indeed the inter-

national democratic community as a whole, they and their comrades Moise, Shabangu and Tsotsobe, represent the heroism and determination of an oppressed people fighting to be free. A campaign must be waged that does justice to their cause. **FIGHT TO SAVE THEIR LIVES!**



THE MURDER

The fascist regime has added the blood of yet another patriot to the list of those it has murdered in detention. The latest victim of racist brutality is 21 year-old Ernest Moabi Dipale who, according to the racist police, was found hanging in his cell at the Gestapo police headquarters in Johannesburg in the early hours of Sunday morning.

The responsibility for this gruesome murder lies squarely on the shoulders of the fascist police, and the entire system of apartheid colonialism they are hired to defend. It is particularly instructive that, a few days before his arrest, Ernest was shot at by police agents in the darkness of the ghetto streets. In frustration at having failed in this attempt, the police then resorted to their notorious methods of torture. The lack of compunction on the part of the regime in the wake of this murder has been confirmed by the statement of the fascist Minister of Law and Order, le Grange who boasted yesterday that his police could not be expected to keep detainees under "five-star hotel" conditions in order to extract information.

To the South African people who have now lost 57 patriots in detention, thousands others murdered with bullets and bayonets in streets, and millions through starvation and disease in the rural backwaters of our country, the meek excuse that Ernest could not be considered a detainee because he "had made a confession to a Magistrate", is nothing but blatant provocation. It constitutes an obvious attempt on the part of the regime to cushion itself from the

protests of the strong anti-detention front that has, and continues to challenge this abhorrent practice, and to demand the release of all detainees and political prisoners.

The murder of Ernest Dipale once more emphasises the urgency of the overthrow of the white minority regime, to destroy its system root and branch and establish on its ruins a free and democratic South Africa.

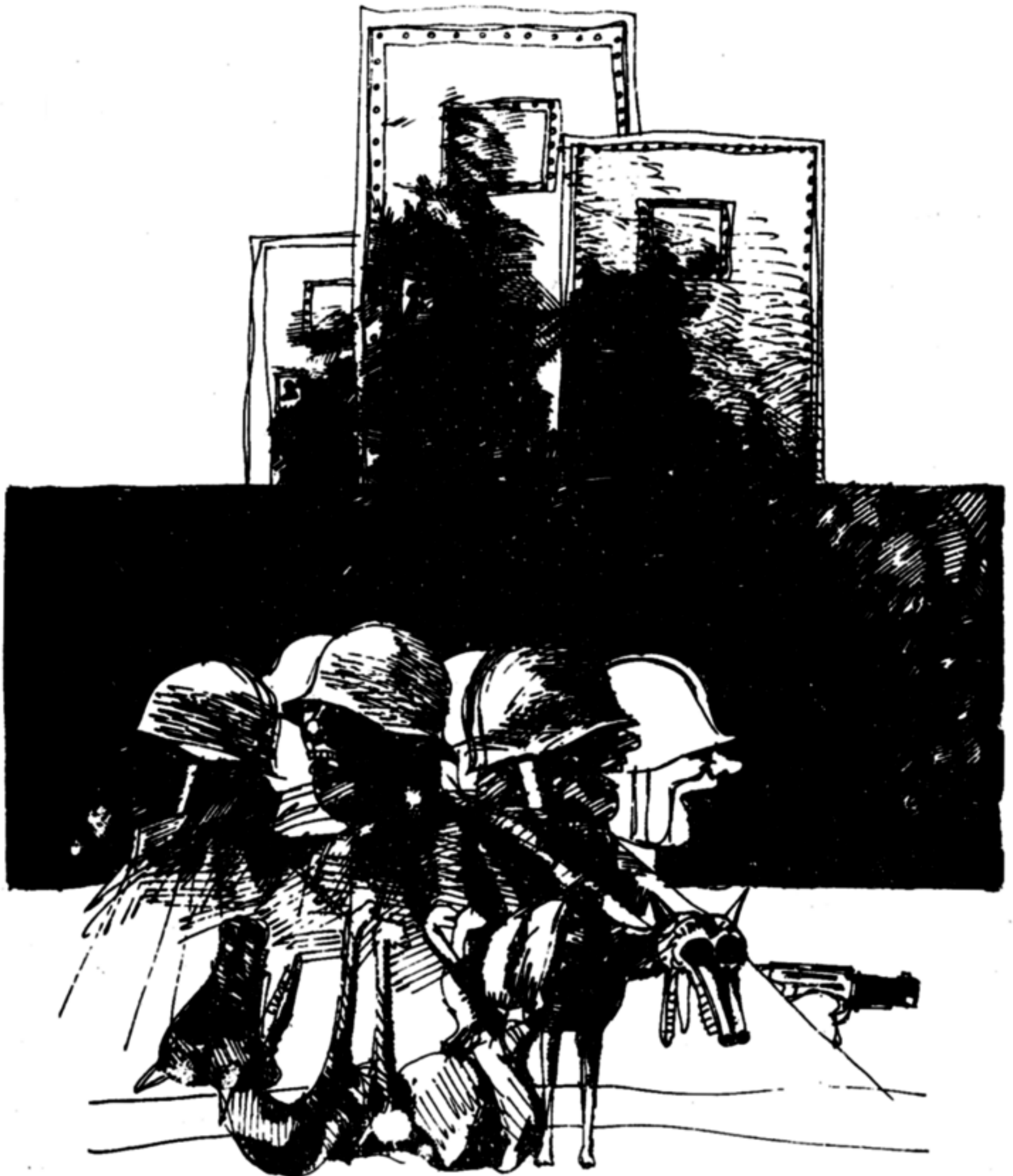
Conscious of this imperative the African National Congress calls on the people of South Africa to mount the strongest ever protest at the murder of this young patriot. Let us intensify the campaign for the release of all detainees and political prisoners, and intensify the mass offensive on all fronts for the speediest destruction of the system of apartheid colonialism. This latest murder in detention should spur the efforts of the regime which receives its support from the United States of America, Britain and other imperialist countries, and to increase their support for the struggling people led by the ANC in order to put an end once and for all to the reign of terror in our country, against the people of Namibia and against the whole of southern Africa.

