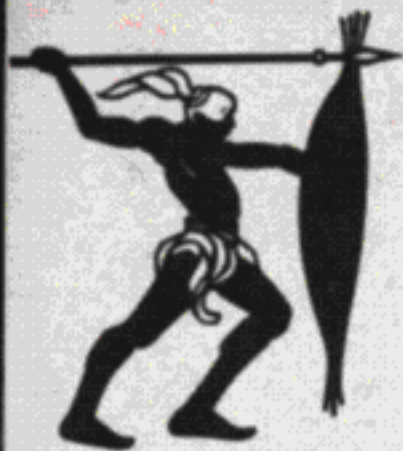


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WE SAY:

On March 9, 1980, the racist Prime Minister of South Africa, P.W. Botha, surprised the world with the announcement that his government had decided to summon a conference representative of all races in our country to "deliberate about matters affecting South Africa". He gave as the reason for this decision the fact that the election victory of President Mugabe's ZANU-PF had changed the strategic situation of South Africa.

How should we understand this move? Does it mean that Botha and his lieutenants have at last recognised the iniquity of the colonial and racist apartheid system and acknowledged the justice of our demand for a united and democratic South Africa? Does this move therefore represent a decision by the white minority regime to relinquish its monopoly of power?

The answer to these questions was of course given by Botha himself. For, in the same speech of March 9th, he re-affirmed his racist government's opposition to the democratic principle of one person one vote. He also pledged to maintain white minority domination, declaring that "the National Party will defend the white man, his political rights, culture, and his right to self-determination." A quarter of a century ago, Botha's predecessor, Hans Strydom, made a similar declaration:

"Our (the apartheid Government's) policy is white domination, baaskap, separate development — call it what you like".

In other words, the apartheid regime stubbornly refuses to learn the simple lesson, so clearly demonstrated in recent years in Mozambique, Angola and now in Zimbabwe, that it is impossible to keep a people in perpetual servitude.

Under cover of "verligte" pronouncements P.W. Botha is faithfully following in the footsteps of Portugal's Caetano and

Rhodesia's Ian Smith. But he is haunted by the spectre that, with the collapse of the apartheid regime's Zambesi River defence line under the pending blows of the heroic people of Zimbabwe, the strategic situation of racist South Africa has deteriorated further — and dangerously, in favour of the South African liberation forces headed by the African National Congress and its allies. He knows that in this situation, in order to "defend the white man and his political rights", it is not sufficient to place exclusive reliance on the "brave" police of Sharpeville, Soweto and Silverton fame, or on the much-vaunted might of the racist army, which has not halted the people's march to victory, notwithstanding that its exploits in Southern Africa during the past decade have already cost this continent more than 30,000 innocent lives in Zimbabwe alone.

Botha is therefore looking for ways and means of strengthening his white minority regime and shielding it from the crushing blows the oppressed and exploited masses must and will deliver in the pursuit of liberty.

By calling the proposed conference, Botha is inviting the Black people to become his political army for the defence of white minority domination. He wants us to lend legitimacy to a crime against humanity, in return for meaningless and inconsequential reforms which have nothing to do with the only real question of South African politics and international peace — the question of the transfer of power to the majority and the re-constitution of South Africa as a united, democratic, non-racial and peace-loving country under the leadership of a people's government.

Casting an imperialist eye over the independent states of Southern and Central Africa, and armed with his expansionist plans for the economic and political domina-

tion of Africa, P.W. Botha is calling this conference of ethnic groups, homeland "nations" and people with separate "identities" with the added aim of laying a foundation for his "Constellation of Southern African States", a goal which he knows must remain a remote dream in the absence of a master-and-slave alliance between the racist regime and the victims of oppression, exploitation and racism in South Africa. But there can never be any such alliance.

At a time when everywhere across our borders, people's governments have been or are being formed through the stubborn determination of the people themselves and their ensuring willingness to make sacrifices and pay the maximum price for the liberation of their countries, we, in South Africa, can have nothing to do with a conference called ostensibly to discuss South Africa's future, but whose real and sole intention is, and which can only serve, to reinforce our colonial status, consolidate the structures of apartheid, and ensure our continued super-exploitation.

We shall not betray Africa and the progressive world. We shall not betray our own heroes and martyrs, the men, women, youth and children who fell in the fight for freedom. We shall not betray the national leaders and captured militants whose release from imprisonment has been, and continues to be the subject of world-wide demands and appeals by people from every walk of life.

As against the apartheid regime's survival strategy, we have a strategy for victory whose indispensable imperative is unity in action, a sustained and ever-growing attack and resistance on all fronts, and which requires constant consultations among all our patriotic people at national, regional and local levels, to ensure a co-ordinated offensive for the attainment of agreed strategic and tactical goals.

Following the heroic victory of the Patriots of Zimbabwe and the stunning defeat of the forces of colonial-apartheid domination, the order of the day for the oppressed and democrats of our country is: Attack and once more attack without giving the enemy the respite he seeks.

We call on the international community

also to intensify its offensive, to fight harder for the all-round and complete isolation of the criminal apartheid regime and to step up its moral and material support for the African National Congress. The captain of the fascist clique has openly admitted the stunning effectiveness of the world solidarity movement in the struggle against apartheid tyranny and oppression. Now is the time to deliver more telling blows.

At the same time, it is of great importance that the friends of the struggling peoples of Southern Africa should support more firmly than ever before the principled and patriotic positions of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, against the manoeuvres of the Pretoria regime and its imperialist allies.

The young republic of Zimbabwe needs assistance and support in the continuing struggle to safeguard its independence and the freedom of its people. The independent states of Southern Africa remain still under the menace of the sweet-talking Botha and his bloodthirsty generals. The historic victory in Zimbabwe has increased rather than diminished the aggressive intent of the Pretoria regime against the peoples of Southern Africa. The commitment of the rest of peace-loving mankind to the strengthening of the economic and defence capacity of these countries must therefore increase rather than diminish.

The struggle continues!

Victory is certain!

Forward to a people's government!

C.O.P. - I WAS THERE

On the 25th anniversary of the Congress of the People, a delegate to that historic occasion describes the work involved in its preparation and the atmosphere and spirit of Kliptown June 25-26, 1955.

June 25 and 26 1955 are dates indelibly impressed on the minds and hearts of every Congress member who was active at the time. They are the dates of the Congress of the People which was held at Kliptown to discuss and finally adopt the historic Freedom Charter which forms the basis of our policy today. On those two days we witnessed the climax of months of effort on the part of thousands of Congress men and women throughout the country striving for the liberation of their country from the yoke of apartheid. In the Freedom Charter they set out the details of the kind of South African society they wanted to see when the day of liberation dawned.

The Congress of the People was brought about through the efforts of Joint Congress Committees which were established throughout the country comprising the African National Congress, the SA Indian Congress, Coloured People's Organisation (later the SA Coloured People's Congress), and the Congress of Democrats — whites who identified with the Congress movement. The SA Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), formed in March 1955, was not yet part of the Joint Consultative Committee, though it passed a resolution of support for the COP campaign at its founding congress and fully associated itself with the Congress Alliance. The South African Communist Party, although reconstituted since 1953, had not yet publicly declared its existence so that, although its members were active in all the Congresses, it did not participate as a separate entity.

Meetings to mobilise the people for

the COP and gather in their demands and wishes for incorporation in the Charter were held everywhere — at factories at lunch-time, in the townships, villages and suburbs in the evenings and over weekends. Many of our best speakers had already been banned from attending meetings under the Suppression of Communism Act, so in many places it was left to the second string to fill the gaps, and to do even more because the number of people who could be active publicly was restricted by the bannings. The slogan for the Congress of the People — “a delegate from every town, every suburb, every village” — was what we had in mind, and it was an ideal that came near to 100% fulfillment.

The meetings were held to elect delegates to the Congress and also to put forward the demands of the people for incorporation in the Freedom Charter itself. For this was a document which was intended to be our blueprint for the future South Africa, and it was the aim and hope of all of us that the people of South Africa would take the chance to help create their own future. Day by day as the meetings were held and the resolutions began to roll in it was remarkable to see the similarity of the demands voiced on all sides — although not really surprising when one considers that the people everywhere suffered from the same disabilities. The complaint everywhere was first and foremost about the iniquitous pass laws, then about Bantu Education, forced removals, high rents.... Everywhere the people knew that until they had the right to vote they would never have the power to get what they wanted.

Money also had to be collected to send delegates up to the Congress in Kliptown. Our comrades collected money in pennies, in shillings and pounds, from audiences

at meetings, from their neighbours, from people in buses and trains. The sight of the dog-eared notes coming in from all over the Western Cape, which was where I worked — hundreds of them brought in by our comrades returning from meetings — was an assurance that our efforts were meeting with a wholehearted response. And Head Office was besieged with bits of paper posted from everywhere in the country setting out the demands of the people.

When the great day of COP was upon us, we set out on our journey to Kliptown, many of us travelling hundreds of miles, wondering what was going to happen. For it was not as if we had been allowed to campaign in peace. Every meeting was watched by the special branch, our organisers were hounded and arrested, documents seized in raids.

Not all the people's elected delegates were able to reach the congress. Cars and lorries were stopped, contingents held back on one or other pretext until it was too late to continue their journey. Yet in spite of all the harassment and interference, about 3,000 delegates pierced the police cordon and arrived at Kliptown, just outside Johannesburg, where a patch of open ground had been prepared to seat the huge throng. Just imagine the problems of organisation — 3,000 delegates had to be fed and housed. But from every point of view the Congress was an outstanding success. Politically, organisationally, emotionally, it was truly representative of all the people in South Africa — not like that mockery called Parliament in Cape Town! Our Congress of the People really belonged to and spoke for the people of our country, reflecting their aspirations and hopes, their determination and courage, their faith in the future, their ability and inventiveness.

