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APRIL 1989

THfc hunger strikers: they Turned the prïsoni mto ïHeatres of struggle, and used
ihe only weapon available.

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APRIL 1989

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Graphic design by Hylton Alcock

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the African National Congress

And Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army

Radio Lusaka
Daily 7.00 pm:

Wednesday 10.15-10.45 pm:
Thursday 9.30-10.00 pm:
Friday 10.15-10.45 pm:

Short wave 31mb 9505 KHz

Sunday 8.00-8.45 am:
Short wave 25mb 11880 KHz

Radio Luanda
Monday-Saturday 7.30 pm:
Sunday 8.30 pm:
Short wave 31 mb 9535 KHz

and 25 mb

Radio Madagascar
Monday-Saturday 7.00-9.00 pm:

Sunday 7.00-8.00 pm:
Short wave 49mb 6135 KHz

Radio Ethiopia
Daily,, 9.30-10.00 pm:
Short wave 31 mb 9595 KHz

Radio Tanzania
Monday Wednesday Friday 8.15 pm:
Tuesday Thursday Saturday 6.15 am:
Short wave 31 mb 9750 KHz

The above are South African times

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EDITORIAL

THE RACISTS

HAVE PROBLEMS

The apartheid regime is in disarray, and pulling in different directions. The racists

don't want to relinquish their privileges, but can't agree on how to cling to them. The

followers don't know what leader to follow, with P W Botha refusing to go, and Heunis,

tions against the use of inflammable materials down the mines, and there has

been another fire fed by polyurethane. The realities of exploitation are still there.

Political opponents of the regime are still arrested, detained, tried and sentenced.

De Klerk and others taking their turn to talk of 'reforms' While White local councils are segregating amenities and putting up 'Whites Only' signs Heunis says he wants to repeal petty apartheid legislation, and take the 'Whites Only' signs down.

When they speak to their followers, it seems that not Botha, not De Klerk, not Heunis, dare address the real problems

looming behind their leadership crisis' and their confusion. They don't talk about

their defeat at Cuito Cuanavale. They are quiet about their attitude to the elections

in Namibia. They avoid mentioning the corruption in their own corridors of power; in

the Department of Education and Training, for example, and in their bantustan govern-

ments. They don't comment when their own courts find the system of rents in

Soweto to be illegal. They keep off the subject of the economy — profits are slowing

down, interest rates sure going up, and the time is approaching when foreign loans

must be repaid.

The regime goes on passing repressive

laws, like the law to control overseas funding of South African organisations, and the

law against school 'disruptors.' The police continue to break up student meetings. The

killing in Natal hasn't stopped, and Inkatha

still follows no laws but its own. Lives are still being wrecked by forced removals. Profit is still valued above human life; three

years after the disaster at Kinross, the regime has still failed to enforce any regula-

The oppressed people of South Africa know these realities, and are never deceived

by the double-talk of the racists. Today, the country is alive with political activity

and political struggle.

On our cover this month we salute the detainees who went on hunger strike. They

knew what they wanted: they wanted to be free. They declared that nothing could be

worse than the life they were leading, and they were prepared for death. They were

in prison, so they turned the prisons into theatres of struggle, and they used the only

weapon available to them. Their action was planned, disciplined and united.

They typify the majority of the South African people today. Everywhere in the

land the fight for freedom goes on. Wherever our people are becomes a theatre of

struggle, and in resistance they use what weapons they have. Students are taking the

police to court for assault; women fast for 24 hours in front of the cathedral in Johannesburg; White mothers unite to oppose

conscription; the residents of Carletonville

conduct a consumer boycott that paralyses the town; workers go on strike, or negotiate

better agreements, or work for greater trade union unity.

There is no confusion here; only political

clarity, planning, discipline, and a determination to be free. It is the democratic forces that hold in their hands the future of

our country; and that is the racists' most serious problem of all.

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ANC STATEMENTS

THE MANDELA

from the activities of the Mandela Football

FOOTBALL CLUB

Club can and must be resolved within the
ambit of the democratic movement as a

whole, both at local and national levels.

Recently there have been serious develop-
ments pertaining to the activities of the
group known as the Mandela Football Club

This must be done in the shortest possible
time.

To realise this, it is necessary that Com-

which have raised great concern within the
mass democratic movement and struggling

rade Winnie Mandela is helped to find her
way into the structures and discipline of the

people as a whole. The ANC shares the
concern of the people, and has, all the time*
tried to intervene to find an amicable solu-

Mass Democratic Movement. It will be of
paramount importance that she co-
operates with all those involved in the

tion to the problem.

resolution of the problem.

In the light of reports about its activities

We are confident that the Mass Demo-

in the recent past* our organisation, com-
plementing the initiatives of leading per-
sonalities of the Mass Democratic Move-

cratic Movement will open its doors to her
in the interest of our people and the strug-
gle. There is a need to create a climate in

ment, tried to use its influence to bring
about the disbanding of the group. Unfor-

which all problems facing the community,
including the unfortunate death of Stompie

tunately our counsel was not heeded by Moeketsi Seipei (a committed young lion

Comrade Winnie Mandela. The situation

who has made an immense contribution in

has been further complicated by the fact the mobilisation of our youth and people

that she did not belong to any structures in the struggle) will be discussed to foster

and therefore did not benefit from the

unity rather than let the enemy use them to

discipline, counselling and collectivity of achieve its ends.

the Mass Democratic Movement*

The ANC takes this opportunity to con-

Under these circumstances she was left very its heartfelt condolences to the parents,

open and vulnerable to committing
mistakes which the enemy exploited. One

relatives and community of Stompie
Moeketsi Seipei,

such instance relates to the so-called
Mandela Football Club. In the course of we consider it necessary to express our

It is with a feeling of terrible sadness that

time, the club engaged in unbecoming ac-
tivities which have angered the communi-

reservations about Winnie Mandela's judg-
ment in relation to the Mandela Football

ty. We fully understand the anger of the people and their organisations towards this club. We have every reason to believe that

the club was infiltrated by the enemy, and that most of its activities were guided by the

hand of the enemy for the purposes of causing disunity within the community and discrediting the name of Nelson Mandela and

the organisation of which he is the leader.

Our people should not allow this. The

ANC calls on our people to close ranks and exercise maximum vigilance against the

vile machinations of the enemy*

Our position is that the problem arising

Club, But we should not forget what Comrade Winnie Mandela has gone through and her immense contribution to the libera

tion struggle. She has not only suffered the anguish of over a quarter of a century of

separation from her husband, but has also experienced unending persecution at the hands of the regime, such as banishment,

imprisonment, torture and sustained harassment over a period of more than two

decades. Bearing the name of Mandela, and in her own right, she increasingly

became one of the symbols of resistance to racist tyranny both at home and abroad.

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We firmly believe, without prejudging all

the issues which have been raised in relation to the problem, that whatever mistakes were made should be viewed against the

background of her overall contribution anticipated in attempting to solve this problem

the one hand, and the activities of the enemy on the other. Viewed in this light,

we consider it important that the movement as a whole should adopt a balanced approach

proach to the problems that have arisen.

The ANC, for its part, will continue to work for the unity of our people, and we have no doubt that all those who have participated

lem have done so in the best interests of our struggle,

ANC, Lusaka, February 18th 1989

OLIVIA FORSYTH

was sent to spy on her masters. Her return to South Africa was viewed

A MISSION

with consternation by the authors of the infiltration plan, for it spelt nothing but failure;

THAT FAILED

her cover had been blown, and the vast resources, time and energy expended on

her mission had proved valueless. The

What is the real truth about the Olivia Forsyth

saga? The facts speak for themselves, and show quite clearly that her mission to

infiltrate the ANC was a pathetic flop. The

ANC, by sending her back to South Africa,

had confounded their attempts to base her in the Front Line States. Consequently, by

June 1986, after many sleepless days and

so-called 'master minds' of the South African security police spent many months conjuring up an elaborate plan to penetrate just

the ANC and the Front Line States, and failed dismally.

The scheme was foiled before it had even got off the ground, when Forsyth was un-

masked by the ANC in February 1986 in Harare. She was confronted by our then

Chief Representative, who had, unknown to her, been our national chief of security

before being appointed to head our mission in Zimbabwe. Cracking under the

pressure of his questions, she confessed to being a security police lieutenant on an

undercover mission to infiltrate our organisation and establish an espionage

network in the Front Line States. She was taken to Lusaka for debriefing, and claimed

that she could no longer reconcile

herself to working for the racist regime*

The ANC is not that naive to fall for such a 'conversion/' but it suited us to send her

back to Pretoria and test whether she would provide us with sensitive information

from security police headquarters.

This is standard practice world-wide in such cases. The ANC had nothing to lose

in this regard but a great deal to gain. Without her knowledge, we had the means

to carefully monitor her actions. The spy

nights of scheming and plotting, Forsyth's

handlers sent her to Lusaka in a reckless attempt to inject new life into a plan that

was not getting off the ground. It was hoped that Forsyth would somehow get the

ANC to send her for military training, and thereafter obtain a strategic position at our

headquarters in the Department of Information and Publicity.

The Spy in Detention

Forsyth's failure to carry out the assignment given to her by the ANC was conclusive

proof that we could expect to gain nothing more from the exercise. Instead of going

for training, she found herself promptly despatched to our top security detention

centre in Angola.

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She spent the next months in detention of one kind or another, always a prisoner and always under guard. She was never

trusted, and was lucky to escape with the assistance of the British government. It is

quite clear that only the gullible, and the

fervent supporters of the racist regime, can believe anything other than that her mission

failed miserably.

