

JANUARY 1982



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national congress south africa**

ANC 70th ANNIVERSARY



UNITY IN ACTION



ANC

1912 ● 1982

Forward to unity in action!

SECHABA

JANUARY ISSUE 1982



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Editorial

UNITY IN ACTION

The ANC has declared 1982 a year of Unity in Action. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the ANC this is a fitting tribute to the founding fathers of the ANC. These men and women achieved a lot — during their life time — and therefore left us with a legacy which we cherish. We should remember that the idea of the formation of the ANC was democratically adopted: it was put to a vote and passed unanimously, with loud cheers, all delegates standing. It was a popular decision. There was more to it. The formation of the ANC meant an establishment of African political opinion as an autonomous factor in its own right in South African politics.

Since then much has happened internationally and nationally. The working class within our country has become a dynamic component of the liberation struggle; the C.P. played and still plays an important role in our liberation struggle; the Indian and Coloured communities have identified with the African people; the Freedom Charter was adopted; Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC is using a new type of weapon against the white minority rule; a growing number of white resisters — including war resisters — is gradually coming closer to the positions of the ANC and numerous organisations have emerged recently among the black oppressed masses.

It is these forces the ANC is appealing to for unity in action. We are aware that there are many problems to overcome. Some of these organisations do not share our outlook — but they adopt anti apartheid positions. We should also remember that each people and indeed even each locality has its own historical experience — and this may influence in one way or another the form of unity in action. We should not forget that these various forces have not been

subject to exactly the same exploitation.

Whilst we do not overlook these aspects, we do not emphasise them. Our task is to strengthen these forces, to broaden and deepen their outlook. What is foremost in our thinking is the cause we represent and in the pursuance of our goal the question of further deepening the cohesion of these forces is of vital significance. Unity in action means unity of all those forces that stand against Apartheid, racism and colonialism regardless of their class background. It also means a relentless struggle against racism, anti-communism and tribalism. It means grappling with the daily problems that face our people in factories, on the farms, in the Bantustans, at universities and in the battlefield. It means efficiency, quick reaction and response, humility and understanding. These are aspects of what we call discipline. But there is more to it — political awareness, understanding of our situation and its solution. We must study the Freedom Charter. As Oliver Tambo has said:

“In summary we can therefore say that an urgent and continuing task that faces the African National Congress is and has been the unification in action of all the black oppressed people, whatever their class origin, to fight for victory of the democratic revolution. The ANC and its allies also have the task to build up the democratic movement among the white people and to strengthen the bonds of unity between the white people and the oppressed majority, in one common struggle for the liberation of this majority,

Organisationally the enemy seeks to destroy the ANC and its allies physically, to ensure that no force exists within the country that has the influence and capacity to mobilise and unite the South African democratic forces. In place of the genuinely

popular organisations and leaders of our people, the enemy is trying to create and sponsor his own to replace those whom years of extreme and brutal reaction have failed to destroy.

In the struggle to build up the strength and raise the level of unity of the movement for national liberation, the African National Congress relies first and foremost on the fact that the cause we represent is just and meets the fundamental aspirations of the masses of our people. Consistently, therefore

we have put forward the perspective of a democratic South Africa bringing to the fore the truth that is the patriotic duty of the entire people to rid our country of the tyrannical rule of the racist-fascist regime. This is a perspective and an orientation which must necessarily infuse and fire the will of all the national and class forces whom we have already described as having an objective interest in the victory of the national democratic revolution”.



ANC 70th ANNIVERSARY

South Africa was conquered by force and is today ruled by force. Whether in reserve or in actual employment, force is ever-present. This has been so ever since the white man came to our country. In order to fully appreciate the political and social significance the ANC expresses, the necessity for the type of organisation we have today, we have to look into the past; we have to look into the history of the contact between African people and the whites in South Africa, a bitter and grim story of national struggles and historically unbroken and self-sacrificing resistance against foreign invasion, plunder and political, economic and social domination. We have to look into the past to see what forces forged and inspired the formation and functioning of our national liberation movement.

European settlement in South Africa dates back to April 6th, 1652. Because of the intrusive, predatory and aggressive policies of the invaders, disputes which soon led to war ensued. Having defeated the Khoisan people who inhabited the Cape Peninsula, robbing them of their land, their livestock and frequently their lives, the settlers devoted themselves for a brief spell to farming the fertile land. However, disagreements soon arose between the farmers and the Dutch East India Company over economic and political policies and the amount of control the Company had over settlers. Some left the Peninsula and gradually penetrated the interior until they reached the Cape Western Plateau, an area inhabited by the Xhosa-speaking section of the African people. In the Cape alone 9 wars of resistance against white encroachment were waged covering a time span of almost 100 years. First the Boers

and later the combined forces of Boer and British were checked in their advance — however, superior arms helped them to slowly push the indigenous people of South Africa back beyond the Great Fish River, occupying part of their ancestral land. Yet, as was the case throughout the country, our people were never conquered by the Boers.

In order to continue their march into the interior the Boers were forced to change course, to turn northwards and abandon the easterly direction they originally intended to follow. Wherever the Boers went, they met fierce opposition. They were fought and defeated in Natal, Basutoland (now Lesotho) and in the Eastern Transvaal and were reduced to roving bands of brigands. Had it not, in fact, been for the arrival of the British forces the Boers would eventually have been defeated in their quest to occupy, dominate and enslave our country. As it is the Boers never ruled any section of the African people, managing to merely levy tributes from the small and weaker tribes. When they arrived in the Cape every inch of our country was occupied. It was not a 'no man's land'.

The arrival of the British forces in South Africa at the beginning of the 19th century marked a qualitative and quantitative change in the resistance struggle, immensely strengthening the forces of colonisation and oppression. With their overwhelming superiority in arms and numbers of well-trained men, they were able, after grim and bitter battles, to eventually subdue all military opposition to their fraud designed to colonise and exploit our country and people. Effectively, the defeat of the Bambata Rebellion in 1906 brought to a

close this first, 250-year phase of resistance and set the stage for the handing over of the administration of the country to local whites by British imperialism. There is a direct connection between the Bambata Rebellion of 1906 and the formation of the ANC six years later.

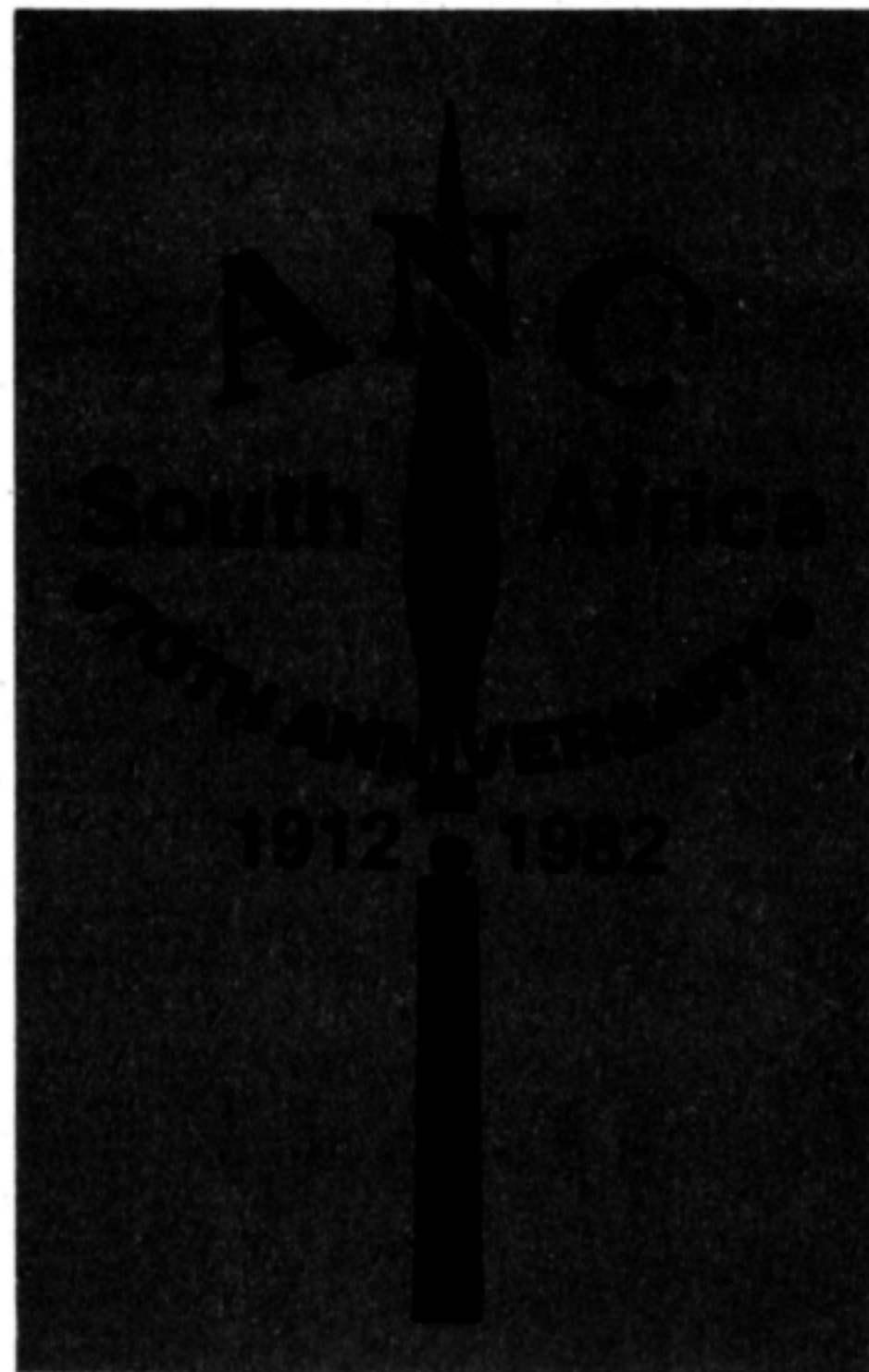
Defeated militarily and totally disarmed, robbed of their land by foreign invaders, denied any say in the government of their country, our people realised that new ways had to be found to continue the struggle. Old forms of organisation and methods of struggle were becoming outdated and proving inadequate to meet the new conditions and situation. The people were looking for new forms of organisation and learning new methods of struggle, methods of fighting without the spear or gun; they were learning the ways of mass meetings, demonstrations, deputations, protests, passive resistance and even strikes. The need for African unity in the face of a common enemy and common problems — a need long recognised by far-sighted African leaders, was forcibly brought home with the promulgation of the Act of Union in 1910, when the government under General Louis Botha moved to consolidate white hegemony within the system established by the SA Act, uniting the formerly embittered feuding sections of the white minority.

