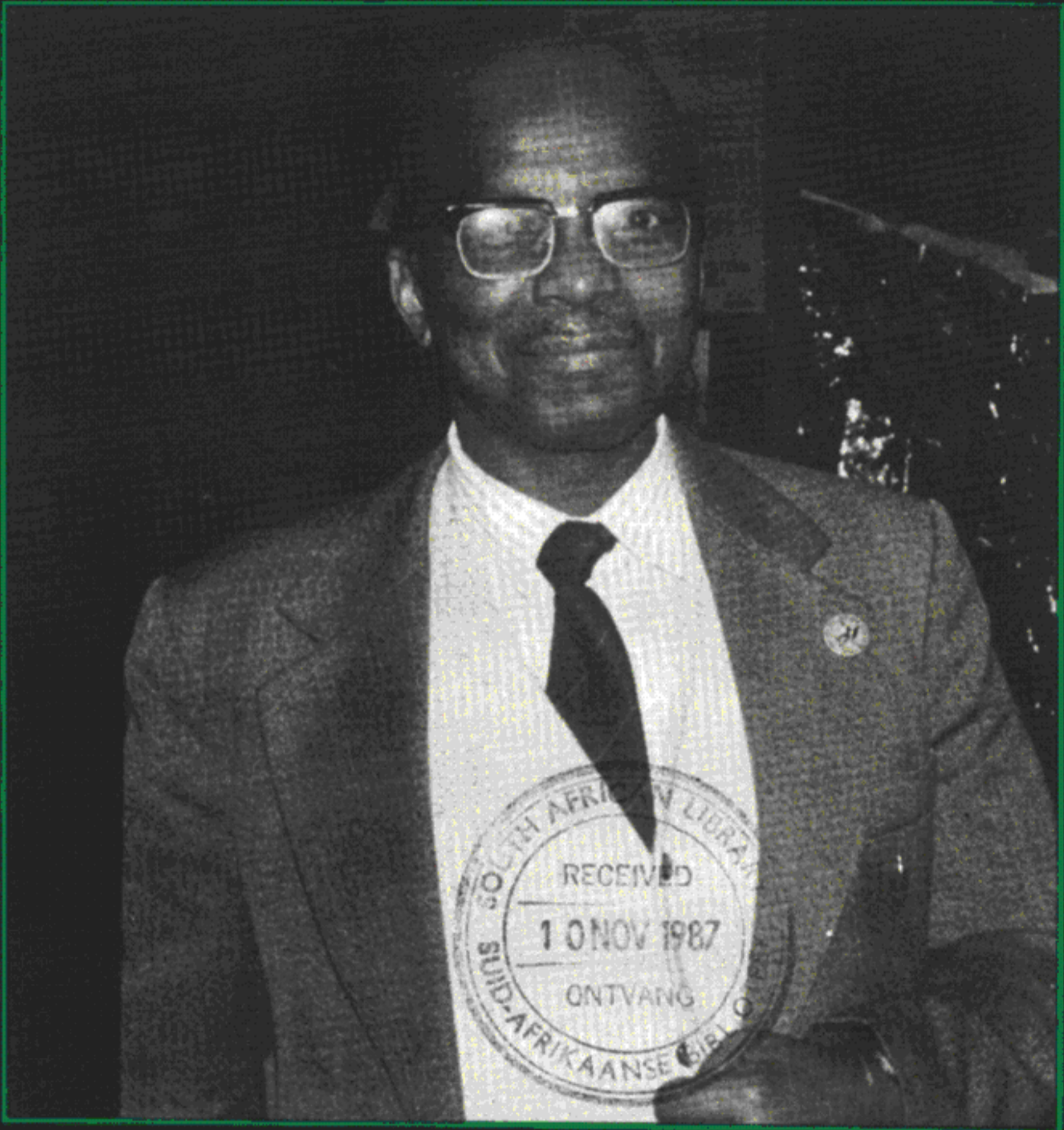


SEPTEMBER 1987



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SEPTEMBER 1987

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APARTHEID NERVOUSNESS OVER THE DAKAR MEETING

A meeting of 61 mainly Afrikaans-speaking Whites and Coloureds met with a delegation of the ANC in Dakar, capital of Senegal, from July 9th till the 12th 1987. These Afrikaans speakers were organised by Dr Van Zyl Slabbert, director of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) and the French socialists.

They came to Dakar because they wanted to meet the ANC. They came to see the ANC because they had questions to ask; and they were not quite in agreement with ANC positions. They were not a homogeneous group, they were not unanimous on anything and they represented nobody. Their politics ranged from right-wing to UDF positions.

One of the most contentious questions was that of armed struggle, which most of them did not favour. Discussions surrounded questions connected with post-apartheid South Africa, non-racialism, economic development and the women's question.

Though there were many points of difference, the atmosphere was calm, peaceful and polite. The ANC delegation managed to use that opportunity to explain our position and to demolish some stereotypes.

The Dakar meeting was important for another reason: it revealed the Whites' ignorance, brain-washing, sense of guilt and fear for the future. The Whites are afraid of the coming revolution; they are afraid of the Blacks, whom they don't know. They are vulnerable to right-wing pressure, and insulated by apartheid from progressive pressures.

The women's question was raised by the ANC delegation — the delegation from home had only three women, who were wives and girl friends of the men.

The Dakar meeting was a success precisely because it was not conceived as a prelude to or preparation for another meeting, or an opposite of armed struggle. It was not an historic meeting

— it was like any other meeting the ANC has held with people and organisations from home. The nervousness which the apartheid regime has shown to this Dakar Conference is an indication of the insecurity of that regime. In Dakar, it became clear that the Whites need the ANC for their own future security. Blacks and Whites can live together under conditions of complete equality. The policy of the ANC of permanent and temporary allies in the prosecution of our struggle needs to be explained to all the genuine supporters of our struggle.

This meeting took place before the assassination in Swaziland of Comrades Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi by the murderers of Pretoria; before the daring acts of Umkhonto We Sizwe in Cape Town and Johannesburg; before the strike by the militant mineworkers — a strike which was called by the National Union of Mineworkers, and which, at the time of writing, was still going on. The detention of children has not stopped; the Front Line States are being threatened; Pretoria's death squads are kidnapping our people in the Front Line States, sentencing them to death, and shooting miners.

What we are saying is that the Dakar meeting was an aspect of the struggle to isolate the apartheid regime and the struggle to defeat apartheid.

We agree with Murphy Morobe, acting publicity secretary of the UDF, who said that the clear message emanating from Dakar vindicates the UDF position that the ANC must be part of any genuine attempt to resolve the crisis in South Africa. The struggle is on now, and it must be intensified, on all fronts: we must confront the enemy on all fronts.

This is what motivated the ANC to agree on going to Dakar. We are not against talks as such; we have one item on the agenda: how to dismantle apartheid. All else must be subordinated to this central idea. Otherwise, such meetings become inconsequential and irrelevant.

Below we reproduce a joint Declaration of the Dakar meeting, which was adopted and endorsed almost unanimously.

"A Conference organised by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (IDASA) took place in Dakar, Senegal, from 9th to 12th July, 1987. The participants comprised 61 South Africans, of whom the majority were Afrikaans-speaking persons who had come from South Africa, and a 17-person delegation from the African National Congress.

"His Excellency President Abdou Diouf welcomed the participants and gave them exceptional hospitality.

"The participants from South Africa took part in their individual capacities. They shared a common commitment of having rejected both the ideology and practice of the apartheid system. They were drawn from the academic, professional, cultural, religious and business fields.

"Although the group represented no organised formation within South Africa, their place within — particularly — the Afrikaans-speaking communities and the fact that they were meeting with the ANC invested the Conference with an overwhelming atmosphere that this was part of the process of the South African people making history. In similar manner the international community focused its attention on the Conference. Participants could not but be aware that some of the adherents of apartheid regarded the participation of the group as an act of betrayal, not only to the apartheid state, but also to the community of Afrikanerdom.

"The Conference was organised around four principal topics:

- Strategies for bringing about fundamental change in South Africa;
- The building of national unity;
- Perspectives with regard to the structures of the government of a free South Africa; and
- The economy of a liberated South Africa.

"The discussions took place in an atmosphere of cordiality and a unity of purpose arising from a shared commitment towards the removal of the apartheid system and the building of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

"The group listened to and closely questioned the perspectives, goals and strategies of the ANC. The main area of concern arose over the ANC's resolve to maintain and intensify the armed strug-

gle. The group accepted the historical reality of the armed struggle and although not all could support it, everyone was deeply concerned over the proliferation of uncontrolled violence. However, all participants recognised that the source of violence in South Africa derives from the fact that the use of force is fundamental to the existence and practice of racial domination. The group developed an understanding of the conditions which have generated a widespread revolt by the Black people as well as the importance of the ANC as a factor in resolving the conflict.

"Conference unanimously expressed preference for a negotiated resolution of the South African question. Participants recognised that the attitude of those in power is the principal obstacle to progress in this regard. It was further accepted that the unconditional release of all political leaders in prison or detention and the unbanning of all organisations are fundamental prerequisites for such negotiations to take place.

"Proceeding from the common basis that there is an urgent necessity to realise the goal of a non-racial democracy, participants agreed that they had an obligation to act for the achievement of this objective. They accepted that different strategies must be used in accordance with the possibilities available to the various forces opposed to the system of apartheid. They accepted that in its conduct this struggle must assist in the furtherance both of democratic practice and in the building of a nation of all South Africans — Black and White.

"It was accepted by the two delegations that further contacts were necessary. Equally, it was important that such contacts should involve more and wider sections of the South African people in order to dispel misunderstanding and fear, and to reinforce the broad democratic movement.

"Conference expressed profound appreciation to His Excellency, President Abdou Diouf and the government and people of Senegal for the warm welcome extended to the delegates as well as the assistance afforded to them to assure the success of the Conference. It further expressed gratitude to Mrs Danielle Mitterrand for her assistance in organising the conference and extended thanks to all other governments and individuals who contributed material resources to make the Conference possible."

July 12th 1987



'SEARCHING FOR THE ROAD
TO A FREE NON-RACIAL
DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA.'

AUGUST 9TH 1987

ANC WOMEN'S SECTION STATEMENT

The Women's Section of the African National Congress greets the women and people of the world on this occasion, the International Day of Solidarity with the struggle of the women of South Africa and Namibia.

We extend our revolutionary greetings to our fellow combatants and sisters of Namibia, in their vanguard movement, SWAPO. We salute the women of Palestine led by the PLO. Our greetings go to the women of Nicaragua, El Salvador, East Timor and all those still struggling under military dictatorship and against US imperialism. We salute our sisters in the Front Line and neighbouring states, with whom we share our suffering imposed by the policy of destabilisation and aggression of the racist Pretoria regime.

We observe the 31st anniversary of that great march to the citadel of racist oppression and exploitation — the Union Buildings in Pretoria — at a time when racist state terror has been unleashed on all those who dare to raise their voices against it. Our country is at present still under a state of emergency, which was renewed by Botha on June 12th this year. Since 1984 our country has virtually been under martial law, following the occupation of major townships by the racist army and police and the putting into motion of the National State Security Council, headed by Botha and his generals, to take care of every aspect of life in our country.

During these state of emergency periods, the regime unleashed all its forces of reaction to attack the democratic forces in South Africa and in the Front Line and neighbouring states.

In particular, the regime declared war on the youth and children of our country, thrown into the struggle at a tender age by the very conditions created by the inhuman apartheid system. Thousands have been detained, including eight-year-olds, tortured psychologically and physically, put on trial without any protection as minors, and given long terms of imprisonment, although there is no concrete evidence against them. In

order to destroy the spirit of resistance among our children, the regime has established concentration camps aimed at brainwashing them and turning them against their struggling community.

