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SAVE JAMES MNCEDISI MANGE!

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YEAR OF THE CHARTER

“On this occasion, January 8, 1980, the 68th anniversary of the ANC, and the year of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, in the name of our leadership and all our members, in the name of the people’s army Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the name of the suffering and struggling millions of South Africa, I formally declare this “The Year of the Charter” and charge all the patriotic forces of our country with the task of observing this Year of the Charter with courage and determination”.

With these words President O.R. Tambo was not only declaring 1980 “The Year of the Charter” but was actually posing a challenge to all of us especially in view of the developments in Zimbabwe. What is this challenge?

Our people at home need political cadres and military commanders who will lead them in battle — indeed a new man, who is not only a military specialist but also an ANC functionary ; a man who is always combat ready and physically fit; a man



who has an unshakeable faith and conviction in the justness and triumph of our cause; a man who is loyal to our movement and its leadership; a man who leads an exemplary and responsible life; a man who is creative in his thinking and capable of making correct decisions. Comrade President O.R. Tambo was actually emphasising that we must have initiative, independence, strong will-power and quick reaction; our people need a humble man, a man who has love for our working people and hatred for the enemy, a man who is dedicated to the cause of our people and their political programme — the Freedom Charter — in short; a man who has professional know-how (also in military affairs) and is able to lead and educate others.

This is the President’s message of January 8, 1980 — the spirit of the Freedom Charter; the ideas of Luthuli, Mandela, Mini, Mahlangu and Mange — the ideology of the ANC in the 1980’s. Let us make the 1980’s a decade of new successes!

LET US RISE TO THE OCCASION



Comrade President Oliver Tambo

Speech by Comrade President, O.R. Tambo, on the occasion of January 8th, 1980, 68th anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Today is January 8th, the birthday of the African National Congress. This 68th anniversary of the foundation of the ANC falls in the year 1980, a historic year in that it also is the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter. 1980 of course marks both the beginning of a new decade and the end of the Seventies which have proved truly momentous in the history of mankind.

Last year, when we spoke to you on January 8th, we said that SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of

Zimbabwe had reached the very threshold of power. We said that power in our region was visibly changing hands and that the days of the racists and their stooges were strictly numbered.

The question how many days the racists and their stooges had in our region is today being answered practically in Zimbabwe.

A Democratic Zimbabwe

Events in this country that is our neighbour hold a promise that a lasting peace in Zimbabwe could be re-established on the basis of the restoration of its independence and the genuine national emancipation of its indigenous majority. Events in Zimbabwe hold the promise that the people of Zimbabwe could once more regain control of the land and the productive resources of their country, enabling them to reconstruct their country into one that offers its inhabitants prosperity and happiness.

As this decade of the Eighties begins, we shall this year no doubt see a democratic Zimbabwe begin to play her rightful role in international councils, contributing her equal share to the modelling of a peaceable world order which is just and democratic in all its aspects.

The victory that is within the grasp of the heroic people of Zimbabwe is one that belongs not just to these brother people. It is a victory which belongs to the progressive forces of the world. It is firmly based on the successes scored during the Seventies and constitutes the concrete contribution of the people of Zimbabwe to our collective advance in one interdependent world-wide battle fought on many fronts.

The Seventies saw the final triumph of the outstanding gallant people of Vietnam

through the defeat of the occupation forces of American imperialism and their puppets throughout Indo-China. The consequences of this historic victory continue to reverberate round the world to this day and constitute a potent force in all current struggles for the emancipation and progress of mankind.

Epoch Making Events

In the turbulent wake of these epoch-making events came the victories in Africa with the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, the birth of Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome e Principe and with the formation of the People's Republics of Mozambique and Angola, the ushering in of a new historical era on the very borders of South Africa — the very bastion of capitalist exploitation and imperialist reaction on the African continent.

Indeed, no continent remained immune to the confident march of mankind towards a better world. In Europe, fascism suffered defeat and collapsed in Portugal, Spain and Greece. In the Near East, mass popular struggle overthrew the arch-tyrant of Iran, Shah Reza Pahlavi and began the process of the radical restructuring of this former outpost of American imperialism in this region. In the Middle East, the Palestinian struggle won its greatest diplomatic victory with the international recognition of the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. In the Americas, the decade closed with the people of Nicaragua, under the leadership of the Sandinista National Front trouncing the US-backed Somoza dynasty. This victory served to cap bold anti-imperialist changes that we had witnessed in the neighbouring islands of the Caribbean, such as Jamaica and Grenada.

The decade of the Seventies began, for us, with the government of the United States confidently predicting that Southern Africa in general, and South Africa, especially, would for the foreseeable future remain in white hands. This illusion was even made the basis of policy through its specific elucidation in that infamous document, Memorandum 39, which the Nixon administration adopted on the eve

of the Seventies, in 1969. Yet by 1976, the author of this document, none other than Henry Kissinger, was singing a different tune.

Compelled by the advances of the anti-imperialist movement across the globe, including Southern Africa, in the face of the most determined resistance by the United States and its allies, Kissinger thought it was time that the United States itself should at least begin to give the impression that it welcomed this process of change. Speaking in Lusaka in April 1976, Kissinger declared: "We support self-determination, majority rule, equal rights and human dignity for all the people of Southern Africa".

Our Own Struggles

Our own struggles within South Africa had forced the Secretary of State to ammend his opinions of only a few years earlier. What, therefore, can we say were the victories of the anti-imperialist forces on the South African front during the decade of the Seventies?

Last year, when we spoke to you on this day, we said that more than ever before, we were confident of victory. In declaring 1979 the "Year of the Spear" we called on all our people to take up the challenge of the spirit of Isandlwana. We charged the people, in their entirety, to spread the message of defiance and resistance to all forms of racist rule.

We said this, knowing that you would respond to these calls. Our knowledge and confidence were based on the reality that in the preceding years we had all of us succeeded through struggle to score significant victories in the face of the most brutal enemy opposition.

What were these victories?

- a) We recovered from the blows that the enemy had dealt us in the Sixties.
- b) We scored significant successes in rebuilding the forces that had obliged the enemy to declare a state of Emergency in 1960 — a state of emergency which, except in name, he has been forced to maintain up to now.
- c) The fascist regime had tried to uproot the African National Congress from

among the people through a programme of suppression, in its brutality unprecedented in the long history of violent repression in our country. Yet by the beginning of the Seventies the patriots of our country had decided to resume the offensive against the enemy and begun successfully to form new underground units of the ANC, to consolidate old ones and to declare in action to the masses of our people that the ANC lives!

d) The enemy had tried to smash the People's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and repeatedly trumpeted his complete victory in the execution of this hopeless task. Yet even he could not avoid occasional admissions that he had not succeeded as well as he thought, if only because he had now and again to bring into his courts newly captured combatants of the People's Army. In the Seventies you succeeded to rebuild Umkhonto we Sizwe into the force that it is today.

e) You succeeded also to regroup as open, above-ground organisations — units of the broad liberation front, defeating the attempts of the enemy to impose a deathly passivity among the oppressed people. New generations of young people joined enthusiastically in this process, as in all other theatres of struggle, guaranteeing the continuity of our struggle until victory.

All this translated itself into the heightened activity of the masses of the people. The astounded apartheid regime, which thought it had pacified all of us by the use of terror, suddenly found itself confronted by the risen people — from the student strikes of 1972, the workers' battles of 1973, through to the mighty Soweto uprising and beyond.

It was on the basis of this accumulated and organised strength that we issued our call to you on January 8th last year. We have not been disappointed in your response

The year that has just ended must therefore serve as an inspiration and an example to all of us. Heroic struggles have been waged at Croassroads, Bergville, Alexandra, Klipfontein, at Fatti's and Moni's, Frametex, Rainbow Chickens, DTB Cartage, Ciskei Transport Corporation, Elandsrand

goldmine. Mighty struggles have broken out at Ladysmith, Hammersdale, Port Elizabeth, Port Shepstone. The Batlokwa in the Northern Transvaal are still locked in brave political combat. The Botha regime had to impose its oppressive "independence" on the people of Venda under conditions of virtual martial law, thanks to the mass rejection of the Bantustan system by our people in this area, as elsewhere in the country.

Umkhonto we Sizwe

The past year has also seen our heroic people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe hitting at the enemy in daring raids such as Moroka and Orlando in Soweto. We have seen the brave and uncompromising fight waged by the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe in the Pietermaritzburg "treason" trial, one of whom, James Mange, today stands in danger of being assassinated by order of a racist law court, unless we wage mass struggles to save his life. A great victory was scored when the young stalwarts of our revolution, Alexander Moumbaris, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jenkin, defying all odds, walked out of Pretoria Maximum Security Prison to rejoin the fighting ranks of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe.

The past year has also seen thousands of our people reaching into our glorious past remembrance of the historic victory at Isandlwana and thus marking the year, up to this coming January 21st, as the Year of the Spear. The call has gone out to all these thousands that the time has come that we sharpen our spears to continue the heroic example of combat given to us by our fighters at Isandlwana and elsewhere in our country during the wars of resistance to colonial occupation.

During this past year millions inside and outside our country have drawn inspiration from the example set by that giant of a young man, Solomon Mahlangu and his mother, Mrs Martha Mahlangu, South Africa's "Woman of the Year" in 1979.

Isandlwana

What we are saying is that all of us, the

oppressed people of South Africa have prepared well for the battles we shall have to wage as the Eighties begin and as we observe the Year of the Charter. We have once more taken to mass action in ever-increasing numbers. We have demonstrated to ourselves the power of united mass action. We have shown the enemy that we have once and for all broken his monopoly of arms and the science of modern warfare. From the past and the present we have demonstrated that we remain as before, gallant men, women and youth to whom cowardice and submissiveness are foreign.

Through our activities we have confounded our enemies and tamed their arrogance, as did our forebears, at Isandlwana and elsewhere in our country, whose heroic victories we have been celebrating during the "Year of the Spear". But it is well to remember that even in those days, a hundred years ago, the enemy did not take his defeat as final. He regrouped and strengthened his forces and attacked us once more. This time victory went to him.