The formation of the ANC on January 8, 1912 was not an accident of history, it was a logical development of history, a continuation of the anti-colonial struggle of our people which began with colonialism itself. Of course it did not all happen overnight. There were many factors which led to the formation of the ANC.

The introduction of Christianity in South Africa led to an emergence of Black Christians who later rejected the white Christian values, formed their own independent churches with new concepts and values. The first of these black converts to form an independent church was Nehemiah Tile who played a significant religious and political role. He formed the Thembu Church in 1883 in the Transkei. The founding of the Ethiopian Church by Rev M.M. Mokone on the Witwatersrand

in 1892 was tantamount to widening the battlefront started by Tile.

This period saw the emergence of young African intellectuals who came from mission schools established throughout the country.



They helped in establishing the early beginnings of what later developed to be an African press. They wrote articles in English and African languages, and therefore helped to develop the African languages. The first political organisation formed was Imbumba yama Afrika (Union of Africans) in the Cape in 1882 which advocated African unity as opposed to denominational diversity and planned representations to white authorities. In 1884 two additional organisations were formed, again in the Cape, namely the Native Education Association and the Native Electoral Association which were concerned mainly with electoral politics — in those days Africans in the Cape could vote.

But it was during the Anglo-Boer war and immediately after the Treaty of Vereeniging in May 1902 that concrete steps were taken by Africans to form a movement which would devise some method of presenting grievances and complaints of Africans to the government. This growing awareness and consciousness of a need for a political organisation of Africans on a broader basis led Martin Lutuli, Saul Msane and Josiah Gumede to meet Harriet Colenso to discuss the formation of an African political organisation. In July 1900 the Natal Native Congress was formed and its first secretary was H.C. Matiwane and the Chairman was Martin Lutuli — whose nephew, Albert Lutuli, was later to become ANC President-General. Martin Lutuli was chairman for 3 years and was replaced by Skweleti Nyongwana and Lutuli became vice-chairman. Local committees managed local affairs and the object and intention of Congress was to represent the whole African community in Natal.

In the Eastern Cape in 1902 Africans close to the East London newspaper *Izwi Labantu* and therefore opposed to Jabavu's *Imvo Zabantsundu* and his pre-occupation with European politics founded the South African Native Congress. The tasks of this organisation were to co-ordinate African activities in the Cape Colony, particularly in connection with electoral politics. The political orientation of the SA Native Congress is contained in a statement of its Executive in 1903: 'Questions affecting the Natives and Coloured People resident in British South Africa'. The Native Vigilance Association of the Orange River Colony presented a testimony before the SA Native Affairs Commission on September 23, 1904. What is striking, but not surprising if one takes into account the ethnic composition of the province, is the 'non-tribal' composition of the leadership of this organisation, that is, judging by the delegation which saw the Native Affairs Commission.

These testimonies and petitions to King Edward VII, e.g. from the Native United Political Associations of the Transvaal Colony (April 25, 1905) or the Orange River Colony Native Congress (June 1906), or the Natal Native Congress (October

1908) or from the 'aboriginal natives of South Africa, resident in the Transvaal' (October 22, 1908) and resolutions of the South African Native Congress (October 1908), give us an insight into the problems and grievances of the Africans who showed an acute awareness of the magnitude of their disabilities and a sharp antagonism to any continuation of the political system of the Boer Republics.

These petitions (the Transvaal Native Union collected 3,764 signatures) asked for a common roll franchise throughout South Africa plus separate representation for the mass of the African people unable to qualify for this. Within 4 months these organisations held congresses. The draft South Africa Act was discussed at these meetings. Resolutions deprecating the colour bar and the failure to extend the African franchise from the Cape to the north were passed. It was from these regional conferences that 60 elected delegates came to Bloemfontein to attend the South African Native Convention on March 24-26, 1909.

The South African Native Convention consisted of delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Bechuanaland (now Botswana). Rev Walter Rubusana, leader of the Cape delegation of the South African Native Congress, chaired the convention and was elected president of the Convention. They discussed those clauses of the draft Union Act which related to African and coloured people. These resolutions which attacked the racism inherent in the Draft Act were delivered to the Governors and Prime Ministers of the 4 colonies (Cape, Natal, OFS and Transvaal) and to the British High Commissioner for transfer to the Secretary of State for Colonies. If the Draft Act was not amended, a deputation was to be sent to England. The delegation was to comprise Rev Rubusana, president of the Native Convention, T.M. Mapikela of the Orange River Colony and D. Dwanya of the Cape Congress. The Transvaal Native Congress appointed Alfred Mangena who was already in London and instructed him to 'work in co-operation with the other delegates'. W.P. Schreiner was invited to join them and Tengo Jabavu represented his tiny Cape Convention. The Coloured

community was represented by Dr Abdurahman, leader of the African People's Organisation while Advocate Gandhi represented the Indian community. This defiant deputation was later to be disappointed by the attitude of the British government, which once more deliberately ignored the express wishes of the black population of South Africa.

JANUARY 8 -- AN HISTORIC DAY

This new spirit of the need for an African organisation and the awareness of the identity of interests of the African ethnic groups in South Africa grew rapidly and young African radicals became more convinced of the need to organise themselves along these new lines. The African students who were studying abroad in America and Britain were inspired by the activities of our people at home, and they in turn inspired them with new ideas. But the main reason for the formation of the ANC was the humiliation, deprivation and indomitable urge to freedom of the African people. Their practical experience of two and a half centuries of oppression and struggle, climaxed by the Bambata Rebellion of 1906, proved that the old methods of struggle were no longer suited to the new situation. The drive to unity and political organisation along modern lines was given a powerful impetus by the economic integration of the 4 British colonies under the hegemony of imperialism and the Rand mining millionaires, and finding political expression in the projected formation of the 'Union of South Africa' and the transfer of effective power into the hands of the European minority.

The South African Act of Union which was passed by the British House of Commons in 1909 and ratified by the South African white Parliament on May 31, 1910 — the anniversary date of the Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in 1902, at the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War, — incorporated, as its central, key provision, a colour bar clause that precluded all blacks from being eligible to become members of Parliament.

Faced with these problems and the fact that their interests had been totally dis-

regarded in the absence of a political organisation of their own which could voice their grievances and aspirations, the Africans started to work towards unity for common action and to educate themselves, towards promotion of mutual help, a feeling of brotherhood and a spirit of togetherness. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who became the convenor of the January 8 meeting, was in fact impatient about the formation of the ANC. In October 1911 he wrote: 'It is conclusively urgent that this meeting should meet this year because a matter which is so vitally important to our progress and welfare should not unnecessarily be postponed by reason of personal differences and selfishness of our leaders.' In what seemed to be a statement of policy or an item on the agenda of the coming meeting — the central theme of his contribution — he said: 'The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basotho and every other Native, must be buried and forgotten ... We are one people! These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of our woes and all the backwardness and ignorance that exists today'.

Thus on January 8, 1912, when the ANC was formed, Seme gave the keynote speech. After the opening speeches were made the gathering sang Tiyo Soga's Lizalis' 'indinga Lakho Thixo, Nkosi yenyano, (Fulfil Thy Promise God, Thou Lord of Truth).

Seme, seconded by Alfred Mangena, moved that the assembly should establish the South African Native National Congress. He was unanimously supported. A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution. George Montsioa suggested that 7 paramount chiefs be appointed as Honorary Presidents of the SA Native National Congress (the ANC). Thus the conference resolved that 2 houses, the Upper and the Lower house, should be established. The Upper House consisted of Dalindyabo of the Thembus, Montsioa of the Barolong; Lewanika of Barotseland (part of Zambia); Letsie II of Basutoland (now Lesotho) who was elected President of the Upper House; Khama of Bechuanaland (now Botswana); Marclane of Pondoland and Moepi of the Bakgatla; Dinizulu, the Zulu chief who was deposed and exiled to the Transvaal by the British was also included. The Executive of the Lower House, the executive proper, consisted of Rev. John L Dube, President;

Solomon T Plaatje, Secretary; Pixley ka Isaka Seme was elected Treasurer; Thomas Mapikela of the Orange Free State became Speaker and Montsioa, Recording Secretary. Rev. Mqobili of the Wesleyan Church became Chaplain-in-chief with Rev. H R Ngcayiya, President of the Ethiopian Church as his Assistant. The Rev. Walter Rubusana, Meshack Pelem, Sam Makgatho and Alfred Mangena were elected vice-presidents.

The first National Executive Committee consisted of ministers of religion, lawyers, an editor (Plaatje) a building contractor (Mapikela), a teacher and estate agent (Makgatho) and an interpreter, teacher and Native labour agent (Pelem). These are people who went through mission schools, 5 of them studied abroad (USA and Britain) and others had attended conferences overseas. These men were prominent both in local political organisation and nationally. They were relatively young, in their thirties and early fifties. The four provinces were



represented on the Executive. The chiefs were honoured in accordance with African tradition. They represented the rural masses, who, in any case, were then the majority of the people.

At the inaugural conference of the ANC eleven papers were read and the topics ranged from discussions about schools burning current issues of 'Native' labour, segregation, the land question and the 'Squatters' Law. To conclude the proceedings John Knox Bokwe's 'Give a Thought to Africa' was sung and the delegates returned to report back to their

local organisations on the practical means of implementing their vision of African unity and the fight against white domination. These resolutions could only be implemented in the course of the struggle.

SIGNIFICANCE OF JANUARY 8TH

The formation of the ANC on January 8th 1912, signified the birthday not only of the ANC but also of the nation. The ANC was the people's 'Union of South Africa' — a rejection of the European/White Union, and the ANC was assigned the task of being midwife in this process of national rebirth and regeneration. The formation of the ANC meant the creation of a loyalty of a new type, a non-tribal loyalty, a loyalty which was inherently anti-colonial and in the course of time developed to be anti-imperialist. This was an act of national salvation, a continuation under new historical conditions — of the anti-colonial struggle of our people which began with colonialism. The ANC was formed to represent not just the overwhelming majority of our people — important as that is — but exactly that section of the population which had experienced nothing but violent legislation from the government, especially since 1910.