The African National Congress in all its contingents pledges to spare nothing to ensure that the death of Ernest Dipale is avenged, and to lead the people in the struggle for the seizure of power sooner rather than later.

AMANDLA, MATLA!

Alfred Nzo, Secretary General

OF ERNEST DIPALE MUST BE AVENGED



ANC YOUTH UNITE IN ACTION

SECHABA interviews Eddie Funde, head of the ANC Youth Section on the aims and objectives of the ANC Youth Conference held in Tanzania from the 17–21 August 1982. (A full report of the Conference will appear in the next issue of SECHABA).

Why did the Youth decided to hold a conference at this time?

EF: First of all, because this year is the Year of Unity in Action, as was declared by the ANC and in accordance with this the National Executive Committee decided that one of the major events of this year should be the holding of an ANC Youth Conference. The Conference should be held to consolidate the ranks of our youth, to bring about stronger unity in ideological, political and organisational work of our youth both inside and outside South Africa.

Several youth conferences have been held in the past but these have mainly focussed on consolidating the ranks of our youth outside the country. These have by now achieved certain results in that there has been a growing activity by our youth externally, especially in the sphere of international solidarity work.

But this conference will definitely be held at a higher level in that it will concentrate more on consolidating the ranks of our youth towards intensifying the struggle inside the country. It will also bring about a balance between our youth inside and outside South Africa. At this conference a Programme of Action will be drawn up for all our youth be they in the people's army, be they students, be they working youth – a Programme which will lead to a greater involvement of our youth in pursuing the struggle for liberation.

The conference will also work out

new structures which will see to the effective organisational activity of our youth. This is of course of very great importance. It will also define the rights and obligations of our youth as members of the ANC.

These aspects make this conference the first of its nature since the ANC was banned. It will project the activities of our youth into a much more active, organised and ideologically organised detachment of the organisation, and create a reserve of activists who will further the struggle that has been carried out by our forefathers and our present leadership and our people inside South Africa.

A Preparatory Committee has been established towards preparing for the conference. What have been the tasks of the committee and what achievements have been made so far?

EF: The tasks of the Preparatory Committee are mainly to see to the effective participation of all the delegates and also to see to it that the conference achieves the goals it has been convened for. One of its major tasks is to first of all see that all our youth are represented at this conference, and that this representation is expressed in all the work of the conference. In this light we have had to inform all our youth, wherever they may be, and indeed the whole membership of our organisation and also fraternal youth organisations, about the taking place of this conference. In

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 1912 - 1982



YOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH IN STRUGGLE

ANC YOUTH SECTION (S.E. MISSION) ANC YOUTH SECRETARIAT PO BOX 3176 LUSAKA ZAMBIA

this aspect, the Preparatory Committee has already achieved its goals. We think that we shall have proper representation of our youth at the conference.

