

OCTOBER 1981



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

HANDS OFF ANGOLA!



SECHABA

OCTOBER ISSUE, 1981



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Editorial: RACISTS OUT OF ANGOLA

The racist troops of South Africa are plundering and looting in Angola; they murder and pillage. They even paint themselves "black". We do not apologise for the inverted commas because these racists are anything but black — in fact they hate anything black.

What are they doing in Angola? They say they are implementing their policy of "hot pursuit" and "pre-emptive strikes" against the "communist-sponsored" and "communist-inspired" SWAPO guerillas. But they attacked a convoy of 30 international journalists near Lubango, injuring a British journalist. Were these also SWAPO members? They destroyed the town of Cahama and there were air strikes against

Tchibemba, both in Southern Kunene. Are these SWAPO property?

Reconnaissance flights penetrated almost 400km into Angolan territory and the racists occupy 15,400 square miles of Angolan territory including 6 towns in a rectangular block reaching about 70 miles inside the country. Is this SWAPO territory?

The aim of the racists is the devastation of Southern Angola and the creation of a buffer zone north of Namibia — a country they are occupying illegally. These operations are aimed at Angola rather than at SWAPO. The racists do this with the connivance of the US which vetoed a UN Security Council resolution demanding racist South Africa's withdrawal.



The "total strategy" of the racists is the embodiment of their political, military, philosophical plan for the survival of apartheid and fascism in South Africa. The recent attack and invasion of Angola is an indication that the racists are prepared to challenge militarily the African countries and progressive mankind. This challenge is enshrined in the racists' determination to physically eliminate all external and internal opposition, even at the expense of risking a world-wide confrontation. Even though the racists have managed to occupy and destroy numerous villages, towns and bridges they have failed to instal the puppet Savimbi in the area.

This attack on Angola is a version of Reagan's obsession with "superiority". But the viciousness, aggressiveness and stupidity are a product of years of racism and apartheid. Apartheid dehumanises the oppressed. But its effects on the oppressor are even worse. The oppressors, the racists

are so void of humanity and humility that, like the beast of the jungle, their only aim is "survival". Not with other people, but at the expense of other people — especially the Blacks. They hate the Blacks; they fear them — although they paint themselves "black" when they indulge in their vulture-like scavenging.

Angola needs assistance, especially international relief for war casualties and refugees from the occupied area: many civilians have fled into the bush to escape fighting and aerial bombing by racist aircraft. The crimes the racists are committing against our people are unforgettable and unforgiveable. What they are now doing against the people of Angola has added insult to injury. Let us all demand: Racists out of Angola. Let us completely isolate the Pretoria regime, economically, politically, culturally and in the field of sport.

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UNWANTED VISITORS

Springboks in New Zealand

by Father John Osmer

The high-light of the worldwide anti-apartheid movement has certainly been this year, the strength of opposition in New Zealand to the 1981 Springbok rugby tour.

Many people have taken New Zealand to be a small wealthy conservative mostly-white middle class country with few problems, a country rarely hitting the world headlines. But this year the facts speak for themselves.

- * massive protests throughout the country for a period of seven weeks involving thousands of New Zealanders over the whole spectrum of society
- * many hundreds of New Zealanders taking part in acts of civil disobedience leading to well over a thousand arrests by the time the tour ended.
- * some protests moving to the extreme limit of bomb blasts and arson, with the destruction of a major rugby stadium and Umkhonto we Sizwe style attacks on power lines.
- * police violence against demonstrators by specially trained blue and red squads, backed by the military, a new experience of South African style brutality.
- * another year of New Zealand embarrassment of the Commonwealth, previously as by the 1976 South African tour, and probably prolonged boycott of New Zealand sport as a result.

BACKGROUND TO THE CONFLICT

As in other developed countries where there is much time for recreation, sport in

New Zealand is of major importance. Some look on rugby as a kind of national religion. For many years the New Zealand Rugby Football Union has maintained close ties with the South African Rugby Board, ignoring completely the non-racial South African Rugby Union. New Zealand has always met South Africa on South Africa's terms. In the sixties there was the controversy, 'No Maoris, no tour' and only in 1970 did Maoris make part of New Zealand teams, to be accepted in South Africa as 'honorary whites'.

South Africa has been careful to nurture this friendship, spending vast sums on sporting and social contacts between the two countries. In 1981 the New Zealand Rugby Union has accepted uncritically the South African's propaganda that rugby is now integrated, despite protests to the contrary by SACOS and many black South African organisations. A Springbok tour in 1981 also stood to earn the New Zealand Rugby Union a clear 3 million dollars tax free from gate takings, T.V. rights and the like.

The New Zealand government likewise has been fully supportive of the 1981 Springbok tour. It has been in power since 1975, and politically is close to the Reagan-Thatcher alignment. Currently it is encouraging transnational development in the country. In 1975, it won the elections with one of its plans being to welcome South African teams to New Zealand. The previous Labour Prime Minister Norman Kirk, had cancelled the 1975 Springbok visit on the grounds of endangering internal law and order as well as international relationships.

In 1976, with the Soweto massacres already in the news, a New Zealand team



Anti-apartheid activists: "We shall not move"

left for South Africa with Prime Minister Muldoon's 'blessing'. Pictures later came back of the New Zealand players sheltering from Cape Town tear gas in buses and shops. A year later many countries boycotted the Olympics because of New Zealand's presence. The Commonwealth Games were also threatened. The Gleneagles agreement which Mr Muldoon himself helped to draft, got New Zealand off the hook, and it was recorded that "there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid".

Four years later, the New Zealand Government has shown neither the spirit nor the commitment to fight apartheid. It is more interested in picking up votes in four or five marginal rural constituencies where rugby is very popular, in the forthcoming November elections. It has ignored the issue of apartheid completely and made itself the champion, as it did in the 1975

elections, of the "right of New Zealand sportsmen". "My government may not want South Africa's rugby Springboks - but it will steadfastly defend this right to tour this year... No other country has the right to tell us what to do, we will not withhold visas from sportsmen". Thus Mr Muldoon in an interview with the South African "Sunday Times" in March of this year.

But there is more here than a government's wish to have 'bread and circuses', for the New Zealand rugby loving public, and in effect to leave the South African blacks to fend for themselves. There is a deeply racist attitude in many New Zealanders, which is amply shown by discrimination against Maoris, New Zealand's immigration policy, the use of migrant workers from the Pacific Islands, and, in a section of the population, including cabinet ministers, open support for white South Africa.

Mr Muldoon often uses the 'kith and kin' argument; in July on a T.V. appeal to

the Rugby Union to 'think carefully' about the tour, he commented on New Zealand and South African troops fighting alongside each other in the second world war. He has often been rude to Black leaders, calling Mr Ordia of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa, 'a clown', and has tried to differentiate between the 'new' and 'old' Commonwealth, in effect putting New Zealand alongside the 'civilized' countries of Canada, Australia and Great Britain, all of European extraction.

Fortunately, he hasn't succeeded in this racist ploy; Sonny Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary General has seen to it, with the help of black and white Commonwealth countries, that the Commonwealth be not broken up, but actually strengthened by punitive action against New Zealand. Thus the October Finance Ministers' Conference is moved to Nassau and New Zealand stands to lose out completely in participating in Commonwealth sport for the indefinite future, and certainly while Mr Muldoon remains Prime Minister.

This outside pressure, helped by the hard work of Sam Ramsamy of the South African Non Racial Olympic Committee has been welcomed and fortified by the anti-apartheid movement inside New Zealand. HART (Halt All Racist Tours), is now ten years old. For a long time the result of a dedicated activist's work, Trevor Richards, it has now four full-time organisers and is spread in about thirty groups around the country. It carries forward general anti-apartheid concern and activity, but because of conditions peculiar to New Zealand, with an emphasis largely on sport.

As elsewhere, the New Zealand anti-apartheid movement like the public at large, has been much affected by developments within South Africa: the Soweto massacres, schools boycotts and workers' strikes, resettlement, Umkhonto we Sizwe advances and increased internal repression. Numbers of black and white exiles who have left South Africa because of this repression have come to New Zealand and are giving valuable support to the anti-apartheid movement by their commitment and their own first-hand experiences.

HART and the AAM (now combined) have for a long time had an extensive education programme, producing imaginative and well-researched posters, leaflets, school sets and a substantial paper 'Amandla'. The film 'The Last Grave of at Dimbaza' has been shown so often that it is now hardly usable. Close contact has been maintained with South Africa, especially with the non-racial South African Council of Sport, and with the South African Council of Churches through the New Zealand Council of Churches. Many speakers have been helped to tour the country in recent years, some of whom include Fr Michael Lapsley of the African National Congress (SA), Sam Ramsamy (SANROC), Donald Woods, Khothi Molitane (SACTU) as well as the present writer.

This educational work has been an important antidote to the propaganda constantly put out by the South African Consul General, and his network of New Zealand supporters. Expensive literature and class sets are offered to schools and libraries, and many New Zealanders have been helped on all-expenses-paid visits to South Africa. Ironically, the last person on such a visit, clearly invited to pave the way for the Springboks, Mr Hiwe Tauroa the New Zealand Race Relations Conciliator, returned convinced that the tour should not go ahead until the whole apartheid structure has been dismantled.

The HART organisers are highly articulate, well-informed about South Africa and acutely politically conscious. They are not prepared to compromise on the central issue of combating apartheid. A number have given up secure and well-paid professional jobs for the work they are doing, which has itself drawn a tremendous amount of public opposition and personal abuse and attack.