I believe now, as I did then, that the Freedom Charter is a revolutionary document. It lays the foundation for the national democratic revolution, stating in clear and simple terms the demands of the people — demands which cannot be fulfilled unless the whole apartheid structure of South Africa as we know it today is overturned. There are some who say the

Freedom Charter is out of date because it is 25 years old. Of course nothing is immutable. The Freedom Charter is not immutable, it can be changed if the people want to change it. But Freedom is not out of date, and the people's demand for freedom has not changed. On the contrary, it has gained in intensity, and led the people to adopt new and more forceful methods to achieve their objective. But that objective is still to destroy the apartheid state and build a new society — and the Freedom Charter still tells us what kind of society we want to see in South Africa. Its words ring as true today as when they were first framed.

But what of the days of the Congress of the People itself, those two days in 1955 when the first real parliament of South Africa was convened? Perhaps one can best compare COP to a festival — except that our business was serious, and except for the presence of the special branch, peering at the delegates through field glasses, taking notes of the speeches, and finally on the second day surrounding the whole gathering with their uniformed police and military men armed with sten guns while the name and address of every delegate was taken down.

So why a festival? As one approached Kliptown (and I and others had driven 1,000 miles to get there), one could see the streams of other delegates arriving — some in cars, some in buses, others in carts or on foot, many carrying banners and wearing colourful national dresses for a gala occasion. At the fenced-in-open-air forum of the congress itself there were banners displayed from all over South Africa — from Natal, East Cape, West Cape and other places. And of course there were many delegates there without display of any sort to protect themselves; they had in fact to pretend they were not there at all. These delegates were mainly from the rural areas, liable to victimisation from employers and police if their presence was discovered. But despite all the intimidation and danger, they were there.

Before the congress started, groups of people were singing freedom songs. When the police staged their invasion on the second day and the delegates found them-

selves surrounded, the tension was so great that a spark could have set off a conflagration. But it was Ida Mntwana who kept the crowd peaceful by starting the singing of freedom songs from the platform. The buzz of anger died down and the defiant songs of freedom filled the air. The people continued with the business of the congress, and the clauses of the Freedom Charter were discussed and adopted while the police were taking down names.

Meal times were an important feature. We had signs up "soup with meat" and "soup without meat" to cater for the religious scruples or preferences of the delegates. The police thought these signs had some hidden political significance, and they were later handed in as evidence in the treason trial which was the government's reply to COP. During these lunch-breaks, we met and mingled with delegates from other centres, and made friendships and forged bonds which have endured to this day and will continue to thrill us throughout our lifetime.

There were a lot of marvellous people at COP and a lot of marvellous people worked to make it a success — ordinary men and women who make South Africa such an exciting place to live in. But I think of all the people with whom I worked for COP, perhaps the most impressive was the late John Mtini. He was a member of the African National Congress, almost 70 years old at that time, but young at heart, with the spirit, enthusiasm and energy of someone 50 years his junior. He lived with his wife in a tiny pondokkie in Elsie's River, near Cape Town. Despite ailing health, he never spared himself. When the Congress called, he answered. Inspired by the whole concept of COP, he organised his whole area, and used to come into the office with wads of £1 notes that he had collected to help cover the cost of transport. He himself collected enough money to send 12 people to the Congress. He used to bring in his money with a wonderful smile of satisfaction on his face, thrilled at the response of the people.

The awards of Isitwalandwe, the speeches from the platform, the general atmosphere all contributed to make the week-end of

the Congress of the People a truly memorable one. People from all over South Africa had come together, met one another, discussed their common problems, reached their decisions, adopted the Freedom Charter. We had signposted the way to another and better South Africa. COP

WHEEL OF UNITY



Symbol of the Congress of the People

and the Freedom Charter represented a shattering setback for the government — the time and effort they put into the treason trial showed that. The people had demonstrated they would never accept apartheid, would never submit, would resist repression, would continue to fight for liberation until final victory was won and South Africa was set free. The Freedom Charter has inspired the people in their struggles throughout the past 25 years, and continues to inspire them. A Luta Continua! Amandla!

ARMY IN SCHOOLS

When the racist army and police were let loose on the defenceless students and workers of Soweto, Atteridgeville, Gugulethu, Bonteheuwel and other areas of the country during the 1976 uprisings, hundreds of people died on the streets and gutters of the locations and townships throughout South Africa.

Now, the very same police and army murderers are imposed on the black people as teachers, doctors, advisers and so-called protectors. The Muldergate Scandal exposed the regime's methods of using the army, police and apartheid propaganda agencies to win back not only traditional allies in the West but also the people of South Africa and Namibia, which exposed the regime further in its attempts to make apartheid respectable and acceptable. It is therefore in this light that we have to see the widespread use of racist army personnel in schools, hospitals, rural projects and other "aid" activities. Apartheid has failed to win over the hearts and minds of the oppressed black people of South Africa and Namibia, Bantu education has collapsed, Black teachers have resigned en masse, schools have either been burnt to the ground or continue to be boycotted by the students. The regime is desperately searching for ways and means to give it another lease of life and it is to the army it has turned for this kiss of life.

The racist army has introduced a new scheme which is called Civil Action to which selected white soldiers are recruited after they have completed their usual army training. Civil Action training takes six months to complete after which they can work in "civilian areas", but as army personnel and it is mainly in the Bantustans that these soldiers get their "on the spot" training. It is said that a Civil Action Unit works under the control of the Bantustan

officials whilst the army is responsible for the maintenance of "discipline" and the paying of salaries.

In KwaZulu, 58 racist soldiers from the Natal Command under the control of Brigadier Charles Lloyd serve as teachers, doctors, dentists, agricultural advisers, engineers, mechanics, sports organisers, lecturers, legal and financial advisors.

Gazankulu is one of the main bases where Civil Action trainees are taught and at Giyani the racist army runs an agricultural school. In Bophuthatswana Bantustan, Brigadier Ferreira directs the North-Western Command and the Civil Action Unit. This group concentrates on working in schools, colleges, hospitals, and agricultural projects. The army personnel also teaches the puppets how to run the so-called "government administrations". The major projects of this group are at Taungs Agricultural College, Bathlaping High School, St Paul's Mission School and the Pingagore College. Racist Army personnel can be found at 16 schools throughout Bophuthatswana as well as the sports facilities which they jointly run with black teachers.

In the Venda Bantustan, soldiers also teach at the Finyaswanda Trade School as well as at the Arabi Agricultural College in Lebowa and the Sidlamafa Senior School in Nelspruit.

In the Orange Free State, racist soldiers enthusiastically organise school choirs, visits to army camps, brass bands and other projects for the Black Communities.

At the Potchefstroom Adult Education Centre, racist soldiers also run sports groups and night classes both for teachers and adults. The black principal of the Adult Education Centre, Mr R.E. Muraka has already said that "the soldiers are doing a marvellous piece of work".



In Klerksdorp, Stilfontein, Orkney and Carletonville the racist army also help in 30 schools in these towns.

In Soweto, armed racist soldiers have also appeared in the schools. The West Rand Board (WRAB) maintains that the soldiers are there only through the consent of the parents even though the parents have denied that they were ever asked. Already racist soldiers are teaching at the Umoja Art Centre in Mofolo Park, Alafang Secondary School, Katlehong Secondary School and other schools in Soweto.

In Namibia the situation is nearly the same. The racists have committed themselves to "establish a strong infra-structure in Namibia". In the Number 1 Military Area which covers Kavango and Western Caprivi, Colonel Gert Nel, Commander of the area has concentrated on supplying teachers, doctors, farmers and tradesmen for the area whereas Colonel J.J. Bischoff, the Officer Commanding the Number 2 Military Area spent R442,783 since September 1975 on the purchasing and distributing of 3,815 bibles in various

languages.

In Namibia the racist army is concentrating on the Ovambo Bantustan where they are busy at the Ongwediva Training Centre coaching athletes, organising extra mural classes and "giving a sense of protection to the local people". Other institutions they work at are the Loaloveld Primary School, Caprivi Training College where the principal is a racist soldier, Kizito Catholic Primary School run by nuns, Katima Mulilo Hospital, Oshakati State Hospital (3 doctors and 3 dentists), Eluwa School for the deaf, Ondagwa Government Computer Centre, Agricultural projects at Shadikongoro in Kavango and with the Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry near the Angolan Border.

The attitudes of the people of South Africa and Namibia have not been one of passive acceptance of these apartheid tactics. Throughout Namibia and South Africa there have been widespread condemnations and the refusal to cooperate with the fascist schemes. Students at the Umoja Art Centre in Mofolo Park immediately started to

boycott classes and said that they were not prepared to go back until Mr "Frikkie" Visagie, the racist soldier was removed. Earlier a black teacher at the Centre had been fired because the West Rand Board accused him of instigating the boycott. At a meeting organised by the Soweto Committee of Ten and AZAPO, speaker after speaker condemned the use of racist troops in black schools when in fact there is a shortage of teachers in white schools. In Namibia 700 students went on strike at the Petrus Kaneb Secondary School where the students and parents were angered at the recruitment of racist soldiers in the school. This resulted in the formation of the Black Parents Society to oppose the use of army personnel in Namibian schools. There is no doubt in any black person's mind at all that the whole exercise is to infiltrate black schools as teachers, sports-masters and art teachers. Soldiers are let loose on the students to indoctrinate them

by giving them irrelevant newspapers and magazines such as the pro-apartheid "Mmabatho Mail" from Perskor, "The Citizen" and the army magazine called "The Warrior". Students are also threatened by white principals and teachers who wear 9mm pistols and two-way radios with which they can contact and report to the police if the need ever arises.

Botha when he outlined the racist long-term aims recently, spoke about the need for a strong military and police force which could give the regime a reliable security and intelligence service. Every scheme of the regime is a concerted effort to strengthen itself against the massive mounting opposition to the fascist regime and its inhuman laws. The days of the racists are numbered and sooner or later progress must triumph over reaction, the people over the regime, the Freedom Charter over the apartheid constitution.