In the 70 years since the formation of the ANC much has happened. It is not our task to related that story here. One thing we can say with certainty is that the original task of uniting and leading to freedom the African people has expanded and changed — today the ANC is faced with the task of organising and leading all the oppressed people — African, Indian and Coloured — and to win over to its banner all democratically-minded whites. Today the ANC is a genuine people's organisation; it enjoys the support and confidence of the people whom it leads; it is viewed by the masses of our people as the product of their sacrifices, the inheritor and continuation of the revolutionary experience and traditions of the oppressed people as a whole; the people's leader and organiser. The activities and thinking of the founding fathers and their successors laid the firm foundation on which our young men and women in the ranks of the ANC and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are harassing the enemy on all fronts, taking firm strides down our freedom road.

IOJ CONGRESS

On October 19 to 22, 1981 the ninth Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists met in the magnificent historic Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow. Kaarle Nordenstreng, the Finnish President of the IOJ opened the Congress and stated:

“This is the largest and most representative meeting of journalists ever held anywhere”.

The truth of these words was underlined by the deliberations and discussions at the Congress.

Discussions and Deliberations

In Moscow there were 194 delegates and more than 200 observers and guests. 96 organisations of journalists from 89 countries were represented as well as a number of regional and international organisations and institutions.

The Congress met in plenary sessions and in three sections which dealt with:

1. The IOJ's contribution to strengthening peace, security and cooperation amongst nations;
2. The New International Information Order;
3. International solidarity among journalists.

A total of 72 participants took the floor in these discussions.

In these discussions the exceptional responsibility which journalists bear in the present and complicated international situation was emphasised as well as the duty of journalists to fight against any excuses for and defence of aggressive wars and the arms race. From its establishment immediately after the War, the IOJ strengthening peace, mutual understanding and cooperation among nations; the fight for national liberation; abolition of colonialism and racism and the establishment of a new, truly democratic international information order and laying

down new tasks in these spheres. The Congress devoted considerable attention to the question of activating international solidarity in defence of journalists persecuted for their progressive ideas and activities.

The massive growth and influence of the IOJ over these last 35 years is due to the fact that the IOJ encourages the formation of national and regional organisations of journalists; it upholds the principle of professional and ethical mission of journalism in society; it encourages and appreciates the tradition of meetings between international and regional organisation of journalists and declares its willingness to seek also in the future the possibility of establishing beneficial relations with the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, which broke away from the IOJ during the dark days of the cold war, the International Union of Catholic Press and other organisations, in the interest of understanding among nations.

No serious and responsible journalist can afford to ignore the IOJ more so that it is the largest single international organisation of organised journalists in the world. The IOJ provides a forum for discussing such important issues as the development of journalism in the non-aligned world and the New International Information Order which, briefly stated, means the attempts by the tricontinental world and its allies to reorganise the world media business and to wrest media control away from the handful of US, British, French, West German and Japanese companies which enjoy a near-monopoly of news-information and technology, particularly as regards the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Western Reactions

The problem with western countries is that news, information networks etc. have

heavily come under intensive technical investment — a profit-making media business. This is part of the imperialist offensive with the aid of electronics corporations. There is also the political angle. The New International Information Order has evoked a violently hostile response from Western governments and the major media multinationals. The U.S. government even threatened to cancel its subventions to the UNESCO budget (25% of the total) if UNESCO presses ahead with the New International Information Order proposals.

There were many of these pressures. Last May the U.S. funded a major seminar held under the auspices of the Voice of Freedom Committee at the Talloires campus of representatives of "independent news media" comprising bodies like the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers and the major western news agencies declared war on UNESCO. Big business interests which dominated Talloires warned that they would fight any "proposed curbs on press freedom", citing the Helsinki agreement of 1975 as their new found bible. These media multinationals pledged themselves to foster the agreement to a "freer flow and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage cooperation" and the signatories warned that they would "vigorously oppose any interference with this fundamental right" and would insist that the press and the public were assured of access to "all sources of information".

What is interesting is that while the Declaration of Talloires attacked media control by government agencies and supported a variety of "independently" owned news media — "the ideal form all countries should aim for" — it paid tribute to the importance of advertising as a "consumer service" and in providing financial support for a strong and self sustaining press.

What about the readers who are supposed to be the source, guide and financial backers of a democratic press? Slogans like "without financial independence, the press cannot be independent" do not help much to solve our problems in Africa. The emphasis on the introduction of new technology

to the mass media and improvement of technical means of communication in our part of the world does not help much in solving the major question, which is a political one. Who do the mass media serve? Who owns them? Are they reflecting the aspirations of the masses?

The question of "plurality of views" is alien to African tradition where people discuss and discuss until they agree. The whole argument on "media freedom" as a basic human right falls flat when one considers that the controllers of the world communications business are obviously the best qualified to protect it.

What about the abuses of power by multinational communications media or the barrage of hostile propaganda from TV transmitters owned by the multinationals? Surely "freedom of journalists" does not necessarily mean privatisation of state-owned and controlled media; it does not mean the right to fire the entire staff of the state broadcasting service, state-owned newspapers and government information service. Nor does it mean the introduction of the most unethical journalistic practices.

In other words what the IOJ is saying is that the problem of journalism cannot be left to technicians who happen to work for multinationals. Technology is only part of the problem. Supplying technology is like laying gas or oil pipelines.

This becomes more obvious when one considers that most African countries receive information — even on their own countries — from foreign news agencies. Some former colonial countries still have telephone links with neighbours through the former colonial powers. The media world is more than a trade union affair — important as that is — it is wider and perhaps even more political: the journalists and cinemascope people are involved in one of the most sensitive issues as "opinion makers".

IOJ and Africa

The IOJ has attracted a new generation of journalists especially in the non-aligned world and unliberated countries like South Africa and Namibia. At the IOJ Congress in Moscow 21 new organisations were

admitted as new members of the IOJ. The participation and presence of African delegates was impressive. The delegates also visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and placed a wreath there and on another occasion a wreath was laid at the grave of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

The Congress also heard reports of the IOJ Professional Commission; Coordinating Committee for Training and Professional Qualifications of Journalists from Developing Countries and a report of the Committee for Study and Documentation. The 5 Congress reports were approved unanimously.

It was decided that in addition to the two existing permanent IOJ Commissions — the Professional and Social — two more should be set up: the IOJ Commission for Journalist Training and the Commission for Study and Documentation. The editorial commission presented a draft Orientation

Document which set out the main directions of the organisations activities in the coming period. Kaarle Nordenstreng was unanimously re-elected President of the IOJ and Jiri Kubka as Secretary General.

The IOJ Congress offered us an opportunity to meet other journalists who are suffering the same evils of imperialism — for example in El Salvador there is recorded the highest number of missing and dead journalists — and what is more, the IOJ gives us practical assistance for our work as journalists of the liberation movements and newly independent countries. Of course besides this technical assistance, ideas are more important.

Indeed at the IOJ Congress one felt that there is a need to mobilise even those forces living on the wrong planet — the imperialist world — because the earth has been turned into a global or tribal village. There is need for communication and the IOJ is the best forum.

MURDER OF A PATRIOT

Griffiths Mxenge

“They can kill hundreds of Mxenges and the struggle for liberation will not stop at all”. These defiant words were spoken by the widow of Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge, outstanding Durban attorney and freedom fighter.

The nation's mourning of Griffiths Mxenge was only tempered by the outrage felt about his vile murder. On November 25 his mutilated body was found near Umlazi Cycling Stadium in Durban. Mxenge's disappearance followed on the poisoning of his families pet dogs and visits by the Security Police during which he was questioned about allegedly being in possession of ANC funds. This was by no means the first time Mxenge had faced the terror of the racist state.

Born in 1935 in King William's Town, Mxenge was to embark on a life of service to his people and to this end he battled to acquire specific skills. In 1961 he got his B.A. at the University of Fort Hare and the next year began his LLB at the University of Natal. But his political involvement was to hamper the course of his studies.

Griffiths Mxenge was detained under the 180 day law in 1966. In 1967, he was sentenced to 2 years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress. On release he was able to complete his legal studies. But in 1973 his freedom was once again restricted when he was served with a five year banning order. Three years later when the whole

MXENGE



**WE WILL
REMEMBER**

of South Africa was aflame, Mxenge was detained for 103 days under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act when he refused to give state evidence in the trial of Harry Gwala and 8 others.

During the last five years of his life, Griffiths Mxenge was deeply involved in the struggles of his people. As attorney he acted in many political trials including the cases of Mdluli and Mohapi who were murdered in security police detention. He was also a leading figure in the highly successful anti-SAIC campaign, treasurer of the Durban Release Mandela Committee and active both in trade union resurgence and the students struggle against apartheid education. He was a founder member of the South African Democratic Lawyers Association.

More than 3,000 people paid tribute to the contribution made by Griffiths Mxenge at the memorial service held in Durban. The coffin carrying his body was draped in the colours of the ANC and bore a name plate which read - LONG LIVE CONGRESS. Bishop Desmond Tutu read the sermon and speakers included Albertina Sisulu, Ntatho Motlana, Thozamile Gqwetha and M.J. Naidoo.

The crowd listened to telegrams of condolence from the ANC including one from its President Oliver Tambo. Speaker after speaker dismissed the enemy's propaganda which had made the ludicrous claim that the ANC was responsible for Mxenge's death in connection with the misuse of ANC funds. At a special press conference called by Mrs Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge, his widow denied this lie created by those ultimately responsible for his death.

Griffiths Mxenge leaves his wife and children Mbasu and Nomhle. They are not alone in their grief. As Victoria Mxenge said of her husband "... he achieved a lot. He not only had the courage of his convictions but he passed on this courage to many who will continue to fight for the freedom in which he believed".

Below we print extracts from the statement of ANC President O.R. Tambo on the murder of Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge.

On the night of the 19th of November in the South African city of Durban, agents of the Pretoria regime brutally assassinated Griffiths Mxenge.

Using knives, the murderers were not content just to take away the life of this outstanding patriot. In unbridled savagery, they extensively mutilated his face and cut off his ears.

The massacre of our people in Matola in January the murder of Joe Gqabi in Salisbury in July and now the assassination of Griffiths Mxenge are a sign of the desperation of the enemy who increasingly finds himself unable to stop the forward march of the people, the ANC and the popular army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These acts of brutality can only serve to strengthen our determination to free ourselves. Through his martyrdom Griffiths Mxenge has set us the task to destroy the apartheid regime sooner rather than later.

