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ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

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President Tambo on "land deal"

KING Sobhuza of Swaziland — one of the world's longest-ruling monarchs — passed away on Saturday the 21st of August before the thorny question of land being ceded to Swaziland had been resolved.



PRESIDENT O. R. TAMBO

The President of the ANC, Comrade O.R. Tambo, speaking in Maputo on July 23 said, "The African National Congress of South Africa hopes to meet with King Sobhuza II of Swaziland in the near future to discuss the South African "offer" of the KaNgwane bantustan and the Ingwavuma strip to Swaziland."

PRESS CONFERENCE

Speaking at a press conference in Maputo on July 23 President Tambo said that the ANC had already had two sets of discussions with the Swazi authorities. The first took place the week before. The ANC delegation was headed by President Tambo himself, while the Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, led the Swazi side. "I cannot say that

agreement was reached on the two principal issues," said President Tambo. "First, the border question, and secondly, the intention of the South African regime to denationalise some one million black South Africans and throw them into Swaziland." But agreement was reached, he continued, "that it was necessary to see the King himself." President Tambo expected the meeting to take place shortly after the OAU Heads of State Summit.

He stressed that, "The ANC wants to avoid a conflict among the opponents of the Pretoria regime. We have felt that this is a matter we can discuss and reach an agreement upon between the ANC and the Swaziland authorities, or between Swaziland authorities and the leaders of the Southern African region."

PUBLIC STATEMENTS

As a result, President Tambo added, "The ANC had made few public statements on this affair, in spite of the fact that we all feel very strongly about it." However, many statements had emanated from Mbabane and Pretoria, some of which had misrepresented the ANC. "It is necessary to correct false impressions," said the President. He described the land deal as "a move against the interest of Africa." He condemned the attempts by Pretoria to deprive a further million South African of their citizenship and make them citizens of another country. The apartheid regime, he continued, wished

to destroy SADCC (Southern Africa Development Coordinating Conference), and build up instead the "constellation of Southern African States," in which it would like to see as members Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, as well as the "independent" bantustans.

"We have pleaded," President Tambo said, "and we are pleading with our brothers in Swaziland, a country which supports our struggle, to stay its hand in this matter, and to avoid being pushed into a position in which it is allied with the Pretoria regime against everybody else."

OAU

"We went on, beyond a willingness to discuss the matter", there was so far "no indication" that the Swaziland authorities were prepared to change their minds. But the ANC did not intend to take the matter to the OAU: "We think we should first exhaust the possibilities of having it resolved by the leaders in this region, if the ANC itself does not succeed. What Pretoria wants," he continued "is to compound divisions and conflicts inside the OAU." The ANC had no intention of helping the regime in this.

In this issue:—	
Youth	Page 2
KwaNdebele	Page 3
Retrenchment	Page 5
Culture	Page 7
Sports Front	Page 8

Border questions, President Tambo said, "are the subject of bitter conflict, and some of them are threatening the very life of the OAU. Only an enemy of the OAU would want to add another border question.

"The ANC has not gone into the merits of where the border should be. We have contented ourselves with saying that it is possible to prove that any border in Africa is in the wrong place. It's the easiest thing to do."

Asked if he believed that Swaziland had agreed to end its support for the Liberation Movement as part of the land deal with South Africa, Comrade O.R. Tambo said he did not think that Swaziland would enter "an express agreement under which it would withdraw support for the ANC."

Continued on Page 7

Demand the RELEASE of the Six Patriots

Anthony Tsotsobe,
David Moise. Johannes Shabangu
Simon Mogoerane,
Marcus Motaung, Jerry Semano

Youth marches forward

INSIDE and outside our country the struggle by the youth and students to consolidate their gains, recoup their losses and plan future strategies and tactics has been intensified in recent months.

The ANC Youth in the External Mission held a successful conference in August (discussed in next issue) while the democratic students' organizations inside the country held conferences in a spirit that showed the ever broadening unity among the democratic forces at all levels.

Although much has been achieved in our conferences as democratic students inside the country, a lot more still needs to be done in terms of organization and the popularization of the people's democratic and non-racial programme — the Freedom Charter. The conference and the invited speakers spoke a common language on the need for democracy within our organizations and the society as a whole; however, have we done enough ground work to bring the Freedom Charter to every school and university and to evolve effective organizational structures to create a broad democratic students' front?

The increasingly repressive machinery of the fascist state will spare no effort in its attempts to reverse our gains and destroy our organizations. It is thus imperative to create effective and durable organizational structures and to develop, on the basis of the Freedom Charter, a common approach to all our problems so as to frustrate enemy attempts to divide us.