When appeals to sports administrators have failed to call off fixtures which include South Africans, HART has consciously followed a programme of active disruption, as at the Christchurch Veteran Games when South Africans entered disguised as members of clubs from America, Belgium and Holland.

From these Games HART gained



Police brutality against anti tour protesters

valuable experience for the months that followed. It also spurred the government to accuse HART protesters of 'violence', to dismiss them as it had always done as 'trendy lefties', "Trevor Richards' Rent-a-demo", or "communists". Probably the government reckoned that when the Springboks came, HART would remain a small vocal minority with the majority of New Zealanders acquiescing in the games taking place. Or as Danie Craven prophesied from Cape Town, "I am convinced New Zealanders will show they love sport more than demonstrations".

In the event, the Government like Danie Craven, had badly misjudged New Zealanders. Thousands came out over a wide cross-section of society in opposition to the tour. HART, partly because its image frightened off some in the 'middle ground' of society, encouraged and helped form large coalition groups comprising representatives of the Trade Unions, churches, Universities, schools, Maori groups, sports bodies and so on. The

coalitions used all kinds of names: MOST (Mobilization to Stop the Tour) in Auckland, Wellington- COST (Citizens Organized to Stop the Tour), Christchurch - CAT (Coalition against the Tour, SAT (Students against the Tour), and others too numerous to mention. They covered the whole spectrum of society, men, women and young people, and included prominent sportsmen such as Graham Mourie, the team captain and Bruce Robertson who refused either to play or to attend the Springbok games.

The formation of these groups, clearly influenced by HART, was also spurred on by government vacillation and the feeling, as the arrival of the Springboks came nearer, that somewhere a stand needed to be made. The Coalition organised large mobilization marches to bring New Zealanders out on to the streets, and on May 1st and July 3rd, over 75,000 people marched to protest against the tour in the various centres as well as in the smallest villages, many people marching for the first time in their lives.

THE SPRINGBOKS ARRIVE

When the Springboks flew to New Zealand a courageous woman passenger marched up and down the Boeing aisle with a placard inscribed 'Shame'. For many New Zealanders, the day of arrival was indeed a day of shame'. Mass mobilisation had failed to move the Government, nor had an opinion poll that showed most New Zealanders opposed the tour. HART and the Coalition groups decided that thousands on the streets simply wasn't enough. The only way to remove the Springboks as quickly as possible was through positive disruption, and sufficient civil disobedience throughout the country to cause cancellation of the tour.

At this point HART's experience of disruption and divisionary tactics at the Veteran Games came in useful. The Coalition agreed to cause disruption at various centres throughout New Zealand each time one of the sixteen proposed games was played. Special targets for demonstration would be all institutions facilitating the tours. Parliament itself, the National Party, the New Zealand Rugby Union, Air New Zealand, the Broadcasting service, hotels accommodating the Springboks, the South African Consul General and key tour supporters and so on. The intention was to tie down the police as much as possible, in fact to extend them beyond their ability to cope.

The plan worked well. In the first week 30,000 people demonstrated in 14 centres and there were 262 arrests. The 'Amandla' weekly HART specifically showing events as they occurred each day of a game, shows a tremendously varied and imaginative series of episodes: the blocking off of roads and intersections in sequence by huge crowds of demonstrators, extending the police beyond their limits; the delaying of flights and the take over of a Boeing plane; the disruption of Parliament by young children shouting 'amandla', and many more such events, happening concurrently in many centres of the country over a period of seven weeks.

Demonstrators were well organised and all the leaders had training in non-violent tactics for civil disobedience. There was an

efficient link-up between the various regions, and careful control monitoring of events as they occurred.

This showed its importance at the highlight of the whole protest movement, when at the second game at Hamilton, 300 of the 4,000 who marched to the ground managed to invade the field and cause the abandonment of the game. This gave a tremendous boost to the whole anti-tour movement. But there was a high price to pay.irate rugby supporters from the 28,000 crowd who had missed their game turned with fury on the demonstrators in the streets of Hamilton afterwards, and a hundred were injured and twenty then hospitalised. A first aid van was nearly overturned and property was attacked. Throughout the country pro-tour people turned on anti-apartheid activists with damage to their property, e.g. St John's Theological College was fire-bombed and there were threats to anti-tour activists together with their families.

The police also changed their tactics. Taking the cancellation as a 'defeat', the specially trained red and blue squads moved into more violent opposition to demonstrators. Pictures showing Wellington demonstrators on the day of the subsequent match, showed helmeted police savagely prodding and batoning peaceful demonstrators South African style. Thirty were injured, and the New Zealand public saw a new turn in escalation of violence, such as had never been seen in the country before.

It is remarkable that the Molesworth Street episode and recurring police violence after that incident, did not result in a marked diminution of protesters, prepared to come out into the streets. Rather it changed the atmosphere from the earlier cheerful marches of parents with children in tow to grim serried ranks, with the leaders helmeted and wearing protection clothing ready for any eventuality.

Many episodes led to mass arrests and well over 1,000 demonstrators face charges, with some having more than five or six each. The three Rugby tests, in fact all the major city games, became a tussle of strength between police and demonstrators. The

Springboks were normally smuggled secretly into the particular city where the game was to be played. If they didn't sleep on uncomfortable camp beds in some rugby hall as at Christchurch, they slept at the ground itself. Fields were fenced by military engineers by series rows of barbed wire, and helicopters hovered overhead. Clearly the police and government were taking no chances. By the end of the tour estimates of the cost of policing went far beyond the three million originally allocated, but to as high as ten to fifteen million dollars.

BLACKS IN CHAINS

Some of the protests, as well as being highly original also highlighted dramatically, opposition to apartheid. In Christchurch on 16 June, twelve demonstrators took over by subterfuge, the Rugby Union offices to make it into a 'Black Embassy' and there they chained themselves together. Some weeks later, four of the same group spilled their blood in the same building, writing 'guilty' in blood on the walls, and burnt the New Zealand and South African national flags, to protest against the support of both countries for apartheid. In a prepared statement they said they were committing non-violent civil disobedience for a purpose and urged that others too should follow their example. Another two repeated the action in the National Party Headquarters and four ended up in the grim Addington Remand prison. They refused to sign bail bonds which would have ensured their release, and went on a 12 day hunger strike.

Some marches highlighted apartheid by street theatre, showing the Soweto massacres and Nyanga removals. 'Amandla ngawethu' became a theme refrain for many marches in many centres. There was also the humour. Airspace was declared a 'no go'

area in the vicinity of the games, - were demonstrators preparing to parachute in? A sudden scare led all military and airforce bases to count their missiles. Many T.V. viewers saw the demonstrator who ran onto the field dressed like the referee and then running off with the ball.

LEARNING FROM OUR MISTAKES

For many New Zealanders, 1981 will remain a year of shame that the Springboks ever came in the first place. Yet it has been a valuable learning experience. A small remote country in the far Pacific has been brought to see more clearly the violence that the South African state intrudes into the world community of nations. Also they have seen a glimpse of the violence that protects Prime Minister Muldoon's status quo; the transnationals, the riding over ethnic minority rights, the Thatcher-Reagan-South Africa axis. People have become more aware of what human rights really are in 1981 for New Zealanders themselves as well as South Africans. A pointer to this is the Freedom Charter. At public meetings this was distributed and discussed all around the country. The editor of the Public Service Association magazine said, "This is an important document for us, - New Zealand falls down on every item except 'there shall be houses, security and comfort'!". He intends printing 60,000 copies for all the members of the Public Service sector. Certainly despite, and perhaps because of, the 'year of shame', many New Zealanders are more committed to the 'free society' such as they hope to develop internally as well as helping towards in South Africa and in the decade for freedom, there is the bright determination that one day a Springbok team shall come to New Zealand who will indeed be 'welcome visitors'.

INTERVIEW:

Transkei Elections



King Sabata Dalindyebo

With the advent of elections in the so-called independent Transkei bantustan, SECHABA publishes an interview with King Sabata Dalindyebo which has been translated from Xhosa for our readers.

King Sabata, could you please comment on the elections which Matanzima says he is going to hold in the Transkei this year on the 23rd of September?

I have heard about such manoeuvres on the part of Nogate (Matanzima's mother). If I had my way I would advise the people to reject such a farce. However for the people to show their hatred of Matanzima and all that is happening in the Transkei, it is better that they participate in this and in the process expose for all to see their rejection of Matanzima and the independence of Transkei.

What is going to happen is what happened in 1976. At that time just before general elections in the Transkei, Matanzima arrested all the candidates of the opposition who were members of D.P.P., the Party of which I was a President.

He not only did that but went on to steal votes won by such popular figures as Joyi and gave them to shady characters like Jefeni, Makhanda and others. People who are virtually unknown in the Transkei.

So even though this will amount to nothing I feel that the people must use it as a way of showing their rejection on the poverty which has been imposed upon them by force.

Can you pin-point some of the factors which show Matanzima's cruelty?

The atrocities which Matanzima is committing against the people amount to nothing less than genocide.

In July 1979 I warned Matanzima publicly through the newspapers about the consequences of his actions. I cited the fate of such dictators as Idi Amin of Uganda and the Shah of Iran. It is my belief and I said it even then, that he who rules by the sword will die by the sword. Throughout my life in the Transkei, I have never heard of taxes for sheep, goats and horses. Mind you, these taxes are expected from people who spend most of their days with hungry stomachs sitting next to their kraals with no prospect of employment. Today I won't be surprised to learn that the Transkeian people are also paying taxes for cats and pigs.