Since her return to South Africa, the

security police have sought to stage a spec-

= Page 6 =

tacular press event in an effort to cover up

their bungled operation*. They have invented a preposterous story claiming that

racists will reject this with the contempt it

deserves.

Once Forsyth had been debriefed, her

Forsyth's confession to the ANC was a brilliant ploy pre-planned by their top

brains in order to penetrate our organisation to the highest levels. Stretching in

credulity to the limits, the astonishing claim

is made that even her imprisonment was sought after by her handlers. This is in the nature of the Hitler technique — the bigger

the lie the more readily it will be believed*

The terms the police are using to characterise Forsyth's role, such as "false defector" and "double and triple agent,"

are dubious words in the world of in*

telligence. Such individuals, as everyone knows, are always regarded with deep scepticism, and are never trusted. The false

version of how she became a prisoner,

trusted by the ANC and thus able to gather sensitive information, is nothing more than

a desperate attempt to turn a disastrous and

embarrassing mission into a glorious

triumph for the apartheid regime.

Pretoria's Errand Girl

only value to us was in a prisoner exchange. She was moved from our detention

centre to a security house in Luanda, not because she had passed a test of trust

worthiness but because at that point the

handful of women prisoners who were there were all being transferred*

Pretoria's claims that she was able to ob

tain sensitive information are laughable, the

figment of the imagination of her handlers*

Her value to her masters whilst in ANC

detention has been negligible. Her tasks,

according to her press statement,

included:

"investigating specific aspects SACP/ANC

alliance; the internal leadership conflict;

the disillusionment of cadres wishing to

return to South Africa; ANC installations

and facilities in the neighbouring states;

making contact with other police agents

in order to activate sleepers; to undergo political and military training; to in

investigate conditions in the camps; to recruit principal agents; to spread dis

information ..."

Detention is hardly the place for the ac

This bizarre story, made up of the juicy ingredients of the spy tales that are current*

ly so popular, is meant to distract public and press attention from the stupendous

degree of bungling and incompetence all the more unexpected from a state body

with enormous financial resources and boasting a high level of professionalism.

complishment of such elaborate tasks. Yet the police persist in their fiction that For

syth was successful in her mission, that she was able to successfully report on all the

above tasks and many more besides, even to the extent of learning about ANC

underground structures and units inside South Africa.

Apart from covering up a botched operation, this version seeks to spread lies and

disinformation about the ANC whilst attempting to undermine the value of the vast

information provided to us by Pretoria's little errand girl.

Forsyth's allegations that the ANC is divided by tribal and personal power struggles,

that there is demoralisation within our

ranks, that we are ambivalent about the release of Nelson Mandela, and so on, is

nothing but the stale stories that have been circulated by Pretoria's disinformation

machine for many years* This old garbage is being paraded as proof of Forsyth's successful

mission. Anyone but unmitigated

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in this regard Forsyth is spewing out a

tissue of lies about alleged ANC brutality. that

Her state of good health when she presented about

ted herself at the British Embassy in Luanda is proof of this. In fact, at the time when

the story was put out by some British newspapers not

papers and the BBC that she had been subjected the

to harrowing torture, she issued a statement

through an official of the British embassy

in Luanda, denying this. Forsyth was satisfactorily treated by us. She was never beaten as she claims*

Obviously the long list of her 'achievements' has been invented for publication

by her police masters. Forsyth was simply not free to do any of these things* She was

being prepared for a possible prisoner exchange. This makes the claim that she was

able to obtain sensitive information from senior ANC officials quite ludicrous. She

was given some work to keep her occupied,

such as translating Afrikaans articles and making newspaper cuttings. This

was what is now being theatrically described as "sensitive work for a senior security

officer."

The only information detainees are able

to provide is about their own detention, and

I am in South Africa he spends most of his He

free time with me. has often told me

I am the only person he can speak to

his personal problems or to whom he can boast about successes which make him excited.

He has also told me that he does

regard himself as working primarily for

South African government or any noble

patriotic notions; his motivation is 80% professional

and only 20% ideological He is very racist. He has a sensitive ego, and is very conscious of his self-image; after I told

him he was getting fat, he lost about eight kilograms."

Forsyth Talks About the Police

Apart from providing the most intimate

details concerning Craig Williamson, she

The extensive information Forsyth supplied reported that:
to the ANC in her confessions has been a

major setback to the apartheid security ;
"... once he had resigned from the SAP senior officers began to question what he
police as well as a serious embarrassment. had done in G1 (the section of the Security
They have therefore gone to extraordinary Branch headed by Williamson) in the years
lengths to distort the truth and pretend that in which he controlled it.n

the ANC has been provided with delib^{er}
erate misinformation, Forsyth betrayed Forsyth continued:

many of her close colleagues, such as Joy
Hamden, Billy van Zyl, Patricia and John "There seems to be a growing opinion that
Adams, who are based in Brussels, Gilbert he had ridden on his credibility gained in
Strauss, James Smith, Gawie Vorster, An^d the field, and that G1 had in fact
drew Hockley, John Handan, Janet Knight, squandered hundreds of thousands of
Louise Vincent and so on, Billy van Zyl, rands on operations which had failed

,
thanks to Forsyth, has been in ANC custody There was also criticism of frivolous spen^d
since 1986. ding on items like a fancy red BMW which
was supposed to be an operational car...

She has also given intimate details of the
inner workings of the South African securi^{ty} Personal gain seems to be his overriding

ty apparatus with all its incompetence and motive, and this includes financially. While
he was in the SAP, he was involved in pro^{fit}
rivalries. These rivalries include those bet^{we}en perty speculation and other business
ween police and military and between deals. While in the Forcer there were a

government leaders and the security estab^{lish}
ishment, Lengthy profiles of scores of number of occasions when he threatened
to resign if he did not get promotion ..."

police officers from the lowest ranks to Forsyth has been even less kind concern^{ed}
generals have been provided, listing their

strengths and weaknesses, their home ad* ing her relative, Major Derek Brune, who
dresses, vehicle registration numbers, took over G1 when Williamson resigned:

details about their families and so on, giv^{ing} t;Brune is fairly bright quite sly and very
ing us a valuable insight into the seams and

cracks of the security system and its per^{for} ambitious. He is quick to claim a successful

sonnel. Such information was confirmation

operation as his, but will always blame

of data already in our hands from other sources.

failures on his subordinates. His major professional weakness appears to be a lack of

For example, of her chief handler, Major Oosthuizen, she writes:

field experience. He is regarded as a compulsive liar: He is married, but has affairs Ego is definitely a factor which could be

"He is basically ambitious ... feels extremely guilty about neglecting his family. When

exploited in his case... to the extent that he will not hesitate to slander colleagues

5

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who threaten to undermine him or

of Glt and Oosthuizen has pointed out that

'challenge his expertise in any way.'

this conflict is due in large part to the fact

Of Warrant Officer Palko, alias Gina:

that I am at present Glt's 'trump card' and

"... she is ambitious but not very bright, a

... with their credibility at stake, Glt desperately needs to claim a success

..."

plodder who is given more secretarial than operational responsibilities, a fact which she resents ... She has expensive clothing

There are many other concrete gains from Forsyth's confessions to us. For instance,

tastes which a police salary cannot easily cater for ... n

she enabled the ANC to alert endangered activists inside the country before the security police could pounce. Her ex-

Forsyth provided us with the following in-

posure has seriously hampered the sight into the rivalry surrounding her own regime's nefarious attempts at infiltrating

is

mission, which eloquent testimony to the anti-apartheid forces, and served to alert shambles that it had been reduced to by the and teach people in the mass democratic

time the ANC had sent her back to South Africa in May/June 1986: movement about the devious nature and tactics of the enemy.

"Operation Olivetti (the code name of her mission) has been run by a team consisting

The role of the British government in the whole Forsyth affair leaves a lot to be

of people from John Vorster branch and Glt. Prior to OUVettir antagonism had been

desired. They bear a heavy responsibility concerning the return of Pretoria's little er-

building up between them i, more or less since Brigadier Erasmus and Major

rand girl to South Africa. All along, they were informed of the fact that she was a

Oosthuizen had been in Johannesburg. The

South African police officer of the rank of

reasons for this included the fact that the successes of the John Vorster branch had

begun to show up the inadequacies and lack of results on the part of GL When John Vorster began to involve himself in opera

tionslike Olivetti which reached over the borders of South Africa and into Gl fs of ficial terrain, Gl began to feel threatened (Derek Brune in particular)... Gl has con *

sistently tried to wrest control of the opera successes tion and claim the for itself

Brune has used all sorts of tactics in these attempts from manipulating Brigadier

Stadtler to slandering Oosthuizen at Security Branch headquarters, and Oosthuizen has countered these with tactics of

his own ... time. Forsyth was instructed by her con

... Before my trip to Lusaka there was a

showdown meeting at Security Branch headquarters which illustrated this in competence. The meeting was forced by Gl and included Brigadiers Erasmus and

Stadtler, Majors Brune and Oosthuizen and other senior officers claiming expertise in

external operations as well as asserting that external ops were their domain. Gl

said Olivetti should fall under their control

... This showdown was folio wed by further

otii attempts by Gl to shunt John Vorster

.... of the operation As an RSagent, lam part

lieutenant who had been spying on the ANC as well as the Front Line States, in

cluding such Commonwealth countries as Botswana, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Nevertheless, they continually in

sisted on treating her as a British subject, disregarding her criminal activities.