FREE MANDELA

While the Apartheid regime desperately searches for ways and means of shielding itself from the heavy blows of the advancing liberation struggle, the oppressed and democratic forces of our country are stepping up mass resistance to racist rule. A bold indication of their aspirations is the current Free Mandela Campaign being waged throughout South Africa.

The name of Nelson Mandela has become a rallying point in South Africa; a symbol of resistance and hope, the embodiment of all that the oppressed masses are fighting for. As Mandela himself said: "Above all we want equal political rights because without them our disabilities will be permanent."

A petition launched by the "Sunday

Post' newspaper demanding his release, reached the 30,000 mark by the end of the third week of the campaign.

People's Initiative

The victory of the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe has been a profound inspiration for the fighting people of South Africa. For the racists, the election results meant the stepping up of Botha's vain manoeuvres to lend legitimacy to apartheid — especially his call for a so-called conference with "acceptable" black "leaders" to "deliberate matters affecting South Africa". But the people seized the initiative!

The enemies response to the campaign was swift. At the March funeral of Comrade



Lilian Ngoyi, hundreds of pamphlets purporting to come from the ANC were found in bundles at the Methodist Church, Orlando East. The faked leaflets declared: 'Beware! People signing the petition for the release of Nelson Mandela are being closely watched by the Security Police.'

Widest Spectrum

Ignoring the threats of the racists, concerted efforts have been made to carry the campaign to new levels throughout the country. The message is reaching and being taken up by the widest spectrum of organisations and individuals. The young people are prominent in the campaign — they who have never known Mandela free. But as Mandela's daughter Zinzi recently said: "My father has been on Robben Island for over 15 years and it has been proved that after 15 years people still know who their leader is."

At a packed meeting of more than 2,500 students at the University of Cape Town, Mandela's other daughter, Zenani told the audience: "The dilemma of our country is having to accept that apartheid has failed with its imposed solutions through imposed leaders." After the meeting more than 1,200 signatures were appended to the petitions circulated in the hall. Soon after this activity, 13 students from the university were arrested and charged with "furtherance of communism".

Meanwhile in Mamelodi, Pretoria a meeting of the Congress of South African Students (Cosas) to discuss rent rises had the Free Mandela Campaign high on the agenda.

Leading churchmen have also taken up the campaign. The secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, Bishop Desmond Tutu called on all church ministers to circulate petitions in church each Sunday. "The church must give a

lead in this matter. These petitions must be drawn on ordinary paper and taken to the offices of the Sunday Post as soon as possible", he said.

In Natal, Diakonia, the inter-church organisation representing eight major denominations, joined the campaign. The body called on local congregations to give their full support to the petition.

The campaign is a purifying agent, drawing a demarcation line between those interested in genuine liberation and those interested in petty reforms — even some Bantustan chiefs who are far from being friends of the liberation struggle are forced to take sides.

Enemy Response

Despite the massive demand being made for the release of Nelson Mandela, the regime as always stands fast to its fascist policies. This was underlined by an article in the state's mouthpiece the 'Citizen' newspaper: "The Government does not consider Mandela to be a political prisoner.. the Government has no intention of

considering his release despite the present 'coordinated agitation'". In a speech to students at Stellenbosch University, PW Botha reiterated the regime's stand calling Nelson Mandela "a criminal".

Ideals and Aspirations

We are clear who the criminals are in South Africa. The demand for the release of Mandela is one for a just and democratic solution of the South African crisis; it is a rejection of apartheid and its Bantustans; a call for the implementation of the demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter — a document which expresses the ideals and aspirations of Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg and hundreds of political prisoners in South Africa. The demand for Mandela's release is a realisation by our people that "if the Zimbabweans can do it, why can't we?"

FOR THE UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE OF NELSON MANDELA AND ALL SA POLITICAL PRISONERS!



If you can't read that, try reading the writing on the wall."

ARMY AND POLITICS

part 3

Ten years ago the SADF consisted entirely of white male South Africans and until 1972 the apartheid regime repeatedly stated that it has no intention of employing Blacks in the military. By 1977, however, the standard bearer of 'total strategy', General Malan, announced that 20% of SADF troops serving in the Namibian operational area were black. At present the SADF is expanding the involvement of black South Africans in the apartheid war machine as fast as it possibly can.

It may seem surprising that the racist laager has opened its ranks at a time when the tide of liberation is stronger than ever. A number of material and political factors, however, have made this sector of military planning a crucial aspect of the apartheid strategy for survival.

The regime is dependent on white males to manage the apartheid economy. The momentum of struggle in Southern Africa has forced the SADF to continually increase its conscription levels. The regime's military manpower requirements — at present estimated at about 180,000 troops in active service at any given time — are causing severe stress in maintaining a controlled economy. The SADF has thus been forced to explore alternative manpower arrangements.

Of far more significance, however, are the political considerations behind black recruitment. One of the key foundations of Botha's present "total strategy" was laid out by the SADF in the early 1970's in its political arguments for the recruitment of black troops. The involvement of all sectors of the population in the military is in fact not a contradiction of traditional afrikaner ideology. It is, the only logical development possible within the apartheid masterplan. There is a need to protect the positions and status quo of bantustan puppet leaders.

This can be done most 'legitimately' by employing black troops. The establishment of bantustan military forces is aimed at creating protective buffer zones around the regime's industrial heartland. In the attempt to win the hearts and minds of the black population, the SADF's deployment of black troops is inextricably linked to the regime's propaganda signature tune: "We all need to fight against our common enemy, communism"!

The fact that since 1977 black troops have represented at least 20% of SADF operational strength is of major significance. For Blacks comprise less than 5% of total SADF strength. The SADF is thus using black troops as cannon fodder in an attempt to create a totally false picture of the nature of the struggle being waged against the apartheid military state.

At present blacks are being absorbed into the military structure through a variety of recruitment schemes. Approximately 1,000 Coloureds are being enlisted each year into a 2-year period of national service during which they are encouraged to join the Permanent Force. While this is portrayed as a voluntary system, what in fact exists is an economic draft with unemployed youths being forced to 'volunteer'. A similar scheme exists for Indian youths with approximately 150 being recruited each year. While Indians are only mustered in the Navy, Coloureds are deployed in infantry, maintenance and service units in the army, as well as in service capacities in the SAAF and SA Navy.

Africans are being recruited into two apparently separate structures; the permanent force of the SA Army and the bantustan forces. 21 Battalion, based at Lenz near Soweto, is responsible for the training of African infantry units which have been operational since 1978, fighting

**ONWARD SADF SOLDIERS TO
DEFEND THE POLITICAL FRONT!**



Bob Carnovsky

alongside white army units in Namibia, Transvaal and Natal. This Battalion has also trained the initial cadres of the three bantustan forces now in existence.

In typical apartheid fashion, Africans, Coloureds and Indians are deployed in their own 'racially pure' units, under the command of white officers. The SADF has not launched into the training of these troops without taking certain precautions to ensure their "loyalty". Volunteers are vetted by psychologists, ethnologists and senior SADF personnel to check their record and "personality" before being recruited. Training programmes devote a large portion of time to a variety of indoctrination techniques. Extensive propaganda within the SADF is aimed at making black troops feel "part of the family". PARATUS, the official journal of the SADF, carries a regular propaganda column written

by a black journalist. Pay, though not equal to Whites' is higher than Blacks can expect to earn almost anywhere else and, given that most recruits were previously unemployed and a significantly large proportion of them are married men with dependents to support, money is a strong incentive for them not to step out of line and run the risk of losing their lucrative employment.

It is in the SADF's bantustan strategy, however, that the fraudulent machinations of the apartheid militarists are clearly exposed. While the Transkei, relatively geographically isolated from the escalating armed struggle on the northern borders and urban areas, has been allowed a certain degree of independence in its military planning, the strategically located "homelands" that surround South Africa's industrial complexes in the Transvaal and

Natal are major focusses for SADF planning. Bophuthatswana is a case in point:

The geographic position of Bophuthatswana makes it a key factor in the SADF's counter-insurgency strategy. In a nutshell, the strategy for establishing the Transkeian military was based on the need for legitimising the granting of "independence" and the maintenance of the status quo of the Mantanzima regime against possible internal dissension. In Bophuthatswana the overriding priority is the establishment of a force that can be used by the SADF in defending areas of the North Western Transvaal and North Western Cape. The importance of this is all too clear, given the escalation of the activities of Umkhonto Sizwe in this area.

ter an initial statement in 1976, PW Botha announced in January 1977 that the SADF under the leadership of Brig FEC van den Bergh, OC NW Command, would assist the bantustan in the formation of a defence force. The Chief Minister of Bophuthatswana, Mangope, stated that every country had a right to defend its sovereignty and that in the "dangerous world of today the formation of a defence force to defend Bophuthatswana against Communist insurgency was a matter of the highest priority."

Two intakes of recruits, in February and May were trained in 1977 and by the time of "independence" in December, the unit, now known as the Bophuthatswana National Guard, had a strength of 221 men.

At "independence", the Bophuthatswana 'government' was restructured with state control being enforced through an executive presidency and 9 governmental departments. The military was put under the command not of a Department of Defence (as is the case in the Traskei), but under the "Office of the Military Adviser and Operations" directly controlled by the president who in turn was obviously controlled by the military adviser. Mangope appointed himself as Chief of the Defence Force.

According to an official statement: "It was decided that the Bophuthatswana Defence Force nucleus be formed as a unit of the NW CommandChief Mangope appointed a Defence Committee to

formulate defence policy. The OC NW Command was appointed as the Military Adviser responsible for establishing and training the unit...A Defence Headquarters commands the defence structure, which consists of the National Guard, under which rifle, constuction and support companies will fall. There is also a Military Band and an Advanced Training Wing. It will later be possible for either the rifle or construction element to be separated from the National Guard and to become an infantry battalion or engineer regiment in its own right after having been strengthened by the addition of further companies, in which case the new unit will have its own unit headquarters and support company."

In June 1977, a senior defence spokesman revealed that at that stage 3 separate PF battalions were being planned with about 700 troops in each.

