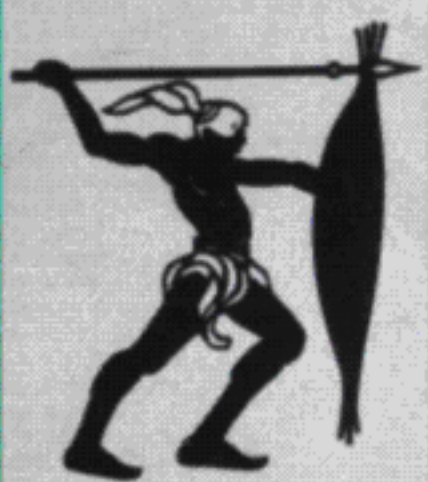


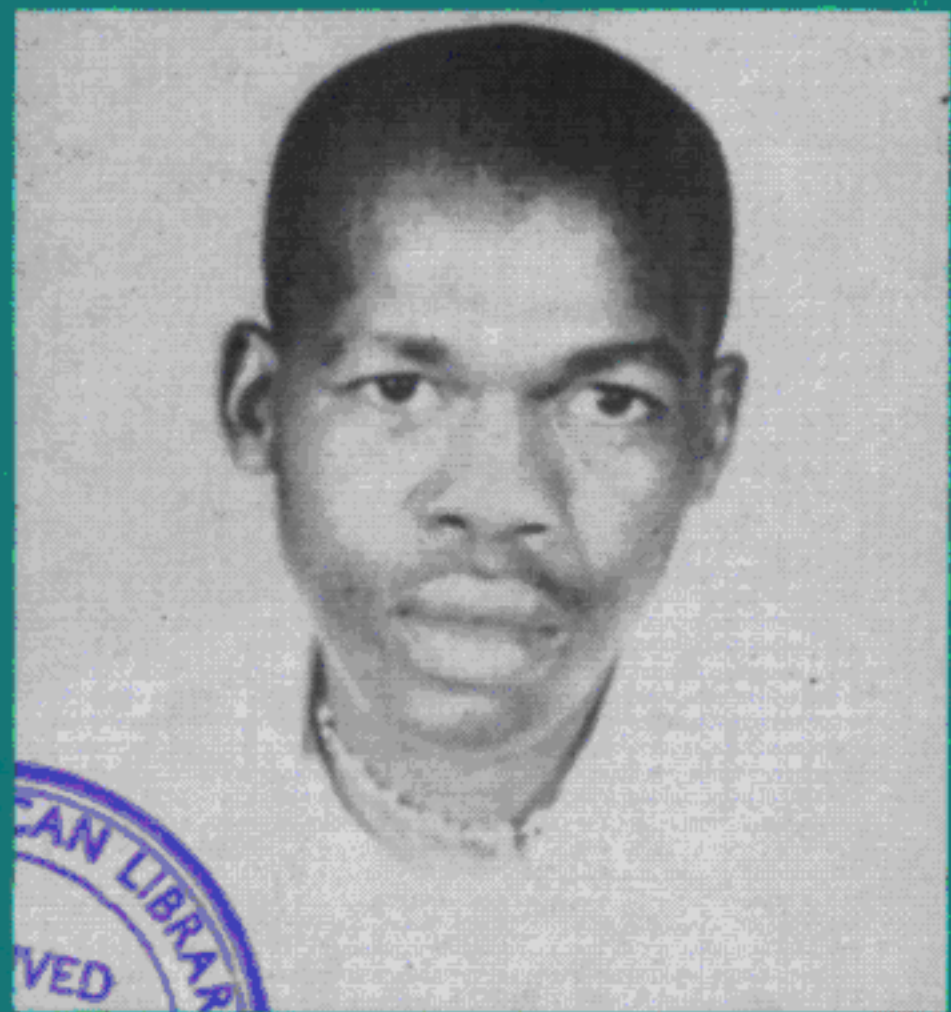
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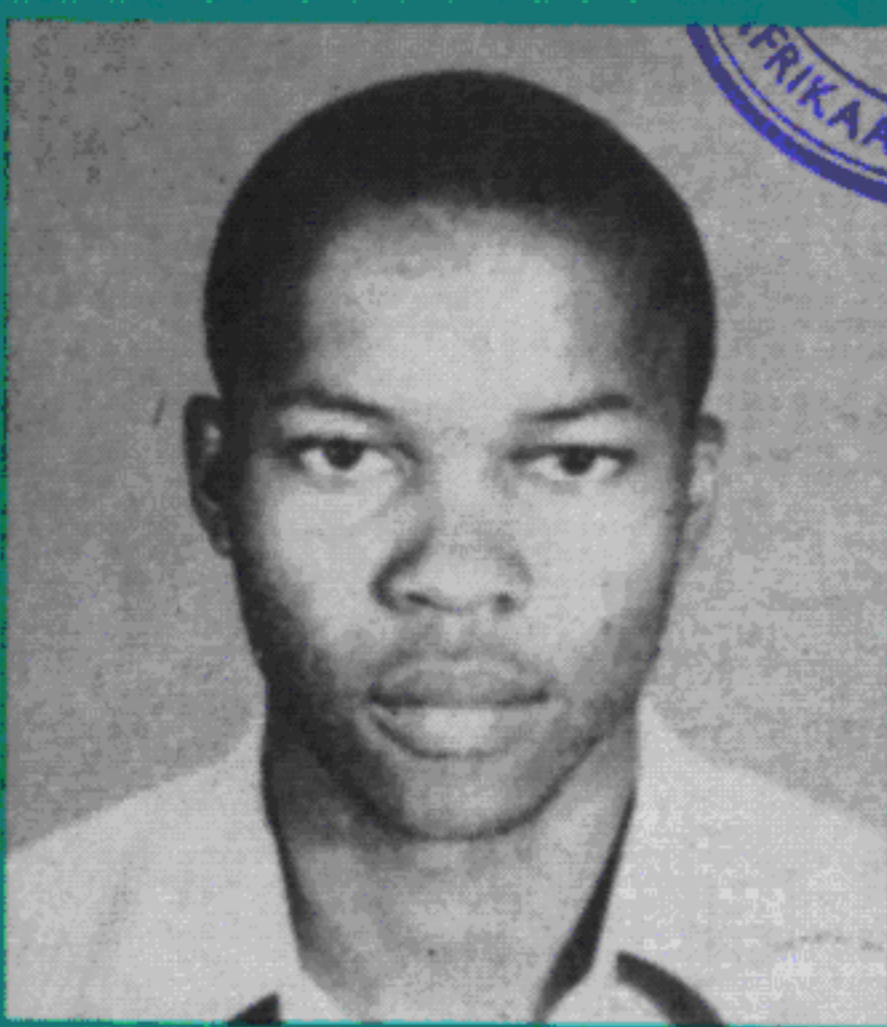
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official organ of the african national congress south africa

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# SECHABA

January Issue 1983



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EDITORIAL:	
Armed Struggle Escalates	1
STOP PRESS:	
Racist S.A. Invades Lesotho	4
KHOSI MBATHA:	
Testimony of Torture	8
STRESSES IN WHITE CAMP:	
by Anthony Holiday	12
THE ROOTS OF BANTU EDUCATION	
by Seretse Choabi	14
DISCUSSION ARTICLE:	
Racism & Capitalism	19
FILM REVIEW	24
BOOK REVIEW	27
POEM	30



# ARMED STRUGGLE ESCALATES

It has become a tradition in the ANC, a way of life or philosophy if you like, that whenever a year ends, we take stock of our achievements and weaknesses. This year we want to highlight some of the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

However there are problems as far as this is concerned. It is impossible to give exact details and accurate statistics. The estimates are by the nature of things in South Africa conservative because they are based on calculations drawn from newspaper reports and trial evidence. The fact that the news of the occurrence of some of the attacks only leaked out two or three years after they happened (in the course of trial evidence) suggests that the authorities sometimes conceal the less publicly obvious cases of violence.

As a result of the recommendations of the Steyn Commission on the media,

journalists have been instructed by the government to report guerilla activity in an "unsensational" manner — this too leads to various forms of censorship. Some trials go unreported in the press. It is difficult to assess the extent of concealment. The authorities even present alternative explanations to certain acts which could be sabotage and it is difficult to assess the validity of these explanations. For example an "accidental cause" or "technical fault" was attributed to a fire in the Koeburg nuclear power station: Official concealment takes place wherever possible especially with reference to incidents involving soldiers or defence installations, and attacks occurring in deserted or remote parts of the countryside.