British Travel Documents

They put pressure on the Angolan government to secure her release. The passport

they issued to her, enabling her to leave Luanda, was the third British document they presented her with in a short space of

trollers to apply for a British passport in

Cape Town early in 1985 for the purpose of her mission, and a second in Harare in October the same year enabling her to travel throughout the region without the

taint of the South African connection. She had received three British passports in as

many years. This raises serious questions about the ease with which the notorious

South African secret police have been able

to use the British government for their

sinister work. It is worthy of note that Bri

tain lifted this known South African agent

from Luanda and safely delivered her via London to her handlers, who were waiting

to receive her at Jan Smuts Airport in December 1988. From the beginning to the

end, the whole project hinged on a series of British passports.

There is a growing number of South African agents using British passports to carry out subversive missions in the Front

Line States. Amongst them are Steve Burnett, arrested in Botswana for attempt

ing to assassinate an anti-apartheid activist, Burnett has confessed to being an agent not

only for South Africa but for Britain's MI6. Other unsavoury characters of this type are

regularly being exposed in the region. By their assistance to Forsyth» the British

government has shown that it condones all these activities.

Olivia Forsyth is incapable of distinguishing fact from fiction. The truth is alien to her. In her eight years as a police spy,

she has behaved in a totally immoral way. Falsehood and betrayal have become se-

cond nature to her. Her behaviour during the period in our hands is best left un-

mentioned, but clearly reinforces the way progressives in South Africa have charac-

terised her. Forsyth has not simply been involved in some glamorous game beloved by the writers of spy thrillers. She has for

years been engaged in despicable acts in the service of an evil regime which is con

demned by humanity.

Olivia Forsyth is not the first nor the last

in a long line of apartheid spies. Her sordid career is a testament to the desperate

efforts of a minority racist regime to cling to power in the face of inevitable defeat at

the hands of a movement leading the people of South Africa to their liberation.

ANC, Lusaka
February 14th, 1989

JOINT

the boycott policy. The ANC maintains con had given implicit approval for a change in

COMMUNIQUE:

tact with SANROC through its Executive

ANC— ICAAS— SAN ROC

Chairman, Sam Ramsamy, and with the non-racial sports movement inside South Africa

on all matters relating to sport.

The meeting also recorded its gratitude

The ANC met with the International Campaign against Apartheid Sport (ICAAS) and

to the many international organisations, governments, anti-apartheid movements

the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) at its headquarters

and individuals who have contributed to the present isolation of apartheid sport. Ap

in Lusaka on February 23rd and 24th, Present at the meeting were the Chairman of ICAAS, Fekrou Kidane, and Sam Ramsamy,

preciation was also extended to the International Olympic Committee for strengthening its stand against apartheid sport by

Executive Chairman of SANROC,
The main focus of the meeting was the

establishing the commission, "Apartheid and Olympism."

international isolation of apartheid sport,
and how to assist the non-racial sports

movement inside South Africa,

The meeting paid tribute to the various

organisations inside South Africa for their
commendable efforts to establish non-

racial sport in the country. However, the
meeting re-affirmed the policy agreed

upon with the non-racial sports bodies in-
side South Africa, that the creation of non-

racial sports organisations does in no way
imply their immediate entry into inter-

national sports competitions.

The ANC was accordingly outraged by

suggestions made by Dennis Brutus, that it

However, the meeting observed that
there are countries which still maintain

sports links with apartheid South Africa. It,
therefore, examined various ways of apply-

ing pressure on these countries to end their
collaboration with apartheid sport.

The three organisations also met with the
non-racial South African Amateur Athletics

Board and discussed the further develop-
ment and consolidation of non-racial sport

in South Africa*

The ANC, ICAAS and SANROC agreed

to maintain regular contact.

Lusaka, February 24th 1989

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SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNALISTS

IN THE FRONT LINE

By Brian Bunting

WEEKLY Man.

WHAT HE

BLACKOUT
MI MEM

TO YOU

On The Eve Of May Day

WORKERS' PAR

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A G r E

120 Delegate:

XMAMKmiBU.

QMt lailnl Tt

VJ ILW^ M BfHwwM U H- Q M «

UHJIHFFN UHllltN Thi.id.v Arr l ;i. 1*«; 5 c

Above: Editors of the Weekly Mail address
the press after the paper is suspended,

Freedom And Work

November 1955

Right: Progressive papers of the sixties,

In Tanganyika

also victims of censorship.

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The New Naf/on, Soufto, Wee/c/y
have all

Mail, Grassroots and New Era

suffered banning orders under the emergency regulations; A/-Qa/am and
WorJk /n Progress are under threat. They are, of course, not the first
newspapers in South Africa to have suffered from censorship.

Censorship is not a prerogative of the editor and printer. It took a four-year battle
Afrikaners, It was the English governor of before the authorities could be persuaded
South Africa, Lord Charles Somerset, who by public and private agitation to issue an
suppressed the newspaper of Thomas ordinance in 1829, setting out the para

Pringle and James Fairbairn,
African Commercial Advertiser

The South
, in the

meters of press freedom.
This little episode of history so inspired

1830s, and deported George Greig, the

the Director of Information at the South

African Embassy in London, that in a pamphlet on the 50th African Press Radio and

Fascist Draft Constitution

issued by the Embassy a few Television years ago he claimed that this ordinance:

The idea of censorship continued to

"was greeted as the Magna Carta of the constitution, which was adopted by the Press in South Africa, (and) made the

simmer in the Nationalist mind. The draft Nationalist Party during the war in the

arbitrary suppression of papers a thing of the past."

expectation that the Nazis would be victorious, provided for "the total abolition of the

Tell that to Zwelakhe Sisulu, who was detained without trial for over two years; or the other journalists languishing in gaol under the emergency regulations; or the

British Kingship," the installation of a president with dictatorial powers, and the designation of Afrikaans as the "first official language" of the country, with English

Catholic bishops responsible for the production of New Nation; or the director or Dr Jon Lewis, editor and staff of South;

relegated to the status of "second or supplementary official language,"

of the South African labour Bulletin, who

In the sphere of human rights, the draft constitution declared that the state would

was deported from South Africa in 1987,

have power to make sure that:

There were others after Lord Charles Somerset who tried to interfere with press freedom. In the days of the Transvaal

"individual citizens, as well as the organs of public opinion such as the existence of

Republic, Paul Kruger tried to interfere with the production of the Johannesburg

Star, parties the radio, the Press and the cinema, whilst their rightful freedom of

but the paper appealed to the courts, and

expressions, including criticism of government

its rights were fully restored. In the last year of fusion government under General Hertzog, another attempt was made to curb the freedom of the press, which was accused of insulting the heads of the Nazi and fascist

ment policy, will be protected shall not be allowed by their actions to undermine the public order or good morale of the Republic internally or externally The form of this pledge has been repeated

states of Europe. After appealing to the newspaper editors to put their house in order, Hertzog drafted a censorship bill, but was prevented by the outbreak of war from putting it into effect*

over and over again by Nationalist Party politicians in the intervening years. There is the promise to preserve "freedom of expression, including criticism of government." On the other hand, there is the

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threat against all those who "undermine the

the same course. At home we live today in

public order or good morale of the Republic/' The regime must be cruel only to be

a condition of civil war, as our people battle to defend themselves against the repression

kind. sion of the state and the violence and

"A free press is essential to a free brutality of its security organs and their

democratic country ,"

said Dr Van Rhyn in parliament in January agents and allies, the vigilantes and death squads. Abroad, the assorted agents and allies of South Africa, like UN1TA and the

1950, when introducing the motion which MNR, sow death and destruction in the led to the appointment of the notorious Front Line States in pursuit of the regime's

Press Commission; but his motion went on policies of domination over the whole to declare that: sub-continent.

fo

"all activities and tendencies undermine From the first moment they came to

or abuse such freedom... should therefore power, the Nationalists took steps to en

be combated ." trench apartheid and eliminate the oppos

ition. In their first months of office,

Press control, the Nationalists maintain, is legislation was introduced to limit the essential if a press is to be free. In the 40 franchise rights of Indians and Coloureds

years since it came to power the Nationalist — the beginning of a campaign eventually government has piled one measure of con extending over more than a decade to trol on top of another. The South African produce their dream of an all-White

press is certainly controlled; but who parliament. At the same time, the Minister would be so brave as to maintain that it is of Justice, C R Swart, appointed a

free? departmental committee to "investigate" Communism.

P W Botha Protects the People

Anti-Communist Legislation

In banning the New Nation and South,

cabinet ministers justified themselves by The Committee, working in secrecy with

alleging that the papers had identified themselves "absolutely" with Communism, extraordinary rapidity, produced within a few months a report declaring that Com

and once again the argument is trotted out munism was a national danger that had to that in the fight against Communism be extirpated from "our national life, our anything is justified. P W Botha himself democratic institutions and our Western

maintained that the banning of the UDF, philosophy," The fruit of this 'research' was COSATU and the other organisations and the Suppression of Communism Act of

individuals in February 1988 was:

1950, which not only outlawed the Communist

"not to oppress people, but to prevent others being oppressed by a communist dictatorship."

