The funeral of student Bongani Khumalo in Soweto.
Women's Council, OMA, the Pan African Women's Organisation and the Uruguayan Women's Organisation.

After the meeting the Amandla Cultural Ensemble entertained the guests to band music while refreshments were served.

**Australia**

August 9th was commemorated in a number of cities in Australia, with gatherings and addresses, film shows, and demonstrations in front of the offices of South African Airways.

The culmination of all the activity was a reception at Sydney Town Hall, organised by the Union of Australian Women and attended by representatives of many groups, governmental and non-governmental. The ANC was represented by Comrade Eddie Funde, Chief Representative in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific.

Paula Sharkey, National President of the Union of Australian Women, was in the chair. She stressed the bravery and continued fight put up by the people of South Africa, and expressed the support of the women, men and workers of Australia for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia. The main address was given by Comrade Gertrude Shope of the ANC Women's Section in Lusaka, and this was followed by a lively discussion. The event ended with dinner.

**Botswana**

The meeting in Gabarone was held on Saturday, August 11th and attended by hundreds of people. It was addressed by Comrade Philip Rankoe, who put the occasion in an international context by mentioning the United Nations Decade for Women.

It was a festive occasion. Food was contributed by the different nationalities represented in the Gabarone community, and was served on colourful tablecloths. The audience wore national dress. There was an outstanding programme of music and poetry given by the MEDU band, Shakawe, and the Mahuue Theatre Unit. The highlight of the music was Jonas Gwangwa's song, *Ma khotiskazi* sung by five ANC women backed by Shakawe. "Wathint' abafazi, wathinta im-ukodi, bhasopa uzokufa" they sang to the dancing men and women ("Side by side women of the world fight for freedom now").

Although the event was supposed to end at ten o'clock, the people refused to go, and offered to collect the extra money to pay for the hall.

Cards and fabric were printed for the occasion, based on a design that Ursula, a Swedish woman artist, made for the ANC Women's Section.

**Tanzania**

The Women's Section and the Young Pioneers at Mazimbu were invited to spend August 9th with the comrades at Dakawa Development Camp. The political programme was followed by a cultural programme, and all had an enjoyable day.

The regional celebrations took place in Mazimbu on Sunday August 12th, and comrades from Dar es Salaam and Dakawa took part. Comrade Florence Mophosho, the main speaker, gave a rousing speech, and Comrade Stanley Mabizela, Chief Representative of the ANC in Tanzania, closed the day with a strong message of encouragement. There was a showing of the film, *You Have Struck a Rock*, followed by a full cultural programme.

**United Kingdom**

This year's August 9th meeting in London was held in Hackney Town Hall, which the London Borough of Hackney gave free of charge for the occasion. About a thousand British people came to demonstrate their solidarity with our struggle; seats were full and part of the crowd stood round the walls. Many brought gifts of money and material aid for SOMAFO and for our refugees in Africa.

Actress Nadia Catousse participated in readings from statements made by heroines of our struggle, showing the courage of the women of South Africa in their fight for freedom. The ANC choir sang freedom songs. Speakers included Comrade Edith Yengwa of the ANC, Comrade Magdeleena Nghatanga of SWAPO, Joan Lestor, Vice-President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Glens Kinnock, wife of Neil Kinnock, leader of the
British Labour Party, and Marius Schoon, who spoke of the significance the liberation movement had played in his life with his wife, Jeanette, and their family.

All stressed the need to isolate the apartheid regime. Comrade Edith Yengwa, the main speaker, conveyed the determination of the oppressed people of South Africa to free themselves from oppression, and her speech was followed by a standing ovation. She said:

"Our people, our women, are resisting at every level, and are fully conscious that it is they who will directly confront the enemy of humankind. . . . We have taken the apartheid bull by the horns; it is . . . a struggle in which we know that our losses will be great, our blood will flow. But we also know that victory will be ours. To achieve this we need your support . . . We ask all of you to fight in your organisations for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa, and to step up your active support by all means available for our liberation struggle led by the African National Congress."

Zambia

Two meetings were held in Zambia, one in Lusaka and one in Kitwe. The meeting in Lusaka was well attended, and a large number of messages of solidarity were received. Among the crowd were representatives of SWAPO, of several diplomatic missions based in Lusaka, and support groups. Speakers included representatives from SAC-TU, SWAPO, and the Women's League of the United Independence Party of Zambia. All speakers delivered powerful messages in support of the struggles of South Africa and Namibia. From the ANC, Comrade Ray Simons spoke of the late comrades Annie Silinga and Jeanette Schoon and gave a brief account of their lives and their contribution to the struggle. Comrade Barbara Masekela, the main speaker, described the continuing and mounting resistance put up by 'the democratic women's movement in our country, and stressed that 1984 also puts a challenge to our women to take their rightful role in the forefront of our struggle.

The Regional Women's Section presented a sum of K500 towards the ANC Fighting Fund.