All the same we know that between January 1977 and October 1982 Umkhonto we Sizwe attacks concentrated on sabotage



**of railway communications** – 33 incidents. Rail links between city centres and African townships have been the most common target for saboteurs. An interesting aspect of this “Railway warfare” is that it is linked with the day to day grievances of the people: the most recent report of such activity was a bomb which the police succeeded in disconnecting and which had been left on a bridge across the Orange River near Upington. This is a line which links South Africa to Namibia and this incident may herald more efforts to disrupt this key route for troop movements.

The other targets are **industrial installations** – 25 incidents. The “favourite” targets – so far – have been electrical power stations and petrol storage tanks e.g. Sasol synthetic petrol refinery.

There has also been **assassinations and attacks on individuals** – African security policemen, community councillors and former ANC members who have turned state witnesses in political trials or who have in some way or other betrayed the organisation. There were 35 such incidents in all. The ANC, like an African elephant, has demonstrated a long historical memory in such cases.

The authorities have admitted 19 incidents of **clashes between the ANC guerillas and police or army units** – that is soldiers. More recently the location of such conflicts has shifted to the main urban townships. Reportage of such incidents is restricted by the defence legislation. However an unspecified number of

gun battles were admitted to have taken place between the security forces and guerillas during June 1979 in the Northern Transvaal and Bophuthatswana where Mangope’s army helped to track down and actually kill ANC guerillas.

Also reported have been 15 incidents of **bombs in city centres, shopping areas, public buildings and places of entertainment**. These have usually been timed to explode out of normal business hours.

What about attack on administrative buildings? There have been reports of 14 incidents of **attacks on Government offices** – buildings belonging to the regional **Administrative Boards** (the bodies responsible for African township administration). As in the case of the bombing of the Langa Commissioner’s Court in Cape Town, the objective was hampering influx control through the destruction of records. The hatred of re-settlement runs deep among the African population.

The attack on these government buildings has been accompanied by attacks on institutions with a semblance of black collaboration. The attack on the Soweto Urban Bantu Council in December 1978 and the office block containing the President’s Council seem to prove this. Again the ANC in these attacks identified itself with local popular grievances. Another example of this was the bombing of a community hall in Orlando – an action which was inspired by a local rent strike. The hall accommodated the West Rand Administrative Board’s rent collection offices.

Since 1979 the **police stations have been the focus of guerilla assaults involving sophisticated weaponry** – 13 incidents in all. Grenade launchers (RPG – 7’s) have been used since the attack on Booyens. The targets have on the whole either been in African townships or in the bantustans – only on one occasion has such an action been directed at a police station in a white residential area in the working class suburb

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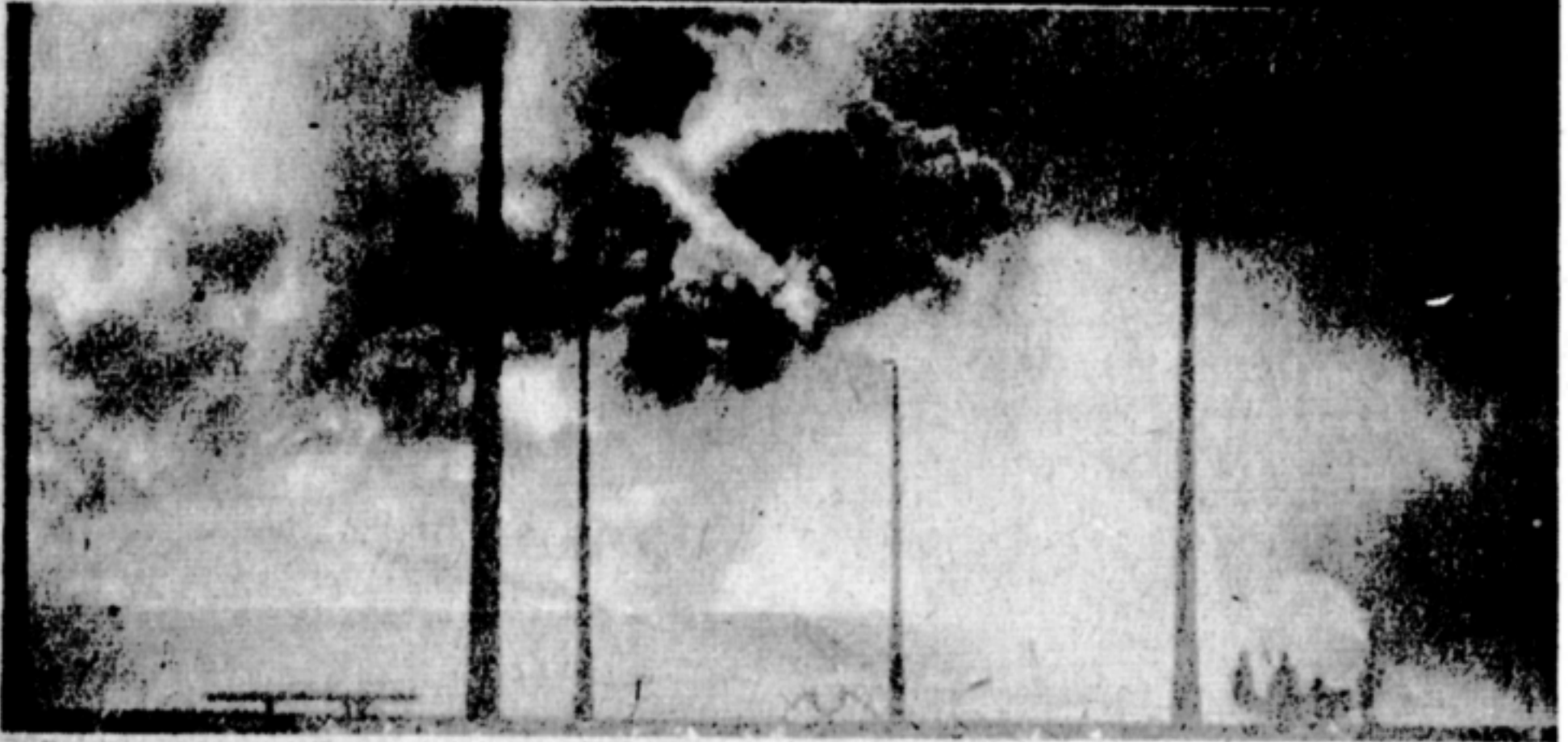
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FRIDAY, JUNE 2, 1982 JOHANNESBURG, TUESDAY, JUNE 3, 1982

**FIREMEN DWARFED BY A MOUNTAIN OF FLAMES AS A REFINERY BLAZES**



Firemen struggled to contain a wall of flame at the Sasol refinery yesterday. Like the huge fire in Durban and Tlokoeng, the blaze was out of control. — There was no danger of their burning.

*The aftermath of the Sasol attack*

of Booyens between Johannesburg and Soweto in April 1980. Since then police stations are fortified with sandbags and bullet proof screens, especially in the countryside.

Though there have been only 3 incidents of attacks on military targets the rocket attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte Military Base near Pretoria convincingly demonstrated the increasing technological expertise of the guerillas and the quality of their organisation.

There have also been pamphlet bombs scattered in the city centres by the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

In conclusion we can generalise these events and incidents as follows: the highest proportion of reported incidents have taken place in African townships, followed by those in the main business districts of large towns, and finally a smaller number in the

countryside. The attacks have been concentrated mainly in Johannesburg and Durban, that is in the Transvaal and Natal.

These attacks demonstrate considerable sensitivity to local conditions: an attack on a police station in Soekmekaar in the Northern Transvaal was intended to combine or identify armed struggle with the resistance of the Batlokwa people who were fighting against forced removals or enforced resettlement. In that process the ANC thus becomes the real shield and spear of the people.

What is the next stage or form of onslaught? President Tambo was answering this question when he said in Harare: "We are moving from sabotage acts to attack the enemy face to face". (Star 21.6.82)

These acts of military and political confrontation are a result of 70 years of experience and struggle.

# **RACIST SOUTH AFRICA INVADES LESOTHO**



From December 10 - 12, 1982 flags flew at half mast in Lesotho in memory of the dead and in sympathy and solidarity with surviving relatives, friends and comrades.