Communist Party but also produced our first casualty in the sphere of newspaper production: the newspaper Inkululeko, which had carried the message of the Party

Hitler had the same approach. In his

to all parts of the country and in which the

he maintained that:

book, Mein Kampf\

views of Party stalwarts like Moses Kotane,

"Democracy is the breeding ground in which the bacilli of the Marxist world pest

J B Marks, Edwin Mofutsanyana and many others were published in several of the

can grow and spread."

main languages of the country.

which at its peak had a circulation of about

Thus his campaign against Communism necessitated the elimination of democracy,

10 000, was arbitrarily suppressed, together with Freedom, the theoretical organ of the Party, and other intermittent Party

and set the world on the course that led to

the second world war and the destruction of 50 million lives. The anti-Communism of

publications.

the Pretoria regime is clearly setting us on

The Suppression of Communism Act, which forms the core of the Internal

10

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Security Act of 1982 under which most of no action has ever been taken against him.

our activists are detained, prosecuted and persecuted, gives the regime the power to

On the other hand, those who try to mobilise effective opposition to the system

ban any periodical or other publication are struck down with ever-increasing viciousness and violence. Ten years after

or:

the banning of the Communist Party, the

"serves inter alia as a means for expressing

time came for the African National

ing views or conveying information the publication of which is calculated to further the achievements of any of the objects

Congress and the Pan African Congress to be banned in 1960, followed by the Congress of Democrats in 1962, the Black

of Communism,"

Consciousness organisations in the 1970s and the 18 organisations in February 1988,

If Pretoria had been able to produce any

prohibited from doing anything except

evidence to justify its charge that the Nation or South were identifying them?

New

write to their lawyers and keep their books in order*

selves "absolutely" with Communism» it	In the sphere of the press, the bannings
could have used the Internal Security Act to ban them, not for three months but for good. The fact that it has not done so can	have been equally draconian. In 1952, two years after the disappearance of Inkululeko, it was the turn of the weekly
be accepted as proof that no such evidence banned by the	newspaper, the Guardian ,
is available. Under the emergency regulations, as Judge Curlewis pointed out in the New Nation case, the Minister of	Minister of Justice in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act.
Information does not have to give reasons	
why the New Nation offends him.	Democratic Press
"It is not our job to pass opinion on a minister's opinion ,"	Fights for Life
said the judge. Under the emergency regulations the Minister can and does do	The Guardian had been launched in 1937 as a journal of the labour movement, but over the years had become established as
what he likes, and the victim has no recourse to the courts. The judge's advice	the mouthpiece of the forces in South Africa fighting for national liberation and
to newspaper editors was,	socialism, and against racism, capitalism
"If in doubt, don't publish ."	and imperialism. At its peak during the war and in the immediate post-war period, it
When the law is so unclear, and the	had a regular circulation of 45 000 — one
penalties so severe, who can be sure of anything?	issue, at the time of the 1943 general election, topped 55 000. Throwing its
	considerable weight behind the projected
Opposition Banned	Defiance Campaign, the
was a	Guardian
	force the regime could not ignore. The paper was banned, not because it was
During the last 40 years, the regime has made it plain that it will not tolerate	propagating communism or breaking the law in any other way, for which it could
anybody who, to adapt Karl Marx's famous	have been prosecuted, but because it was
thesis on Feuerbach, not only interprets the world but also tries to change it* The apart ^{heid}	said to be under the control of people who had been members of the former
heid regime doesn't mind anyone saying he is against apartheid provided he does	Communist Party of South Africa before it was banned in 1950. The paper had never

nothing about it, Gatsha Buthelezi, for example, constantly proclaims he is

been an organ of the Communist Party, though it supported its policies. It was

opposed to apartheid, but because he does

banned because it stood in the way of the

nothing to end it—indeed many will argue that in practice he helps to perpetuate it —

apartheid juggernaut.
The paper was replaced immediately by

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which had to change its name
the Clarion, and where the freedom fighters could once
for technical reasons to People's World be counted in thousands, they now number

which was banned
and then to Advance, millions- The dialectical relationship between repression and resistance flows from
in 1954 to be replaced by New Age,
which
was banned in 1962. The line was finally the central contradiction of South African

brought to an end in 1963, when all the society — colonialist White domination of
members of the editorial staff of Spark were the Black majority. The resolution of this

prohibited from producing any material for contradiction is fast approaching, as the
publication, and no replacements could be consciousness spreads that the regime can

found who were not under similar offer no solutions and that a united people's
restrictions. front must be formed to bring the apartheid

It is worth recalling these episodes era to a close. The regime takes refuge in
because we must never allow the history a permanent state of emergency.
of either repression or resistance to be The freedom of the press in South Africa

forgotten. When the Spark was doused, is today restricted by over 100 laws plus the
other media were brought into the front emergency regulations. An editor knows

line, sometimes involuntarily. that if he publishes any criticism of the
regime he does so at his peril. It is an
offence for a newspaper to publish un

Spiral of authorised or 'untruthful' information about
Repression and Resistance Departments of Defence, Police or Prisons,
or the treatment of prisoners. Since the only

criterion of truthfulness is, in the last resort,

In October 1977 it was the turn of the the say-so of officials of these departments,

World , a White-owned paper directed the effect of these laws is that the press
towards the African market, which had publishes only what the regime allows it to
achieved a circulation of 150 000, the publish.

second largest of any daily in South Africa. Under the emergency regulations
It was banned together with its week-end introduced since June 1986 it is an offence

edition, the Weekend World, and the

to write or reproduce any "subversive"

Christian Institute newspaper, Pro

statement, which is again defined so

The editor of the

Percy

Veritate.

World,

Qoboza, was detained, while the editor of

loosely that anyone saying almost anything

can be brought within its ambit. Thus, in ad

Pro Veritate, Cedric Mayson (today an

dition to promoting the aims of an unlawful

active member of the ANC) and the editor
of the East London Daily Dispatch,

organisation, it becomes an offence to dis
credit military service, promote sanctions,

Donald

Woods, were banned. Various organs of
the Black Consciousness Movement also
disappeared.

encourage disinvestment or "weaken or
undermine the public's confidence in the
termination of the state of emergency."

The spiral of repression keeps advanc
ing, but so does that of resistance. In 1950

it was the Communist Party alone that was
the target of attack, but in 1987 it was 18

Overseas Coverage Shrinks

organisations that were restricted by the
regime — 18 organisations campaigning for most serious effect abroad has been the
a united, non-racial and democratic South proclamation issued by the regime in

Perhaps the measure which has had the

Africa. In 1952 it was the
banned; today, in addition to

Guardian

that was

November 1985, during the first state of
emergency, prohibiting any person from

New Nation,

South and Weekly Mail
'dissident' publications are under threat —

a whole range of photographing, filming or recording, as
well as broadcasting or distributing within

Soweian, City Press, Saamstaan, New Era,

or outside South Africa, any film or

Work in Progress, Grassroots

. What is im

recording of any public disturbance, strike

pressive is that the groundswell of opposi
tion has grown to tidal wave proportions,

or boycott, or any damage to property, or
any assault or killing, or even any person

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present at any of these activities. The proc

Money Power

lamation also banned the photographing or
filming of any member of the security

A memorandum submitted by the British

services engaged in any activity relating to
the termination of the state of emergency

Anti-Apartheid Movement to a seminar on
the mass media in Berlin in 1981 stated that

without the permission of the authorities.
The Minister of Law and Order at the time,

the South African propaganda drive:
"... depends on the methods, skills and

Louis le Grange, said the presence of

persuasion of modem advertising and

television and camera crews in "unrest situations" had proved to be "a catalyst to supported by further violence." In fact, however, the violence had continued, but the effect of the proclamation had been to wipe off the TV screens of the world all visual evidence of police and military brutality against the and

people,
A study done by the Canadian

Department of External Affairs has found that United States network air time on South

Africa declined by about two-thirds Josef following the tightening of media

restrictions. West Africa magazine, published in London, reported on March 28th 1988 that, at the same time, the survey had found:

decrease
"a levelling off and even a American public's understanding of the issues in South Africa ,"

Side by side with the suppression of its

critics, the regime concentrates enormous resources on the spread of its own propa

ganda. Because of the odium created by the apartheid system throughout the world,

one of the first tasks undertaken by the Nationalist government when it came to

power in 1948 was the reorganisation of the information services to counter the

unfavourable publicity abroad. Following the Sharpeville shooting and the economic

crisis of 1960/61, the external propaganda drive was greatly stepped up. In 1962 a

public relations backed by World-Wide

, market research surveys and

extensive special supplements in news

papers , shrewdly slanted television programmes and an enormous number of

fellow-travellers in the West's governments media, industry , commerce

, even charitable organisations and church groups. It is without doubt the world's

most carefully planned campaign of mass indoctrination beside which the racial

propaganda campaigns of the late Dr Goebbels pale into insignificance. And it

is spearheaded by the mass media of the

West
It is not only the regime that restricts the

freedom of the South African press. Class

in the and national divisions also play a role. The monopoly of economic power by the White minority ensures that the Black majority is starved of the capital needed to launch a newspaper. Most South African

newspapers are owned and directed by Whites, even those aimed at the African

market, and apart from a handful of 'alternative' or communally based journals

Black South Africans have no press at their disposal. Of course there are organs of the

liberation movement, but one cannot regard them as a free press, since even pos

session of a copy can incur imprisonment. Even among the Whites there is a vital

division in the extent of press control. With which is the exception of the Citizen t

separate Department of Information was set up, and the sum spent on information services was boosted from a meagre R100 000 in 1949-50 to R4 159 000 in 1968 and to R28 850 000 in 1986 — more than double the figure for 1985. The 1988-89 allocation was R31 600 000. In fact, South Africa's outlay on information is a matter of by three

conjecture, for, as the Muldergate scandal revealed, the regime has devoted untold millions to the development of undercover propaganda agencies at home and abroad.

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Press Monopoly

ever* Yet never has the need for it been greater.

Monopoly control of the press also restricts

freedom of expression. Effective control of the Argus group of newspapers is held by the Anglo-American Corporation of South

Africa via Charter Consolidated (an Anglo-

controlled British company) and the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment

Company. Up to 1985, the Argus group owned 39*2% of South African Associated

Newspapers, with a further 20.9% of SAAN being held by the Advowson Trust, which

was set up by Anglo-American interests in 1975. In September 1986, the Johannesburg

Consolidated Investment Company bought 13-5% of SAAN shares from the Abe Bailey

estate and the Bailey Trust, thus giving Anglo-American effective control of both

SAAN and the Argus group, which between them control almost all the English-language press.

