

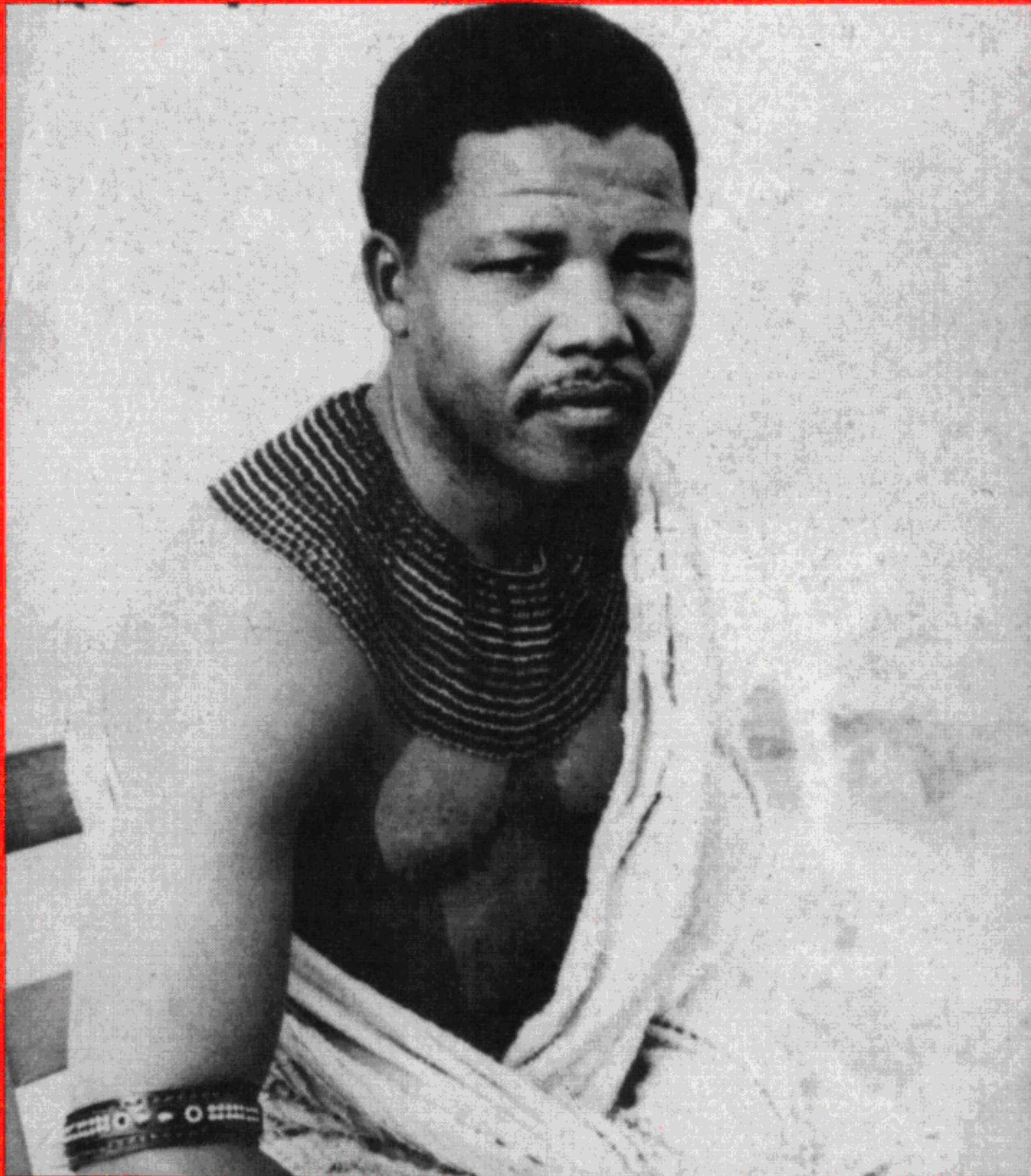
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THE ANC SALUTES YOU



SECHABA

Third Quarter 1978

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MANDELA- 60 YEARS OLD

“...Nelson grew up to be a living embodiment of the ideals and aspirations of the black people...”



**Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela:
outstanding revolutionary leader.**

On July 18, Nelson Rolihlahla-Mandela celebrated his 60th birthday. This was a birthday of a great man. That is why our movement took this day so seriously. But for Comrade Nelson it was like every other day: breaking stones, fighting against racist jail warders and defending his comrades against insults and mishandling on Robben Island.

Why has Nelson Mandela's name captured the minds of our people? What has made him to be so revered and so respected by the Blacks and hated and feared by the white racists? Surely it is not because of his royal background - Kaiser Matanzima, his cousin, is despised and hated by the Blacks!

Nelson is a noble son of our people who grew up to be a living embodiment of the ideals and aspirations of the black people; a leader of all genuine revolutionary forces in South Africa, black and white. By the time he was arrested in 1962 he had become a legendary figure in South Africa and abroad.

Nelson Mandela's political development is characteristic of many young Africans in our country. He left the rural areas - via the University College of Fort Hare - and found himself in Johannesburg, the industrial heart of South Africa where he later developed to become one of the outstanding leaders of our people. Together with his colleagues - Sisulu, Tambo and others - he founded the ANC Youth League in the early forties. He contributed tremendously in modernising the ANC of those days, bringing about the organisational reforms, articulating a revolutionary philosophy and working out the revolutionary strategy and tactics of our movement. There is not a single campaign or revolutionary activity of our masses in which Nelson Mandela did not participate. He was arrested, house-arrested, imprisoned and banned. But he did not lose his vision.

ARMED STRUGGLE

When the ANC was banned in 1960, Nelson organised and led our movement from underground. He was no mere theorist,

he always put his theories into practice. His greatest contribution to our movement was the leading role he played in the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation. He became the first Commander-in-Chief of our military wing. Indeed the history of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the whole concept of armed struggle in our movement is closely connected with his name. He is very open about this:

I started to make a study of the art of war and revolution and, whilst abroad, underwent a course in military training. If there was to be guerrilla warfare, I wanted to be able to stand and fight with my people and to share the hazards of war with them... I made these studies to equip myself for the role which I might have to play if the struggle drifted into guerrilla warfare”.

Nelson Mandela went on to tell the fascist court about his mission abroad: *“I also made arrangements for our recruits to undergo military training...The first batch of recruits actually arrived in Tanganyika when I was passing through that country on my way back to South Africa”.*

Nelson Mandela is a man of action; a master in underground work who has taught our movement the new tactic of operating underground without being detected by the enemy: his people were the mountains and forests! He was so successful in evading the police that the white press called him a “Black Pimpernel”.



Nelson has been in jail for the last 16 years - sentenced to life imprisonment. His leadership qualities are courage, dedication, self-sacrifice and closeness to the masses. He has contributed almost in a unique manner in uniting our people - workers, peasants, women and the youth - into the mainstream of the revolution. He cemented the ties between the African, Indian and Coloured people. That was not all. Under the influence of African communists like Moses Kotane and J.B. Marks and following the advice of patriots like our late President-General, A.J. Luthuli, Professor Mathews and others he helped to strengthen the unity between non-communists and communists and by doing so laid a foundation for a broad democratic front of all genuine patriots. Mandela saw the unity of the most oppressed and exploited African people in particular and the black people in general as an essential aspect, indeed a crucial question in the struggle for the unity of all South African revolutionaries, black and white.

On this important occasion let us remember Nelson Mandela and our comrades on Robben Island; let us demand his release and that of his comrades; let us pledge that freedom will be attained during their life-time ; let us improve our fighting skills and combat readiness. Mandela's words must be our lodestar.

In honour of this great son and leader of our people this issue of Sechaba assesses the thoughts of Mandela which are embodied in the Freedom Charter - our political programme. It goes without saying that the Freedom Charter has been enriched by our own experiences of underground work, activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe at home and in Zimbabwe, Morogoro Conference and last but not least the lessons we have learnt from our friends in the socialist countries and throughout the world especially in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This is all the more important because the future of our revolution and movement does not depend on some abstract hopes and wishes: our ideals and aspirations will become a reality as a result of our actions and thinking today and here. Let us therefore act and also listen to the wise word of Nelson Mandela.