One student leader has correctly stated that the way to survive as democratic organizations "is to have a solid organizational base, strong links with other student bodies and broad student support." To achieve this we have to strengthen the democratic base of our organizations. An organization that pays little attention to democracy within its own ranks will be hampered at every step in its struggle for a democratic society. At the same time, our struggle to build a mass student base and democracy within our organizations should not make us lose time and sight of the urgent need to broaden our co-operation and united

action as separate student organisations.

From the 1976 Uprisings and subsequent students' struggles we have learnt important lessons on organization. While the 1976 Uprisings were led by SRC's, relying on student support in the ongoing struggles, today we have built our own organizations and have given new direction and a broader outlook to the existing ones.

We have established ourselves as the voice of the democratic students in our universities and schools; however, the question is whether we have been able to draw as many students' into our

ranks as we would have desired. Have we managed to convince as many students as we would want on our short-term goals and our long-term goal of a democratic and non-racial South Africa?

In this respect, the drawing up of an Education Charter goes far in creating the base on which the mass of the students will be mobilised. There is an urgent need for all democratic organizations to participate in its drawing up and to involve the mass of their students so that it becomes the guiding light for future action on the educational front.

The racists' attempts to hoodwink us into inactivity through the so-called progressive recommendations

of the De Lange Commission must be given the contempt that they deserve. These recommendations only serve to strengthen the exploitative and oppressive system. They are meant to serve the industrial sector while the education system remains undemocratic and inferior for blacks.

In our struggle for the broad united democratic front, let us mobilise the students around our immediate problems — the Age-Limit regulations, detentions, expulsions and bannings of students at Fort Hare, the university quota system and others. Let us hear from the mouth of every pupil and student the words of the Freedom Charter, "The doors of learning and culture shall be opened!"

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!!!

Dipale laid to rest

ON the 8th of August, at about 12.30 a.m., a black detainee, Ernest Dipale was found hanging in a cell at John Vorster Square police headquarters.

The twenty-one-year-old Dipale was further testimony to the utter callousness of the South African fascist monsters.

The Secretary-General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo, said, "The ANC calls on the people of South Africa to mount the strongest ever protest at the murder in detention of Ernest Moabi Dipale. Let us intensify the campaign for the release of all detainees and political prisoners, and intensify the mass offensive on all fronts for the speediest destruction of the system of apartheid colonialism."

The people of South Africa did protest. Amongst them, the Detainees Parents Support Committee organised a protest meeting at the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg.

Before the deceased's body was cold in the coffin the police went to Mrs Dipale — in a move that defies description in its inhuman and vindictive nature. They came with a list of do's and don't's concerning how the funeral should be run. Mrs Dipale should make sure that:

* from the church service the coffin was transported in a hearse to the burial grounds;



Mourners lay wreaths on Dipale's grave

- * the mourners should move by car from the service to the cemetery;
- * the mourners should not carry or show symbols for and/or against any political party or organization;
- * at the funeral there should be no speeches in support or against any political party or organization, and,
- * when everything had been done there should be no feasting (as is the tradition) and mourners should just go to their places.

The only thing that was left here was for the police to choose the texts in the Bible which could or couldn't be read. When they asked Mrs Dipale to sign this incredible document out-

lining these unheard-of restrictions, she refused.

The South African racist regime is running scared. It saw the popular support for the ANC in ever so many funerals that have taken place at home — flags unfurled, the Freedom Charter praised and freedom songs sung. Although there were no flags flying in the Dipale funeral the people sang freedom songs and made speeches that are surely bringing closer the day of liberation. There is nothing that will save the racists. Their desperation, their trying to stem our inexorable march to freedom make us think of an ancient adage, "He whom the gods wish to destroy, they first make mad."

KwaNdebele Desert of death

THE decision of the fascist regime to grant "independence" to the KwaNdebele bantustan is one of the finest testimonies to the bankruptcy of the racist policies.

KwaNdebele is a product of the physical violence of the regime — the genocidal mass removal scheme. It was created two years ago out of 16 farms, and now has as its main feature 12 'resettlement' camps in which an estimated 180,000 people have been dumped.

The process leading to the creation of this particular camp was gruesome and brutal. People were dumped there at the rate of 20 families a day. Like cattle heading for slaughter, they were brought in trucks and left in the bare veld to fend for themselves. They had to put up shacks, shanties and tin huts. Tuberculosis is rife, and 'natural hazards' take their own toll. Water shortages have reached alarming proportions. Infant mortality has reached a very high rate, even by the standards of racist South Africa. An undertaker is reported to have expressed the wish of setting up a coffin-making business in KwaNdebele, because this is one of the most rewarding business ventures in the area. This is the "independent

national state, the Republic of KwaNdebele' in the making!