The other task of the Preparatory Committee has been to prepare material that will be needed for the conference. In this light, various fraternal youth organisations have responded to our requests for material like stationary and publicity, as well as publicising the conference in their journals. We think that this task will be achieved.

The third task of the Preparatory Committee is of course to prepare the political material for the conference. Various documents have to be prepared, various organs of the movement have been asked to participate through papers and messages, so as to enrich the work of the conference. Besides this, the committee is now feverishly engaged in preparing the basic documents that will be required.

So we are quite confident that by the time the conference takes place, the Preparatory Committee will have achieved its goals. Of course, at the conference, the Preparatory Committee will have the task of steering the proceedings to a successful conclusion.

Another very important task is that of finding the necessary cadres who are going to lead our youth to see to the effective implementation of the resolutions and decisions of the conference itself. Because, unless a properly constituted body of leadership at headquarters exists it is not possible to achieve the tasks that the conference has set.

We believe that by the time the conference is over we shall have a very strong Programme of Action with properly constituted structures and the people to man these structures.

You have talked of a "representative conference". What has been the procedure to ensure this representation?

E.F.: We have appealed to all units to select their delegates. We are not going to select the delegates who are going to participate at the conference. Of course the Preparatory Committee will invite certain people who it thinks will promote the work of the conference and make it a success. But we expect all our youth units to meet and discuss, and appoint or elect their delegates. In doing this we are also taking into consideration that certain units are bigger than others. Therefore where units are larger, we expect more delegates to attend. Those delegates should also represent all the various sections our units may be divided into. We also expect that when the delegates have been selected, all our youth will meet in a general meeting where they will brief and give the necessary mandates to their delegates.

We believe that in this way, the conference will be very representative.

You mentioned the question of new structures having to be created manned with an appropriate leadership. Are you suggesting that there are going to be elections? What form is this going to take?

E.F.: We have first of all assigned our units the task, before they come to the conference, of making suggestions about what kind of structures they would like to have in the Youth Section. We expect our youth to respond to this. In that way the responsibility of deciding on what structures becomes not something that is imposed upon them, but something that they themselves consider to be necessary for the running of their own body. The next step will be to think out who will be best to man those structures. Of course we are a revolutionary movement, we are working under very difficult and underground conditions. On top of this, we are spread out all over the world.

The Preparatory Committee's task then, based on the structures that are going to be suggested and approved by our NEC, is

to suggest various people to man these structures. And of course the conference will finally have an opportunity to agree and to approve the membership that is going to man these structures.

We believe that this will be the most effective way of conducting this process. The structures will depend a lot on the suggestions we receive from our membership.

Finally what do you think is the role of the international youth movement in ensuring the achievement of the goals of this conference and of course, the implementation of its decisions?

E.F.: We have informed all fraternal youth organisations about our conference and we expect that many of these organisations will be sending messages of solidarity. But more than this, some have already showed concrete support by providing us with material assistance for the conference.

Looking further at the implementation of the decisions of the conference, we think that these organisations are looking forward to seeing what role they can play in assisting our youth to pursue the struggle effectively. These organisations know that the international community has played a crucial role in assisting us. The conference will chart a clear Programme of Action for our international work which will act as a guide to all our fraternal youth organisations in expressing their solidarity with our youth and people.

We think that whatever tasks we set ourselves in international work, the democratic youth of the world will be ready to assist us as they have done in the past. The results of the conference should make it easier for them to effectively express their solidarity with our struggling people, both politically and in terms of material assistance.



CULTURAL WORKERS IN THE SERVICE OF THE REVOLUTION

SECHABA LOOKS AT THE HISTORIC 'CULTURE AND RESISTANCE'
SYMPOSIUM HELD RECENTLY IN GABERONE, BOTSWANA.

A major onslaught was made on apartheid culture and bigwig art at a symposium on "Culture and Resistance" in Gaborone, Botswana, between 4th and 10th July, 1982.

Artists who perch in ivory towers came tumbling down. Greedy moneybags who "decorate their parlour walls with the perfumed scrawls of dilettantes" (1) were put on starvation diet.