Mandela and Tambo, comrades - in - arms, Khartoum 1962.

MANDELA AND OUR REVOLUTION

A discussion on the Freedom Charter is of great topical importance for our movement for many reasons. As a result of and since the historic incidents of the Soweto uprisings of 1976, our movement has seen an unprecedented influx into its ranks of young people and this has resulted in some organisational and ideological problems. It is our revolutionary duty to rise to the occasion, and a discussion on the Freedom Charter in the columns of Sechaba and on the occasion of the 60th birthday of Nelson Mandela is a fitting tribute.

The adoption of the Freedom Charter by the Congress of the People was a turn-

ing point in the development of political thought within the ANC. Prior to that Congress and since then South Africa has never seen such a representative gathering. This incident was a culmination point, a crystallisation and a highest form of political expression of the ferment which started in the forties with the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, the adoption of the African Claims and Bill of Rights in 1945; the Mine Workers Strike of 1946, the Xuma-Dadoo-Naicker Pact of 1947, the Programme of Action of 1949, the May Day Rallies of 1950, the famous 1952 Defiance Campaign and many other actions of the popular masses. Nelson 3

Mandela was directly and indirectly involved in all these activities.

By the mid-fifties the time had come that the activities of the people had to be given a clear political and ideological content. The people decided that a document in the form of the Freedom Charter would be their political programme - a blue print for a future South Africa. The Freedom Charter is therefore a people's expression of their collective experience and wisdom. Mandela was again involved in this historic decision.

Colonialism of a Special Type

The story preceding the adoption of the Freedom Charter is well known and therefore we shall not repeat it and the Charter itself is so well known that we shall confine ourselves to some theoretical aspects of the Freedom Charter.

By stating that South Africa belongs to all who live in it - black and white - the Preamble of the Freedom Charter states both the non-racial and anti-racist policy of the ANC and goes further to state that our objectives will be realised through a *struggle* which obviously takes various forms. These ideas have been concretised and developed in the course of the years, notably in the 1969 Morogoro Conference documents especially in the Strategy and Tactics of the ANC.

In the South African liberation movement it is a generally accepted view that the national mission of the South African people - black and white - is the destruction of the imperialist system of colonialism and racism in our country and the establishment of a predominantly black, but not exclusively black, democratic and essentially workers' and peasants' government. In this context it is necessary to state that South Africa is not a colony of the "classical type" but a "colony of a special type" whose specific feature lies in the fact that black South Africa is a colony of white South Africa because in 1910, when South Africa was granted "independence" by Britain all the evils of colonialism were perpetrated and reinforced, that is, as far as the black majority was concerned. In other words this means that since 1652 when the colonialists first invaded our country, South

Africa has never been decolonised and that Vorster and his ilk are the direct descendents of their colonial predecessors. We hasten to add that this does not mean that all Whites are colonisers or "white settlers", but it does mean that the present injustice of national oppression of Blacks by Whites is a product of colonial conquest. This is what the Freedom Charter wants to change.

The African Revolution

Mandela's trip to Africa was an eye opener to him in many ways: "The tour of the continent made a forceful impression on me", he stated later. He met Nyerere Haile Selassie, Modibo Keita, Ben Bella, Boumedienne, Obote, Kaunda, Nkomo, Oginga Odinga and many others. Nelson exchanged ideas and experiences with these African leaders. These ideas can be summarised as follows: in South Africa, as elsewhere in the former colonial world, the national question at *this phase of our struggle* is the question of decolonisation whose main content is the national liberation of the Africans and other nationally oppressed black communities. To state that the South African revolution is not socialist but democratic with a national content, is to emphasise the fact that our revolution is an aspect and integral part of the African revolution. But the African revolution is not a homogeneous process. There are national specifics which cannot be ignored e.g. the relatively developed industry and technology in South Africa; the existence of a strong working class whose leadership in our national liberation struggle has been accepted by all genuine revolutionaries and patriots and the existence of a Communist Party whose experience is unequalled on the continent. These factors emphasise the fact that genuine liberation can be obtained on the basis of destruction of monopoly capitalism in South Africa. This is what the Freedom Charter stands for.