Thousands more of our people are to be stripped of their citizenship and declared foreigners in South Africa. As we all know from the experience of Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, 'independence' will mean the transference of the machinery of oppression and repression from the master into the hands of the puppets — for blacks to destroy black lives. It will mean the creation of a puppet army to defend apartheid against the people.

CORRUPT EXPLOITERS

But why have the KwaNdebele puppets entered into this trap knowingly? These bantustan administrators, like all others, are blind opportunists whose main characteristic is gross miscalculation based on short-term interests and gains. The KwaNdebele "cabinet" is mainly composed of small businessmen, the owners of practically all the supermarkets, grocery shops



The bantustans — a source of the high rate of unemployment.

and bottlestores in the area. To them, "independence" means more say in the slicing of the business cake. Already, they are establishing partnership with Holiday Inns for a casino to be built in the area — for the corrupt practices of the rulers and exploiters, about half-an-hour's drive from Pretoria. This is where they will barricade themselves and wine and dine while we die like flies.

Genocidal Policies

The intensification of our struggle on all fronts has resulted in the enemy carrying out to the open, the real purpose of the bantustan system: to deny us our citizenship by hook or by crook. The experience of KaNgwane and KwaZulu regarding the decision of the regime to cede land to neighbouring Swaziland is a fresh and rich example. When it suited the interests of the regime, the bantustan administrators were made to believe that they were "running their own affairs". Now, the masters in Pretoria have reversed decisions that were reached in what we were told are "healthy negotiations!"

It is not enough to condemn the bantustan system and its so-called independence. Our own experience with the so-called Coloured Representative Council and the South African Indian Council teaches us that the instruments of racist administrative terror can be smashed. Only united actions by all patriotic and democratic forces can stop this rotten deal. Actual struggle against the intended "independence" is the guarantee to real and effective victory. This is how we scored victory over the regime's plans to hold — the now postponed — Community Council "elections".

Let us unite and struggle throughout the land to stop this treacherous deal and to smash the entire bantustan system. In other areas, let us publicise the plight of the people of KwaNdebele, hold meetings and organise for united action. The time to destroy this little monster and its mother, the apartheid system, is NOW!

**FORWARD TO A
PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT
IN A UNITED, FREE AND
DEMOCRATIC SOUTH
AFRICA!!**

LISTEN TO

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VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS AND
UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, THE PEOPLE'S ARMY

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External Service, Dar es Salaam, on:

1035 KHz, Medium wave; 9685 KHz, 31mb shortwave

Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15pm (S. A. time)

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Madagascar

6135 KHz, 49mb shortwave. Monday — Saturday 7—9pm

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Lusaka

9580 KHz, 31mb shortwave, Monday-Friday 7.00 — 7.45pm,

Wednesday 9.30 — 10.00pm, Thursday 10.05 — 10.30pm,

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PASS MAYIBUYE ON.

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*DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD

*STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS
SHELTER AT NIGHT

*DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE
YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS.

BE CAREFUL!!!



Ambassadors of death

THE intensification of the armed struggle by the peoples' army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has led the regime to adopt desperate methods in a vain attempt to drive a wedge between the people and their army and to win the oppressed to the trenches of the enemy.

While the innocent people of Southern Angola are being systematically annihilated, while coup attempts are being made against independent countries such as the Seychelles, while the unarmed thousands of South African blacks are still reeling under the terror unleashed on their young ones in Soweto, Elsies River, Langa, their murdered in Matola, Zimbabwe and Swaziland, the SADF is involved in a hideous scheme of indoctrinating black school children of Langa, Nyanga, Gugulethu and other areas.

This programme called "Social Action" or "Civil Action", has been in existence since 1968 and spans all the population groups through the length and breadth of our country, especially in areas which the racists consider as potential, or existing areas of the courageous armed actions of the people's army, MK. It is part of a wider programme of Malan's DPSKEMPI — an acronym for Diplomatic, Psychological, Semantic, Cultural, Educational, Military, Political and Intelligence. These are fields which form the basis of "total strategy". In laying ground for the final and imminent administration of South African by the military-trained doctors, teachers, social workers, etc., are being deployed within the black community so that the military administration gets some respectability and acceptance in that it comes from people who have always been in the black community.

The seed of this idea was introduced largely under the influence of the desperate efforts of the United States Army before its defeat in Vietnam, in what is termed the battle to win "their hearts and their minds". White schoolchildren are made to undergo strenuous activity, are taught to shoot "terrorists" with torches and understand the "moral peril" of pop songs such as "Yellow Submarine."