Constipated racists, dug-in on the other side of their nervous border, winced as an army of more than 600 art workers loaded their giant howitzer with a barrel full of cultural laxative.

The apparatus of creative activity became part of the arsenal of national liberation. Art became ammunition.

"We are here to wage a cultural offensive for progress in South Africa", proclaimed the organisers, Medu Art Ensemble, who are a group of South African castaways beached in Botswana. In cooperation with the Botswana National Museum they had contacted anti-apartheid art workshops throughout South Africa including The Open school, FUBA, MDALI, RAVAN Press and the Community Arts Project.

Convinced that "any person who stands behind a pen (or brush, camera, or saxophone for that matter!) must be just as effective as any person who stands behind a gun in the service of progress"

they also sought out individual cultural workers in every field of creative endeavour, white, as well as black, the famous as well as the less well known.

More surprised than the organisers, but also less well prepared for the flood of cars and buses bottlenecking at the border, were the police who monitored more than 600 crossings between the 3rd and 5th July.

If the Congress of the People was the most representative ever political gathering of South Africans then this symposium in Gaborone had to be the most representative cultural gathering.

Individuals and delegates from almost every community, region and province of the country together with exiles "coming home" from their points of dispersal in the front line states and other parts of the world transformed Gaborone into "a cultural conduit for the Southern African region". (2)

Housed together at the University of Botswana they "colonised" the campus for 5 days. Discussions and vigorous debate on fine art, photography, films, song, dance, drama, poetry and novels were eloquently if sometimes controversially introduced by leading anti apartheid artists. Richard Rive, Nadine Gordimer

(1) "Red Our Colour" by ANC Khumalo
(2) Sowetan 9 July 1982

and Mongane Serote were prominent among the writers. The performing arts involved exiled musicians like Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim who with many others performed at two packed and ecstatic evening concerts at the Gaborone Town Hall.

The visual arts included a film festival and a huge exhibition housed at the National Museum under the theme "Art towards Social Development". More than 300 individual works portrayed "an embattled people, a hopeful people" but above all, according to the exhibition catalogue, "a people engaged in deciding how South Africa will emerge out of the abyss of apartheid fascism".

Augmented and illustrated by the exhibition, film festival and concerts, the symposium, through its specialised sessions, successively grappled with the problem of creating unity among all the participants, and drawing them and their disciplines closer to the struggle for national emancipation. The symposium also discussed, in the words of Nadine Gordimer, "the implications of that struggle and the cultural revolution that must go with it".

Throughout this historic event leading cultural workers from the ANC like Victor Matlou, Keorapetse Kgositsile, Lindiwe Mabuza and Barry Gilder played a key role in helping to place the "cultural revolution" firmly within the perspective of the liberation struggle. Minority tendencies towards racial divisiveness, on the one hand, and intellectual obscurantism, on the other, were combatted and defeated.

On the final day there was overwhelming support for two important resolutions. The first called for intensified activity to boycott overseas artists visiting South Africa. The second was for artists to work out a cultural programme in their regions which would indicate their alignment "with the people of South Africa for the liberation of the country". In the

words of Keorapetse Kgositsile, whose paper below launched the symposium and set its tone and targets, "this is part of the struggle for national liberation and in it there is no such creature as a revolutionary soloist".



INTERVIEW

PAPER PRESENTED

BY KEORAPETSE KGOSITSILE



A few years ago a fellow South African writer asked me to explain to him how people like la Guma and I could be in the Movement but still manage to write novels and poems. And I replied, with a bit of acid on my tongue, that I had always wondered how a South African writer could be outside the Movement but hope to write anything of value or significance. It seemed to me that, perhaps my friend believed that in the Liberation Movement there was no room for the literary artist to create; that possibly some frustrated thug with itchy fingers, and too cowardly to confront the boer fascists, spends his time dictating lines of whatever non-literary garbage to the supposed poet at gunpoint like some foul-mouthed Hollywood movie ganster. It is that preposterous and ignorant presumption that put acid on my tongue. But Arthur Nortje had already written:

And let no amnesia
attack at fire hour:
for some of us must storm the castles
some define the happening.

I hope that in discussing 'Culture and Resistance in South Africa,' I will make a contribution towards clarifying a few things about what time this is in our life; what tasks are facing us; what writers and other artists worth their salt are doing in living up to their responsibilities.