By 1978 a number of senior SADF officers had been permanently transferred to the Bophuthatswana National Guard. The 2 most senior commanders, J van Niekerk (OC Bophuthatswana National Guard) and AJP du Plessis (Chief Staff Officer Operations), carry the rank of Lieutenant Colonel (Lt Col), a rank not used in the SADF. This is obviously a superficial attempt to make the National Guard appear to be an independent force.

According to official sources, the training of the National Guard incorporates the development and expansion of "Tswana military culture". Tswana ethnologists have been employed to integrate Tswana customs into the defence force. For instance, the rank of "captain" has been dropped, as the Afrikaans word "Kaptein" can also refer to a tribal chief.

What is of particular significance is the importance that has been attached to the establishment of an engineer construction unit. This appears clearly to be aimed at the rapid development of a network of military roads in the area which will greatly enhance the SADF's counter-insurgency operational ability along the Botswana border.

SA & THE INDIAN OCEAN

The following paper was presented by the African National Congress at a Conference organised by the World Peace Council on Peace and Security in Asia. It was held in New Delhi, 22-25 March, 1980.

It is not for the first time that we air our views on this topic and avoid repetition we shall concentrate on those aspects which we feel are of vital importance in the understanding of the dangerous role racist South Africa is playing in the region of the Indian Ocean.

The Western countries have always seen racist South Africa to be of strategic importance but the problem has always been the reaction of the so-called "third world" countries and the socialist countries. That is why they find themselves in a political dilemma; either collusion with or opposition to Apartheid in other words, with to support the present policy of the regime or advocate for a change in the status quo. They have invariably opted for the first option.

On the other hand the South African racists use the country's strategic importance as a most effective deterrent against Western intervention (and in particular economic sanctions): the West must depend on South Africa to defeat the so-called "communist expansion" in Africa. This argument conceals one fundamental truth namely that in actual fact racist South Africa's importance reflects the scope of its dependence on the West. Racist South Africa depends on the West for its defence i.e. the presence of Western warships in the Indian Ocean and it also relies on Western markets for 89% of its mineral production. Even its acts of aggression are dependent on this aid: the fiasco in Angola in 1975/76 when Western aid was not available is enough proof of this.

The thesis of the so-called "strategic balance of forces between East and West in the Southern Hemisphere" serves to highlight the extent of South Africa's vulnerability rather than the importance of racist South Africa because the balance is obviously shifting in favour of the progressive forces in Southern Africa. Changes of a historic nature are taking place in the region of Southern Africa.

The South African Navy

Before 1970 five of its eight principal ships dated from World War 11: its naval capability depended on renewed arms sales from the West. The question then arises could South Africa manage to undertake mid-ocean operations without long-range naval reconnaissance support in the absence of replacements? It is then obvious that for the West the credibility of South Africa's Navy arose not from the projections of its naval planners but from political considerations. Therefore, political and military considerations are indivisible.

South Africa's navy has been modernised and expanded. 38% of the South African armaments is spent abroad primarily on naval and airforce equipment. Many western countries are involved in this process of "modernisation" and "expansion". For the sake of brevity we shall cite two countries, namely Italy and Israel. A state-owned Italian radar and missile company is refitting South African President Kruger-class frigates with the Albatross shipborne anti-aircraft/anti-missile system. In late 1974 Israel supplied the South African navy with three Reshef type patrol boats. The Reshefs as well as missile boats now being built under Israeli licence in Durban are each fitted with an OTO Melara 76mm gun, an Italian state-owned production.

The South African navy has been changing its role from that of monitoring merchant ships and strategic missiles to a "defensive policy" to "protect" its coasts and harbours — hence the formation of a unit of marines.

Futile Arguments

International imperialism and the racist South African regime distort the facts about the situation in Southern Africa. They tell us that the threat to South Africa comes from Moscow. Yet we all know that the real threat to the regime comes internally from the black masses of our people.

They try to use this argument as a justification for the so-called protection of the sea-lanes. There is a lot of shadow-boxing in most of the arguments about the Cape route: while the West and South Africa are concerned with an external threat ("Soviet threat") to their security interests at the Cape, South Africa faces an internal threat to its position there. Against this threat South Africa's frontiers are no defence of the regime's legitimacy nor an argument for non-interference in its sovereignty. Another sinister aspect of this problem is the question of Bantustans and attempts to make Africans lose their South African citizenship. This is another attempt to justify the argument that this internal threat is indeed an external threat!

When we consider that South Africa's regular forces are maintained for internal security and, therefore, the conflict that arises in South Africa is more of an intra-state insurgency rather than an interstate conflict the hollowness of the argument about external threat becomes obvious.

Ironically, there is much talk about the "political reliability" of South Africa and this dovetails with racist South Africa's claim that it is keeping the Cape "in trust for the Free World". This "political reliability" tends to mean the old colonial order in the guise of apartheid.

Racist South Africa has been the only country on that part of the African continent to protest at the so-called Soviet presence in the Indian Ocean and to defend the expansion of the American base at Diego Garcia. This is not surprising for

racist South Africa is not an African state.

The Indian Ocean

The militarisation of the Indian Ocean means free flow of raw materials at the Cape and access to them — that is the West's economic interests cover the mineral reserves of South Africa; it also means that the defence of the oil route is coupled with the "right" of the West to exploit the mineral and human reserves inside South Africa. This is all the more so, because in Southern Africa the "interception" of the region's raw materials can obviously be undertaken at sea as its railway system runs from the interior to the coast. (The disruption of the region's transport infrastructure is an important aspect of our struggle). By the way this has repercussions on independent Africa!

Talking about the oil route it is important to note that 2300 vessels pass the Cape every month and in the year which ended on 31st March 1978 South Africa's ports provided docking and repair facilities for 12,554 ships.

This problem of the Indian Ocean cannot be divorced from the thinking behind the establishment of the Simonstown base which meant Britain's presence in support of South Africa's strategic position in Southern Africa and white rule within South Africa. In actual fact Simonstown's importance stemmed from the support it gave Britain's forward deployment in the Middle East and the "protection" of the tankers in the Persian Gulf rather than any protection it offered them at the Cape.

One can say with certainty that the South African Navy has a "counter insurgency" function; the strategic significance of South Africa rests firmly on its counter-revolutionary role and its regional role in Southern Africa.

Imperialist Manoeuvres

We have already stated that racist South Africa is incapable of conducting its own defence without Western military aid. Let us take the case of U.S. tactics as an example. It is said that racist South Africa owns 20 per cent of one of the most

advanced weapons research in America: that is the Space Research an enterprise straddling the U.S.-Canadian border. This enterprise has been secretly supplying South Africa with one of the most sophisticated and deadly artillery systems in a deal estimated to be worth \$50 million. It sold 53000 long range 155mm howitzer shells and an advanced artillery system to South Africa.

It is said that at least 12 of the employees of Space Research Corp. were sent to a remote military range in central South Africa — 60 miles west of Kimberly — to aid in the design, development and testing of the advanced weapons systems.

The fact that the U.S. Defence Department, State Department, CIA and countries like Canada, Britain, Belgium, Israel, Space Capital International NV — “a Dutch-based front for South Africa” — were involved, was a violation of the UN arms embargo banning the sale of arms to the white minority ruled country of South Africa. The very fact that the shipments of ballistics testing equipment and demonstration projectiles — code named “Miami” — were from Canada via Spain to South Africa shows that the whole act was deliberate and calculated.

Secondly it is interesting to note that last September South Africa exploded a two to three kiloton blast and this resembles the nuclear products developed by Space Research.

The militarisation of the Indian Ocean submits the sovereign states in this region to the whims and pressure of racist South Africa and international imperialism and this is a threat to the lives of millions of people who cannot defend themselves.

The Indian Ocean is about 4000 miles long and 4000 miles wide; there are 37 countries, littoral and hinterland, which surround it and this constitutes one third of the world's population. The increasing importance of oil, the abundance of raw materials in the hinterland and littoral countries; the enormous economic interests of Western powers in many Indian Ocean countries; the very rich fishing zone it represents — these are some of the reasons for this increasing militarisation.

Diego Garcia is situated in the heart of

this region. In 1965 the U.K. formed the British Indian Ocean Territory (BIOT) comprising the following islands: Aldabra, Farquar, Desroches and the Chagos Archipelago of which Diego Garcia is part. In 1966 the U.K. leased Diego Garcia to the U.S. for a period of 50 years. It is said that the U.S. is interested only in communication facilities but we know that Pentagon's plans involve a great deal more than just communications. The enlarged runway is being considered for landing B-52 bombers and there is a possibility of stationing swing-wing F 111's capable of carrying nuclear weapons. What about nuclear submarines and aircraft carriers? Diego Garcia is being literally transformed into a nuclear base.

France is also very much involved in building up a military defence complex in the Indian Ocean. She is claiming a half a dozen tiny islands off the coast of Madagascar with a total area of about 50km: five of these islands are claimed by Madagascar and one by Mauritius. France plans to build a sophisticated electronic detection system to plot all shipping movements as far north as the Gulf-States; air strips are to be built and supply points for submarines, and missiles will be sited here.

The strategy of imperialism is changing from that of open territorial occupation to that of encirclement: in the Indian Ocean there are three vital bases — Diego Garcia operated by Americans; Tangeh, Singapore, operated clandestinely by the Australians and the Simonstown base in South Africa. We should not forget that the narrowest point between the continental land masses of Latin America and Africa is only 1,250 miles.

In conclusion we suggest that the fight to dismantle the military bases in the Indian Ocean needs a concerted effort of all peace-loving people, acts of solidarity, building a network of economic and commercial relations; consultations in various fields: technical, professional, cultural etc. and charting out policies of common interest — and the demilitarisation of the Indian Ocean may be one of them.

CULTURE & REVOLUTION

In this article an artist and member of the African National Congress looks at the role of culture in the revolutionary process and calls for more effort to be put into this sphere of all-round political work.