During this period, women have not been spared. Hundreds have gone in and out of detentions cells where many, young and old, still remain. Amongst them are leaders of the democratic women's movement, like Sister Bernard Ncube, president of the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), and Nozizwe Madlala of the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW). Some have been put on trial and sent to prison, like Marion Sparg and Greta Apelgren. Others have been killed.

In trying to take away the strategic initiative from the revolutionary forces, the regime has banned or restricted all public meetings and gatherings, including funerals, in an effort to suppress the activities of the democratic movement. At first, the mass activities of our women were affected by these restrictions. But in the process we learned new methods of organisation, and emerged much stronger than before, as witnessed in the launching of the UDF's Women's Congress and the participation of our young women in establishing the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). The UDF Women's Congress lays a firm base for the envisaged establishment of a national women's structure, to unite all anti-apartheid women's organisations in the country.

We observe the 31st anniversary on the eve of the second National Consultative Women's Conference to be held in the first week of September under the theme: **For the all-round organisation and greater unity of women towards the seizure of power.** ANC women will be looking into the decisions of the first conference, held in 1981, and will come up with new initiatives to meet the present and future challenges facing us. We hope to emerge stronger. Our women have ever been a rock, over the bitter years of apartheid colonialism.

We observe the 31st anniversary of August 9th at a time when, more than ever before, our victory is in sight. But this does not mean we must relax. The present situation calls on us to redouble our efforts and reach out to all sectors of our population. A few of our White sisters have joined us in the struggle. During the early part of the Botha election campaign we saw more cracks in the White laager. We must seize this moment to mobilise more of our White sisters into the struggle. Their future lies in a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Together we shall build a country in which all our children will live peacefully and happily, and not as cannon fodder and victims of Botha's unjust war.

We must further reach out to our sisters within the Coloured and Indian communities, who must also render apartheid institutions governing them unworkable. We must carry along with us our women in the bantustans and rural areas, who bear the worst suffering under apartheid. As we build a national women's structure, let us leave no stone unturned.

Let us strengthen and consolidate our organisations and increase participation in the UDF, COSATU and other democratic organisations. The campaign to free our children must be heightened, despite the new regulations banning protests against detentions. The rent boycott,

which we have been able to sustain for up to three years, must be strengthened to beat all the manoeuvres of the regime — evictions, deducting rent payments from our salaries, cutting off electricity, and individual family harassment. As women, we must be found in the ranks of the defence and combat units which have mushroomed in our country. The street and area committees and other people's committees must be strengthened, and established where they do not exist.

On this occasion of the International Day of Solidarity, we extend our gratitude to the women of the world from the socialist and Scandinavian countries, and those anti-apartheid forces in the capitalist countries who continue to stand by our side and render all possible assistance to us. Without them we would not have achieved what we have at the present moment. We assure them that we shall never fail in our duty to rid the world of the apartheid monster.

Long Live August 9th!
Long Live International Solidarity!
Advance To People's Power!
Victory Is Certain!

Issued By The ANC Women's Section
PO Box 31791, Lusaka, Zambia



Comrades Angela Davis, Eleanor Khanyile and Ruth Mompati in London on August 9th.

"SAYCO HAS SHATTERED THE DREAM OF THE APARTHEID REGIME"

Joe Nkuna, a member of the national executive committee of SAYCO and Faye Reagon, treasurer of the Cape Youth Congress, spoke about SAYCO at a press conference in London's Africa Centre, touching on a wide range of subjects.

Introducing himself, Joe Nkuna said:

I am a member of the National Executive of SAYCO, and I am also acting as the publicity secretary of the Eastern Transvaal Youth Congress which is an affiliate to SAYCO. I am also an educational officer of my local organisation, the Tshabalala Youth Congress of the village of Tshabalala. We have started organising the people at grassroots level into units; for instance we have ten units in the Eastern Transvaal. We have a unit called ... which is very strong in the Eastern Transvaal. That unit is affiliated to the Eastern Transvaal Youth Congress and the Eastern Transvaal is affiliated to SAYCO.

Since the launching of SAYCO the Eastern Transvaal Youth Congress alone has a membership of about 200 000. We had several thousands before the launching of SAYCO. We are really progressing. In fact, SAYCO I think shattered the dream of the apartheid regime of finally suppressing the students and the youth by banning the Congress of South African Students (COSAS).

In your local village what are you doing, do you teach?

Joe Nkuna: As you know, the people were involved in an uprising last year which was countrywide. So many of the people in my village were involved. When the state of emergency was declared, those people got scattered. The people were not yet educated, they did not know why we had to fight. Some were coming to meetings just to see. So with our organisation I am conducting workshops with the already developed activists. We write leaflets, explaining what is our organisation, why we must be organised; ac-

tually teaching the people in our meetings in our houses.

Hasn't the state of emergency affected that?

Joe Nkuna: It has, but because of our experience and knowledge of the place, despite the fact that there were so many soldiers, but because we want freedom, we would sometimes convene a meeting somewhere in the bush, and they would hear our songs; when we are coming from that mass meeting singing freedom songs with thousands of people.

So they can't know where the meeting was, and we can easily change, unlike a house, a hall or church in the township. So mass meetings are still very possible. They have in fact given up following us over the village. For they can see, all over the village, posters of the UDF, ANC, all over the trees and shack markets. The people are becoming more and more politicised and really committed to the struggle, ignoring the state of emergency.

What was the impact of the formation of SAYCO on the youth in comparison with COSAS?

Faye Reagon: The formation of SAYCO has definitely taken organisation to a higher stage. With the banning of COSAS most young people, to a certain extent, were demoralised. Especially with the state of emergency as well. Although there was an uprising, people were demoralised. But I think with the launch of SAYCO, students and working youth became more involved. People started to join the organisation because it is such a dynamic organisation. That's why at the launch we had about 500 000 membership, and today we have over a million members. It has encouraged young people more.

What will your organisation do if the Pretoria regime bans SAYCO?

Faye Reagon: It is quite obvious that in the near

future they are going to. If they can't break SAYCO with detentions, with different kinds of repression, they are going to try and ban SAYCO because of the kind of organisation it is. But to a certain extent we have overcome the problem of repression. SAYCO does not work openly, we work underground; even our mass rallies are called within minutes; we meet in secret places, even if it means calling thousands of youths, we can call meetings in minutes. We can meet underground. We can organise underground that, I think, we have been able to overcome. So in the eventuality of a ban, it is not going to make anything different to our situation at the moment. All that that ban would mean is that the government has legally banned us. We can overcome that, we are used to that.

Joe Nkuna: To add on to that, I think banning SAYCO would be a superhuman task. If the government wished to ban SAYCO and make it effective, it must ban all the youth from house to house. We have started organising the people from their houses as individuals, from their homes to street committees, zonally, regionally. So it must start banning SAYCO, banning the regional structures, the zonal structure, the regional structure. I think that will not affect us unless they kill everyone.

We are aware that the government may ban SAYCO in order to have those millions of youth leaderless, like they have done to COSAS. The regime does very much fear unity. Especially unity of the youth with the community and the trade unions. That is why they banned COSAS before it achieved its dream of having the youth under one banner. They banned COSAS because they fear that unity. We won't be surprised if the government bans SAYCO. But the ban of SAYCO will mean nothing to SAYCO.

Faye Reagon: It is true what he says. SAYCO is not structures 'up there;' SAYCO is not leaders 'up there.' SAYCO is street committees and defence committees. In fact the top leaders are streetwise, they are in community organisations; these leaders are in our communities. It is going to be a difficult task for them to ever realise. And they realise that and they know that.

What are the street committees doing now under the emergency?

Joe Nkuna: With the declaration of the state of

emergency of 1985 the apartheid regime embarked on a campaign of eliminating activists, sometimes committing cold-blooded murders and massacres. We have formed defence committees because we believe everyone has a right to defend themselves. These defence committees are dealing with the vigilantes who have been attacking the leaders of the people.

They are dealing with the vigilantes and the kitskonstabels who have been evicting people from their houses. It is very difficult. But the defence committees have the support of the community. Without the defence committees we can no longer live peacefully in South Africa. So to kill them means to kill the whole people, the whole nation, which is resisting apartheid.

The street committees are where democracy is exercised fully. We take decisions in the street committees, where everyone is participating. Then to the area structures and to regional structures where those decisions are implemented or are reviewed. But the people who are very important and are playing a leading role are the masses, who are participating from the street committees to the highest levels.

Faye Reagon: I think this is also a reflection of people's power. In these street committees we are able to take control of our own lives. We know when the township is to be cleaned and how it is to be cleaned. This is just a small example. But it is an important thing because it shows that we are taking control of our lives, we can take responsibility. We can even decide who is going to defend that street, defend that zone, and these are the kinds of things which are people's power.

How do you see the future?

Joe Nkuna: In setting the democratic structures from the street committees to higher levels, we want to show the government that we are able to conduct our own lives.

We are not those radicals, and the regime calls us radicals, who are interested in eliminating apartheid structures and after that we don't know what to do. By providing alternative structures which are popular with the people we show them that we don't want **this**, we want **this**, like councillors, we have replaced them with civic structures. Everything is changing. They can actually see that we are not killing the nation as they are saying, we are setting a new order, the

democratic South Africa we're envisaging has started existing in our local structures.

Faye Reagon: We are not anarchists. We know that we have a goal, we want to change society. All those structures we have — street committees, whatever, people's power — we are trying to change the system so that it can be replaced by structures we have in our community.

What is the response of the people — or how successful are the bantustan puppets in organising women's, youth and other mass organisations to legitimise their power?

Joe Nkuna: In fact, in response to the launch of SAYCO, we have seen the emergence of a lot of reactionary structures like Thari ya Setshaba in Lebowa, Shimoko sha Rixhaka in Gazankulu the consolidation of Inyanga in Kangwane, Inkatha in KwaZulu.

I was surprised, when I went to Natal, to see what is actually happening. There were very few people who were participating, and when we asked people who were participating in a rally in Umlazi, Durban, they told us that a bus turned up and people said a number of cattle had been

killed for a braaivleis. So the people had actually come to a braaivleis. But politically there was nothing achieved.