Once more because of our victories, the enemy is trying to regroup and strengthen his forces in preparation for an intensified counter-offensive. Thus one of the principal realities of our situation is that the fascist white minority regime in our country remains firmly committed to hold on to its power.

Cosmetic Changes

Even in the recent past, leading spokesmen of the apartheid regime have reiterated this resolve, openly stating that whatever reforms the regime is contemplating, these do not include what the racists call the sharing of power. In short, the determined view of the fascists is that power must remain in their hands in perpetuity. This then is the principal goal that the enemy pursues.

As we all know, the enemy is simultaneously engaged in a gigantic and fraudulent cosmetic exercise to improve the image of apartheid. Essentially this fraudulent exercise aims to give the impression that the racist regime is both capable of, and has started, to reform the apartheid system gradually and peacefully

out of existence. The truth however is that all that our oppressors are doing is to create new conditions for the perpetuation and further entrenchment of their tyrannical rule.

The more the enemy talks of reform, the more he intensifies reaction. The more he talks of freedom and democracy, the more he perfects and expands his instruments of repression. The more he declares peace, the more he prepares for and actually carries out war. The more he broadcasts that change is taking place or is imminent, the more things remain the same and worsen.

The rulers of our country know that their attempts to mislead and deceive the international community will not save the regime from the continuing and heightening offensive by all of us, the oppressed people of South Africa. They therefore continue to rely on their tried and tested ways and means for the defence of the apartheid system — open terror.

In his Christmas message, the racist President Viljoen did not, and indeed could not, hide the fact that he owes his position, as do his fellow racists, to the repressive state machinery of fascism. Hence he showered messages of goodwill on the racist army and police force and made all manner of promises to these two arms of fascist power to strengthen and honour them.

Indeed the head of the apartheid state could not have spoken otherwise because for the fascist regime to hold on to power means to strengthen the apartheid army and the apartheid police.

It is therefore all the more surprising that despite all this, and despite our daily experience of growing repression and oppression, we can still find some among us who venture to speak out in favour of the Botha regime.

Dialogue with the enemy — a false thesis

I am talking of those among the black people who seem to have developed a fondness for projecting Botha and his gang as a new brand of fascist who is prepared to concede us our democratic demands — those who, consequently, call on us to stop

struggling, to wait and watch, allowing Botha time to liquidate his white minority regime and fling wide the gates of our captivity! Among these belong those whose perspective of struggle hinges on the false thesis that dialogue with the enemy and not confrontation with him, will produce the results which the masses of the people consider their inalienable rights.

We do indeed expect that Margaret Thatcher, Carter and other leaders of the imperialist world will speak up in defence of the Botha regime, as they are doing and have done. We expect them to be working feverishly to break the international isolation of this criminal regime and to strengthen it within South Africa. Thatcher and others must do this because they have vast interests to defend in South and Southern Africa, which interests they feel are best protected and expanded by the continuation of the apartheid system. We expect them to advise our people to call off their struggle, or to pause and rest; in other words to do the impossible: to surrender! Such is the language of imperialism. It is not the language of the people.

It is opportune that we remind ourselves of some of the teachings of the leaders of our national liberation movement. In this case we want to refer to what Nelson Mandela wrote in 1953 under the very appropriate title: "The Shifting Sands of Illusion".

Here is what this great patriot said: "Talk of democratic and constitutional means (of struggle) can only have a basis in reality for those people who enjoy democratic and constitutional rights. We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win one single victory of political freedom without overcoming a desperate resistance on the part of the government, and that victory will not come of itself but only as a result of a bitter struggle by the oppressed people for the overthrow of racial discrimination....No organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands....The only sure road to (the) goal (of freedom) leads through the uncompromising and determined mass struggle for the overthrow

of fascism and the establishment of democratic forms of government."

The time has come that those who wish to be counted among the forces of national liberation in our country should extricate themselves from the shifting sands of illusion that we will win our demands by dialogue and conciliation with the fascist regime. They should instead, as Nelson Mandela said: "mobilise from our ranks the forces capable of waging a determined and militant struggle against all forms of reaction", for the overthrow of the fascist regime, for national liberation of the black oppressed majority and the creation of a democratic South Africa.

Under one banner

The need for the unity of the patriotic and democratic forces of our country has never been greater than it is today. Last year, on the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress, which we described then, as we do now, as the expression of the unity of the oppressed, 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. We said then, as we do once more today on the occasion of the 68th anniversary of the ANC and the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter, that the enemy of freedom for the peoples has evolved a divisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure.

Are we, however, more united today than we were this time last year? So vital is unity to our victory that this question demands an honest answer. Let us therefore start with the ANC itself which, as we have said, constitutes the expression of the unity of the oppressed. To put the matter in other words any division within the ANC inevitably leads to division among the people.

As the current custodians of the leadership of this organisation which you, the oppressed people, and the democratic forces of our country have spent decades building, we do here wish to report to you that your organisation is today as united as ever in

among us, the oppressed, to seek and find common responses to our common oppression and exploitation, to ensure the certainty that this year and in future we shall actually act together as one people with one destiny.

But we must insist, as Nelson Mandela did, that "no true alliance can be built on the shifting sands of evasions, illusions and opportunism". Our unity has to be based on honesty among ourselves, the courage to face reality, adherence to what has been agreed upon, and to principle.

False Divisions

Certainly it subtracts from the process of the 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, as for instance between one ethnic group or so-called tribe and another, between one nationality and another, between our rural and our urban people, between the young and the old, between the liberation movement inside the country and those described as "in exile", and indeed, strange to say, between the ANC and the rest of the patriotic forces of our country. It is understandable that the enemy should try and promote these antagonisms. It makes no sense that we should want to do it for him.

Yet the fact must be admitted that during this past year we have seen many attempts to gain temporary advantage by seeking to foment and exploit these false divisions and antagonisms. In certain instances matters have even degenerated into public and personal bouts of mutual vilification. 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. As Chief Luthuli said as long ago as 1953 in his address to the Annual Conference of the ANC of that year, "we should not give respite to the Government and those who support it, by indulging in a dog-fight with other groups, provided of course, those groups by word and deed do not stand in our way...".

To the extent that there are some among us who continue to ignore this injunction,

to that extent do we face some impediment in the task of uniting all the oppressed and toiling masses and all democrats, to confront together the real enemy, the Botha regime and those who support it, the racist system of fascist oppression and economic exploitation, and the external forces which maintain it.

The masses of the people have however demonstrated in no uncertain terms that our situation demands unity in action. As we have said, from the Batlokwa in the North through Ladysmith, Port Shepstone and Port Elizabeth to Crossroads in the South, the demand of our people is one: let us unite in action to confront the criminal regime headed by P.W. Botha and Magnus Malan.

It will be recalled that this time last year we called upon all opponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash, during the Year of the Spear, a determined assault on the artificial political, economic and racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development. We invited all true patriots to join in this effort.

Defeat Bantustan "independence"

The factual record since then is that the enemy has succeeded to set up even more of these separate development barriers. Venda is of course the outstanding example, where we have had another fraudulent "independent" Bantustan forcibly imposed on the people against their express will. There has also been a virtual mushrooming of the so-called community councils, while none of the already existing separate development institutions has collapsed or disappeared through our actions against them. Further spinning their oppressor-web, P.W. Botha and Piet Koornhof went on their evangelising tour of the Bantustans and Soweto, duly pledged to quicken the pace for the implementation of the separate development programme, and offered us seats on the advisory committees to advise them how best to oppress us.

During this year of the 68th anniversary of the ANC, the beginning of the last but one decade of the present century, we must together address ourselves to the question:

how much longer shall we allow ourselves to be bought to serve the perpetuation of our own oppression? This question applies with equal force to those serving within the "separate development" institutions.

Correctly, and responding to the lead given many years ago by the ANC on this issue, the vast majority of our people stand in deadly opposition to the separate development programme in all its forms. Given that the programme does exist, the question is how, firstly to stop it, secondly to destroy or render it inoperative. There are several responses to the question.

We know that some of our people will have nothing whatever to do with these institutions. We know that some are participating as irretrievable traitors or fortune seekers. We also know, however, that there are some who are participating in this enemy-imposed programme in persuance of patriotic objectives, believing that such participation would weaken and facilitate the destruction of these institutions from within.

Others have entered these dummy bodies to block and keep out self-confessed stooges of the regime, and to convert these institutions into platforms of struggle against the enemy rather than instruments for the implementation of the enemy's apartheid programme.

Where the united weight of active mass resistance fails to prevent the imposition of a dummy institution, public interest focusses on those who, working within this separate development institution, defend their role as one of patriotic participation as distinct from one which helps to condemn our people to perpetual domination.

Patriotic Participation

But what constitutes patriotic participation in the enemy's separate development institutions or programme? We suggest: if, as a result of such participation, the development or progress of the programme is halted; if its functional capacity to serve the enemy is restricted and reduced to nil; if the masses of the people use the institution to wage mass struggles over a whole range of issues

that agitate them, such as land, mass removals, citizenship rights, evictions and deportations, wages, rents and rates, prices, fares, housing, taxes and other levies, health and educational services, police harassment and brutality, unemployment, enemy soldiers thrust into our midst as teachers and doctors to tame us for domination.

These issues are some of the day-to-day expressions of the apartheid system and permeate every part of our country, whether it is "independent" or not. They constitute a challenging battleground for patriots, a rallying cry for the mobilisation of the people for struggle and liberation for they can only be resolved with the seizure of power from white minority regime.

These, then, are some of the considerations which should distinguish between patriotic participation and an exercise in salesmanship.

We therefore once more renew our call to all opponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash, this year, a determined mass assault on the racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development.

