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# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



**Agostinho Antonio NETO**  
**1922-1979**

P.O. Box 38  
28 Penton Street  
London N1 9PR  
Telegrams: Mayibuye  
Telex: 299555ANCSAG  
Telephone: 01-837-2012

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# NETO-HERO OF AFRICA

On Tuesday September 11, Comrade President Agostinho Neto, president of the People's Republic of Angola, president of the MPLA--Party of Labour and Commander-in-chief of the People's Army (FAPLA) of Angola left us but for good.

Dr. Neto's biography belongs to the history of the Angolan and African liberation struggle. Born in a small village in rural Angola, Icolo e Bengo in September 1922 President Neto developed from his humble origins to statesmanship in the 1970's. He belongs to that small percentage (about 2 per cent) of Africans who managed to overcome the curse of illiteracy and in 1947, after working in the colonial health service and helping to organise a cultural group in Luanda, went to study medicine in Portugal where he joined the Portuguese Democratic Student Movement and wrote poems voicing the plight and hopes of his people.

In 1952 he was arrested by the Salazar regime's secret police, PIDE, for taking part in demonstrations and indeed he completed his medical studies while in prison (for the second time) in 1955 to 1957 and qualified as a doctor in 1958. He worked as a gynaecologist in a Lisbon hospital before he was allowed to return to Angola in 1959. He soon became involved in the activities against the colonial authorities, that is besides his medical practice among the poor people in general and the poor women in particular.

In April 1960 comrade Agostinho Neto was taken prisoner for the third time by

PIDE and deported to the isolated island of St. Antao in the Cape Verde archipelago and then to Aljube prison in Portugal. The Portuguese authorities aimed at isolating him from his people. But this did not last long because he escaped from Portugal to join the MPLA (formed on December 10, 1956) which later at its first National Conference in Kinshasa in 1962 appointed him President. Since then Neto's life has been inextricably intertwined with the struggle of the MPLA against international imperialism which manifested itself in Angola in the form of Portuguese colonial presence and against African reaction represented by CIA backed FNLA and UNITA forces supported by South African racism.

In practical terms this meant that the Angolan people had to fight two wars of liberation.

Neto's life symbolises the struggle of the African people in this last third of the 20th century, a struggle characterised by:

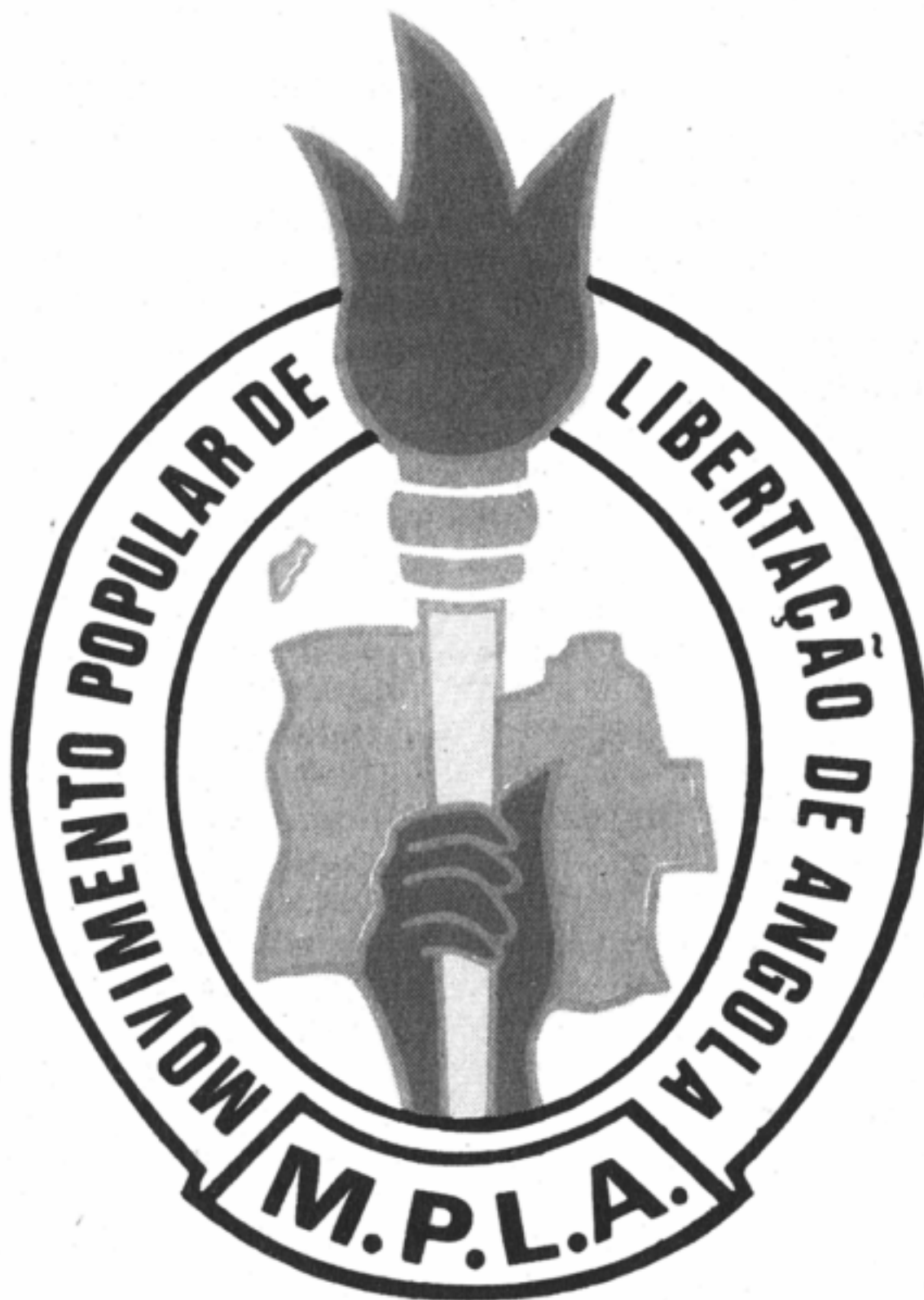
- a) total decolonisation of the continent from its foreign dominators;
- b) fight against its "internal" allies in the African society;
- c) clear identification of the enemies and the friends of the African people;
- d) determination and boldness to map out the future of Africa which is interlinked with the future of the progressive forces of our times in the struggle against the common enemy: imperialism, colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism.

To us, oppressed and humiliated South

Africans, Neto's greatness lies in the fact that out of despised and humiliated Angolans he fought to build a nation of self conscious and self confident people who defeated and sent the racist invaders running to "their" country and by doing so demonstrated to the world that the South African fascist regime is not invincible as the Western world tries to convince us — a thesis which has racist connotations — but that organised and led by a revolutionary organisation which has reliable friends internationally the African people are in a position to defeat the enemy. That was not all. After the Soweto uprising — which were to some extent kindled by the military and political defeat of Portugal in Angola, Mozambique

and Guine Bissau — the MPLA received those victims of Apartheid in their thousands. Neto, the MPLA and the people of Angola have shown us in practice that people are not divided by colour of their skin but by their relations to the means of production, its organisation and distribution of wealth.

Neto and the MPLA are inseparable. Their struggle is ours. That is why we share the same fate and together with Dr. Neto's family, the MPLA, FAPLA and the Angolan people we lower our revolutionary banner in honour of this fallen hero of Africa, the martyr of the African people's quest for freedom, an Angolan patriot and a man who taught Africa in practical terms what internationalism means.



# INTERVIEW WITH CHETTY

*Shun Chetty is a well known black lawyer from South Africa, a country he was forced to flee because of harassment. The following is the transcript of an interview he granted to Sechaba in connection with his experiences in South Africa and his views on the liberation struggle of our people.*

*Mr Chetty can you say a few words about your background?*

With regard to my background, the points that will be of interest to your readers only will be that I started practice in 1974 around the middle of the year in Durban and almost immediately from the time that I started practice I was thrown head first into the deep end of political trials in South Africa. I started 1974 April, and in September 1974 you will remember that large numbers of the leadership of the black consciousness movement were arrested subsequent to the banning of the pro-FRELIMO celebration that was supposed to be held in Curries Fountain in Durban. There were widespread arrests of about 70 people throughout the country and I was asked to act for a number of them and subsequent to that the SASO trial started in Pretoria about March 1975 and concluded somewhere around 1977. It was finally concluded with the appeals and so on.

Ever since then I have been involved in trials, and with the SASO trial starting in Pretoria, during the course of that trial June 76 Soweto happened and I was then asked to do many more trials in the Johannesburg area, Pretoria and so on, and then I thought that because of the volume of work in the Transvaal I should set up offices in Johannesburg, I was asked to do work in many parts of the country including Cape Town, the Eastern Cape, East London, Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, Western Transvaal, Durban, Pietermaritzburg. In the

Free State, I might add there were a number of political trials which came up there subsequent to June 76 and I was asked to represent a number of people there.

Somebody said to me and probably they are correct, I've done more political trials in South Africa as an attorney than anybody else for many years. This has been not so much because of my great ability as a lawyer but a whole lot of circumstances coming together, particularly what happened in Soweto in June. I was asked to do a lot of work. Some of the more notable cases that I handled were the SASO BPC trial which ran for something like two years where 13 people were originally charged with terrorism arising out of the pro-FRELIMO rally as I said, of which 4 people had their charges withdrawn after they requested certain particulars to the indictment and those 4 people of which one person was re-charged with another person who was not part of the original 13 and they had their charges withdrawn as well, so all told 5 people got off of the original 14 in the SASO trial. The ultimate result was that most of the accused got prison terms of 5 to 6 years and they are all on Robben Island, they have another 4 years to serve.

The other trial which I did was the NAYO trial. As you all know the National Youth Organisation was a forerunner of SASM which was the fore-runner of the SSRC in Soweto. There were 7 people charged with terrorism, 5 of whom were acquitted and 2 convicted and were given minimum sentences. The other trial that I did was the very big SSRC trial where the leadership of the SSRC who were allegedly responsible for what happened in Soweto in 1976 were charged in November 1978 with sedition and alternative counts of terrorism. Eleven persons were charged. The ultimate result was that all 11 were convicted of sedition but due to the way we ran the trial,

7 of the 11 were given suspended sentences and the other 4 who were convicted were given terms of imprisonment of 2 to 4 years.