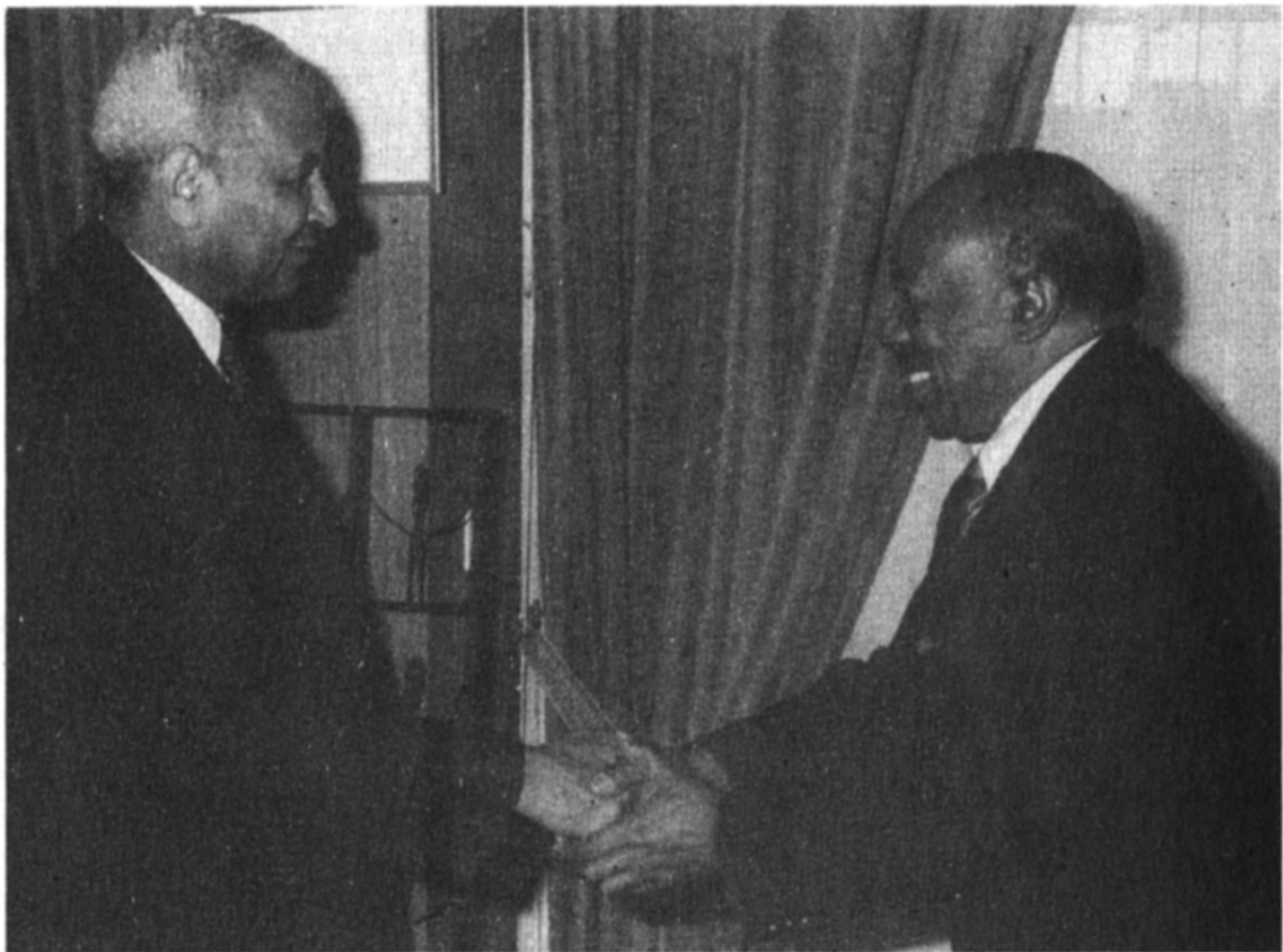
What issues are they trying to organise people on, say in Tshabalala? What do they say apart from inviting people to feasts?

Joe Nkuna: In Tshabalala the situation is different. Inyanga in Kangwane does not exist in the rural areas. The people in the rural areas are very much militant and they don't want to see the so-called prime minister. It is because they are feeling the pains which are inflicted by the homeland. There is no water, there are no roads. Everything is bad. They are learning politics from practical experience. So Inyanga does not exist there.

They have been trying to get to schools but actually we have outclassed them. They exist only in the form of those workers employed to organise the youth. They themselves are afraid of organising the youth because the youth are organised under the banner of SAYCO, they are rejecting this tribal organisation.



The Youth shape their own lives.



Mr M'Bow, Director of UNESCO, with Comrade Alfred Nzo in Paris.

AAPSO POLICY: SOUTH AFRICA AND ISRAEL

The Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) held an International Seminar in Finland in March, on the co-operation between South Africa and Israel. It was attended by participants from international organisations — the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, the Organisation for African Unity, the World Peace Council and AAPSO itself — from Western, African, Arab and socialist countries, and from national liberation organisations — the ANC, SWAPO and the PLO.

The political keynote speech was given by Comrade Nouri Abdul Razzak, the Secretary-General of AAPSO.

The seminar discussed military, nuclear and economic co-operation between Israel and South Africa, and the part played by Israel as an obstacle to the imposition of sanctions against South Africa.

The final statement said:

"The crime of genocide pursued by the apartheid regime in South Africa and in Namibia and the

barbaric aggression against the Front Line States is made possible by the deliberate support given to the apartheid regime by its Western allies, namely the USA, the UK and the FRG, and by increased collaboration between South Africa and Israel.

"The determination of these states to resist the struggle for national liberation in South Africa and in the Middle East results in a threat to international peace and security at a time when the survival of humanity is at stake...

"... the seminar examined Israel's role in providing military hardware and military and scientific technology to racist South Africa, as well as providing access to international markets for South African products, which would otherwise not have access to these markets. The seminar agreed that this collaboration has not been sufficiently monitored, stressed and made known."

The seminar called for:

■ Comprehensive mandatory sanctions to be taken against the racist regime of South Africa and to be imposed by the UN Security Council, and for "all states, especially the major Western powers," to follow the world-wide call for such

sanctions;

■ The immediate implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 on the independence of Namibia;

■ The convening of an international conference "to resolve the conflict in the Middle East, the core of which is the Palestine question."

Among the recommendations arising from the seminar were:

■ That the dissemination of information on the relationship between Israel and South Africa, be encouraged, and that the ANC, SWAPO and the PLO should co-operate in gathering such information;

■ That governments and trade unions be asked to help with the implementation of the UN Council for Namibia Decree No 1, on the prohibition of the exploitation and importation of Namibian natural resources;

■ That specific dates be set for national and international action to highlight the collaboration between Israel and South Africa.



Demonstration in Tel-Aviv

AAPSO Solidarity With Freedom Struggles

In June, the Permanent Secretariat of AAPSO, based in Cairo, issued statements in solidarity with the struggle for democracy in South Korea, with the suffering people of the Lebanon, with the people of the Gulf "in their legitimate struggle against imperialist and reactionary schemes," and with the Arab peoples. It also marked June 16th as a day of solidarity with the people of South Africa, and stated:

"AAPSO ... reaffirms its inalienable support to the ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia, as well as to the Front Line States, in their struggle against the criminal regime of apartheid."

JUNE 16TH OBSERVED IN FRANCE

To commemorate South African Youth Day, the

ANC office in Paris organised an exhibition at UNESCO on June 17th and 18th. It included "Victims of Apartheid," a collection of photographs of children in South Africa, assembled by the International Defence and Aid Fund in London; drawings by French people collected in a campaign of solidarity with the South African people; statues by a French sculptor and carvings from Zambia.

The exhibition was opened by Mr M'Bow, Director of UNESCO, and Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, was present.

US: GOVERNMENT POLICY, PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

The Swindall Amendment, restricting the movements of certain specified aliens in the US, has (at the time of our writing this) passed through the House of Representatives and is due to come before the Senate in September. Should it be passed, the movement of ANC and SWAPO representatives will be severely restricted in the United States. Another bill, promoted by Senator Dole, calls for economic sanctions against Angola, and will come before the House of Representatives in September.

Forces opposed to the Pretoria regime are being mobilised. The American Committee on Africa sent out a circular to its supporters, explaining the implications of the proposed legislation:

"The liberation movement's members in the US would be confined within the city limits where their offices are located. Thus the law would prevent universities, religious congregations, organisations of women, students and trade unions from inviting the ANC, the oldest South African liberation movement, and Namibia's liberation movement, SWAPO, to participate in discussions about Southern Africa. No such travel restrictions would be imposed on the representatives of the apartheid state ...

"In recent months South Africa's allies in the United States have gone on the offensive in seeking Congressional support for the apartheid agenda. In a propaganda blitz on key US policy-makers, thousands of free magazines and videos have been distributed, aimed at shifting the public focus away from the crimes of the apartheid regime and spreading disinformation about the ANC, SWAPO and the international anti-apartheid movement...

"Senator Robert Dole's pending bill calls for comprehensive economic sanctions against Angola, a country with which only the US and South Africa have diplomatic relations..."

"Let your representatives know that the problem is not the ANC or SWAPO; it is the devastating and inhuman effects of apartheid and racism on the whole region of Southern Africa."

Some US citizens who have written letters of protest have sent copies to the ANC office in New York. One man in Texas, writing to his senator, said:

"As can be elucidated from the Freedom Charter and related documents, the ANC is a legitimate democratic political organisation that has historically shown greater support for civil and human rights than the present White-minority government in South Africa. The Black people of South Africa have an inherent right to political representation."

Of the Angola sanctions bill, the same writer said:

"I wish the United States was working for peace in this nation instead of joining with South Africa in trying to exacerbate a civil war."

BRITAIN

The Women's Section of the ANC celebrated August 9th with a festival in Finsbury Park in north London. The day was sponsored by the London boroughs of Islington, Hackney and Haringey, and by the British trade union, the National Association of Local and Government Officers (NALGO).

The rally in the afternoon took place in a marquee in the park, and was chaired by Comrade Eleanor Khanyile of the Women's Section in the UK. The two main speakers were Angela Davis, the famous political activist from the United States, and Comrade Ruth Mompati of the National Executive Committee of the ANC, who was at one time ANC Chief Representative in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

Angela Davis, who herself once faced the death sentence in the US, called for the release of Theresa Ramashomola and the 31 men "from the death house in apartheid South Africa." She called, too, for the release of Nelson Mandela and all political detainees. Referring to the detention of children in South Africa, she said:

"Attacking the children is an act of desperation, because the children represent the future. They represent democracy and peace. The detention and murder of children is the last resort of a government overtaken by history, about to be confined to a museum of the past."

Comrade Ruth Mompati quoted the song of the women's march to Pretoria 31 years ago: "**You have touched the women, you have struck a rock, you have dislodged a boulder, you will be crushed!**" She said:

"There is a war in our country ... Women are being killed, raped and sexually assaulted by these racist troops. Some pregnant women have even had their stomachs burned by hot irons."

She explained how she had been asked by journalists and others how Black women came to be involved in the political struggle in South Africa, and gave her reply:

"Black women didn't choose to become part of the political struggle. We were battered and beaten, murdered and maimed, and before we knew it we were involved in the struggle to free our country."

Other speakers on the platform included Bience Gawanas from SWAPO, Diane Abbott, Britain's first Black woman MP. There were speakers from the Anti-Apartheid Movement and from a number of trade unions, including NALGO.

People's Sanctions and People's Solidarity

The campaign for sanctions against the South African regime, the reluctance of the British Government to implement these sanctions, the campaign for the release of detainees and the campaign against apartheid executions — all these have generated support for the ANC among ordinary British people. Letters of solidarity continue to arrive in our London office every day.

Some are from people as young as 15; some from old people, like this person, who made a real sacrifice to send us money:

"I am sending you another £5 note towards the struggle for freedom for the Black people of South Africa ... I am sorry this is all I can afford. I am an old age pensioner and can only do a limited amount, but I have every sympathy for your cause."

Some send money, asking that it be used for the welfare of our people, for education and relief.

Other donors ask us to use the money as we wish. One wrote:

"I would not necessarily wish my money to be used only for the non-violent work of Congress and would place no restrictions on its use."

Some send us donations as a matter of principle. One couple felt that, as "firm supporters" of our cause they could not accept a gift from a relative in 'White' South Africa, and gave the money to us; another donor has decided to send us money regularly ever since he discovered that the firm he works for has interests in South Africa.

All letters express strong feelings about the Pretoria regime. A mother of two children wrote that she was "devastated" to read of the "terrible fates" of so many children in South Africa. A university student wrote:

"I cannot properly express my horror at the South African system of apartheid and all it entails."

Other correspondents said:

"Words cannot express my feelings for your oppressed people at this time."

and:

"I am not a political activist, but an ordinary working man who was horrified to see Botha on the television news making it absolutely clear that he has no intention of abandoning apartheid.

"Please know that ordinary people like myself are thoroughly ashamed of the British government's attitude towards apartheid in your country."