In doing all this, what is Matanzima's hope of defence?

That is the surprising part of it because even within his nest of puppets there are differences. There is no unity at all. The majority of the Transkeians don't want him, even within the puppet army Matanzima is unpopular. When I left the country there were some young men who were detained because they don't want the tyranny of Kaiser. So the only people that Kaiser relies upon are his masters in Pretoria. After all everything he does is always in collusion with the oppressors of our people. Today in the Transkei, in every office of the police or army there is a racist who is going through the files giving orders to Matanzima's puppets about who to detain. First Matanzima appointed a prison warder, Keswa, to be head of the Transkeian army. But now Keswa is in prison and in his place is the butcher of Zimbabwe, a former Selous Scout. Today the children of the Transkei are being taught how to butcher their parents, brothers and sisters by a person who had to flee Zimbabwe fearing people's justice. The appointment of this Thung Deilly is yet another proof of the unpopularity of Kaiser even among his own group of puppets. Otherwise why didn't he at least choose another black puppet to do his

dirty work for him.

King Sabata, how do you see the brutal displacement of our people in Nyanga and Langa, where people sleep in the cold with no shelter in an attempt to send them to the Transkei?

In Nyanga and Langa a very terrible and sad thing is taking place. Wives are being made widows and children orphans. Today women who have left the Transkei because of poverty and went to join their husbands, are being hounded by Koornhof's thugs.

I remember an incident in '78. A certain lady took her child to Cape Town where her husband would organise a means of having the child cured. That lady was charged for being in Cape Town illegally. She was fined R50.00 but allowed to stay a few days with her husband. If therefore the Transkei is free and the Matanzima's have the interest of the people at heart, why do they let the misery which is going on in Nyanga to persist. Why is that if you are from the Transkei unlike people from other free countries you leave your freedom behind. I feel that those women who are being hounded out of Cape Town should resist. Even though they are fighting against heavy odds, it is worse where they are being sent to. At least there in Cape Town with their husbands they can afford a slice of bread.

In the Ciskei which is also supposed to be independent late this year, Lennox Sebe has detained over two hundred workers. How do you see this?

Sebe is a type of a puppet who escapes definition. At first he appeared to be opposed to independence. He appointed a Commission led by Phillip Quail to look into the advisability of Ciskeian independence. Even that Commission couldn't but advise against the independence stating that they want a free and united South Africa.

Nevertheless Sebe went on to agree to Ciskeian independence. In fact what I can say is Sebe, like all puppets, behaved characteristically. With all the monies and



presents that he gets from the racists and businessmen he couldn't do otherwise. All these evil acts which Matanzima is committing against the people Sebe is going to do likewise. In fact the arrest of these workers is a sign of the future. It can't be otherwise because the working people are bound to come out against such treasonable acts, which are going to affect them more than anybody else.

What do you feel our people should do at this point in time?

I feel that our people wherever they are be it in Bophuthatswana, Venda, Soshangane Qwaqwa, Ciskei, Transkei and Kwazulu should rise up as one man and rededicate themselves to wipe out the source of our poverty and misery. We have been in poverty for such a long time. Let us all swell the ranks of our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe so as to bring about our overdue liberation. The people should know that despite the efficiency and sophistication of Umkhonto we Sizwe, without their full cooperation the efforts of our people's army will amount to nothing. The people should take courage from the heroic exploits

of our people's army throughout the country. Heroic exploits like those of Voortrekkerhoogte, Mabopane, Durban, East London and so forth should be reinforced by mass struggles everywhere.

The people must support Umkhonto we Sizwe to the point that the people themselves outline and pin-point targets for our people's army.

Today the racists are confused and are in a state of panic. It is dawning on them that what they considered secure is not secure after all.

Students throughout our country should take to higher levels the struggle against the racist and inferior education.

As for the working people, nothing can happen in South Africa if they will it so.

So let us all fight the enemy with whatever we have, wherever we are.

All these actions by the enemy of terrorising the whole of Southern Africa, behaving as President Tambo says "like a drunken bully" attest more to weakness than strength. So these actions which caused the racists to resort to such cowardly acts as those in Angola, the massacre in Matola, the assassination of our leader Comrade Joe Gqabi, must prevail.

BALL OF FIRE

On August 12, a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe attacked Voortrekkerhoogte, the headquarters of the South African Defence Force. Despite high security the military base outside Pretoria came under rocket attack from ANC freedom fighters. This attack caused massive structural damage to buildings and inflicted injuries on racist army personnel. The whole base turned into a ball of fire — flames could be seen from a distance.

Despite a massive manhunt for the freedom fighters they could not be traced. All that the police discovered was a rocket launcher.

This was followed or preceded by a series of explosions around the country: in East London bombs exploded in the city centre causing widespread damage. Two Transkei Security Policemen were killed when they went to a house in Msobomvu Township to investigate some "leads".

Soon thereafter the Mabopane Police station was attacked: the office of the Station Commander, a car and an inquiry office lay in ruins after a devastating attack. Heavy bombing and sounds of automatic gunfire were heard in the whole area. The police station was on fire, the station commander office roof was ripped off, chairs gutted, windows shattered and several items damaged by a bomb blast, while the police inquiry windows were riddled with bullets.

The thundering sound and lightening attack were like an earth tremor. It was a brief but fierce attack: between six and nine handgrenades were used and more than 115 rounds were fired from AK47 automatic rifles.

Many policemen fled from the police station and took refuge in neighbouring

houses. They refused to leave the people's houses — the very people they harrass and terrorise.

All available men in the Transvaal, especially around Pretoria, were put on alert after the attack and roadblocks were set up. The Bophuthatswana police force was literally caught with its pants down. The guerillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe had vanished into thin air.

The racist regime is crumbling and decaying and it is desperately trying to stop the rot. Apartheid is being rejected by the masses of the people and these acts are a reflection of the people's wrath.



**UMKHONTO
WE SIZWE**

1961-1981

ANC Peoples' Army



Outside the court of the 'Sasol 3' trial

FREE MPETHA NOW!

Over recent years, the campaign for the release of South African and Namibian political prisoners has attained greater scope and depth. The solidarity actions in response to the Free Mandela Campaign and the passing of death sentences on ANC freedom fighters are strong indicators of the intensified efforts on the part of the international democratic community to fight to free our imprisoned leaders and militants. October 11 1981 will once more be a focus for such initiatives. In observing the significance of this day and of the ongoing campaigns, SECHABA highlights the current trial of Oscar Mpetha, founder member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and National Organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers Union.

On August 14, 1980, 71 year old Oscar Mpetha, Chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association, was detained after releasing

a press statement condemning police brutality in Nyanga and Crossroads "squatter camps". Despite the fact that he suffers from diabetes, Mpetha was kept in solitary confinement for more than four months. Chained in leg-shackles, he appeared in court along with 17 other accused on December 12, 1980. His fellow trialists range from 18 to 21 years of age. Four of the accused are juveniles and were not named in court.

The People versus the State

More than 300 people packed the public gallery on the first day of the trial to hear charges under the Terrorism Act. Included in these were allegations of 'murder' in connection with the death of two white men during "disturbances" in Crossroads last year.

Throughout the trial the community expressed their total support for Oscar

Mpetha and his fellow accused. On one occasion they held a demonstration through the streets of Cape Town — their banners reading “RELEASE MANDELA AND MPETHA”. While these expressions of solidarity and organisation by our people reaffirmed the just cause for which Mpetha has dedicated his life, the Apartheid judiciary began their proceedings. These can only be described as a mockery of justice which at times reached farcical proportions.

Juvenile State Witnesses

As the Apartheid courts increasingly perform their role as arms of the racist South African state, the use of juvenile state witnesses has become commonplace. One such witness in the trial was a 15-year old girl who had been kept in so-called protective custody since August 1980. Each day of the trial she was brought to and from the court by the investigating officers of the Security police. Justice Williamson described this procedure as quite in order and “did not see anything wrong in this”. Another youth giving evidence for the state made the ludicrous claim that he had seen Oscar Mpetha throw “three of the stones” which “struck the white man” as he lay injured on the road.

Intensify the Campaign

As SECHABA goes to press, it has been reported that Oscar Mpetha has been admitted to hospital because “his diabetes was out of control”. The trial is continuing in his absence. The ANC calls on the international community to do all in their power to demand the immediate release of Mpetha and his fellow trialists. They have been put on trial for championing the people’s cause.

As the vicious removals from Nyanga continue, the racist Minister for “cooperation and development” Koornhof reiterated the apartheid regime’s barbaric policies when he said: “As long as this government is in power, and as long as I am minister of this department, there will be no other policy to deal with squatting



Racist police remove leg-irons from Oscar Mpetha

other than to nip it in the bud as soon as it rears its head”. Let us show solidarity with the people of Nyanga, Langa and Crossroads. Let us fight for the release of their leader Oscar Mpetha!

**FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
STOP THE DEATH SENTENCES!
DEMAND POW STATUS FOR CAPTURED
FREEDOM FIGHTERS!**

Pages From History —

Part Two

THE FORMATION OF THE ANC YOUTH, LEAGUE 1943-1949,

Inside South Africa the black youth and to some extent the white youth, is involved in mass action against the racist regime. This alone is enough reason for us to look back into the history of the youth movement - especially in 1981, a year the ANC has declared "The Year of the Youth" in appreciation of their courage, sacrifice and dedication.