It all happened on Thursday December 9 at about 1 am. About 100 racist commandos, some with faces blackened and others wearing Sotho blankets, killed our people. Under a rising moon they pounded ANC houses for an hour leaving behind a trail of devastated buildings, a shocked refugee community, a stunned nation, houses with blackened walls and bullet holes and smoke pouring out of the windows. Corpses were lying all over, others charred beyond recognition: just bones, brains and blood.

About 5 helicopters roared over-head and gun-fire and explosions ripped the night apart and vehicles crossed back and forth through the border post on Maseru's outskirts.

The raid was launched from the Orange Free State across the Caledon River on whose eastern bank Maseru lies. Though it was bright moonlight they switched on

powerful spotlights that had been set up across the Caledon River border on their own territory.

Bazookas, machine-guns, grenades and incendiary devices were used in this carnage. Their targets were 12 ANC residences in three main areas – the furthest being about 15 kilometres into Lesotho. These were civilian targets but they decided to call them the “planning and control headquarters” of the ANC.

This raid was called by General Constand Viljoen, the Chief of the South African Defence Force, a “pre-emptive strike” aimed at forestalling ANC attacks on South Africa “over the festive season”. Such raids against SWAPO are called “hot pursuit”.

Not all those that were killed were ANC members. In some cases the information of the Boers was inaccurate and outdated – the ANC occupants had left and new tenants, Lesotho nationals, had moved in. They were shot instead. So was the case with Matume Ralebitso, daughter of a former Cabinet Minister and



Ambassador to Mozambique. She had just graduated as best student from Lesotho University.

Miss Ralebitso's apartment was attacked, they splintered the door with machine gun fire and sprayed the interior with bullets — they were looking for Martin Hani, an ANC leader who left Lesotho two months previously. Miss Ralebitso tried to escape through the window, and people in the apartment opposite said they saw her hang momentarily from the sill before dropping to the ground where she died.

What about the man known only as Gini to nearby tenants? He lived upstairs at number 32. He jumped from his third floor window and appeared to break a leg as he hit the ground and was shot dead as he lay there.

A glimpse at the white press in South Africa shows how inhuman these racists have become:

"Perhaps civilian casualties were inevitable, since the attack was in the heart of Maseru and neighbouring areas. Perhaps there is always a price to be paid by civilians when terrorists attack or are attacked in turn", wrote The Citizen (10.12.82) almost jubilantly. And the Rand Daily Mail (10.12.82) went even further to blame the ANC for this invasion:

"Yesterday's pre-emptive strike into Lesotho is a direct consequence of the ANC's planned recourse to armed assault against targets throughout the Republic. There are doubtless many people in this country who silently support and applaud the ANC's policy. That is their prerogative.

"What the ANC and its supporters need to comprehend however, is that the adoption of violence as an instrument of political change is an extremely dangerous approach.

"Those who advocate it must expect, indeed accept, that arms will be taken up against them. The SADF has always made it clear that it will not hesitate to cross

borders to attack and destroy ANC bases from which acts of terror are hatched and perpetrated against South Africa.

"While this paper has consistently deplored the use of violence as an alternative to political negotiation, it remains difficult to censure the defence force for what is a natural military response to a situation which, if General Constand Viljoen — the head of the SADF is to be believed, would have seen guerrilla incursions across the Lesotho border during the Festive season.

No efficient army can be blamed for acting to paralyse that kind of plan."

And the so-called white opposition the PFP, through Myburgh, their official spokesman on defence matters showed some reluctance to criticise the raid and even "rationalised" and justified it saying that the army had "no choice but to carry out a pre-emptive strike".

The truth of the matter is that some of those killed were ANC members. Others not. They were definitely not members of an ANC headquarters in Maseru. They were part of an 11,500 strong South African exile community registered with the Lesotho Government and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Our people come to Lesotho to seek asylum because they are confident that they will be welcomed in peace.

This Israeli-type trans-border attack means only one thing: African governments cannot choose their own systems of government and allies without the approval of Pretoria. The South African Defence Force infringed the territorial integrity of an independent African state and attacked refugees who had been given asylum in accordance with the Geneva agreement and other international codes.

This attack was facilitated by the collusion between the racist regime and the Lesotho Liberation Army — Lesotho's equivalent to UNITA in Angola and the MNR in Mozambique.

The ANC expresses its solidarity with



the people and Government of Lesotho. Our heartfelt sympathies go to all the bereaved — the ones who have lost their fathers, brothers, sisters, husbands, wives and relatives.

The names of some of the dead are unknown as yet due to the extensive charring of their bodies. The death toll in Maseru as a result of the atrocities committed

by the racist regime is forty-one — twenty-nine South Africans and twelve Lesotho nationals. Among the dead are seven women, one being a South African. Four people are still in hospital, among them an 8-year old child.

Some of those murdered were people who had just arrived in Lesotho on a visit from South Africa.

Among the dead are the following:

- Zola Nqini* -- An ex-Robben Island prisoner, originally from Uitenhage  
*Pakamile Mpongoshe* -- An ex-Robben Island prisoner, originally from Port Elizabeth  
*Jackson Tayo* -- An ex-Robben Island prisoner who was once charged with  
Looksmart Ngudle who died in detention. He was originally from Lady Frere  
*Ligwa Mdlankomo* -- originally from Port Elizabeth  
*Kentridge Moloisane* -- originally from Bloemfontein  
*Patrick Moholo* -- also from Bloemfontein  
*Dumisani Matandela*  
*Mbuso Bungashe* -- from Maluti in Transkei;  
*Michael Mlenze*  
*Cecil Ngxitho* -- from Cofimvaba in Transkei  
*Vuyani Zibi* -- from Mqanduli in Transkei  
*Samson Kana*  
*Sipho Notana* -- from Mdantsane, East London  
*Lizethile Dyani* -- from Engobo in Transkei  
*Zwelindaba Gova* -- from Engobo in Transkei  
*Dr Norman Nqciphe* -- He was visiting, having arrived a day earlier from  
Pietermaritzburg  
*Mzwandile Fazzie* -- Was visiting, having arrived a day earlier from Duncan Village,  
East London  
*Titus Jobo* -- Was visiting having arrived a day earlier from the Border Areas. He  
was also an ex-Robben Island prisoner who had served almost 18 years.  
*Alfred Marwanqana* -- Was visiting, having arrived a day earlier from Ilinge. He was  
an ex-Robben Island prisoner and was accompanied by his daughter, *Thandiswa*,  
who was also murdered. Alfred's son, *Mzukisi*, was also among the dead.

In hospital are Zanisile Bekwa, Manduleli Cunu, *Mthobeli Zokwe* and Kananelo Sexwale, only eight years old.

# TESTIMONY OF TORTURE

by Khosi Mbatha

*Below we publish extracts from a statement made by Mrs Khosi Mbatha at a press conference in London recently. Mrs Mbatha was detained for 7 months along with her husband Alex. A mother of seven, who was active in church and welfare work in*

*Soweto, she describes the barbaric treatment she received at the hands of the Security Police. Alex and Khosi Mbatha were released without being charged and later fled South Africa.*

**I**n the early hours of the 21st of October, 1982, we heard a sound like the back door being broken down. The next thing we saw were some police – about 12 of them with guns drawn

They told us to get out of our beds and face the wall. They started searching the house, others took some suitcases from the tops of wardrobes. They pulled all the suitcases down on top of my little girl, Dudu, who had just turned three. When I tried to protest, they told me to shut up and called me a 'communist dog' and a 'terrorist'.

After the search of the house, we were taken out into the cars to a police station in Protea, where my husband and I were separated.

From there we were taken to a police station in Dobsonville where they refused to admit me because I was with my baby. I protested that I wanted to leave my baby behind, but they told me: 'She's also a terrorist and a communist, so she must go to gaol'.

## **A blood-spattered cell**

I was admitted at Jabulani Police Station in Soweto. In that cell, the floor was ankle-deep in water. I was given some dirty blankets and a small mat to sleep on.

I discovered that the toilet was blocked and I decided not to go into the small cell but stay in the outer, open cell. I sat there, on top of these dirty urine-smelling blankets.