The African National Congress in its entirety convey its condolences to the wife and family of our late comrade and pledges its oneness with them at this our hour of grief.

As we lower our banners in memory of a great son of our people, an outstanding revolutionary, we renew our vows that we shall give no quarter in the noble struggle to rid our country of the murderers and tyrants that illegally rule our country and people.

Farewell dear brother and comrade. Your sacrifice is not in vain.

DEATHS IN DETENTION

By 1978 the toll of patriots murdered in security police detention was at least 50. A torrent of international protest appeared to have caused a lull in these crimes. But over the past two years evidence gleaned from political trials shows an increase in the severe torture of detainees. In four cases since 1980, this has led to deaths in detention.

On November 12, 1981 Tshifhiwa Mhofhe died two days after his detention by Venda security police. A former leader of the Black People's Convention which was banned in 1977, Mhofhe was arrested along with 14 others after an armed attack carried out on a Venda police station. He was reported to be in excellent health at the time of his arrest.

Another "independent" bantustan was the scene of the murder of Manana Mgqweto aged 60, who died in Engcobo prison while detained under the Transkei security laws in September 1981. He was a long-time member of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.

In the same month the inquest was held into the death of Sifundile Matalasi, 27, who died in Umtata prison in December 1980. He had been in detention for 122 days under the Transkei security laws. The Magistrate said he could not find anyone to blame for Matalasi's death after hearing from the state that:

"Mr Matalasi had joined his pair of socks and tied them round his neck, tying the other end to the window. He then allegedly lay down on the floor, covered himself with a blanket, using the left arm to exert pressure and thus died of strangulation".

A former "Minister of the Interior" of the Transkei was detained at the same time as Matalasi. Saul Ndzumo, alleged to be involved in a plot to overthrow the bantustan leaders, died 8 days later.

Against this background, the widespread detentions carried out by the Security Police throughout South Africa at the end of last year, should serve as an alert to the international community. More than 100 people are being held incommunicado under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act alone. It is clear that systematic and brutal torture is being practised in these cases in an effort to crush the upsurge of resistance throughout the country. In South Africa committees have been set up to rally behind the detainees. It is crucial that this solidarity extends world wide.

The deaths in detention in the bantustans are a painful reminder of the meaning of so-called independence. As more dumping grounds achieve this status we are sure to witness an increase in terror and brutality.



APARTHEID MERCENARIES IN THE SEYCHELLES

The attempt to stage a coup in the Seychelles to overthrow the progressive government led by President Albert Rene at the end of November last year, once again demonstrated the apartheid regime's aggressive intentions towards independent Africa.

As the facts unfolded of the bungled attempt, it became ever clearer that behind the nearly 50-strong gang of mercenaries, stood the South African apartheid regime.

What actually happened in this attempted coup, and how was the ugly face of the fascist regime exposed as the originator of the scheme?

The mercenaries' "mission" began on November 24, when 45 white men gathered in a Rand coach in Johannesburg. It was later to become apparent that the gang were on a mission where, if they succeeded they would be heroes, but if they failed they would be disowned. They stopped that night in Ermelo.

By the time they reached Swaziland they were posing as members of a fictitious beer-drinking club on the way to play a rugby match.

They flew from Swaziland to the Seychelles, with a stop over at the Comoros Islands, where it appears they may have picked up their arms.

Certainly when they reached the Pointe Larouere airport that afternoon of November 25, they had concealed weapons with them.

They attempted to pass through customs as tourists on the way to play a rugby match, but alert customs officials decided to check one of the suitcases. It did not take them long to discover weapons concealed within the suitcase.

The other members of the gang panicked and grabbed their weapons and attempted to take over the airport.

This they were temporarily able to do, but crack units of the Seychelles security forces soon had the airport surrounded

and were subjecting the mercenaries to withering fire.

Under fire the mercenaries bravado did not last long. Reportedly, a few of the gang ran away into the mountains, but most decided to run back to their master as fast as they could, and for this purpose they hijacked an Air India Boeing 707 which had just landed at the airport.

The air pirates forced the pilot, at gunpoint, to fly to Durban, with all the passengers on board.

The mercenaries dragged one dead member of their gang with them — it was later revealed that he was a South African army reservist.

On arrival at Durban, the fascist regime staged a pretence by "arresting" the mercenaries and taking them to Pretoria for "questioning".

The regime immediately began a propaganda campaign to deny its own involvement in the coup attempt.

President Rene called for the gangsters to be returned to the Seychelles to face trial.

The apartheid regime responded by releasing 39 of the 44 returned mercenaries, brazenly saying there was no law under which they could be charged.

Fascist police minister Louis Le Grange said "You tell one what laws they broke in South Africa. They only shot out some windows and ran around in the bush".

However the regime, in a bid to distance themselves from the gang, announced that five of the group were to be put on trial, including the gang leader, Colonel "Mad Mike" Hoare, the notorious international mercenary who resides in South Africa.

But it soon became clear that this "trial" would prove a farce. The five were immediately released on bail. They arrived at the court, joking with the security police.

Then they were charged, not with the serious charge of hijacking, but with the

relatively minor charge of kidnapping.

And when the magistrate announced the bail for the five, the mercenaries, in the best tradition of a US southern States lynch-trial, produced the exact amount — R30,000 - in cash from a suitcase.

Just at the time the regime announced it could not charge most of the conspirators, and was giving this kid glove treatment to the "leading" five, it launched mass raids, detaining scores of progressive trade unionists, student and community leaders, under indefinite detention laws.

The apartheid regime refused to release the names of the 39 who were freed, but they had, like the other five, left their passports behind in the Sechelles.

And also in the Seychelles, five mercenaries had been arrested by the Seychelles government. These five included some who had apparently escape from the airport, and some who were already on the islands when the other mercenaries arrived.

It soon became clear that a number of the mercenaries were serving members of the South African security forces — some of the notorious Reconnaissance Commando.

The Seychelles government displayed one of the captured men to the press, Martin Dollinck, who admitted that he was a serving member of the South African intelligence service NIS, the successor to BOSS.

In the Seychelles, President Rene told a meeting of several thousand that the five mercenaries would be put on trial soon. He demanded that South Africa also put the escaped mercenaries on trial too.

President Rene also thanked the Soviet Union and France for promptly responding to his government's call and sending warships to the Mahe port, in case the racists' tried another attempt.

It was now apparent, even to South Africa's apologists in the West, that with serving members of the apartheid regime's security forces in the group, the apartheid regime must have known about the attempt to overthrow President Rene, and must have been involved in the attempt.

The apartheid regime continued to mount a propaganda offensive to deny

involvement. Numerous suggestions and accusations were made in the western press about who was behind the coup attempt.

What is clear for all the world to see not have been involved, the South African apartheid regime clearly was.

The Seychelles government has revealed that the gang intended to stage their coup the day after their arrival at the airport.

They would apparently have seized the entire political leadership of the country who would have been at a central committee meeting in the capital. Simultaneously the gang planned to capture the main radio station and to broadcast tapes saying that deposed president Mancham had taken power.

President Rene has called for a UN inquiry into the attempted coup. And at the UN, the Seychelles delegate recalled that 3 years ago, the US and six West European states had agreed to halt flights to all states which refused to put hijackers on trial.

However the West, particularly Thatcher's Britain, has shown no eagerness to impose a ban on flights to South Africa, and Britain and the US appear willing to allow the apartheid racists to get away with hijacking.

The UN, OAU and progressive nations must force the Western supporters of apartheid to carry out the international agreements reached in Bonn and the Hague on hijacking.

For, as President Mugabe pointed out, the coup attempt in the Seychelles has once again revealed the true intentions of South Africa in regard to independent Africa.

This is another example of international terrorism about which the ANC has constantly warned. It is another example of export of counter-revolution and racist South Africa is acting as a policeman of the whole region, destabilising the whole area and terrorising our people in the country. The wounds of innocent Namibians and Angolans have hardly healed, the massacre of our comrades in Matola in Mozambique and of Joe Gqabi still fresh in our memories, now they are inflicting fresh wounds on the people of Seychelles.

We say this is enough!

US SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

"We urge the people of the United States to join the people of the world in demanding that the struggle be carried to a new level — the comprehensive and mandatory economic, military, diplomatic and cultural sanctions of South Africa, including an effective oil embargo.

We have a special responsibility to play and are charged with a unique responsibility. It is our government that keeps apartheid alive, feeds it, oils it, and arms it. The heroic people of the ANC and SWAPO are destroying apartheid from within, but only we can end our government's pact with racism, which if not obliterated, will destroy us all.

This conference proudly takes up this fight and joins the peoples of the world."

(from the New York Declaration, October 1981)

For three days a thousand USA citizens, of all colours and of all ages, met in Conference to express solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa. Delegates representing labour, professional, religious, civil rights, local community, women's, students, political, media and solidarity groups from virtually all states of the USA participated in the Conference at the Riverside Church, New York City from 9 to 11 October 1981.

ICSA initiated the conference which was convened by a broad based preparatory committee in co-sponsorship with ANC and SWAPO. Congressman Ron Dellums was president of this committee and attorney Lennox Hinds its chairman.

The Conference heard statements, studied documents on USA links with apartheid, discussed in commissions which were followed by action workshops to draw up an extensive programme of action.

"The struggle in Southern Africa is their struggle, it is not for us to decide how," said Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer District 65 UAW. "So-called leaders who come from South Africa, walking tall here in the USA, and then return to South Africa without harassment are not leaders. There is no difference between true leaders in exile and the people inside. We must

support the struggle unconditionally, or get out of the way."

The Hon Shirley Chisholm US Congress, said: "Our government has to make a choice between profits and human beings". Relating the horrifying experience of watching Cross Roads being bulldozed when she visited South Africa with a fact-finding mission of the Congress she made it clear: "It has to be the armed struggle" to bring about change.

Comrade A. Nzo led the ANC delegation and the Secretary for External Relations, comrade P. Mueshahange, headed the SWAPO representation. The UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Council for Namibia endorsed and supported the Conference. For the first time in its history, all the forces in the USA engaged in opposing their government's open and secret support for apartheid were brought together in a powerful coalition.

A standing ovation acclaimed the New York Declaration. The proposals for an action programme, including the transformation of the preparatory committee into a continuation committee to coordinate further action was adopted.