Indeed, many of these British people express their disgust at the policy of the British government, saying things like:

"We are embarrassed at our own government's support for apartheid,"

and:

"The British government's attitude towards South Africa sickens me."

One told us:

"I write with admiration and fierce support for your struggle in South Africa. And a deepening sense of shame at the disgraceful and inhuman negligence of the British Government in failing to respond immediately and unequivocally to the call for justice..."

"May the inevitable victory for you and your people come sooner rather than later. I and many others here will celebrate that day."

ITALIAN HONOUR FOR WINNIE MANDELA

One of four "Peace Dove" awards from the Disarmament Archives organisation and the League of Italian Co-Operatives was this year awarded to Winnie Mandela. The decision to award her the prize was taken by a jury presided over by Sandro Pertini, former President of the Italian Republic.

As Winnie Mandela could not go to Italy, the prize was accepted on her behalf by Harry Belafonte, the Black American singer who has been active in the anti-apartheid movement, and founded the "USA for Africa" association.

STOP THE DEATH SENTENCES! THEY MUST NOT HANG!

The ANC has sent this statement to the ministries of foreign affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Copies have also been sent to the United Nations, the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Organisation for African Unity and the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation.

The office of the Secretary-General of the African National Congress presents its compliments and wishes to draw your attention to the following.

The government of the Republic of South Africa has, since the beginning of the current unrest in 1984, sentenced more than 30 people on charges, mainly of murder, relating to their participation in the on-going turmoil.

32 people are currently on death row at the Pretoria Central Prison for political reasons, and their names are given hereunder:

1. **Mojalefa Reginald Sefatsa (30)**
2. **Reid Malebo Mokoena (22)**
3. **Oupa Moses Diniso (30)**
4. **Theresa Ramashamola (24)**
5. **Duma Joshua Khumalo (26)**
6. **Francis Don Mokhesi (29)**

The above six are colloquially referred to as the 'Sharpeville Six.' They were found guilty of the alleged murder of a Vaal Triangle township 'councillor' in 1984 and were sentenced to death in December 1985. Their appeal is to be heard by the Appellate Division in September.

7. Welile Webushe

Sentenced to death in June 1986 for the Jansenville 'necklace' murder.

8. **Solomon Mankopane Maowasha (20)**
9. **Alex Matshapa Matsepane (23)**

These men were sentenced to death in July 1986 for the alleged killing of two informers.

10. **Patrick Manginda (23)**
11. **Desmond Majola (27)**
12. **Dickson Madikane (26)**

These three were sentenced to death in Oudtshoorn in September 1986, charged with the death of a township 'councillor.'

13. **Josiah Tsawane (29)**
14. **Daniel Maleka (19)**

These came from Sebokeng and were sentenced to death in September 1986 for allegedly killing a policeman.

15. **Moses Mnyanda Jantjes (21)**
16. **Mlamli Wellington Mielies (22)**

These two from the Eastern Cape were sentenced to death in November 1986 for allegedly killing a notorious township 'councillor' and members of his family.

17. Paul Tefo Setlaba (22)

This man from Colesburg was sentenced to death in 1986 for allegedly killing a police informer.

18. **Mziwoxolo Christopher Makaleni (22)**
19. **Makheswana Menze (43)**
20. **Ndumiso Silo Siphenuko (26)**
21. **Similo Lennox Wonci (22)**

These were all members of the Addo Youth Congress in the Eastern Cape, and were sentenced to death after being charged with the murder of a farmer and his wife.

22. Robert McBride, (23)

This man from Durban was sentenced to death in April 1987 for allegedly causing the death of three people.

23. **Tyeluvuyo Mgedezi (28)**
24. **Solomon Mangaliso Nongwati (38)**
25. **Paulos Tsietsi Tsehlana (38)**

All these were members of the National Union of Mineworkers in Vaal Reefs Mine, and were sentenced to death in May 1987 after a fight in which three 'team leaders' (or foremen) were killed.

- 26. Mzwandile Gqeba (22)
- 27. Mzwandile Mninzi (27)
- 28. Thembinkosi Pressfeet (30)
- 29. Wanto Silinga (27)
- 30. Monde Tingwe (23)
- 31. Lundi Wana (20)

All these were from Queenstown and were sentenced to death for a 'necklace' killing.

- 32. Bekisizwe Ngidi (19)

This young man from Soweto was sentenced to death for killing a policeman.

It will be noted that the government of the Republic of South Africa has deliberately declared criminal any form of opposition to its policy and practice of apartheid, a system that has been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity. It has thus taken the activities of its opponents out of the context in which they take place, namely the mass resistance and struggle against apartheid. It is our belief that the activities of these 32 patriots should be viewed in this context.

Our interest in all these cases stems particularly from the fact that since 1980 the African National Congress has been a signatory to the Geneva

Conventions and Protocol 1 of 1977 on the treatment of prisoners of war.

We seize this occasion to launch a humble appeal to you to intercede with the government of the Republic of South Africa to spare the lives of all these condemned patriots. We are of the opinion that their execution will not contribute to the search for a peaceful solution of our problems in South Africa.

In thanking you in anticipation for your kind assistance, please accept the expression of our highest consideration and appreciation.

Yours sincerely

Alfred Nzo

Secretary-General, African National Congress
August 5th 1987

A campaign against the hanging of the 32 was launched in South Africa in July, by the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) supported by the UDF, the NUM, the National Education Crisis Committee and the South African National Students' Congress.

The international campaign was launched in London in August, at a press conference which was organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and addressed by two members of SAYCO.

People all over the world are being asked to write to their foreign ministers, asking their governments to make representations to save the lives of the 32.



Representatives of the NUM, SAYCO & SANSCO launch the campaign to save the lives of those on death row.

STATE VICTIMISATION THE CASE OF THE NUM THREE

By Claris

In May this year, six shaft stewards of the South African National Union of Mineworkers were found guilty of killing four 'team leaders' on the Vaal Reefs Mine in the western Transvaal. In the Klerksdorp Circuit Court, a judge and two assessors passed the death sentence four times over on three of these men — Tyeluvuyo Mgedezi aged 28, Solomon Mangaliso Nongwati aged 38 and Paulos Tsietsi Tsehlana also aged 38. They were also sentenced to 15 years for the attempted murder of a fifth team leader.

The court found extenuating circumstances in the case of the other three accused, sentencing one to ten years' imprisonment and the other two to seven years.

The accused men had all been in prison for well over a year, since a few days after February 18th, 1986, when the four team leaders were killed.

Originally, ten from Vaal Reefs had been arrested and held for interrogation. The NUM had demanded their unconditional release. The workers at Vaal Reefs were not slow to show their feelings; 12 000 men came out on unofficial strike in protest, demanding that the prisoners be charged or released, and the number soon rose to 19 000, according to a statement made at the time by the NUM, which described the situation on the mine as "extremely tense." The mine management admitted that five of the nine shafts had been affected, and that in the two days of the strike Vaal Reefs had lost R5 million in production.

Four of the men were released and the others brought to court and charged.

Time of Unrest

Vaal Reefs is a huge mine, the second largest producer of gold in the world. The previous year had been one of sustained unrest there, as indeed it had been throughout the mining industry and throughout the country. There had been dissatisfaction over wages and conditions; the NUM had been locked in a dispute with the Chamber of Mines, and at Vaal Reefs itself, 14 000 men had been summarily sacked for go-slows and

stoppages the management had called illegal. After the strike against the arrests, the level of anger and indignation remained high, and on March 6th another go-slow began over other demands.

So frequent had violence in the mine hostels become that in 1985 the Anglo-American Corporation and the NUM had set up a joint study into the causes. Vaal Reefs was one of the five mines included in the survey, and research had begun a few days before the four team leaders were killed. The report was published later in 1986, under the title, *Reaping the Whirlwind?*

There are some contradictions in this report, that reflect the contradictions between the two agencies sponsoring the enquiry, the contradictions between management and union. For example, Anglo-American objected to the use of the word 'compound', used to refer to the living quarters provided for Black workers, on the grounds that it suggests "primitive and squalid conditions that no longer obtain on AAC mines." On the other hand, the workers interviewed complained about precisely such conditions in the hostels they live in. However, the report is valuable because incorporated into it are the reports and opinions of mineworkers themselves, officials of the union, and it makes clear one very important point — that the term 'faction fighting,' used by mine management to refer to conflict in the Black mineworkers' hostels, is a nonsense. Its use is a deception, intended to divert attention from the conditions in which conflict is produced, and to give the impression that this conflict is in some way the fault of the workers themselves.

Mine Managements Cause Conflict

The life of a Black migrant worker on the South African mines is both dangerous and bleak. His working time is spent in hard, exhausting physical labour far below the earth in dark — or semi-dark — and cramped conditions. His life is in danger there, much of it unnecessary, for the safety record down South African mines is

Continued on page 18 ►



THE MINERS' CHALLENGE



SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN STRIKING MINERS

So far, over 300 000 South African mineworkers have gone on strike in support of their demands for:

- a living wage
- the right to live with their families
- improved safety conditions in the work place
- danger pay
- 30 days' paid annual leave

Remember:

- Black miners receive one third of the wages paid to White miners.
- in the last year 800 miners died in accidents — an average of 2 deaths a day.
- There is no social security to sustain workers whilst on strike.
- Strike funds are illegal, so there is no strike pay.
- Black miners are housed in prison-like single-sex hostels and compounds.
- They have no job security.
- Food subsidies are included in wages — so, no wages means no food.

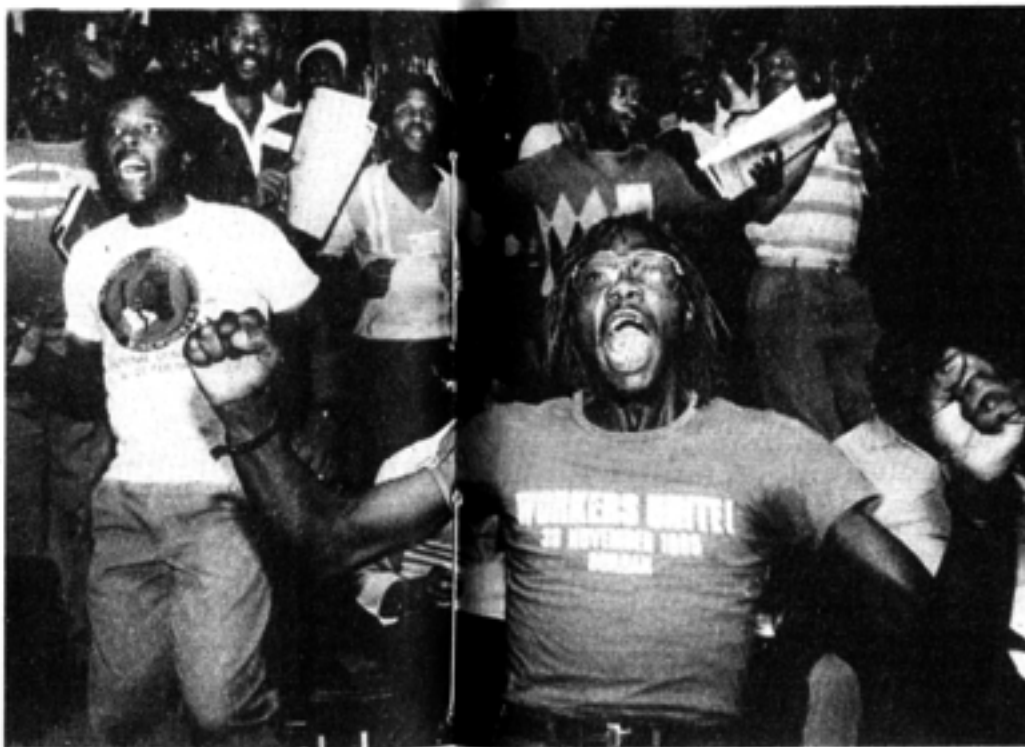
The workers of South Africa have called on the international community and especially the working class to take firmer and more decisive action against the apartheid regime.