The other trial that comes to mind was when I was asked to do the PAC trial in Bethal, but I was asked by about 16 of the 18 accused to act for them but due to pressure of work and various other reasons, I decided not to do that trial.

The other trial of course which is well known is the Biko inquest. I was the instructing attorney in the inquest and subsequently the claim for damages on behalf of Mrs Biko, the wife, and Mrs Biko the mother, which was settled at R65,000 recently before I left the country.

The trial which I just started before I left the country was the very big ANC trial which is scheduled to start tomorrow in fact, the 4th September, in Pietermaritzburg where the first count is high treason and there are 43 counts alternatively on terrorism and 2 counts of attempted murder.

There were numerous other trials particularly during the Soweto riot situation where people were charged in their hundreds for public violence, riotous assembly, sabotage, terrorism in all centres - Northern Transvaal, Eastern Transvaal, the Free State and so on.

So these are the trials I have done the few years I was in practice. As I mentioned I started in April 1974 and I left the country in August 1979 and in this relatively short time I was asked and I've been honoured to be asked to do a number of these trials.

*What have been the main features of political trials since 1976?*

The main feature as I see it is the significant escalation in both the intensity and the extent of the people who are now charged, so-called in South African terms, with terrorist activities and related offences. The significant thing about doing these trials, is that it has been an insight to me about the coming together of black nationalism and white nationalism in armed combat. And as I say it is a barometer. I think it is a very significant thing political trials, because it gives you an understanding of the state of the nation at present in South Africa. Internally one gets constant propaganda by

the authorities that they are solving South Africa's problems, that there is movement towards independence of homelands there is the concept of having credible leaders like the Motlanas and the Tutus and the Qoboza's who are speaking on behalf of the black man in moderate middle politics and so on, but the essence of SA today is in fact gauged by political trials. Never in the history of South Africa has there been so many people charged with political offences and this is an index of the extent of the struggle which is escalating on a grass root level as well as in terms of direction.

The significance of the trials can be gauged also by the fact that the present ANC trial which is just about to start in Pietermaritzburg in my view is on the lip of the armed conflict as the urban and the rural level in South Africa. I would like to give you some background to this. Let me say to you that there are four types of political trials in South Africa. The first category of trials is what I term, these are my own terms, the conceptual trials. The conceptual trials are those trials dealing with politicisation and conscientization of black people within South Africa. These trials fall broadly into the black consciousness type trials. The classic case of this type is the SASO/BPC trial which I referred to earlier on in this interview. That is a trial where young black people particularly used pamphlets, speeches, talks, drama, theatre, music and so on to conscientize and politicise black people within South Africa, to bring to their notice the problems and the de facto situation of the black people in South Africa. That type of trial we had in the SASO trial and there were other cases where people were charged with handing out leaflets and having speeches, and poetry and drama and so on. Now, when a person is conscientised by means of this type of activity which I have just spoken about, the next step is he understands his position as a black person in South Africa and it now occurs to him that it is a life and death struggle with the white power structure in South Africa. He is now conscientized, he knows what his role is and in the second category of cases arising out of his conscientization, is the class of trials which I refer to as the recruiting and recruited for military

training.

These are people, people who are recruited, people who particularly the ANC and less the PAC, people who have left the country many years ago who have come back formed cells inside South Africa and are recruiting people in the armed struggle for military training. Now there are two parts to this category, people who are the recruiters and the people who are recruited. The recruiters are generally speaking old ANC trained people who have left the country and come back and formed cells and the people who are recruited are the young blacks who have been conscientized in terms of the black consciousness politicization trials which I mentioned before. So that is the second category of trials. A classical example of that category of trials is a case I did recently in Port Elizabeth where 5 people were up for terrorism who had recruited 72 people for military training. Now I mention this number 72, because I want to show you the extent of the activity of the ANC in the country internally. And this is in the Eastern Cape mark you, not in the Transvaal. So the point I am making is that the recruitment by the ANC is extensive inside the country at all levels in all parts of the country. And interestingly enough in this particular case, there was a woman who was 45 years old who was convicted and a young girl who was about 24 years old. So that's the second type of case.

The third type of case in South Africa is the case where the person is conscientized, is recruited, he leaves the country, he is trained in armed combat, he comes back into the country with arms more often than not and he is then picked up by the authorities for various reasons and charged with terrorism for bringing arms into the country and this I call the third category of cases, the possession of armaments type cases. We are getting more and more of that particularly with more arms caches found mainly in Soweto but significantly as I mentioned in the ANC trial in Pietermaritzberg, large amounts of arms were found in areas of Bophuthatswana which is the so-called independent homeland and also in the Msinga district in the heart of Kwazulu and here I would like to pinpoint and highlight a particular point - the amount of arms that

are being found in South Africa every day, you see it in the newspapers arms are being found in various parts of South Africa and as the significant thing is the places where they are being found, not necessarily in and around Johannesburg but in Kwazulu and Bophuthatswana and recently the case in Cape Town where a person planted a bomb in the Supreme Court in Cape Town. So therefore arms are being infiltrated into Cape Town as well. So to highlight the point I made earlier on - military training is going on in many parts of the country and also the arms are being found in various parts of the country as well which here again gives a picture of the extent of the struggle in South Africa particularly by the ANC.

Now that brings me to the fourth type of case the classical type of the fourth category is the ANC trial in Pietermaritzburg and this is the kind of case where people who have been conscientized, trained, rather recruited for military training, returned and come back into the country with arms and the fourth category is the actual attainment of the objectives of the people who are trained. By that I mean where they have targets, tactical areas which have to be either blown up or dismantled and to be hit with armaments particularly bombs and hand grenades and so on. And that's the fourth type of case that we are seeing at the moment in South Africa. It is my view that you are going to see more and more of the fourth type of case and that's of people who are arrested on the point of hitting targets and the trial in Pietermaritzburg is a case in point.

Now it is the fifth category that is ultimately going to decide the fate of South Africa and that is the actual armed conflict in South Africa when the black liberation forces actually engage the white power structure, manifesting themselves in the army, in the navy, in the airforce etc and I think this category of cases which we have not seen yet I might add, we will see more and more of in the future. The ANC case in Pietermaritzburg was on the lip of achieving objectives. We are going to see more of those cases in the future and I think we are going to see them in all parts of the country and that is when the actual classical armed combat is actually going to start in South

Africa. I believe that we have still got a long way to go before that happens in my view. I don't think we are on the verge of it just yet, it will take a number of years yet, this is my view at the moment of course again depending on developments and that is going to signal the beginnings of the actual armed combat. It is my view that in South Africa the significant points about political trials is that I have come to the conclusion that we are in the middle of low intensity civil war in South Africa already because there are literally hundreds and hundreds of young black people charged in all categories of political offences and large numbers of them being sent to Robben Island. There is a great deal of politicisation particularly in the urban areas and so on, and certainly I am categorically saying that the revolution in South Africa has started at the embryonic stages and is going to escalate into steeper and steeper combat and in the near future we are going to see the engaging of the power structures between black and white nationalism in South Africa in the near future and that is the index I have had, the insight I have had via political trials.

Can you tell us what are the disadvantages facing a black lawyer in South Africa?

First of all let me give you a very quick background on this. In South Africa the official population figures are about 25 million people made up approximately of 4 million whites, and approximately 21 million Blacks. My own personal view is that there are far more than 21 million Blacks in South Africa but that's another point. For the population of 4 million whites there are approximately 6000 lawyers I'm not saying that white lawyers only practise for the white people I am just saying that in relation to the population figures, there are 6000 white lawyers in a population of 4 million white people. Now in a population of 21 million black people there are approximately only 200 black lawyers. Now I want to say this to you because if you understand the control of the legal profession in South Africa is essentially in white hands and black people in large numbers are relatively newcomers to the profession.

Black lawyers have been practising for many years in South Africa but they have never been any kind of force and for the first time we are beginning to see, albeit that in relative terms we have a small number of black lawyers but already the black lawyers are understanding their role now and are beginning to see that to be a black lawyer in South Africa you have got to first be a black man and then a lawyer and its very important to understand this concept because in South Africa your whole life is controlled by the arbitrary laws from the time of waking to the time of sleeping; to the time of death as a black man and consequently all your actions are determined by the kind of laws that control your activities. The reason I say this is black lawyers are understanding that their role in the historical unfolding of events in South Africa has a particular importance and manifesting this particular point is the exciting development in my view in Durban of the Democratic Lawyers Association just starting up, a body of black lawyers and there is a move afoot now to get this lawyers' association nation-wide. It has an open constitution but at present the membership I understand at the time of my leaving anyway has been entirely black.

Now the role of lawyers in South Africa, particularly black lawyers has become more and more important with the escalation of political trials and with the escalation of quasi-political matters. I think it is very difficult in South Africa to say what is political and what is not political. The one view and to some extent I share this is that every crime in South Africa is political whether you steal a loaf of bread or whether you don't have a pass or whether you're up for terrorism, or whether you hit your wife over the head with a broomstick. I mean these are all political offences in one view and I think there is some merit in that argument. The other view is that political trials are strictly political in the sense of terrorism, sabotage and so on. But whatever the definition, the role of the lawyers can become more important with the kinds of offences which black men are faced with in South African courts every day. Certainly in my view a pass offence is a political trial there is no doubt about that. As you know



there are a thousand on average a day come before the courts on pass offences.

So what are my difficulties? My first difficulty is that I am in a profession that is essentially controlled by white people. But more importantly, and this is very important, in South Africa the simple equation is that it's a power structure, it's a power game. The whites have the power and the blacks want the power - and that is the power game in South Africa. And the white people who make up the establishment of the law societies and the bar councils and so on are essentially, excepting here the very fine human beings who are concerned about the rights of black people in South Africa and who are many incidentally and very significant numbers, excepting those people, but essentially the law societies, bar councils and the judiciary are made up of white people who are part of the power structure and who are part of the establishment. Every time a black man goes into court on terrorism, sabotage, or pass offences, he is a threat to that establishment inter alia white lawyers and so on, find black people who are up in court a threat to their very existence.

Once you understand the concept of a power struggle in South Africa, you understand that anybody who is on one side of the dividing line, whether you are the white privileged or the black underprivileged, then you are a threat. Your handicap is that when you walk into a court of law as a black lawyer, representing black people who are up for political offences, the white colleagues of yours, those lawyers, those judges, the magistrates, those prosecutors, those policemen, those court orderlies — every one of them sees you as a threat to their existence and consequently they cannot relate to you in a purely objective professional sense. They must of necessity relate to you as a threat and consequently indirectly, and in all manner and means, your life is made very difficult because you are identified with the struggle and cause of your clients.