The Freedom Charter

What then is our immediate goal?

The Freedom Charter lays a basis and



Mandela prepares for the armed struggle with comrades in Algeria.

is a precondition for further development and radicalisation of our revolution; its implementation will presuppose and demand the *destruction* of the white racist regime and the *abolition* of national, cultural, religious and language privileges of Whites over Blacks. This will encompass the *equality of all ethnic groups* - large or small, black or white - and satisfaction of their national rights and feelings, traditions and customs, aspirations and emotions, characteristics and features and the *development of their languages and culture*, interaction between different cultures and languages, and inter-ethnic contacts. This is what we mean by national self-determination.

This entails the injection of *hatred* for the enemy and all that he stands for; imbuing the masses with a revolutionary consciousness and this should be accompanied by stimulation of national pride and identity, assertiveness and patriotism which are associated with the revolutionary traditions of anti-colonialism and anti-

imperialism of all our people and ethnic groups and their positive contribution to the struggle for social progress. The solution of the national question in South Africa entails a "violent change" (armed struggle) of the status quo, the raising of the living standard of the Black majority to that of the Whites and then the general improvement and development in material life and cultural welfare of all the people irrespective of race, colour or creed to an extent hitherto unknown in South Africa. This is the essence of equality as understood by us: concentration on the development of the most oppressed and raising their level to that of the "privileged" national groups. Mandela expressed his feelings in the following words: "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities".

Our Internationalist Duty

The above mentioned factors coupled with the reality of today's world which is characterised by growing merits and influence of world socialism and the disintegration of imperialism and capitalism and *our own bitter experience and suffering* under imperialism and capitalism force us to conclude that the struggle for national liberation of the Blacks in South Africa is not an end to itself but a stage or one of the stages to a non-exploitative society; a future without exploitation. The revolutions in Angola and Mocambique teach us the simple lesson that in Africa there is a need to differentiate between formal independence and genuine independence.

Talking about Mocambique and Angola the Freedom Charter states: "South Africa shall be a fully independent state which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations" This statement is important for two reasons:

1) The barbarous aggression by the fascist hordes of the white racist regime of South Africa against the peace and freedom loving people of Angola together with the *double crime* of misuse of Namibian territory (which does not belong to South Africa) has once more vindicated the assertion that the *international responsibility of our movement* is closely interconnected with our *national mission whose main essence is the liquidation of the racist-fascist regime of Vorster*;

2) This is an expression of the realisation by our movement that South Africa is not a "fully independent state" - a fact which needs to be repeated time and again in the light of the rapprochement between some African states and racist South Africa.

Ideological Struggle

The ideological struggle in South Africa in general and in our movement in particular takes a form of clarification of the essence of the democratic and revolutionary content of African nationalism; its relations with other ethno-cultural groups to which South Africans of all nationalities belong and above all with internationalism and a *confrontation* with reactionary trends within

African nationalism; representatives of the emergent African bourgeoisie who would like to portray their interests as "national interests" thus camouflaging their real intentions. We have in mind the so called Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the "Gang of 8" recently expelled from the ANC.

Progressive African nationalism is an objective phenomenon which has its roots in the unsolved national question. The realities in the former colonial countries show that *even after* the liquidation of national oppression nationalism does not die out so quickly. This cannot be otherwise because - as the experience of the socialist countries teaches us - long after the class question has been resolved the national question still plays an important role in the life of a new society: obviously with a new content and different tasks. We have a lot to learn from the socialist countries and indeed Nelson Mandela - in a slightly different context - did indicate this: "on my return I made a strong recommendation to the ANC that we should not confine ourselves to African and Western countries, but that we should also send a mission to the socialist countries to raise the funds which were so urgently needed. I have been told that after I was convicted such a mission was sent..."