(for a full report and complete text of the New York Declaration see ICSA Bulletin NO 15 from 30A Danbury St, London N1)

Material Aid Workshop

“Material aid is important in human terms”, said Dr Silas Cerqueira, executive secretary of ICSA. “Material aid also has another meaning. It expresses a significant and broad non-partisan participation in the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. It develops a unity of action which has great political significance.”

The second ICSA Workshop on Material Aid for ANC and SWAPO was convened in Frankfurt/M, FRG, from 6 - 8 November 1981. The participants, 82 from 34 organisations in the FRG and from 41 organisations from other countries as well as representatives of ANC and SWAPO, concerned themselves with the very concrete problems faced by the liberation movements in meeting their responsibilities in catering for the needs of the increasing number of refugees from apartheid.

During the opening plenary Dr Cerqueira said: “The real aim is liberation from fascist, racist and colonial oppression. There are dangerous manoeuvres to protract the liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. Africa is faced with two tasks, and we need to support them, to wipe out apartheid and to consolidate the development of the Front Line States.

Southern Africa will never be fully free as long as apartheid exists.”

Political representatives of ANC and SWAPO took part together with experts of the liberation movements for education, health, agriculture and general refugee relief. The discussions in the 3 commissions centered around the concrete requirements, provided an opportunity to exchange experiences and a commitment to raise further material support for SWAPO and ANC.

Right through the Workshop photographic exhibitions, posters, publications, medical kits and other materials were on display. The Workshop contributed to greater cooperation and coordination, the strengthening of bilateral contact between organisations as well as between organisations and the representatives of the liberation movements who are daily confronted with the immense need for material aid.

ICSA's Executive Secretary concluded: “Working for material aid for the liberation movements and the refugees they must cater for is another step to bring people together, — is another step for humanity.”



PAGES FROM HISTORY

John Langalibalele Dube



*John Langalibalele Dube -
First ANC President-General*

John Langalibalele Dube was born in Natal in 1871. He was the son of Rev. James Dube, one of the first ordained pastors of the American Zulu Mission. John Dube's grandmother was one of the first Christians to be converted by the American Daniel Lindley.

.....

There are many contradictory views and judgments on Dube's life. Let us take a few samples.

B.W. Vilakazi, a poet and author, wrote in 1946 that Dube was "a great, if not the greatest, black man of the missionary

epoch in South Africa" and earlier A.S. Vil-Nkomo had written in the same vein: Dube was "one who comes once in many centuries ... No one else in his education generation has accomplished so much with such meagre economic means. He was scholar, gentleman, leader, farmer, teacher, politician, patriot and philanthropist".

There were other judgments. To the Governor of Natal in 1906 Dube was "a pronounced Ethiopian who ought to be watched" and John X. Merriman, a Cape "liberal" described Dube in 1912 as a "typical Zulu, with a powerful cruel face. Very moderate and civilised, spoke extraordinarily good English ...". A little later he commented:

"Dube in conversation gave me a glimpse of national feeling which reminded me of Gokhale. How they must hate us — not without cause."

Howard Pim, another "liberal", found Dube frankly "puzzling": "I should say he was strong-willed and a great egotist; but his effect on me is curiously neutral. I am neither attracted nor repelled by him. Apparently the people who get on with him do so with the aid of a little flattery".

I.B. Tabata — in his characteristic style and fashion — referred to Dube (in his 1948 letter to Mandela) as a "principal of some secondary school in Natal" who was simply "a willing stooge in the hands of the Herrenvolk" and has "led the Zulu back to tribalism, where they stagnate today".

One can only agree with Shula Marks who comments that some of these remarks reveal more about the commentators rather than about Dube.

Significance of Ohlange

Dube was educated at Inanda and Amanzimtoti (later Adams College). In 1887 he accompanied the missionary W.C. Wilcox to America. There he studied at Oberlin College while supporting himself in a variety

of jobs and lecturing on the need for industrial education in Natal. He went back to Natal but soon returned to the U.S. for further training and to collect money for a Zulu industrial school — as he called it — along the lines of the Tuskegee Institute.

In 1901 he was able to achieve his ambition on 200 acres of land in the Inanda district where he established the Zulu Christian Industrial School at Ohlange. Ohlange is within a stone's throw of Phoenix settlement where Gandhi started the newspaper, Indian Opinion, and not far from the dense religious settlement of AmaNazarethi, the Nazareth people, founded the prophet Shembe. One of Dube's achievements at this time was the establishment of a Zulu/English newspaper *Ilanga lase Natal* (Sun of Natal). He began to establish his political reputation.

The establishment of Ohlange signified a general ferment in the Amakholwa community at the turn of the century. This ferment expressed itself in the independent churches and political organisations which were being formed. There were other sources of influence. Dube was drawing on the prevalent thinking among Blacks in South Africa at the time, and this in turn was influenced by some trends in black thought in the USA. In Natal this black American influence was particularly strong at the time as a result of the American Zulu Mission. Dube's experiences in the States, especially the influence of Booker T. Washington and the Tuskegee Institute had shaped his ideas on Ohlange; the finances for his school came largely from the States and from the same sources who supported Tuskegee. But this was not more than inspiration for the founding of Ohlange.

His formative influences came from the American Zulu Mission in Natal. In the 1880's Dube was still a student at Amanzimtoti. The new head of the school, the missionary W.G. Goodenough, realised that the only way to obtain more aid was to satisfy the new government requirements to provide "industrial education". In 1884-85 Jubilee Hall was built by the pupils of the school themselves. An industrial department was established which came to

play an increasingly important role in the life of the school.

By the time Dube left for the States for the first time, printing, shoe-making, blacksmithing, bee-keeping, bricklaying, book-keeping, book-binding and cartography were being taught at Amanzimtoti. This "industrial education" was the brain-child of the colonial government and what the missionaries did, was to support it as the American Zulu Mission general letter for 1889 confirms:

"If the Zulus are ever to occupy any worthy status in this colony they must be educated in every kind of labour. Missionaries are looking forward with more and more favour upon the industrial training of the native as a valuable feature of missionary work"

This was Dube's introduction to "practical education" and self-help. He lectured and wrote on this subject. At the age of seventeen he preached to American congregations.

The colonial government soon changed its tactics: they no longer supported it, on the contrary they aimed at its suppression. The white workers and the government in Natal feared "competition" from African — and Indian — artisans in the 1890's. In 1893 government regulations discriminated against secondary schools and substituted an emphasis on "training the mass of the Africans to the lowest level of skill necessary for the labour market" with the result that Amanzimtoti was on the verge of collapse. In 1895 government grants were withdrawn from schools if the products of their industrial work were "allowed to be sold or disposed of in such a manner as to compete with general trade, or if the school was in any way responsible for or associated with the printing and publishing of any newspaper.

This regulation was directed against the Anglican St. Alban's College which produced the African newspaper, *Inkanyiso*, but the proviso was later used against Dube. We relate this story to drive home the point that Dube's choosing to start an African industrial school and three years later to print and publish a newspaper on its premises was almost a path of confronta-

tion — a direct challenge to the colonial authorities and the white workers.

Dube and the Bambata Rebellion

Dube bitterly opposed the arrest and trial of Dinizulu in connection with the 1906 Bambata rebellion and actively assisted in raising funds for his defence. Dinizulu, son of the last Zulu king was, for Africans in South Africa, the symbol of past independence and of their identity as a people — and this is something which Dube, with his recollections of and pride in his African past, was to remain acutely aware of for the rest of his life. The Natal government attempted to suppress Ilanga lase Natal before and during the Bambata Rebellion — it was the object of constant suspicion. Dube publicised Dinizulu's arrest. His relations with the Royal House were to be strong and so enduring that by the 1930's he was acting as their chief adviser, and worked closely with the Regent, Mshiyeni.

In 1909 Dube was a member of the delegation to Britain to protest against the Act of Union and in 1912 he accepted the Presidency of the ANC in spite of the pressures put on him by his pre-occupation with education. It is said that in 1912 Dube addressed a group of Africans in Zululand to explain the new movement (the ANC) and appeal for unity. A member of the audience shouted:

"I thank Bambata. I thank Bambata very much. Would this spirit might continue! I do not mean the Bambata of the bush who perished at Nkandhla, but I mean this new spirit which we have just heard explained".

Dube's Political Role

When Dube came back from the States in 1905 (after his third visit) there were signs of tension between him and the white missionaries. Ilanga lase Natal attacked the decisions of missionaries on land allotment on the Reserves, and the Mission Reserve rent, as well as the social aloofness of missionaries and their lack of trust for the converts, inadequate selection of African officers and failure to defend African interests. In 1908 he resigned from the pastorate of Inanda. The tension between

Dube on the one hand and the government and missionaries on the other hand was resolved in 1907 but he was constantly warned that he was "playing with fire". But in the columns of *Ilanga* and as part of many delegations of Amakholwa he protested and petitioned the government against the proposed legislations.

But ideologically Dube had accepted the missionary gospel. It is true that generally the impact of missionaries on African culture and value systems has been superficial in Africa but for Dube and his generation and the one immediately after him the "psychological conversion" if not "psychological colonization" was almost complete. This was one of the sources of contradiction in the views and ideas of this generation.

Talking about the religious aspects of



Dube we have said that the Whites were suspicious of Ethiopianism. If by Ethiopianism they meant that Dube and his colleagues were determined to prove and to demonstrate to the whites that the black man can run an educational institution without any white assistance, then we agree with them. That was basically the essence of Ethiopianism. But to them

Ethiopianism meant something different — an equivalent of a devil, a black one at that.

Talking about Dube's political baptism, it should be remembered that he was detained during the Anglo-Boer war for alleged seditious statements. The Natal Native Congress was formed during the war. Dube, together with Saul Msane, J.T. Gumede, Stephen Mini, Mark Radebe, B. Cele, S. Nyongwana, Martin Lutuli expressed African feelings and brought African grievances to the attention of the government. *Ipepa lo Hlanga*, a non-missionary paper in Natal appeared, sponsored by the same group which founded Congress and edited by Mark Radebe, but was later to be replaced by John Dube's *Ilanga*.

Ilanga, from the outset, was overtly political. Dube used his paper to stress the need for African unity and African representation and to air more specific grievances. It emphasised the need for education, financial help from white philanthropists. In September 1906, Dube was calling for a meeting of the Transvaal, Cape and Natal congresses and "welcoming signs that tribal antagonisms are dying down as indications of progress".