Support the miners in their struggle for trade union and political rights!

The apartheid regime is determined to bleed the trade unions to death.

The international trade union movement must not allow this.

— SACTU Statement, August 12th, 1987.





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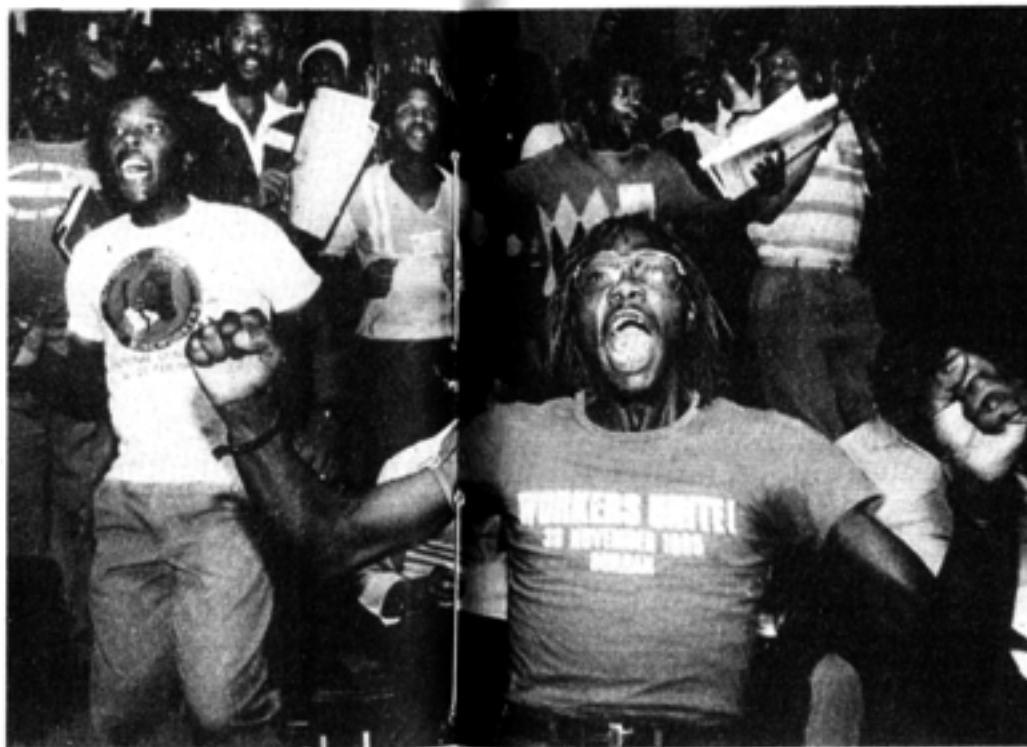
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one of the worst in the world. Off duty and above ground, he finds little relief. He is far from his home and family, often for long periods (One of the demands the NUM made when calling the strike in August 1987 was a month's leave a year). He is crowded with thousands of other men into cheerless, comfortless, dirty hostels, with few, if any, opportunities for recreation. There, in a situation full of conflict, his life is still in danger.

Such working and living conditions make tempers short. But it would be naive to suppose that conflict and fighting in the mine hostels arises only from short tempers, or because the men decide to attack each other for little or no reason. The chief threat to the lives of Black mineworkers comes from structures and ploys set up and used by the mine managements themselves: methods of guarding and disciplining those who live in the hostels; ploys that set worker against worker.

The most obvious divisive tactic is the set of regulations and practices that make of the White mineworkers a privileged aristocracy of labour. They have long been organised into the Whites-only Mineworkers' Union, led by the notorious racist, Arrie Paulus. Their wages are incomparably higher than those of Black workers. They are not migrants, but live with their families in houses near the mine. Until a sudden change in the law just after the strike began in August of this year, they alone were trained and certificated to use explosives and to 'make safe.' *A Thousand Ways to Die*, a pamphlet the NUM put out in 1985 for mineworkers, complained that in practice these jobs are now left to Black miners, and the White miners hardly visit the stopes at all.

Reaping the Whirlwind? describes certain degrading experiences Black miners are subjected to — some miners, for example, complained that when they were recruited they were stripped naked, dusted with a powder containing caustic soda and then sprayed; something they greatly resented. White miners are spared such treatment. According to *Reaping the Whirlwind?*, Black miners also complain that preference is given to White miners in such matters as stronger lamps for underground, use of the shaft-cages, and so on.

Mine Security Tortures Workers

The mining companies' methods of discipline and control in the Black mineworkers' hostels

are violent, and sometimes murderous. The NUM made a wise decision when, in August, before the beginning of the strike, it advised striking mineworkers to leave the hostels altogether.

It has been common for the police to be called in when there is a dispute. Recently the press published an eyewitness account of a worker whom the police shot dead when he was simply crossing the yard. On August 11th, Cyril Ramaphosa, Secretary of the NUM, announced that at certain mines — including Vaal Reefs — police had forced striking miners down the mine at gunpoint.

In the past few years, however, the police have had their hands full outside the mines, and so the mining companies have set up 'mine security forces,' which, on the compounds, have all the powers of the police. These forces are armed, and have tear gas for use in times of 'labour unrest.'

Recently, the NUM made public the fact that two kitchen workers at Stilfontein, a gold mine owned by Consolidated Gold Fields, had been severely tortured by mine security men during the course of an investigation into the theft of dried food worth about R755. Evidence has lately come to light about this private police force of Goldfields of South Africa, a company controlled by Consolidated Gold Fields. Known as the Gold Fields Security Company, the force is said to be several thousand strong, and is also said to be hired out to several South African mining companies, to handle their 'security.'

Mine managements are also empowered to establish "mine security reserves," for use in combating "sabotage, subversion and espionage" and for "civil defence." These forces, too, are armed.

Anglo-American also uses disciplinary forces of White miners, known as "emergency protection units," and existing separately from the mine security forces. *Reaping the Whirlwind?* says this of them:

"During unrest, White miners who constitute this 'voluntary' unit execute their duties with a vindictive ruthlessness ... Subjects claimed that, at Vaal Reefs, members within this unit even knew which blocks to attack and which to leave out. They thus settled 'work associated problems' at the compound."

There is a system of promotion for Black mineworkers, whereby some of them are mov-

ed into the disciplinary structures. The NUM officials interviewed for the enquiry claimed that this system is based on bribery; that those who can't pay, or won't, don't get promoted. Further, the promotions themselves are of a kind that creates ill-feeling among workers.

Indunas and Team Leaders

Anglo does not regard worker-management relations within the hostels as the business of the union, and so uses a system of indunas, whose job it is to settle problems there. Though they are appointed by management, the indunas are supposed to represent the residents of the hostels. According to the report, this system is "based on Western perceptions of tribalism;" in other words, in their methods of organising the hostels, the mines of the Anglo-American Corporation are laying a basis for 'faction fighting.'

At work, 'team leaders' are the Black foremen. They have privileges — separate dining halls and ablution blocks, better accommodation, higher pay. *A Thousand Ways to Die* describes the position of the team leader. In practice, it is he who must 'make safe' underground, and, if he can't, he must call the White miner, who is some way away from the danger zone. If the White miner tells the team leader to 'make safe' himself, he must do so, and if the White miner tells him to get his men back to work, he must do so, whether conditions are safe or not, and whether or not the men are willing. If the work quota for the day isn't finished, the team leader may be charged, demoted and suffer a drop in wages; and so he is likely to use any method he can with the men in his team, to keep them at work.

He is the natural enemy of the union shaft steward, who is elected by his fellows to defend their interests and their safety. Union informants reported that workers sent for training as team leaders are never recruited from among union members.

During the trial of the six NUM men, there was evidence that, the day before the killings, Tyeluvuyo Mgedezi had asked management to search the team leaders for weapons, and management had refused.

In the eyes of the Black mineworkers, the team leader becomes identified with the White miners and with management. During the trial, the state led evidence that Mgedezi had called the team leaders "impimpis" or sell-outs.

Vigilante Violence

Mine managements have covert ways, too, of fomenting trouble and creating divisions. The NUM members interviewed for *Reap the Whirlwind?* complained, for example, that managements of Anglo mines are in the habit of spreading rumours about 'faction fights' among the workers. Also, while Anglo-American denies that it uses vigilantes to make trouble, the evidence of the workers contradicts this. One vigilante gang is known as the 'Russians.' They are reported to have come into a hostel at Western Deep Levels, dressed as Sothos, and attacked Xhosa residents, while the presence of a Sotho induna in the hostel made matters worse. The mineworkers who gave this information claim that a gate was deliberately left open that night, for the 'Russians' to gain entry. Workers have also reported that the leader of the 'Russians,' who lives in Klerksdorp, is in possession of explosives and fuses very like those used on the mine.

Early in 1986, the *Weekly Mail* reported another form of trouble-making used by mine management. In 1986, at President Steyn (one of the mines investigated in the Anglo-NUM enquiry) fighting began in the hostels, eventually leaving 39 dead and 177 injured. In February, in response to an ultimatum issued by management, 2 200 workers left the mine rather than return to work. In a statement issued soon afterwards, the company put the trouble down to 'faction fighting'. It said that there had been "differences between Xhosa and Basotho employees," and that it had had meetings with representatives of Lesotho and the Transkei in an effort to resolve these differences.

However, when the *Weekly Mail* afterwards interviewed miners who had been dismissed from President Steyn, they told a different story.

The Union Attacked

They said the NUM branch at the mine had organised a stayaway on that day, in protest against the dismissal of a shaft steward. A small number of workers had formed themselves into an anti-union gang called 'Fito', who refused to take part in the strike. As they were prevented from working, the hostel manager encouraged them to demand their lost day's pay from the shaft stewards. The miners said that Fito had been stockpiling weapons in induna rooms in prepara-

tion for an attack on NUM shaft stewards. They said that management had known of this, and that after complaining about one man who had been storing weapons, two workers had been sacked. In addition to all this, a group of 'Russians' from Welkom had been called in to launch an attack. The miners reported that non-union members had been re-employed after being dismissed, but union members had been barred. They said the fights had been exploited by management as "an instrument geared towards the disintegration of the NUM."

Since its formation, the NUM has grown rapidly and is changing the face of South African mining. Not only does it fight for higher wages and better working conditions. As a unifying force, it works to undermine the methods of dividing and ruling used by the mine owners. It has also played an important role in publicising information from inside the mines, for its members now bring information out of the compounds that is in direct contradiction to what the mining companies say, and the companies can no longer make bland statements about 'faction fighting' without fear of contradiction.

The NUM is a threat to the mining companies, and so they make all kinds of efforts to destabilise it, discriminate against its members, go behind the scenes to cause brutal attacks on its activists.

Where Are the Real Murderers?

City Press of May 17th 1987 reported that when, in a court crowded with mine officials and team leaders, the judge found no extenuating circumstances in the case of Mgedezi, Nongwati and Tsehlana, and so pronounced four death sentences on each of them:

"... the condemned men just stared at him. After the interpreter told them they were to hang, they looked at each other in disbelief."

They had reason to be amazed and shocked. At the end of 1986 and the beginning of 1987, 67 workers had been killed at President Steyn; at Vaal Reefs, the mine where they had worked, 33 had died in 1986. This was the death toll for only two mines. Of all the deaths that took place in mine compounds during 1986, only four have been selected as the basis of a murder charge. Only shaft stewards of the NUM have been accused and sentenced to death — no 'Russians' have been charged, no members of 'Fito', no mine security men, no policemen.