In conclusion, let us emphasise the fact that now more than ever before politically and ideologically our movement will have to continue basing its policy - as the Morogoro Conference confirmed - on the firm foundation of mutual cooperation and respect between communists and non communists; heathens and Christians, Moslems and Hindus, a tradition which has been set up in the 20's and continued throughout finding expression in many forms. There is no spontaneity in this and other processes; cautious and conscious encouragement and development of these processes is necessary. Above all our movement must encourage active participation in the struggle of all nationalities that make up the South African society *provided* that the people concerned accept the policy of our movement as embodied in the Freedom Charter and developed at and after the Morogoro Conference of 1969 which brought the discussion



Nelson Mandela and Indian Congress leader, Nana Sita, during the Defiance Campaign.



Winnie Mandela

on the national question to a higher level; a fact which testifies to the maturity of our movement.

The question of *unity in action* of all the oppressed and democratic forces as a whole is vital. The ANC was formed in 1912 to unite and lead to freedom the African people - over the years this task has expanded and changed; today the ANC is faced with the task of organising and leading all the oppressed people - African, Coloured and Indian - and to win over to its banner all democratically-minded whites. Today the ANC is a genuine people's organisation; it enjoys the support and confidence of the people whom it leads; it is viewed by the masses of our people as the product of their

sacrifices, the inheritor and continuation of the revolutionary experience of the oppressed people as a whole; the people's organiser and leader. Thanks to the activities and thinking of far-sighted men such as Nelson Mandela.

The young men and women who have recently joined the movement are inspired by heroes like Nelson Mandela. They in turn are contributing to the rich experience of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, fulfilling our ideal, an ideal which in the words of Nelson Mandela - "*I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die*".

INSIDE VORSTER'S PRISONS

Since the Sharpeville massacres of 1960 many of our people were arrested and when the ANC was banned in the same year our movement decided to launch armed struggle. Our people responded to the call by the ANC: parents joined the ANC; the youth joined Umkhonto we Sizwe and acts of sabotage took place throughout the country. Nelson Mandela, the Commander-in-Chief of Umkhonto we Sizwe, was mobilising the whole nation from underground. Thousands of our cadres and leaders of our movement were arrested and incarcerated in various prisons of South Africa. The torture and inhuman conditions to which they are subjected is not always known or appreciated by the outside world.

We publish two reports by former prisoners of Robben Island, who have been recently released and are now with us in the External Mission, in the hope that this will help our supporters and sympathisers to clearly understand why we demand the release of all political prisoners in South Africa. The articles do also show the role Nelson Mandela is playing on Robben Island and the high esteem in which he is held.

Electric torture is one of the methods used by the Vorster police to interrogate detainees and prisoners. In one method, you are bandaged with a wet cloth round your head and connected to electric wires. In some cases this can cause mental disorder or coma.

Another form of torture is to make you stand: The police draw a small circle on the floor within which you are supposed to stand and not move an inch outside. People usually collapse after about 48 hours. There is also assault - in which the police often end up killing the victims, and then say they have committed suicide or died from "natural causes". One of the many

forms of assault is to pinch your private parts using pliers.

Solitary confinement runs up to 180 days and more. The person who does not break in 180 days is kept even longer. In this case you are kept in a totally bare cell. The police make sure that there is no object that can keep you occupied. Faced with total isolation and nothing to do you are likely to suffer hallucinations.

The station commander is supposed to visit the prisoners every day, but sometimes he does not. When he does come, it is advisable to ask for the prison regulations. One must also complain about not getting fresh air; you are entitled to at least 30 minutes exercise in the morning and 30 minutes in the afternoon. If the food is bad, or too little, a prisoner is supposed to complain about this too. A prisoner is



Walter Sisulu, ANC leader, incarcerated for life on Robben Island.

entitled also to soap. The station commander will usually feel obliged to heed complaints - perhaps for fear of being reported to his seniors.