He was a bitter opponent of the 1913 Land Act. He spoke and wrote on this subject. In an article in 1914 he wrote:

"It is only a man with a heart of stone who could hear and see what I hear and see and remain callous and unmoved. It would break your hearts did you but know, as I know, the cruel and undeserved afflictions wrought by the hateful enactment on numberless aged, poor and tender children of my race in this their native land. From the ashes of their burnt out kraals, kicked away like dogs by Christian people from their humble hearths, from the dear old scenes where their fathers were born and grew up in simple peace, bearing malice to none, and envying neither European nor Indian the wealth and plenty they amass themselves from this their land, these unfortunate outcasts pass homeless, unwanted, silently suffering, along the highways and byways of the land, seeking in vain the most unprofitable waste whereon to build their hovel and rest and live, victims of an unknown civilization that has all too

suddenly overwhelmed and overtaken them ..."

Dube wrote and spoke strongly and emotively on the government's land policy. The 1913 Land Act was so hydra-headed that it affected every stratum of African rural society. In 1914 Dube was one of the ANC delegates to London to protest against the Act. This delegation caused some controversy within the ANC. It was felt Dube had made some compromises on the principle of segregation. The bone of contention within the ANC was the Land Act. Dube was ousted from the presidency of the ANC. From this time onwards Dube concentrated his activities in Natal but in the 1940's Xuma influenced him to participate in the movement nationally with some success.

In the 1920's, like some of his generation (and the stratum of mission-educated Africans) he became involved in a series of "liberal" attempts to establish "racial harmony" between black and white, such as the Smuts' Native Conferences established under the 1920 Act (which Dube left in 1926 on the grounds of their powerlessness) the Joint Councils and many missionary conferences. In 1926 he was one of the South African delegates to the international conference at Le Zoute in Belgium, a visit he combined with fresh fund-raising for Ohlange. He was involved in replacing the left-wing Gumede with Seme as president of the ANC in 1930 and in 1935 became a member of the All African Convention. He represented Natal on the Native Representative Council from 1936 until his death, in 1946, when he was replaced by Chief Albert Lutuli on the Council.

One of Dube's controversial actions was in 1930. He openly flirted with Hertzog's bills in the hope that they would at least provide some extra additional funds for development. It should be remembered that Dube was ousted from the presidency of the ANC in 1917 for his apparent acceptance of the principle — if not the contemporary practice — of segregation. Dube forged an alliance with the segregationist, Heaton Nicholls, and he toured the country soliciting the support of African leaders in Johannesburg, Kimberly, Bloemfontein and the Eastern

Cape for a bill on Land Settlement promoted by Nicholls. This provided for the allocation of seven million morgen of land, to be added to the already scheduled areas, and the provision of adequate funds. The problem was that, like Hertzog's proposals, Heaton Nicholls coupled his land schemes with an attempt to end the franchise of the Cape Africans. This scheme also envisaged the representation of Africans in the senate. But this never materialised.

But all this did not discredit Dube. In 1935 he was elected to the Executive of the All African Convention. He became disenchanted with the government schemes -- at a meeting of the Natal Debating Society in 1935 he made a sharp attack on the government's policies, which Jabavu printed as a pamphlet: "Criticisms of the Native Bills". In it Dube expounded his nationalism and his rejection of African inequality and his belief in the principle of African representation.

Dube and Champion

John Dube's political history is a complex and contradictory picture -- a reflection of the social contradictions in Natal and in South Africa -- which were affecting the Africans most acutely. It was, in a sense, also an expression of a need for survival.

Long before the advent of Whites in Natal "traditional authority" and "custom" was breaking down through Shaka's wars and the consequent upheavals and repercussions. No wonder that the missionaries had it relatively easy to evangelise the Africans and the Africans responded by forming the Ethiopian movement. The Whites were hostile to Ethiopianism which to them was tantamount to a swear-word.

Dube's life straddles two eras: he witnessed the dramatic changes in African life consequent upon industrialisation. He saw the destruction of African independence and conversion of his people from independent freedom fighters and warriors into "house-boys" and "garden-boys"; of independent peasants into dispossessed rural and urban wage workers. He recognised the

creation of an urban proletariat and tried to articulate some of its grievances but he could not provide the leadership this new class needed, nor could he empathise with its aspirations.

It was the new crop of leaders, notably Alison Wessels George Champion, a man of completely different style and background, with an urban constituency who were to play this role. From the mid 1920's until Dube's death in 1946 the two contended for dominance in African politics in Natal. Not that the views of the two were mutually exclusive. The same contradictions in Dube's politics were evident in Champion's activities as well. But Champion appealed to much more of a mass audience and was a leader of the "industrial" workers whilst Dube was still part of the religious Amakholwa community. Both showed the same swing between belligerence and servility in their attitude to Whites. But because of land shortage their priorities and even the political philosophy of self-help overlapped. Champion as president of the Natal ANC tried (not unlike Dube) to run the Natal ANC independently of the National Executive Committee.

Dube held contradictory beliefs and values: he was anti-communist but at the same time invited Edward Roux from the Communist Party to coach boys at Ohlange which Roux did.

The depression and drought in the 1930's made the land question even more acute. Dipping schemes were being violently rejected and tax-collectors forcibly ejected from villages; growing militancy in the towns particularly in Durban where squalor, starvation wages and political repression were ever present; opposition to beer halls and pass laws was the order of the day and police brutality ever present -- Johannes Nkosi, communist activist was murdered in Durban on December 16 1930. These were the years of depression and drought and the population increase convinced Dube, more than ever before, of the futility of "violence" in the face of white power; he tried to find an alternative. The aftermath

of the Bambata rebellion was still fresh in his mind; his deeply ingrained desire for law and order — an African tradition “reinforced” and distorted by missionary education — led to some of his inconsistency.

Dube took great pride in his Zulu past — and like many Africans from other ethnic groups — on occasions allowed it to dominate his actions but he was consistent in stressing the great need for African unity. He sympathised with the independent church movement: in 1936 he wrote a short biography of the prophet Shembe, founder of the influential independent church in Natal, the church of Ama-Nazarethi. He strongly believed that education and knowledge were the key to advance. Dube, being exempted from Native Law, could not be dealt with as summarily as both the Minister of Native Affairs and the Governor might have wished.

What should be noted is that Dube's

strategy and ideology were outflanked by the times. He had not changed from being a radical to being a conservative as Eddie Roux suggests in his debatable book “Time Longer Than Rope”. He died believing in racial equality; demanding justice and striving for African unity. These were revolutionary goals directly challenging the basis of white power and he believed in this to the end of his life. He fought all his life for the unity and liberation of the Africans — a unity and liberation he saw as coming through education, through working with sympathetic whites, through adoption of christian values and, more importantly, through political organisation under the umbrella of the ANC.

Vil-Nkomo summed up his life when he wrote in *Umteleli wa Bantu* on February 26, 1946 that Dube :

“has revealed to the world at large that it is not quite true to say that the African is incompetent as far as achievement is concerned”.

Letter to the Editor

Mr Editor,

It was with a feeling of great distress that I read the letter published in your issue of April 1981, The Year of the Youth. At first I thought that it was my own naivete that caused this and I re-read the letter. On my second reading my distress turned to sadness because I realised that the writer was perhaps a well intentioned but confused comrade. I then showed the letter to some friends with whom I share my copy of *Sechaba* when and if I get hold of it. They were all of the same opinion as myself, that it is a pity that space in so valuable a

publication should be wasted on such empty vituperation and bombast. Some dismissed it as the result of being out of touch with the situation here at home. I have felt it was our bounden duty to correct the comrade and to some extent set the record straight.

What distressed and sadden us about G.J.'s letter was firstly it rather haughty and pompous tone. Secondly we feel it is out of step with the pronouncements of the ANC leadership especially the two anniversary messages from President Tambo (1979 and 1980). Thirdly we felt that

rather than preaching unity, which the letter purports to do it is bent on finding and highlighting points of difference amongst the opponents of the racist regime.

Firstly comrade G.J. states that he is for "revolutionary unity based on equality" but it would appear when you read further that this equality is in fact conditional; conditional that is upon accepting his particular point of view. This is an old illness, known as sectarianism. He then goes on to castigate "tribalists, PAC, Group of 8, the Unity Movement, Trotskyists and an whole assortment of other exotic political creeds which perhaps have relevance elsewhere but as far as we know are not relevant to South Africa today. He goes on to quote the late Chief Luthuli on the question of McCarthyism, but we fear G.J. is upholding his own version of precisely the same thing, an inverted McCarthyism if you like whereby only those who adhere to his opinion of the Soviet Union can be counted as part of the revolutionary struggle.

We are of the opinion that the spirit and letter of G.J.'s letter runs counter to the pronouncements of President Tambo. On page 13 of the 1980 anniversary message we read:

"The need for unity of the patriotic and democratic forces of our country has never been greater than it is today. Last year, ... we invited all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek and find ways of cooperation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country".

He goes on to say on the same page:

"... the enemy of freedom for the peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure".

Later on page 15 he says:

"Certainly it subtracts from the process of unification of our people in action if we fall victim to the traps that the enemy has

set and we start ourselves encouraging false divisions and antagonisms, ... and indeed, strange to say between the ANC and the rest of the patriotic forces in our country".

He then goes on to decry the bouts of public vilification which have been the hallmark of certain groups and says in so many words:

"It would be playing into the hands of the enemy if we allowed the politics of our struggle to become a contest among the powerless for power over one another".

We say to G.J. if the cap fits your head wear it. On all counts he appears guilty.

Unity in struggle has been a hard won achievement of the last decade. People of differing political outlooks, Christians, Muslims, atheists, socialists, Black nationalists, even African traditionalists, all have found common cause in the fight to free our country from White domination and racism. Look at the lists of people detained, banned, murdered in detention, shot in the streets and this will bear us out. G. J. it would seem wants some kind of pure struggle with only those who meet his supposedly high standards of political clarity are welcome. This is a very familiar tune here in the Western Cape. The moribund Anti-Cad and Non-European Unity Movement sang it day in and day out. Like G.J. they had a fine catalogue of foul sounding terms with which to curse all who did not agree with them.