Constellation of States

The seriousness with which the enemy is pursuing his objective of holding on to power at all costs is evident from his declared determination to buy some of us out by creating a black middle class. At the same time, in the aftermath of the Wiehahn and Rieckert Commissions, he wants to capture control of and emasculate the very trade union movement which we fought for over so many years and which throughout these years he refused to recognise. Once more, understanding very clearly the use of force, the enemy has set its sights on putting as many of our people under arms as possible, both within and outside the framework of the Bantustans. He intends to use these black puppet forces, naturally, as his cannon fodder, the front troops with which he will confront the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, while conserving the white forces to enjoy and protect the fruits of the victory which the enemy fondly and falsely imagines he will win.

The fascist regime is of course also interested in the geographic setting of South Africa, namely the Continent of Africa. Through its new-fangled scheme for a so-called constellation of states, the regime is doing all in its power to turn every single independent state in Southern Africa into its puppet, to bring under its military, economic and political domination, the countries and millions of people in Southern Africa.

As a token of his intent, he has also seen fit to announce to the whole world that should the Patriotic Front be elected to power in Zimbabwe next month, then he will remove it by force of arms and instal in its place his own chosen puppets. This strategy failed ignominiously in Angola in 1975-76. It sought, by invasion and military occupation, to place the fascist regime's own representatives as the government of a nominally independent African state, but otherwise no different from the Bantustans that he has already created.

It was with respect to this very real threat that earlier we said current events in Zimbabwe hold the promise of progressive change. The transformation of that promise into reality can only be based on the defeat of the South African racists and their allies in Zimbabwe and their eviction from that country.

The fact of the support of the imperialist powers such as Britain, the United States, France, West Germany and others for this grand enemy strategy both for within and outside South Africa means that the outcome of the confrontation in Southern Africa has global implications. For us it means that we have to fight against the formidable united strength of the imperialist world.

But however much the odds seem stacked against us we must fight to win our liberation. We have our future in our own hands. Our actions will determine our destiny.

In the meantime, however, the brotherly people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front and through its heroic armed forces, have won a victory of immense international dimensions, which will inevitably re-inforce the revolutionary forces of Southern Africa.

Likewise with the Namibian people,

under the heroic leadership of SWAPO, intensifying the liberation war against the South African fascists, Namibia shall soon be free.

The Year of the Charter

This year, 1980, marks the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter at the Congress of the People on June 26th, 1955. It is the task of all the patriotic and democratic forces of our country to observe this anniversary in a fitting manner.

What is the Freedom Charter? The Freedom Charter contains the fundamental perspective of the vast majority of the people of South Africa of the kind of liberation that we all of us are fighting for. Hence it is not merely the Freedom Charter of the African National Congress and its allies. Rather it is the Charter of the people of South Africa for liberation. It was drawn up on the basis of the demands of the vast masses of our country and adopted at an elected Congress of the people. Because it came from the people, it remains still a people's Charter, the one basic political statement of our goals to which all genuinely democratic and patriotic forces of South Africa adhere.

In observing the 25th anniversary of its adoption, therefore we need to make available millions of copies of the Freedom Charter to all our people both young and old, in the towns and the countryside so that these great masses of our people can once more renew their pledge of dedication to the future that it visualises.

By that act we shall be reaffirming our commitment to struggle and our determination to bring into being the kind of social order in South Africa that we, the oppressed majority, consider just and equitable.

When we together drew up and adopted the Freedom Charter we set ourselves firmly against all so-called reformist solutions of the South African problem. We said we do not fight to reform apartheid but to abolish it in its entirety. We said we do not fight to gain some illusory liberties in areas set aside for us by the enemy or as this or the other national group. We said we want freedom for all our people

as equals, brothers and sisters in one united and democratic South Africa. We did not call for "power sharing" with the regime of the oppressors but firmly and unequivocally challenged the legitimacy of that regime and its right to govern us. Neither did we speak of special and unequal relations between South Africa and her neighbours, Africa and the rest of the world. Rather we stated the matter plainly that each people has a right to independence and self-government and to equal status one with the other, and that it was on this basis that peace, friendship and cooperation among the peoples can be secured.

This means that when we observe the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter we must simultaneously direct our attention against the enemy's strategy in its totality because it is in fact diametrically opposed to what we are fighting for.

In this Year of the Charter, we must address ourselves afresh to the question of the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime. We must state the point boldly that this regime has no right to rule our country.

The apartheid regime has brought untold suffering to the vast majority of the people of South Africa. There is no need for us to spell this out in detail because we all of us are suffering daily as a result of the criminal policies of this regime.

Forward to a People's Government

There are over two million blacks unemployed in our country while billions of Rand are spent on the war machinery to suppress us. More than 5 million Africans have been rendered stateless. More than 3 million Africans have been affected by the brutal system of mass removals. Cemeteries throughout the country continue to fill up with the graves of black infants and children in this Year of the Child, at a time when the pockets of the already rich white minority bulge out dramatically with the money earned from the prices of gold and other minerals which have gone sky high. The jails are full to overflowing with people imprisoned under the pass laws as well as so-called criminals many of whom turned to crime as a result of the apartheid system.

Millions go to bed hungry with little prospect of food the following morning. Millions are ill in health but with no possibility of medical attention. Even beyond our borders yet other millions cannot go about their legitimate business with a feeling of peace and security because the murderous agents of P.W. Botha and Magnus Malan are bent on committing aggression against independent Africa.

These crimes against our people, against Africa and against humanity are perpetrated by a regime devoid of any legitimacy to rule our country because, as the Freedom Charter states, it is not "based on the will of all the people". All our struggles at all levels this year must be accompanied by the call — "Forward to a People's Government!"

To give meaning to this call, and in observing the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter and renewing our commitment to the democratic demands contained within it, we must launch mass struggles everywhere and around all the issues that both agitate us and are reflected in the Freedom Charter.

Our Tasks

Our struggle, the victorious struggles of the Zimbabwe and Namibian people, the victories of the African revolution as a whole, as well as the historic duty that rests upon us as a people to liberate our country — all these together demand of us, this Year of the Charter, to embark on:

- * mass action to remove the Botha regime from power;
- * mass action to destroy the separate development institutions, or to turn them against the enemy;
- * mass action to fight the enemy on all fronts and on all issues;
- * mass action to step up the popular war of liberation;
- * mass rejection of all reformism and attempts to disarm us by seeking to delude us that foreign investment, dialogue with the regime and peaceful change can ever liberate us;
- * mass action to observe the Year of the Charter as a year of the people's commitment to a genuinely democratic South Africa, and popular struggles to bring

about such a democratic South Africa.

Our Commitment

On this historic day in the struggle of the world forces of progress, at the beginning of a new decade:

- * we salute the Hero of the People, James Mncedisi Mange, illegally incarcerated in the enemy's death cells and pledge that we shall stand with you at all times;
- * we salute the Hero of the People, Solomon Mahlangu, and pledge our loyalty to the cause for which you so bravely perished;
- * we salute our leaders and brothers and sisters held in the enemy jails in South Africa and Rhodesia, as well as those in detention and on trial, the banned and the banished, and pledge that we shall not rest until we have secured your liberty;
- * we welcome back among the fighting ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe the daring revolutionaries Alexander Moumbaris, Stephen Lee and Timothy Jenkin;
- * we salute the Patriotic Front and SWAPO and the brother peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and pledge our determination to fight side by side with you until a genuine and popular peace prevails in Southern Africa;
- * we greet the peoples of Southern Africa, their governments and parties and pledge that we shall spare no sacrifice in fighting to ensure the destruction of the apartheid regime which is our common and immediate enemy;
- * we greet our sister liberation movements, the PLO, Polisario, Fretilin, the people of Puerto Rico and all the peoples fighting for their national emancipation;
- * we greet the peoples of Africa, the Socialist countries, Asia and Latin America, Scandanavia; the progressive, anti-racist governments and peoples of the West, convinced that in this new decisive phase of the struggle our ties of solidarity will further strengthen in the interests of a world free of national oppression, racism and the threat of war;
- * we greet all our struggling people inside and outside South Africa and reaffirm

that only by our own struggle shall we win victory;

- * we salute the militants of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and all the other fighting patriotic forces of our country on whom the burden rests to organise and lead our people in the intense battles that lie ahead. The eyes of the masses of our people and the rest of humanity are on you.

A Great Decade

We wish you all, and all our friends and fellow combatants in Southern Africa and throughout the world, a great year and a great decade -- great in the new victories that our efforts shall surely bring, in the noble struggle against imperialism and reaction.

On this occasion, January 8th, 1980, the 68th anniversary of the ANC, and the year of the 25th anniversary of the adoption of the Freedom Charter, in the name of our leadership and all our members, in the name the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe, in the name of the suffering and struggling millions of South Africa, I formally declare this "The Year of the Charter" and charge all the patriotic forces of our country with the task of observing this Year of the Charter with courage and determination. We call on all our people everywhere to take up the challenge of the 80's which have brought the centre of gravity of Africa's liberation struggle to our land -- to its cities, towns and villages; its industries, factories and farmlands; its mountains, plains and bushveld.

The struggle continues!

Forward to a People's Government!

Victory is Certain!

All Power to the People!

DOMESTIC WORKERS

"She is like a child of ours"

"She is absolutely stupid, like a child mentally"

"She is a proper old farm girl"

"She is polite"

"Raw of course, but we are fond of her"

"She's very raw...just out of the kraal"

"An impossible thing...very self-willed..."

She's the first girl I've had that's gone to school. The difference is fantastic. She insists on doing things her own way. The completely raw ones are better".

These are some of the reactions and attitudes of white madams to their domestic servants or "kitchen girls" as they call them.

The domestic workers on the other hand react differently:

"We leave our children early in the morning to look after other women's families and still they don't appreciate us"

"She tells me to do one hundred things a day"

"She checks up on me at night"

"I have been a slave all my life"

What causes this polarisation of attitudes? To understand this problem fully one has to look at the conditions of domestic servants: such an inquiry into this occupation involves questioning the accepted pattern of inequalities on which the entire system is based.