It caused anger and consternation, then, when the "selected" pupils of Nyanga, Langa and Gugulethu were carted off in army trucks to go off to "youth camps". These week-long "camps" at Hermanus as part of a joint programme by the Defence Force's Civil Action Department, the Administration Board and the Community Councils.

The parents of these pupils are deliberately not informed about what goes on in these "camps". We are merely told that the pupils would be participating in the camps and, of course, there's absolutely no mention of the involvement of the fascist army. This omission is not accidental for, as the racists should know, the SADF if correctly considered by the people as an instrument of the regime for the defence of the fascist system against the people. Moreover, schoolchildren have a long history of being the quarry when the SADF hunting season opens.

A Gugulethu mother whose eleven-year-old son was shangaied to these dubious expeditions, said,

"Had I known the defence force had anything to do with it, I would have refused to let my child go."

Major Gert Britz, the head of the Defence Force's Civil wing, denied that there was anything sinister about the army's involvement. Asked in a newspaper interview why the army was involved in such programmes, he said, "The army is neutral. It is everybody's army. We're trying to make people realise this and to win their trust." The SADF spokesmen are increasingly sounding like hungry jackals trying to reassure a poultry farmer that all they wish to do is to win his chickens' trust.

It is our duty, then, to be concerned about these dangerous moves by the SADF to colonise the minds of our young ones. Student's, women's, civic and other

organizations should expose and publicise the evil done by the SADF in the name of "civil action". The SADF doctors, teachers, social workers in our communities are not harbouring goodwill in their hearts — they are ambassadors of death. We cannot sit idly by whilst our children, brothers and sisters are being imbued with the most rabid, counter-revolutionary zeal; whilst they are being misled to become defenders of oppression and exploitation, to die ignoble deaths in our country, Namibia and other areas in defence of the most bestial and obscene social system man has ever devised. It is our duty as parents, brothers or sisters of these schoolchildren to exhort them to wriggle out of the SADF clutches before it is all too late.

SADF OF DEATH, GET OUT OF OUR COMMUNITIES!

THE SPEAR LIVES ON!!

Support striking

THE strikes that have engulfed our country continue to confirm that the workers are putting to good use the experience we have gained in the past battles.

Although the demands advanced by the workers are many and varied, ranging from pay increases and better working conditions to an end to victimizations and retrenchments, one important feature of many of these actions is the amount of unity shown by the workers and the community.

This has emerged quite clearly in Richard's Bay, in the motor industry in Port Elizabeth, Dano textile industries in Durban, in the mines (when over 27,000 miners took strike action in July) and other industries.

In Richard's Bay, when 17,000 workers at ALUSAF went on strike over a pension dispute, their comrades in other workplaces in the area, such as the Richard's Bay Coal terminal, the D & H Construction site workers also downed tools to back up their own demands, and in solidarity with the strikers. The striking workers then successfully secured the support of their colleagues in other industries and the rest of the community in Enseleni and Esikhawini townships. This resulted in a complete stay-at-home which



Fight retrenchment!

THE sharp edge of the axe of the exploitative system is taking its toll - at a rate seldom witnessed before - of those who have laboured to make huge profits for the factory-owners, the mine-bosses and other exploiters.

Since the beginning of the year, an increasing number of workers' families have been condemned to starvation and slow death as more bread-winners are removed from their jobs because of the economic crisis afflicting the system.

More and more workers are being retrenched to join their brothers and sisters in the long queues at labour bureau offices where chances of getting jobs are slim. Many are being 'endorsed out' to swell the ranks of the destitute in the arid bantustans where there are no possibilities whatsoever even to eke out a living. Those who still have jobs live under the constant threat of dismissal.

With the setting in of the crisis, the ranks of the already two and half million jobless are swelling at the rate of more than 22,000 a month. The regime has conveniently put the number of unemployed blacks at just over 500,000. According to the racists, those who work for 5 hours in a week and those who have given up looking for work are "employed"! And unemployed migrant workers are not even mentioned, for they are "a problem of the bantu national states".

The organised response to this scourge, especially in the metal and motor industries has shown that the period when the exploiters could

hire and fire at will is fast passing. In May, when the GENREC monopoly fired hundreds of workers at its subsidiaries thousands in the metal industry, led by the Metal and Allied Workers' Union went on strike and finally forced many employers to agree to a retrenchment procedure which includes payment of 'redundancy wages', that those hired first should be the last to be fired and that those retrenched should be given first preference when job opportunities arise.

Afraid of the workers' organised strength, the employers in the motor industry were more 'cunning' in that they decided to put workers on short-time while maintaining the hourly rate of pay. The workers went on strike in all major car factories in Port Elizabeth

and Ultenhage in July to back up their demand for R3,50 per hour so they could offset the reduction in their wages which resulted from the shortening of the working week. The strikes (at the time of going to press,) were still continuing and the united workers were determined to win their demands.