In addition to these faults, grave enough in themselves, G.J. does not seem able to make up his mind about exactly what the Freedom Charter is about, what the ANC stands for or what class struggle is. He seems to agree with Nelson Mandela that the Freedom Charter "is by no means a blueprint for a socialist state". Then a few lines later the same G.J. says of the same Freedom Charter that "it demands total economic emancipation"? The question arises, what is meant by economic emancipation if not emancipation from exploitation? As far as we are aware not other social system other than socialism claims to end exploitation. He also says inter alia "The Freedom Charter lays the basis for ending the double

exploitation of black people" that is presumably their exploitation as members of a nationally oppressed race and as members of the working class, again how if not through socialism?

We agree that the Freedom Charter is not a socialist blueprint and its aim is to end national oppression. But G.J. seems to have his own views on this and they seem very contradictory if we take his words at face value.

Then there is the question of class struggle. According to G.J. only when the Freedom Charter has been put into practice will there be "clear-cut and defined class struggle". We fail to see any meaning in this. Does G.J. suggest that no "clear cut and defined class struggles" are taking place today or took place in the past? What are the hundreds of strikes by workers from Vendlan to the Cape peninsula if not class struggles - clear cut or otherwise? Are class struggles only class struggles when G.J. or some other authority calls them such? The national struggles of the oppressed people have a class component that is no less important than the national one and these develop side by side. Victories of the workers in the factories are victories of the national struggle and vice versa. To try and separate them is not only silly but positively harmful. This is in fact what the TUCSA bureaucrats, Lucy Mvubelo etc are daily trying to do. G.J. with the best of intentions has in fact joined them.

Lastly we would like to take up an issue which is of vital importance to people on the home front. We know that not everyone who talks of freedom is fighting for it. Not everyone who shouts of imperialism is fighting it. But there is a way to draw the distinction between genuine fighters and the loudmouthed slogan shouters. Who do they direct their main blows against? Do they direct their blows, their venom and the anger at the oppressors and the regime or do they direct it at the oppressed people even if they don't agree 100% with you? G.J. has spent much space and time on his letter, but we fear most of the blows and the venom are directed at other Blacks whom he has suitably labelled - give a dog a bad name and

hang it - "tribalists, PAC, Group of 8 (who ever that is) Unity Movement" and so on. It must put the fear of God into the hearts of the regime to hear such fine curses - all reserved for others amongst ourselves. We feel that it was a disservice to the cause to print such a letter at this time and especially in the official organ of the ANC.

We ourselves are not members of the ANC, but we support and work for its victory here on the home front. G.J.'s letter has made our job that much harder because it gives the impression that if you disagree on the slightest point with the ANC you will be cursed and called "tribalist", PAC, or the exotic and unknown quantity - Group of 8, Unity Movement etc. It gives the impression that the ANC wants to impose a monolithic unity from above on our people, and if the truth be told, this is exactly what the racists say. The newspapers, the radio, the television - day in day out - repeat that the ANC will bring a dictatorship in which there will be no freedom of speech or conscience. G.J.'s letter can only bring grist to their mill. We do not say there must be licence to say any and everything including racism, filth and treason. But surely the Freedom Charter demands precisely the sort of freedom of opinion which G.J. seems to abhor - the right to speak, assemble, publish and distribute opinions that are not racist, filth or treasonable.

We feel G.J.'s letter has done a disservice to the revolution because of these reasons. We heartily support and even applaud G.J.'s right to hold his opinions, obnoxious as we might find them. We only wish he would allow others that precious right.

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Above SECHABA publishes a letter from a reader who expresses his views on a letter previously published in SECHABA. We do not necessarily agree with all his views, nor did we accept everything that G.J. wrote. It seems to us that they are talking about two

different aspects of the same problem. While G.J.'s letter was discussing some problems facing the movement here externally, this letter we publish above discusses problems of unity within the country - in an environment where the other factors mentioned by G.J. either do not play any role or, if they do, in a modified way and have to adapt themselves to South African Conditions.

We do not want to discuss the issues raised in this letter. But we feel it necessary to point out that G.J.'s ideas were his - hence

they were published in the form of 'letter to the editor'. They were not the official views of the ANC. We hope other readers will respond to the issues raised in these two letters so that the debate can carry on. After all, the ANC is a 'Parliament of the People' which has, during the last 70 years, encouraged everybody to participate in the democratic process.

The Editor

POEM: In Praise of Dube

Praise Poem to J. Langalibalele Dube, First President of the ANC

Return abroad oh son of Dube!
Return abroad Mafukuzela!
Thou worthy beast of burden bearing the afflictions of Africa:
That bears our troubles and our pain,
Thou hast borne many a hardship and seen it through, —
Borne them by the hundreds and the hundreds of thousands;
Offspring of the Bull from the East, —
We have given you the name Mafukuzela — sturdy one.

Back then to the fray thou filibustering Buffalo!
Courageous bullock, untameable one.
Thou fighting bull whose bellowed challenge,
Challenges other from across rivers and oceans;
Whose call resounding like a horn
rips up the earth casting its sods to the rear;
Whose slashing horns break the jaws of all challengers,
Strike at their humps and destroy their pride.
I adore thee calf of the nation, I praise thee, —
He pounds the dust with his hooves, eyes set on the North,
He struck at Ohlange and the sun appeared,
He paws the earth on the Rand and comes up with gold,
Making the Gumedes and Radebes stare in wonderment, —

**Forward! with Thema and Makgatho he charges,
While deep in its slumber the ageing Cape,
Shrivelled, it seems, by its own senility.**

(two stanzas omitted)

**Beware the Bullock of Zulu when angered!
Of the House of Sithole, Ntombela and Mandela,
Today he stands together with DuBois,
Men whose profundity of mind can never be plumbed,
He who rashly molests us shall be burnt by many fires;
We shall return to the days of Shaka;
We shall raise such an uproar
That even the heavens shall cry out in protest!**

**Beware the bullock of the house of Jama when aroused!
For he has forsaken the good life, has lost even his hair,
He has taken to a trying road in spite of his bald pate;
He shall willingly sacrifice health and even his life
For the sake of the African people,
For the sake of Africa's children.**

**They shall restore her life.
They shall restore her wealth and her vigour.**

**Go well and return O Langalibalele — Bright Sun!
Proclaim to the world the good news that Africa shall return!**

S.E.K. Mqhayi

STOP APARTHEID MURDER!

Six young militants of the African National Congress have been sentenced to death in Apartheid South Africa. Undeterred by the international outcry that greeted the death sentences passed on Ncimbithi Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana, in November 1980, the racist Judiciary have again revealed their role as tools of the South African state. The trial of David Moise, Anthony Tsotsobe and Johannes Shabangu exposed more clearly than ever before the travesty of justice in Apartheid South Africa.

THE TRIAL

The Three were charged with 'High Treason' as well as alternative charges under the 'Terrorism Act'. The State's main aim in this case was to prove that by their membership of the African National Congress, the Three accused were involved in a 'conspiracy' and thus should bear equal responsibility for all the allegations in the charge sheet. These included the attack on the SASOL oil-from-coal plant in June of last year, the actions against Booyens police station and Dube railway station. The Counsel for the Defence argued that this 'startling proposition' was even 'in contrast to South African law.' But the wishes of the State and in particular the requirements of the Security Police were to dictate the procedure of the trial.

BARBARIC TORTURE

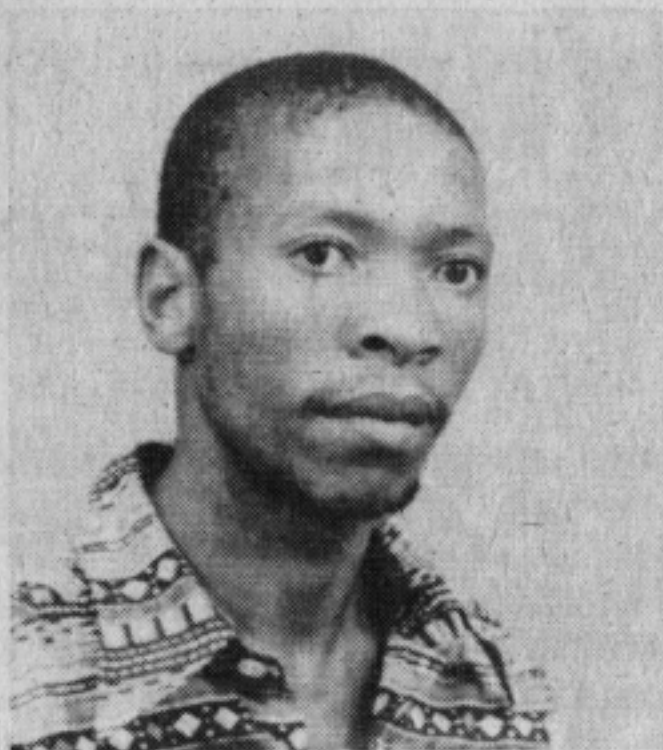
As the proceedings got underway, the extent of the torture used to exact statements out of the accused soon became clear. The Counsel for the Defence produced a number of witnesses to prove that the statements made by the Three, after interrogation by Security Police at Protea Station could not be regarded as admissible in court. One, a fifteen year old girl, described how she had been savagely beaten with a hose pipe. Others had undergone torture through electric wires with their hands and feet bound together. One had been made to stand, naked, for a week.

The Three accused then gave evidence of the torture they had suffered. Anthony Tsotsobe described how his hands were handcuffed behind his back while his face was covered with a wet sack and he was whipped. Shabangu told the court how he was hung head-down by his leg-irons from a tree. A 'ghost mask' was placed over his face and he subsequently lost consciousness. David Moise had been suspended head-down from a football pole with a wet sack tied around his face and then 'punched as though a punching bag'. He was then made to stand on hot coals.

Despite this horrifying evidence Justice Theron ruled that the statements made by the accused to the Security Police WERE ADMISSABLE IN COURT.