Not all domestic servants are female but the overwhelming majority are. According to the 1970 census domestic service accounts for 38 per cent of all employed black women. In other words domestic service is one of the largest sources of employment for black women.

Domestics are among the most exploited groups in a society marked by extreme inequality. Trapped within a tightly woven structure of constraints and with extremely narrow parameters of choice the domestics

find themselves powerless to alter their situation. The lack of educational opportunities and employment alternatives, coupled with influx control legislation restricting the movement of black workers, all combine to trap black women generally in domestic service. The powerlessness of the domestic servants and their dependence on their employers, who set wages and conditions of work according to their preference and disadvantageous to the workers, result in an infinite series of daily frustrations, indignities and denials, hence the domestic workers describe themselves as "slaves":

"I have been a slave all my life". These conditions of subjugation and immobility to which they are subjected intensifies exploitation: deprivation of a negotiated wage, of reasonable working hours and of family and social life; denial of favourable working conditions, respectful treatment and any acknowledgement of the dignity of their labour, as well as specific organisation and organisation and effective bargaining power.

We are far from maintaining that all employers are the same and that South Africa — irrespective of area or province — has the same conditions, but the situation in general terms remains unchanged.

Wages

Domestics are not paid a "living" wage, let alone a "just" one. Wages range from R4 to R60 a month — the majority earn below R30 and in the rural areas as low as R11 a month. These domestic servants work 61 hours — up to 85 hours — a week of 7 days. That means they are deprived even of religious life. They seldom find time to go to church — some go to church once a

month as they only get one Sunday a month off. A characteristic feature of this form of exploitation is that there is no correlation between wages paid and hours worked.

Exploitation Justified

How do the employers justify this form of exploitation? Two arguments are usually put forward for such low wages:

- 1) unskilled nature of work
- 2) "payment in kind" (food, left overs, "servants' rations" etc)

It is true that "traditionally" domestic work is usually regarded as unskilled labour but the contradiction arises when one takes into account that in many white South African families household maintenance depends largely on the skill and service of domestic workers; there is an enormous range in the variety of demands made upon the domestic worker, the skill expected, the knowledge assumed, and the trust and responsibility involved. General domestic work and cooking are skills and the employers themselves do nothing except the occasional "tidying of drawers".

As for "servants' rations" it is important to note that some domestics receive no meat -- some usually steal "dog's meat" -- they get samp and no clothing at all other than "uniforms" at times given as "Christmas presents"; they get no help with children's schooling expenses, clinic fees and the occasional overtime pay is given as a "gift" from the employer to the servant. These "gifts" reinforce the hierarchical nature of the relationship between the employer and the "employee" -- they have status-enhancing properties and operate to maintain some kind of equilibrium by containing tensions and disguising the conflict of interests inherent in the relationship; a kind of paternalism that is entirely demeaning for the domestic worker who is regarded as a "perpetually irresponsible child".

This powerlessness of the domestic servants' situation blocks any overt expression of dissatisfaction and enhances her vulnerable position : the employer tells

the domestic what she would be paid and she starts working until the month end to see what her first payment would be -- the wages is settled by the employer in a haphazard way decidedly disadvantageous to the worker.

Holidays

Domestics have to work on public holidays and many do not have annual holidays and if they do it is usually one week or less each year. These employers who do not give holiday pay or who exact such long hours from their domestic workers are not just platteland Boers but include the "most prominent" members of the white South African society. These long working hours involve a considerable level of deprivation of family and social life for the workers involved; these workers are coerced into domestic service by the need to support their dependents -- the number of dependents ranges from 11 to 3 people per domestic worker who at times is the sole bread winner. In short, there is no recreation provided; no social concern for the welfare of domestics.

"Mixed Feelings"

Domestic work is very unpopular amongst our people; the reasons being: lack of appreciation by the employers who never thank or praise the workers for the work they do; the privatised nature of the work and the high degree of observability in work performance as well as the close supervision it involves.

Yet domestics are in no real sense members of the households they serve; they are dependents for whom employers assume differing degrees of "responsibility" in various combinations of authority and "affection" in a paternalistic fashion. "She pretends to like me" is a common saying amongst domestic servants.

This hierarchic, unequal and paternalistic relationship has two implications: firstly it relegates the workers to a dependent and powerless position and secondly it generates a sense of power and superiority. The domestics have "privileges" and no

rights; no sense of job security; depend on the employer to untangle herself from the mass of laws and restrictions which bind the lives of Blacks in South Africa.

The other side of the coin is that the employer is viewed as an exploiter whose indifference is characteristic of white people generally -- white men usually discuss sport and their women discuss babies, fashion and the "servant problem" -- not with their servants! This unequal nature of relationship and mutual recognition of such inequality arouses "mixed feelings" in both the employer and the domestic.

Indifference and Depersonalisation

Some employers have had domestic workers for several years but what is astounding is the employers' ignorance of their servants' lives and identities outside the work situation i.e. level of schooling their servants had; whether or not she had children attending school; cost of black children's schooling; where the "live-out" servants lived; how much rent they have to pay; whether the servants have children; who looks after the children while she is at work; whether she has to pay someone to do so. This depersonalisation goes to the extent that few madams know their servants' full African names -- they know them as Jane, Mary, Jumaima etc.

This exploitative relationship results in the submergence of the domestic workers' needs, racial attitudes and racial inferiorization.

Fear

But believe or not the white madams are living with fear. The affluence and outward complacency of their lives is superficial and contrasts sharply with the deep-seated sense of strain, tension and insecurity: "I am worried about the future...servants make bad masters"

"I'm scared we'll be ruled by natives"

"The natives are getting greedy"

"Sometimes I feel desperate, I'm afraid that changes will come too late and that we whites won't be able to live in this



country anymore”

“The present situation can't go on but I try not to think about it too much”

“We are sitting on a powder keg...the whole thing will blow up in our faces”.

The elaborate security precautions, burglar bars, security gates, alarm systems, guard dogs — even children are instructed in the use of fire arms — are signs of this insecurity. Since the Soweto uprising of 1976 the purchase of firearms has soared. Many whites talk of emigration as the only way to liberate themselves from the “native problem” and crime in a “siege society” that South Africa is.

New Law

The domestics are faced with even worse problems now: the right to freedom of association and the manner in which they conduct their social lives after work are to be constrained within very narrow legal limits.

The Department of Community Development and the Cape Town City Council have prepared draft by-laws which, according to the Cape Town Domestic Workers' Association, amount to offensive interference in individual rights. This draft by-law suggested by the Fouche Commission which investigated the “adverse conditions in Sea Point and Green Point arising from the influx of non-whites ” has been “refined” by the Community Development and if it becomes law, it will require all employers of live-in domestics to register not only their quarters but the servants themselves. Upon registration, employers will receive a certificate stipulating the number of people who may occupy servants' quarters, while each servant will receive a certificate entitling him/her to occupation.

The employers are to maintain and keep a register containing full details of servants, as well as a key to their quarters which must be presented on demand to any police officer or city council official. These “registration certificates” have to be kept in addition to reference books passports, identity or any other documents providing proof of identity.

No one other than a “certified occupant” may be allowed to live in servants' quarters and “occupation” of servants' quarters means “physical presence” between 10pm and 8am, in other words “house arrest”. This draft of servants' quarters by-law which is a de facto introduction of a compound labour system for domestic workers, is not meant to examine “behavioural matters that cause friction and Concern” — as we are told — but helps to “keep black servants in their place”.

This version of the by-law which requires owners of premises to number each servants' quarters and a notice board setting out details relating to owners and servants proposes to introduce into the criminal law an entirely new “offence”, a hitherto unheard of crime: that of being a “nuisance”. “Nuisance” is defined to mean: “any noise, conduct or behaviour which is or may be injurious or obnoxious to the public or any section of the public or to an occupier of any premises, or which constitutes or may constitute a material interference with the ordinary comfort, convenience, peace or quiet of the public, section of the public or occupier of any premises”

This provision — says the Domestic Workers' Association — is both an insult to the dignity of the individual and racist because it means only Blacks can commit this new offence: white tenants and landlords cannot be guilty of being a “nuisance”.

A striking feature about this by-law which has been drafted in response to complaints by white residents of Sea Point and Green Point is that the two areas are parliamentary constituencies of the former leader of the “opposition” and of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP), Colin Eglin and van der Merwe, also of the PFP.

This problem of domestic workers seems to have international dimensions. Recently it was reported that black women between the ages of 18 and 40 are “invited” to work in West Germany as domestics on a 3 year contract which can be extended.

Our problems seem to be unending — it's a perpetual struggle to exist and not only that!

THE ARTIST AND THE REVOLUTION

This article originally published in Dawn, journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe, is an extract from a broadcast on Radio Freedom, by Comrade President Oliver Tambo.

Comrades, countrymen and friends. I wish to talk to you about art. So, whilst talking to you all in general I would very much like to address myself specifically to the creative artists of our country — our writers and poets, our composers, musicians, singers and dramatists, our painters and sculptors.

At the outset, I would like to make clear that I use the word “art” in its broadest sense, incorporating all the rich and manifold spheres of artistic expression and creativity.

In very recent years — perhaps the last decade — we have seen in our country a most vigorous upsurge of artistic expression and creativity on the part of our embattled and struggling people. This flowering of cultural activity is quite clearly a reflection of the upsurge of revolutionary fervour and actions which have been exhibited by our people, the oppressed black majority, in the heroic strikes, demonstrations and revolts that have shaken the apartheid state during the 1970’s.

Cruelly oppressed, humiliated and exploited, long denied an outlet for true cultural expression by the racist system, our people, our youth, our intelligentsia, our artists — have succeeded in piercing the dam wall, and, in one form or another, are articulating the feelings, hopes and dreams of the impoverished millions of our land. Radical and socially conscious, the art that our people are producing can serve as a powerful weapon in the struggle for national liberation.