The Unemployed

The economic system in our country - as in all other capitalist countries like Britain, the United States of America, France, etc - which is based on the ownership of mines, factories, farms and so on by a handful of individuals does not, and is not intended to, serve the interests of the people. Production is aimed primarily at ensuring huge profits for the bosses, by paying the workers wages on which they can barely survive.

This is the system in which farmers can afford to export maize at low prices rather than sell the 'surplus' to us at reduced prices. It is the system in which tons of cheese are dumped into the sea, in which pigs are fed on fresh milk to avoid selling these essential foodstuffs to us at prices we can afford. Brick factories are being shut down when hundreds of thousands are in need of houses, hospitals, schools... When all is well for the bosses, when their goods can sell, they make us work harder, employ more workers and even introduce new machines in order to make even higher profits. When "there are too many goods in the market" not because everyone has had enough as many of us cannot afford to buy them - they cut back production by expelling us from work.

The system of apartheid colonialism puts even greater burdens on the black people: We are being expelled from work when even the bosses admit that there is a shortage of skilled manpower. Because we are denied access to these skills which are reserved for whites, the jobs remain unfilled while we starve and while the regime imports whites from Britain, West Germany, New Zealand and other countries. As for us, the unemployed, new measures are introduced to confine us

Continued on Page 8

colleagues

brought the Richards Bay and Empangeni industrial areas to a standstill.

In a remarkable show of unity and organization, the thousands-strong workforce in the motor industry in PE went on a strike in July demanding a pay increase of R3,50 per hour. The recent strike in the motor plant in Port Elizabeth has been spearheaded in the main by the National Automobile and Allied Workers Union (NAAWU). About 20,000 workers have taken part in the strike. It gives cause for concern then, for MACWUSA (which has had a positive and progressive direction insofar as the whole labour question is concerned)

to be involved in this petty bickering against NAAWU; whatever problems they might be having - and NAAWU has bent over backwards to try and meet MACWUSA'S conditions) can be solved amicably behind closed doors without this very important workers' struggle being weakened as is happening now. The other blight in the workers' campaign for their rights can be ascribed to Rev. Alan Hendrickse's unfortunate statement that NAAWU action in co-ordinating the workers' strike action harms the workers families. This is the same standpoint that is assumed by the bantustan puppets who clamour for foreign investments on the rationale that withdrawal of such investments divests the black people of employment opportunities and pave's way for misery and starvation. This is nonsense.

The work of community leaders like Alan Hendrickse is to integrate the workers' struggle with the broader struggle of the community, to make the community see and understand the need why the workers need to be supported and sustained.

The mobilization of fellow workers and the community at large, by striking workers, has proven to be an effective weapon in our hands. It is

the weapon that has paved our way to many victories in East London last year, at the Isithebe/Mandini industrial complex last March and other areas - a weapon that we should all seize and use effectively throughout the country.

To achieve this, however, demands unity on the part of the trade union movement, as has been mentioned above, unity between the trade unions and the community organisations, and more organizational work even in times of relative calm. Let us emulate the example set by the workers, and transform the call of the people's movement for UNITY IN ACTION into concrete action on all fronts!

INSERT TO ARTICLE:

"We demand the right to work, and it is the duty of the government and employers to satisfy this demand. An 8-hour working day and a 40-hour basic working week should be the maximum in all employment."

SOUTH AFRICAN WORKERS DEMAND Amongst those adopted at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of SACTU, August, 1980.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

THIS IS ALL FOR THE FINAL ADMINISTRATION OF SOUTH AFRICA BY THE MILITARY!



OBITUARY

RUTH FIRST

ON Tuesday, 17th August, Ruth First was killed by a letter bomb in Maputo, Mozambique to become another martyr in this long and bitter struggle for liberation. Her death had been fashioned in the macabre hearts of the Pretoria madmen who had long realised that she was a tireless and committed fighter and revolutionary in the true sense of the word; a writer of consummate skill gifted with a rare, incisive vision who combined her craft and energy to actively combat the unspeakably evil South African system.

A daughter of radical socialists who had emigrated from the Baltic states, Tilly and Julius First, she was born in Johannesburg in 1925. While studying social science at Witwatersrand University, she joined the Communist Party of South Africa and was a founder member of a non-racial students group. It was in these days that she gave up sociology in favour of political journalism.

At the age of 21, during the Great African Mine Strike of 1946, she was among a handful of whites who assisted the miners and soon she was appointed Johannesburg editor of radical newspapers — the Guardian, New Age, the Clarion and Advance — through their successive bannings, and* also edited a literary and political magazine, Fighting Talk.