In a small alcove there was a toilet and washing basin. There I found some small pieces of meat which looked like flesh. The cell was blood-spattered. I had to live in that cell for 2 days and 2 nights with my baby

The security police came to remove my baby. I asked them where they were taking her to. They told me they were taking her to a home for children of people like myself 'who don't deserve to have babies, because they are very involved in politics'.

So they tried to take her away by force. I fought, kicked and beat them – I did my utmost to prevent them taking away my baby. But in the end they did.



### **The property of the security police**

Later in the evening I was moved to another police station. I was taken into a cell. The only thing I could see in the cell was a toilet. I was really thirsty. I could only find the toilet water to drink. Moreover, when they were taking my baby away, they had beaten me up, kicked me and banged my head against the wall.

The following morning I asked the people who bring breakfast if I could get a change of clothing and some toiletry. They told me that they had nothing to do with me – I was the property of the security police.

By then I had a severe headache and heart palpitations. No one came from the security police. I stayed in that condition for the next 9 days.

When they came I complained and told them that I needed a doctor as I was seriously ill by then. They produced some change of clothing and for the first time some toiletries. I wanted to know where I could drink water. They replied 'Stupid fool, can't you see there's a small tap in there'.

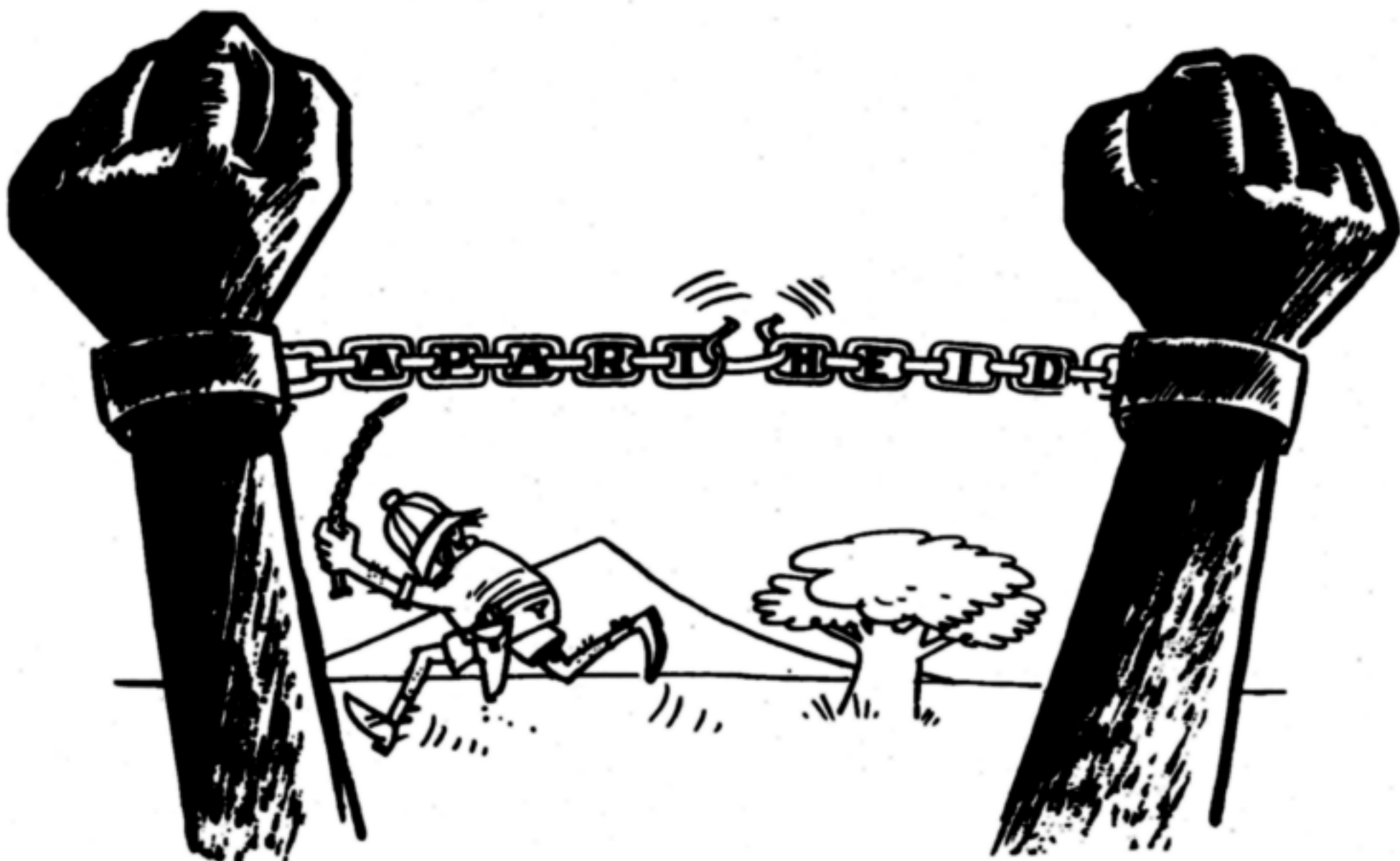
I saw a doctor who prescribed some medicine and found that I had heart palpitations and high blood pressure. He told the security police that I should see him in 5 days time.

### **'All kaffir women work in town'**

The security police started on me. They asked me why I lied to the doctor in saying that I was ill.

Late at night, they took me in a car to Protea police station. They told me I was going to tell the truth. Plastic bands were put around my wrists and my hands were tied behind my back. They hit and kicked me. They told me I must talk to them about my political affiliations.

I told them I had no political affiliations, that I was just a housewife. They wanted to know why I wasn't working 'like all kaffirs who go and work in town'. 'All kaffir women work in towns', they



said. They said I wasn't working because I was furthering the aims of a banned organisation or was involved with the Communist Party. I denied this.

They went on beating me up. One of the police came in with a hood which he put over my head and I started suffocating. Every now and then they put water on the hood.

They asked me why my children were being educated outside South Africa. Did I despise South African education? I said that as far as I was concerned every parent has the right to give the best education to their children.

**'I'm going to strangle you'.**

They took me back to my cell. I was becoming really ill. They didn't give me the tablets that the doctor had prescribed.

I stayed in this condition for a number of days. The security police would come in the middle of the night.

By this stage I could not sleep flat. I had to elevate myself with the few blankets I had. Suddenly I felt someone interfering with my neck. They had come with a wire. One said 'I am going to strangle you, because

you don't want to tell the truth or tell me about other people. I will tell the whole world that you've committed suicide'. Then he walked out.

Some nights I'd feel cold steel next to my temple. He would say 'I'm going to shoot you and nobody will ever know about you because I've got the power, the privilege, and the protection, as a policeman'. Then he would walk out, just like that.

Some days they would come and beat me up in the cells until on the 15th of November I just felt my heart squeeze. I started sweating and I felt as if someone was hitting me with a hammer on the left side of my head. The next thing, I lost consciousness.

I don't know how long I lay there unconscious on that small mat. It was some time on the following day that I saw many people around me and they were beating me up. They were saying: 'Wake up! Wake up! You are busy pretending — there is nothing wrong with you'.

I was trying to talk but I couldn't get a word out. My tongue was full in my mouth. When I tried to pick up my

right hand I found it wouldn't move. So I had to point out with my left hand that I wanted water. I was so thirsty. At last one of them gave me water.

Later on I saw a man coming in with a stethoscope. He started examining me. I was only half conscious. He told me to hold his hands. But I could only hold him with my left hand. Then he said: 'Look here just hold my hands with both hands as if you are holding a policeman - I'm told you have been fighting these police'. But I could not and he left.

Then I saw two hefty security police coming in. They got hold of me and dragged me out. I couldn't move on my right side. They dragged me out into a car and eventually we reached a hospital.

I was taken in a wheelchair into a cubicle where I heard the white policeman talking to a young black doctor. I'm a nurse by profession and I heard him say: 'I know this kaffir wants nothing but an injection'. So I was given an injection - this was an injection simply to remove fluid. The doctor was quite hostile.

From there I was taken back to the cell. I was continually interrogated although ill. I couldn't move - they used to beat me up right there in the cell. After a few days I was taken to a district surgeon after an inspector of police found me in that condition. He said that I must go to hospital.

#### **Highly infectious disease**

When I got to the hospital this security chap told the nurses there that I was Mrs Brown, 'a terrorist from South West Africa'. I was admitted under that name.