A great English artist of the nineteenth century a designer, critic and socialist, William Morris, has written that, “the

cause of art, is the cause of the people. This is a truly universal statement, and we can truly claim that our artists, poets, writers, painters and so on, are demonstrating that they are tribunes — the modern-day troubadours — of our people, demonstrating that the cause of the people is their cause.

It is this, in my view, that is giving their art such force and vitality, and which is arousing the suspicions and fears of the enemy and his censors. And when his censor fails to suppress the work of art, how often do we see people’s artists subjected to the harassment of the political police, and as often as not ending up behind bars?

A great price is being paid by our artists for our freedom. I want the artists of our country to know and understand that the African National Congress, the liberation movement generally, highly appreciates their work, that we regard their work as playing an important meritorious role in the struggle. As we have said so many times before, we have to fight on every front, and the cultural front is a most important arena of battle. Ever so often, in many countries of the world, we have seen the battle on the cultural front playing a most significant role in the noble struggle for national emancipation, for the creation of national unity and identity, for the rediscovery of our traditional heritage and for the conquest of tomorrow’s horizons.

We have a great cultural tradition. The “Imbongi” — traditional poet — rallied our people in the past as our artists and poets rally our people today. We find this influence in our revolutionary songs and poetry. Our artists will choose their own methods and style of course. There is indeed a synthesis of old and new, the

traditional and the modern. But whatever the technique, whatever the style, we discern the ideas expressed — we discern in the content of the work of art — be it song, poem, painting — we discern the powerful message of freedom.

Let the art of the rulers depict their world of gloom, despair and pessimism. But let the people's artists depict our world of optimism and hope. I'm not saying that our artists should hide the miserable, poverty-stricken conditions of our people. On the contrary: Such inhuman conditions have to be exposed. But the rulers, the racists, the imperialists even, tremble with fear before the meaningful art of the people, because such art bespeaks their inevitable doom; such art is red-blooded and brilliantly humanistic. It uplifts the spirit of the masses. It unites and draws people together. It

apartheid. It does not grow on separate lines, like Separate Development; but it converges, and merges people into a united whole. It creates a nation; it does not fragment and break up the nation.

Our artists and poets, our workers in the field of culture, must strive to use their great talent to draw our people together. Hence, culture, the culture of nations, is not compartmentalised. It feeds across national borders. Already our artists from South Africa abroad are influencing the cultural trend, they are contributing towards the emergence of a world culture and art. They are counted among the great artists. This should be the task of our artists inside the country.

Fellow countrymen, artists of our land, this is the centenary year of Isandhlwana, the Year of the Spear. One of the ways in which we of the African National Congress and our combat wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, have been devising plays, writing traditional and modern poems, composing songs, performing our traditional dances, carving and painting. They have been organising festivals and exhibitions, which will add to the cultural wealth of the international community.

Indeed, they are already operating on what can be rightly regarded as an international scale. Their work is being viewed by admirers of art from different

parts of the world. I must tell you that my talk to you has been inspired by an art exhibition that I have been privileged to preview. The Exhibition has been assembled by some of our young artists, and I viewed numerous works — in oils, in water-colour, in pastels, charcoal and simply pen and ink. None of the artists have had any formal training in South Africa. Yet their artistic production is simply breath-taking — certainly to me — breathtaking in its quality.

The harmony of their content and style



was clear to me, an untutored viewer. There were scenes of township life, scenes of starving children, toiling workers, mothers huddling babies as they moved, stood or sat between small structures of our shanty towns. There were portraits of our great leaders, such as Chief Lutuli, Moses Kotane, a portrait of President Neto and posters honouring his life and country; portraits of great generals, such as Moshoeshoe, Bambatha, Sekhukhuni; there were drawings depicting a people rising up from slavery, conscious of their united strength and busy breaking their chains of bondage as they advance irresistably to the seizure of power.

We must live up to this spirit of our great past. What our artists portray is the reality of our life. But our life is an empty reality if it is not a life of struggle for a better future, for happiness, for freedom in our case, if it is not a life in struggle against the accursed and evil system of racism, peculiar to our country, the system of exploitation and national oppression which has defied centuries and decades of pressure. That struggle must be reinforced by the broadest possible unity among us, and by the firmest possible commitment to fight until victory is won.

We should have hoped that our artists in our country would, like our youth outside the country, seize upon the occasion of the Isandhlwana centenary to depict our heroic past; to portray our heroic struggles — the struggles of our youth and workers, and point the way to the day of victory, when South Africa will be liberated; when the doors of learning and culture shall be opened to all our people; when we will discover, develop and encourage the national life on a vigorous scale, uniting all our people through our cultural activity. The South Africa we fight for will see all the cultural treasures of mankind opened to all our people, not closed in little ethnic and tribal identities, not fenced in under various labels: "Transkei", "Boputhatswana", "Vendaland" — treasures, cultural treasures, that are the common possession of the entire people of our country, a country otherwise rich in the variety of its cultural expressions.

The Year is drawing to a close, the Year of the Spear, the spear which according to our people, "lives on". I must, in the name

of the African National Congress, urge us all to reflect upon the task and duty that rests on us, to break down the barriers of division, to unite and fight on all fronts, at all levels, in all fields, wherever we are, under the general guidance and leadership of the ANC, which our forefathers, our heroic leaders of the past, formed in 1912; and which today is playing an important role in the development of the unity of the countries of the world that were once the victims of colonialism, such as we are experiencing in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The ANC, is today involved and is participating in the development of a world-wide movement of people fighting for progressive change, for a new world order.

Our people, in all their manifold formations and organisations — our artists, our intelligentsia, our youth, workers and all detachments — must likewise participate in this great struggle, this international struggle, by consolidating the democratic forces within our own country, and advancing relentlessly against the forces represented by Piet Botha. His manoeuvrings up and down the country, his proclamations and statements, are, if anything, a demonstration of the growing strength of the liberation forces. If there is even the slightest weakening in the apartheid front — and there is, — that is the signal for us to move faster, with determination, and bring about the kind of change in South Africa for which we shall be acclaimed in the future, even by the staunchest defenders of the present racist system. Certainly, the future belongs to the oppressed, to the exploited, to those who want to seek democratic change and progressive change. The future has no place for the racists, for the exploiters, for the torture squads; it has a place only for a free, independent, united South Africa — one country, one people.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The following article was sent to us by one of our readers. It is printed in the hope that it will provoke lively discussion and further contributions on this subject in the columns of Sechaba.

The question of national and organisational unity is fundamental to any liberation struggle, no more so than in the South African Revolution. With defence spending standing at a staggering R2000 million and the entire South African fascist state being organised into an armed encampment, the seizure of power in the name of the people can only begin to be possible when a high degree of organisational and national unity has been established. While the slogan 'Unity is Strength' is justifiably the clarion call of the liberation movement, in itself, it does not explain the underlying basis for unity. Certainly, we can consider unity as indispensable for the continued development of the struggle, but, it is politically dangerous to adopt an attitude which suggests that unity must be established at any price. It is our contention that, the question of unity, in all its forms, including alliances with other organisations, must out of necessity have a definite political basis. The question of unity, cannot be considered mechanically, as an administrative matter.

Organisational Unity

The vanguard organisation has the dual responsibility of (a) Developing and Strengthening the ideological base of the organisation, so that, it is in a position to withstand any attempts at subversion, from within and without which might affect its ability to give leadership and direction to the struggle;

and (b) Educating and mobilising the masses for the final onslaught against the fascist state;

Certainly the latter will not be possible without the former i.e. the establishment

and consolidation of organisational unity.

Commonality of purpose based on the support for the movements political programme, strategy and tactics is fundamental to the whole question of organisational unity. It is, in the development of the ideological base of the organisation, and the strengthening of their commonality of purpose, that the Democratic Collective decision making process comes into its own. Collective decision making allows for, full discussion and participation of all members of the organisation. The implementation of collective decision making structures, also brings with it, information and experiences of all the organisation's activists. Thus a direct contribution is being made to the movements database and hence its ability to make decisions.

A characteristic feature of the collective decision making process is that, all members of the organisation, without exception, must subject themselves to the decision by the majority. Indeed, it is binding on all members, including those who disagree, to carry out and implement a majority decision, both in the letter and spirit it was intended. No organisation can allow, an individual or groups of individuals who disagree with a majority decision, to indulge in conspiratorial activities to get decisions reversed. Not only is this dishonest, but it also directly works against organisational unity, and as such, can only be considered as counter-revolutionary. It is within this category, that the Gang of 8, expelled by the ANC in 1976, belong. One should not be left with the image that decisions arrived at within the collective decision making process are in anyway dogmatic and inflexible. In fact the strength of the collective decision making process, or democratic centralism as it is called, is that, it allows for all decision to be re-

introduced for discussion, and, all decisions are subject to change in the light of experience.

National Unity

Given that the largest and most oppressed group of South African society i.e. the African people, play the leading role in the liberation struggle; And given, that the Coloured and Indian people, although, not subjected to the same level of oppression as the African people, nevertheless constitute with the African masses, the oppressed black majority in the South African revolution. The question therefore of Black Unity is central to the whole question of national unity in the South African liberation struggle. However, the question of Black Unity must itself, be considered within the context of what the ANC calls the cornerstone of its policy, that is, the mass mobilisation of all the democratic, anti-racist and anti-fascist forces in the struggle, to destroy the racist-fascist South African state. This position is clearly outlined in the ANC's Strategy and Tactics document which states:

"Whatever instruments are created to give expression to the unity of the liberation drive, they must accommodate two fundamental propositions: firstly they must not be ambiguous on the primary role of the most oppressed African mass and, secondly, those belonging to the other oppressed groups and those few white revolutionaries who show themselves ready to make common cause with our aspirations, must be fully integrated on the basis of individual equality. Approached in the right spirit these two propositions do not stand in conflict but reinforce one another. Equality of participation in our national front does not mean a mechanical parity between the various national groups. Not only would this in practice amount to inequality (again at the expense of the majority) it would lend flavour to the slander which our enemies are ever ready to spread of a multi-racial alliance dominated by minority groups. This has never been so and will never be so."