The power of advertising in influencing

owned by Nationalist capital, all English-

language daily newspapers oppose the regime and the apartheid policy, however feebly, with all the Afrikaans-language

daily newspapers support one or other

form of apartheid. The circulation of the English press outnumbers that of the Afrikaans press (plus the Citizen)

to one, which is one reason why the

Nationalist government has regarded the press as a source of ideological danger ever since it came to power.

A Future South Africa

Journalists in South Africa have launched

a Hands off the Press Campaign, and we

have a duty to promote this campaign with all our energy and enthusiasm, not only in

the interests of a free press, but also to help bring into existence the united, non-racial

and democratic South Africa outlined in the Freedom Charter, The Conference on

Culture for Another South Africa (CASA), held in Amsterdam in December 1987 and

attended by 300 delegates from inside and outside South Africa, set out some guide-

lines to assist us in this task. The conference resolved:

■ To internationalise the campaign to defend the progressive press in South Africa*

■ To build solidarity between South

editorial policies is also a factor ensuring that the press dances to the tune of the ruling class. The media directed towards

Africans receive only 6% of all print

advertising revenue, while Africans account for 40% of all retail sales. We know that advertisers were reluctant to support

the Rand Daily Mail because of its large

circulation among Blacks and that this was perhaps the main cause of its demise. The drive to free the press from the 'money

power' must be seen as part of our overall

struggle to free South Africa from the grip of monopoly capitalism, racism and imperialism.

Article 19 of the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights declares:

"Everyone has the right to freedom of

opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without inter-

ference and to seek receive and impart information and ideas through any media

and regardless of frontiers ."

This Declaration was adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on

December 10th 1948, but has never been signed by South Africa. The recent actions

of the regime make it clear that freedom of opinion and expression is today further

removed from the grasp of our people than

African media workers and those abroad.

■ To call on governmental and non-governmental organisations abroad to

pressure the South African government by:

a) reviewing the position of South African press attaches (in their countries) in the light of repression in South Africa,

b) curbing the practice of allowing foreign

journalists to be used for government propaganda.

■ To call on the international community

to insist on its right to be informed and to

evolve methods which ensure there is a constant flow of information into and out of the country,

■ To call on solidarity movements

internationally to increase financial

assistance to media projects within the

national and democratic structures.

■ To encourage media workers to organ-

ise themselves into truly national and democratic structures*

■ To set up appropriate structures in the country that will survive the state onslaught in the long term.

■ To regard media training as a priority in

all sectors and to promote the incorporation of women fully into media

projects*

More than two dozen progressive South

African journalists meeting in Amsterdam issued a separate declaration stressing that Where the freedom of the media depended on: revolutionaries

"... the right freely to inform and be informed (and) the right to live peacefully in a non-racial democratic society based on universal franchise, " The declaration continued:

"As journalists we believe we are entitled to live and work in a society based on these principles And we believe that only in a society based on those principles is a truly free South African press possible."

The face of journalism in South Africa is changing. Speaking in the no confidence

debate in the House of Assembly in February 1987, the Minister of Home

Affairs, Stoffel Botha, deplored the development of a new breed of journalist who saw his duty not as being to report the

news but to make the news:

"This new breed of journalist sees himself as an agent for change, with a mission to convince his readers to his way of thinking."

Stoffel Botha thought this was dreadful, and called on the Media Council to put its

house in order. Perhaps we journalists can take pride in the fact that our efforts to tell

the truth about what is happening in South

Those who are for revolution will listen with respect to Vladimir Lenin, who, in to Begin in 1901, wrote that

can learn from their press how to live and how to die. "A newspaper is not only a collective propagandist and a collective agitator, it ; is also a collective organiser n

he said, stressing the importance of a political organ to a political movement* He

criticised those working in the undergound who immersed themselves almost completely in local work,

"... which narrows their outlook, the scope of their activities and their skill in the maintenance of secrecy and their

preparedness ."

A party newspaper could help to overcome these shortcomings, he said.

"This work will train and bring into the foreground not only the most skilful propa

gandists, but the most capable organisers,

the most talented political party leaders

, capable at the right moment, of releasing the slogan for the decisive struggle and of taking the lead in that struggle ."

Lenin always stressed the unity of theory

and practice. And he also always stressed the need for a vanguard party to strengthen

its links with, to be rooted in, the masses*

Africa are helping to bring about the
Infantile

In Left-Wing Communism

— an

changes we all want to see.

Disorder in 1920, he said:

"Victory cannot be won with a vanguard
alone. The broad masses of the working

South African
Democratic Journalists

people, those oppressed by capital, must
become involved.

This is achieved, of course, not only by
propaganda, but also by their own

Yes, it is true that a new breed of journalist
has been developed, a journalist who

experience gained in struggle. Our cadres
engaged in various forms of organisation

associates himself fully with the democratic
cause, who respects the truth, but under-
stands that there can be no freedom of the

and action must remember that they are
also propagandists, and that the purpose
of all their work, in journalism as elsewhere,

press in an unfree society. From ancient

times, philosophers have argued that the
pen is mightier than the sword. Even Stoffel
Botha declared in October 1987:

is to arouse, educate and mobilise the
masses within South Africa to revolutionary
activity.

"The journalist with a poison pen

Journalists in South Africa today are in the
front line. Let them not feel they are isolated

contributed just as much to the revolution
as did the man with a gun or the bomb

and alone, but part of a mighty army which,
despite all setbacks, is steadily advancing

."

October 16th 1987)
thrower (Daily News,

on the road to freedom.

IS

= Page 18 =

an*

Umkhomo

ten

Solomon Mahlangu left South Africa at the time of his uprising in 1976 and was

of the first of his generation to return to his country as a political cadre of

We Sizwe. His life was brief; he was tortured in 1975 and hanged in April 1979,

years ago this month.

His name is given in the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College near Mazimbu in
Tanzania. The College is run by the old his year, it is a sanctuary for other South

q

African* forced to leave his country because of political repression, and in aim is to
produce a new kind of South African free of the effect of racial discrimination and
oppression.

HARLOTTE

MAXEKE J
HILDRENS

CENTRE

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an* Solomon Mahlangu left South Africa at the time of his upbringing in 1976 ^ and was
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African* forced to leave their country because of political repression, and in aim is to
produce a new kind of South African free of effect* of racial discrimination and
oppression. _____ ^ ^ i

HARLOTTE

MAXEKE J
HILDRENS

CENTRE

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BIRTH OF THE FEDERATION

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN MOBILISE

By Sara

Ida Mtwana, President of FEDS AW

Sechaba today salutes with pride the 35th Anniversary of the founding
conference of the first national non-racial progressive women's organisation

in South Africa* This was the Federation of South African Women.

The first national conference of women in
the history of South Africa was held in

Presidents, others from people's leaders,
trade unionists and individuals.

Johannesburg Trades Hall over the

More than 150 delegates were present,

weekend of April 17th-18th, 1954,

representing over 230 000 women from all
the main centres in the country. Ray Alexander
was the central figure in organising

The Conference received messages of
greeting from organisations representing

140 million women in 66 countries all over the world; some from leaders and

that historic conference and she presented the opening address.

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Walter Sisulu, then Secretary-General of

the African National Congress, spoke about women he had met in China. Other

leading members of the organising committee also presented papers. Hilda Bernstein

spoke on the struggle of women for peace, Ida Mtwana on the position of

women in South Africa and Fatima Meer on the terrible disabilities of Indian women.

Then the conference was open to delegates representing urban and rural

working women, mothers and housewives.

All spoke from the floor, of their suffering, their hardships and their struggles, but also of their dreams and aspirations and their

determination to stand together for

The level of civilisation which any

society has reached can be

measured by the degree of

freedom that its members enjoy.

The status of women is a test of

civilisation. Measured by that

standard South Africa must be

considered low in the scale of

civilised nations.

— Women's Charter, 1954

Pre-Conference Planning

A woman demonstrates against the house

arrest law, Cape Town, April 1962

Previous to 1954 Port Elizabeth had been in a state of political unrest with influx control

As members of the National

control a major issue. The African community

Liberation Movements and Trade

there was already highly politicised for

Unions, in and through our various organisations, we march forward

many reasons; among them was that a reasonably stable and sexually-balanced African community had developed there,

with our men in the struggle for

trade union organisation was strong, and

liberation and the defence of the

there was considerable popular support for the African National Congress.

working people ... As women

Florence Matomela, Provincial President

there rests upon us also the burden

of the ANC Women's League, Frances

of removing from our society all

Baard, local organiser in the African Food

the social differences developed in past times between men and

and Canning Workers' Union and Ray Alexander, who was attending a trade union conference in the city, felt it was an

women which have the effect of

appropriate time to call a meeting of

keeping our sex in a position of

women. The main aim was to focus attention on the part women could play in the struggle for liberation. These three com-

inferiority and subordination.

— Women's Charter, 1954

rades had worked closely together in the

We women share with our menfolk

spoke of the daily issues of their own lives

— influx control, passes, rising food prices

the cares and anxieties imposed by
poverty and its evils. As wives and
mothers, it falls upon us to make
small wages stretch a long way. it

is we who feel the cries of our
children when they are hungry and
sick. It is our lot to keep and care
for the homes that are too small,
broken and dirty to be kept clean.
We know the burden of looking

after children and land when our
husbands are away in the mines,
on the farms, in the towns, earning
our daily bread.