The political programme was followed by a cultural performance by the Dora Tamana Nursery School group, and Lusaka Masupatsela, the regional cultural group, concluding the performance on a very high note.

The meeting in Kitwe was organised by the eight ANC students studying at the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation (an international institution under the World Council of Churches). Among those who attended were students and tutors from 12 different countries in Africa and five in Europe, and many residents of Kitwe itself. The cultural part of the programme was very inspiring, with performances by the ANC and SWAPO students' cultural groups, and a play, Weep Africa, staged by the Bakanda Theatre Group, based in Kitwe.

ANC WOMEN SPEAK OUT ON POPULATION CONTROL

A tribunal on Women's Reproductive Rights, held in Amsterdam from 18th-22nd July 1984, was attended by a delegation from the ANC Women's Section. Comrade Felicia Mzamo, a nurse, delivered a paper on the racist strategy of 'family planning' in South Africa.

The paper accused the Pretoria regime, and some of its supporters among national and international business, of practising genocide through the medium of birth control imposed on Black women, sometimes without their knowledge, and asserted that the policy of 'family planning' was aimed at the annihilation of the Black people.

Undernutrition and its accompanying diseases reduce the rate of fertility and undermine the capacity to reproduce. Nevertheless, the paper asserted, the capacity of the oppressed to reproduce has been a matter of pathological fear for the White minority, and a deliberate programme of population control was launched in the seventies.

Haves and Have Nots

The ideology underlying the "aggressive
population control programme launched by the regime was illustrated in the paper by two quotations, the first from Dr Chris Troskie, Past President of the South African Medical Association:

"There are two main groups among mankind: the have and the have-nots. The first group is intelligent, with production potential, and have civilisation and a sense of responsibility. The second group have little sense of responsibility, and breed recklessly. It is important that a balance should be kept between the producers and the non-producers. The social systems under the United Nations consider all men equal but this is not true."

The other quotation came from Dr M J van Rensburg, Deputy Superintendent of the H F Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria:

"If a body has cancer curative measures are taken, otherwise the cancer spreads through the whole body and destroys it. Population growth can be compared to cancer."

In 1971 the Northern Transvaal branch of the Medical Association of South Africa held a Symposium on the Population Explosion in South Africa, sponsored by — among others — the Anglo-American Corporation, the Old Mutual Life Association, Total (South Africa) Ltd, the City Council of Pretoria and various pharmaceutical companies manufacturing contraceptive devices. The symposium was at pains to stress that it was women of the Black majority who were to be the prime target of any campaign.

Three years later the racist regime launched what it called a 'National Family Planning Programme' based on the principles and proposals outlined at this symposium. The Department of Health stated the following aims among others:

"To meet the universal need for knowledge of family planning and to supply family planning aids and service especially to the most disadvantaged people;"
Depo Provera is banned in the US itself, and in some other advanced capitalist countries. Tests show it can cause cancer of the cervix, the uterus and the breast, increase the risk of diabetes, cause pain, irritability and nervousness, result in permanent infertility, and (if administered while a woman is pregnant or feeding her child at the breast) can cause harm to the child. Recently, it was proposed in the US as a means for the 'chemical castration' of rapists, to reduce their sexual drive. It is, however, extensively administered to Black women in South Africa; it is cheap, 100% effective, and can be administered without the woman's consent or even her knowledge. It acts to remove control over fertility from the hands of the people and to place it in the hands of the oppressor.

The paper stated:

"We, the women of South Africa are not against family planning, as it is the right of all women and men, in order to bring high standards of living and better health conditions for mothers and children. But attention should be drawn to the fact that there is a difference between women demanding birth control ... and women compelled to accept population control. Population control means that fertility is controlled by an outsider."

The paper emphasised that family planning could not be the answer to problems of health and nutrition among the Black majority. It called upon the tribunal to put pressure on international bodies to expel the Family Planning Association of South Africa from its membership, and called for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

**TENSIONS AND RAVAGES: FORCED REMOVALS IN THE TRANSVAAL**

In the previous article we dealt with some case studies of forced removals. The cases are so many that it is difficult to deal with all of them in one article. Although there are similarities in the whole question of removals, the particulars or peculiarities are significant for the practical politician or campaigner. The varied nature of the problems and the different responses of the people force us to continue dealing with these local issues. The Transvaal, being the richest province in terms of minerals, does exhibit some problems which are not noticeable in other areas less endowed with minerals. The multi-ethnic composition of the region — and consequently the many Bantu states authorities in the region — compounded the problems.
Huhudi township in Vryburg, Northern Cape, is threatened with removal. The people are supposed to be resettled in Pudomong, 55 kilometres away, in Bophutatswana. Since 1970 when the residents were told not to make any improvements to their houses, the people have lived under threat of removal. This means the development of Huhudi had been frozen, and it had become illegal for anyone to build or to renovate any existing house. The Northern Cape Administration Board has threatened to demolish 462 houses (which belong to 1 500 families) said to be dilapidated and uninhabitable. This is a vicious circle. If the people are not allowed to renovate their houses, the houses become dilapidated. This refusal is to ensure that the houses should wear out and thus justify their being demolished and people being forced to leave the area. The Huhudi Civic Association (HUCA) wrote to Koornhof, but in reply the rents were increased. The racist regime uses rent hikes and high service charges in Huhudi to force people to move.