In 1947, despite a great risk of police harassment, she exposed the vicious collusion of police and farmers where Africans arrested for pass 'offences' were forced to work at the Bethal labour farms in conditions more hideous than under slavery. This exposé — and the ones that followed through the 1950s — are a milestone in investigative journalism and they brought, with staggering immediacy, the horror of the black reality especially, to white readers.

In 1949 she married Joe Slovo, an advocate, and they were at the heart of radical opposition while their home became a popular centre for non-racial gatherings. With their close friends, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, they were among 156 defendants in the mammoth marathon Treason Trial of 1954, in which all were eventually acquitted.* Subsequently she visited Namibia and — injustice being thoroughly repugnant to her



— wrote a scorching account of apartheid and its resultant evils in that territory which was, and still is, under United Nations mandate but run, through sheer terror and force, by South Africa.

During the early 1960s she was banned from journalism and her book on Namibia resulted in tightening restrictions imposed by the fascist regime on her activities. In 1963 she was detained and held for 117 days, much of it in solitary confinement — an experience which culminated in another influential book, 117 Days.

LEAVES S. AFRICA

She left South Africa in 1964, when she decided there was no realistic way of opposing the system overtly in South Africa. When she came to London she was involved in a television play based on her book, 117 Days, directed by Jack Gold, where she acted herself. Meanwhile Joe Slovo had been sent overseas eventually to become a member of the Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress.

She settled in Camden Town with her husband and three daughters, Shawn, Gillian and Robyn. She loved London with its intellectual

stimulus where her humour and brilliance made her well-known in anti-apartheid circles. It was here where she wrote and participated in political activities between her terms of Durham University where she lectured in Sociology. She wrote, here, The Barrel of a Gun (a study of African coups) and a portrait of Libya subtitled The Elusive Revolution.

But her primary focus remained South Africa. With her husband Joe Slovo, she chose to move closer to the front line again. There had been a spate of earlier murders of ANC leaders and personnel in the turbulent Southern African territory but she continued to live in Maputo despite all this terror. While she was here she was persuaded to remain at the Centre for African Studies at the Eduardo Mondlane University to head an international team of academics investigating the lives of migrant labourers, especially miners working in South Africa. She worked tirelessly for the African National Congress. The University department she headed in Maputo is rare in that it relates academic work with the practical needs of a Socialist economy. She strived to produce the same mixture of revolutionary but self-critical activism she herself epitomised. She has written — with co-author, Ann Scott — a highly-praised biography of Olive Schreiner.

It is tragic irony that Eduardo Mondlane, after whom the University where she died was named, was also killed by a letter bomb in Dar-es-Salaam sent by Portuguese fascist agents.

She was impelled to devote her whole life to the destruction of the apartheid regime and, if necessary, to die as a result.

The final sentence of her account of her own imprisonment, 117 Days, turned out to be, as she knew, tragically prophetic. Describing her unexpected release, she wrote: "When they left me in my own house at last I was convinced that it was not the end, that they would come again."

She was buried in Maputo next to thirteen of her countrymen slain by the South African army last year, at the infamous Matola massacre.

HAMBA KAHLE RUTH!

Briefs

The four witnesses who refused to testify in the Pietermaritzburg "Treason Trial" — and the two witnesses in the Ciskei "Terrorism Trial" who declared that they'd rather be charged than give evidence — were given harsh sentences ranging from two to four years imprisonment. This is concrete proof that the regime is now totally isolated and only has paid agents to depend upon when it comes to incarceration of the oppressed of South Africa. NO-ONE MUST GIVE STATE EVIDENCE!

In a meeting that was organised by the Black Students' Society at Wits University, support for the PLO and the struggling Palestinian people was pledged. The racist regime — together with murderous Israel Zionists and the United States — have praised the brutal slaughter of Palestinians in Beirut and have said that the ANC is being trained by the PLO to justify their aggression against neighbouring African states. The ANC and the progressive people of South Africa support the PLO and the struggling Palestinians because their struggle is one.

August 9, the South African Women's Day, was observed in many parts of the country and internationally. In Soweto, Bonteheuwel and elsewhere, the day was observed with women singing freedom songs and shouting, "Long live the Freedom Charter!" Police tried to stop these services by spraying teargas and intimidating the people. In Lusaka an August 9 rally was addressed by ANC Women's Secretariat official, Mita Seperepere and Chibesa Kankasa, a Central Committee member of UNIP and head of the UNIP Women's League. In an unprecedented move, this day was adopted by the United Nations as an International Day of Solidarity with the Struggling Women of South Africa and Namibia. Among the women comrades who precipitated this move were Mrs Allende, Madame Cisse and Valentina Treshkova.