*You mentioned the question of power, white power structure and the African people, the black people fighting for power.*

*Does the slogan of the ANC, Amandla Ngawethu/ Matla kea rona, which means in actual fact Power to the People, have any relevance to the struggle in South Africa?*

Not only does it have relevance, in fact it is what the struggle is all about as I see it. It's very simple, I've said this a number of times and it now comes up in very crisp terms and I want to evaluate the position like this: Power to the People is what the struggle is all about. The position in South Africa is and has always been very simple — the white minority had the power and have the power, the black majority want the power. Now it's as simple as that.

There is one of two ways in which the black majority can win the power from the white minority, that is you can either have the power negotiated from the whites to the Blacks at a bargaining table, at a political solution type situation, or the black people will have to take power from the white people. That's the only way you can get power — either have it given to you or you have to take it.

In my view there is no precedent that I personally know of in history where power has been given by a minority to a majority simply on a silver platter. In all cases where there is a struggle for power, only the more powerful force can take the power in the end. Now if there is any way that I personally believe that the white people in South Africa are going to hand over power to the black people voluntarily, and if there is any mechanism or any modus operandi that I know of that can be utilised to obtain this power by peaceful means and by negotiations, I'd be the first person and I am sure all the people in the liberation struggle would agree with me, that we must use the peaceful means to obtain power from the white people. But I can see no way, absolutely no way — there is no precedent in history, there is nothing to indicate in South Africa that the white people are ready to hand over power to the black people — so unhappily and reluctantly the black liberatory forces have decided and correctly in my view that the only way you can get power is to

take it from the white people and the only solution to use in my view — a negative connotation, the armed struggle.

The armed struggle is unfortunate terminology in some sense because it gives the view to the world at large that people who are in the armed struggle enjoy being in the armed struggle, enjoy killing people, enjoy blowing up buildings, they enjoy doing this kind of thing in order to take power. But it must be seen in a positive sense — it is the last and only alternative left to black people to assume power for themselves. After all it is their country, it is their imperative to take power in South Africa and clearly it is something that we do because it has to be done.

In a sense it is out of love for people that you engage in the armed conflict and not out of hate for people. You love people, you love all people, all South Africans, black and white South Africans and the only way that the majority of the people can enjoy the power that is rightfully theirs is to embark on the armed conflict as soon as possible, in as short a time as possible and that is the only way to do it. It is a concept of love and not of hate and it is a concept of sharing and not of taking things for yourself.

Now you say to me how to take power? Unfortunately and the only way I understand it is that to take power from a people who have power, you have to be more powerful and motivated in order to take power. By that I mean you have to have an army of people who are motivated, who are involved in a life and death struggle for the freedom of their people and have to use the necessary implements be it AK 47's or the hand grenades or whatever means possible to take power — it's as simple as that.

Only when you take power will you hasten the white people to the negotiating table because then you will be speaking from a position of strength and that's the only way you can do it.

Now we keep talking about power but why do we want power — we want power because the majority of South Africans must have the right to decide how their country should be run, what the means of production should be used for, how the

minerals should be exploited, what type of education should be given to the masses, what type of economic solutions they should have to their problems, what would be their relationships with their neighbours, what their relationships should be with countries all over the world and generally to determine how they should run their own country the way they want to. The only way they can decide this is if they have the power to decide this and that power means the power in the narrow sense of having control of the country in military terms and in the broader sense, the power to control the destiny of the people by the ballot box and to determine the wishes and aspirations of South Africans as a whole. I mean this as a whole, I don't mean black South Africans, I don't mean brown South Africans, I don't mean white South Africans, I don't mean yellow South Africans, I mean South Africans, people who have been born in South Africa or who assume South Africa to be their fatherland, who know no other country, who have a love and deep affection for it and who are part of that country as South Africans. I am confident that the liberatory movement understands this fully and that we are all South Africans and we all play our small part in the liberation of our people — when I say our people, I mean South Africans of all colours and all types of South Africans.

*What do you say about Nelson Mandela and our leaders on Robben Island?*

I am personally committed and confident and I want to make it clear I do not speak as a member of any particular organisation. I am not a member of any political party. I am a person who has had the honour in the short years that I have practised as a lawyer in South Africa to get to know most of the liberation movements, to get to know a lot of the people. All the people, I emphasise that, all the people who are taking part in the liberation struggle whatever party they belong to are fine human beings and are all seeking the same objectives in the end. But I have got to make the statement that in my view, having seen and dealt with people of all the movements at a very personal and fundamental level.

it is my view that Mr Mandela is in fact the authentic and only leader of all South Africans in South Africa who has the love and aspirations of all South Africans at his heart. I have had the great honour and pleasure to meet his fantastic, wonderful wife, Mrs Mandela, who is a leader in her own right in my view.

I am personally confident that South Africa is in the hands of people who have the interests of all South Africans at heart and clearly from the little I know of the aims and objectives of the African National Congress generally and what Mr Mandela stood for, I am personally convinced and I am satisfied that he is the leader of all South Africans and we are best served in our interests by supporting the objectives of the ANC generally and Mr Mandela specifically.

*Can you say briefly what are the implications of the settlements in the Steve Biko case which you dealt with?*

Just before I left the country we settled a civil claim for damages for R65,000 for the Biko family and the costs of all the lawyers. Now I want to say straight away, as you may or may not know, Mrs Ntsiki Biko, wife of Mr Steve Biko, has been granted R30,000 of the R65,000 herself and when I left South Africa she gave a press conference where she publicly stated that the entire proceeds of her money will go to a memorial for Mr Steve Biko. She is considering with Biko's colleagues in the black consciousness movement as to what kind of memorial should be erected for Mr Biko.

A lot of people have asked and quite correctly in my view why did the Biko family settle for money instead of a court action so that more facts could come out as to how Mr Biko died. The position is very simple. I have been involved in this inquest right from the very beginning, I have acted for Steve Biko in some of his cases, I have known Steve for many years intimately and I have been with the family on many discussions about the civil action for damages and why to settle and so on. The position is that the Biko family have said right from the start that they are not interested in the money at all — money

was nothing to them. What they wanted was to find out through a court action exactly how did Mr Biko come to meet his death. In the inquest we were not able to prove anything and in fact the final verdict was that nobody was to blame. So we do not know what happened in the police cells in Port Elizabeth when Mr Biko died. So the family thought and we also thought to some extent as lawyers, that we would be able to get more evidence and more information as to how Mr Biko died under police detention and that was the only motivation of the Biko family. I say this from intimate and personal knowledge. The Biko family have said time and again that the only reason they are suing the government is not because of money but because of more facts that we want about Mr Biko's death.

Unfortunately in any civil action, if the party that you are suing for money, and you can only sue for money there is no other way you can sue in South African courts, is prepared to pay what you are claiming or very near that and your costs and so on, then you have got to settle, you can't go to court and say I am not accepting this money although I've sued for money and I insist on leading evidence — the court simply will not allow this because the party you are claiming money from is saying, fine you are suing for money, here is the money, here are your costs, that's the end of the case. So it is quite clear that the South African government did not want this case to come to court at all.

It is quite clear to me why the South African government did not come to court because it has been an international embarrassment to them. Their image overseas has taken a beating. They have been telling the whole world that South Africa is a peaceful country and the Blacks are happy and living well. In the meantime, they are killing people in detention and they did not want to have another court case like the inquest where all these facts about the death comes to the public notice of the international forums. So the government did not want this case to come to court at all, so it paid us more or less what we wanted it to and if we carried on with the case, the State would have come to court

and made their position very clear. They would have said that because Biko was in their custody, they take responsibility for his death although they do not admit that they killed him - in which case we would not be able to lawfully lead any evidence to show how Biko died. All the evidence we could have led was to show why we are claiming R90,000. So our whole purpose in the civil case would have been defeated if we carried on with the case because we would not have been allowed to lead any evidence about the cause of death. The State would have assumed liability and responsibility for the death although disclaiming that they actually killed Biko and we would have only fought on the question of the amount in which case the Biko family were not interested in fighting about money. All they were interested in was the cause of death and as we could not lead any evidence about the cause of death, we had to settle the case.

*Since 1963 more than 50 people have died in prison and Biko was the 46th victim of South African prison torture. The ANC has come to the realisation, especially after the Soweto incidents that it is not enough to die for freedom, people have to kill for freedom and we are training our people to kill for freedom. What have you to say about this?*

Unfortunately as I said earlier on, an armed struggle is an armed struggle, a war is a war. A war means blowing up strategic targets and unfortunately the necessary evil of killing people is part of a war situation. In my view the South African white power structure has declared war on the black people many years ago and what the black people are doing at the moment is merely retaliating in a war situation. When you retaliate in a war situation, you have got to kill your enemy as a prime objective of a war situation. It is unfortunately necessary to do this and only with the death of people and the elimination of your enemy, and the elimination of his arsenal and his strategic targets, can you hope to win the war.

War has been declared on you, black people are dying every day in our prisons, in our hospitals, in our streets. The infant

mortality rate in South Africa, the figure some time ago, was 241 per thousand. Now that in a sense is a war casualty. Those black children that die as a result of kwashiorkor and such malnutrition diseases are dying in a war situation — they are casualties of war because with the kind of Gross National Product South Africa has and the kind of natural resources it has, and the kind of money the black people of South Africa make for the white people, there is no need for black children to be dying in hospitals, to be dying in the veldt, there is no need for black children before the age of 16 to be dying at the rate of 50%. Now these are all war casualties. You can define war in a classical sense as if it is a landing in Normandy at D day, that is one kind of classical, conventional war. But there are other kinds of war, the war of the white people in South Africa, who have the guns and the money and the might and the power, who are depriving black people of food, of housing, of ordinary human relationships, this is a war situation.

In a classical sense the terrorism trials are part of a war situation and the ordinary social living of black people is a manifestation of the assumption of power by the white people who are depriving black people of every facet and every walk of life. So when you say do you have to kill people in a war situation, of course you have to. They are killing your people, the white people are killing us in a war situation and the only way you are going to win the war is by killing your enemies. It's as simple as that.

# The Maritzburg Trial

Following fast on the racist murder of Umkhonto we Sizwe fighter Solomon Mahlangu, the apartheid regime is trying to demonstrate once again that it can contain the heroic actions of the people's army. In Pietermaritzburg, 12 ANC cadres are facing charges of High Treason, 43 alternate counts of "terrorist activity" and 2 of "conspiracy to commit murder".