There is also the case of the people of the Northern Cape township of Valspan, threatened with removal to Bophutatswana, that is, to Pampiersdorp, 26 kilometres away. There are many problems in this connection: domestics and farm workers in and around Jan Kempdorp, the town adjoining Valspan, earn as little as R30 a month. The rent alone in Pampiersdorp is R30 a month for a brick four-roomed house. Work opportunities in Pampiersdorp, a large, formal township, are confined to two factories. People from Valspan have to commute to work in Jan Kempdorp at a cost of R14 for a subsidised monthly ticket. In Valspan one can have a house for less than the cost of transport from Pampiersdorp.

The authorities say the removal is to the residents' own benefit because of the bad housing conditions, and the community leaders are emphatic: that the deterioration of their homes is a consequence of the removal plan, and not the cause of it. In a letter to Koornhof, the community council leader, MK Cwaile, explains:

"Our houses are gradually falling down due to the fact that we have not been allowed to repair or build for 20 years. This is force of another kind, and many would never have left our township had the Northern Cape Administration Board used the money that went into building houses in Pampiersdorp to develop Valspan — where we have lived harmoniously and survived economically for so long."

Badplaas
The 3 000 Black residents of Badplaas near Carolina in the Eastern Transvaal are to move to the Eerstehoek district in KaNgwane. This means they will lose the right to work in surrounding areas where most of them are employed; they will be forced to join the queues of the unemployed waiting for labour recruiters, who come once — maybe twice — a year to employ a fraction of those seeking work. Talking about work seekers in Eerstehoek, reports say that last year there were 2 381 of them and only 206 found work. Among the areas demarcated for resettlement of the community are Elukwetini township on the Eerstehoek farm in KaNgwane, the newly-established South African Development Trust farm, Honingklip and the farm Tjakastad. The latter two areas have been earmarked for incorporation into KaNgwane.

The ancestors of the Embhubweni communities settled there in 1842. The area is of great historical and emotional importance to the community:

"It was the royal kraal of an early Swazi king. Umswazi, after whom the tribe is named. Umswazi housed a principal wife there ... (and there) is a shrine to the tribal ancestors, a grass hut containing the skeleton of an elephant, which is an animal symbolically associated with Swazi queens."

The residents have been ordered to leave Badplaas on the grounds that it is a prescribed area in terms of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, in terms of which Black residents must be confined to a township. As
there is no formal township in Badplaas, the racist regime has ordered the people to the areas of Eerstehoek, Honingkliip and Tjakastad — about 30 kilometres from Badplaas in KaNgwane.

The only alternative offered so far to the community is a collection of small, tightly packed aluminium shacks, a school that resembles a large garden shed and the potential loss of South African citizenship. They will receive no compensation for their houses or school because they live on state-owned land in a prescribed area (Badplaas was declared a prescribed urban area in 1871) but outside of a properly proclaimed township. The reason it is not a proclaimed area is that the Department of Co-operation and Development has decided not to proclaim it.

It should be remembered that Badplaas is part of the Eastern Transvaal territory claimed by the Swazi authorities. Chief Johannes Dhlamini, leader of the community and chairman of the Swazi Council of Chiefs in South Africa is against removals, but for different reasons. He is a keen campaigner for the planned land deal between South Africa and Swaziland. He is a former Cabinet Minister — Minister of Justice — in KaNgwane. His only problem with the land deal is that it does not include Badplaas — once the site of the Swazi royalty — and other areas. He does seem to be worried by the fact that if KaNgwane is incorporated into Swaziland his people will lose their right to work in any prescribed area of South Africa, but if the land deal is finalised, 'that is, if Badplaas is incorporated into Swaziland, then removal will be unnecessary. Difficult logic!

Mr P Nhlabathi, a councillor of Chief Dhlamini, said:

"Swazis have seen Badplaas as part of their traditional land. Some of our people were here before South Africa even came into being."
Winterveld

A "sprawling urban slum" north of Pretoria, Winterveld is a home for 500,000 people. They are now threatened with removal.

In February 1984 the families were given three days notice to leave their homes to make way for a highway planned by the Bophutatswana government. The people were told to move to Mabopane North, which adjoins Winterveld. They would not be compensated for the loss. Tenants have livestock which they would not be allowed to keep in Mabopane; there are higher rents; houses would be built at the expense of the tenants.