South Africa is in a state of war. War was declared on all the people of South Africa, when the first piece of land was forcibly appropriated as property of foreign colonial powers. The blood and sweat of our people combined with the riches of our usurped lands, were exploited to produce mountains of wealth for the invaders. Now this land and all its material, human and spiritual wealth must be reclaimed. This monumental task demands the time, labour and brains of all freedom lovers, and especially South Africans.

In the Freedom Charter the African National Congress of South Africa, articulated the best conscious and unconscious aspirations of the people of South Africa regarding the correct ideological perspective imperative for justice to prevail in South Africa:

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

THE GOVERNMENT SHALL DISCOVER AND ENCOURAGE NATIONAL TALENT FOR THE ENHANCEMENT OF OUR CULTURAL LIFE;

ALL CULTURAL TREASURES OF MANKIND SHALL BE OPEN TO ALL BY FREE EXCHANGE OF BOOKS, IDEAS AND CONTACT WITH OTHER LANDS;

THE AIM OF EDUCATION SHALL BE TO TEACH THE YOUTH TO LOVE

THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR CULTURE, TO HONOUR HUMAN BROTHERHOOD, LIBERTY AND PEACE;

EDUCATION SHALL BE FREE, COMPULSORY AND EQUAL FOR ALL CHILDREN;

HIGHER EDUCATION AND TECHNICAL TRAINING SHALL BE OPENED TO ALL BY MEANS OF STATE ALLOWANCES AND SCHOLARSHIPS AWARDED ON THE BASIS OF MERIT;

ADULT ILLITERACY SHALL BE ENDED BY A MASS STATE EDUCATION PLAN;

THE COLOUR BAR IN CULTURAL LIFE IN SPORT AND IN EDUCATION SHALL BE ABOLISHED!

This is indeed an all-embracing, educational cultural programme, which needs implementation even before seizure of state power.

When UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (Spear of the Nation) was formed, our movement had recognised the necessity of the military wing, with its crucial task of executing an armed struggle, as the decisive and inevitable means available to us to win independence. A new imperative arose. The liberation movement had to take very seriously the section relating to culture in the FREEDOM CHARTER and systematically had to consider the role of culture as a nodal point in our present struggle.

Liberation Struggle and Culture

The African National Congress of South

Africa has a bright record of incorporating culture and various art forms in its political work. We have been edified by the determined poetry that has constantly appeared in SECHABA. The same publication has on occasion discussed South African artists and their contributions to the development of our culture. So strong at times was the link between culture and politics, so clear was our movement's perception of this interrelation that the ANC of South Africa, without any fan fair or flag-waving, was instrumental in the setting up of Dorkay House. So strong has been the desire in artists too to be part of the movement that many an artist has spent valuable time away from his regular professional activities raising funds or assisting the various offices of our organisation. Even on that historic day, 26th June, 1955 in Kliptown, South Africa, when the FREEDOM CHARTER was adopted at the Congress of the People, various artistic groups including the Huddleston Band registered their endorsement to the most democratic statement from that highly representative gathering in the history of South Africa.

But then, here was the problem. Artists were always "brought in" or "drawn into" the act almost incidentally, because they were South Africans, instead of being an intergral part of our struggle. But this desire to be "part of" has no doubt always been there. Perhaps, too long, and from whatever their distance, artists have only identified. While there is virtue even in this, distant and occasional identification becomes a hindrance to effective programming and directed long-range planning. Ours is the artists' and educationists' struggle as well as the workers' and peasants', as well as political leaders', as well as the soldiers'. We suspect that our artists want to be more than extra-added attraction to embellish political rallies. They want to carry the political message in a cultural form just as seriously and especially consciously as our political leaders' committment to projecting the correct ideological outlook on our struggle. Short of this approach, artists will be relegated to a lower political status since they would have been defined as all emotion

and no reason or all heart and no brain.

In rejecting this split between politics and art, deliberately fostered and perpetuated by western education, we subscribe to a philosophy that asserts and promotes the harmony between politics and products of man's creativity. We do not accept the hypocritical view-point that education can be non-political. We do not believe in the much publicised myth of "art for art's sake" and conclude that a more apt description of much western "abstract" art would be art for profit's sake. Therefore a clearly mapped out cultural programme would of necessity entail and or assume some political and ideological development for artists consistent with the ANC of South Africa's goal of national liberation and to end exploitation of man by man. In the words of one of our songs in the ANC, "unzima lomthwalo ufuna sihlangane"; "it is heavy this burden, it wants us to unite".

On the cultural plane the song is already taking concrete form. When the ANC of



Cultural performance in Amsterdam

South Africa was able to pool together artists such as dancers, writers, musicians (vocalists and instrumentalists) teachers, nurses and soldiers and when the movement sent all these from different parts of the world as representatives of our struggling people as well as our liberation movement to FESTAC 77' in Nigeria, a dramatic page was added to the history of the movement. As problem-ridden as FESTAC was for the AMANDLA BAND in Nigeria, even though there were a few hurdles and impediments in East Africa and Zambia for our artists, yet something happened to the spirit of everyone involved. "We can't stop now" one said. "Let's record together" suggested musicians to poets. And yet another; "We need to formalise this association".

In the end one thing became crystal clear — "a baby has been born" said the one man on the drums. Our baby! There is a point of recognition here. The artists were in fact expressing a response to the new world situation. Consciously or perhaps unconsciously they were saying that we cannot be bystanders, when history points a finger at us to proceed where Angola left off. Not exactly left off, for, as the Angolans state, "a luta continua" and "a vitoria e certa". So dare we linger in our regular routine or continue to do business as usual or standby as history is being made every day in our part of the world. No, we dare not, unless we wish to perish. Yet perish we will not for that's not what SOWETO 1976 teaches. Nor does the experience of other people in their struggles suggest that. We are part of a moving, changing world!

Die as a tribe, born as a nation .

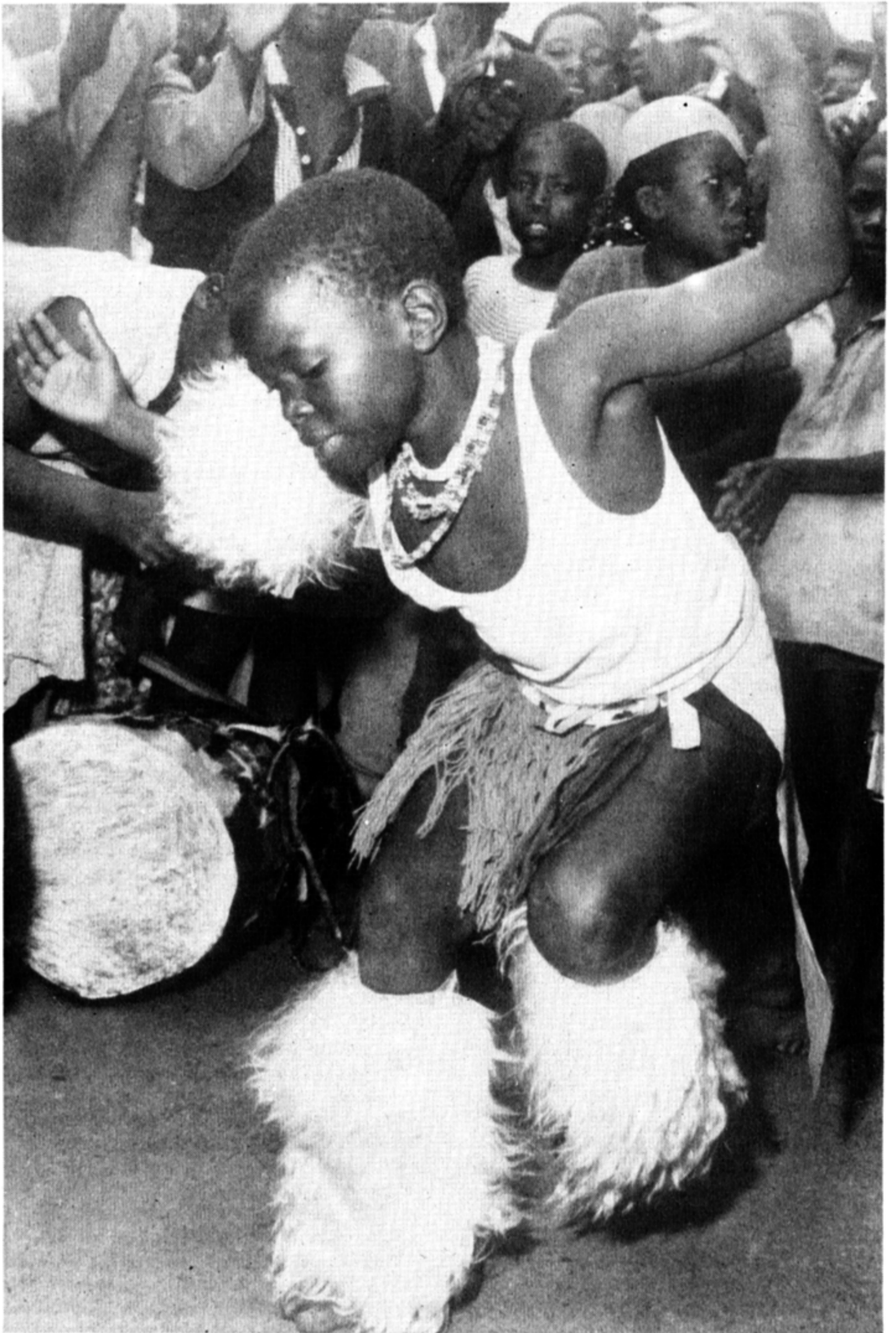
So, while we understand that victory in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC is ours, we must never lose sight of the fact that no revolution has ever been won without harnessing culture to ideology on the people's turbulent voyage to freedom. To name but a few; take the father of the Vietnamese revolution, Ho Chi Minh! Side by side his gun, he organised his people for action against imperialist aggression through his pen as well as his brilliant analysis and exemplary dedication.