These treason trialists are alleged to have been arrested in various parts of South Africa while in possession of Soviet assault rifles, hand grenades, pistols and ammunition. The State claims that after receiving military training, they infiltrated the Cape province, Natal, the Transvaal and the Bophuthatswana Bantustan.

Two of the comrades are alleged to have taken part in heroic actions in Bophuthatswana last year, where Umkhonto guerrillas engaged in armed combat with racist forces and the Bophuthatswana National Guard. They are John Mofokeng Sekete, 24 years old and Tladitsaga Moses Molefe, 23.

Many of the 12 are charged with establishing arms caches — in the Msinga area about 80km from Pietermaritzburg, in the Ndumu and Ngoma areas near the Mozambique border, as well as in various parts of the Transvaal.

On July 16, 1979, they appeared chained in leg irons in the Pietermaritzburg Magistrate's Court. The racists are out to create a show trial. Security Police armed with sub-machine guns surrounded the court. A specially constructed glass, bullet

proof dock has been erected in the Supreme Court, through which the accused will face apartheid 'justice'.

The trial began on September 4, when all 12 pleaded not guilty to the charges levelled against them. The State opened its case against John Sekete for his alleged actions in Bophuthatswana. His capture and subsequent appearance in the trial are a mockery of the so-called "independence" of Bophuthatswana. Reflecting this farce, Security Police Major M.D. Ras, said under cross examination that "it had occurred to him that he might have been guilty of kidnapping a suspect he took into custody at the Bophuthatswana border last year."

As is the norm in political trials in South Africa, the brutality of the police and the complicity in this of the medical profession, came into focus on the second day of the trial. Dr Zacharias van Zyl claimed that Sekete had not complained of any assault during an examination. He admitted that he did find some injuries on Sekete, including a 10cm long wound on his left forehead. Under cross-examination by the defence, the doctor said he did not know why he had been asked to examine Sekete — "he was employed by the state and could not refuse". Admitting that he had not found out how the head injury had been sustained, Dr van Zyl said "this was possibly consistent with an assault".

September 13 saw a dramatic turn in the trial. This followed a ruling by Justice

Hefer that evidence of state witnesses would be heard in camera. Quoting from Sechaba, official organ of the ANC, he said the ANC "aimed to eliminate police informers, witnesses who testified for the State at security trials and the security police".

The Treason Trialists have taken a bold stand over this and in the words of their lawyer "consider that the nature of treason is a crime affecting society itself and to exclude the public is to exclude the people affected by what the ANC seeks to achieve". The 12 stated that they saw the "crime" with which they had been charged as "attempting to overthrow the South African Government by all means, including violence. They consider the courts as part of the apparatus of the Government."

Refusing to recognise the legitimacy of the Apartheid court, the 12 have dismissed their defence lawyer and have told the Judge that they want no further part in the proceedings. Before leaving the court they sang freedom songs and shouted the ANC slogan "Amandla Ngawethu", "All Power to the People".

The Treason Trial reflects more clearly than ever before the extent and strength of the activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe. It reflects, too, that the struggle is raging in every part of our country and is reaching new and higher levels of intensity.

The trial is continuing in the absence of the 12 accused. The ANC has called for an international campaign insolidarity with the Treason Trialists. The Pietermaritzburg 12 are on trial for their lives. We must follow their example and expose the nature of 'apartheid justice' for the whole world to see. The demand for prisoner of war status for captured freedom fighters must now be raised more loudly by all opponents of the brutal South African regime. Let this campaign be one that shatters the bastion of white supremacy!

Those on trial are: John Sekete, 24; Tladitsagae Molefe, 23; Jeffrey Legoave, 30; Thibe Gobeni, 27; Andrew Maphete, 20; Bennet Komane, 46; Titus Maleka, 25; Sydney Choma, 23; Mandlenkosi Hadebe, 27; Mandla Mthetwa, 22; Vusumuzi Zulu, 28; James Mange, 24.

## Sports issue: Barbarians are coming

The news that a South African rugby team — appropriately called the Barbarians — is to play four matches in Britain in October shocked the anti-apartheid world.

It is well known that South Africa has not changed its sports policy — a policy which is just one aspect of the heightening racism and oppression which our people are suffering. Lately the South African government and sports authorities have been using "double standards" and even expediency: black teams can play against white teams "as long as governing bodies approved"! This window-dressing is supposed to give the world the impression that sport in South Africa was played on

a non-racial basis.

What is the sports situation in South Africa? The South African Rugby Board of Dr Danie Craven, white South African rugby boss, has 24 affiliated units and only two are black stooze bodies. This Rugby Board is now sending the Barbarians to Britain — a team made up of 8 whites, 8 Coloureds and 8 Africans; a cosmetic operation. It should be remembered that most black rugby players belong to the non-racial South African Rugby Union (SARU) which is totally opposed to the tour of the Barbarians team or any other tour involving the white dominated and white controlled South African Rugby

Board. In other words all officially recognised sport in South Africa is racist especially at club and school level: be it soccer, tennis, swimming, chess, rugby, golf — you name it.

There are instances where black golfers use white facilities on days when white golfers are not using them; permits to play in white sports grounds are hard to get — recently the Witbank Town Council rejected an application for the Kaizer Chiefs soccer match to be staged at the white Jan van Riebeck stadium. The sports system is governed by apartheid laws: African players are subject to the pass laws eg. requiring special permission to participate in events outside the “home” area; under the Urban Areas Act black sports facilities are controlled and their use restricted by permit; the Group Areas Act confines people, even when participating in sport, to segregated areas. In 1973 a special proclamation enabled non-racial matches to be banned on private grounds. What about the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and the Liquor Act which prevent the full integration of club facilities?

Blacks in non-racial sports bodies (their bodies) have been issued with banning orders, deprived of work, had their passports confiscated, in short, harassed for their adherence to non-racial sporting principles. The South African police state does not refrain from using its apparatus to terrorise and victimise those sportsmen and officials who voluntarily adhere to the principles of non-racialism. The Watson brothers are a case in point. These two white rugby players who played for the Eastern Province in Port Elizabeth were harassed and intimidated by the Security Police for voluntarily renouncing membership of whites only sports bodies and joining truly non-racial, black sports bodies — the KwaZakhele Rugby Union. One of them has been charged three times for “entering a black area”. There is also the question of assassination attempts made on two senior officials of the South African Council on Sport (Sacos), Morgan Naidoo and M.N. Pather.

#### **False Image**

In short the “changes” and “relaxations”

in South African sport are merely for international and show occasions, where a few black faces decorate what remains white dominated and controlled structures. Therefore the “mixed” team of the Barbarians is put together for overseas consumption. This is confirmed by Chick Henderson, Chairman of the Barbarians Club, who said that the side would be an “invitation team” not selected strictly on merit. This is an example of the false and dishonest claim about “non-racialism” or “multi-nationalism” in South African sport. It is a means to market overseas the sugar-coated apartheid sports policy.

Many methods are used to achieve this goal. The promotion of the former Minister of Sport and Recreation, the “shrewd and cunning” P.J. Koornhof to the post of Minister of Plural Relations (formerly Bantu Administration) now renamed Ministry of Cooperation (synonymous with collaboration) and Development, is part of this game. Dawie de Villiers, former captain of an apartheid rugby team that toured the United Kingdom in 1970 is now “ambassador” to the United Kingdom. What about that buffoon Gary Player, the white South African golfer, who admitted recently that he received money to promote South African sport and therefore was part of the Muldergate scandal? The South African national bank, Finansbank, admitted that its officials together with Gary Player acted as fronts for South Africa’s Department of Information. We also know that more than \$12 million has been used as bribes to create a favourable image internationally; invitations to participate in South African sport and the number of expenses paid trips to that country are on the increase — the British Lions toured South Africa in 1974 and Middlesex earlier this year.

These and other reasons force us to come to the conclusion that the sports field is one area where the South African regime sought, and still seeks, to break its isolation. These manoeuvres manifest themselves on the eve of the Olympic Games to be held in the Soviet Union.

The ANC reiterates our call to the inter-

national community: to effect complete isolation of the South African regime

in all spheres of human endeavour including all sports contacts with South Africa.

# Case of Fattis and Monis

Despite staggering levels of unemployment (estimated at 22% of the black working population) black workers at the Fattis and Monis Mill in Belville South, Cape Town, have been setting a stirring example of united trade union struggle. Their strike has enlisted the support of people throughout South Africa. Reflecting the nature of the Apartheid system, the battle is pitched not just against the white employers, but against the weight of the racist state itself.

## Background to Struggle

In 1941 the Food and Canning Workers Union was established for workers of all races in the food industry. Forced to split by Nationalist Party policy, the workers were divided into the registered Food and Canning Workers Union (Coloured workers) and an unregistered union for African employees. African workers were thus deprived of any legal means to fight for better wages and conditions.

But the failure of this racist strategy has been amply demonstrated in the strike action at Belville South — a strike which has lasted since April of this year. The strike followed on a workers' petition through the registered union, demanding a minimum wage of R40 a week and an 8 hour day. This organisation was paralysed by activities on the part of the management to force the establishment of a liaison committee. The committees, made up of workers and management are factory based, lacking organisational, financial and bargaining strength. Workers elected to sit on

them become easy targets of victimisation. The management warning was clear: workers were told to choose between their jobs and the union.

On April 23, 1979, 5 workers were sacked — union members active in organising the petition. Five more workers who requested reasons for the dismissal of their colleagues suffered the same fate. Two days later, 78 workers joined their brothers and sisters outside the factory gates.

## Unity is Strength

The Department of Labour (immediately called in by the management), warned the workers to return to work or face 'legal' action. Then using their divide and rule they ordered the African and Coloured workers to separate. But they stood solid. As one striker remarked: "We were all there for the same purpose."

Throughout the hard months — the union can only afford strike pay of R15 a week — the workers have fought attempts to split and weaken them. Fattis and Monis offered to re-employ 23 Coloured workers but none went back. Since the strike began the workers have met daily to consolidate their organisation and discuss their strategy.

## Apartheid Backlash

In an attempt to break the strike the regime has used all the machinery at its disposal to try and endorse the African workers to their "homelands". Most of them are contract labourers and as such are now considered as illegal sojourners in "white



South Africa". Several African strikers have been arrested and faced fines and imprisonment.