I stayed there in the hospital and they helped me quite a lot. But one day a security policeman came and said he was going to take me by force out of hospital. He said I had to go and show him something somewhere. I complained to the doctors and he was stopped. On the door of my room was written 'Highly infectious disease'.

I was moved into a women's prison

from the police station when I was discharged from hospital. I was placed in a cell all by myself in the section for detainees.

A doctor examined me and found that I still had some heart trouble and high blood pressure. All my teeth were loose and I had bleeding gums. I couldn't eat proper food. He tried to get me better food. I became more ill. I was supposed to get one injection a week. Once I didn't get an injection for two weeks. When the doctor wanted to find out why, he was told that there was no female nurse.

I became very ill, even after I was admitted to women's prison, because of the food, and all the tablets - sometimes I was given 16 a day. Some Catholics and other visitors, some ordinary people (I learnt after I got out) came to visit and brought fruit, powdered milk and toiletries. But I never received any.

#### **Released**

The day I was released I was very ill. I met my husband for the first time outside the prison gates. When I got home the police had the front door key, so we were just dumped at the gate and couldn't get into the house. My husband took me to a private hospital in Johannesburg. We never went home. I stayed in the hospital for 6 weeks and I was an outpatient for another 3 weeks, reporting to the hospital every 2 days.

One day we went home, only to find that the police had placed a paper carrier with some foreign boots and a jacket with an incriminating letter in it there. We felt this was plain harassment. We threw the things away. From there we started hiding from the police as we heard from neighbours that they were looking for us and were always about our home. We decided to leave the country. ]

# STRESSES

## IN THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE

by Anthony Holiday

*Just released after a 6 year prison sentence for furthering the aims of the ANC, Anthony Holiday, former Rand Daily Mail political editor, gives his assessment of the crisis in the white camp.*

Observing even from within the confines of a maximum security prison, the truth seems undeniable — the structures of White political power in South Africa are being subjected to internal stresses and strains, more potentially damaging to the White colonists' interests than anything they have known since they voted Malan's Nationalists into office in 1948.

Botha's cosmetic "reforms", forced on him by burgeoning social forces that make up the complex reality of South Africa, have placed him in a position where to move forward is as dangerous as to move back. He is committed now to installing by 1984 a complex and entirely unfamiliar system of political decision-making, consisting of secret and semi-secret parliamentary committees in which decisions will often have to be made by "concensus" with an Executive State President attempting to manipulate the whole unweildy machine.

### Split in the Nationalist Ranks

The remarkable thing is that these changes, which have already caused the historic split in the Nationalist ranks and the formation of Andries Treurnicht's Conservative Party, have gained the White Prime Minister little or nothing by way of

long term prospective gains or personal popularity.

They have satisfied neither the "Verligtes" within his ranks nor, of course, the "Official Opposition", Van Zyl Slabbert's Progressive Federal Party. They have also alerted the "verkrampes" who elected to remain in Botha's fold and who will be quick to threaten defection should Botha's reformist wing show signs of wishing to tamper even with the Immorality and Mixed Marriages Act, to say nothing of the Group Areas Act.

Botha has survived the split in his party. But as the recent by-elections in Germiston-District and Parys clearly show, the danger from Afrikanerdom's extreme Rightists is far from over. In the Germiston poll, the Nationalists held onto the seat with a scant majority and drew fewer votes than the Conservative Party and Jaap Marais' Herstigte Nasionale Party fanatics combined. In Parys the Nationalist Party outpolled the combined Conservative Party and HNP vote by a scant 10 votes. This means of course that should these two parties merge or even achieve an electoral pact they could become the dominant political force among Transvaal Whites, which means they could hope to challenge the National Party's supremacy in Parliament overall.

### White Power Game

However there are reasons why Treurnicht is hesitant about getting entangled with the

likes of Jaap Marais. For not only is the diminutive, club-footed HNP leader a racist fanatic who would alienate the more sober White voters Treurnicht hopes to attract, he is also one of the shrewdest and dirtiest political infighters in the White power game. Treurnicht is an ambitious man, who never disagreed with the articles I wrote about him in the seventies, saying he aspired to the premiership. His new lieutenant, Connie Mulder, also has such ambitions, and neither will wish to see them wrecked by the machinations of Marais. P.W. Botha is aware of all this, and it has given him a degree of confidence that his party's power base is safe from immediate and total erosion — in the short term at least.

### **Capturing the Afrikaans Churches**

But in the longer view, there is little on the White political scene to comfort the Prime Minister. For although the factions which are, at least, not actively anti-Botha have triumphed in the powerful Afrikaner Broederbond, the fact is that the Treurnichtites have virtually captured the Nederduitse Gereformeerde Kerk.

Treurnicht, himself a former editor of the Church's mouthpiece, Die Kerkbode and author of a doctoral thesis on the rightist theologian, Abraham Kuyper, was given a standing ovation by delegates to the recent NGK Synod. Rightwingers were elected to positions of dominance in the Moderation, and reformist strategies defeated at every turn. Add to this the fact that the smaller Hervormde Kerk was anti-reform even before the Conservative Party emerged and you confront the fact that the Treurnichtites are virtually in control of the Afrikaans churches.

### **Botha's strategy**

Given this situation and the fact that Botha will have to make some gestures towards the few members of the Coloured and Indian communities who are prepared to give his system a try and the question arises as to

what he is to do. To me his strategy seems obvious: He must try to woo voters away from the PFP and, at the same time try to strike a bargain of sorts with the party's leader, Slabbert, designed to ensure that the kind of hidden consensus, which has always been a feature of the Nationalist Government's relations with its parliamentary opposition, is maintained so that the new system basis on consensual committees and a three-chamber parliament does not seize up like a badly-manufactured engine.

In my view, this tactic has the potential to split or else emasculate the "Progressives". Reliable information I received just before leaving South Africa confirmed that the Nationalist political commentators are not wrong in pointing to factions within the PFP. The party would have to shed or tame some of its less opportunistic elements, like the PFP national organiser, Neil Ross, before Botha could secure its compliance and co-operation.

**Tensions create opportunities for the people**  
Clearly all these tensions, stretching across the whole range of White Establishment politics, create all sorts of opportunities for the National Liberation Movement. The new ploys whereby Botha hopes to keep apartheid going are far from being "irrelevant" as less mature politicians sometimes maintain. Botha must use his new set up to administer White power and if it becomes paralysed, he simply cannot conduct a long-term struggle against the mass forces opposing him. — And he knows it.

He will therefore seek, not merely to deceive his foreign allies with talk of "reform" but will try again and again to weaken the unity in action of the African National Congress in order to offset his own loss of mobility. He must not be allowed that advantage.

# THE ROOTS OF BANTU EDUCATION

by Seretse Choabi

*Seretse Choabi who personally experienced the enforcement of Bantu Education at Fort Hare in the late fifties gives us a background to the present education crisis in South Africa and argues that the roots of this crisis are inherent, if not endemic, in the system of apartheid.*

Before the present South African Nationalist Party government came to power in 1948 there had occurred a controversy among Nationalist Party leaders regarding the educational policy to be adopted by a future Nationalist Party government. There was general agreement among nationalist party politicians that an educational policy such as the one that had been pursued by the different provincial education authorities up to 1948 was bound to have disastrous consequences for South Africa. What, in

the view of the Nationalists, was particularly ill-conceived about this educational system was the provision of an academic education for Africans. This, argued M.D.C. de Wet Nel, a prominent Nationalist Party leader, constituted a serious threat to western civilization: "This whole (present) policy is also a danger for our own western civilisation" (1). The logic of this argument has always escaped me. How it is that the provision of western education for Africans, and consequently, their westernization constitutes a threat to western civilisation is beyond comprehension.

It seems more natural to hold that the assimilation of western values by Africans through the instrumentality of western education does more to consolidate these values and the institutions upon which they are based. Indeed, it is the realization of this fact that made Frantz Fanon write



## Freedom's child

You have been denied too long  
Fill your lungs and cry rage  
You're not going to grow up  
With segregated schooling  
And sitting on the floor.



so bitterly against the African as well as the rest of the third world intelligentsia. What Fanon detested most was the role of western educated African intellectuals who acted as functionaries in the whole network of Imperialist interests and in the exploitation of both the resources and peoples of the former colonies of industrial Europe. De Wet Nel's argument has no substance at all and can be seen to rest on the long discredited racist assumption that only white skinned people can be champions of western civilization. Such a view is clearly nonsensical. To say this, however, is not to explain why the nationalists felt so strongly against providing Africans with western education.