Mrs Maria Mushobane, who owns most of the land in which tenants threatened with removal live, was offered R2,900 compensation by the Bophutatswana government. She says the land — 50 x 500 metres and with a borehole — was worth much more than the sum offered. A modern supermarket-restaurant-butcher complex, owned by Moses Mokgotsane, is also one of the buildings in the way of the new road. The houses affected by the highway stretch for about two kilometres through the overcrowded area. Mrs Mthombeni reports:

"I had just come from hospital after a big operation, and my husband was out of town working when I was told to vacate the house without being offered an alternative house."

And one resident angrily commented:

"We are just told to pack our belongings and go. They don’t even bother to build us houses somewhere or compensate us for the houses and land."

The history of the removal of Winterveld goes back to the fifties. Bophutatswana inherited this problem, which has become a political hot potato for both South Africa and Bophutatswana. The people lost their South African citizenship when Bophutatswana became 'independent.'

The problem here is that 90% of the population are not Tswana. In Winterveld, no cohesive population has developed, because people came from different places — the landowners are Northern Sotho and Shangaan, while the largest proportion of the tenants are Ndebele and the rest are Tswana. This has led to conflicts between the people and the Bophutatswana authorities; note the conflict is not between Tswana-speaking people and others. The residents from Klipgat, Nooitgedacht and Makanyane say the conflict has divided the people, making solidarity in the area difficult, if not impossible.

Only ruins and rocks remain; there are no trading rights in the area; the non-Tswanas have a problem of finding permanent residence; they have to apply for Bophutatswana citizenship or permanent residence. Temporary residence permits issued to non-Tswanas when the Bophutatswana 'government' took over the area were to be renewed annually with the insistence that after five years holders must decide on their 'national status.' Threats of daily raids and arrests by Bophutatswana police, with people ending up facing charges under the Squatters Act, or of failing to produce a permit, became common.

Tzaneen and Middelburg

Metz, a "betterment village," is a planned agricultural settlement. The people chosen to live there were evicted in 1958 from the land their forebears had bought near Tzaneen in 1907; they had been farming there for two centuries. They fought the removal order by appealing to Parliament under a provision in the Native Administration Act, but the appeal was unsuccessful.

Although people have been farming for generations, the migrants are not working on the farms. They are domestics, gardeners, mineworkers, drivers, workers in the building trade and so on. They have to sign on as migrants because there is not enough land to go round.

Of the 438 families living in Metz and the nearby closer settlement of Moetladino, just over half have farming rights; farming families manage to produce one bag of maize a year, the equivalent of a month's supply. 90% of the residents of Metz — including the farmers —
depend on bought provisions. One third of the families keep cattle, but only rarely for sale. 73% of the families are headed by women, one third of the families count on remittances from migrant workers for at least half their incomes. In the days when they farmed near Tzaneen, only 2% of the families depended on money from migrant workers.

The bus schedule reflects the situation: there are two buses a week, run by the Lebowa Development Corporation, plying the route between Metz and Penge Mine. The South African Railway bus service from Metz to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area operates every weekend. Two private bus services travel daily from Metz to Phalaborwa and Tzaneen.

Bothashoek
There is also the case of Bothashoek, a "closer settlement," which is nothing but a rural residential community. With a population of 16,000, it is the largest in Lebowa. It took the authorities more than four years to evict black residents from the farm Doornkop — to which they held freehold title — and settle them on small sites in the Lebowa bush. The last to hold out were trucked to Bothashoek in 1974 when Doornkop, near Middelburg, was expropriated. The standards of living dropped dramatically: men had to return as labourers to the areas from which they had been evicted, or they went as migrants to the Johannesburg-Pretoria area.

With no farmland, people work on nearby farms or at Tswelopele Cotton Project run by the Lebowa Government Corporation. There are no factories in the area; people work at chrome mines in Lebowa, returning home at weekends; they earn by hawking fruit, washing, gardening, selling newspapers. Some families brew beer (a monthly income derived from this source is R9).

For the sake of living, existing — surviving is a better word — the people have devised two strategies.

They live on pensions which average R30 a month, which are paid by the Lebowa 'government' to the aged and disabled — when people are "resettled" from "white areas" into homelands, the receiving homeland inherits the responsibility of providing pensions. 20% of the households in Bothashoek are dependent upon pension money. The percentage would be much higher had many such cases not been turned down due to "lack of funds."

The second strategy is "borrowing," which is equivalent to begging, because people with no incomes are never able to pay back what they 'borrow.' People visit from one family to the other in the hope of being invited to join a family for a meal. If the majority have nothing, the burden (or yoke) of survival rests on the neck of those who have something to cook!

There are many such cases. Bophelong, a small town in the Vaal, whose future hangs by a thread, is a case in point. The fate of its over 4,000 families is in the balance, as they might be moved to the neighbouring Sebokeng township. The land surrounding Bophelong is owned by private companies, and only three kilometres separates the township from Vanderbijlpark, a white residential area.

What about Louis Trichardt, Pietersburg and Carolina?
The 6,446 people living in Louis Trichardt were moved to the Lebowa homeland, while the 1,584 at Pietersburg were moved to KwaNdebele and 4,739 people at Carolina were moved to the KaNgwane Bantustan. The people in Bethal in the Eastern Transvaal are being forcibly removed to KwaNdebele by the Highbeld Administration Board.