Why? The question answers itself. The answer is confirmed by the police raid on a union meeting in Klerksdorp on August 12th, and the arrest of 78 miners present there; among them all, or nearly all, of the regional strike committee. The charge was conspiracy to commit murder.

Collusion between the mine owners and the state in South Africa is as old as the mining industry itself. The two are interdependent, working together for exploitation, creating wealth for the benefit of a minority.

Like the other 29 at present on death row in Pretoria, Tjeluvuyo Mgedezi, Solomon Mangaliso Nongwati and Tsietsi Tsehlana are political prisoners, sentenced as a result of people's resistance to oppression. The Pretoria regime will stop at nothing, shrink from no crimes, to remain in power. Mgedezi, Nongwati and Tsehlana are its victims.

They must not hang.

WASHINGTON—PRETORIA ALLIANCE ARE THERE ANY TENSIONS?

By Viacheslav Nikolaievich Tetiokin

Recently, we have run a series of articles about United States policy towards South Africa, and the relationship between the Reagan administration and the Pretoria regime. This, the latest in the series, is written by a citizen of the Soviet Union, a member of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

There have recently been more and more reports which evidence the growing contradictions between the US Administration and the South African ruling group. Naturally enough, neither side would publicise their disagreements. Yet the disagreements did run public, and have assumed such proportions as were unthinkable a short time ago.

The refusal to issue visas to the US Congressmen and to prolong the accreditation of some journalists representing leading US periodicals, and critical statements about the US — all this proves the growing irritation of Pretoria. The US has been paying in kind: the sanctions adopted last year in the US in no way strengthen the South African economy. A visit to South Africa, a standing feature of any US delegation to the region a short while ago, was not included in the recent tour of the Front Line States by the US Under-Secretary of State for Political Affairs, Michael Armacost. There is no lack of loud statements from Washington denouncing the policy of apartheid.

What has caused the deterioration (even if temporary) of the relations of friendship and cooperation that had developed since Reagan came to power? Is this a temporary relapse, or will relations continue to cool down?

Let us turn to the history of relations between the US and South Africa. The Carter Administration, posing as the fighter for human rights, more than once voiced opinions hurtful to Pretoria. But the advance of Reagan to power changed these relations for the better. The policy of 'constructive engagement,' even as interpreted by its engineers, meant nothing more than pushing Pretoria, even though delicately and cautiously, to reforms which would help the regime emerge from international isolation, slow down the growing resistance movement, and protect US interests in this country, which was brimming with disaster.

Reforms — Too Little and Too Late

Six years of friendly prodding did little on the practical plane. The reforms were regarded in South Africa and the world as too little and too late. The revolutionary process, far from being curtailed, has been gaining speed. However, the reforms, no matter how limited, caused concern and counter-action among the country's numerous right-wingers, who regarded them as threatening the apartheid system which guaranteed the Whites one of the highest living standards in the world.

The South African ruling group faced an alternative — either to continue the line for reforms (which have not proved their worth yet) as the west and big business demanded, or to curtail them and stabilise the political situation by force or arms, to lull the White electorate and then, when the situation permitted, to resume the course for reforms.

The latter option, which the regime has chosen, calls for time, and much time at that — and time is a commodity in short supply in South Africa. Besides, there is no guarantee that this policy would help roll back the growing revolutionary wave. There is the risk that it would bring the country to an explosion.

EPG Was the Litmus Paper

For the time being, the regime, though unwillingly, pretended that it was ready for a political settlement, agreed to 'talk about talks' and allowed the trips to Lusaka by representatives of various public groups for meetings with the ANC. The litmus paper which showed the regime's real stand, and the ability of the West to influence it, was the attitude of the regime to the Eminent Persons' Group set up by the Commonwealth Summit in Nassau in 1986.

The 'possible negotiating concept' prepared by the Group made the political settlement dangerously possible, from the point of view of the South African regime. So they rudely discarded the EPG proposals. Armed raids on Botswana, Zimbabwe and Zambia showed the Group and the world community that the regime was not going to concede. The situation which made the political settlement possible (even if only theoretically) was destroyed.

Throughout the period when relations flourished between the US and Pretoria, few doubted that the US could, at an opportune moment, make the captains of the regime put up the right sails and steer a course mapped in Washington. The failure of the 'Contact Group' on Namibia was seen rather as the unwillingness of the West to put effective pressure to bear on Pretoria. Meanwhile, it was one of the first signals indicating that Pretoria had its own strategic interests, different from the interests of the West, which the regime was prepared to defend, to the possible displeasure of its patrons.

The situation has not been remedied, despite countless visits to South Africa by Chester Crocker. At the same time, the revolutionary process was growing stronger and it was clear that something should be done to prevent unrest in Black townships from developing into a full-scale revolution.

Western Pressure Starts Growing

Since then, the pressure by the West, at first surprised and then annoyed, started growing. The

Western corridors of power began showing more and more benevolence for effective measures against South Africa. The idea of sanctions, once improbable, began getting support even from the conservatives on both sides of the Atlantic. But simultaneously, Pretoria has begun to show more resistance to Western pressure. It turned out that the possibilities of the West for influencing the stubborn regime were far from limitless.

South Africa, which has developed much economic brawn and muscle on the lavish Western investment attracted by cheap labour, has stated its readiness to stand out against comprehensive mandatory sanctions. Though the outcome could be debated, it is indicative that South Africa has preferred to stand up to the economic boycott rather than make concessions. The ruling faction of the National Party, representing Afrikaners, is preparing to hide in the 'laager' from the external threat.

Why is Pretoria so confident of its relations with the US, despite the threats by the Reagan Administration, irritated by the disobedience of the regime?

■ First, not only does South Africa depend on the US but vice versa. This concerns the issue of strategic minerals the US imports from South Africa. Significantly, the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act omits any mention of limiting their import.

■ Second, Pretoria stakes on support by the right-wingers in the US Administration who will not allow their strategic ally to be left unaided. The influence of these forces accounts for the tough rebuff of the Reagan Administration to the legislation on the economic sanctions against South Africa. The Administration has since been looking for loopholes to bypass or emasculate the Act.

■ Third, Pretoria is sure that the West still needs South Africa as a bulwark of imperialism in Africa to brake progressive trends on the continent. Pretoria also takes into account the inconsistent time-serving policy of the US in the region. In particular, the widely advertised decision by some US companies to withdraw from South Africa has boiled down to the reins of power being given over to local companies, while the TNCs continue operating in the country. Special relations between the US and South Africa were reaffirmed in the Security Council,

when the US and Britain vetoed the draft resolution on sanctions against South Africa.

The West has shown different attitudes to the stubbornness of the regime. The US has resorted to the traditional policy of arm-twisting and reforms-or-sanctions ultimatums. Western European countries have been more cautious. Of course, the difference in the attitudes of the EEC countries and the US cannot be explained by the US being more resolute in opposing the apartheid regime. The thing is that the former colonial powers, better versed in African affairs, believe that direct pressure on South Africa will not yield the desired result. They argue that the regime would only retreat to defence, and rely more heavily on repression, which in turn would lead to what the West would not like to happen -- that is, a revolution.

A Subtler Approach

So the EEC countries have been looking for subtler forms of pressure. In particular, they propose, simultaneously with introducing sanctions, an international conference similar to the one held in Lancaster House, at which a neo-colonialist version of freedom could be imposed.

The US, worried by the diminishing of its possibilities for influencing the government and by the developments in South Africa, has been investigating other channels of pressure on the Pretoria regime. The official contacts which the US Administration has established with the African National Congress, aside from other considerations, are a means of pressure and a way to show the regime that the US is dissatisfied with its behaviour. Another lever to pressurise the regime is the US intention, though not yet realised, to extend a broad material support to the Front Line States of Southern Africa which the Pretoria regime has been trying to destabilise. Other means include showy but ineffective gestures, such as the sending of a Black ambassador to Pretoria.

It is in this context that we should regard the debates, suddenly launched in Israel, on introducing sanctions against South Africa under the pretext that further co-operation between Israel and South Africa could seriously undermine relations between Israel and the US. Taking into account special relations between the US and Israel, it is easy to see that the talk about sanc-

tions is another warning for the regime to come to its senses. This also refers to Japan's establishing relations with the ANC. Japan, one of South Africa's biggest trade partners, obviously seeks to guarantee itself safe positions should the majority government led by the ANC come to power in South Africa. But the active involvement of Japan in the US manoeuvres proves that all, or nearly all, means of pressure have been employed.

White Electorate Repels Outside Pressure

But the torrent of mutual accusations has also positive features for both sides. In its recent elections, the South African ruling elite demonstrated a will for repelling outside pressure and defending the interests of the White electorate. The political leaders of the US, where attitude to South Africa increasingly determines the ratings of candidates, were manoeuvring before these elections, gathering points on anti-apartheid rhetoric.

But Pretoria should hardly fear a united stand of the West on the issue of South Africa. Each of the Western states, though paying lip-service to sanctions, has economic interests in South Africa and is in no hurry to abandon them. For example, under the cover of debates on sanctions, the Federal Republic of Germany sold submarine blueprints to South Africa. Japan has been investigating possibilities for replacing those US companies which will leave South Africa.

What else can the US do to make Pretoria see the inadequacy of its policy and agree to major concessions? Of course, US aircraft carriers will hardly head for Cape Town or Durban. They are needed more where the US confronts not just a stubborn partner but a genuine striving of the nations for political and economic independence, for example in Central America, the Middle East and South West Asia.

One event that could have clarified Western plans for South Africa was the decision of Dennis Worrall, ambassador in London of the Pretoria regime, to retire and take part in the elections as an independent candidate.

Worrall: Protege of the West

Obviously, this challenge to the powerful National Party could only have meant that Worrall was supported by the West and by the big bourgeoisie, which were worried by the policies

of the regime jeopardising their interests. Worrall, former professor at Witwatersrand University, was promoted as a long-term alternative for the present hard-line White leaders. At the May elections, Worrall hardly got mass support. But his nomination meant that the process of preparing replacement to the stubborn leaders of South Africa had begun.

Western pressure on South Africa is likely to increase and acquire new forms. It is hardly possible that presidential elections in the US and any future parliamentary elections in Britain will bring to power people more sympathetic to Pretoria than the Reagan Administration or the Thatcher Cabinet. So there will be increased pressure on South Africa for new concessions to the Black majority. Of course, the West will use pressure cautiously so as not to bring about a premature fall of the present regime in South Africa which might result in changes which could not be controlled by the West.

Pressure on the regime from the White minority will grow too, since it is now breaking into political factions. There will come a time when the regime, headed by its present leaders or other

people not stained by adherence to crude force, will have to make concessions. But we can hardly count on the process of political settlement gaining momentum mainly or largely through Western pressure. South Africa and the West still need each other, so the current cooling off of their relations will not result in a freeze. The West will continue to carefully balance pressure and concessions, depending on the revolutionary sentiments of the Black population of South Africa.

The unexpected Western sympathy for the struggle of South Africans against apartheid is born above all of the fear for their interests in that country; interests that are threatened by the mounting resistance of the people. It is this resistance, and not pressure by the West, be it friendly coercion or economic sanctions, that will bring about changes in South Africa.

It is first and foremost the struggle of the people of South Africa led by their time-tested vanguard, the African National Congress, that allows us to be confident of the eventual triumph of the ideals of the Freedom Charter and in the creation of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.