The principal objection of the Nationalist Party against Africans acquiring western education arose from their awareness of the fact that this education enabled Africans to compete with white members of the South African population for job opportunities as equals with equal qualifications. Since the free enterprise system operates on the principle of maximizing profits, the owners of the means of production would feel no obligation to protect white workers if this had the effect of reducing their profits. There was thus fear for the possibility of the emergence of an African middle class conscious of its competitive competence. This would deal a death blow to the myth of white supremacy. Thus the Nationalist Party took the view that white supremacy, and with it, white economic dominance could be effectively entrenched only if Africans were denied educational opportunities which would enable them to compete effectively. This would ensure that the African people remained labourers to minister academic education, as some people are too prone to do. If we do this we shall later be burdened with a number of academically trained Europeans and non-Europeans, and who is going to do the manual labour in the country? ... I am in thorough agreement with the view that we should so conduct

our schools that the native who attends those schools will know that to a great extent he must be a labourer in the country". (2)

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 thus had as its objective the perpetuation of white supremacy. To ensure this, this act provided for the take-over of African education by the Department of Native Affairs, later the Department of Bantu Education. This detachment of African education from the Department of Education, Arts and Science meant that African education was no longer to be organised by educationalists but by politicians with clearly defined political objectives. Education for Africans, unlike education for whites was not to have as its object the releasing of the creative resources of the individual pupil and eventually self-realisation, but, rather, the moulding of African children in accordance with a pre-decided pattern. The "Native" has to be a "good native", always obedient and never questioning the authority of his white master. How this was to be achieved can be seen from a study of various aspects of the administration of Bantu Education.

### Central Control

To ensure that African Education was directed at producing a population of servile Africans, it was necessary for the administration of African Education to be centralised. Before 1953 African schools were, with regard to administration and controls, of four types: private schools run by religious communities, etc., which could, if they wished, apply for official recognition and state aid; subsidized mission schools founded by church organisations, subsidized by the state and whose syllabi were prescribed by the provincial education department; government schools run by an education department; community schools, where the communities assumed the responsibility for the maintenance of the schools. The curriculum prescribed in all these schools was the same as for white



### *Children are taken to labour on white farms*

schools (although facilities were not as good).

One of the first acts of the new administration was the sacking of teachers who were known to hold views which were not in agreement with government policy. The Bantu Education Act also provided for the compulsory registration of all African schools. These could only be registered if they undertook to provide tuition in accordance with the Bantu Education syllabus. The implementation of this syllabus is spread over 825 minutes a week at the rate of 165 minutes a day. Of this weekly total, religious instruction and "health parades" take up 205 minutes. Afrikaans, English and the vernacular 380 minutes, arithmetic 140 minutes and writing and singing 100 minutes. Thus, roughly 25% of the time is spent on religious instruction and health parades in the lower primary courses. It is 18% in the higher primary.(3) If we take into consideration the fact that more than 60% of lower

primary pupils drop out before promotion to higher primary it should be obvious that the time set aside for health parades, religious instruction and manual work is completely lost to the pupils and can never be made up for. These children are barely literate by the time they leave school.

### **Mother-tongue Instruction**

One of the most important aspects of Bantu Education that the African people object to is the policy of mother-tongue instruction. According to this policy all African children have to be taught in the language medium of their own ethnic group. The system of Bantu Education envisages this policy being continued up to university education. The objection against mother-tongue instruction is that it is (1) certain to promote ethnic disputes and rivalries among the African groups (divide and rule); (2) certain to ensure the intellectual isolation of Africans from educational developments throughout the world (this

is particularly the case when it is realised that the majority of African children leave school before reaching high school). Thus their lack of mastery of an international language, e.g. English, is a serious handicap.

### **Finance**

Government policy has determined that African education is neither free nor compulsory education. Not only do Africans have to pay for the building of schools for their children, but also have to meet maintenance costs and the salaries of teachers. The result of all this is inferior educational facilities for Africans. We thus have a situation in which per capita expenditure on an African child is 20 Rand (£10) per year compared with 228 Rand (£114) per year for a white child.

### **Farm Schools**

The Bantu Education Act also provides for the establishment of schools for African children living on white farms and whose parents are farm labourers. The establishment of these schools, however, is at the discretion of the farm owner. He has the power to close down a farm school on his farm, should he decide to do so, and the labourers cannot appeal against such a decision. The farmer is also the principal of the school and thus dictates policy to the school. He has the legal right to use the labour of school children on his fields or for any other form of manual labour which is regarded as part of the training and education of school children. This is nothing but a system of providing free labour to the farmer. Ultimately education is geared to the effective preparation of the Africans for their future occupations as unskilled labourers. Higher training is intended only for the small number of persons who can be employed in the few openings available in African 'Homelands' or African 'development schemes'.

It was as a result of the recognition of these diabolical aims of the Nationalist

government in introducing Bantu Education that the African National Congress organised a Bantu Education boycott. This took the form of the withdrawal of African children from Bantu Education schools. The government was quick to react and thousands of school children who stayed away from school were black-listed never to be admitted into any school throughout the country.

It is interesting to note, at this point, that, despite the general recognition of the evil aims of the Bantu Education System and the general condemnation of these by educationists (except, of course, supporters of government policy) the churches in South Africa agreed to cooperate with the government in the implementation of Bantu Education. We thus again had to witness the treachery of the church in its collaboration with the forces of colonialism and the oppression of the African people.

From the foregoing discussion it should be clear by now that the whole purpose of Bantu Education is to indoctrinate African children to accept Apartheid and thus ensure dominance to the white community. The recent events in South Africa in the form of student revolts against apartheid in education and also as a way of life, demonstrate the futility of attempting to indoctrinate African children. It is impossible to persuade a population such as the African people who suffer daily from Apartheid and racial discrimination that Apartheid is good for them. These disturbances further illustrate the readiness of the African people to make sacrifices and pay a heavy price in struggling against Apartheid in its various manifestations.

### **References**

1. Hansard of S.A. Parliament, vol.52, 2nd April, 1954.
2. T. Le Roux, *ibid.*
3. Apartheid, Unesco publication (1967), p. 48.

# DISCUSSION ARTICLE



# RACISM AND CAPITALISM

*Comrade Joe Koloji, an ANC member in Dar es Salaam, has submitted this article as a basis for discussion. It goes without saying that the ideas expressed here are those of the author. SECHABA invites contributions on this very important issue in our liberation struggle.*

In my view whether it is the epoch of slavery, of the nineteenth-century imperialism or contemporary capitalist metropolis, in each case racist ideologies are developed by the ruling class and the state in order to justify enslavement, colonial subjugation, and metropolitan super-exploitation or marginalisation respectively, and also to divide the working class by fostering spurious racial divisions.

Racism must therefore be fought as an aspect of class organisation and mobilisation and in terms of the struggle for socialism.

Racism is one variance of a mechanism of capitalism which facilitates, justifies and maintains the super-exploitation of Blacks — the struggle against racism must be anti capitalist both in its theory and practice.

Capitalism needs a cheap or a divided labour force and the ruling class ensures that these economic and political needs are met by producing the racist ideology and practices which enable super-exploitation and sectarianism to occur.

Race prejudice is a social attitude propagated among the public by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatising some group as inferior so that the exploitation of the group or its resources (or both) may be justified, the capitalist exploiter will devise and employ race prejudice when that becomes convenient.

Capital requires racism not for racism but for the sake of capital. Hence at a certain level of economic activity (witness the colonies) it finds it more profitable to abandon the idea of superiority of capital.

## **The nature of racism**

We reject, then, the framework of total

autonomy where racism is seen as a totally independent and dominant force in the social structure. This has been a leading thread of conventional "race relations" scholarship in which racial prejudice is used as the major dynamic and explanatory factor. This type of idealist analysis has been paralleled by some currents of radical black thought.

Racism is a fundamental property of the whole population, which takes the characteristics of a colonial power — as all whites are contaminated by this force, racism is eliminable by the efforts of Blacks via their own movement for national or cultural liberation.

Although racism is a class issue, the struggle against it is primarily a democratic and an ideological issue which demands a level of struggle that both addresses itself to the concrete reality of racist oppression and that encompasses a very broad base of political support.