He committed his artistry to the revolution. Why not us? And then, what of Chile's Pablo Neruda? So revolutionary was his writing that not even the Noble Prize Literature Committee could forever ignore him!

Close to home, there is the late President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola. From a poem of his, one can teach aspects of the history of plunder and exploitation and then almost with incredible lucidity unite reason and emotion, thus laying the basis for the armed struggle. Some of our artists have been doing this already, on their own. Why not all of us? And collectively! We are of the same stuff! During the liberation struggle in Mozambique, as the FRELIMO militants moved from national group to another, teaching all about exploitation and the reasons why and the methods how, their objective was capitalised in the slogan "we must die as a tribe and be born as a nation". Well, did they mean death of cultural expressions for some national groups? No! And this has immediate relevance for anyone working in the area of culture from South Africa. FRELIMO recognised that there were different ethnic or regional cultures that obtain in Mozambique and the same applies to South Africa.

Operating on the principle of mutual enrichment based on equality and respect, our aim should be to work with the totality of our heritage, bringing out and heightening that which is best in each given cultural group and in that process of interaction and sharing, universalise them, so that ultimately those acceptable artistic traditions and values become the wealth and pride of all our people, regardless of their cultural origins. This notion is diametrically opposed to Bantustanisation of our culture. It however does mean that each one of our cultural traditions must be studied and analysed, so that the most progressive, humanistic and democratic elements are extolled. We will not defend a tribe, but even with our life will defend the nation.

Likewise all reactionary, negative and undemocratic ones should be exposed for what they are and negated. Essentially, we are advocating the invention of something new or even novel. We simply want to work for the development of the best



and to use this politically.

Colonial Culture

Like the imperative of Umkhonto we Sizwe, a clearly defined and designed role of culture in the ANC of South Africa is a must. In a sense culture must be seen as a two pronged revolver, one mouth for the bullet and the other for education. All exploiters make sure that the process of exploitation is accompanied by a cultural ideological offensive on those it wants to subjugate. After physically wanting to remove the African from his African frame of reference, slavery then proceeded to strip the slave of his clothing, language, food and sense of self, while simultaneously imposing a foreign world outlook through the oppressor's own culture. Under colonialism a foreign religion was forced down the throats of colonial workers to negate or compete with the existing forms of religion, under the most fantastic pretext that colonial peoples had no culture, no religion, no ethics. Colonial education had the primary aim of instilling the oppressors' cultural values, the better to ravage the resources and the labour of the colonised.

The only difference between Shepstone's "detrribalisation" policy and the "retribalisation" Bantustan scheme of the present racist regime in South Africa is one of style rather than essence. Mines, farms, industry and prospects for profits in South Africa made and still make the oppressor distort our culture, degenerate all aspects of it, save those that would promote his material interests. It has been pointed out that in the epoch of imperialism, the more advanced nations exploit and plunder the "less advanced" peoples. Thus uneven economic and political developments go hand in hand with uneven cultural development.

Role of Culture

We cannot lose sight of the fact that our struggle in South Africa and indeed the whole of Southern Africa is against:

a) Colonialism (devised for capitalist exploitation);

b) Capitalism (private appropriation of the future of other people's labour by those who do not themselves produce all this wealth but "own" the land they stole, to force others to work it);

c) Apartheid or racism (justification and rationale for preferring someone because of their different colour for this exploitation from the Western world and them claiming God "science" and morality for this insanity);

d) Imperialism (a higher stage of expansion and consolidation of capitalism universally) and

e) national oppression and "tribal" divisions

Cultural workers, educators must understand this and after understanding DO something about it! Lenin once said "For art to get closer to the people and the people to art, we must start by raising general educational and cultural standards". To do this we have to denounce the heritage of the exploiter, we must fight the prejudices that the South African system methodically unleashes on our people, re educate them into accepting superior systems of justice, attainable not in the hereafter, but down here on the ground. Always we must remember that culture is a document of history. It records the past, reflects the present and can project the future. The present and especially the future should be our major concern. But how do we adequately master these without a winning and guiding ideology the past can seem inevitable "given the nature of Man" as apologists for exploitation often mislead. The present so preceptitious that be tempted to echo negative ideas forgetting that every cultural expression has an ideological base.

Western Media

Our people are influenced by stronger media, the cinema. Again this is not new, that all the movie pictures are from the West. They are used to recruit people to the mines. During World War II, they were used to recruit soldiers by fabricating lies about African heroes. Unbeknown to them, people assimilate American culture, they are imbued with the falsehood of the



"Let us proceed as cultural warriors"

superiority of the "American Way of Life", thus affecting every aspect of life, our psyche. As a result of this socialisation process, we become (because we are poor) imitations of cultural agents of imperialism. We have many a time applauded the cowboy after he killed or escaped from being killed by Native Americans (American Indians), whose lands the forefathers of the cowboy stole. The methods used in gang movies help to season and give an "American touch" to our high crime rate, itself a result of the social conditions and the myriad of frustrations these breed. A campaign against these is also necessary against this slavish emulation and invitation of the West. Culture which is a vehicle and product of creation becomes a destruc-

tive force resulting in "creatures" and spiritual and moral poverty.

There is the phenomenon of the "new rich" in Soweto and places like "Beverly Hills" — named after the prestigious residential place for movie stars in Hollywood. Here people live much like the victims of USA oppression inside the USA where "conspicuous consumption" determines the value of a person. They have totally embraced the hopelessness of the situation and the only sources of fulfillment comes from annual trips to Europe, USA and Japan (Home away from home) and those week-end trips across the border to feel and act human (white) in the notorious CASINOS — another importation of western decadence. These "big shots" superficial,

pretentious and pompous try to make up for the down-trodden condition of the majority of the people, for the alienation experienced by all Africans by becoming consumers. Because their shortsightedness and self indulgence detracts them from the struggle for liberation, their identity brings them closer to the oppressor than to the Blacks. Victims themselves, they are also results of a cultural offensive which goes hand in hand with imperialism.

Cultural Decadence

With the advent of the Bantustans there is forced exodus from the urban to the rural areas. Even though labour requirements might place reins on numbers, we suspect that even that rural cultural source might be polluted. To some extent this is already happening. Witness, the picture in Drum of an African woman dancer at the so-called independence celebrations in the Transkei displaying a specially designed "bloomers", legs up in the air, doing "indlamu".

We have seen how our oppressors have used some of our actors and actresses in this cultural offensive in plays like IPI—TOMBI. The show was so determinedly unAfrican (all the pretensions and elaborate costumes notwithstanding) that it boggles the mind to fully comprehend how our artists could allow themselves to be violated to that degree without knowing what was at stake. IPI—TOMBI was one of the vulgar commercial advertisements of the Vorster regime's lie that "Things have changed in South Africa". "Come and see our happy foolish Natives" should have been the most appropriate title. Besides, behind all those songs sang by Africans is the unmistakable voice phrasing, inflexion of a white arranger — guilty of plagiarism. Behind the busy and undecided gimmicks that masquerade as "indlamu" is an anti-African mind, depraved, disdainful and lecherous — the choreographer. Which African culture in South Africa could ever accomodate or tolerate in its dance form the site of an African woman legs wide apart, gyrating across the stage to the sound of drums until she reaches a man

on his back and as she wiggles across his face, he is exhausted from drooling.

Programme of Action

We believe that the responsibility for our movement is to work out a plan of action for our people pertaining to culture. We have to map our a cultural strategy, shape its results, anticipate problems and the desired response and action. Energetically, the plan must be executed. And all this depends on all of us, for we are the movement. WE MUST WIN.

We need an all embracing programme of action with a political content — a revolutionary one. Our programme of action must be deliberately and pointedly directed at propagandising. This means we must educate, reeducate and negate the enemy's propaganda. We must organise for action. We must organise to raise funds to finance our struggle. We must organise to win.

Indeed a new baby is born. Will it survive? In a way this is a moot question, because some South Africans have already started nurturing it. We need more hands and heads. Therefore wherever we are, what ever our cultural medium, together let us arm and proceed almost as cultural warriors inside and outside the country and help to facilitate our victory.

In a sense this is already being done — the cultural renaissance which is noticeable throughout the country is a proof of this. Our organisations being banned, political leaders arrested, detained and killed under detention the people have devised new forms of cultural expression and created new political platforms. The interest the ANC shows in our culture (plays, gumboot dance, poetry, choral music, political songs, art and sculpture) shows that in the main we have grasped the spirit of the people. The task is to shorten our spears and have a firm grip on our shields. Like the warriors of the past, let us dance towards the enemy. Let us jive to freedom.

ABDULLAH IBRAHIM SPEAKS

Sechaba interviews Abdullah Ibrahim — Dollar Brand — on the eve of a highly successful benefit concert held in London recently.

How did you come to be a musician, artist and pianist?

Well, looking back, I think that for all of us from South Africa, music is an integral part of our day-to-day living. I remember my grandmother was a pianist in the local church. In South Africa there is music all around you, especially when you are young. Like everybody else in South Africa, I was exposed to a rich and varied musical culture.

I started piano lessons when I was about seven years of age with the local school teacher. When I went to High school I started playing in Dance Bands — I used to play traditional music. At that time it was called Marabee. I remember that time in Johannesburg — the Harlem Swingsters, the late Sol Klaaste, Peter Resant, 'Ntemi-Philiso. African jazz was just starting at that time. In fact one of my first tours was with Dambuza. I remember we called it the Manhattan Brothers. We played all the traditional songs like Magwalandini. I was very young at that time but it was a rich experience for me to get a good background into our tradition.

Can you tell us what it was that brought you to realise your position as a black man in South Africa?

I think the realisation is there even before birth. It's with your family and with the nation. I think as a musician it became clear to me very early that it was impossible for me to earn a living and just contribute as effectively as I could to society because of the Apartheid system. That's why we left South Africa for the first time in 1962. In fact we went back there because we thought that perhaps being closer to the

people would be a better way to contribute. Of course in 1976, when we were there during the uprisings we realised we had always known there was only one answer and that was the armed struggle. I think every black man has made up his mind about that.