— Women's Charter, 1954

past. Although they had often had discussions on the importance of establishing a national women's organisation, somehow the opportune moment had not come. In 1953, however, an informal planning meeting was called by word of mouth and took place the same evening. About 40-50 women attended. None of them represented

any particular organisation; they came along as individuals belonging to the Congress Alliance.

We know what it is to keep family

life going in pondokkies and
shanties, or in overcrowded one-

and bus fares as well as many other
grievous hardships.

The meeting decided that the real issues raised affected other women throughout

the country and therefore a national

strategy was needed if improvement was

to be made. This led towards the calling of

the First National Conference which took place a year later; Ray was entrusted with the responsibility of organising the conference*

Jubilant and Joyful

At this First National Conference of Women

the atmosphere was joyful and festive, with

jubilant singing and dancing. Much of the time was taken up with speeches, there was not enough time to discuss the

business matter. This came later. According to Cherryl Walker in her book, the

Women in Struggle in South Africa, women agreed that the Conference was a

great success:
a landmark in the history of women's organisations in South Africa,**

The main structure of the new organisation

was adopted and its broad aims established. It was formed for the purpose of uniting all women in common action for the

removal of all political, legal, economic and social discrimination» Another important feature of the Conference was that it

room apartments* We know the bitterness of the children taken to lawless ways, of daughters

elected a National Executive Committee, with its head office in Cape Town, as follows:

becoming unmarried mothers whilst still at school, of boys and girls growing up without education, training or jobs at a living wage*

President: Ida Mtwana.

Vice Presidents: Gladys Smith, Lilian Ngoyi, Bertha Mkize, Florence Matomela.

Secretary: Ray Alexander,

Treasurer: Hetty McLeod (September).

— Women's Charter, 1954

Committee: Elizabeth Mafeking, Dora Tamana, Katie White, Freda van Rheede, Annie Silinga, Louisa Mtwana, Cecilia Rosier, Winifred Siqwana, K. Egelhof (Cape Town), Hilda Bernstein, Hetty du Preez, Albertina Sisulu, Helen Joseph (Rand), Frances Baard, Miss Njongwe, Chrissie Jasson (PE), Fatima Meer (Durban), Miss M.F. Thompson (Kimberley).

Ray spoke about the international perspective of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF) and the banned Communist Party. She pointed out that women had made significant contributions to the struggles for liberation in other parts of the world. Then the women present

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It is our intention to carry out a nation-wide programme of education that will bring home to

throughout the world and permanent peace in the universe."

the men and women of all national groups the realisation that freedom cannot be won for any one section of the people as a whole as long as women are kept in bondage.

Demands And Ideals

The delegates left the Conference satisfied that the Charter embodied their demands and ideals and that all the women's organisations and committees would gain great strength from working as one.

— Women's Charter, 1954

No name was given to this new organisation until the Second Conference two years later when a constitution was adopted

defining the structure of the organisation and it became known as the Federation of

South African Women (FEDSAW).

After the basis of a national organisation of women had been laid at the planning meeting, a Women's Charter was drafted.

We shall teach men they cannot hope to liberate themselves from the evils of discrimination and

prejudice as long as they fail to

extend to women complete and unqualified equality in law and in

practice.

— Women's Charter, 1954

Women's Charter And Its Aims

Incidentally* an amusing facet was that all the catering and serving of refreshments at

This was the major achievement of the conference. The Charter was a manifesto composed from the many ideas which came out of the inaugural conference* It was felt that such a charter was necessary in order to assert women's rights although they should be subordinated to the main struggle for equality. The Charter declared the women's aims to be:

the conference was done by male volunteers. The credit for this role reversal went to Hilda Bernstein who had suggested it.

ference. The Charter was a manifesto composed

Although FEDSAW has never itself been

posed from the many ideas which came out of the inaugural conference* It was felt that such a charter was necessary in order to

banned, most of its leaders were at one time and another banned and served with severe restriction orders. In addition many

assert women's rights although they should be subordinated to the main struggle for

of its leading members have been forced into exile. Fortunately there have been

equality. The Charter declared the women's aims to be:

many other women's committees springing into action so that the struggle was able to

"... striving for the removal of all laws,

continue. The successful consumer and

regulations conventions and customs that discriminated against women and deprived

rent boycotts are the results of work behind the scenes by many trade unionists and

ed them of their inherent right to the advantages, responsibilities and opportunities

housewives.

At the conference, Ida Mtwana said that

tunities that society offers. The women would strive for the right to vote and be

women's place is not in the kitchen but side by side with men on the road to freedom.

elected to state bodies; for full opportunities and equal conditions in all spheres of work; for equal rights with men in relation

Since the formation of the ANC Women's League and FEDSAW, women have come a long way. They are with the men in the

tion to property, marriage and children; for free compulsory education for all; for health care for mothers and children; and

forefront of the struggle as never before* Many women cadres and freedom fighters are sacrificing their lives to free all our

for proper homes for all, with the of modern civilisation. They would aim for the removal of laws restricting the freedom	amenities	women of the triple oppression that Black women in South Africa face of race, class and gender* In the new democratic South
of individuals and democratic organisations; the spread and strengthening of		Africa women's aspirations will be fulfilled and they will stand proudly on an equal
South African women's organisations; co- operation with women's organisations		footing with their menfolk. The role of FED SAW in this progress is inestimable.

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ANC INTERNATIONAL

Nicaraguan Award Nelson Mandela. The presentation was
For Mandela made in Managua by Danielo Ortega, President of Nicaragua, and the award was
received on behalf of Comrade Mandela
The highest honour Nicaragua can offer is by Comrade Ruth Mompati of the National
the Augusto Cesar Sandino Award. In the Executive Committee of the ANC.
1930s Sandino founded and led a Nicaraguan Comrade Mompati was inspired by her
guar revolutionary movement that fought visit to this small, brave, embattled country,
against United States imperialism, and the struggle, which has fought hard first to achieve
Sandinista movement; which led the its revolution and then to preserve it. She
Nicaraguan revolution to its successful conclusion in 1979, was named after him. She was impressed by the political and revolutionary
consciousness of the people, and
On February 21st this year, the 55th anniversary of Sandino's death, the Augusto Cesar Sandino Award was bestowed on the Nicaraguan revolution is one of the
greatest experiences she has known,

Fasting demonstrators and their supporters in London

UK Solidarity On the 21st, the detainees were remembered
With Hunger Strikers bered at a service at St Martin's Church
near the embassy, followed by an hour-
At the initiative of the London office of the ANC, demonstrations took place in February. The next night, the ANC held a rally

ruary in solidarity with South African detainees on hunger strike. Comrades demanded an end to detention in South Africa. Thozamile Botha, Shanthie Naidoo, Sipho Comrade Mendi Msimang, ANC Chief

Pityana and Pula Napa, all ex-detainees and Representative in the United Kingdom and ANC members, fasted for 24 hours on the pavement outside the apartheid embassy. Ireland, addressed the gathering, and the Anti-Apartheid Movement sent a fraternal

in Trafalgar Square on February 14th-15th. speaker. Poems were read by two celebrities. A supporter, Ambika Bharati, fasted with rated writers: Harold Pinter, the British playwright, and the South African writer,

by other members and supporters. Comrade Wally Serote of the ANC.

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Demonstrators Fast 19th-20th. It also organised a demonstration

In West Berlin outside the International Tourism Fair, followed by a rally, which was addressed

Encouraged by the London example, the by the chairman of the Trade, Banks and Insurance Union, South African Muslim

Anti-Apartheid Bewegung in West Berlin leader, the Maulana Farid Esack, and Comrade Thuthukile Radebe of the ANC.

British Labour MP Bemie Grant draws the prizes in the ANC raffle in London which raised £28 000. With him is Comrade Billy Masethla, ANC Deputy Chief Representative

The first prize a holiday in Cuba, was won by a couple aged 78 and 74

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ANC Pioneers to of the Pioneer organisation is: "Ever ready to learn and to defend the cause of the South African people."

The Pioneer movement in the ANC was first formed in 1958 by Comrade Walter Sisulu (then Secretary-General of the ANC) and

the late Comrade Duma Nokwe, and it was organised under the Women's Section of

the ANC. Then the organisation lapsed, because of other political organisation taking place in the country at the time,

especially the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe. At the Youth Conference of the ANC

at SOMAFCO in 1987, it was decided to revive the Pioneer movement as part of the

Youth Section.

The large and active wing of the Pioneers

at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College at Mazimbu in Tanzania is named the Masupetsela A Walter Sisulu, after the ANC

leader, who has now been in prison for 25 years.

Comrade Jackie Selepe, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and Secretary of the Youth Section, gave an

interview to Page Makgatho about the

philosophy behind the Pioneer organisation and its activities:

Its activities are within those of SOMAFCO, which are aimed at producing a new cadre, a liberator and a true representative

of the South African people. This is done

mainly by teaching them South African geography, the social structure of South

Africa, the tactics of the struggle why it is

vital to fight for their land, why their task

is to learn the traditions and culture of their people, and to be able to note where their talents lie. This is the reason why the motto

Meeting comrades from other parts of the

world, exchanging views and ideas with them, promotes peace and friendship between

nations and is an essential part of the political education of Pioneers. It is important

to give the majority of our Pioneers a chance of having this kind of experience, for most of them have had no opportunity

to attend camps in other countries, though they have heard report-backs.

Therefore, in August 1988, while the regime in South Africa was arresting, torturing and killing children, the ANC

organised an international Pioneer camp at

SOMAFCO. The Masupetsela A Walter

Sisulu invited representatives of Pioneer organisations in various other countries.