The ANC Youth League was formed in April 1944. In the mid-forties young men and women in their mid-twenties and early thirties, mainly teachers or students of medicine or law, became dissatisfied with the manner in which things were done by our movement and the pace in which they were done. They came from the Anglican (Episcopal) Secondary School of St. Peters in Johannesburg; from Lovedale or Healdtown; Adam's College and Fort Hare. Walter Sisulu, a worker, was a noticeable exception. These were prominent members of provincial and/or local student associations and youth bodies who articulated the aspirations of their generation and the masses of our people as a whole. They held political discussions frequently.

The African youth were concerned with the deteriorating conditions of our people; the rise of fascism in Germany and Mussolini's attack on Ethiopia in 1935-36 aroused interest not only about the fate and future of South Africa but the whole continent. The growth and new militancy of African trade unions and the activities of the Communist Party were other factors which led to the rise of the ANC Youth League. These young people participated in militant mass actions.

It was in response to this situation that the annual conference of the ANC on December 21, 1942 resolved that "this annual Conference of the African National Congress authorises the Executive to institute a Youth League of the African National Congress to include students at Fort Hare" and the 1943 annual conference adopted a similar resolution.

These young men and women consulted with the ANC leadership, especially Dr Xuma, before the ANC Youth League was formally established at the inaugural meeting held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg in April 1944. Anton Muziwake Lembede became its first President and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela its Secretary. The aim of these young men was simple and honest: a desire to remould the ANC. There was a noticeable shift towards recruiting a broader circle and organising a permanent youth league within the ANC.

Before we take a closer look at their ideas and ideology let us answer the question: who were these Youth Leaguers? There were many of them - the most notable being Lembede, Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, Mda, Njongwe, Nkomo, Ngubane, Sobukwe, Ntsu Mokhehle and others.

Lembede was definitely the most dynamic and articulate. Born in the rural district of Georedale near Durban in Natal in 1914, Anton Muziwake Lembede was of peasant origin. His parents were extremely poor. He went to Adam's College on a bursary in 1933 to train as a teacher. During his spare time he did matriculation which he passed in 1937 with a distinction in Latin. He taught in Natal and the Orange Free State at the age of 29 and at the same time learnt Sesotho and Afrikaans. In 1943 he obtained a B.A. degree through corres-



President O.R. Tambo embodies the spirit of the Youth Leaguers

“ . . . the dynamic human energy that will be released by African Nationalism will be more powerful and devastating in its effects than . . . atomic energy”. But Lembede tended to be idealistic and his ideas of self-reliance which were inspired by all sorts of ideologies (including reactionary ones) denied the need for solidarity and anti-imperialist unity. But he was not alone - he was part of a collective.

Let us take a closer look at the ideas of this collective. We shall start with the 1944 Manifesto of the ANC Youth League which was issued by the Provisional Committee of the ANC Youth League in March 1944, a month before the formation of the Youth League.

The preamble of this document states that “Africanism must be promoted” and this meant that Africans must struggle for development, progress and national liberation so as to occupy their rightful and honourable place among nations of the world; that the African youth must be united, consolidated, trained and disciplined because from their ranks future leaders will be recruited. The document goes on to explain the policy of the Youth League which is based on the conviction that “the contact of the White race with the Black has resulted in the emergence of a set of conflicting living conditions and outlooks on life which seriously hamper South Africa’s progress to nationhood”. The Whites, said the Youth Leaguers, possess superior military strength and superior organising skill and therefore have arrogated to themselves the ownership of the land and invested themselves with authority and right “to regard South Africa as a White man’s land”.

On civilisation it was stated that: “The African regards civilisation as the common heritage of all Mankind and claims as full a right to make his contribution to its advancement and to live free as any White South African: further, he claims the right to all sources and agencies to enjoy rights and fulfil duties which place him on a footing of equality with every other racial group”.

The devastating effects of the racist laws are dealt with and on an optimistic note the document states:

pendence with the University of South Africa and again through self-education, he obtained an LL.B. degree. Pixley ka Seme, the co-founder of the ANC, agreed to article Lembede as a law clerk and he became a full partner - the firm became “Seme and Lembede” in 1946. He later achieved an M.A. degree in Philosophy.

Lembede was militantly nationalistic, with very strong views on the Africanness of our struggle - his philosophy, he called it, “Africanism”. He was a practising Catholic and this explains his mysticism in his ideological concepts. He was controversial and his ideas were full of contradictions. Recently T. Singh has assessed the ideas and concepts of Lembede in a review article of Gail Gerhart’s book in the African Communist. He says Lembede was pre-occupied with working out a “nation building faith”, the philosophy of “Africanism” and Lembede claimed that

These conditions have made the African lose all faith in all talk of Trusteeship. HE NOW ELECTS TO DETERMINE HIS FUTURE BY HIS OWN EFFORTS. He has realised that to trust to the mere good grace of the White man will not free him as no nation can free an oppressed group other than that group itself. Self-determination is the philosophy of life which will save him from the disaster he clearly sees on his way...

The African is aware of the magnitude of the task before him but has learnt that promises no matter from high source, are merely palliatives intended to drum him into yielding to more oppression. He has made up his mind to sweat for his freedom; determine his destiny himself and, THROUGH HIS AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IS BUILDING A STRONG NATIONAL UNITY FRONT WHICH WILL BE HIS SUREST GUARANTEE OF VICTORY OVER OPPRESSION".

The African National Congress was described by the ANC Youth League as "the symbol and embodiment of the African's will to present a united national front against all forms of oppression" but it was admitted that Congress has not been able to make progress and this has drawn on it criticism "in the last 20 years". In response to the demands of the times the African Youth declared that it is: "LAYING ITS SERVICES AT THE DISPOSAL OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT, THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS IN THE FIRM BELIEF, KNOWLEDGE AND CONVICTION THAT THE CAUSE OF AFRICA MUST AND WILL TRIUMPH".

This positive attitude towards the solution of problems that faced the ANC at the time was accompanied by an articulation of a positive strategy which took the form of a programme, a goal which in the process clarified ideological questions. This was expressed in the sub-section "Our Creed" which states:

a) We believe in the divine destiny of nations.

- b) The goal of all our struggles is Africanism and our motto is "AFRICA'S CAUSE MUST TRIUMPH".
- c) We believe that the national liberation of Africans will be achieved by Africans themselves. We reject foreign leadership of Africa.
- d) We may borrow useful ideologies from foreign ideologies, but we reject the wholesale importation of foreign ideologies into Africa.
- e) We believe that leadership must be the personification and symbol of popular aspirations and ideals.
- f) We believe that practical leadership must be given to capable men, whatever their status in society.
- g) We believe in the scientific approach to all African problems.
- h) We combat moral disintegration among Africans by maintaining and upholding high ethical standards ourselves.
- i) We believe in the unity of all Africans from the Mediterranean Sea in the North to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans in the South - and that Africans must speak with one voice."

We have quoted at length from this important document because its adoption had far-reaching repercussions on our movement. This also helps us to identify the trends and tendencies in the ideological struggle and the problems that faced the ANC at the time. The central theme of the document is the struggle for national self-determination which will be brought about by "building a strong national unity". The document is oriented towards mass action; action to strengthen the ANC and to fight for freedom.

At the ideological level one notices an attempt at defining an ideology that corresponds to reality in South Africa - a striving towards the rediscovery of the African personality. This ideology is called "Africanism" and its essence is to be found in the formulation:

"We believe that the national liberation of Africans will be achieved by Africans themselves."

This sounds almost literally like the philosophy of the present-day "Black consciousness movement" in South Africa which states:

"Black man! You are on your own!"

This was interpreted to mean that Africans are struggling, through their own efforts, to occupy "their rightful and honourable place among nations of the world".

The serious attempt to work out an ideology for liberation is expressed in a need to "borrow useful ideologies from foreign ideologies, but we reject the wholesale importation of foreign ideologies into Africa". This statement is significant because it correctly points out - despite the unfortunate formulation - that ideology must be subject to popular demands and express popular aspirations. At the same time the Youth Leaguers recognised their inadequacy - their ideas were not consistent and fully developed; they were still at a formative stage; in the process of development.

Another important aspect of the Youth League Manifesto is that it viewed our struggle in the context of the struggle in Africa and expressed the idea of African unity: "from the Mediterranean Sea in the North to the Indian and Atlantic Oceans in the South - and that Africans must speak with one voice". This was thirty years before the formation of the OAU and definitely not a new idea, at least in South African black politics.

In talking about the ideology of the Youth League it is important to stress that the slogan of Marcus Garvey "Africa for the Africans!" was not mentioned in the Manifesto. Not that the slogan was wrong in itself but in the South African context it had the implication that Whites and other non-Africans are irrelevant to the struggle. This is important to mention because in 1959 under the slogan of "Africa for the Africans", the PAC claimed that they were the successors of the ANC Youth League. They failed to modify the aspirations of the Africans to suit the concrete reality of our country by accepting the historical fact that there is room in our movement for

those Whites and non-Africans who are prepared to fight side by side with the Africans and who are willing to accept the policy of the ANC under African leadership. What the PAC did was to latch on aspects of the philosophy of young Lembede: self-reliance without solidarity, African exclusivism and anti-Marxism. But they "forgot" that Lembede was developing.