I am a South African and I want to contribute to my society in my own country and I am stopped from doing this. The next thing is that I have to play a concert and I can't bring in my own mother. She is not allowed to come and listen to the concert because the Boers will only give me a permit to play to them only. I said no way. I would never play to segregated audiences. So the realisation as to what I am as a South African and a Black has partly come through the music but basically like everybody else it has come from what I experienced socially, politically, economically.

You are playing for the ANC tonight, you know what the ANC stands for and what the people should do. What is your message to our people, especially the artists?

I don't see myself as playing for the ANC. It is my Government. I regard the ANC as my Government. I think the problem with a lot of our musicians stems from thinking too much in terms of being professional musicians in terms of western commercialism. At this moment it is more important for us to relate what we are doing towards the struggle, because more than anyone else our people do look up to us, especially the young people. The liberation struggle is there to create a new society and as musicians we should really rethink our position.

My personal feeling is that it is a time of sacrifice. We see it at all levels — the children, young people, our leaders, the people who have been in prison for decades, others who have lost their lives like Solomon Mahlangu — it's a sacrifice. Others like

James Mange have just been sentenced to



Abdullah Ibrahim

death. It is a time of sacrifice in the sense that we have to redirect our energies towards the struggle. As a unit we will be much more effective instead of dissipating our energies in search of our own personal grandeur.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Another reader contributes on the question of unity in our struggle in response to the letter by P.N. in the March 1980 issue of SECHABA.

Congratulations to PN for his thoughtful note on the question of unity in our liberation struggle; a topic which certainly merits an ongoing discussion. I wholeheartedly agree with the broad sweep of PN's submission; more especially his insistence that, at the end of the day, it is politics which remains in command and not administrative and mechanical considerations. In this connection it is worth recalling the trenchant remarks of Marcellino dos Santos in an interview published by the African Communist (4th Quarter 1973):

"When we speak about unity we mean, in the first place, unity of the people; not just groups who claim to represent the people. Every situation generates numerous individuals and groups who have the ambition to exploit a struggle for their own ends. The real question is: what is represented by an organisation? It follows that unity between organisations only has meaning if they have a real base amongst the people, otherwise it is purely formal and does not serve the interests of a people. Such a kind of unity may even serve to divide the people rather than unite them. Unity is a complex process. It is never achieved easily and its basis is always in the process of transformation. One has to know at each stage what the platform of unity is. In Frelimo in 1962 what was the base of unity? It was to eliminate foreign oppression. Later the word oppression came to include even internal groups who wanted to replace foreign oppression with their own. So the base of unity is continuously changing. When we ask two or more groups to unite, we have to establish the base of this unity and the base must be determined by the level of development of the struggle and the objective realities. It is not enough to talk just of unity in principle."

PN correctly emphasises that the united front which we have always sought to encourage must embrace not only those forces which already accept the strategic and tactical policies and leadership of the ANC but also those who "are willing to co-operate with us on a minimum political programme" and even those unwilling to do so but who show a readiness (and, I would add, a potential) to "co-operate with us and confront the enemy on certain issues".

These principles are the bread and butter of united front politics. I however have a few reservations about the way PN applies them to the Black Alliance. The question which he poses in relation to the black alliance is a loaded one. We are told to assume as "given" that the parties involved function within the Apartheid structures and that the largest contingent, Inkatha, is inalienably (my emphasis) linked to the regime's bantustan programme. To this

loaded question there can of course only be one answer; they are irredemiably on the other side.

Surely it is at least arguable that the Labour Party succeeded in making unworkable the specific apartheid structure of the Coloured Representative Council by its relatively consistent tactic of rejectionist participation. The regime has now been forced to abolish the C.R.C. In the course of its struggle experience, the Labour Party has been moving closer and closer to a public acceptance of the ANC as the key organ of the liberation struggle. Also, despite the reservation which Buthelezi's inconsistent and often anti-popular manouevres incite, is it sufficient to dismiss the Inkatha movement as being 'inalienably' lost to the enemy because of its link with the bantustan programme? Do we dismiss as irrelevant the consistent opposition by Inkatha to the regime's so called "independence" programme which (and there is no space to elaborate the reasons) constitutes one of the most vital platforms around which the popular masses must be mobilised and united.

PN correctly stresses the need to mobilise our people - who have to live in the Bantustans. Can we talk seriously of doing this job effectively without harnessing the tens of thousands who are organised into legal movements which they see as vehicles for resisting the worst excesses of the Bantustan policies?

It is impossible in this short contribution to argue out fully the thorny question of organisations which "function within the apartheid structures". But we should surely avoid the over-simplified conclusion (a la Unity movement) that mechanically dismisses participation as collaborationist under any and all circumstances. As stated by the ANC Strategy and Tactics:

"The revolutionary-sounding phrase does not always reflect the revolutionary policy, and revolutionary-sounding policy is not always the spring board for revolutionary advance. Indeed what appears to be "militant" and "revolutionary" can often be counter-revolutionary. It is surely a question of whether, in the given concrete situation, the course or policy advocated



will aid or impede the prospects of the conquest of power."

Coming back to the Black Alliance let me say at once that as presently constituted it cannot be regarded as the instrument (which it claims to be) for the implementation of the policy pioneered by the ANC and its allies; the calling of a truly representative non-racial convention etc. But the route which PN takes to drive us to this conclusion has pitfalls which could divert us into discounting any future role at all in this area for organisations like the Labour Party and Inkatha. The task of preparing the ground for a convention must be undertaken by a much more broadly-based popular movement than is the case with the present Black Alliance.

My quarrel with PN is that his ambiguous formulations clearly imply that organisations like Inkatha and the Labour Party must be written off as standing squarely on the side of those who are working the system. Such an approach has, I believe, many harmful implications not only in relation to the convention question but for the whole area which PN tackles so well - the creation of a broadly based united front. Can we be so adamant that the organisations in question have no potential to be drawn into such a front? If we adopt such an over-simplified approach then we will no doubt contribute to driving them "inalienably" into the enemy camp.

J.S.

MA-NGOYI THE HEROINE

Extracts from obituary by the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress.

The National Executive Committee and all the members of the African National Congress of South Africa have learnt with deep sorrow of the sad passing away of one of the beloved and internationally known leaders of the struggling people of South Africa, Comrade Lilian Masediba Ngoyi. She died on the 13th of March, 1980 at the age of 68 after a short illness.

Ma-Ngoyi, as she was affectionately known by all her comrades in struggle and millions of the followers of the African National Congress, has always been in the front ranks of our revolutionary struggle, occupying leading positions as the first President of the African National Congress Women's League, and as second President of the Federation of South African Women. She was also a leading member of the National Executive Committee of our organisation.

Throughout the decade of the 50's, which was a particularly turbulent period in the political life of the entire country, Lilian was a participant in all the major policy decisions of the African National Congress, guiding the entire oppressed population into battle against the draconian policies of the fascist Nationalist Party government. She was the prominent leader of the militant women's campaigns, both in the urban areas and in the rural backyards of our country, fighting against the extension of the hated pass laws to our womenfolk.

In her dual capacity as President of the Federation of South African Women and also President of the African National Congress Women's League, she led a historic march in which more than 20,000 women

of all races participated on the 9th of August, 1956 to protest against the pass laws for women.

During the middle fifties she, together with two other women leaders, visited the headquarters of the Women's International Democratic Federation, based in the German Democratic Republic. From there she visited several socialist countries, including the Soviet Union.

We owe our unshakable positions within the ranks of the international democratic movement to leaders such as Lilian Ngoyi, who were able to convincingly explain the progressive policies of the African National Congress. Our international relations have always been guided by the loyalty of our movement to the ideals pursued by the progressive anti-imperialist movement of the peoples of the whole world.

Consistent with the regime's aggressive policies towards the national liberation movement of our people, Lilian has had her fair share of persecution at the hands of the fascist regime. She was arrested and charged of High Treason together with 155 other leaders of our revolutionary movement at the end of 1956. She had also been subjected to various types of bannings, which restricted her to the confines of her Mzimhlophe home in Soweto.

Our movement, in lasting memory of her contribution, respectfully dips its revolutionary banners and pledges to continue her life-long work until final victory.

HAMBA KAHLE 'MA-NGOYI!

Below we report on the funeral of Comrade Lilian Ngoyi which was held in Soweto and became an expression not only of the love and respect felt by our people for her as a person but their support for the cause she dedicated her life to.

On Saturday 22nd March, more than 2,000 mourners of all races came to Soweto from all over South Africa to pay their last respects to one of South Africa's best women fighters — Mrs Lilian Masediba Ngoyi.

In a moving funeral service lasting for four hours, hundreds of mourners — many dressed in ANC colours — packed the Methodist Church in Orlando East, while hundreds listened outside as speaker after speaker paid tribute to the heroine of the people. They also heard messages from our imprisoned leader Nelson Mandela, from the Soviet Women's Committee in Moscow, the Hungarian Solidarity Committee, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and other progressive and democratic forces all over the world. Messages also came from Zimbabwe and Lusaka and individuals abroad.

Funeral Service

Among the speakers was Mrs Helen Joseph — a long time friend and comrade — who worked with her as secretary of the Federation of South African Women, was charged with her in many trials and like her, was jailed in the 60's and is currently still under a banning order. She was however given permission to attend the funeral and address the service.

The various speakers at the service called upon black South African women to take part in the liberation struggle. Bishop Tutu, Secretary of the South African Council of Churches urged the black women to lead the struggle when he said: "Our liberation waits for you mothers. Men will catch the disease of determination from you. Sisters, mothers, women, our liberation is in your hands. Men and the nation are waiting for you to say that you have had enough." He also told the gathering that no one in South Africa would be free if everybody was not free. "For the past 300 years blacks had been oppressed but God heard their cries and sent them leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu and Mrs Ngoyi."