"...We are revolutionaries, not narrow nationalists. Committed revolutionaries are our brothers, to whatever group they belong.

There can be no second-class participation in our movement. It is for the enemy we reserve our assertiveness and our justified sense of grievance."

This formulation by the ANC requires us to examine, and theoretically rationalise, the tactics of establishing a united front.

The United Front

The principle objective of the United Front is to act in defence of the most immediately vital economic and political interests of the people. Thus, the prerequisite to forming a United Front is the establishment of a clear and definitive understanding of the "common enemy". Indeed the question that must be answered is "Who is the enemy at this particular point in time that poses the most serious threat to the interests of the people?" In Europe in the 30's and 40's it was the rise of Spanish, Italian and German fascism. In South Africa today it is the racist-fascist South African state.

By its very nature, the United Front consists of organisations and individuals with a whole host of differing political affiliations. On examination of the United Front established during the Second World War for example, reveals an international alliance between Communist and Capitalist governments. National alliances between non-communist and communist groups, workers, peasants and the intelligensia; liberal, trade union and church organisations. The obvious question that arises is, what makes it possible for such politically diverse groups to come together, to form an alliance? To begin with, there is not a contradiction between the political objectives of a participating organisation, and the objectives of the United Front. Indeed, all those who belong to the United Front recognise, that the achievement of their long term aims is dependent in the first instance on, the defeat of the common enemy. Secondly, while all participants in the United Front undertake to actively campaign and implement the decisions of the United Front each organisation reserves the right to continue putting forward its political programme to the people.

The maintenance of organisational 21

independence, while still being an active participant of the United Front, is a vitally important and crucial issue. Thirdly, on the question of who should lead the United Front — the point that must be made here is that the question of leadership cannot be considered from a sectarian point of view, rather leadership must be won in the actual practical struggle against the enemy. Needless to say, the organisation that will eventually lead the United Front will be the organisation that has through its efforts gained the support and confidence of the people. Fourthly, unity cannot be considered in abstraction from the reality that exists WITHIN the country itself.

For decades the ANC has recognised and actively sought to establish a united front in the struggle to overthrow the Apartheid state. Indeed the policy decisions of the ANC entails:

- 1) The further strengthening of the forces that are already united under the ANC.
- 2) The formation of a United Front where this is called for with those organisations opposing fascism within the country and who are willing to enter into an agreement with us on a common minimum political programme.
- 3) United action with any groups unwilling to enter into such a United Front, but who are willing to co-operate with us and confront the enemy on certain issues.
- 4) The formation and encouragement of legal organisations to ensure the greatest possible mobilisation of the masses of the people and safeguarding the legality of these organisations to the extent that this is possible and consistent with correct revolutionary tactics.
- 5) Ensuring that at all times the masses of our people understand and are familiar with the principle objectives of our strategy and tactics, so that the people, whether organised or not, follow the broad principles of our struggle.

The ANC's policy decisions together with its actions reflect what can only be described as an advanced understanding of the tactics of the United Front. Way back in 1950, the so-called Minister of Justice, Swart,

banned and declared the Communist Party of South Africa an illegal organisation. The ANC looked upon this banning as an action that concerned not just the Communist Party of South Africa but the entire progressive movement in the country. And in accordance with this belief, the ANC fought side by side with the CP, its ally in the struggle against this repressive legislation. Today, that struggle is marked by the declaration of June 26th, as South Africa's Freedom Day. The actions of the Congress Alliance led by the ANC, underlined an important aspect of the United Front, i.e. alliances are meaningless, unless one is prepared to go the defence of a member of the alliance that is attacked by the enemy.

The Black Alliance

In 1978 a Black Alliance between Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha movement, the Coloured Labour Party led by Sonny Leon and the Indian Reform Party led by Y.S. Chinsamy, was announced. The purpose of the alliance according to Chief Buthelezi was to prepare the ground for the calling of a multi-racial national convention which would "map out a non-racial community and a new constitution for South Africa." Certainly this has been a long standing demand of our people. In fact, way back in 1961, the Maritzburg All in African People's Convention, convened by Nelson Mandela, with the backing of the Congress Alliance led by the ANC, made such a demand.

How do we view such the Black Alliance given that:

- a) The very small Reform Party can in no way claim to represent the Indian people.
- b) The parties involved function with the Apartheid structures.
- c) The largest contingent represented in the Black Alliance, Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement, is inalienably linked with the regime's Bantustan programme.

We re-iterate the view that it is the task of the revolutionary movement to mobilise all the oppressed people and the democratic forces in our country in united action against the common enemy the South

African racist regime. The Botha regime, with its vast military and economic resources, together with the help it receives from its imperialist allies makes its overthrow only possible with the establishment of a popular mass movement. The Black Alliance as it exists does not contribute significantly to the establishment of a popular mass movement. Indeed, in considering the Bantustans (within which Inkatha functions), one sees that these structures exist to unify and satisfy the needs of an elite, and not the people as a whole. This in effect, makes it impossible for the Bantustans to meet the demands of our people. While totally disagreeing with the very concept of the Bantustans, the revolutionary movement nonetheless has the task of mobilising all our people who have to live in the Bantustans. And in so doing, the revolutionary movement must "at all costs avoid the fratricidal strife which the enemy seeks to provoke". (ANC Press Statement 5th Nov 1979). Since its inception, the Black Alliance has made no advances in fulfilling its declared objective.

Unity with the PAC

Over the years, many prominent governments and organisations including the PAC itself have called for unity between the ANC and the PAC. Some may have even have argued that this call for unity is in accordance with the ANC's declared position in the formation of a United Front. However, the ANC has consistently and correctly resisted all attempts at unity with the PAC. In the light of our formulation of the United Front, what are the reasons for rejecting this call for unity? The PAC was formed in 1959 by members of the ANC who broke away because of fundamental disagreements with ANC policy. The founding principles of the Pan Africanist Congress reflect these political differences with the ANC. The PAC have always preached the gospel of racial exclusiveness. For them the South African struggle has always been the concern of "Africans Only" with the Coloureds, Indians and progressive whites being totally excluded. The PAC has always been rabidly

anti-communist. It has always explained its rejection of the Freedom Charter on the grounds that it is "a communist inspired document". Significantly, the Pan Africanist Congress have never and still do not have a political programme that they can call their own. Without pursuing the matter any further, already we are able to discern that the Pan Africanist Congress' very founding principles are in themselves contradictory to the very concept of the united front. Furthermore, the alliance the ANC has built up over the years with the SACP, the Indian, Coloured and progressive whites are not alliances which merely exist on paper but they are alliances that have been forged in struggle. This, in all probability, unity with the PAC will lead to the dissolution of the United Front and with it, the fragmentation of resistance, to South African racism and fascism.

The South African fascist state has always been aware of the power of the oppressed when they act in unison (the mass struggles of the fifties left them in no doubt of this). And in an attempt to neutralise the most potent force in our national liberation struggle, the African masses, the regime introduced the Bantustan programme. By enforcing the separation of the African people into tribal reservations, the racist regime hopes to prevent the formation of a united African front. Part of this strategy of spreading the seeds of disunity, has been the granting of minor concessions to the small monied, and commercial class, in the black community, in an effort to create, a collaborationist group amongst the oppressed. This strategy is applied equally to the Coloured and Indian people with a very significant addition. In May 1979, the Botha regime published its new constitutional proposals for the Indian and Coloured people. These new proposals offer the oppressed minority groups, for the very first time, the opportunity to elect members to the previously, government appointed positions on the Coloured and Indian Councils. These elected bodies will become part of what is grandly termed a Three Tier Parliament, where, the white, Coloured and Indian communities will be represented. The

African people are totally excluded from this arrangement. When this scheme is implemented each of the represented communities will have its own Prime Minister. Thus making South Africa the only country in the world with three prime ministers and a president. However, the so-called Prime Ministers of the oppressed minority groups and their elected council will have no power to implement decisions. They would be, as Jimmy Kruger put it, "mere talking shops". And by the regime's own admission, white minority government, and white supremacy, will remain in tact.

For the people of South Africa, the new constitutional proposals are another attempt to coax the Coloured and Indian people away from their natural allies in the struggle the African people. It is an attempt to fragment Black Unity by drawing the Indian and Coloured people closer to the laager, for the express purpose of creating a buffer, between the minority regime, and the African masses. The racist regime intends to use the Coloured and Indian people, as the first line of defence, in the struggle to preserve the state of white privilege.

For the oppressed people of South Africa, the issue is quite clear. There can be no separate 'freedoms' for any one section of the population. "Freedom is Indivisible" and as such can only come into being when it embodies all the people of South Africa, without exception: The President of our movement Comrade O.R. Tambo underlined this position in his

1979 New Year message, when he said: "Let us in South Africa learn to stop being Bantus, Coloureds, Indians and Whites. Let us be what we are, Africans in Africa. Let those who are committed racists, who came to this continent determined to keep Africans in chains, to be perpetual white masters over Blacks — let them persist in their role as foreigners on African soil".

The racist regime is faced with a growing revolutionary situation within the country. The representatives of the multi-national corporations, are also bringing pressure to bear on the minority regime. But their concern is that, a revolution will see an end to the exploitation of the black masses and hence their profits. The multi-national corporations are desperate to see a neo-colonial solution imposed in South Africa, which will essentially preserve the existing relationship between labour and capital. Faced with these two considerations, the regime hopes to stem the tide of revolutionary upsurge within the country, by spreading the seeds of disunity amongst the oppressed masses, in the hope that it can gain enough time to find an "acceptable" solution to the problem. For the oppressed, unity of purpose and unity of action are the passwords of the struggle. And the strategic objective is: **ONE COUNTRY, ONE NATION, ONE GOVERNMENT** — that speaks for all the people of South Africa.

P.N.