Roogrand
A community whose ancestors settled at Machaviestdad, near Potchefstroom, 130 years ago, were moved to a desolate spot 190 kilometres away. The 1,500 people who kept cattle and chickens and grew crops on their small plots and found work in nearby Potchefstroom had no choice. They were forced to trek the 190 kilometres to an uninhabitable spot called Roogrand on the Botswana border.

In 1971 the people were evicted. The eviction of these people from their old homes at Machaviestdad was no easy task: from 1948, 25
when the state first made known its intention of moving them, the Machaviestad people fought an extended legal battle until the regime finally succeeded in moving them in 1971. During that time they were repeatedly harassed, they were cut off from their work, their meetings were stopped, the school was closed, bus transport to the area was cut off and ploughing was prohibited.

Plans to move Machaviestad were first made in 1904. Rooigrond is just outside Mafikeng in Bophutatswana. It is an unpleasant place, ‘untamed,’ arid and thorny ground with only one windmill for water; no land suitable for ploughing and very little for grazing. The people waited for 13 years — because they believed the move was temporary — and made no improvements to their living conditions, because they felt that would imply acceptance of their presence in Rooigrond. Their livestock dwindled from 250 to 80.

In 1982 Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana wrote to tell them that they were part of the people of Chief Israel Matlaba of Bodibe near Lichtenburg and would have to move again. The community leaders responded by rejecting Mangope’s interpretation of their history, and re-stated their demand to return to Machaviestad “or an adequate and acceptable alternative.”

These stories can be repeated a hundred times in other areas in the Transvaal; for example the removal of Motlati, also near Lichtenburg. They all tell a story of despair, but not only that. It is also a story of a long, determined and brave fight against forced removals over a long period of time; a fight against odds.

Gold, Diamonds, Oil and Coal
The racist regime is moving people without compensating them for mineral deposits on their property.

There are many cases in the history of forced removals of people from “black spots” where profitable mines were subsequently established. Areas in Northern Natal were “honeycombed with coal” that had only been exploited after the Black people living there had been moved to KwaZulu over the last 20 years. An ISCOR plant now stands on one such area. There is also the case of the Mogopa people on whose property is a mine currently producing diamonds of up to R25 000 in value. Lazarus Kgatiswa, a member of the Mogopa committee, who remembers the diamond mine being worked for the past 55 years, says:

“The government must pay us for the diamond mine and bring a geologist to value it.”

He says prospectors have told his people over the years that their two big farms were good for coal and gold.

What about the people of Driefontein, whose property is within 50 kilometres of the Wakkerstroom oil well that started gushing last year? Surveyors say the land is rich in minerals, including oil — the oil at Wakkerstroom is at the rate of about four barrels a day.

The people of Mathopestad, near Rustenburg in the north-western Transvaal, on whose property is a disused gold mine, were told by a consulting geologist that prospects for mining gold on their land were good.

These and many other reasons explain why the racist regime has invoked the old Act so that it does not have to negotiate compensation with the people who are removed. Koomhof is reported to have told Parliament that “as long as it is humanly possible we are not going to force people to move.” The people have correctly interpreted “humanly possible” to mean as long as Africans do not resist orders, to move. That is why they resist.

The problems facing the rural mass, the peasants, are immense. Govan Mbeki in the late fifties drew attention to this mass of people, this significant social force and inseparable component of our revolution. It is our task to mobilise them; it is our task to incorporate them into the mainstream of the struggle, not only as people fighting against removals but as part of that army of people fighting for the Freedom Charter — which caters for a democratic solution of the land question. The Freedom Charter has a message of hope and inspiration to the millions of people who have been forcibly removed or are threatened with removal.
We print here extracts from a Radio Freedom interview which was first published in 'Mayibuye.' Comrade Mac Maharaj, a senior member of the ANC, and Comrade Chris Hani, a member of the NEC, were asked to give their opinion on political developments in Southern Africa and South Africa in particular.

**Question:** It is believed in certain quarters that the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique in March 1984 has dealt the armed struggle in South Africa a severe blow. The racist regime in its comments called our post-Nkomati military operations "a few parting shots of the ANC." Can you comment on the prospects of the armed struggle in South Africa now?

**Answer:** The signing of the Nkomati Accord between the People’s Republic of Mozambique and racist South Africa does constitute a setback for the struggle for national liberation of our people, the struggle for social justice and freedom. But we don’t hold the view that the accord is a severe blow for the armed struggle in our country. As is known, the armed struggle in our country is rooted internally. We have never relied on organising the armed struggle and carrying out military operations from countries neighbouring South Africa. Indeed, we have never carried out any military operations from Mozambique or any other territory that borders South Africa.