Marabastad Police Station

We were tortured by policemen some of whom would be drunk. They even used to pour water in our cells. The stiff porridge we were given sometimes had cigarette stubs, rust and stones in it. After sentence we were sent to Pretoria Prison where we met Colonel Aucamp, who was then in charge of political prisoners. (Pretoria North is the police station where Comrade Looksmart Ngudle Solwandle died.)

Leeuwkop

One of our comrades was assaulted for having said "Sir" instead of "Baas" to a white policeman. Here we were again harassed and tortured. We were strip-searched whilst facing and holding the wall. We were told also to pass under a shower - this was meant to be some kind of washing. All this time we were being assaulted.

Our meals were porridge and coffee, three times a day; meat four times a week. The food was inadequate and of very poor quality. Instead of meat we were sometimes given half-boiled peas with a lot of stone particles.

Prisoners are classified: ABC and D - with D meaning the dangerous group, allowed to write and/or receive only one letter in six months. If it is considered that you have "improved" you are promoted to C grade. In this case after finishing a quarter of your sentence you are allowed to write and receive letters as in group D, and you are allowed a visitor twice in six months.

From 1968, all political prisoners were allowed to write every month and receive visitors. They were allowed to have not more than three photos in their possession. A group was privileged (before relaxation of the laws) to buy sugar, milk, sweets etc, whilst B was allowed only to buy tobacco. There was a time when all the political prisoners were in the D group.

"Meal stop", (the system of punishment by withdrawing meals) was our daily hard-

ship. Sometimes we were punished for up to six days at a time. Some of our so-called offences were just an exercise to mistreat us: One of our comrades was punished for allegedly having smiled at a police officer. For a so-called offence committed by one of us, sometimes we were all punished.

In summer we were allowed three blankets, and in winter four and we slept on thatched mats. The blankets are very dirty, stinking and old. Here we were dressed in short pants, and we were also mixed with criminals. We used to be surrounded by warders on horse-back while handcuffed and driven up to the place of work. In this case it was a dam.

When we arrived at the dam the warder used to check us, looking for those who might have been tramped by the horses. Those found to have been tramped, were instructed to stand in cold mud up to the knees. In this prison, inmates were issued with jerseys and no shirts, and were barefooted. The Boers used to say that the injuries were caused by the fact that we were refusing to run when instructed to do so. Sometimes a person was tied to a tree. All this went on until lunch-time. When it was thought that you had committed a "serious offence" you were heavily assaulted and taken straight back to prison.

When not working, we were made to stand on cement floors after mats and blankets had been taken out. Sick people were not given food. One day we were given purgatives, and thereafter we were told that we were sick and hence no food for us. When someone was very sick the Boers would try and make an informer out of him - by threatening that he would get no medical treatment.

Robben Island

On Robben Island, we were subjected to strip-searching in cold or rainy weather, our clothes searched piece by piece as we stood naked. There was also this system of holding the wall while you were being searched - and assaulted.

On the island we worked in a quarry. Some of us were involved in bamboo work and building houses. People were made to shape stones for building.

shape stones for building. Each person was given a quota of work to do, and if he failed to finish it in a stipulated time, he was punished and not given food. Some punishments ran up to 21 days without food. Sometimes it was corporal though that did not last for long.

In 1967 prisoners went on hunger strike, for five days, against bad working conditions, poor food, poor medical treatment, unfair punishment and other grievances. To some extent we achieved our aims, for instance, after the strike, in the afternoons and over weekends we were given time off for exercises, whereas before the strike we were always locked in. In 1968 we were given two mats each and five blankets each. In winter prisoners were issued with jerseys. Also in 1968, by doctor's recommendation, we were supplied with shoes, socks, long pants, shirts and jackets.

Washing of clothes we did ourselves. Games like football, rugby and boxing and many indoor games were now allowed. We were also shown some films from the SA Department of Information (about Bantustans). Strip-searching was abandoned and the practice of giving individual quotas was also dropped - we worked together. Food, however, was never improved, except that we got more fat.

Solitary confinement took the place of going without meals as a punishment. At least now we could visit other comrades in other cells. All these, we were told, were privileges and could be forfeited at any time.