NO SURRENDER!



l to r, Stephen Lee, Alex Moumbaris, Comrade President Oliver Tambo and Tim Jenkin

Press statement by Comrades Moumbaris, Lee and Jenkin made in Lusaka after their heroic escape from Pretoria Local Prison.

We are certainly very glad to be in Lusaka. Our presence here is more eloquent than any statement. We have emerged from a maximum security prison in the heart of the Pretoria regime, passed clear through the enemy's territory, and crossed heavily guarded borders. You see us now in the country whose commitment to the liberation of Southern Africa is well known.

A battle has been won whose significance goes beyond the number of prisoners that escaped. We have shown that for militants of the liberation movement, capture does not mean surrender. Although placed behind walls and bars, and closely observed by armed guards, for apartheid prisoners — the struggle continues.

In the course of our escape we were reluctantly forced to damage the front door of the prison, and so leave evidence

about how we got out. This damage however also constitutes important evidence about the mentality of our captors. It should show that we were not supplied by our captors with keys and other help. In spite of this a Prison Department official has been arrested. Characteristically the authorities have seized upon a scapegoat in order to conceal from the people the extent to which it is possible to overcome the security of the state.

The eleventh of December marked the last day of our own captivity. In this bitter captivity remain our comrades on Robben Island, in Pretoria and Kronstadt and thousands remain imprisoned, for both direct and indirect political offences, throughout South Africa. Many of these face torture by the racist butchers.

Although for security reasons we are unable to give details, the underground machinery of the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, played an essential role in getting us to

where we are now. Once again our liberation movement has successfully thrust its spear deep into the enemy's body.

The three of us now look forward with heightened enthusiasm to contribute with full strength to the ongoing struggle to liberate South Africa from all forms of oppression.

While we join our voices to those of concerned humanity in the demand for immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners in South Africa, our foremost concern is in the fate of our dear comrade James Mange to whom we bow

our heads in respect for the heroism and self sacrifice and whose murder the fascist oppressors intend to add to their sinister constellation of crimes. We shall not rest until James Mange and all other political prisoners and prisoners of war in South Africa are liberated.

Amandla Ngawethu!

Maatla ke a rona!

All Power to the People!

Alexander Moumbaris

Stephen Lee

Timothy Jenkin

RELEASE MATLOU

As you now know our close comrade Victor Matlou alias Zinjiva Nkondo, was abducted by the South Africa police from a hijacked plane enroute to Maseru from Maputo. The incident took place on the 12th of December.

Our movement, through the Secretary-General, was immediately informed of this high-handed act of piracy.

The following are telex messages to and from the Foreign Ministry of Lesotho in Maseru and our Provisional Headquarters. We are reproducing below a statement of protest written by the government of Lesotho to the South African regime on the arrest of Comrade Victor Matlou.

13th December 1979: One ANC official enroute to Maseru from Maputo was seized by South African police at Maseru bridge on Wednesday December 12, 1979. Plane was forced by bad weather to land in Bloemfontein where passengers were taken to Maseru bridge by South African Airways bus. Mr Victor Matlou was then seized at gun-point by South

African police together with his briefcase.

Lesotho has protested to South Africa about the incident. ANC Secretary-General contacted Foreign Minister on the incident and pledged to take matter up in international forum in support of Lesotho's demand for immediate release of Mr Matlou.

Text of Protest sent to Pretoria reads thus: "Ministry has learned with extreme alarm that despite the understanding between Lesotho Airways and S.A. Airways and contrary to the assurances which we were given at Bloemfontein airport when the flight had to be diverted there because of bad weather conditions at Maseru Airport, the passengers were harrassed on arrival at Maseru Bridge and one passenger was kidnapped at gun-point by the South African Police. This act is not only a poor reflection on the understanding of South African officials of international undertakings and agreements but is bound to further complicate good neighbourly relations. The government of Lesotho assumes

full responsibility for the clearance into Lesotho of any passengers on either SA Airways or Lesotho Airways flights from outside Lesotho into Leabua Jonathan Airport and strongly demands that the kidnapped passenger Mr Victor Matlou be released immediately for normal clearance by Lesotho authorities." Foreign Ministry, Maseru.

13th December 1979: For the attention of H.E, Foreign Minister of Lesotho: "We would like to confirm that Victor Matlou abducted from Lesotho Airways flight at Bloemfontein yesterday (Wednesday) is a member of the African National Congress. He is a refugee residing in Tanzania. We request that urgent steps be taken to ensure his immediate release to the Lesotho Government. We shall ourselves take all steps necessary to raise with the international community this latest crime of piracy by the apartheid regime to secure his immediate release to you and his return to his country of refuge." Alfred Nzo, Secretary General.

On the same day the ANC contacted all international bodies on the matter i.e. WPC, WCC, Anti Apartheid groups in Western Europe.

Note of the ANC to Lesotho Government 20th December 1979: "We request for further information on the abduction of our colleague, Victor Matlou, by the South African Apartheid regime. Alfred Nzo, Secretary General.

Reply December 20th 1979: "Lesotho Government still very actively working on the matter. Consultations are continuing in Maseru for the release of Mr Matlou from South Africa. Further information will be communicated to you some time today. Permanent Secretary Foreign Affairs.

24th December 1979 from Foreign Affairs Maseru to ANC Secretary General: "Mr Victor Matlou's case affects the highest interest of the

sovereignty and independence of Lesotho. Lesotho Government is thus considering three courses:

1. to follow courts
2. to diplomatic means
3. Security Council

Government is at present seeking the highest possible advice and you will be kept informed.

On January 3rd an urgent application was made to the Bloemfontein Supreme Court for the release of Mr Zinjiva Nkondo by his brother, Mr Curtis Nkondo. Mr Curtis Nkondo sought an order for the SA Minister of Police and Prisons Mr Louis le Grange, to release his brother and allow him to leave South Africa. The action was supported by Mr Mashologu, Lesotho's Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Transport and Communications.

In his affidavit Mr Mashologu said he and Mr Nkondo were among the 18 passengers on the flight when the aircraft was diverted to Bloemfontein. He said when he protested about the searching of luggage at the borderpost between South Africa and Lesotho, the sergeant in charge ordered him to leave SA territory, and threatened that if he protested further he and the other passengers would be placed in cells. But he did continue to protest, and two policemen with what appeared to be machine guns appeared on the scene. Mr Moshologu alleged that the machine guns were pointed at the prisoners in a way intended to intimidate and terrorise them. As a result of this naked and overt threat, the passengers submitted to a search of their luggage, though, he added, luggage belonging to him was not searched because he was a Lesotho Government official.

Mr Masologu said that when Mr Nkondo opened his luggage, the police present adopted an aggressive and highly menacing attitude towards him. He was hustled into a nearby office and subjected at gunpoint to a personal body-search. The inter-

ference with, and arrest and detention of Mr Nkondo, was illegal under international law, and a breach of the agreement between SA and Lesotho, said Mr Mashulogu.

This application was however adjourned by the court to a date yet to be announced after Counsel for the SA Ministry of Police disputed admissibility of the affidavits. He contended that they had not been properly sworn to.

All the above undoubtedly shows that the Government of Lesotho is doing its level best to challenge this latest act of banditry of the Pretoria racist regime and get our comrade released.

With the prime purpose of winning the immediate release of the victim of apartheid the Department of Information and Publicity of the ANC has been instructed by the leadership to utilise all its units and power at its disposal (by radio, press and maximum publicity inside and outside our country) to pressurise and hit hard at the enemy.

All evidence has gone to convince our movement beyond any shadow of doubt that here we are dealing with a clear and classic case of a hijacking from an international airspace. And, if we agree that it is so, then how is such a practice in keeping with the new but already over played Boer tune of the creation of Southern African states of mutual cooperation and mutual respect — the so-called Constellation of Southern African states? That is a potentially dangerous road, and in all respects.

The Boers should be told that the ANC says they are not the only ones who reserve the knowledge and "right" of kidnappings, piracy and terrorism in international airspace, waters and grounds. The ANC shall hit back more heavily on the enemy, for the release of its compatriot.

Above all the campaign for the release of Comrade Victor Matlou should be viewed as a part of a bigger move and campaign to save the life of James Mange from the fascist gallows of Pretoria.

SAVE MANGE

The campaign to stop the racist murder of James Mncedisi Mange is well underway. Vigorous campaigns have been launched in the United Kingdom, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Holland, Scandanavia and the USA. Anti-Apartheid movements have won broad support and are engaged in the hard work of pressurising the governments in these countries to raise strong protest against the death sentence imposed by the fascist regime.

The courage and example set by Comrade James Mange is an inspiration to all our people. He brought fear to the hearts of the racists — a fear born from the fact that

James Mange emerged from and represents the interests of the toiling masses of our country. The following biographical notes on Comrade Mange serve to illustrate this fact:

James Mange was born on the 30th of March 1949 in Pimville, Johannesburg. Due to the hated forced removal policy of the Apartheid regime his family was forced to live in Jabavu. In 1966, Mange's father died and he was left to support his mother Mrs Winifred Mange. His uncle assisted him to finish Form 3 education but after this he had to go out to work.

At his work Mange was labelled a "strike



Mange's family soon after the news that the death sentence had been passed

organiser" when he complained about the starvation wages paid to black workers. As a result of this, he was sacked from his job.

Mange learnt about the African National Congress from some of his fellow workers. He became more and more interested in the policy of the liberation movement. He was told that the African National Congress is the people's organisation and that it would welcome him. In 1976 he decided to join the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. He left behind his wife and son. Messages of solidarity to his family should be sent to: 889 Central Western Jabavu, Johannesburg, South Africa.

- * Save the life of James Mange from the barbaric claws of the hang-man.
 - * Demand the unconditional release of the Pietermaritzburg 12.
 - * Demand that the Pietermaritzburg 12 be accorded prisoner of war status according to the Geneva Conventions.
 - * Protest to the Botha regime: Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa.
- STOP THE RACIST MURDER OF JAMES MANGE!**

SENSITIVE BUT WEAK

Matshoba, Mtutuzeli, Call me not a Man, Ravan Press, Johannesburg, 1979.