Fighting for the seizure of Power

On January 8th this year the African National Congress turned seventy; seventy years of organised resistance against national oppression and economic exploitation; seventy years of rich experience in fighting many freedom battles, including civil

disobedience, strikes, boycotts, marches, passive resistance and many more. But the successive racist regimes took no heed of the people's grievances, as we all know; instead, they continued to rule our country by brute force, increasing the size of their army, of their navy, of their air force, of their police and arming their racist white civilians. Finally, in the face of this neo-nazi barbarism, the ANC established its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to meet the unbridled violence of those fascist maniacs with revolutionary people's violence to liberate South Africa.

In fighting for the seizure of power, the freedom that the struggle is for is clearly defined and incorporated in the Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on June 26, 1955. Briefly, these are the people shall govern; all national groups shall have equal rights; the people shall share in the country's wealth; the land shall be shared among those who work it; all shall be equal before the law, all shall enjoy equal human rights; there shall be work and security; the doors of learning and of culture shall be opened; there shall be peace and freedom. In declaring 1982 the Year of Unity in Action, the year in which to move forward to a democratic South Africa, we must act in unity and unite in action. Comrade O.R. Tambo, President of the ANC, points out:

The comradeship that we have formed in the trenches of freedom, transcending the barriers that the enemy sought to create, is a guarantee and a precondition for our victory. But we need still to build on this achievement. All of us—workers, peasants, students, priests, chiefs, traders, teachers, civil servants, poets, writers, men, women, and youth black and white—must take our common destiny in our own hands.

Literature is a site of Struggle

Based on experiences from some other gatherings of this nature, I suspect that there are some people here who will probably ac-

cuse me of being partisan. They can save their energy and put their minds to something else hopefully more purposeful; I am, like many of my colleagues and comrades, unapologetically partisan. Others might even wonder as to what most of what I have said so far has to do with culture and the arts. And I will do, Everything, because what happens in life and social consciousness finds expression in artistic creativity. Everything in society results from human activity, interaction and interests. This applies as much to the creation of literary as it does to mobilizing workers to go on strike or to pick up arms against their oppressors and exploiters. In clarifying the relationship between literature and life, Alex la Guma, himself a cultural activist and a leading cadre of the Movement says:

When I write in a book that somewhere in South Africa poor people who have no water must buy it by the bucketful from some local exploiter, then I also entertain the secret hope that when somebody reads it he will be moved to do something about these robbers who have turned my country into a material and cultural wasteland for the majority of the inhabitants.

In other words, literature is a state of struggle; it must serve the interests of the people in their fight against a culture which insists that they should be robbed.

Writers and other artists, along with all the other groups in society referred to in comrade Tambo's statement quoted earlier, are joined together by their understanding and hatred of imperialism, capitalist exploitation, racism and their aspiration for, and determination to bring about, peace, progress and happiness. Not in the hustler-preacher's sense, doping us into believing that the more we suffer on this earth we walk everyday the better our chances for everlasting bliss inside the pearly gates of heaven. These issues are clearly political and may seem, to some among us, not to have anything to do with literature and the arts. However, let it be

stated very simply and clearly that there can be no literature or any other art of value without them.

The Personal and the Social

What about the personal, then? After all, have poets not written personal love lyrics and so forth? In our view there is no intrinsic contradiction between the personal and the social in the sensibility of an integrated, whole personality—whether the person is an artist or not. Love, even the love between a man and a woman, parent and child, friend and friend, is a unifying factor in the wholeness we seek. Fulfilment is the quest of our lives. In any society, group, community or class, where this does not exist there is no peace; there is only misery and suffering; there is no life, only despair. And Dennis Brutus, who knows 'the shriek of nerves in pain' when there is 'thunder at the door' following the sounds of 'the sirens in the night,' appeals to us:

To those who persuade us
to purchase despair
we must say No:
Let us cherish our humanity
which they seek to devour:
from our seed
the liberated world must grow.
It is time for action:
enough of craft and cunning
and calculating wisdom.

.....

Our ultimate Responsibility

And we say Mayihlome!, because this speaks directly to our lives even in our personal terrors when we individually hear that 'thunder at the door' and know what kind of perverse, two-legged bloodhound is out there ready to break that door down. The poem is carved out of the realities of our lives. Life is itself the major creative activity. And what is truly creative in art is a reflection and an affirmation of life in moving images.