PEOPLE'S SANCTIONS AND PEOPLE'S POWER

By Tilly Isaacson

The issue of sanctions against South Africa and Namibia has emerged today as one of the most intensively debated in world politics, and yet no consensus has been reached on many questions related to the real aims and objectives of sanctions, their effects and role in our liberation struggle. International action has been varied, ranging from tokenism to far-reaching measures.

While the liberation forces have scored great successes on this important front, the fight for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions remains a crucial battle still to be won. Our critics often ask what we have concretely achieved in our struggle by calling for comprehensive sanctions. There is a rich body of research material available on the subject, as a result of intensive discussions on radio and TV and in the newspapers, and in many conferences and seminars. However, it remains essential to clarify unambiguously the various views expressed by opponents of sanctions, mainly in western conservative circles headed by the Reagan administration and the Thatcher government.

The Anti-Sanctions Lobby

The main argument used by the anti-sanctions lobby is that sanctions simply don't work and after all represent a hopeless political gamble. Such views are entertained in South Africa by the Progressive Federal Party (as represented by Helen Suzman), and by political quislings like Gatsha Buthelezi, Alan Paton, Lucas Mangope, Mphephu and Matanzima.

The ruling Nationalist Party has declared calls for sanctions within South Africa as treason. Botha said those like Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Allan Boesak, the UDF, COSATU and the NECC leaders who advocate sanctions are being very "unpatriotic." In other words, calls for the dismantling of apartheid are regarded as being "unpatriotic" in South Africa.

The ANC is leading the struggle for the adoption and implementation of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria apart-

heid regime. The demand for sanctions today covers all continents of our globe, organisations and countries, institutions and people representing different political, ideological, religious and philosophical beliefs. The weight of world public opinion for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions is strong and growing.

Apartheid is regarded by many as an anachronism and a source of violence; hence, efforts are being made to pressurise Pretoria to dismantle the apartheid laws and initiate a process of dialogue with Black leaders. The world public in general views sanctions as the only proper response to the intransigence of the apartheid regime, the most effective non-violent strategy available at present to help end apartheid.

Sanctions — A Political Message

It is with this background that the call for sanctions by the international community is seen as a political message to the Botha-Malan regime that the world does not approve of apartheid and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. The western governments, particularly those of the United States and Britain, have evolved their own concept of sanctions, based mainly on the belief that sanctions fundamentally do not work and therefore have marginal and ineffective influence on the evolution of South African society. This outlook is centred on the following basic principles:

- That sanctions should be seen as a weapon aimed to put pressure on Pretoria to expedite the process of internal reforms, but certainly not to bring down the regime to its knees.
- That sanctions should be a substitute for the use of armed struggle as the decisive form of struggle waged by the people of South Africa and Namibia.

This explains the concerted campaign of the US and its allies to force the ANC to abandon armed struggle as a precondition for a negotiated settlement with Pretoria.

■ That sanctions should not ultimately harm or undermine the vital and long-term western strategic interests in South Africa, a country regarded as an integral part of the global western economic system. No wonder western sanctions packages have not included all South Africa's strategic mineral resources, such as vanadium, chrome, platinum, uranium, to mention but a few.

■ That sanctions should not lead to White minority rule being replaced by a 'communist-dominated' Black majority government. This sheds light on the savage campaign waged by the US and Great Britain against the links between the ANC and the SACP, and explains why so much money is invested in the anti-communist propaganda campaign in South Africa. This campaign is aimed primarily at dividing comrades-in-arms within the liberation forces in South



ACTING ON PRINCIPLES - THE BRITISH SANCTION'

Africa, and at isolating the liberation forces from our natural allies, the socialist countries. This anti-ANC and anti-communist campaign is vividly outlined in the US anti-apartheid act adopted by Congress last year.

It is therefore clear that all western anti-sanctions sentiments and arguments, such as "Blacks will be hurt most," are merely reflecting, if not reinforcing, the above-mentioned principles. These positions are at the heart of Margaret Thatcher's so-called policy of contacts, dialogues and persuasions, and Reagan's policy of 'constructive engagement;' they demonstrate unambiguously that the US and its allies are playing footsie-footsie with Pretoria, and, above all, seek to undermine and distort the just aims, objectives and role of sanctions in our struggle. Herein lies the essence of continued western refusal to adopt comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa, and the resort to the infamous veto.

We need to state categorically that Thatcher's and Reagan's positions on sanctions do not reflect public opinion in their countries. On the contrary, there is a growing lobby in these countries in favour of meaningful actions to punish and put an end to Pretoria's crimes against humanity.

Unprecedented Panic

It is the sanctions issue that has increased a millionfold the moral and political strength of the forces against apartheid at home and abroad. Despite the country-wide state of emergency declared on June 12th 1986, resistance against apartheid has increased. Apartheid has been rendered unworkable and the country **u n g o v e r n a b l e**.

The daily sacrifices of our people have ensured that the campaign for sanctions is an irreversible process which will end when non-racial democracy exists in South Africa. Action taken by many western governments, even on limited sanctions, has not only shocked Botha but created incalculable political, moral and diplomatic damage to the already dented image of his regime abroad. There is unprecedented panic within ruling circles. The regime has prepared a huge and costly sanctions-busting operation.

How do we then consolidate our present victories and advance from selective to comprehensive and mandatory sanctions? The 1987 January 8th statement of the ANC clearly stated the way forward:

"Where governments refuse to act, the public at large should respond with people's sanctions. Now is the moment for deeds, not words."

This call should be seen as part of the world offensive against apartheid, a major tactical advance that represents a new phase in the struggle to end White rule in Africa. Forces like the anti-apartheid movements, legislators, church and religious groups, political parties, students, academics and individuals, are blazing the trail on the sanctions front. Their actions have led to disinvestment, and, in the case of the US, actions and measures by Congress to take positions against South Africa. Our greatest achievement on the international front is the convergence of the common positions of our people and those of the international community, on the dire need for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions, and the total isolation of the Pretoria regime.

The Way Forward

Together with these forces, the liberation movement and the democratic forces inside South Africa need to review systematically the progress made, in order to chart a new way forward and give meaning and substance to our campaign to isolate the Pretoria regime. The main objective of people's sanctions should be to close the gap between words and deeds, and create a dynamic unity between them; practical implementation of sound resolutions. To undermine this principle is, indeed, a gross betrayal of the campaign.

Sanctions are a political weapon aimed at achieving political goals, such as deepening the political and economic crisis of apartheid, and its isolation. This, combined with armed struggle, will certainly lead to the collapse of the regime. Political analysts argue that no modern economy like that of South Africa can survive in isolation or even in semi-isolation from the rest of the world. Therefore, it seems that the west, particularly the US and Britain, can no longer venture to embrace apartheid without themselves risking international isolation and condemnation.

The whole issue has undoubtedly plunged into disarray the policies of western governments towards South Africa, created splits and isolated diehard supporters of Pretoria, like Thatcher and Reagan. Reagan was humiliated by the US Congress for the first time on the sanctions issue, thus being exposed as being out of step with public opinion in his own country.

The 'Weak Link' Principle

There are still many countries, governments and private businesses who are observers in the struggle to end apartheid, and on the question of sanctions. This position must be changed by our combined strength derived from our own practical actions and sacrifices.

One of the major strategies to be carefully considered and analysed is the 'weak link' principle. The main aim of this principle is to concentrate on specific institutions, firms or transnational corporations, even governments known for their overt or covert collaboration with the apartheid regime. Our task therefore is to urge them to cease forthwith their links with the apartheid regime, to disengage completely.

The concept of disengagement has a dual character; that is, first and foremost, disengagement from links with Pretoria and secondly from links with those collaborators who refuse to support our call. Herein lies the essence of people's sanctions.

The ongoing campaign to boycott Royal Dutch Shell is a practical example of the application of the 'weak link' principle. This oil company is the largest in the world and has owned Shell South Africa since 1901. It is also known to be supplying fuel to the racist army and police, and to the apartheid economy. The Shell boycott is under way in the United States, Britain, the Netherlands and other countries.

United Action and Unity in Action

The success of any boycott campaign, especially on an international front, lies in the ability of the campaigners to consult one another and to co-ordinate activities at all levels, local, national and international; to adopt the principle of united action and unity in action. We need to constantly review progress and tactics. The art of any struggle lies in knowing how to win, step by step, until final victory is achieved, finding always new ways, methods and practical means to reach our goal. We move from the premise that South Africa is vulnerable to international actions.

The sanctions campaign will not be meaningful unless it is linked with the commitment to assist the democratic forces and the liberation movements in both South Africa and Namibia, and to give all-round support to the Front Line States in order to overcome the effects of sanc-

tions on their economies. This will be a real step forward in our struggle. Any policy that denies support to the Front Line States seeks to appease the enemies of our people — the Pretoria regime and all anti-sanctions campaigners.

While the concept of people's sanctions represents tactical advance, we need, however, to expose to the world Pretoria's counter-strategy, the so-called sanctions-busting programme. We should analyse this strategy and see whether it can be defeated and how, what effects it has on the regime and the entire situation in South Africa. We need to study carefully all individual sanctions packages adopted by various governments and non-governmental organisations, institutions, groups and individuals, with the aim of closing any loopholes Pretoria and the west can exploit to undermine our campaign for people's sanctions.

People's Sanctions and People's Power

The kernel of the South African problem is power to the people. It is how the majority of the people of South Africa will advance to people's power and establish a non-racial, united, democratic South Africa. People's sanctions must be seen therefore as an essential front of the all-round offensive waged by the people of South Africa and Namibia to expedite their own freedom and establish societies based on non-racial democracy.

We do not envisage sanctions alone as bringing apartheid to its knees. After all, the destruction of the apartheid system is the business of the revolutionary South African people themselves. The international community can only ensure that this process comes about as soon, and with as little blood as possible. The key to our victory is the combination of all forms of struggle, including armed struggle. Armed struggle remains the decisive form of struggle whose intensification can lead to the total collapse of White rule on our continent.

The popular nature of our struggle makes it necessary to couple the concept of people's war with calls for people's sanctions at home and abroad. Ours is a people's struggle aimed at restoring people's power and democracy. Herein lies the strength of our revolution, and the guarantee for its final victory. This background should help us to understand the role and place of sanctions in the liberation struggle in South Africa.

OBITUARY

Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi



Members of the NEC carry the coffin of Cassius Make.

Job Shimankane Tabane (popularly known in ANC circles as Cassius Make) was gunned down, together with Peter Sello Motau (Paul Dikeledi) and Augusta Tsinini, a Mozambican national, in Swaziland on July 9th 1987. The taxi in which they were travelling was forced off the road from Matsapa to Mbabane by a BMW sedan with a South African registration plate, and they were murdered on the spot. Augusta tried to flee, and she was shot dead.

Cassius Make was born in Rustenburg on December 6th 1942. He attended lower primary school at Rustenburg before proceeding to Hamanskraal and then to Bethel Training College in the Transkei, where he did his matriculation. His father, Philemon, was an ordinary worker, and his mother, Elizabeth Sedialape, was a domestic worker.

Cas (as he was called) left South Africa on March 9th 1964, and since then dedicated his life to the liberation struggle. He was for many years in charge of Radio Freedom in Dar es Salaam,

where he formed a good team of radio announcers. He worked closely with SWAPO comrades. He then left for Lusaka and headed Radio Freedom there. This was a difficult period: the struggles in Mozambique and Angola were reaching a climax, and in South Africa the clouds were gathering. This was before and during the 1976 Soweto Uprising.

Soon thereafter, Cassius Make was posted to Angola to open an ANC office in Luanda. There were many problems, but Cassius handled them coolly, with a soft voice, a quiet laugh, but with a steeled determination. Then he was entrusted with a senior position in Umkhonto We Sizwe, becoming Deputy Secretary on the Revolutionary Council, and fulfilling other functions in the military headquarters of our people's army.