The role of the Bantustan authorities was exposed when workers seeking protection from pass offences were forced to seek the aid of a representative of the Ciskei "government". He duly met with the management of Fattis and Monis and next day saw a statement heralding a solution to the dispute: "With the help of the Ciskei Government", workers were given until July 27 to apply to the Good Hope Bakery for jobs. But the workers are determined to get their own jobs back. The collusion between the white racist management and the Bantustan puppets proved a timely lesson to all those involved.

### Solidarity and Boycott

On 29 June 1979, a Community Action Committee was set up in the Western Cape

to support the strike and build up a boycott of all Fattis and Monis products. It has the support of numerous organisations including the South African Council of Sport, the Labour Party, the Western Province Traders Association, Union of Teachers' Associations of South Africa and various student organisations including 17 bodies at the University of Cape Town.

The Fattis and Monis strike has become a national issue in our country. Committees in support of the workers have also been set up in the Transvaal and Natal. The reasons for this are clear. In the face of fascist terror, the black workers have demonstrated essential principles which must guide the struggle in the factories, mines, farms and all work places. They have shown the strength of unity of the black working class, of the need for organisation and discipline and the growing importance of the fight for free and independent trade unions in the liberation struggle.

# MOTA OUR EXAMPLE

*Speech delivered by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress, on the occasion of the 70th birthday of Comrade Yusuf Dadoo, London, September 8, Year of the Spear.*

Dear Comrades,

We have met to join Comrade Yusuf Dadoo, affectionately known as Mota to all his comrades in struggle, on the occasion of his 70th birthday. This is indeed a joyous holiday not only for him and his family, not only for his closest comrades of the Communist Party of South Africa, but indeed for the whole revolutionary movement for national and social liberation

led by the African National Congress.

It is a matter of great joy that the entire international progressive movement led by the Soviet Union has also joined us in commemorating this joyous holiday. On behalf of the National Executive Committee and the entire membership of the African National Congress I have been entrusted with the happy and at the same time responsible task of wishing Mota happiness and strength for the future and indeed, many more happy returns of the day.

The story of Mota's life which has been documented elsewhere, is inextricably bound up with the struggle of the oppressed black people of our country against the

ferociously oppressive regime in the history of the African continent, a successor to the Hitler Nazi regime of racist and fascist terror. It is pertinent to refer to some of the highlights of his contribution to this struggle.

As early as 1938 Dr Dadoo participated in the founding of the Non-European United Front (NUEF) in Johannesburg. Working as its secretary and together with other stalwarts of our revolutionary movement such as the late J.B. Marks, the Non-European United Front became an important instrument for taking up the vital problems agitating the African people. As secretary of this body, Dr Dadoo not only attended to its daily organisational problems, he was also seen at many mass meetings in the African townships which he addressed constantly on the theme of calling for united mass actions of struggle against the poor living conditions of the people.

The 1947 Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact laid the important foundationstone for what was to be a powerful congress movement from the middle fifties involving the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured Peoples Congress, the South African Congress of Democrats and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. The united mass struggles inspired by all the democratic organisations within the Congress Movement under a common revolutionary programme, the Freedom Charter, heightened the militancy of vast sections of the oppressed population. The decade of the fifties is particularly noted for this.

Mota joined the Communist Party in 1938. Working together with other leaders of this working class party, notably Comrade Moses Kotane, who held the position of General Secretary for almost 3 decades before his death in 1978, and J.B. Marks, both of whom were leading members of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, the barricades separating the national and class forces represented by the African National Congress and the South African Communist Party, were over the passage of time, removed one by one. Today we have reached

the position where the unity of these vital forces of our revolutionary struggle is indestructible.

The powerful impact of this political trend on the political developments in our country can be gauged from the fact that the enemies of our people, the apartheid regime of terror and its allies, international imperialism, spare no efforts in attempting to destroy the influence of the African National Congress and its ally the South African Communist Party. No weapon has been spared. Political and ideological subversion seeking to separate the African National Congress from the Communist Party and internationally to divorce the revolutionary forces of our people from their natural allies, the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries, has always been a trusted weapon of our enemies. Internally the enemy is engaging in a continuous reign of terror designed to break the back of the revolutionary movement. In the process hundreds of the best sons and daughters of our people are languishing in prisons; many of them have been physically eliminated while in custody.

Comrades, it is common knowledge that the major right wing factions that finally split away from the African National Congress have all danced on a common platform of anti-communism. Their activities both inside and outside the ranks of our movement objectively played into the hands of the vicious enemy by seeking to direct the energies of the people away from the real enemy confronting them — apartheid fascism — towards the so-called dangers of the growing collaboration between the nationalist movement and the Communist Party. This was the case with the African-minded block of the early fifties, the Pan Africanist Congress which broke away from the African National Congress in 1959, and the ill-fated "gang of eight" which attempted to set up an African Nationalist ANC. The reasons for the common tragedy which befell all these reactionary groupings is simple. The real life experience of struggle against fascism had taught our people to regard communists in our country and the international communist movement as their true and genuine combat allies. That is why we have every reason to say that the unity

of our movement is indestructible.

The political face of our continent has been changing right in front of the eyes of our people. Everywhere where internal reaction assisted by international imperialism, including South African imperialism, has attempted to raise its head, it has been crushed immediately by the people with the assistance of the leading revolutionary force of our time, the Soviet Union and other members of the Socialist Community. It has not needed any special political acumen for our people to realise that the victories of the national liberation movement of the African peoples assisted by their allies in the world revolutionary process, the Socialist community and the progressive and democratic movements in the capitalist countries, have radically changed the balance of forces in favour of those still struggling to defeat colonial and racist aggression and in defence of peace and security for the people.

The defeat of Portuguese colonialism saw the creation of genuine peoples power in Angola and Mozambique, and these new states together with other members of the African Front-line States grouping and the OAU are playing a militant role in support of our struggle. This has created favourable conditions for the advance of our revolutionary onslaught inside South Africa as is evidenced by the developments especially of the last few years.

Today the prestige and influence of our united revolutionary movement has grown the more as it continues to demonstrate its ability to punish the enemy through its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. It is without doubt that the advances we have made have been possible in response to the patient and diligent leadership of the Dadoos, the Tambos, the Kotanes, Marks, the Mandelas, Sisulus and a host of others who, during very difficult periods of our struggle, infused the defiant spirit of "No Surrender" which permeated throughout the ranks of our whole movement. It is in recognition of the qualities of his revolutionary leadership that Mota has been at the helm of the politico-military wing of our movement as vice-chairman of the ANC's Revolutionary Council since 1969. The Revolutionary Council was set up by

a unanimous decision of the 1969 Morogoro Conference which marked a historic landmark on the route to the intensification of our struggle by a united revolutionary force drawn from all race groups comprising our population.

Mota is both a revolutionary patriot, a true son of our people, and an ardent proletarian internationalist. In recognition of his contribution to the international progressive anti-imperialist movement, Mota, on this occasion, has been given state awards by the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic and Bulgaria. He has also been honoured by the World Peace Council and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation. Messages of congratulations have come in from many communist and workers parties and other progressive forces of the world.

The association of so large a number of our allies with this important event is clear testimony not only of Mota's great stature as a fighter for the happiness of mankind, but also of the international prestige of the struggle of our people. From 1960 Mota, instructed by the underground movement to leave our country, has not spared himself in the efforts to build and consolidate the international image of our revolutionary struggle. The foundations that he and Comrade President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo laid at this time are now supporting an ever-widening movement of international solidarity with the oppressed people of our country.

The fascist regime of terror is today isolated as never before as people in various countries succeed to rid themselves of corrupt and oppressive regimes, notably in Iran, Afganistan, Nicaragua, Kampuchea etc. The World Socialist Community gives our revolutionary movement massive support. More and more groups in the western capitalist countries are coming forward, ready to contribute whatever is possible to assist our revolutionary movement advance forward. This has been an important contributing factor in sharpening our onslaught against the regime of oppression in our country.

However, it is not enough for our generation of revolutionaries to merely bask in the sunshine of the achievements of the

stalwarts of our revolutionary movement such as Mota. After all, these stalwarts have constantly cautioned us to sharpen our vigilance so that we are able to keep on our trek through the forest of imperialist and reactionary intrigue which manifests itself through the various so-called reformist solutions that the enemy constantly wishes to ram down the throats of our people.

Events in Southern Africa indicate the desperation with which our enemies and international imperialism are manoeuvring to ensure the permanence of their hegemony in Southern Africa. In pursuance of this strategic goal:

- a) The racist regimes and their allies aim to physically destroy and liquidate the liberation movements in Southern Africa both within their respective countries and in the areas of their sanctuary in African Front-line States.
- b) Simultaneously they aim to compel the neighbouring independent states to turn against the liberation movements. To achieve this purpose as we all know, they have resorted to regular military raids deep into the territories of the Front-line States — Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana — killing hundreds of people and destroying property. The criminal aggression launched a few days ago by the Smith-Muzorewa regime represents a new and dangerous escalation
- c) Imperialism is busy creating such forces among the Black oppressed as would replace the white minority regimes as the guarantors of the permanence of its hegemony in Southern Africa in exchange for high-sounding titles and a life of luxury for a handful of black traitors.
- d) At the same time imperialism is continuing to pour military and economic support into South Africa and Rhodesia to ensure that the racist regimes in these countries, even under black skins, remain continuously the principal factor determining the content and pace of any process of decolonisation.

In the interests of the genuine national and social liberation of our people it is imperative that our sights must always be focussed towards the goal of defeating the enemy strategy by involving our people

in mass struggles for revolutionary people's power. It is the task of all the committed revolutionaries in our country to work as tirelessly as Dadoo has always done to consolidate and defend the unity of our revolutionary movement as the apple of every one's eye.

It is this unity which will create the widest possibilities for the mass political mobilisation of all sections of the oppressed population — the workers, the rural masses, the youth, the women, the democratic intelligentsia — to sharpen the all-round confrontation of the masses of our people for the seizure of power. It is this unity which will defeat the enemies' strategic plans to perpetuate the oppression of our people through reformist solutions envisaged by the three-tier system of government and the Bantustan independence fraud.

The unity of all progressive forces in our country will ensure that our revolutionary movement continues to discharge its tasks of solidarity with the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe, Swapo of Namibia, the Polisario Front of Western Sahara, the Palestine Liberation Organisation and all other peoples struggling for a better life, for world peace and international security.