The very organisation of operations, the training and expansion of our army, takes place internally. I said earlier that it is correct to say that the signing of the accord does raise a few problems, but these are problems that can be solved and overcome, both by our organisation and our army. If we can look back, the armed struggle in our country did not begin with the independence of Mozambique,
Angola, Zimbabwe and many other countries bordering South Africa. It started earlier, and even in those days, when those countries were still not free, our movement and army were able to continue organising the armed struggle internally, and able to carry out operations inside the country.

But it is true that the independence of these countries did create favourable conditions for the intensification of our armed struggle, and we have always regarded them and still regard them as allies in the struggle to rid the continent of the most vicious, oppressive regime, that is plaguing the whole continent of Africa, and Southern Africa in particular. The enemy is deluding itself by believing that the operations after Nkomati are "a few parting shots" of the ANC. We have got the capacity to intensify the armed struggle in South Africa.

Answer: I'd like to add that it may be the cheap propagandists of the regime who can talk like that, but even they ought to turn back to their own facts. It is the regime's propagandists who are today confessing that since Nkomati there have been more acts of military action and sabotage inside South Africa than in the comparable period last year. This is admitted by the regime, who, on the one hand, says we are dead and finished, and on the other says we are the greatest danger to its existence. Furthermore, it is not a new story in the history of any people's struggle, as well as our struggle, for a beleaguered regime to keep on saying that the forces of change are in their death throes. This was said by Jimmy Kruger repeatedly. I think you will remember his image of a small snake that was dead. Well it is out today, the ANC still lives. And in fact the ANC is a force of change.

Who are the desperate people? The forces of reaction or the forces of revolution? Look at what Pretoria is doing to Africa, let alone what it is doing inside South Africa. All these acts violate every international law, violate the sovereignty, the integrity of independent states of Southern Africa. They ride roughshod over the rights of the people outside as well as inside South Africa. What for? To preserve their own existence.

Q: One of the principles of guerrilla warfare is that the guerrilla must have a rear base and a supply line. It would seem that they have been effectively closed in relation to Swaziland and Mozambique. Can you comment?

A: It is true that it is a point of advantage if a guerrilla war can have at its disposal reliable rear bases. This means that the guerrilla army has got possibilities and facilities to train itself in favourable conditions as well as to equip itself. But it is well known that guerrilla warfare can be launched, as it has been launched in a number of countries, without a guerrilla army enjoying reliable facilities. So there is no rigid approach of saying you cannot wage guerrilla warfare unless you enjoy favourable rear bases. In the contemporary situation, we have the struggle of the people of El Salvador escalating and reaching unprecedented heights against a dictatorship which enjoys the support of the Reagan Administration. That movement, the Farabundo Marti, does not enjoy the rear facilities — and in fact it has entrenched itself inside the country, depending on the massive support it enjoys from the people of El Salvador.

If we go back to our own situation, when our organisation, the African National Congress, and her allies deliberately took the position of
opting for armed struggle against the racist and fascist regime in our country, the movement knew very well that there were no rear bases around our country, and that the pillar of our struggle would be the people themselves. So the fact that the enemy is trying to bully the countries neighbouring our country into submission does not constitute a situation where we are going to be helpless, where the armed struggle would be emasculated, because the basic factor is the people.

A: If I may add to this point, it is necessary for our people, when listening to the propaganda of the regime, to ask themselves some basic questions. As my colleague says, when the ANC and her allies decided on the path of armed struggle, there were no countries capable of providing us with rear bases. The regime had the support, as it has now, of the whole imperialist world. We decided at that moment, then that the only way forward was through people's war. We made preparations for it and we did not count on the success of our revolution being based on the facilities from the neighbouring states. We did not count on rear bases. We examined, we put all our knowledge of guerrilla warfare together, theoretical and practical. We studied others' experiences and we came to the conclusion that whatever the topography of our country there is one feature which ensures the victory of our revolution. It is the masses.

Q: Would you be able to say that in all the things that have happened in the region, with the signing of the Nkomati Accord, and what is going on inside the country, the ANC envisages a change in tactics to deal effectively with the present objective situation?

A: Our strategic and tactical approach is, and has always been, to entrench our political and military presence inside our own country. This is an ongoing process. At no time have we ever based our strategy on possibilities of facilities in the neighbouring countries. So for us the new situation does not spell out any new change, because our basic task has been to strengthen our presence, both politically and militarily, inside our country. And it is because of this strategic approach that we see in our country today a new political situation, a situation of mass resistance enlisting ever-soaring numbers of our people. We don't believe that this new development and this unprecedented upsurge is accidental. On the contrary, it is a product of our political and military work, which we have intensified in the last eight to ten years, resulting in a situation where the people themselves have formed their own democratic and progressive organisations. This development, therefore, creates the very conditions for the expansion of our army and the growth of the political underground inside the country. All that we can say is that this new development of political upsurge and resistance should be strengthened.