Another speaker, Fanyana Mazibuko, secretary of the Soweto Teachers Action

Committee, called on "all daughters of Africa to take up her spear and carry on fighting. Don't let it rot, it's the only consolation for Africa...the burden would be less if there were more people and more women who were prepared to carry the yoke and pick up the spear".

A spokesman for the Writers' Association of South Africa (WASA) called Comrade Lilian a mother, a leader and an inspiring woman. He also said: "The challenge is not so much on the men, but on women to start where MaNgoyi left off." A representative for the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr. T. Nkoana, highlighted the "significant contribution and the marked sacrifices this beloved daughter of Africa made towards getting the three essentials for freedom: peace, justice and reconciliation". He also called on women to play a major role in the struggle: "The concrete conditions of the black man's situation demands that no energy must be wasted in the kitchen. All human resources must be mobilised. Let our black women move out of the vast network of domestic traditions and occupy honourable places in the community". Dr Motlana,, chairman of the Committee of Ten, said the liberation struggle was entering its third phase. The first phase was an armed one — when "thieves from Europe" took the land from black people. The second phase was the "politics of protest" which had ended with the students uprising of 1976. It was time for black people to make a move. Liberation would not be presented to them — black people have to go out and get it."

During the service, members of the security police stood at the church yard gate and took photographs of mourners entering and leaving the yard. When the cortege left for the cemetery most of the police cars drove in front of the procession while others parked at strategic points along the route to the cemetery. Keeping a distance away was Soweto's CID Chief, Colonel Steve Lenn.

The Procession

After the service, the coffin — draped



The horse-drawn cart carrying the flag-draped coffin of Comrade Ngoyi

in the black, green and gold colours of the ANC — was carried out of the church and placed on a horse-drawn cart over which fluttered a large flag in ANC colours. The slow procession — many people were on foot — took two hours to wend its way through Soweto to the cemetery. During the procession the mourners sang the freedom songs of the ANC. Some former members of the ANC donned the black, green and gold colours of the ANC and some of the mourners carried small flags with the ANC colours.

When the procession neared the Moroka Police Station some of the mourners stopped and made remarks about police.

Graveyard

At the Avalon cemetery, the singing became louder and the ANC salutes (clenched fists) were given. The Green and Black flag of the Federation of South African Women was hoisted high as the heroine of the people was finally laid to rest.

Other Services

In Durban, Mrs Albertina Lutuli, wife of the late president of the ANC, Chief Albert Lutuli led a prayer service for Mrs Ngoyi at the Betty Street Congregational Church. The service was characterised by singing of freedom songs, poetry and speeches by former ANC members and women such as Mrs T. Gwala, who participated in the anti-pass law demonstrations with Mrs Ngoyi. More than 300 people attended. Memorial services were also held in all ANC missions abroad and in the camps.

Regime's Fears Exposed

More than 40 students of the University of Witwatersrand were refused permission by the West Rand Administration Board to attend Mrs Ngoyi's funeral. Also some of Mrs Ngoyi's banned colleagues, including Mrs Albertina Sisulu, were also refused permission to attend the funeral.

This funeral has re-affirmed that our movement is rooted in the masses.

A young student who met Lilian Ngoyi in 1975 gives his impressions of her contribution to our struggle and her influence on the young generation of fighters.

Immediately on hearing of Mama Lil Ngoyi's death my mind quickly flashed back to 1975, when the address I had received from a close friend of hers took me to her home in Mzimhlope. That was to be the beginning of my acquaintance with her for the following three years.

On learning who I was she immediately felt at home, without any waste of time she started analysing the situation in relation to our struggle for liberation. Since she talked authoratively, with confidence, combined with her experiences, one could learn a lot within a short space of time. She could give one details about the history of the ANC in the liberation struggle, facts which could leave one clear about factors which made the African National Congress to be the powerful liberatory force it is today.

Her experiences in the struggle sum up her dedication, determination and selflessness. She once left her critically ill mother in bed to participate in campaigns. She would look back at those historic years, like in 1956, when she led 20,000 women in a demonstration against the pass laws; when the Union Castle ship suddenly had to return back to the Cape Town port on SB orders when they discovered she was on board - without a correct passport and on an ANC mission for that matter; when she passed through a thick roadblock on guard for her by pretending to be an ordinary expectant mother, her faked big tummy was full of pamphlets to be distributed.

Her missions and experiences include travelling around Europe sent by the ANC. The one which left an indelible memory on her was the visit to the Soviet Union, where she was honoured for being a fighter for freedom for her people.

When her first banning order came in 1961, she had already played her part in setting our revolutionary struggle aflame. She remained the same determined and

dedicated fighter she used to be. The South African government tried to break her moral, to corrupt her, but Mama Lili frustrated them.

Shortly after her banning order had expired, she addressed the 1974 Sharpeville Commemoration, organised jointly by SASO and BPC. Every word she uttered during her speech was making up for the rest of the years when she was silenced. She was as powerful, revolutionary and determined as she used to be in the 50's.

With all those banning orders on her and police surveillance, she continued to be an integral part of the revolutionary struggle for the freedom of the people of South Africa. She was a symbol of resistance inside the country, an inspiration to young revolutionaries coming after her. She was a mother, friend, colleague and a comrade. She fitted everywhere.

She summed up her unwavering confidence in the outcome of the struggle by saying "if I die, I'll die a happy person because I have already seen the rays of our new South Africa rising".

Her death is not only a loss to her family, relatives, the ANC and the people of South Africa but also to all people throughout the world striving for peace, love and justice for all mankind. She is one of the people who instead of being banned, could have been listened to, instead of being tried in the Treason Trial could have been consulted for advice, this could have saved our country from the present explosive situation. Now she is gone.

My only regret about Mama Lili's death is that she died when the "sun-rays of New South Africa" were already burning the white racist regime out of its seats, she should have been there to see them eventually being completely burned out.

Though she is dead, her selflessness, contribution, dedication and determination lives with us, to guide us in our struggle for the total liberation of South Africa. What she fought for will definitely be accomplished by the remaining struggling comrades under our vanguard movement the African National Congress of South Africa.

BOOK REVIEW

VOICES FROM ANGOLA

Poems from Angola; translated by Michael Wolfers, Heineman Press 1979.

Jose Marti, the outstanding Cuban revolutionary and poet once stated: "To thrill all hearts by the vibrations of your own you must have the germs and inspirations of humanity. To walk among the multitudes who suffer with love in your heart, and song in your lips, you must hear all the groans, witness all the agonies, feel all the joys and be inspired with the passions common to all. Above all you must live among a suffering people." The credibility of these moving words is the independence of Angola itself.

"Poems from Angola" is a selected and translated work of 22 poets including

those of the late comrade President Neto. In this collection the specific vision and nature of the poetic utterances is heavily drawn from the African traditional poetry — free from all inhibitions and restrictions laid down by "sophisticated "civilisation". The African poetic "ancestralism" becomes vivid and clear. Obviously these credible artists could only be produced by Angola. Although coming from different backgrounds, the common purpose of these poets is to unify the sometimes scattered conscience of their people and inspire it to further heights. These extemporaneously composed poems did indeed serve the basic demand of the revolutionary struggle and are moulded by it. The insight of the artists into the dramas enacted in the inner

lives of those who are anonymous and ineffable. The working class is indicated by their conscious usage of heavily conventionalised, rigid and fatal artistic expression, rich with emotions, humanness and sentimentality.

President Neto himself at the head of this cultural out-pouring in the history of Angola, shows great vision of the future even during his imprisonment. Listen to this:

“Rhythm in bleeding cracks of unshod feet

Rhythm in torn nails

Rhythm

Rhythm

Oh grievous voice of Africa”

Here Neto — amidst the great suffering — still see the forward movement of Africa. He recollects all the anxieties, miseries and frustrations of his people. Yet to his mind is a passing phase for:

“IN MEN

burns the desire

To make the supreme effort

So that men

Shall be reborn in everyman

Whilst in Aljube Prison in October 1960, Neto still saw life through the small prison window and predicted the future so brilliantly:

“We must return

to liberated Angola

Independent Angola”

It is of much significance that this poem is actually seen appearing thrice under different titles by other authors expressing the same wish to return back to their native Angola. There's no doubt that this poem is a song of all exiles. The same message is derived from Alexandra Daskalos:

“When I die

Do not give me flowers

but the breeze

I want the anguish of the seas

I want the quaf the white foam

Of a wave rolling home”

The images used in this poetry are a manifestation of a people in struggle. Not only does the nature of the poet's artistic commitment take on a similar tone, but in all the poems the message is not that abstract. To be precise, the message is not too abstract for the simpleminded and not too simple for the abstractminded.

Their favourite theme is about the

contract labourers; a feature of pre-independent Angola; Alexandra Daskalos captures the imagination of a contract worker far from home without any contact with his family. He wants to write a letter home:

“A letter that would be brought to you
by a passing wind

A letter that the cushaos and coffee trees

The hyenas and buffaloes

The aligator and graylings

Could understand”

Yet he curses the fact that he can not write this letter because his wife cannot read.

Indeed these poets do capture the mood and sentiments of the Angolan people. They did not tend to be abstruse or full of allusions which only the highly educated could understand. The talk of resistance is not theoretical — all were active participants in the war of liberation in Angola..

Going through the book is in itself an enriching experience. It gives subtler overtones to the hardlife all revolutionaries have to live in order to create a better one for the suffering majority. It makes the Poet's adventure and imagination of the future so beautiful and interesting. This is given credence of by Africa's great and gigantic paces and irreversible strides to liberty and social progress.

The importance of these poetic contributions by Angolan patriots, can only be fully grasped by looking at today's independent Angola. It was in the battleground where their poetry “sheared off its romantic looks and hanged its RED vest in the glorious tree in ANGOLA”.

In conclusion one must commend the translator and editor of these poems Michael Wolfers for his tireless and sustained efforts — for having preserved the poetic content and substance of these works. This poetry of the message of our Angolan comrades will be transported to all lands and reach an even wider readership which they so much deserve.

Mkhwanazi F.

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