Abdullah's interview concluded

QUESTION: As an active member of the ANC, and in your participation in the liberation struggle, do you experience any constraints around your artistic expression and creativity?

ANSWER: No. On the contrary, it opens up so many more possibilities, because now we have direct contact with the people. For one thing, it is much more gratifying playing, for example, in Botswana for the people. The spiritual gratification is much more than having to play elsewhere on a professional tour. I'm not saying that elsewhere the people do not appreciate our music, but it is because of our involvement with the ANC that we have been able, at last, to get to a stage where we can produce the Liberation Opera called Kalahari, which we have been thinking about for the last 20 to 30 years. But as long as I was tied to the commercial structure, I was forced to watch my words. The companies say to me, you cannot make a political statement because the record will be banned it is bad business. Being in the movement does away with all that and you are free to work without any restraints. This is very important.

On the other hand, you have to make sacrifices commercially. But we have got to a stage where it is possible for us to be in charge of our own product even on a commercial basis. We have the expertise as well.

QUESTION: What about in the new SA which will emerge out of our struggle: what will be the position of artist?

ANSWER: It is quite unique: I term it the new nation, in which the artist will be a full member of the society. Because my role as a musician, for example, is no less important, or more important than that of somebody who sweeps the streets, a doctor, a bus driver. We have to do away with this whole myth of superstardom, inventing some power in the image of one particular person.

I think we are unique because within our own structures we have evolved to the point where the people have rejected all that. We are unique in the sense that we are, already, really, building a new nation.



Abdullah Ibrahim

QUESTION: Would you say that possibilities exist for the formation of a united front of artists, and what would be the minimum conditions for such unity?

ANSWER: I don't think we have to stipulate the minimum requirement is to be a South African.

Now, even to bring a group of musicians together is difficult because of the system the dog-eat-dog system. Now you can imagine



The ANC's AMANDLA CULTURAL ENSEMBLE an example of committed artists in action.

among artists: for example, writers are invariably people with good education, who are then regarded as intellectuals. There are these differences that have to be overcome. I think the symposium helped in removing some of these obstacles.

When you look at the whole thing you really see how the system of apartheid has messed up the humanity of individuals. You discover that the only reason why you were suspicious of the next man is because you never had a chance to sit down and talk to each other.

There are all these divisions - social, ethnic, cultural - all perpetrated by the system. What was only needed was for us to be together and for that short period that we were together, the achievements were incredible.

That is why, for Southern Africa, I have very high hopes. We can see this birth of a new nation spearheaded by the African National Congress because the Freedom Charter embodies the aspirations of the people. The Freedom Charter is the guiding light!

A LUTA CONTINUA!

Pretoria/Swaziland 'land deal': from pg.1

But the land deal set off a dynamic possibility of conflict, in that the ANC could not accept that a million South Africans were to be declared foreigners in their own country and made citizens of Swaziland instead. "It's not a declared policy of withdrawing support from the ANC," President Tambo said, "It's just that conditions are being created whereby the interests of the Kingdom of Swaziland are being set in conflict with the interests of the struggle for the liberation of the people of South Africa."

Asked if the ANC would be prepared to discuss border changes after the overthrow of the Apartheid regime, President Tambo said, "After achieving our fundamental aim, our common objective, we could then sit down and discuss how we wanted to arrange ourselves." Once the

minority regime had been destroyed, "it should be possible to enter into all kinds of adjustments and arrangements."

LESOTHO

President Tambo praised Lesotho's refusal to take part in any similar land deal with Pretoria. He pointed out that Lesotho laid claim to the entire Orange Free State, "But the Lesotho Government discussed these matters with the ANC, and we agreed that it is wrong to pursue this kind of claim in the middle of a struggle for the liberation of the whole of Southern Africa including in a way the liberation of Lesotho itself, and that this matter would be better resolved by a free people of South Africa."

"Lesotho," President Tambo added, "understands that South Africa has not

suddenly become generous about land, and that it is using states on its borders for its own ends." One of these was to obliterate the distinction between independent states and bantustans, so that eventually the Transkei and other bantustans could win international recognition.

Comrade President O.R. Tambo stressed that the main enemy remained the Apartheid regime. "It is precisely because we think that our people might find themselves fighting the wrong enemy that we urge that the issue be discussed by those who have an interest in the unity of our people against oppression, white minority rule, against the exploitation of our working people. And we believe that Swaziland does have an interest in that kind of unity."

Mercenaries, go home!

THE collapse of the soccer tour of mercenaries at the instance of popular opposition constitutes a great victory for the people of South Africa and all anti-apartheid forces the world over.