There were about 700 delegates at the camp, including guests, and they were

organised into three groups: nine years old, ten to 13 and 14 to 16. Students from SOMAFCO acted as guides for the groups,

and their duties included waking the

pioneers on time for gymnastics, shower and breakfast. Other activities at the camp

included sport, indoor games, a quiz, a cultural performance, excursions and camping out in the nearby mountains.

The Pioneers decided to send a special

message to Comrade Walter Sisulu in prison.

Comrade Selepe told Comrade

Makgatho that she expected the Walter

Sisulu Pioneers to have gained experience that would stand them in good stead when they organise their next camp.

y .

ORGANIZATION

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A Pioneer ties a Pioneer scarf round the neck of Comrade Gertrude Shope of the
Women's Section at the opening of the Pioneer camp at Mazimbu

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MASUPAT ĚĹA

PEACE FREEDOM '• ^552

Above and left: Pioneers of the Masupetsela A Walter Sisulu, with their banners

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DISCUSSION ARTICLE

REVOLUTION

OR

NEGOTIATIONS?

By Neil Zumana

The writer of this article takes up some points made by Comrade Alex

Mashinini in his article, People's War
in Sec/iaba of August 1988,

which appeared
and Negotiations,

Comrade Alex Mashinini raises questions
which demand that every one of us in the

ple's war and so on, are becoming increas
ingly irrelevant and will have to be aban-

liberation alliance be politically vigilant. In
roducing his article, he writes:

doned. Maybe it would have been advis
able for Comrade Alex to give the source

"It appears tha t these developments have

of this thesis, so we would have no reason

obliged the liberation movement to adjust certain of its tactics and forms of struggle to adapt to this increasingly changing political terrain. The conditions of struggle are changing continuously, and they transfer of are fluid and difficult to observe.

JJiaf
A relatively new concept, negotiated settlement of the South African conflict, has already won itself a prominent position in the political vocabulary of the country." (p. 25)

Our movement is accused of having to re-impos-

act to events, and apparently is finding difficulty in doing so as a result of the fluidity.

In the next paragraph, Comrade Alex speaks of a thesis put forward of a stalemate in the South African conflict, providing favourable material conditions for the warring parties to leave all hostilities and begin a process of negotiations. It is suggested that such concepts as armed struggle, people

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I'm not sure who "we" are, but Comrade Alex can't be referring to us, the liberation alliance, nor the fighting people of our embattled fatherland. It would be a pity if they had to settle for partial victories. History would never forgive our liberation movement if it adopted such a defeatist position, when our enemy is in such crisis, and is holding power only by strained threads.

to be suspicious. He goes on:
"Our strategic objective of the transfer of political power from the racist White minority regime into the hands of the democratic majority ... The political power appears as, and actually is, the final act, the crowning event, in the liberation struggle" (pp.25-26)

On p.27 is one of the most interesting statements in the whole article:
"Since we are confronted with conditions under which absolute victory is impossible, conditions in which both sides must necessarily make compromises on certain positions, we can conclude that the outcome of any negotiation that can be successfully conducted must end up in partial victories for warring parties. Both sides would have failed to defeat each other absolutely, and would have to be content with partial victories."

forming these into absolute victories? — but categorically that "both sides would have failed to defeat each other absolutely and be content with partial victories"? Are "we" not creating a stalemate of partial victories?"

Perhaps political short-sightedness makes some of us believe that the state of emergency, detention, deaths in detention, torture, kidnappings, the countless crimes perpetrated against our people, make the enemy invincible.	Organs of People's Power
Concept of 'Partial Victory'	Another milestone is reached when, discussing the role of the organs of people's power, Comrade Alex states: fiThey should be engaged as instruments to effect the destruction of moribund organs of domination. This meansr above all, that they should be seent and made to function as, political organs... As a power base of our strategy of a people's war, they should be prepared and shaped to accom- modate any eventuality in the course of our libera tion struggle.n (p.28)
One question Comrade Alex raises is that of "partial victories," which both the oppressed and the oppressor would have to settle for, and the; "ability of politicians and political movements and parties to transform these Dual victories into absolute victories, without resuming armed hostilities."	InSechaba of May 1987, in an article, Power and the Creation of People's Committees, a conceptual lecture to Comrade Mzala on the concepts of communes and committees, Comrade Alex wrote: ... the issue of these committees functioning as organs of self-government and popular power on the one hand and as organs of insurrection on the other is not as easy as Comrade Mzala has so far treated it This is precisely why we still emphasise the creation, development and consolidation of people's committees. This is precisely the reason why it should be re-emphasised here that the issue of these committees is not tactical or transient, but that it is strategic to the whole concept of
Concretely, what is meant by "partial victories"? I can't even guess. It is worth noting that Comrade Alex writes: "... a negotiated settlement of the conflict will inevitably lead to a partial victory, and so impose some limitations on our programme of social emancipation. In practical terms this means that the concept of partial victory implies the de jure abolition of apartheid, and says less about its abolition." (p.27) to	
What is surprising is the conclusion:	

an infrastructure of democratic transformation is created now, within the womb of the moribund apartheid system and within the process of the struggle, to destroy it" (p.28)

The infrastructure talked about — is it part of the partial victories that we are to settle for? — and how has it now become possible to destroy the "moribund apartheid system," when we are "confronted with conditions under which absolute victory is impossible"? Is it through politicians trans-

a people's war and insurrection *
mittees are the organised material force with the aid of which it becomes possible to overthrow the apartheid state."

The dramatic shift cannot escape our eyes, from "organs of insurrection" to "organs of accommodating any eventuality," I'm not sure what is meant by the following statement:

"The intensification and escalation of the people's war made it impossible for the

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Pretoria regime to destroy the liberation movement and (should such conditions arise) would provide a carpet on which to walk undefeatable, to the negotiating table."

Unfortunately, this does affect our strategic objective — that is, the strategic objective of the national liberation movement — of an armed seizure of power, especially since,

we have introduced a new element, that of the negotiated settlement, and if we share the belief that transition in South Africa will have to come through negotiations, then it is imperative to address and review the strategy of a people's war

(Who is "we"? By whom is the concept introduced?)

Our Strategic Objective

of the national liberation movement — of an

in the words of the statement quoted above, it has been introduced:

" to defuse the struggle inside our country by holding out false hopes of a just

political settlement which the Pretoria

regime has every intention to block.

Secondly, this regime hopes to defeat the continuing campaign for comprehensive

Comrade Alex, when you say "we," could you kindly explain to whom you are referring, because the ANC statement on sending out

and mandatory sanctions by

bogus signals that it is ready to talk serious?

ly to the genuine representatives of our
people.n

Irritatingly, Alex continues:

negotiations, surely there is no reason to

Who is then prepared to negotiate with

strategy of a people's war is fundamental

ly subject to questions ." (p.29)

isely for that reason that repression has people, in this case, our fighting people. reached such heights, and this should not be seen as the strength of the enemy, but

Political Responsibility

My concern in this extract is the word,

"will." It has serious implications. It gives

enough reason for me to panic and think
of our strategy of a people's

war is fundamentally subject to questions, especially in the light of theses like these:

"It is argued that should the reality of a stalemate be ignored by warring parties,

hostilities will be prolonged and can lead only to a futile war of attrition entailing un-

told loss of life and that this obvious
f
political irresponsibility should be re?

jected and condemned on moral grounds." (p.25)

is likely to arrive at a successful conclusion ."

We would have reason to panic if we were

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to continue with a people's war that would have no reason to surrender or settle for

lead to our being "politically irresponsible partial victories. Our people are striving to be/' because that amounts to the liberation act in unity through organisation and to

movement having to be rejected and condemned on moral grounds.

organise through united action, for people's power, and not for partial victories.

In short, the question of negotiations does affect our strategic objective¹ and is growing in quality, and our military perhaps it is for that reason that Comrade operations reflect this fact. Our army is

Alex no longer refers to our strategic objective

transforming its military operations into a

jective as the armed seizure of power, and generalised people's war for an armed refers to the transfer of political power as seizure of power (what Comrade Alex con

"the final act, the crowning event." Maybe it is for the same reason that he sees: sideres a mere method) and not to walk

undefeatable to the negotiating table.

The ranks of the enemy are in tatters.

■ Ambiguity in the concept of the armed seizure of power.

Whites are beginning to realise that apartheid has no future. Young White conscripts

■ We are confronted with conditions under which victory is impossible. (History

are now refusing to serve in the racist army for political reasons, and not as conscripts

will tell.)

scientious objectors any more.

■ Partial victories for warring parties are

In the address to the nation of January 8th

the solution to the South African revolution.

1987, Comrade President O R Tambo said:

We believe that transition in South Africa will have to

negotiations*

a We should exercise our minds on the

"... we will have to wade through rivers of blood to reach our goal of liberty, justice and peace.**

art of transforming our partial victories into

to absolute victories,

I hope this is not what Comrade Alex con

■ Our organs of insurrection should be

sideres political irresponsibility. In the same

shaped to accommodate any eventuality.

statement, addressing himself to the youth, our President urges:

■ We have introduced a new element,

the concept of a negotiated settlement*
victory ,"
■ The imperative is to address and review

the strategy of a people's war*
He raises many other questions, and maybe

we should look into them with 'realism' in
the light of the "new political thinking/ but

our realities have not changed yet. The
fascist clique remains intransigent. Per?

haps, when one looks at our situation, one
should understand correctly the dialectic

of new thinking and our struggle.