We salute Comrade Yusuf Mohammed Dadoo, the holder of ISITWALANDWE, an award which is a mark of honour for only the bravest and the most dedicated of our heroes of the more than 300 year anti-colonial and anti-racist wars.

**LONG LIVE THE INDESTRUCTIBLE  
ALLIANCE OF THE AFRICAN  
NATIONAL CONGRESS AND THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY!**

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU!  
JANA SHAKTI!  
MATLA KE A RONA!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!  
A LUTA CONTINUA!  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

# MESSAGE ON NETO

*The following message from the National Executive Committee was sent to the Central Committee of the MPLA Party of Labour, on the untimely death of Comrade President Agostinho Neto.*

We have learnt with great shock and grief of the passing away of that outstanding African patriot, revolutionary and internationalist, Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA Party of Labour and the People's Republic of Angola.

To the African National Congress, our People's Army Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the vast majority of our struggling people, President Neto was a fellow-combatant and a leading cadre among the forces that are locked in battle against the fascist apartheid regime for the liberation of South Africa.

For almost two decades, President Neto has stood side by side with the African National Congress, coming to our aid when need arose and always unwavering in his commitment to the strengthening of the combat ties between the ANC and the MPLA—Party of Labour and our respective peoples for the revolutionary renewal of our two countries.

President Neto will live forever in the hearts and minds of our people as the fighter who tames the arrogant and aggressive South African apartheid regime in the battlefields of Angola and, at a grave hour for the entire African continent, led the Angolan people in their victorious struggle to expel the South African forces of colonial occupation and expansionism. That historic victory served as the guarantee of the success of our own struggle as well as those of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, under the leadership of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front and defeated the offensive of international imperialism which aimed to recolonise Africa.

We are at one with President Kaunda

of the Republic of Zambia in acknowledging that the death of President Neto has robbed our continent of one of the few key leaders of the new revolutionary age of black Africa.

In conveying our condolences to the Central Committee and the entire membership of the MPLA—Party of Labour, the Government and People of the People's Republic of Angola, the heroic FAPLA, Comrade Ruth Neto and the rest of the family, the African National Congress of South Africa pledges that our people will always remain loyal to the revolutionary course that Comrade Agostinho Neto set both for the Angolan and the South African people.

Following his example, his teachings, we shall remain firm in our commitment to the unity of our parties and peoples on the basis of principle and not expediency, and firm in our commitment to the eradication of fascist power in South Africa which even now is poised for more criminal acts of aggression against our brother Angolan people. We shall continue to intensify the struggle for the birth of People's Power in South Africa and will never abandon the ranks of the world anti-imperialist movement.

Farewell dear Comrade, Soldier and Leader of all peoples fighting for national and social emancipation!

While Angola holds your grave, Africa unfree shall never be at peace!

**A LUTA CONTINUA!  
A VITORIA E CERTA!  
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

# HE GAVE US HIS HEART

*Dedicated to the fallen hero President Neto.*

Towering high over horizons of liberty  
Thriving hard against the hegemony of slavery  
Carrying the weight of Africa's anguished outcry for liberty  
Whispering courage to Africa's ears by poetry and wisdom

It's him Yes  
It's him Neto  
Standing in the midst of revolution  
It's not the shadow of his death  
It's him Oh yes It's Neto  
Standing in the centre of Africa

Crying out to Africa to simmer down her indecision  
And transform it into courage

It's Neto blowing the horn alarming Africa  
It's Neto beating the drums awakening Africa  
Africa Awake  
Awake Africa

Its Neto telling her how the honey went bitter  
It's Neto telling her how the flowers went dy  
It's Neto telling her how the sweet waters of liberty flowing  
From the Nile, the Zambezi, the Zaire and the Limpopo  
went bitter  
It's Neto twinkling like the Southern cross  
Illuminating the silhouette of Africa's heaven that has  
never been  
Calling to Africa to warm her swollen feet  
Wounded by the thorny path through the thick forests of servitude  
Around the burning fire he lit in Angola

Oh Yes it's Neto answering the question "Which Way Africa"?  
Oh Yes it's Neto answering the question "So Where To"?

When we reach our mama's land  
We are going to tell the tale as it is  
How Neto gave us his heart for a spear  
And his country for our shelter and shield.

*Freedom Mkhwanazi*



*Alfred Nzo with Comrade Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CPUSA*

# VIVA CPUSA

*The 22nd Convention of the Communist Party of the USA took place in Detroit from August 23—26. Below we print the speech delivered by ANC Secretary General Alfred Nzo on behalf of our organisation and all Afro-Asian delegates.*

Dear Comrade Henry Winston,  
Comrade members of the Central Committee  
of the CPUSA,  
Comrades, Delegates and Guests,

On behalf of the African National Congress,  
all the fighting people and progressive

forces of South Africa, on behalf of the  
Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization  
and indeed all the progressive forces in  
the Afro-Asian region and in Southern  
Africa in particular, we bring to the 22nd  
Convention of the Communist Party of  
the USA warm fraternal and combat  
greetings.

The 22nd Convention of your great  
Party is an important and historic event,  
not only for the United States of America,  
but also for the whole international  
Communist and workers' movement, for  
the international anti-imperialist movement  
of the peoples.

Representatives of the advanced detachment of the American people are meeting to chart a way forward, an alternative path to that of the capitalist corporations leading to a life of misery for the millions of the oppressed masses of your country. You, comrades, are charting a path leading to the broad way of happiness and progress for your peoples, a path leading to socialism. The magnificent report of Comrade Gus Hall and the Main Political Resolution before the Congress are the most reliable guidelines and signposts along this path. The African National Congress is proud to be associated with your historic convention.

The progressive movement in our part of the world counts the Communist Party of the USA amongst its most reliable allies and friends outside the Afro-Asian region. This is borne out by the fact that of late, no important international event has taken place without the representatives of your great Party. Among the most recent of these events are the International Anti-Imperialist Conference in support of the African and Arab peoples, held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia in September, 1978, and more recently, the April 1979 AAPSO sponsored international conference in support of the national liberation movements of Southern Africa and in solidarity with the frontline African states held in Lusaka, Zambia; there are many other such events.

Comrades, it goes without saying that the activities of your great Party, in support of and in solidarity with the progressive movement in our region, has sharply brought to the consciousness of our fighting peoples, that America is not only synonymous with imperialist aggression but that inside this country, there are forces that are genuinely opposed to the criminal and aggressive path of American imperialism. These forces fight for a bright and happy future which is feared by the ruling class and its military-industrial complex.

The Afro-Asian peoples and progressive mankind in general, have not yet forgotten your contribution to the great cause of the Vietnamese people and other peoples of Indo-China during the dark days of brutal and naked American imperialist aggression.

The tireless efforts of your great Party, and other progressive forces in America, in arousing the consciousness of the American people against the crimes of the American military-industrial complex against the Vietnamese people, was an important contribution to the ultimate victory of that great and heroic nation. The heroic struggle of the oppressed black people of our country is known and receiving growing support in your country through your efforts; we deeply appreciate this.

All this comrades, is consistent with the loyalty of your Party to the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism, a reliable compass and the cornerstone of the international activities of all the advanced detachments of the international anti-imperialist movement.

Long live the Communist Party of the USA!

Long live the fraternal friendship between the oppressed people of South Africa and the American people!

# Randall Robinson

*Interview with Randall Robinson, Director of Transafrica.*

“Our function in Washington and the United States is to organise the Black American constituency for Africa. Transafrica is a broad based membership organisation designed to serve as a vehicle for the delivery of Black American opinion to the administration in Washington and to the Congress in Washington to make sure that those members of government understand that we are as concerned about Africa and the politics involved as we are about our own domestic situation.

There is a growing understanding in Black America that we are indecisively tied



to the fortunes of Africa. We have to play our role, a strong role, in the development of US foreign policy. We are concerned, particularly in the job about the problems of Southern Africa, the extent to which the Western powers are involved, particularly the United States, we are concerned about the United States relationship to the other developing independent countries in Africa and the Caribbean, and we work on both fronts at the same time.

We have worked extremely hard recently to have sanctions by the United States maintained against Rhodesia because there has been no significant transfer of power from the white minority to the black majority. We have worked to demonstrate against Muzorewa on his visits to the United States and against Smith's visits to the United States. I think we have been successful in letting the President know that if he lifts sanctions, the Black Community will not support his re-election. He knows at the same time that he cannot be re-elected without the support of the national black community. Every Black leader of any consequence in the United States has said to the President that sanctions must not be lifted against that government.

Now the larger task for us is to concentrate on the United States support relationship with South Africa because South Africa, of course, is the real cause of the problems throughout Southern Africa in that country's effort to buffer it with a string of satellite states across the top of it that would protect the interest of the white minority for an indefinite future. So that when we look at the American record, in relation to South Africa, we see since the 50's an enormous support, economic, political, diplomatic, military that has allowed South Africa together with support from the other Western powers, to become the repressive tyrant that it has become. So that means that we have to work towards the goal of United States and Western disengagement from South Africa. We support complete corporate disinvestment, a complete embargo and isolation of that government, and we strongly feel that the Blacks of South Africa should know that we Black Americans are committed to do everything

in our power to see to it that the United States government stops supporting Apartheid.

We find, again, our struggles indivisibly linked. Black Americans will never be free until all Blacks are free all over the world, and we are not about for the moment to compartmentalise our concerns, as we are concerned about our domestic problems, we are concerned about the problems of Africa generally and specifically of Southern and South Africa.

It is not going to be an easy task as you asked before the extent to which we would be successful. I think we are going to be very successful on the Rhodesian question but success is going to be more difficult to achieve on the disengagement and the question of South Africa, and the isolation of South Africa. But we are encouraged by what has happened recently on University campuses. We feel that the major social issues in the United States in the 1980's would be the issue of South Africa and there would be no question that the Black Americans would be strongly in support of those who have struggled for so long and with such great valour and courage for freedom in that part of the world. They can count on support from our leadership, our fellowship, rank and file, across the board from 30 million Black Americans."

# Dr Wyotte T Walker

*Interview with Dr. Wyotte T. Walker*

"I am a Harlem minister and I serve as Secretary-General of the International Freedom Mobilisation, which is the voice of the Black Church against Apartheid and racism in Southern Africa. We are a new voice in the USA, joining the forces of solidarity with our mother country in



*Target of the people's anger during the 1976 uprisings*

Africa against the racist regimes. We are about a year and a half old.