We are not interested in how it is to be an artist, if the artist is finally interested in fooling around with paints and brushes or in perverse juggling with words, while he con-

templates his next royalty cheque or how he is going to mesmerize his liberal patrons at the next exhibition or book party; we are interested in how it is to be alive. And what is it to be alive today? Fascist tyranny and barbarism is a reality that even the most limpminded need not be reminded of. To be first with the spirit of freedom, to be determined to fight and destroy that tyranny, to usher a new chapter of life where there is peace, progress and happiness—this we see as our mission, our duty; our ultimate responsibility. Lindiwe Mabuza, who uses language admirably as a weapon in our struggle for life, expresses this spirit in her **Epitaph of Love** (In memory of Solomon Mahlangu):

Didn't I hear him today
Even right now
Sing his poem of love
Write an epitaph of love
with LIFE
'My blood will nourish the tree
Which will bear the fruits of freedom'...

Yes for him too with LIFE
We must reach freedom's rich estates...
Marching
To the unbroken rhythm
Of surging dancing spears

Heritage of Cultural Resistance

This determination and commitment to life reflected in the arts, that is, in cultural resistance, is not a new development in South Africa as some, even among the artists, erroneously think. There is a body of literature, oral and written, in practically all the languages in Southern Africa, which is an important part of our heritage of cultural resistance. The highwater mark was the nineteenth century epic, when the African people put up resistance against the invaders, fought many heroic battles; and, in spite of the invaders superiority of arms, won some of them. This heroism is part of our living history and inspires the artists of today as much as it inspired our predecessors. In 1979 we celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the Battle of Isandhlwana at which

the British were thoroughly whipped. Bheki Langa, a contemporary young poet, in a poem titled *Isandhlwana Incarnate*, comments:

The struggle is food
age-old rule of bloodhounds
gives birth to revolt
the sharp teeth of class struggle
chew off whole epochs

we have travelled a long way
in soweto
we were matadors
tricking bullnosed war tanks
and learned
how much a brick
can bleed a bullet to death.

From Soweto to Sandhlwana

Note how the poet's sensibility sees the heroism of our ancestors reflected and re-enacted in the youth in their 1976 resistance against 'the rule of bloodhounds'. He takes us, with consummate skill in clear visual images, from Soweto to Sandhlwana.. It has been a long road and our journey on it has not been a pleasant one; our blood has sunk into the 'greedy soil' of our land; there are many casualties on it, even 'hearts torn from souls', brains, dry intestines and much more. The enemy still had fire power while all we had were knobkieries, stones and bricks. But we fight on courageously and mobilize until there is:

a shower of hope
from the AK for the MK
when we take aim
we salute not the dead stone
but the living spirit and blood
isandhlwana incarnate

This long way we have travelled is sung by another poet, Victor Matlou, in '*The Long Road, The Tunnel*.' It also ends with a commitment to, and an affirmation of, life:

and women give birth here
a choice in anguish
binding a generation to this road
my past is on the pulse of this road
there is light down there at the end of
tunnel
to grope on to touch to carve hopes

breathe songs into hearts of martyrs
to dry tears to summon the dead
to life

The poets from whose work I have quoted a little, are not exceptional; they are exemplary of many other artists in theatre, music, painting, sculpture, song and dance and so on. Our artists have over the years struggled along with the people, sensitized to and expressing the feelings, sufferings, hopes, failures and achievements in our struggle for national liberation. The past few years have seen attempts by the artists, both at home and in exile, to organise themselves into collectives, identifying themselves with the struggle and fashioning ways of making their talents functional in their communities and to the struggling masses of the people as a whole. *Mayibuye, Amandla!* are examples of such cultural collectives.

Art in the Interest of the People

The task facing these artists is formidable. There are a number of charlatans, pimps and prostitutes running around the world masquerading as artists; talking about how sensitive they are; how they cannot be involved in social issues; how art is for its own sake and a lot of other nonsense. Their hideous masks must be yanked off by the artists with a sense of duty and a clear social vision. Creative energy is not locked up in a tower, ivory or black, inside a typewriter, a musical instrument or a can of paint. Recently at Wits there was a benefit concert in aid of detainees and their families. Popular groups like Juluka, Sakhile and Malopoets performed. By participating in a fund-raising concert of that nature, they identified themselves with the detainees and their families; they performed a task that could best be handled by artists in the community; they made their art functional in the needs and interests of the people. This is part of the struggle for national liberation and in it there is no such creature as a revolutionary soloist. We are all involved. The artist is both a participant and imaginative explorer in life. Outside of social life there is no culture, there is no art; and that is one of the major differences between man and beast.