He was elected to the National Executive Committee at the Second Consultative Conference of the ANC, held in Kabwe, Zambia, in June 1985. Here was a man of humble origins who rose, through sheer hard work, from the lowest levels



Paul Dikeledi's mother, another relative & Winnie Mandela at Paul's funeral.

of the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, to become a national leader.

Cassius was a man of action — he used to talk little unless there was something vitally important he had to say — and what was uppermost in his mind was action connected with the home front. He pursued his goal with a single-mindedness characteristic of the most dedicated ANC cadres. He acted as a bridge between the senior comrades and the younger generation, bringing together both experiences into one stream; something which resulted in the more visible presence of the ANC inside the country.

He was not alone. He was part of a collective which included Paul Dikeledi. The only son of the Motau family, Paul received his early education in Soweto, then at Mount Frere in the Transkei, and then back to Morris Isaacson in Soweto, where he got involved in student politics. His father was detained together with Winnie Mandela and 20 others under the Terrorism Act for ANC activities. Paul left the country at the end of 1975. His military and political skills and activities made him one of the most wanted men in South Africa.

These two men and a woman were patriots because they were motivated by a deep love of our people; they fought for a South Africa of the Freedom Charter. Their ideals were not meaningless dreams or wishful thinking; they were realisable, achievable; hence all the risk they consciously took to enter Swaziland.

The body of Peter Motau was taken home by

his family for burial in Soweto. Many of those who came to honour him were forced to stand outside the cemetery, for the funeral took place under emergency restrictions, and was guarded by police, soldiers, army vehicles and a helicopter. His father said of him:

"He was not a violent boy. He was taught violence by the injustices he experienced in South Africa."

Cassius Make was given a hero's send-off in Swaziland, by the ANC, with militant speeches from the Youth, the Women's Section, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the South African Communist Party. Comrade Joe Modise, speaking on behalf of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, said:

"The murder of Cassius Make shall be avenged."

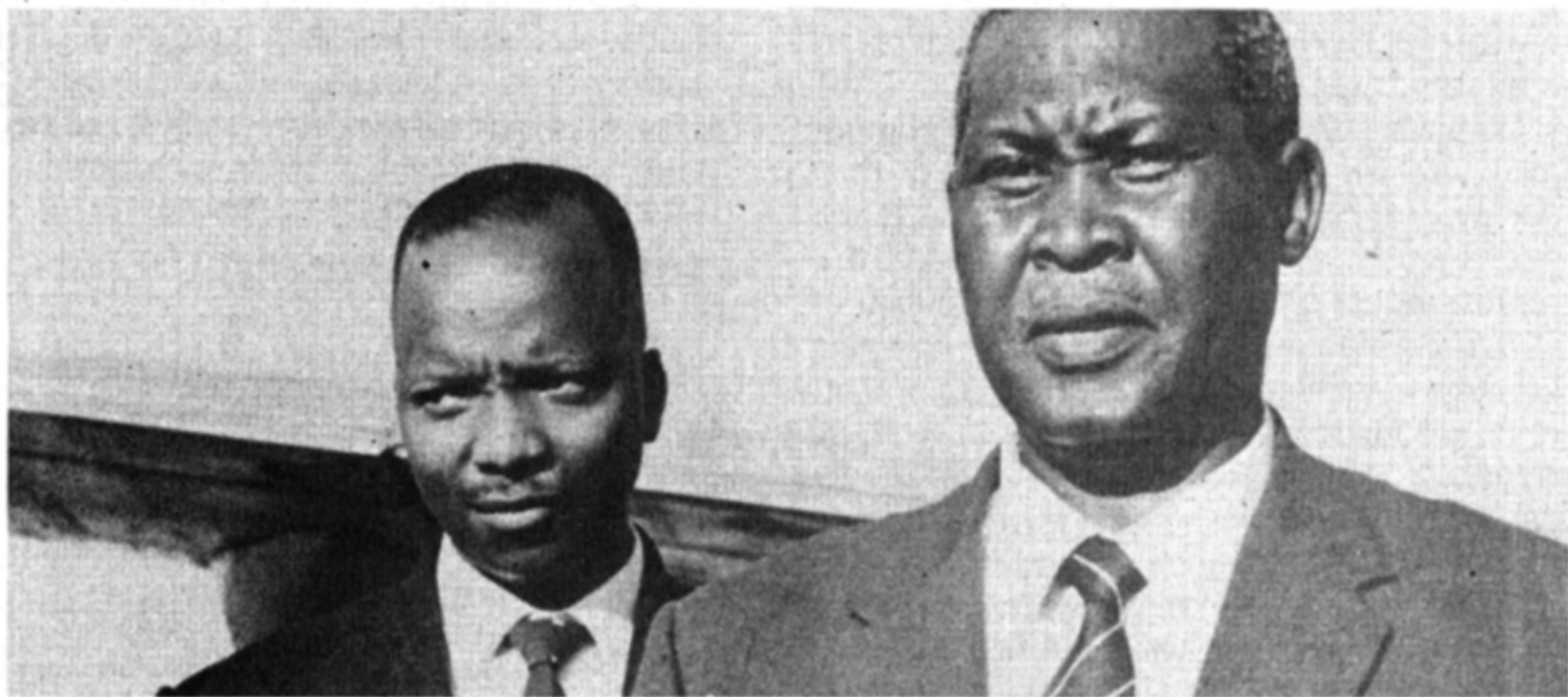
The National Executive Committee of the ANC issued a statement on July 15th, in which it said:

"... This incident and numerous others are a clear indication that the South African racist regime, in its desperation, is at all times bent on terror and cold-blooded murder against its opponents who are dedicated and committed to the ending of the hated and evil system of apartheid..."

"We for our part pledge to answer these brutal assassinations of our comrades with the only language which Botha and his regime understand, the language of escalating armed struggle and intensified mass resistance."

OBITUARY

Masabalala Bonnie Yengwa



Comrade Yengwa with Chief Luthuli.

The African National Congress dips its banner in homage to a stalwart leader. Comrade Masabalala Bonnie (MB) Yengwa, whose death was mourned by many friends, relatives and comrades in exile who congregated at the church service and later at the Golders Green Crematorium on Sunday, July 26th, 1987. It was one of the biggest funerals ever held in London. He died suddenly on July, 21st.

Born on December 5th, 1923 near Mapumulo, in Natal, he was inspired by his father who had fought in the Bambatha Rebellion of 1906, and had been arrested for participating in the ANC anti-pass campaign in 1919.

After his matriculation in 1943 Comrade MB worked for the Liquor and Catering Trade Union. He joined the Durban Branch of the ANC in 1945, immediately after being forced to apply for a pass. Subsequently he held various positions, gradually achieving senior positions during the formation of the Youth League in Natal in 1948.

In 1951 he was elected to the Natal Provincial Executive Committee of the ANC, under Chief Luthuli as President. He helped to undermine the position of the conservative A W G Champion and to promote the political career of Chief Luthuli. Comrade MB was appointed Natal Volunteer-in-chief of the Defiance Campaign in

June, 1952 and was gaoled for two weeks as a passive resister. A year later he was banned from attending gatherings and entering certain districts. He was elected to attend the Queenstown Conference of the ANC (Queenstown was a permitted area) along with Comrade Oliver Tambo. Thus began his long personal association with Comrades Mandela and Tambo.

In 1954 he was deported to Mapumulo for two years. He was unable to attend the very significant and historic Congress of the People held on June 26th 1955, at Kliptown where the Freedom Charter was born. In 1956 he was charged with High Treason with 155 others but was discharged a year later.

During these intermittent years of political activities he was articled to J N Singh, an attorney in Durban. In 1960 he obtained his Bachelor of Commerce degree and a year later his attorney's admission certificate.

In 1964 he was arrested for ANC activities and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment together with 21 comrades. After the appeal hearing the sentence was reduced to 18 months. Released in November 1965, he was then confined to Mapumulo, forbidden to go beyond 25 yards from his home. Only his immediate family were allowed to visit him.

In April 1966, he escaped to Swaziland. Com-

rade Edith and their four children joined him later that year. He practised as a attorney in Swaziland. In 1969 he was deported together with his family, because of the South African pressure in Swaziland, and entered the United Kingdom as a refugee.

Comrade MB Yengwa was a highly religious man. At an early age he became Durban Secretary of the African Congregational Church later becoming a deacon of that church. He represented the ANC at the World Council of Churches' Meeting in Geneva to draw up a programme to combat racism. Because of a long, close association with Chief Albert Luthuli, he was made director of the Luthuli Memorial Foundation. In 1970 he was sent as an ANC delegate to a World Congress on religion in Japan and in the same year, he was present when the Luthuli Memorial Foundation was launched in Addis Ababa, in Ethiopia. He was proud of his Zulu culture, and wrote a novel in Zulu, *Inqaba ka Mabelemade*, published in the 1940s.

In March 1971, while he was Chairman of the ANC London Region, MB Yengwa had a stroke. He lost the ability to speak fluently for almost three years. However, through sheer determination he made a marvellous recovery. He was elected again and again to chair the regional London meetings. Over all the years he never missed any meetings or social events that took place in London. He was indeed an example to us all in his unflagging dedication.

Tributes have flowed in from all quarters. Among them were these words from the Secretary General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo, at his funeral:

"Because of his supreme dedication to our cause Yengwa had risen to occupy very important position in the leadership of the ANC. MB was a former provisional secretary of the ANC during the stormy '50s and a close confidante and lieutenant of our illustrious leader, Chief Luthuli — himself a former member of the National Executive Committee of our organisation. He was known by younger comrades as Comrade V K, short for Vukayi Bambe, a nickname he dearly treasured because of its literal meaning — he who uses and seizes the moment, the ever-youthful, who will not falter when called to action.

"The years 1945-87 have been in many respects the most decisive in the history of our

country and the movement. MB played a prominent role in events which shaped this period. Women and men like MB, who were instrumental in shaping the policy of the Youth League and fighting within the ranks of the ANC for the acceptance of its programme, laid the foundation stone of the mass movement of the '50s, and are justly acclaimed as the pioneers of the revolutionary nationalism of the present day".

Comrade Steven Dhlamini of SACTU said of him:

"MB was very objective in the sense that he knew that the oppression in South Africa was two-fold. First of all it was the national oppression, then class oppression" ...

Comrade Joe Slovo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party said:

"MB lived through stirring times and played a vital part in the transformation of the ANC into the fighting revolutionary organisation it is today. Neither the prison sentences nor banning could cow him. Even the physical burden he carried in the latter portion of his life didn't dampen his spirit and he spared no effort to serve the movement in every way possible. He was active and forward-looking up to the last moment of his life.

"In exile he carried on the struggle in a variety of ways, attending every meeting and conference, even making his way at great personal inconvenience to the great Second Consultative Conference to Kabwe, Zambia in June, 1985."

We express our heartfelt condolences to Comrade Edith and her dear family. We grieve with them for Comrade MB as he was popularly called — his presence in all the ANC functions will be sorely missed by the entire membership of the ANC in London and the movement as a whole. His sincere concern and warmth was expressed to all those he met. He was loved and admired for his simplicity and his unassuming manner. These are some of the rare qualities that came naturally.

Comrade MB, we say to you, rest in peace. Your dedication and contribution to the struggle of the masses in our country to be liberated will be remembered by all those who have worked closely with you and been inspired by you.

The struggle continues!
Hamba Kahle, Comrade MB.

ANGELA DAVIS:

"The detention and murder of children is an act of desperation, because the children represent the future."