Racism cannot be analysed simply in terms of an ideology of biologically or culturally determined differences, inferiority and necessary subordination. It is used to refer to the practices whereby a particular group is separated out of various systematic types of hostile and discriminatory treatment. Thus the policies and routines of police, employers, trade unionists, housing authorities or the education system may operate to ensure that black people are subjected to various inter-linked forms of oppression. They experience police harassment and criminalisation: They are clustered in the unskilled sectors of the industrial or service working class, in the ranks of the unemployed, or at the bottom rungs of the professional or white-collar strata.

### **Racism and South African society**

Colour is widely used in South African society as a cue, and a rationale for a stereotyped and negative response. Racism has become institutionalised into the structures of South African society in so many spheres that these practices cannot simply be

dissolved into the practices of class discrimination, disadvantage and inequality with which they are so closely and dynamically inter-related.

Even if the motives behind acts of racial discrimination are concerned with maintaining class, status or power relations and positions, the effect is still one of contributing to a specifically racial oppression. An anti-racist political strategy, then, cannot simply operate at the ideological level, vital as this is. It is essential to develop positive policies specifically designed to deracialise the South African institutional fabric in all those arenas in which racism is enshrined. This involves struggling to repeal racist immigration controls and legislation, pressing for the implementation and strengthening of legislation against racial discrimination and incitement a decolonisation of the education. Many of these reforms would be of universal benefit.

The final level at which racism operates and where accordingly opposition has to be mounted is at the level of those organisations which consciously utilise racist theory and sentiment as a major ideological device to further their political aims as fascist parties like the Nationalist parties.

### **Racism and Fascism**

It is important to maintain distinctions between (a) racism and fascism, and (b) fascist political parties and non-fascist political parties which adopt racist policies.

The South African state has played a central role in the institutionalisation of racism as have the national governments which have legislated racist immigration controls. If the state has one of its functions as the reproduction of the system of monopoly capitalism, then this view suggests that it is irrelevant whether the form of the state is a bourgeois democracy or a fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and are therefore equally oppressive to the working class.

Racism may develop with or without



the growth of fascist parties, fascism may or may not be racialistic — e.g. Chile. Parties or governments which adopt racist policies are not necessarily fascist — e.g. the so-called Great Britain. However, just as racism cannot be equated with fascism, although racial criteria is a fascist criteria, so opposition to racism cannot be limited to essentially anti-fascist or anti-nazi opposition however broad-based and imaginative the approach.

An anti-fascist strategy which concentrates solely or primarily on defeating the Nationalist Party will have little practical or ideological effect on racist attitudes of the population at large or the state apparatus that enshrines them. This requires that links be forged between anti-racist, black struggle and the struggle for socialism. For the Marxist perspective argues that it is only socialism under conditions of economic planning popular democratic



political central and collectivist development of different cultures that can provide the necessary, albeit not sufficient, structural political and ideological conditions for the elimination of racism.

#### Links between struggles

But the links between the struggles cannot be forged in the old mechanical way of simply exposing capitalism's mobility to tackle racism and making abstract propaganda for socialism on that basis. This is a fatalist and ultimately insurrectionary perspective.

But nonetheless serious inroads can be made at levels of mass united action,

anti-racist struggle begins to take on concrete and attainable political objectives.

The key is from moving from the defence of rights under attack, typified by Blacks and anti-racist movements to that of consciously challenging the strongholds and structures of capitalist power. The linking mechanism here, as in many other arenas of struggle, is perhaps the projection of concrete solutions to aspects of racism which both address themselves adequately to black people's specific problems, but also involves an extension of democracy – structural changes.

At the level of institutionalised and structural racism, an attack on practices



which promote racial discrimination and oppression involves the development of policies of conscious intervention in the market for housing and jobs; in the spheres of education, planning and the legal/judicial system.

This constitutes a continuing erosion of the principles of capitalist production and reproduction as the working class as a whole, such as the out-break in public expenditures.

Furthermore the consciousness and organisation of African and other ethnic groups in compelling such state intervention to be democratic against white paternalism, bureaucracy participation and control in local decision-making and resource allocation.

First, at the organisation level, the development of concretely drawing together most elements of the broad democratic alliance envisaged in the Freedom Charter; already many of the anti-racist, anti-fascist or anti-nazi organisations show a healthy range of social forces through the involvement of black and religious organisations and through the ability to win the support of a wide-range of different political groups. The extension and solidification of the anti-racist movement's organisation through the recognition of both its autonomy and its relativity will not simply have the defensive significance of supporting the struggles of black people against oppression and undermining the current right-wing and fascist offensive that have increasingly been using racism as their major energising force. It can also play a very big part in forging a network of broad-based alliances whose struggles can enforce ideological, political and material changes that may have an important transforming character — spear-heading a significant political realignment of class forces and democratic and structural reforms of value to the working class and popular strata.

### **Maintaining alliances**

However, the maintenance of such a system

of alliances is highly complex and fragile, as a number of deep ideological divisions and sectional antagonisms may be involved in these formations. Only the most skilful political leadership can maintain the unity of such diverse groups around positive activities and demands a role, in South Africa, that the African National Congress can play on account of its contacts and roots.

Finally, the South African Communist Party must itself practice relative autonomy in this front, in its own relationship to anti-racist organisation, as well as acting as a major working class leader, though by no means exclusive, unifying force, it must also present itself as an autonomous political organisation with its own independent demands, campaigns, meetings and publications.

The struggle against racism and the related though not inter-changeable struggle against fascism, has been recognised as one of the most important tasks facing the labour and progressive organisations.





# FILM REVIEW

# THE SUN

# WILL RISE

*"During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."*

This statement by Nelson Mandela in 1964, before being sentenced to life imprisonment, must surely rank among the most eloquent testimonies of commitment to selfless and noble ideals. It has in fact inspired increasing numbers of young South African freedom fighters who, like Mandela, are prepared to sacrifice their lives in the cause of the national emancipation of their people.

It is therefore, very appropriately, the opening statement to **The Sun Will Rise**, a bold and moving film shot secretly in South Africa earlier this year, which is a tribute to the brave young patriots of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC, of which Nelson Mandela was the first Commander-in-Chief.

Put together in record time, surviving countless traumas resulting from clandestine production in a hostile environment, the film was premiered in London on 7 November exactly 20 years to the day in 1962 when Mandela was convicted to 3 years imprisonment on a charge of incitement and 2 years for leaving the country without travel documents. In explaining his actions, in a now famous speech in his own defence, Mandela anticipated the mass exodus of young people from South Africa following the Soweto uprising of 1976: "I was driven to this situation ... other people will be driven in the same way in this country ... of that I am certain" he predicted.

Mandela had come back into South Africa illegally ready to further the aims of Umkhonto we Sizwe and was captured on 5 August 1962. In much the same way



*Mrs Martha Mahlangu who is interviewed in the Sun Will Rise*

young ANC guerillas have been re-entering the country since 1977 proving an increasing military threat to the racist regime. While the vast majority have managed to evade detection many through their daring actions against racist installations and personell, have been captured.

**The Sun Will Rise** is a tribute to the dedication and heroism of the people's army – the fighting youth of the ANC, and in particular to Solomon Mahlangu, executed by the racists in April 1979, and all those young patriots on death row in Pretoria.

The film is also a powerful weapon to be added to the arsenal of the oppressed. It can help people to more clearly understand the motivation of those who are taking up arms against apartheid and through this understanding come to support the ANC and to help save the lives of the young people on death row.

Moving interviews with their parents reinforce the message of the film, Martha mother of Solomon Mahlangu reveals the impact made on her by her son's commitment as well as by his legalised murder. "My eyes have been opened ... I have awakened from a long sleep ... they can do what they like, I am going forward".

The mother of Naphtali Manana – who with his comrades was recently snatched from the gallows by concerted international protest – has no doubts about the future. "I see the future holding victory for us. Our great grandfathers fought with their hands and they were defeated. Our children fight with guns and they will win".