Let us be more specific on Lembede's development. On March 9, 1947, a meeting of the Joint Committee of the African National Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Indian Congress was held in Johannesburg. Present were Dr A.B. Xuma, in the chair; Dr Y.M. Dadoo, Nana Sita, and Y.A. Cachalia, (Transvaal Indian Congress); messrs Debi Singh, Ahmed E. Patel, M. P. Naicker, J.N. Singh and A.I. Meer (Natal Indian Congress); J.B. Marks, D. Tloome and C.S. Ramohanoe (ANC) and significantly A.M. Lembede.

Dr. Xuma, President-General of the ANC, explained that the cause of so much exchange of correspondence was due to some difficulties confronting the ANC in regard to the invitation coming from the Passive Resistance Council and not from the Indian National Congress as they had anticipated. The ANC desired to cooperate with the national body of the Indians.

Dr Dadoo emphasized the need for proceeding with some preliminary plans which would ultimately be the final steps agreed. The Joint Committee was to work out a practical basis of cooperation between the national organisations of the two peoples.

A sub-committee consisting of Doctors Xuma and Dadoo; messrs J.N. Singh, A.I. Meer and A.M. Lembede was appointed to draft a joint declaration. The joint declaration which was read and accepted by the Joint Committee stated:

"that the next meeting of the joint committee be held on 23rd March, 1947 at 11.00 a.m. in which representatives of APO should be invited to attend".

This historic fact that Lembede was part of a joint committee of Africans and Indians; that he was a member of a sub-committee

which appealed to the Coloureds to join the Africans and Indians is of great political significance because it proves that it is the ANC (and not the PAC) which has upheld the tradition set by Lembede. Even ideologically Lembede was developing and changing his views and ideas about the Communist Party as Brian Bunting in his book on Moses Kotane, remarks:

“Before he died at the tragically early age of 33, Lembede had also changed his attitude towards the Communist Party”. “They are workers, not just talkers’, he admitted grudgingly to Kotane”.

Unfortunately, Lembede died in July 1947. This change in the ideas of Lembede reflected the change in the social composition of the African society when workers were beginning to play a more decisive role. This is what the PAC did not understand when they said they were the upholders of African nationalism “as expounded by Lembede”. This “mistake” by the PAC is repeated by Gail Gerhart, a certain, irrelevant American academic, in her book: *Black Power in South Africa*.

So that we should not be misunderstood we are far from maintaining that Lembede had overcome all his earlier weaknesses. He was in the process of doing so. He was becoming more and more socialist inclined but his socialism is what he called “African socialism”. In an article on the “Policy of the Congress Youth League” in *Inkundla Yabantu* - in May 1946 he wrote:

“Africans are naturally socialistic as illustrated in their social practices and customs. The achievement of national liberation will therefore herald or usher in a new era, the era of African socialism. Our immediate task, however, is not socialism, but national liberation. Our motto: Freedom in Our Life Time”.

In 1948, the ANC Youth League issued the Basic Policy Document which does not differ much from the 1944 Manifesto and therefore we shall not go at length analysing it. This document articulates the

basic aspects of the national question, though not without errors of emphasis and judgment, e.g. “we are oppressed not as a class, but as a people, as a Nation”. This one-sided approach missed the point that the overwhelming majority of Blacks are oppressed as a class and as a people or as a Nation, if you like.

It would take us too long to discuss in detail all aspects of the ideology, organisational structures and the politics of the Youth League. It is enough to conclude that the Youth Leaguers learnt a lot from the ANC leadership and they in turn contributed positively to the formulation of a new militant policy of the ANC. Some of their ideas were incorporated in the famous 1949 Programme of Action. These were the emphasis on:

1. The principle of self-determination.
2. Rejection of White domination.
3. Vigorous pro-African policy “under the banner of African nationalism”.
4. Injection of a spirit of self-confidence and pride in being African as opposed to racist theories and paternalistic attitudes of liberals who seek to instil a sense of self-pity, “shame” in and even “excuses” for being Black.
5. Demand for mass action; strikes, demonstrations, protests, etc.

Talking about the 1949 Programme of Action it should be mentioned that it was thoroughly scrutinised, paragraph by paragraph, and then accepted and adopted unanimously in its amended form and it was pointed out that only those people who signified their willingness to carry out this programme should be elected into the incoming Executive. They were:

1. President-General: Dr J.S. Moroka;
2. Secretary-General: W.M. Sisulu;
3. Treasurer-General: Dr S.M. Molema.

Committee:

4. Dr A.B. Xuma;
5. Dr R.T. Bokwe;
6. Rev. J.A. Calata;
7. A.P. Mda;

8. Rev. J.J. Skomolo;
9. L.K. Ntlabati;
10. O.R. Tambo;
11. J.L.Z. Njongwe;
12. G. Radebe;
13. J.A. Mokoena;
14. G.M. Pitje;
15. D. Tloome;
16. M.M. Kotane;
17. R. G. Baloyi; and
18. V.V.T. Mbobo.

League had triumphed. Now the ANC was put on a path of struggle with a concrete and more radical programme than before. This achievement was brought about by men who had a foresight, a vision and were prepared to fight for that. These were men thrown up by the national liberation struggle, and not the class struggle and therefore testifying to the dynamism of the national liberation movement and in this case, the ANC.

The policy and line of the Youth

GLASGOW HONOURS MANDELA

On the 3rd August 1981, more than 500 people came to bear witness to one of the most memorable occurrences in the history of the City of Glasgow - the granting of the freedom of the City of Glasgow to Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. The honour was presented, on behalf of the people of Glasgow, by the Lord Provost (Mayor) Dr Michael Kelly. The Vice-President of Nigeria, Dr Alex Ekwueme received the award on behalf of Comrade Nelson Mandela. This took place at the city chambers.

The ceremony was attended by 16 representatives of Commonwealth Countries, mostly High Commissioners, Bailies and Members of the Council, Church and Trade Union leaders, Representatives of the Anti-apartheid Movement, dignitaries from the City of Glasgow and the African National Congress.

THE CEREMONY

The 'Freedom Ceremony' was preceded by a procession of Bailies and Members of the Council, the Town Clerk, the Very Rev. Andrew Herron (former moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland) the Lord and Lady Provost and Dr and Mrs Ekwueme. Members of the Vice-

President's delegation also, formed part of the spectacular procession. The procession remained standing for the National Anthem of Nigeria.

The proceedings were opened with a prayer by the very Rev. Andrew Herron. The Lord Provost then asked the Town Clerk, Mr Steven F. Hamilton, to read the Burgess Ticket embodying the set of Sederunt, which constitutes Comrade Nelson Mandela as a Burgess of the City of Glasgow. This was followed by a statement of the Lord Provost concerning the life, history and record of Nelson Mandela. This covered his activities in the non-violent campaigns of the African National Congress, the defiance campaign, etc. right up to the time of his going underground, his trips abroad, his banning, his role in the formation and leadership of Umkhonto we Sizwe - the Military Wing of the African National Congress, his arrest, trial and sentencing to life imprisonment.

He also emphasised the scope of the traditional contacts, Glasgow has had with South Africa and "not least because of the large number of Scots who have emigrated there. We do not therefore underestimate the difficulties involved in changing South Africa."

He referred to the 19th Century awards of the Freedom of Glasgow to the political reformers Cobden and Bright, "reformers who fought the established system to obtain political rights for the majority ... The rights for which Mandela struggles are even more basic and Glaswegians appreciate this."

Appealing for the release of Mandela, he said: "Releasing Mandela from his cruel imprisonment would be a magnificent gesture of good faith and without an indication of good faith, there is little prospect of peaceful change. I therefore appeal on behalf of the citizens of Glasgow and on behalf of the Governments represented in these chambers today, to the government of South Africa, to award to Mandela his personal and political freedom."

He ended by stating that the Freedom of Glasgow was awarded to Mandela for the ideals contained in the following text he quoted from his (Mandela) statement from the dock in the Rivonia Trial:

"During my lifetime, I have dedicated myself to this 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 to achieve. But if needs be it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

The Lord Provost then presented the Burgess Ticket to the Vice-President of Nigeria, His Excellency, Dr Alex Edwueme. In his reply, the Vice-President (who stood in for the President of Nigeria) expressed his great honour "to accept, on behalf of the renowned and illustrious son of Africa, Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress of South Africa, the freedom of this great and historic City of Glasgow".

He noted his deep impression by the thoughtfulness and consideration expressed by this kind demonstration of solidarity with, and concern for, the majority of the people of South Africa. "By this gesture, you are endorsing the work of a great African Nationalist who is accepted world-

wide as a true symbol of the ideal political prisoner of conscience."

Re-emphasizing Nigeria's commitment to supporting the struggle in South Africa, the Vice-President said: "We shall continue to give our full support, both moral and material, for the pursuit of the just claims of the majority of the freedom-loving people of South Africa who have been deprived of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality."

He warned that the writing is visibly on the wall if the racist regime of South Africa would care to read and understand that "the fires of freedom are burning furiously and inextinguishably inside that Apartheid heartland."

He also stated that Nelson Mandela "has so far served 17 years in prison but his spirit remains indomitable" because he believes that ultimate victory and freedom for all and sundry in South Africa is only a matter of time. "His continued wrongful imprisonment further justifies the belief that the emancipation of the suffering people in South Africa can be achieved only by armed struggle."

The ceremony terminated with the singing of the British National Anthem. It was a short but sharp and very moving ceremony. The dignity of the occasion lasted throughout the passage of time. It was the right way to honour this worthy son of Africa and to identify with the justness of the cause for which he has made the sacrifices.