We came into being through the urging and sponsorship of the African National Congress, of which Oliver Tambo is President, and his permanent representative at the UN Johnny Makatini. In 1978 in the fourth Sunday in June in 35 cities we celebrated what we call International Freedom Sunday, which was aimed at sensitising the black community in America in the struggles in the region of South Africa. We commemorated the second anniversary of the Soweto uprisings of the children. It was so successful that we decided we will make a permanent and annual celebration. This last year in 1979 on the second Sunday in June, in 71 American cities we had some celebrations commemorating the third anniversary of the uprising of the children in Soweto and to mark our solidarity with our brothers and sisters in Africa.

I am personally former chief-in-staff to Dr. Martin Luther King jr. and many of the men with whom I work in the US are part of his network of support. In mobilising for this year's International Freedom Sunday we convened a summer conference of black religious leaders in the week April 17, at the UN Conference Centre. We had pastors and religious leaders, male and female, black and white, from

all across America, from 32 states and 54 cities. That is the network that we are trying to build to help keep the consciousness alive of the struggles in South Africa.

One of the most important things we have done is that we bombarded the White House and Mr. Carter with telegrams and letters in co-operation with Transafrica headed by Randall Robinson, for him to keep his position of the sanctions against "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" and maintaining the stance of non-recognition. This is a part of our overall and broad programme to try to help support the liberation struggle in the region of South Africa.

We are beginning to mobilise now against the sale of the Kruger Rand in the US. We have been helping with the church in the Bank Disinvestment programme through our churches. As I had indicated earlier in this interview, we are absolutely committed to the struggle of our brothers and sisters in South Africa and we applaud their efforts and understand that their freedom must come by any means necessary. We say to all of those who read this interview **A Luta Continua!**"

# SASOL

The most expensive industrial project in the world is now under construction in South Africa in an effort to overcome the racist regime's total dependence on imports of oil, by producing oil from coal. The cost of SASOL 11 and its extensions will exceed R6 billion. 25,000 men will be employed on the construction, and the standard working day is 11¾ hours. The allocation of such vast resources to this one project testifies to its strategic significance for the beleaguered racist regime and its allies who are providing it with assistance.

Ensuring adequate supplies of oil is a matter of survival for apartheid. Dependence on imported oil is one of the system's most vulnerable points and the Pretoria regime has over the years made major efforts to reduce this dependence. It has done so both by encouraging the use of other energy sources and by trying to secure domestic supplies.

The country's coal reserves are very large. Due to the starvation wages being paid to black miners, South African coal is amongst the cheapest in the world. As a result between 75-80% of energy needs are supplied directly or indirectly by coal. The remaining 20%, however, includes a number of very vital and strategic sectors of the economy.

In industry and commerce only 8% of the energy used is supplied by oil. But virtually all industrial machinery is based on oil based lubricants, which quite literally keep the wheels turning smoothly. The

petro-chemical industry's products flow into a myriad industrial processes, as well as supplying the raw material for so many household products.

The dependence on oil is most obvious in the transport sector where 79% of energy used is derived from oil.

Most importantly, the entire repressive machinery — police, paramilitary, and military is dependent on oil. The oil multinational Mobil spelt out the equation oil=munitions in a legal opinion submitted to the United States Senate 3 years ago:

"As oil is absolutely vital to enable the army to move, the navy to sail and the air force to fly, it is likely that a South African court would hold that it falls



within...the definition of munitions of war."

It is in this context therefore that the regime's frantic efforts to establish domestic sources in anticipation of a mandatory oil embargo and the efforts of the imperialist powers to assist in this task must be viewed.

Despite extensive prospecting on land and off the South African coast, no significant oil finds have been made. Domestic sources have therefore been limited to conversion from coal to oil. Pre-revolutionary Iran had continued to supply 90% of South Africa's oil imports, notwithstanding OAU resolutions and the imposition of an embargo on oil exports to the apartheid regime by Arab oil producers in 1973. The overthrow of the Shah and the refusal of the revolutionary government to supply the apartheid regime has resulted in a massive expansion in the plans to produce oil from coal.

Since 1955, a plant using the Fischer-Tropsch method has been operating at Sasolburg 50 km from Johannesburg. With a current output of approximately 4,500 barrels a day this plant meets only 1% of oil needs. The second plant with a ten fold increase in capacity, SASOL 11 was originally scheduled for completion in 1981. This has now been brought forward. Earlier this year, plans were announced for an extension of SASOL 11 doubling its capacity. The complete project will cost R6 billion — of which the extension will cost R3,276m (£1.9 billion, \$3.900 million). It has been estimated that these SASOL plants when completed will provide 30% of liquid fuel needs on the basis of 1978 consumption. Consideration is now being given to the construction of further plants requiring additional investments of R4,500m.

There is no way that the apartheid economy can itself generate the capital and other resources needed for the SASOL project. The more so, in view of the regime's need to constantly expand military expenditure in a vain effort to control the rising resistance of the people.

The SASOL project can only be completed to the extent that it receives equipment, finance and technology from external sources. Pretoria's confidence in

embarking on the project stems from its recognition that certain western powers have committed themselves totally to the survival of the racist regime, and identified the strategic needs of apartheid as their own.

Even a cursory examination of the project and the aid that is flowing into it from abroad shows that the regime's confidence is not misplaced.

## Equipment

The US company Fluor Corporation has had its tenure as managing contractor extended to cover the SASOL 11 expansion, and is co-ordinating international assistance for the project. Special equipment including turbines and high speed compressors will come from most of the regime's regular economic collaborators in the west and Japan.

Deutsche Babcock (FRG—boilers) and Air Liquide (France — oxygen plant ) which have been extensively involved in the existing plants will continue their assistance.

Other equipment from the FRG will include the chemical processing plant (Lurgi), cooling systems (Linde), heavy transport equipment (Demag Mannesman) and water pumps (KSB).

French companies involved include: Dresser-France (compressors), Spie-Batignolles (civil engineering) and Heurtey (furnaces).

The largest US contractor for the project after Fluor, Chicago Bridge and Iron will supply the pressure vessels and tanks.

The United Kingdom companies will be supplying electronic equipment including process control, fired heaters and fans, fork lift trucks and cranes.

Swiss suppliers include Sluzer Bros (turbo-compressors) and Brown Boveri who had tendered for the Koeberg nuclear reactors.

Many other multi-nationals and foreign firms will be supplying equipment from their South African subsidiaries including Hawker Siddeley (UK), Weserhutte (FRG) and Mather and Platt (Australia).

## Financial Aid

The capital needed for the SASOL 11

extension is R3,276m (£1.9 billion). Though for the first time a parastatal project is to be opened to private investment, the capital required is beyond the capacity of the apartheid economy, which is trying to meet a number of "strategic" needs in a period of recession. Not only is there an expansion in expenditure for arms and on the repressive machinery but funds have had to be provided to enable the local takeover of a number of foreign firms involved in certain strategic areas of the economy. Other firms such as the chemical companies are making heavy investments in import replacement projects. In this situation, financial assistance for any project in the apartheid economy whether by loan or investment, will free domestic resources for SASOL — illustrating once again the direct relationship between all foreign investment and loans and the strategic needs of the apartheid regime.

When plans for the SASOL extension were first announced, it was said that the required capital would be provided combination of parliamentary appropriations, the Strategic Oil Fund (SOF) which is financed by a levy on all oil products, bridging finance from state and private sources, and investment from the private sector.

However, concealed in the apparent confidence in vast domestic resources of capital lies the reality of the absolute necessity for foreign funds by way of direct investment, loans and credits.

The West German government challenged about FRG financial aid for projects of strategic significance for the survival of apartheid admitted that the Strategic Oil Fund was established by the regime as a "business to raise capital for the state concern SASOL". (The SOF has also provided the funds for establishing the regime's oil stockpile).

In the past three years, West German banks have provided at least 222m DM in loans for the SOF. A number of the banks concerned are state owned.

The latest of the foreign loans made directly to the fund was agreed in August 1979, when Credit Suisse raised a further 50m SF.

The regime's governmental allies are

providing direct assistance by way of credits. The individual amounts involved are far in excess of the DM 500m limit agreed by the EEC. Foreign export credits are expected to finance about 20% of the total projects costs.

The West German Hermes Kreditversicherung has guaranteed credits of DM 300m. Agreement on this aid was hailed in Pretoria as the "single biggest coup" in the overseas financing of SASOL.

The French export credit agency Cofas has so far provided guarantees of R100m.

In the UK, credits arranged for the project are guaranteed by the British Export Credit Guarantee Department which moreover applies its most favourable rates for assistance in the apartheid economy.

The aid that flowed into SASOL is political in intent, for only fools would consider SASOL as simply a commercial venture. Not only is the role of SASOL in the regime's strategy to diminish the impact of sanctions self evident, but SASOL has been and is still being used to provide assistance to Rhodesia. It is SASOL that is now sending most of the oil that flows to Rhodesia in defiance of UN sanctions and the British government's recent swap arrangement facilitated the supply of oil to SASOL.

Within the context of total economic sanctions, the Pretoria regime and its allies are particularly sensitive to the vulnerability arising from the dependence on imported oil.

Equally, an oil embargo becomes a particularly effective weapon in the hands of the international solidarity movement.

SASOL is part of the lifeline by which apartheid hopes to survive! Cut it! The African National Congress calls upon its friends and allies to take action in their countries for total economic sanctions and an oil embargo. In Western Europe and the United States we call for action:

- \* To stop financial aid of any sort being provided for SASOL
- \* to prevent the export of equipment for SASOL.

# THE ICU OF AFRICA

A book on Clements Kadalie's ICU of Africa, is to be welcomed. Basing it on his doctoral dissertation, submitted to the University of Cape Town, Dr. W Wickins has carefully pieced together the ICU story from its foundation in 1919, its development thereafter, its final break-up into separate sections and an outline of the history of the three main sections into which it had divided. He has based himself largely on primary material. Anyone who has been through this enormous amount of first-hand material - letters, minutes of conferences, memoranda, policy statements, constitutions (collected, in the main, by A.W.G. Champion and thereafter taken into custody by Lionel Forman - now the "Forman Papers", and by William Ballinger) can only be impressed by the immense amount of painstaking work that Wickins had put into his work. And, all in all, he has made very few errors of detail. Indeed, he has corrected some of the errors contained in earlier work.