But for the ANC, politics are paramount. The Freedom Charter is the chief weapon. Interviews with trade union and student activists stress the need for the development of a liberation front uniting all sections of the oppressed – workers, students, women's and community groups which, together with armed action, will give a national dimension to the struggle. Intercutting the interviews is inspiring footage of demonstrations, marches and meetings exemplifying, on the one hand,

the sharpening struggle against apartheid, and on the other hand the growing unity between all sections of the oppressed and democratic forces. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the extraordinary and unprecedented scenes following the death in detention of Neil Aggett a white trade unionist. Excellent camerawork captures the soaring spirit of militancy and defiance among the huge crowds, parading with ANC flags, through the affluent white suburbs of Johannesburg.

"Unity in Action" has been the ANC slogan in its 70th anniversary year. That slogan is daily translated into reality. It is appropriate therefore that "Unity in Action" should be the title of a 160 page photographic history of the ANC covering the period 1912-1982, launched simultaneously with the film. Where the film is an independent production, albeit flowing with the mainstream of forces in South Africa today, the picture book is produced by the ANC itself, accurately reflecting both the story and the policies of the organisation.

In his foreword to the **Unity in Action** book, Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress, writes "All too frequently cameras, like historians focus on the rulers and relegate the people to the background. Most books on South African history tend to be illustrated with photographs of Governors, racist Ministers, military parades and the leisured white minority. The photographs in this book, many of which were taken by militants of the liberation movement, place the people of South Africa in the centre – depicting their lives, their conditions, their resistance. This is their story – a South African history."

*The film is available from the distributors: International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, 104 Newgate Street, London EC1A 7AP.*

*The book is available from all ANC offices (for addresses see inside back cover).*

# BOOK REVIEW

## POEMS OF A NASCENT NATION



*'It is no more a cry', Namibian Poetry in Exile, edited by Henning Melber, published by Basler Afrika Bibliographien, Basle 1982.*

This new publication 'It is no more a cry' which is a booklet of poetry composed by students in the United Nations Institute for Namibia, is a contribution to the growing arsenal of revolutionary literature emerging from Namibians in exile. The reviewer wishes to warn from the very onset, that this booklet is by no means a voice in the wilderness. Most of these poems reproduced in the booklet have already been mimeographed for internal distribution in a collection entitled 'Young Namibian Poetry'. Therefore the poems – whilst exploring the symmetries and contours of Namibian culture and history – past as well as present, directly shed light on the life and spirit prevailing at the Institute today.

Established by the UN General Assembly Resolution 3296 on 13 December

1974 and officially opened by H.E. Dr. Kenneth David Kaunda at Lusaka, Zambia, this Institute aims at enabling Namibians, under the aegis of the United Nations Council for Namibia, to "develop and acquire the skills required for manning the public service of an independent Namibia". (p.9)

Ever since the apartheid South African regime established colonial and settler-rule in Namibia, all efforts have been made to 'deform' the history, culture and social values and norms of the indigenous population. The purpose was, and still is to disorganise the defiant Namibian personality, to break her national physiognomy and to pacify her psychology. This is an attempt to force the Namibians to forget their past history, to forgive and accept colonial history and to glorify it at church and educational institutions. By so doing, the predators thought they could establish permanent white minority rule. Suffused by a vile, evil and vicious mentality of

poetic ideas – cool in their precision and calculated in meaning.

The poet Tjozongoro recalls the 'good old days' and decries the nasty present state of affairs – "my good old days are struck down" (p.25). The poem sets the tone and pace of subsequent poems. His song of love is echoed by his comrade Shivute who continues to muse about the past "Before the White Man Came". The poets are not interested in basking in the sun or glory of the past. They use the past to remind us of the intolerable situation prevailing presently. In fact, they paint a



super race hegemony, the regime has sought to use all methods in the book not just to 'arrest the historical development' of the Namibian people but to artificially revise their history and draw new lines along which these people have to 'develop'. This was seen as a thesis for eternal rule.

That pipedream is being blown away by the wind of change. An anti-thesis has been drawn up and has become the theory and practice of a nascent Namibian nation – just on the threshold of independence. This thesis has become a material force that strikes the very heart of racism. It does so, not through a curse hanging on the poets' lips but through such thoughtful

picture contrasting joy to sorrow, light to darkness, rainfall to drought, freedom to slavery. The similarity of their theme, of their tone and style is borne by the fact that both poets emerge from the same womb and have sucked the same experience from their ancestors.

Tshitigona must have been thinking of his great-grandfather in his verse 'The Old Namibian Peasants'. He captures his image so well and takes us through a journey permeating seasons, all the time asserting that this peasant was "a man of hundred summers". This removes the coldness in our hearts and unfolds an era of hope. From this vivid representation Tjozongoro takes up the challenge and brings us back to the present day. He underlines the moving drama and traumatic agonies of a contract worker, super-exploited with his product taken "away to the imperialist". (p.29)

Our aesthetic impulse or thirst is quenched by Tjohenuna after taking us 'across the land between two deserts. Siloka goes on to lambast the "Turnhalle Circus" and promises us that the people "as true masters" will soon be "without Mudge as their Judge". (p.34).

In their own way, the poets tell us of their sorrows and sadness when they had to leave their motherland. They identify the culprit not only as the settler regime — but also as imperialism. This underlines their clarity of thought.

It is worth noting that the selection of the poems and their arrangement present to us the different, though inter-linked phases of Namibia's history. 'Omgulumbashe' by Wakolele where he writes of the "enemy shaken by the thunder of bullets, run away in the fear of a hare for a hound" is a dedication to the first military encounter between SWAPO and the South African Defence Force, way back

on August 26, 1966. This has become Namibia Day. The cold-blooded murder of refugees four years ago in Kassinga is also remembered, not as a dark page in Namibia's history but as a source of courage and determination.

Poets transcend their national barriers in this collection. The evils of imperialism, like the assassinations of Amilcar Cabral, Eduardo Mondlane and Marien Nguoabi are brought to light. Given the advanced stage at which the armed struggle is, it is not surprising that most poems praise the heroes and courage of freedom fighters. One poet Tongeni says "They do not work at random; They fighters for freedom"(p55)

Through the medium of poetry the Namibian patriots have corrected the historical injustices and thereby are putting in perspective the true history of Namibia. This booklet is a record of the contours, slopes, downhill and uphill of the path being traversed by the Namibian people towards their cherished ideal of liberation. The commonality of our struggle with that of the Namibians, is clearly underscored by uncompromising use of revolutionary imagery at the end of which appears a bright horizon. As such, the title 'No more cry' is itself a self conscious verdict against forces and factors that have not only transformed Namibia into an ocean of tears but also into an ocean of blood.

'It is no more a cry but a fight' says Tshivunga (p.38). This Namibian train of thought will reach its cherished destination in its futurebound mission. Indeed this booklet is further proof that a magnificent literary flower is blossoming in Namibia. Though its petals have been sometimes tarnished red with blood of the struggling masses — there's ample evidence that this flower still has an aroma of imminent freedom.

*Mkhwanazi.*





# RIGHT HAS BEEN WRONGED

forty-one names inscribed in bold  
in the golden roll of honour  
valour defying stormy periods  
thunder-clouds failing to bury  
the healing feeling of innermost belief  
forty-one names inscribed in bold  
when time stood the tide  
when the tide stood time

right in lesotho  
right has been wronged  
just too much wronged

our lips dry  
our tongues acidic bitter  
recall a memory of so many sweet  
our dry throats  
sip from isandlwana's calabash  
forty-one towers high  
in the horizon of our hope

thu-u-la  
du-buu-la  
ibrahim's chorus hangs on our lips  
no more slogans  
we have no slow guns  
voortrekkerhoogte bears us out

stones that once rolled from thababosiu  
must be the rythm of africa's answer  
to us the anguished ones  
anguished generation of  
a right that has been wronged

bagaetsho sound the horn again  
right in lesotho  
right has been wronged  
too much wronged  
just too much wronged

kuze kube nini na maafrika!

.....  
*tribute to victims of yet another massacre,  
this time in lesotho, where 41 were slain in  
their sleep in the early hours of the morning,  
this year of unity in action dated the  
9th december 1982*  
.....

*freedom thabo mkhwanazi*  
.....

# SOUTH AFRICA



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*Invasion  
of  
ANGOLA*

**A  
THREAT  
TO  
WORLD  
PEACE**

*DESTABILISATION  
OF THE  
FRONTLINE  
STATES*

# STOP

*Assassination  
of Joe Gqabi  
ZIMBABWE*

*Illegal  
Occupation  
of NAMIBIA*

*Attack  
on Matola  
MOZAMBIQUE*



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