"You are light to be impatient for

Here, the President does not even hint at
partial victories. He speaks unhesitatingly

about absolute victory — armed seizure of
power, our strategic objective.

Comrade Alex concludes, interestingly;
"At any rate, throughout the whole history

of armed conflicts, major and minor, the
factor of a weak economy has always con?

tributed largely to the defeat of the power

controlling it " (p.29)

Partial Victories

This is true for our enemy. Its economic

Are Not Enough

reform policies — deregulation, privatisa?
tion, inflation, state spending — are a dismal
failure. The economic crisis is growing, and

The methods of repression used against

the sanctions-busting campaign adds to the

our people, our people's organisations and
the people's leaders, have had an effect on
the state of organisation of the mass demo?

taxpayers' funds robbed by the enemy.
In the process of learning to work under
conditions of repression, our people have

cratic movement. But our people have now

made irreversible gains. Revolutionary

learned to organise under semi-legal and
illegal conditions, the mass democratic
movement has not been crushed, and we

vigilance, security consciousness, are
some of the experiences accumulated —
a fighting people learns through its own ex?

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perience. The enemy has not cowed our
people but has instead matured them — the
battle
masses have risen to the challenge.

rudimentary weapons. Our task is to train
them, arm them, and lead them into
for the armed seizure of power.

Revolutionary Situation

The Vanguard and the Masses

The state of emergency, the detentions, torture,

kidnappings, killings and so on, are signs that the enemy can cling to power only

by the use of naked brute force; the enemy is admitting that it can no longer rule

in the same old way and that our people refuse to be ruled in the same old way.

Of the 12*4 million Black South Africans who should be economically active, only

about 6.9 are employed. This means, therefore, that 5.5 million are unemployed, and

the number threatens to increase. Whites, too, are suffering, hence the soup kitchens.

The suffering and want of the oppressed have grown more acute. Our people live

in poverty, hunger and misery.

In the past year, the masses of our people have considerably increased their independent

actions — the formation of gigantic conferences, such as SAYCO and

the UDF Women's Congress, the holding of the NWC Conference, the great stay-

aways. Our people have been engaged in campaigns such as the Living Wage Cam-

paign, rent boycotts, consumer boycotts, strikes by COSATU affiliates. There was a

massive rejection of the October 'carrot.'

These factors prove that a revolutionary

situation exists in our country. It is clear, too, that they are not enough. Lenin wrote:

"Revolution arises only out of a situation in which the abovementioned changes are

accompanied by a subjective change

namely the ability of the revolutionary class to take revolutionary mass action strong

It is not enough for the revolutionary class

to be prepared to die for the revolution; the broad masses should support it directly or

take up a position of sympathetic neutrality, This element is ripe in our country today,

as was shown in the stayaways of May and June 1988, when broad masses of our

people stayed away from work, pledging solidarity with the working class.

The last factor is the presence of a militantly revolutionary organisation with a scientifically

grounded programme of revolutionary action, and the ability to guide the

masses into action for a victorious revolution* The alliance led by the ANC is that living

organism. Its evaluations of historical developments, in general and at specific stages, have proved correct. It is capable

of monitoring and analysing developments in our country and world-wide so as to exploit

any moment when both objective and subjective factors are ripe.

We are aware that a revolutionary situation is a product of internal developments

in a given country, but external factors can have a decisive influence on the internal

situation, though, alone, they cannot be enough. The situation in Southern Africa

and in other parts of the world contributes to creating favourable conditions for a victorious

revolution in our country. The demoralising defeat of the SADF at Cuito

, Cuanavale, the implementation of Resolution

435 in Namibia, have great significance for our struggle. History is on our side.

enough to break (or dislocate) the old

If this is so, is revolution impossible in our

government, which never, not even in a

case? If it is not, why, then, settle for par

period of crisis, falls if it is not toppled over."

tial victories? All revolutions are about state power, and ours is no exception. In answer
ing the question: Revolution or negotia

In our country today, politically active

tions? — look analytically at the correlation

workers have demonstrated that they are for armed seizure of power, and are pre

of forces in our country and internationally. I am aware that I have not done justice

pared to lay down their lives for their cause. During strike actions, the workers have

to some of the interesting questions raised by Comrade Alex — it would have meant

stood up against an armed enemy, and have engaged that enemy in battles, using

writing a book. But the debate is still open. This is my humble contribution.

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OBITUARY

HECTOR SIKHUMBUZO NKULA

Born on January 3rd 1910 in Hackney (the Africans call the place Hekeni) in the

In it he remembers that during his stay in Queenstown the Bulhoek massacre took

district of Queenstown, Northern Cape, Hector Sikhumbuzo Nkula grew up under

place, when 69 people were killed by the Smuts regime and their leader, Enoch Mgi

the guidance of his grandparents, since his parents were working and living in Cape

jima, was arrested, charged and sent to prison. This religious sect — the Israelites

Town.

— had committed the crime of refusing to move from their ancestral lands to some

He had problems in attending school,

which was over ten miles away, until he was 'adopted' by a relative, Tony Makiwane,

place chosen by the Smuts government. Comrade Nkula says:

who was also the headmaster of the school. He was with the Makiwanes until he pass

"Though I was a boy of 13, I could under

ed Standard Five. Since there was no Stan

stand what is going on; prayers in church

dard Six in the rural schools, he had to go to school in Queenstown for a year, where

offered by Father Shaw helped me to understand most of the affairs."

he joined Father Shaw of the Anglican faith and had to go through the whole church

After completing his Standard Six, he went

ritual: joining the church choir, practising on Saturdays, blowing bellows during ser

to St Matthew's near Kingwilliamstown, where he could not stay long because of

vices on Sundays. There was no time for sport,

climatic conditions — he was asthmatic — and had to go to Healdtown Institute near

Just before he died, Comrade Nkula wrote a short autobiography — presumably

Fort Beaufort. There he spent three years, completing his teacher training course

the beginnings of a magnum opus which unfortunately could not see the light of day.

before proceeding to Lovedale Institute where he did his higher teachers' course.

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He played rugby and learned cricket; he tivity flourished. He worked in the Johan visited the neighbouring towns and took an nesburg structures of the ANC. He also

active part in all activities except politics, joined the Communist Party; wrote articles which was prohibited in these institutions. for Nkululeko , a Party journal, in Xhosa;

Whilst at Lovedale, he visited the library at taught at the Party night school in Fer-Fort Hare, where for the first time he could reirastown. Joining the ANC and the Party

read about politics. At Fort Hare the African did not interfere with his professional work

students had frequent discussions with the as a teacher. White students from Rhodes University, For his membership of the ANC, Hector Grahamstown. They discussed political — though he had no regrets — had to pay

issues. dearly: he was sacked as a teacher. This There were other forces which influenc was before World War n, and the ANC was

ed Comrade Nkula. His cousin, Hamilton still a legal organisation which was not in Kraai, together with Comrade Hector's un volved in any 'subversive' activity. He had

cle, Joseph Nkula, were involved in to earn his living by getting himself a workers' strikes in Johannesburg. Nearer hawker's licence, buying and selling soft

home in Port Elizabeth, huge strikes involv goods from wholesalers. ing thousands of workers were led by Hector Nkula remembers the formation

Samuel Masabalala. Now the young Hector of the ANC Youth League, and the could buy newspapers and could also ex "ebullient Nelson Mandela," but:

plain to his father, who could not read or write English. "though I was 34 years old , / was told I am

Hector could not proceed to Fort Hare, too old to be in the Youth League

."

because of financial difficulties. But with Nkula's activities in the ANC reflect the

the help of Father Shaw he went to a movement's history in all its ups and seminary in Zonnebloem in Woodstock, a downs, its multi-pronged approach, its

suburb of Cape Town, He completed his richness and diversity. Nkula was in the studies but was not allowed to do a degree thick of it all. He knew personally all the in Arts, as the college councillors prefer leaders of the ANC — he was one of them;

red one in Divinity. During the 18 months he was in Cape Town, a lot of things hap he was involved in all the movement's campaigns in the 1950s, including the question

pened, and this was an eye-opener to Hector. On Saturdays he went to the city centre and to African townships, where political meetings were attended, not only by

of the fight against the emergence of the PAC. In Johannesburg he usually chaired

Africans and Coloureds by also by Whites, joined Umkhonto We Sizwe. Here he saw, for the first time, Whites campaigning together with Blacks against a White government for the cause of the ship. His commanders were no older than

ANC meetings.
In the 1960s, when he was over 50, he

awaiting instructions from the ANC leader. He trained, went to ANC camps, patiently and loyally

paigining together with Blacks against a White government for the cause of the ship. His commanders were no older than

Blacks. He read newspapers he had not known before: his sons — hence they called him Tat'u Umsebenzi, Forward, Black Nkula (father Nkula). He worked in ANC

Worker and the Cape Times structures in Lusaka, taking care of the Still pursuing his desire to quench his welfare of our people. Very few will forget

thirst for knowledge, Hector proceeded to his contribution at the 1985 Kabwe Conference of the ANC, where he impressed

met the ANC leadership and rank and file everybody with his freshness of ideas and in Kimberley, It was here in Kimberley that revolutionary enthusiasm — at the age of 75.

Comrade Hector Sikhumbuzo Nkula got his first ANC membership card, through The funeral of Hector Sikhumbuzo Nkula in Lusaka in December 1988 was a re-

Mweli-Skota, the former Secretary-General dedication to the cause he had lived and of the African National Congress. This was died for; it was not a symbolic gesture, but in 1932. a re-affirmation that the struggle continues.

From Kimberley Hector Nkula went to Hamba Kahle, Tat'u Nkula

Johannesburg, where his real political ac-

F Meli

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