AN INESCAPABLE RESPONSIBILITY

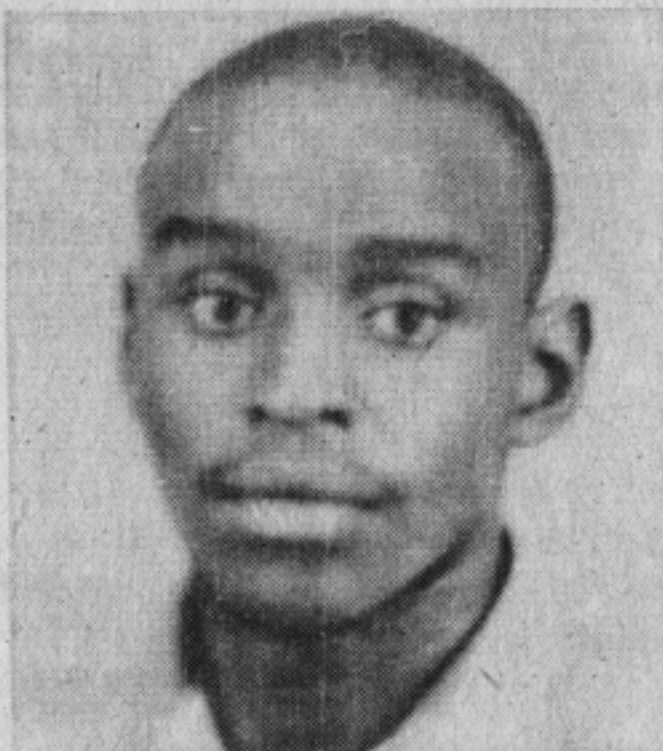
The passing of these death sentences demands a massive response from the international community. The six revolutionaries condemned to death have never denied their membership of the African National Congress, an organisation which is dedicated to the restructuring of the future South Africa along the non-racial and democratic lines set out by the Freedom Charter. Only a country which is in the grip of fascist terror could brand the noble ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter as advocating 'high treason'. As members of their people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the six condemned patriots should be accorded prisoner of war status. The Apartheid regime must be forced to observe the Geneva



David Moise



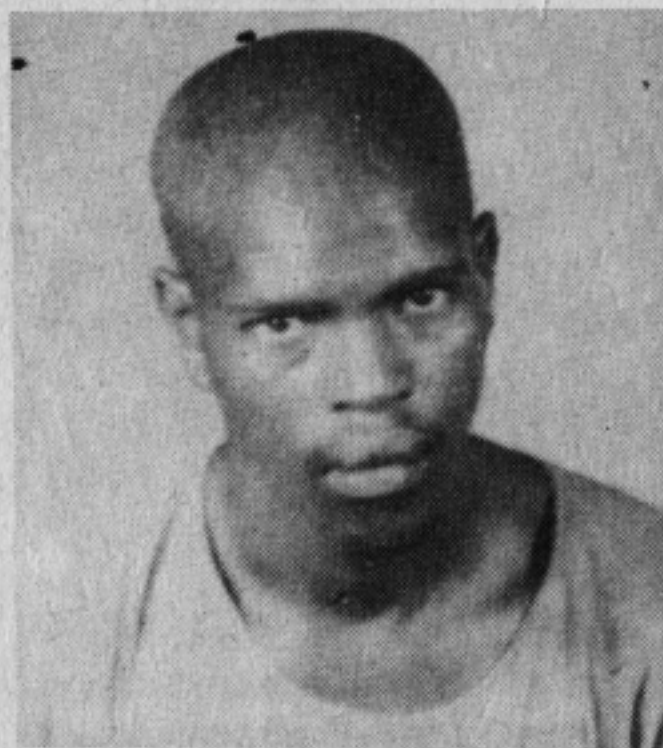
Johannes Shabasiga



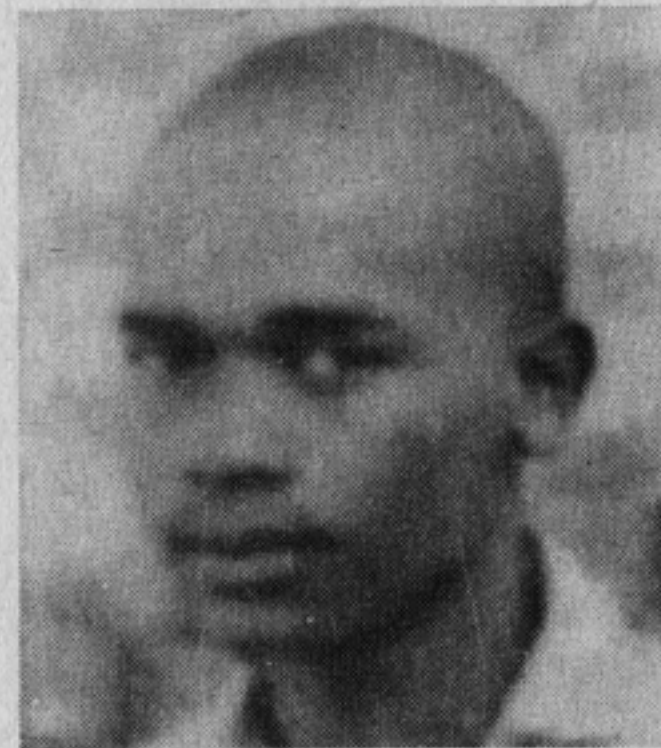
Naphtali Manana



Johnson Lubisi



Anthony Tsotsobe



Petrus Mashigo

Demand P.O.W. Status For Captured Freedom Fighters!

Conventions on treatment of freedom fighters captured in combat, in compliance with the 1977 additional protocol 1 relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts. **THE CAMPAIGN FOR THE ACCORDANCE OF P.O.W. STATUS MUST BE INTENSIFIED!** The African National Congress calls on the international community to do all in its power to stop the Apartheid death sentences. As the Secretary General of the ANC, Alfred Nzo has said:

"The bar of world public opinion long ago declared the aggressive apartheid system, espoused and defended by the South African ruling class, as a crime against humanity. This declaration has charged humanity with the special and inescapable responsibility of defending those who are involved in a life and death struggle against this barbarously oppressive system, for freedom, human dignity and social progress. It is thus imperative that democratic forces all over the world should take up this latest fascist challenge with renewed vigour demanding the release of the condemned patriots and others before them, including all the imprisoned leaders of our people."

CAMPAIGNING INFORMATION

1) Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe, 23.

Family address: Mr and Mrs Tsotsobe, 2085 Dube Village, Johannesburg 2000.

A young worker when he left South Africa, Tsotsobe joined the ANC in October 1976, "I left the country to join those who are fighting to liberate the people," he said.

2) David Moise, 25.

Family address: Mr and Mrs Moise, 3527 Zone 13, Sebokeng, Vereeniging.

As a school student Moise was involved in the campaigns against inferior racist education. An active member of SASM (banned in October 1977), Moise was arrested under the Riotous Assemblies Act in July 1977. He left the country on January 23rd 1978 "to join the liberation forces".

3) Johannes Shabangu, 22.

Family address: Mr and Mrs Shabangu, 1008 Bhuda Street, P.O. Mhluzi, Middleburg, Transvaal.

As a school student, Shabangu recalled that "I started to have a green-light in politics in 1976 during the student boycotts." He left the country and joined the ANC in July 1978.

SEND MESSAGE OF SOLIDARITY TO THE FAMILIES OF SHABANGU, MOISE AND TSOTSOBE!

BUILD A BROAD CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE APARTHEID DEATH SENTENCES!

OBITUARY: Nomava Aselna Shangase

The Women's Section, and the entire membership of the ANC learnt with shock, horror and dismay of the untimely death of comrade Nomava Aselna Shangase on the 23rd October, 1981, in a car accident in Luanda, the People's Republic of Angola.

Comrade Nomava, daughter of Chief Ndamase in Libode in the Transkei was born on the 9th May, 1931. She trained in King Edward Hospital in Durban, qualifying

in General Nursing and Midwifery. She did public health at Kimberly in 1956.

When after independence the Tanzanian (then Tanganyika) Government appealed to the ANC for trained nurses, comrade Nomava immediately joined the contingent of nurses seconded to the Tanzanian Government.

She arrived in Dar-Es-Salaam in 1962. As a triple qualified nurse she assumed the



Nomava Shangase

status of a Nursing Officer serving alternately at the Ocean Road Maternity Hospital and the Muhimbili Hospital, Maternity Section.

In 1965 she was selected for scholarship to do a course in medicine in the Soviet Union. She specialised in obstetrics and gynaecology.

During her stay in the Soviet Union she looked after the interests of the Women's Section and represented them most effectively at various forums and negotiations.

On completion of her studies in Moscow in 1975 she returned to Dar and then proceeded to Zambia, where she did her housemanship at the University Teaching Hospital in Lusaka. In 1977 she joined the military wing of the African National Congress — Umkhonto we Sizwe and received military training, working in all the camps until 1979, when she obtained a Fellowship to do a course in General Public Health with Community Health as her major field of study. She successfully completed but did not want to wait for the Graduation Ceremony on the 29th August, 1981, because of the pressing health situation prevailing among our cadres in Angola.

During the duration of her studies, she found time to participate in the work of the health team in East Africa. She regularly travelled to Morogoro and the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College on professional visits to our people. She also took an active part in the activities of the Women's Section. Also of great political significance and importance is that Nomava devoted a great deal of her time to the most demanding programme of the Political Regional Committee in East Africa on which she served two terms of office until her departure from Dar-Es-Salaam to Angola.

Again in response to the National

Executive Committee's call to come and work in Angola, she arrived in Luanda two weeks before the ANC Women's Conference in September, in which she was a full participant and contributed tremendously to its success. When all the delegates left she stayed behind to take charge of the medical service. She died at her post. As she was driving back from one camp to another the tragic car accident took place and she died instantly.

Comrade Nomava had many qualities. She had a great sense of humour and was a very simple person indeed. One quality that was outstanding with her was her deep concern for the welfare of the people around her. This is borne by the fact that she had never endeavoured to go into private practice, but has always stayed with our cadres under very difficult conditions; conditions which never deterred her from discharging her duties faithfully. It will be recalled that she chose this type of life and in the course of her activities was separated from her family especially her son, whom she did not see since 1975. Surely not an easy thing for a mother.

Comrade Nomava will be missed by all of us, in particular the MK cadres, who regarded her not only as a doctor but as a mother, a sister and a comrade-in-arms.

We shall not mourn her death but shall mobilise. As we dip our revolutionary banner in her memory we pledge that the spear, the gun and the stethoscope she carried with commitment will never be left to rust.

Comrade Nomava is survived by her husband comrade Vusi and her son Thami, 18 years of age. To members of the family we express our sincere and deepest condolences. This irreparable loss is not only their loss but a loss to the African National Congress and the entire oppressed people of South Africa.

HAMBA HAHLE NOMAVA IQHAWWE!
ROBALA KA KAGISHO SENATLA!

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