However, there are fundamental problems in the book which flow, in the main, from Wickins's historical method. He adopts a largely descriptive approach with a minimum of analysis, attempting to cover the whole history of the ICU. Undoubtedly, there is something to be said for the view that what one might call a basic chronological history of the ICU with a lot of facts, carefully annotated (which Roux did not do - his was clearly meant primarily as a popular history), was an important first task for the historian. (Wickins is actually an economic historian.) However, in order to give as accurate a picture of an organisation (or whatever else one might be portraying) as possible, it is necessary to weigh the facts and to select those

which cast most light on its development above all, in order to understand the organisation's character and function, it is necessary to use the analytic method, to place, as it were, the organisation in its political-social context. Otherwise, however much one prides oneself on being "objective"; one, in fact, runs the danger of producing a distorted subjective picture of the organisation. And this, indeed, is what Wickins has largely succeeded in doing.

In the first place, he has tended to devote too much space to relatively unimportant aspects of the ICU's history while giving too little to key aspects. At any rate, his selection in this respect, has not been optimal. One would take issue with him, for example, as to whether it was necessary to devote a chapter to the relationship between the ICU and the competitor organisation, almost certainly backed by the ruling class, the ICWU, since it is not especially illuminating as far as an understanding of the ICU is concerned; while, on the other hand, devoting so little space to the expulsion of the Communists. The latter is especially inexplicable since it was a key event in the history of the ICU, not only in the sense that it influenced the organisation's further development but in that it throws a particularly sharp light on the contradictory nature of the organisation's political-ideological development and on the character of its leadership. The cavalier manner in which Wickins dealt with this episode is indicated by the fact that he did not even use so crucial a source as the Communist Party paper, *The South African Worker*, when he deals with the subject. In addition, Wickins devotes far too much space to that part of the organisation's history after it started breaking up. In this respect, one wonders whether the

somewhat artificial ICU of Africa, led by the British social reformist cum liberal, William Ballinger, after the break with Kadalie, really deserved 20 or so pages (out of a book of little over 200 pages) while the relatively lengthy account of the ICU's break-up and the story of the various splinter sections thereafter - right into the 30's tends to leave the reader with the impression that the organisation did not have much of a history but for in-fighting, splits, money and moral scandals, and general decay.

Apart from the question of how he has divided up the ICU's history in terms of space, there are even more fundamental problems. This relates to his minimal use of the analytic method. For instance, he has made no serious attempt to analyse the ideological positions of the ICU leaders nor the leadership's social-political character. Though an undoubted positive aspect of his book is that he does deal in some detail with the nature of the ICU's membership, what conclusions he does come to in this respect do not lead him to seriously tackle the question of the class character of the organisation, its political function. In order to understand the class-political function of the ICU in the total social-political landscape of South Africa at the time - and Wickins does recognise, though somewhat reluctantly it seems, the strong political inclinations of the organisation - it would have been necessary, too, to give at least some indication of the character of the other key organisations of the oppressed and working people with the aim of defining the ICU's relationship to them. It would have meant a more searching analysis of the ICU's relationship to the Communist Party and, above all, to the African National Congress which, whether Wickins likes it or not, is, and was even at

this period, the leading political organisation of the African people. His anti-Communism which emerges on occasion more-or-less as an aside - the Communists were out to "use" the ICU for their "own" (unspecified) purposes - prevents Wickins from giving consideration they deserve to such key questions as to the extent to which the African working class had by this time emerged both structurally and politically as an independent force. This is, indeed, a crucial question in relation to an understanding of the character of the ICU as well as the question of the relations between it and the Communist Party.

An understanding of the ICU's role in South Africa's social-political set-up would have meant, in addition, some analysis of the character of South Africa's ruling class and the nature of its developing social-political system. Indeed, though he makes no consistent attempt to analyse the South African system, Wickins tends, in line with South Africa's traditional "liberal" historiography, to identify the oppression of the African people too much with the job colour bar and "poor whites" and white workers rather than in terms of the total capitalist-colonialist character of the system. His essentially "liberal" positions also emerge in an occasional comment as to the anti-racist, rather than class, character of the struggle of South Africa's black people:— The South African system is "racial" rather than "class". In counterposing these two concepts, Wickins is clearly unable to grasp the whole nature of the oppressed people's and working class struggle in South Africa which is determined in the first place, of course, by the fact that the South African system is a system of imperialist-capitalist exploitation and oppression with racist-colonialist methods and forms.

The subjectivism of Wickin's historical method emerges especially clearly in relation

to the question of the ICU's "weaknesses". Since a crucial characteristic of the organisation was its dramatic rise and fall this is clearly a key problem with which the historian must come to terms. In summing up the role of the organisation — and this would have flowed naturally from the analytic approach adopted throughout the work — it was, in fact, necessary for him to take into consideration, above all, the objective conditions in which it rose, developed and disintegrated. The ICU did not, of course, develop in a vacuum or have its own intrinsic laws of development apart from the society in which it was embedded. Even the leadership traits and political methods of its leaders related to the milieu of the time. For instance, it cannot be denied that the emergence of "platform thunderers" like Kadalie to popular prominence in the 20's was integrally related to the level the mass movement amongst the African people had reached, to the level of political consciousness of the workers (especially the migrants) and the worker-peasants on the white farms. The essentially petit-bourgeois radical nature of the ICU's leadership which, leaving aside its positive aspects, found expression in political vacillations and indiscipline (inter alia, with respect to money) evolved out of a specific social-political context. In this sense, the weaknesses of the leaders reflected and were integrally related to the weaknesses of the mass movement which, in their turn, of course, arose, not out of racial characteristics (such as Ethelreds Lewis, the liberal 'helper' of the ICU, would have believed), but out of the objective conditions which, amongst other things, produced a particular social psychology. In this regard, it is to be noted that Wickins, in summing up the "achievement" of the ICU in his last chapter, does not take seriously enough the difficulties of organising at the time

under conditions of increasingly severe colonialist-racist exploitation and oppression, combined with the fact that a more-or-less negligible stable and structurally independent African working class existed in the towns (though he does draw attention to this aspect in his introductory chapter). Nor does he take into account that the African people as a whole and the African workers in particular had had a political experience of less than a decade at the time the ICU was established in 1918-1919 (the South African state, of course, had only been established in 1910). Clearly, this whole situation was hardly conducive to the emergence of an independent working class leadership while it had a decisive influence on the nature of the leading political organisation of the African people, the ANC, which in turn, was a crucial factor in the nature of the ICU's development.

Moreover, the character of the ICU's development was not related simply to national factors but also to international. This Wickins completely fails to grasp. Indeed, in the tradition of the old bourgeois South African historiography, he pays no attention at all to international influences or questions of the world relation of forces. Although, for instance, as Wickins does indicate, the ICU's emergence was an integral part of the upswing of the African working class movement in South Africa after the 1st World War, he completely fails to connect this upswing with the successful October revolution in 1917 in Russia. Indeed, Wickins writes his book as though South Africa's black people, even in the main urban centres, were totally incapsulated from outside influences. Connected with this is his serious underestimation of the influence of the International Socialists in the ICU's early development and of the Communists on its later development and his related under-



estimation of anarcho-syndicalist influence which, stemming from the British and US working class movement of the time, reached the ICU by-and-large via the International Socialists. An important reason apparently for Wickin's desire to play down radical left political-ideological influences is that he sees the South African system as a system of racial, as opposed to class, oppression so that, while he notes that the ICU leaders picked up some class concepts from 1925, he necessarily sees this as essentially artificial.

Wickins also evidences a distinct reluctance to tackle the question of Garveyite influence and of nationalism in the ICU in general, partly, it seems, because, at least in regard to Garveyite influence, this would have taken him out of the South African cocoon and also because he writes off the lack of ideological consistency of the ICU propagandists as "lamentable" (p.205) rather than attempting to come to grips with the ICU's essentially contradictory nature as well as with the social-political reasons for its leadership's heterogeneous as well as its vacillating character. A key factor is that Wickins has been reluctant to tackle the question of the organisation's class-political character.

The ICU's emergence and further development was certainly spurred on by the October revolution not only through its political-ideological influence which filtered by-and-large to the ICU via the International Socialists and other radical left groupings, but also, more indirectly, through the fundamental change in the relation of world forces which it introduced. After the October revolution world imperialism no longer had undivided sway over the whole world. However, the situation was particularly contradictory since, though imperialism had lost the historical initiative, it was clearly still far stronger than the anti-imperialist forces.

The key element in this situation was that the Soviet Union, the only socialist state in the world at this time, was busy fighting for its very existence against imperialist intervention and sabotage.

In the 1920's the African mass movement was inevitably of a sporadic nature with marked elements of spontaneity, and this was influenced both by the existing relation of forces (the South African ruling class was, of course, an integral part of the world imperialist system) and by the social and subjective factors to which attention has already been drawn above. It was, indeed, in this situation that the main section of the ICU leadership under Kadalie began a retreat, turning for succour to the British social-reformists and the South African liberals. And it was this total situation — and not, in the first place, the moral weaknesses of some of its leaders — which laid the foundation for the ICU's break-up and final disappearance from the historical scene until its mass traditions were taken up by the ANC Youth Leaguers, in alliance with the Communists, in the 1940's.

Of course, one cannot expect a bourgeois historian such as Peter Wickins, to have offered us an objective ICU history; it is inevitable that his history would have important subjective elements. And it is particularly necessary to make this point because a lot of interesting work being done at the present time in the South African field by historians and other academics. It is in this context that Wickin's book will by-and-large be judged in the West.

This has undoubtedly been a harsh criticism of Peter Wickin's book and perhaps it does less than justice to his capabilities as a historian. However, apart from purely academic considerations, it is necessary to criticise in order to put the national liberation struggle and the struggle of the South African working class in a correct

perspective. This is our duty to our predecessors who fought in much more difficult and complex conditions than we face today, however complex our struggle still is. Moreover, criticism of subjectivism helps to develop that sense of realism which is a key to a truly revolutionary consciousness. At the same time, we wish to stress again that Wickins has certainly, at least on the academic level, made a contribution, especially in supplying extremely useful facts. This is particularly true of his handling of the early history of the ICU. One cannot, as we have noted, but be impressed with

the enormous amount of careful work he has put into it. Had he applied his descriptive method to a less complex and contradictory organisation than the ICU, he would perhaps not have fallen into such obvious subjectivism. With his particular political-academic orientation it would have been better, we suggest, had he been more cautious about the field of research he chose to offer for his doctoral dissertation.

S.N.



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