THE ONLY CULTURAL PROGRAMME FOR SOUTH AFRICA IS REVOLUTION

South African jazz pianist and African National Congress member Abdullah Ibrahim, better known as Dollar Brand, is planning to open a Cultural Centre somewhere in Southern Africa. Addressing a press conference on the lawn of one of Maputo's hotels, Abdullah said he had discussed the idea with the ANC National Executive, who were very interested, and he hoped to be able to set it up within a few weeks. He could not at this stage disclose the name of the country where it would be sited.

Abdullah was involved in a similar centre in South Africa's Cape Province in the seventies, but apartheid restrictions forced him to close it down. He told journalists of the hundreds of South African musicians in the United States and Europe, without work and without hope of making a name for themselves in the viciously competitive international market. The Cultural Centre would be an alternative for such people. It would be impossible to do such a thing within South Africa, "the only cultural programme for South Africa is revolution", he said.

He stressed the value of music as a weapon in the liberation struggle. A musician could reach a broad spectrum of people, whereas a politician only got through to a certain section. When asked what was the most important moment of his artistic life, Abdullah replied that being here in Mozambique meant more than anything else he had ever done. To be invited by FRELIMO made him feel useful, and he was here as a representative of his people, he said.

He was very impressed by what he had

seen of Mozambique. "There's an incredible feeling of peace, despite the daily incursions by the South African fascists", he said. He described the atmosphere as quite unique, even compared to other parts of independent Africa.

His condemnation of foreign artists (such as Frank Sinatra, Isaac Hayes and Chick Corea) who tour South Africa was short and to the point: "They're pigs, who live off the blood and sweat of the people". It was hard to stop all of them, he said because some slipped in without anyone knowing in advance, but people inside South Africa were becoming mobilised against such tours. The failure of the recent soccer tour had shown what could be achieved.

Abdullah himself has not played in South Africa, or visited the country, since 1976. He left knowing that he wouldn't return, and he says that gave him "a tremendous feeling of relief" — he knew he could make a statement without worrying about the consequences. Why had he left? "There was only one reason," he said — "apartheid". But he stressed that he regarded his departure from the land of his birth as "a tactical retreat".

When did he expect to play in South Africa again? "On liberation day," he replied. Music was his contribution to the struggle, and he gave an impromptu rendering of a new piece, Umkhonto Song, named after the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation). He described it as "the Liberation March for South Africa, to be sung on the final march on Pretoria".



Abdullah Ibrahim

Abdullah Ibrahim ended his address with a message for the South African people. The reception he had been given by Frelimo and the Mozambican people was something beyond his expectation, he said, and he

wanted the people of South Africa to realise that they had "a very important friend" in Mozambique. "The two peoples are together in struggle", he concluded, "a unified nation".

IMAGES OF A NATION YET TO BE

They came to Lusaka
Amandla came
They came to Lusaka
Power to the People!

They came
They came

They came riding on a wind of fire
They came power muscle dance and song
They came
The tangled branch of a stately tree
They came
Amandla came with them
Those limbs glowing oil from self-produced sweat
Bushfire of pure flames
Purifying hearts in doubt or ignorant
They came
The wizards of an unstoppable army
They came
Witchdoctors sprinkling spears with songs of freedom
They came
Princely princesses melting hearts with peerless smiles
They came
Costumes Xhosas Zulus and Sothos
Fleshly images
Of a nation yet to be!

But —

Here we are already!
Spear is here! The Nation is here!
Listening to your songs
The enemy cannot sleep
The drumbeat swallows the antelope
The antelope cannot sleep
Dumbstruck
The enemy dreams of dervishes
Leaping awesomely into the gunsmoke air
The Enemy dreams of Spear
About to sever the jugular
The bull in Pretoria has no more gonads
He will try in vain to fertilize
The People's virgins!

LEWIS NKOSI

*(December 1981. In commemoration of Amandla's
visit to Lusaka)*

ISOLATE



APARTHEID NOW!