A: On the same question, let me complement what has been said. The strategy for change does not require a rethink from us. Comrade President Tambo has said in the January 8th message that there are four pillars of our struggle. First, the ANC underground, which is mobilising and organising our people. Second, the united action of the masses of our people. The third is the development, growth and actions of our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, dedicated to the strategy of a people's war. And the fourth pillar is international support for the struggle. Now, I do not think that those pillars have changed; what can change is the element of tactics that you employ in a particular situation.

Q: How do you react to the suggestion that the present situation demands an ever-strong presence of the ANC and MK inside the country?

A: I think that the question should be seen as a question of responsibilities that are thrown on our shoulders today. In order to proceed to victory, we have to intensify the process of developing the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe inside the country. The responsibility on those of us who are already in Umkhonto We Sizwe is to spare no effort in order to ensure that all of us contribute more than we ever did towards
that process.

But what is the responsibility in others? First, massive mass struggles are raging throughout the country. These struggles are important in their own right. They are a vehicle for our people to recognise that they have to stand together, organise together and confront the enemy. But today it has become even more necessary that people at home should ask themselves that, if MK is to become the defensive organ of the people, the organ protecting our masses, there is a responsibility from the people also to feed Umkhonto; not just with food, but with manpower, men and women prepared to fight, prepared to take the weapon in their hands, belong to an organised force. Those who lead mass struggles in any particular part of our country should ask themselves the question that, whilst they are doing their work, to what extent are they facilitating the growth of the whole national struggle? They have a responsibility of ensuring that the particular components or terrain in which they are fighting is not an isolated one. We have to reach hands from every area of our struggle, and to link particularly between the mass overt struggles and the underground and armed struggles of our people. Now these are the elements which the present situation requires from us.

Therefore, the growth of the ANC and MK inside South Africa is an urgent and imperative necessity. That necessity puts a responsibility on both those who are organising Umkhonto and the ANC as well as the masses in struggle. Each of us needs to ask ourselves: Are we doing the maximum? And we have to acknowledge another factor which relates to the basis of victory: that without the ANC or MK there can be no victory. So, all of our people have a responsibility, not only to act as they are acting today, to confront the regime, but to make sure that the best sons and daughters of our country enter the ranks of the networks of the ANC and MK inside South Africa.

A: If I'd be allowed to add a few observations to what has just been pointed out. We are a people's army, fighting a people's war. The growth and strength of this army depends largely on the support it enjoys from the majority of our people. Reference has been made to the responsibility that our people have got to discharge in ensuring the effectiveness of our political and military blows against the enemy. Our people should not be mere spectators in the intensifying political and military struggle against the enemy. Every form of support should be given to our cadres as they confront the enemy in the cities, towns and villages of our country. The doors of the houses of our people should be open to our cadres. Everybody should realise that he 'as got a role to play to ensure the success of our military operations. To ensure that every cadre, as he throws a grenade in the house of a policeman, into the barracks of the fascist army, that that cadre must be able to get away, must be able to survive in order to be able to fight tomorrow. This task of fighting the enemy cannot just be relegated to the ANC and MK, but should be the task of all the patriots of our country, all those democrats who want to build a new South Africa, who want to destroy racism and fascism in our country.

The growth, then of our army is the task of all of you inside the country who are committed to destroying that regime. Those who are confronting the fascist education authorities in order to achieve a democratic education in our country, those people in the rural areas fighting the removals in places like Mogopa, Driefontein, Crossroads, KTC and a number of other areas, should realise that the most potent weapon they have is the ANC politically and Umkhonto We Sizwe militarily. Even before Umkhonto We Sizwe comes to meet them, they should so organise themselves that they are ready to join the ranks of our army and to fight within it, to defend themselves against all the injustices and brutalities the enemy-perpetrates against us.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!
Dear Comrade,

I suggest that Comrade C Theodoropoulos read my letter, Sechaba, February 1984, again. Its purpose is clear — to put into practice the fundamentals of very real existing internationally recognised norms of the Nuremburg Tribunal, the United Nations Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and other related documents. This means the practical bringing to real justice in the immediate future those responsible, collectively and individually, for apartheid crimes in person or within living memory.

The discussion, therefore, confines itself to practice within the bounds of the already mentioned universally accepted norms. It seeks to define how and who should be punished for apartheid crimes. This discussion is continuing in the United Nations, where further precise definitions are being elaborated on the terms of the Convention of the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. I believe that we are obliged to contribute to the work of defining the procedures, forms, standards and norms for punishment in accordance with the laws of our African National Congress, and to dovetail with the relevant internationally recognised norms. I believe that in the main it is our obligation, in co-operation with the international community, to prosecute and punish those responsible for apartheid crimes.

The thoughts of Comrade C Theodoropoulos, Sechaba, July 1984, are a matter for broader discussion on imperialist crimes against humanity in all their aspects, past, present and continuing. The putting into practice of existing universally accepted norms of punishment for apartheid crimes does not mean abandoning mankind’s struggle to call imperialism to account both historically and in practice. Under no circumstances will mankind let imperialism and its system of all forms of colonialism, old and new, off the hook.