It is a victory that was scored through the united action of all patriotic forces soccer players, workers, women and the youth. As the Manager of Orlando Pirates said after a meeting with the puppet soccer administrators: "We had no alternative but to call the game off. It was a call of the nation which I could not ignore."

After the collapse of this venture, the South African racists tried another gambit by trying to pit chosen black soccer sides to play against another visiting team but all these tricks — which cost about R20,000 — went up in smoke. After this fiasco, George Thabe, puppet supremo in the soccer arena, working as a front for his Pretoria bosses, came with another flimsy trick where visiting sportsmen are made to sign a declaration condemning apartheid — this apparently cleanses them of the apartheid stigma — but still go on and play. This is a cheap and flimsy stratagem still aimed at giving apartheid some kind of shabby respectability. The people have seen through such tricks, have, and will in the future have, nothing to do with apartheid sport.

It is, however, of great significance that our united

actions against the tour did not become an end in themselves. What is evident and unalterable is that this experience has resulted in the consolidation of the united front for future actions and victories. This front, initiated by COSAS and



AZASO, includes the SACC, AZAPO, General Allied Workers' Union, Soweto Civic Association, Teachers' Action Committee, to name a few.

In a statement announcing the formation of this front, the organizations showed a clear understanding of the forces at play. They castigated the SAB for its involvement in sponsoring the tour and noted that black employees of SAB had struck for a living wage "yet the SAB had the temerity

and arrogance to underwrite such an expensive venture." They added that, "Gone is the theory that soccer is more than a religion to the blacks.

The national interest has superseded that false notion."

It is also of great significance that soon after the collapse of the mercenaries' soccer tour, top officials of the three clubs at the centre of the controversy over the

recent abortive tour of South Africa by an overseas soccer team were questioned by the Security Police at Soweto's Protea Police Headquarters. The police said that they wanted to investigate "possible intimidation." Even an idiot gifted with the merest mustard grain of imagination knows that that intimidation is the weapon in the hands of the South African fascist Gestapo — and they are intimidated by this unprecedented show of unity demon-

strated by our people.

The emergence of the united front is a welcome and significant development. All patriots must work for its strengthening and should mobilise other organizations to join. The front should have a clear programme of action, for example, the campaign against the 1983 Community Council "elections", against the pending judicial murder of ANC combatants; for the release of political prisoners; publicising the campaign against, and explaining the reasons behind the cultural boycott and other related issues.

It is expected that the soccer clubs — Kaizer Chiefs, Orlando Pirates, Moroka Swallows — which showed such sensitivity to the nation's call, will not rest on their laurels, but will build on this commendable action to become part of the democratic cultural front that has, for years, campaigned against racist sport, for democratic sport in a democratic South Africa.

"The comradeship that we have formed in the trenches of freedom transcending the barriers that the enemy sought to create." Comrade President O.R. Tambo observed, "is a guarantee and a pre-condition for our victory. But we still need to build on this achievement. All of us — workers, peasants, students, priests, chiefs, traders, teachers, civil servants, poets, writers, men, women and youth, black and white — must take our common destiny in our hands."

Unemployment — CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

to the bantustans away from the cities and to limit our educational opportunities. The bosses and the regime always try to use us as mercenaries against our colleagues when they go on strike; and all attempts are made to recruit us into the racist army and its appendages in the bantustans.

Our fundamental aim should be to destroy this oppressive and exploitative system. We should fight for a new South Africa in which the human potential of all its citizens will be fully utilized; a South Africa in which, as the Freedom Charter says, "the state shall recognise the right and duty

of all to work", "the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people" and "all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people".

Whilst this remains our long-term goal, we must organise and act NOW against retrenchments. The strike of the workers in the motor industry is one example of how we can effectively defend our jobs and, at the same time, our pay, from attacks by the bosses. Whilst the conditions advanced by MAWU contain many positive aspects, they fall short of the demand of the

masses of the workers for the right to work, and give the bosses leeway to dismiss workers when they deem it fit.

Retrenchments, and the fact of the existence of these millions without jobs should be taken up as a matter of urgency by all democratic trade unions, community, youth and other organisations. The drive started last year to organise the unemployed should be intensified. This will not only help to prevent these workers from taking over their striking colleagues' jobs, but will also help the unemployed workers by strengthening their voice in demand for work and in their

fight against the hated 'influx control measures,' and in ensuring that they defend themselves in an organised manner against the criminal administrators of the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) whose job has in fact become that of robbing these workers of their benefits. All workers not included in the insurance scheme should be mobilised to fight for this right. At the same time, unity within the democratic trade union movement will greatly facilitate this important work! ORGANISE OR STARVE!!

Unity is strength!