Recently an autobiographical novel by Mtutuzeli Matshoba was published. Mtutuzeli Matshoba is a black South African author whose short stories have and still appear in the magazine *Staffrider*. His brother is on Robben Island incarcerated for his political involvement. Love for his brother and his people — the author shows enough evidence of this — leads him, almost automatically to be partisan, decidedly pro African.

For our people, the novel had a short life or none at all in that it was banned shortly after publication. It is essentially an attempt in 200 pages to portray the plight of an African under the apartheid colonial regime. Mtutuzeli has presented his autobiographical experiences through which he wants to “reflect through my works life on my side of the fence, the black side” the real face of apartheid. It seems on Robben Island, as a visitor, he learnt something — as he himself confirms: “The Isle of Makana/ I had gone down with bitterness in my soul. Against all white people and their black sellouts.” (p. 126)

The book is inspired by the humiliating pass laws — designed to inculcate a perpetual inferiority complex on the Africans, for the purposes of subjugating them to the capitalist apartheid system. The traumatic experiences of an African family in Soweto, typical of all Africans, at the hands of the continuous increases in rent is dealt with in a moving episode in the first chapter. How an old African woman who, having lost a husband is perpetually harrassed, together with her entire family, to pay fabricated rent debts, in a bid to force her into a bantustan. The limited scope of assistance by the

Black Sash is put into focus. Regardless of a sustained effort by the fascists to disintegrate our people into tribal groups, a great feeling of unity under the vicious onslaught of the West Rand Administration Board — the local agent of the whole apartheid state machinery in Soweto — is demonstrated.

The author exposes the corruption of the system and its operations by police who roam the streets at night and rob every timid and unsuspecting person. The intimidating acts on Fridays — when workers get their meagre wages — to “produce” passes after a strenuous day's work, and the most brutal victimisation at the hands of the police, coupled with the unfortunate common knifing to death of victims (workers) who are haphazardly pick-pocketed of their salaries and goods by gangsters. These gangsters are themselves the direct products of the system, suffering from unemployment and starvation. His expose is a true reflection of life under apartheid.

Doubtlessly, the book reaches its climax when it gives account of the life of an African worker in that troubled country. Having been chained to a pass and forced into exploitative employment, the protesting African worker still has to face imprisonment where he is liable to be sold as a commodity — surely an ancient slave trade period practice — to an arrogant, frustrated white farmer who tries to strip him of his manhood into submission to this myth of white supremacy. The plight of the migrant labourers is also given as a factual account of the truthfulness of the fact that bantustans are just a creation to serve as a reservoir of cheap black labour.

The author does not stop here. He shows the other side of the story: that of the fighters against this vile system. In his own words “I may not be set down

as a 'bloodthirsty terrorist.' So that I may say: Those were the events which shaped the Steve Bikos, Solomon Mahlangu, and the many more that came before and after them". He recalls with pride some episodes of the Sharpeville massacre quite vividly. Needless to say, it was the nationwide student insurrection that culminated in a militant height in Soweto, that forced him to lift the pen. He does not fail to register the everyday features of resistance expressed by our people — in both their conversations and actions. He describes how especially the consciousness of the ordinary man in both the rural and urban areas develops. How the whole system — contrary to its declared motives of putting a "native in his own place" dismally fails by actually nurturing the consciousness of rebellion in our people — in face of the multiplicity of problems inherent in it. How they reach the necessary initial stage of group pride, self assertion, and all elements without which a struggle remains an academic question.

Given the simple fact that our people's organisation, the ANC and the many attempts by its leaders to put the history of the people in proper context have been banned, the author simply found himself having to start right "from scratch". The fact that racism is so institutionalised in our country as well as the general social confines of apartheid where our people are denied information on international affairs, are factors which constitute the author's failures (at times quite dismal and misleading too) to properly interpret trends and developments.

The social confines of apartheid are such that if one emerges with ideas of rebellion, it is done with a consciousness that has developed to a stage where one rejects everything without taking cognisance of the fact that whatever reasons the state machinery may give for its brutal exploitation, it remains the basic instrument serving the interests of the exploiter class. We, who come from that set up maintain that this is but the first stage — a stage of consciousness which is not necessarily founded on the fact that we are black, but actually in the realisation that we are the most exploited as African workers

and most oppressed therefore as people. The sentiments of blind rejection shown by the author is but a stage in the political awareness of our people. He does not see the connection between apartheid and international imperialism.

Perhaps he needs to look at the life which Koos de Wet is leading, when he was imprisoned and forced to work on a farm. Although in the racist legislation whites are superior, he himself came to the following conclusion as he recalls: "That was the place where I could learn the extent to which cruelty and hatred can turn men into something less than wild beast".

"Ignoring Apartheid is not the best way to live with it. The best way to live with apartheid is to destroy it". The best way to destroy apartheid is to understand it. This realisation came to him when he was on Robben Island and contrasts sharply with what he says earlier on in the book: "It is very comforting to remember always that your oppressor too will one day die and be equal to you in that state of oblivion". (p.46) This decision really contradicts what he says earlier: "To be slapped in the mouth in front of my womanfolk and getting sworn at with my mothers private parts — the component of me which is man has died countless time in one life time" (p.18).

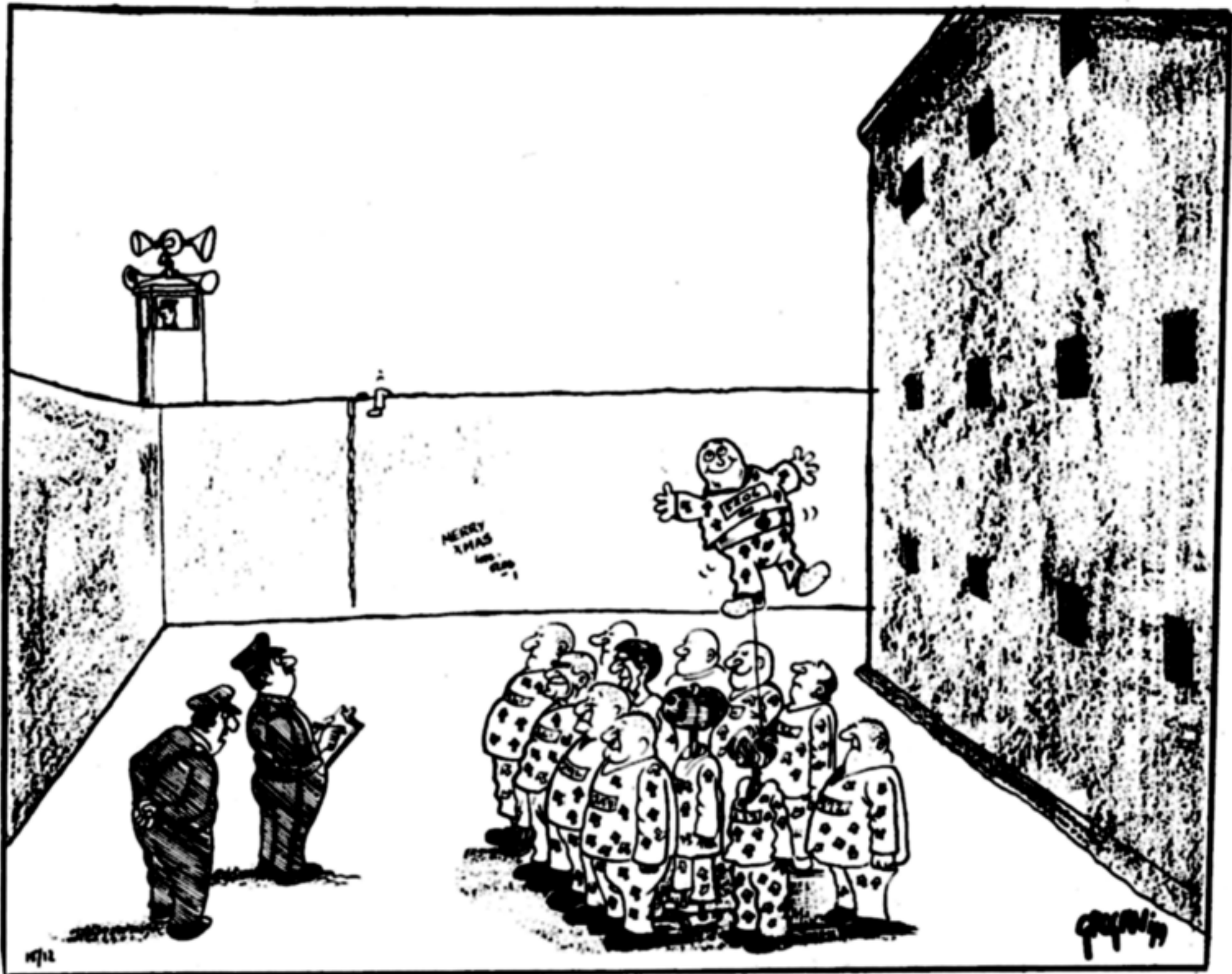
The title of this book is somehow unfortunate. It is nevertheless an artistic expression saying the opposite "Call me a Man". One would expect that for our people who are quite conversant with their own plight anyway, the author would make an effort not to concentrate on the evils of apartheid but show the manner in which they can be solved. If there could be a naive argument that the author was just writing about his life experiences and those of his fellow men, then personally I would still have expected him to link the past with the present, more especially after accounting so brilliantly of the written however distorted history of Nongqause who invoked a sense of further resistance in our people in the past.

At any rate the importance of the book can not be undermined in any sense. It is an initial attempt to expose the barbaric Botha-Malan regime at a time when it

claims to have lost its biting teeth by some cosmetic changes here and there. Here is a book which is recommended to all revolutionaries of our country who have undertaken the task of removing this social cancer from the face of the earth.

Here is a book which is recommended to the world public which is interested to understand the workings of the evil system.

Freedom.



"Okkert, there's something suspicious about 5206."

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