SOLIDARITY MEETING

On the same evening of the 3rd August, the Scottish Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a solidarity meeting at the City Chambers. It was attended by some of the people present in the morning ceremony and other Anti-Apartheid activists and sympathisers. The meeting was chaired by Brian Filling - Chairman of the Scottish Committee of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and addressed by H. E. Dr Alex Edwueme, Vice-President of Nigeria. Comrade Ruth Mompati, the Chief

Representative of the ANC (SA) in the U.K. also addressed the meeting.

In his contribution, the Vice-President characterised the importance of the meeting as an "important opportunity to meet and exchange views with members of the Movement" i.e. the Anti-Apartheid Movement. He also noted that it is not often "leaders of third world countries are privileged to put across their points of view in the West, particularly on such a very sensitive subject as Apartheid."

The Vice-President outlined Nigeria's Foreign policy so far as it affects Africa. He pointed out that previous administrations in Nigeria have consistently pursued a remarkably similar foreign policy objective with regard to Africa... "When my President first addressed the Nigerian National Assembly soon after we took office in October 1979, he was echoing what many of his predecessors had said previously when he said:

"Africa remains the corner-stone of Nigeria's foreign policy. My administration is committed to the cause of total liberation of Africa and the abolition of racism in all its manifestations. We shall neither relax nor relent until all Africans and all black men are free. It should be understood that political freedom is not complete without economic and cultural freedom."

We outlined the role played by Nigeria in support of the MPLA in 1975, their then active support role in Zimbabwe and now Namibia. He also emphasized Nigeria's commitment towards ensuring that Resolution 435 achieves its objectives. "We shall however never accept any proposal that may prejudice the chances of making Namibia truly and completely independent".

"With regard to South Africa, our objective as it must be for all freedom-loving people of the world, is the complete eradication of the obnoxious apartheid policy. Nigeria attaches utmost importance to the total liberation of South Africa and an end to institutionalised racial discrimination. We shall persist in our struggle for as long as there are people or organisations that

continue to condone and support South Africa's policy of Apartheid."

He concluded by emphasizing "how much we in Nigeria appreciate the work being done by Anti-Apartheid Movements all over the world. It is our fervent desire to see the end of apartheid in the not too distant future In pursuit of this noble objective, and counting on your support and that of other movements with identical aspirations, please rest assured that my government and people will never be found wanting."

In her contribution Comrade Ruth Mompati characterized the honour on Comrade Nelson Mandela as "choosing to be on the side of the oppressed" by the people of Glasgow. It was also an acknowledgment of the development of various methods of struggle which are part of the record and history of Mandela's participation in the leadership of his people.

She also emphasized the importance of Nigeria having been asked to receive the honour on his behalf, because "Nigeria has been very exemplary in putting into practice all the decisions taken at international forums including the United Nations". It was therefore "a fitting tribute to the role that Nigeria is playing and will still continue to play" in the struggle for the defeat of colonialism, racism and apartheid in Southern Africa.

She commended the people of New Zealand for their gallant actions against the racist Springbok rugby tour of that country. She reiterated our call for the total isolation of the racist regime in all spheres - economic, military, cultural, sport, military and diplomatically.

In rounding up the discussions the Lord Provost made the point that when they decided on making this gesture to Mandela they were not aware of the significance in terms mainly of its international implications. He pointed out that the presence of 16 countries from the Commonwealth is testimony to that. He pledged the support of the people of Glasgow for the struggle in South Africa against Apartheid Colonialism.

MANDELA WRITES TO INDIA

New Delhi, August 26, 1981

Following is the text of the letter addressed by Mr Nelson Mandela, South African National leader who was awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Award for 1979 (the letter was smuggled out of Robben Island Prison).

Dear Mrs Bhalla

I am writing to express my sincere thanks and appreciation to the Indian Council for Cultural Relations for honouring me with the 1979 'Jawaharlal Nehru Award for International Understanding'. Although I have been singled out for this award and I am mindful that I am the mere medium for an honour that rightly belongs to the people of our country.

Our people cannot but feel humble, at the same time proud that one of their number has been selected to join the distinguished men and women who have been similarly honoured in the past.

I recall these names because to my mind they symbolise not only the scope and nature of the award, but they in turn constitute a fitting tribute to the great man after whom it has been named - Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. The lives and varied contribution of each one of them reflect in some measure, the rich and many-sided life of Panditji: selfless humanitarian Mother Teresa, international statesman Josip Broz Tito, notable political leaders Julius Nyerere and Kenneth Kaunda, medical benefactor Jonsas Salk and civil rights leader Martin Luther King.

Truly Jawaharlal Nehru was an outstanding man. A combination of many men into one: freedom fighter, politician, world statesman, prison graduate, master of the

English language, lawyer and historian. As one of the pioneers of the non-aligned movement he has made a lasting contribution to world peace and the brotherhood of man.

In the upsurge of anti-colonial and freedom struggles that swept through Asia and Africa in the post-war period there would hardly be a liberation movement or national leader who was not influenced in one way or another by the thoughts, activities and example of Pandit Nehru and the All India Congress. If I may presume to look back on my own political education and upbringing I find that my own ideas were influenced by his experience.

While at university and engrossed in student politics I first became familiar with the name of this famous man. In the forties I for the first time read one of his books, "The Unity for India". It made an indelible impression on my mind and ever since then I procured, read and treasured any one of his works that became available.

When reading his autobiography or 'Glimpses of World History' one is left with the overwhelming impact of the immense scope of his ideas and breadth of his vision. Even in prison he refused to succumb to a disproportionate concern with mundane matters or the material hardships of his environment. Instead he devoted himself to creative activity and produced writings which will remain a legacy to generations of freedom lovers.

'Walls are dangerous companions', he wrote, "They may occasionally protect from outside evil and keep out an unwelcome intruder. But they also make you a prisoner and a slave, and you purchase your so-called purity and immunity at the cost of freedom. And the most terrible of walls are the walls that grow up in the mind which prevent you

from discarding an evil tradition simply because it is old, and from accepting a new thought because it is novel'.

Like most young men in circumstances similar to ours, the politically inclined youth of my generation too were drawn together by feelings of an intense, but narrow form of nationalism. However, with experience, coupled with the unfurling of events at home and abroad we acquired new perspectives and, as the horizon broadened, we began to appreciate the inadequacy of some youthful ideas. Time was to teach us, as Panditji says, that:

'...Nationalism is good in its place, but is an unreliable friend and an unsafe historian. It blinds us to many happenings and sometimes distorts the truth, especially when it concerns us and our country.....'

In a world in which breathtaking advances in technology and communication have shortened the space between the erstwhile prohibitively distant lands; where outdated beliefs and imaginary differences among the people were being rapidly eradicated, where exclusiveness was giving way to cooperation and interdependence, we too found ourselves obliged to shed our narrow outlook and adjust to fresh realities.

Like the All-India Congress, one of the premier national liberation movements of the colonial world, we too began to assess our situation in a global context. We quickly learned the admonition of a great political thinker and teacher that no people in one part of the world could really be free while their brothers in other parts were still under foreign rule.

Our people admired the solidarity the All-India Congress displayed with the people of Ethiopia whose country was being ravaged by Fascist Italy. We observed that undeterred by labels, the All-India Congress courageously expressed its sympathy with Republican Spain. We were inspired when we learnt of the Congress Medical Mission to China in 1938. We noted that while the imperialist powers were hoping and even actively conniving to thrust the barbaric forces of Nazism against the Soviet Union, Panditji publicly spurned a pressing invitation to visit Mussolini, and two years later he again refused an invitation to Nazi Germany.

Instead he chose to go to Czechoslovakia, a country betrayed and dismembered at the infamous Munich deal.

In noting the internationalism of the All-India Congress and its leadership we recalled the profound explanation of Mahatma Gandhi when he said:

'There is no limit to extending our services to our neighbours across state made frontiers. God never made these frontiers.'

It would be a grave omission on our part if we failed to mention the close bonds that have existed between our people and the people of India, and to acknowledge the encouragement, the inspiration and the practical assistance we have received as a result of the international outlook of the All-India Congress.

The oldest existing political organisation in South Africa, the Natal Indian Congress, was founded by Mahatma Gandhi in 1894. He became its first secretary and in the 21 years of his stay in South Africa we were to witness the birth of ideas and methods of struggle that have exerted an incalculable influence on the history of the peoples of India and South Africa. Indeed it was on South African soil that Mahatmaji founded and embraced the philosophy of Satyagraha.

After his return to India Mahatmaji's South African endeavours were to become the cause of the All-India Congress and the people of India as a whole. On the eve of India's independence Pandit Nehru said:

"Long years ago we made a trust with destiny and now the time comes when we should redeem our pledge ... At the stroke of the midnight hour when the world sleeps India will awaken to life and freedom ... It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take a pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people, and to the still larger cause of humanity."

Our people did not have to wait long to witness how uppermost our cause was on Panditji's mind when he made this pledge. The determination with which his gifted sister Mrs Vijayalakshmi Pandit as free India's Ambassador to the United Nations, won universal solidarity with our plight,

made her the beloved spokesman of the voiceless masses not only of our country and Namibia but of people like ours throughout the world. We were gratified to see that the pronouncements and efforts of the Congress during the independence struggle were now being actively pursued as the policy of the Government of India.

At the Asian People's Conference in Bombay in 1947, at Bandung in 1955, at the Commonwealth deliberations, in the non-aligned movement, everywhere and at all times, Panditji and free India espoused our cause consistently.