My views on the aggressive character of the South African state and its rooting in 1652 have already been set out in a published paper.* I believe that these views fall within the scope of discussion on the thoughts raised by C Theodoropoulos and other existing international norms like the United Nations General Assembly’s definition of an aggressor.

Amandla — Maatla!
Arnold Selby.

Berlin, 25.7.84

Dear Comrade Editor

Once again I take up my pen to write, and to take the liberty of saying that I am happy to have been able to wake up somebody to discussion through my previous remarks about *Ons Bruin Mense*. But the writer of the reply to my humble effort, PG, (Sechaba, August 1984) has raised certain points which, however, confuse me even further.

He says that ‘so-called Coloured’ was used in popular expression of rejection of ‘apartheid terminology.’ Yet later he says that “most, in the spirit of a nation in the making, opt for ‘South African.’” But, Comrade Editor, he does not tell us who gave our country the official name of South Africa? On what or whose authority? There are some who, rejecting this ‘terminology,’ call the country ‘Azania’ (again, on whose authority?) and maybe they would call the rest of the population ‘so-called South Africans.’ But it would seem that even though the Boer anthem refers to Suid-Afrika, the name South Africa is accepted. Yet for any minority (even so-called) to assume the right to call themselves South African for their own studied convenience seems to me to be somewhat undemocratic, if not downright presumptuous, since the right naturally belongs to the majority.

I regret to say that I did not know (as PG seems to say) that the term ‘Coloured’ emerged as a result of the definition laid down by the Population Registration Act or the Group Areas Act. I was born long before these Acts, so our people must be a little older than that. And we should not believe that all the awful experiences described by PG (divided families, rejection, etc) are only suffered by us. Mixed race or marginal communities in other parts of the world suffer similar trials and tribulations.

Now PG even says ‘so-called’ is not good enough, but neither is ‘Coloured,’ which adds to my confusion, Comrade Editor. But it is not being called Coloured that has been ‘a scourge for years,’ but the way our people have been and are being treated, whatever they are called, just as the term ‘Asiatic’ or ‘Indian’ in itself does not mean being scourged.

May I add, while MK and the militant resistance might well be manned by militant cadres not acting as ‘representatives of ethnic groups,’ freedom fighters taking part on the basis of militancy does not dismiss the presence of different ‘national groups’ (the Freedom Charter) from our South Africa.

I see from his letter that PG was with the students in 1976. I myself may have been in the docks or picking apples. So he should be more able to clarify things for me, but I am sorry, he has cleared up nothing for me. While I wait patiently for the outcome of PG’s ‘mass debate,’ I would still like to know what I am today. So, Comrade Editor, call me what the devil you like, but for God’s sake don’t call me ‘so-called.’

In reply to your own comment, Comrade Editor: while critical observations in the course of a book review are one thing, official declarations and speeches by our ANC representatives are another, which is the reason for my original question.

In the meantime, I will not sign myself ‘Observer’ or ‘Disappointed’ or Basinaar, so I will remain your respectful Capie.


AVENGE THE DEATH OF OUR HEROES

Remember

Vuyisile Mini
Wilson Khayinga
Zinakile Mkaba

hanged by the racist regime on November 6th
1964.
SECHABA
and other
ANC Publications
are obtainable
from the following
ANC Addresses:

ALGERIA
5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
Algiers.

ANGOLA
PO Box 3523
Luanda.

AUSTRALIA
Box 49 Trade Hall (Room 23)
4 Goulburn Stree.
Sydney NSW 2000.

BELGIUM
St Rue de Russie, 1060
Brussels.

CANADA
PO Box 302
Adelaide Postal Station
Toronto.
Ontario M5C 2L4

CUBA
Calle 21a
NR 20617
Esquina 214 Atabey
Havana.

EGYPT
5 Ahmad Ishmat Street
Zamalek
Cairo.

ETHIOPIA
PO Box 7483
Addis Ababa.

FRANCE
42 Rue Rochechouart
Paris 75002.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
Angerweg 2
Wilhelmshu 1106
Berlin.

GERMAN FEDERAL REPUBLIC
Postfach 190140
5300 Bonn 1.

INDIA
Flat 6B
Bhagat Singh Market
New Delhi 1.

ITALY
Via S. Prisca 15a
00153 Rome.

MADAGASCAR
PO Box 80
Tananarive.

NIGERIA
Federal Government Special Guest House
Victoria Island
Lagos.

SENEGAL
26 Avenue Albert Sarrat
Dakar Box 34 20.

SWEDEN
PO Box 2073 S-103 12
STOCKHOLM 2

TANZANIA
PO Box 2239 Dar Es Salaam
PO Box 680 Morogoro.

UNITED KINGDOM
PO Box 39
28 Penson Street
London N1 9FR.

UNITED STATES
807 Second Avenue Apt. 405
New York NYC 10017.

ZAMBIA
PO Box 31791
Lusaka.