Today we are deeply inspired to witness his equally illustrious daughter Mrs Indira Gandhi, continue along the same path with undiminished vitality and determination. Her activities, her interest, her pronouncements, remain for us a constant source of hope and encouragement.

India's championing of our cause assumes all the more significance when we consider that ours is but one of the 153 countries which constitute the family of nations and our over 21 million people a mere fraction of the world's population. Moreover our hardships, though great become small in the context of a turbulent world enveloped by conflict, wars, famine, malnutrition, disease, poverty, illiteracy and hatred.

However, it is precisely India's exemplary role in world affairs that also serves to remind us that our problems, acute as they are, are part of humanity's problems and no part of the world can dare consider itself free of them unless and until the day the last vestige of man-made suffering is eradicated from every corner of the world.

This knowledge of shared suffering, though formidable in dimension, at the same time keeps alive in us our oneness with mankind and our own global responsibilities that accrue therefrom. It also helps to strengthen our faith and belief in our future. To once more invoke the words of Panditji:

'In a world which is full of conflict and hatred and violence, it becomes more necessary than at any other time to have faith in human destiny. If the future we work for is full of hope for humanity, then the ills of the present do not matter much and we have justification for working for that future.'

In this knowledge we forge ahead firm in our beliefs, strengthened by the devotion and solidarity of our friends; above all by an undying faith in our own resources and determination and in the invincibility of our cause. We join with you, the people of India, and with people all over the world in our striving towards a new tomorrow, tomorrow making a reality for all mankind the sort of universe that the great Rabindranath Tagore dreamed of in 'Citanjali':

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high,
where knowledge is free;
where the world has not been broken into fragments by narrow domestic walls;
where words come out from the depths of truth:
where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
where the mind is led forward by these into ever widening thought and action into that haven of Freedom, My Father, let my country awake."

Yours sincerely,
Sd/-
(Nelson Mandela)

Mrs Manorama Bhalla
Secretary
Indian Council for Cultural Relations
Indraprasta Estate, New Delhi
Republic of India.

P.S.

As will be seen from the above date, letter was given to the Officer Commanding Robben Island on the 3rd August 1980 for despatch to you by airmail. I added that the matter should be treated urgently. Since then I have repeatedly enquired from the Department of Prisons as to whether the letter had been forwarded to you. Only during the last week in December was I told that I 'could thank the Indian Council for Cultural Relations but not in the words used in the letter'. For this reason I decided to use my own channels of reaching you.

POETRY TOWARDS THE REVOLUTION

by Xihoshe

Sipho Sepamla's "The Soweto I Love" was published in London, by Rex Collings, and by David Philip in the Cape Province, in 1977; and the volume bears the dedication: "For /the dead in Johannesburg, Cape Town and elsewhere), the living of these places who will be keeping vigil over tombstones".

Of the poems in this volume, Sepamla's second, Hilary Seymour writes (in RACE & CLASS, XXI.3 (1980),pp; 380-et seq.): "These are, in the main, angry, assertive disclosures of pain. The anger is both private and public, rooted in the historical reality of the Soweto uprisings of 1976. The future is not seen as a closed door but as a door that has to be forced open". She then quotes, from 'At the dawn of another day',



"it was on that day children
excused the past
deploring the present
their fists clenched full of the future"

and

"at the height of the day
youth rage spilled all over the place
unleashing its own energy
confounding the moment
exploding the lie

take away
your teachings
take away
your promises
take away
your hope
take away
your language
give
me
this
day
myself

i shall learn myself anew
i shall read myself from the trees
i shall glean myself from all others
i shall wean myself of you "

(THE SOWETO pp. 6 & 7)

The pain and anger that Seymour links with assertion and assertiveness, both private

and public, are indeed loaded with a triple charge. There is the dynamism and power of the charging forward, the militancy and assault of "fists clenched", "youth rage", "own energy" - physical images of the active deployment of self and its resources, of a group and its awareness. These receive their concomitant intellectual image in the climactic "at the height of the day", which is carried into a continuous range of kinetic strengths in "spilled", "unleashing", "confounding" and "exploding". Then there is also the charge as indictment: "the lie" of the pseudo- "teachings, promises, hope, language". And then there is also the charge as injunction to all involved in the poem as experience and in the experience the poem commemorates, memorialises and celebrates: "i shall" four times.

"At the dawn of another day" is one of the strongest and richest poems in the volume. Of course, it is essential to get to know the poem in its entirety, to read it along with at least two companion pieces (to which we shall refer briefly later) and also in the book as a whole. But even these brief excerpts indicate some of the range and profundity of the poetics of struggle wielded with skill and drawn out of and with true and honest passion.

There is an almost inevitable association of the poem, its language in texture, image and idiom, with the urges and potencies of indigenous tradition and nature as nourishing environment: "i shall read myself from the trees", and, near the end of the poem "give me back/my humanity" where "humanity" seems to combine the notions of "humanness", "humaneness" and "selfhood", "individuality", "identity" - i.e. "ntu" and "buntu", notions which are not so much polar opposites as complementary and wholesomely mutual, reciprocating, fulfilling - the radical opposition to "Afrikaanderization - cum - Bantuizing".

This rich and renovating, refreshing innovative balancing and subverting, a kind of surrealist undermining of received opinion and decorous style was already instanced early in the poem with its realistic and aphoristic semi-paradoxical: "it was on that long morning/that daughters showed their moms how to gird girdles".

Past, present and future are equally involved, invoked, shown, opposed, examined, interplayed: "At that moment when students were taking the forward pace the police stood shattering the peace".

Simultaneously the associative strategies of the poem are invested with struggles from other places, and with the tonalities of the songs that spoke for, were shafts in the wheels of, those revolutions. We need time to investigate details and specifics, but for the nonce we need only say that amongst others, the sounds can be heard here of those most positive voices of negritude: Leon Damas' new awareness as in "Give me back" (and his explorations of self in oral tradition); strains and airs in the musics of Aime Cesaire's self-discovery and dedication to the deprived in RETURN TO MY NATIVE LAND; the timbre, charge and commitment of David Diop.

There is much more, an almost incredible vastness of time, space and energy, that the poem encompasses. But we must leave it there, and briefly touch on the opening poem of the volume, which, in comparison to the one just glimpsed at, is slight, a sketch, outlines of pathos, compassion, pity, apparent weakness.

"I saw this morning" describes "little children clasping schoolbags", "seeking the refuge of their homes", "fleeing from an unseen monster". Much in it is general; one picture is specific: "I heard the screams of a child/he was a crippled little boy/yelling/tears furrowing his cheeks/he was wheeling around his teacher/held tight/.. /../../I saw this morning/what it is like/to be scared by rumour".

What this volume of poems accomplishes is the juxtaposition of what seem to be vignettes, with the tracing of a process, the development, the evolution, the burgeoning and harsh flowering of a terrible and life-enhancing awareness of the need to fight to be and to fulfil life's real promise. Hence, from the panic of the opening poem in the book, and the one immediately preceding "At the dawn ...":

"our hearts stood like lumps in our throats
heavy with the pain of death
we swallowed bitter gall

as we cursed the turn of events
and swore to pay the debt with defiance”

In her article, Hilary Seymour discusses the play *SIZWE BANSI IS DEAD* and sees it basically as flawed by an untested liberalism and hence characterised by unproductive, unresolved ambivalencies. (This is a reading that many clear-eyed and respected critics have of the play; the reading itself is highly debatable if not altogether wrong headed). Seymour says of the poem “Queens/Kings” that, in it, “Sepamla, unlike Fugard and his co-dramatists, assesses clearly the shifting political sands of the petty traders and entrepreneurs of Soweto. During periods of social crisis, they cannot be relied upon”, and she then quotes the second of our excerpts from “Queens/Kings”.

We offer here also the huge humour and stinging ironic satire of the opening with its orotund, (mock-) officialese, its unctuousness, with hints, nonetheless, of serious intent and sincerity: “we declare/’s true’s living god/we declare/us/the association of the largest distributors/ unlicensed/shebeen queens and kings/gathered this evening/for this momentous purpose/ a stand on the call of students/to observe the mourning period/by not selling from our hide-outs/.../after all/we are on his side/we suffer the same/we are hounded/” and then inside these possibly opportunistic glibnesses, an even clearer subversion: “but sis’ rosie/the one with the biggest business/she declares/in the presence of her customers/i’m not mad/i must live/ i must pay rent/i must pay school-fees/i have no husband/i swear/i wcn’t sell on tick/only take-away”!

Seymour continues: “Sis’ Rosie, the Soweto shebeen queen is another version of Styles (in *SIZWE BANSI*). She too is a petty entrepreneur, who is anxious not to lose her precarious foothold in the system. The difference in presentation is that Siphos Sepamla’s poem “Queens/Kings” places Sis’ Rosie’s individual response with all its understandable limitations within a broader and a more specific social and political reality (than is done by the dramatists with Styles). Here silence that is the lack of

poetic commentary functions as indictment.”

We have relied mainly on Seymour’s article, and penultimately quote her insight again: “Siphos Sepamla’s pain cannot be suppressed. Indeed, his experiences and responses trigger off the need to articulate pain’ ‘I want to remember these things/ because I had never known such hate before/I remember the click of my tongue/ my muscles tightening round my chest/ I looked at his covered face/feeling the crush of pain as he was being felled/by that bullet’.” (*THE SOWETO*, p.11). She continues: “There is here an insistence on the need to recall images of pain; the poet wrestles with words (to paraphrase T. S. Elliot) to discover, to make coherent and to hold on to the reality of his identity.”

What the poet verbalises as “the click of my tongue”, is, of course, the sub-verbal expression of extreme disgust and utter



loathing, a physical, gestic and visceral reaction that has its intellectual underpinning of moral awareness and artistic commitment to life, veracity, struggle. The poem, "How a brother died", opens:

"I want to remember these things/that I may tell them to my little brother/I want to speak from this month only the truth/that I may walk the street tall

I remember the morning/elder brother walked out of the house" he had "stood well good in health". Then the news of "an accident at the train station" and the sight of "the body shrouded with newspapers/its undug grave splattered with blood' (THE SOWETO, pp. 10 & 11)

That one is reminded, in these images and modulations of verse and voice, of poems such as "Poem" and "A militant's poem" by Jorge Rebelo of Mozambique, is due to a number of factors, chief amongst which must count the perspective and that inform the variety of Sepamla's oeuvre:

"The Island" - "And so said the island// . . //I am strong/my grip will drain the blood of anyone/see how Mandela & Sisulu have grown grey/but their spirits still defy me// //I am strong/but my courage has begun to seep out." (THE SOWETO - pp.38 & 39)

"In search of roots" - "We will have to use animal fat/and not bother with cosmetics and so on// // we will have to seek out/black, green and golden flowers/we will have to laugh hard/even if it is at our own illusions// we will have to do all these things/just to show the world Africa was never discovered" (THE SOWETO, p.52).

"A wish" - "I have rivalled the birds in the air/enfolded by clouds even //I've been given to bend the sky at night//I am an atlas in my own night/holding back mighty rivers or changing their course// I defy distance reducing it to a point/as little as my hand//listen, I have pulled myself out of/the earth's warm womb glittering// I am that kind of mass//but a wish of mine remains/peace at all times with all men." (THE SOWETO, p. 53).

The poem concludes the volume: it is a frame and an anvil; on it is forged the



history of homo sapiens, of a continent, of a country, in its positives of physical, emotional, intellectual, technological, imaginative and cultural developments, possibilities, its achievable wholesomeness. It is the future which is power and peace, identity and belonging; it is poetry that is properly propaganda, revolutionising.

BRIEF POST SCRIPTA:

- a) *We welcome bibliographies, copies of material, manuscripts, off-cuts of articles.*
- b) *We welcome reactions to this series, comments and commentaries that must contribute to a continuous, dynamically creative, analytical debate. OR SHOULD THE SERIES CEASE? We ask - seriously!*
- c) *We welcome information on theses, dissertations.*
- d) *Is there need for a short series on DRAMA?*

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK

SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNISTS SPEAK
Documents from the History of the South African Communist Party 1915-1980.
Inkululeko Publications, London 1981

This book, with an introduction by Dr Dadoo, the National Chairman of the South African Communist Party, is dedicated to the commemoration of the 60th Anniversary of the foundation of the South African Communist Party (or Communist Party of South Africa as it was then called) on July 30, 1921.

We are all familiar with the history of the Communist Party and the role it played in our struggle. The Cape Town branch of the ANC at a meeting held on May 9, 1928 acknowledged this role in a resolution which read:

“This General Meeting of the Cape Town Branch of the African National Congress, though it affirms the statement of the President, Mr J.T. Gumede, to the Convention of Chiefs held in Bloemfontein in April last, that the African National Congress is in no way attached to or affiliated to the Communist Party of South Africa, here places its full and unqualified confidence in the CPSA, in view of the fact that of all political parties of South Africa the Communist Party alone unreservedly advocates freedom and equality for the non-European people of South Africa with other races. Further, that it is the only political party that champions the cause of the workers of South Africa irrespective of colour and knows no colour discrimination within its ranks.

Further, as the aims and objects outlined in the constitution of the Communist Party are the correct interpretation of the aims and aspirations of the workers of South Africa, this meeting calls upon the Headquarters Executive of the African National Congress to consider and explore every avenue towards the closest cooperation with the Communist Party of South Africa as the only party correctly interpreting the aspirations of the working class of this country, especially the subject peoples” (p. 88).

This independent and voluntary decision of the ANC to “consider and explore every avenue towards the closest cooperation the Communist Party” contradicts the enemy distortion which always portrays the ANC as a brainless organisation, without independent thought or initiative ‘controlled’ and ‘masterminded’ by the communists.

The story of the formation of the Communist Party is fascinating and shows many incidents of foresight, heroism and clarity of thought. Its stand on militarism and internationalism is of topical significance today when the racists are occupying Angola, attacking Zambia causing death and damage to property.

The emergence of the Communist Party had its internal dynamics and momentum. Let us take the discussion on the “native question”.

“The discussion on this motion was extremely keen, and Comrade Clingman moved that ‘A Committee be appointed to report on the proper Socialist policy on native affairs’. Comrade Wade

adduced biological evidence on the intellectual development of the native compared with the white. While comrade Dunbar retorted in a few pungent sentences with the facts of the class struggle. The motion dealt with the native as a fellow worker and a wage slave. He averred that there was no native problem, only a workers' problem. The amendment was lost, Colin Wade then got the last sentence changed" (p. 26).

We have said the founding fathers of the Communist Party were far-sighted. In 1915 the International Socialist League issued "The League's Message to Europe: A World Party" which stated:

"What we have looked for so far in vain however, is news of any attempt to link up these anti militarist minorities of the world into one New International Organisation to replace the old one which must be admitted to have failed". (p.15)

and the statement went further:

"to suggest that you invite Dr Karl Liebknecht if possible to take the lead in the whole matter".

This new international (the Comintern) was formed 4 years later and was led by Lenin - the South African socialists seem not to have known him in 1915. The events in Russia in 1917 - which were correctly assessed by D.I. Jones - helped to sort out some of these problems.

These developments led to the formation of the Communist Party in 1921 and it became a section of the Comintern.

Up to 1928 the Communist Party believed in a "pure" class struggle which would lead to socialism. Up to then the Communist Party was advocating working class unity as the only way to socialism and equality of black and white. But, in 1928, the Comintern suggested that the struggle in South Africa should be waged under the Black Republic slogan. This new call for the support of the liberation struggle

led by the ANC - which was regarded as reformist - was indeed a new departure. The Communist Party believed it was necessary to rally the masses on national issues but under its own banner.

The paper of D.I. Jones "Communism in South Africa" presented to the Executive of the Third International in 1921 immediately comes to mind. Experience had still to teach the vital lesson that it was NOT IN SPITE OF, but in alliance with the ANC that the party would lead the struggle against national oppression.

The Document 91 on "Nationalism and the class Struggle", an extract from the Central Committee report to the National Conference of the CP in Johannesburg on January 6-8, 1950 shows the weaknesses of assessment and political judgment which were inherent in some circles of our movement. It states that the right to self-determination "can mean only the 'right of political secession' i.e. to set up a separate state. To be politically 'independent', to 'secede', would mean the dividing of South Africa into a 'black' and a 'white' state - would mean apartheid". (p. 209).

This cannot be acceptable because, as Madoda Tshawe said in his article in the June 1981 issue of Sechaba:

"The right to self-determination in South Africa expresses itself in:

- a) The struggle for political liberation and social emancipation from Apartheid;
- b) The right to national self-determination of the different cultural-linguistic groups under conditions of complete equality In short national self-determination does not mean territorial secession, separation, fragmentation or formation of small states. It means the right to self-determination for a single South African nation within the whole of South Africa. That is the destruction of the present state apparatus and its replacement with a new state apparatus - that state's right to self-determination; the right of the Blacks to their own state power with sovereignty over every inch of South Africa." (p.26)

These questions were ironed out in the process of the struggle, especially in the programme of the South African Communist Party adopted at the fifth national conference of the CP held inside the country in 1962. This document besides being a thorough and scientific analysis of the reality in South Africa is a beautiful piece of political journalism. The book ends with "The situation in Afghanistan", a statement issued by the Central Committee of the SACP in January 1980.

This book, as Dr Dadoo says in the introduction "is not a history of the Communist Party in South Africa What we present here is the raw material of our history so that the present-day reader can see events, not with the sometimes biased or patronising wisdom of hindsight, but in the context in which our predecessors (and some of us at the time) reviewed them. Brian Bunting edited the book. We recommend it to the readers of Sechaba.

F.M.

Poem: Like A Soldier You Fought

(A tribute to Comrade Joe Gqabi)

We loved you
as a father
for were we not born by you
at the tip of this spear
this march . . .
We loved you
as a Comrade and a leader
when we followed the star
across this night to make dawn
Your determination,
your courage,
bound with fury
would have shown the fascists,
Just how great a fighter you were.

To our mother we say,
Do not cry!
To the little ones we say,
Courage!
We shall take over
from where he left off.
The very sharp spear
That he used to throw at the fascists
Shall be thrown by us.

Your death shall be avenged
It shall be avenged a thousand fold
With the memories of your good deeds
Guiding us on the battlefield.
Spear, on the one hand!
Your spirit on the other!
We shall fight.
Till final victory!

We shall forever march on,
In the battlefield,
Our minds bitter,
when we remember,
The gallant fighter
of all times.

A stalwart of our struggle.
We all say now!
Let vengeance grow to bloom!
Hamba kahle Mkhonto!
Hamba kahle Qhawe la maQhawe!

Jumaimah Motaung.

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Published by the

**African National Congress of South Africa
P.O. Box 31791, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
Printed by the Druckerei 'Erich Weinert',
2000 Neubrandenburg, G.D.R.**

S.A. POLITICAL PRISONERS DAY



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