Comrade Ncapayi died of flu - this same year, 1968. We ANC members protested: PAC was divided in supporting us. Poqo supported us, as they did in the first hunger strike. Those who were studying were told that they would lose the right to study.

Armed warders with dogs were called, and positioned all around, even on observation posts. We were taken to prison, where we sang revolutionary songs; many people joined us shouting "Amandla". The studying group was suspended for a year, and were referred to by the Boers as the suicide squad.

One night in 1971 many prisoners were

instructed to hold the wall for a strip-search. We refused, and some were taken to the Isolation Block. We started a hunger strike, which lasted for four days. Negotiations secured the release of some of those in isolation. When they joined the others, the hunger strike continued for six days. It was then that we learnt to go without meals for ten days.

Other comrades told us that they were tortured in the Isolation Block. Comrades were highly disciplined and avoided becoming involved in thieving. The prison Boers were surprised by our honesty. They even commented about it, but went on to say scornfully that we attached much more significance to a useless newspaper than to money. (We used to pick up and read Warder's newspapers). In spite of all this, however, some did allow themselves to be used by the Boers, and were even involved in criminal acts.

Makhulu-Span, Mandela and others

Makhulu-Span, the Rivonia prisoners, Mandela and others - all these comrades were always kept away from us, in the isolation block, but were doing the same work with us. Comrade Mandela as a leader, was offered some privileges, like special food, but he refused the offers. These prisoners are subjected to the same humiliations, like going without food and strip-searching. Comrade Mandela is referred to as Mr Mandela by the Boers.. Among our comrades there were also Namibian militants. They were kept separated from us.

The Boers introduced samp, instead of boiled mealies. We were also offered eggs three times a week, fish twice a week and meat twice a week. Sometimes we were offered all this food raw, or rotten. Coloured and Indian comrades wanted to have the same meals with us and reject their special diets. It was unanimously agreed that they should accept their special diets so that the African comrades could fight for the improvement of theirs up to the standard of these comrades.



Mandela and Sisulu hold discussions in the prison yard.

WHERE MEN SIT AND HEAR EACH OTHER GROAN

History repeats itself. In 1960 the fascist rulers of South Africa killed about 70 men, women and children at Sharpeville and Langa - who were involved in peaceful demonstrations against the diabolical pass laws. The people's response was anger. Thus emerged Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Armed Resistance Movement and Poqo. These were different reactions from different political

viewpoints, to harness the people's anger and to end one-sided violence. The reaction of the fascists was mass arrests and the opening of the notorious Robben Island as a prison for political "offenders" and the viciousness which followed on the island itself and under the 90 day detention act.

Once more the fascists have unleashed their brutality in wanton killing - more 11

than 1000 of our people have been murdered in Soweto alone. There have been mass arrests, and children, women and men have been tortured and beaten to death in detention. Those who are found guilty of resisting oppression and their own death will be sent to the island. Here again they will have to fight for their survival.

On March 4, 1963 I was arrested, and a few days later three of my colleagues joined me. We were charged with sabotaging high tension power lines. On April 22, three of us were sentenced and one discharged. We spent a week in "Rooi Hel" (Red Hell) prison in Port Elizabeth. Here we were introduced to the injury and insult to our persons and our dignity which were to become routine on the island. It was here that they put us into the class of the worst prisoners.

We arrived on the island on May 4 - four of us, including one comrade who had been sentenced earlier. Unfortunately he was unable to bear the hardships of the island and later became a betrayer, giving evidence for the state at the Rivonia trial.

Robben Island was a revelation to us of how the South African white regime was going about its task of safeguarding western civilisation: The period from 1963 to 1965 was a brutal one. On our very first morning, when we emerged from the cell we were up against thuggery in state uniform. We had to come out with our hands up in the air to be searched. My comrade, Mdingi, looked a warder in the face while he was being searched. For this he was struck with a truncheon.

It was 3a.m. - breakfast time, and the porridge was dished out ice-cold. We were required to take our meals in an encampment, squatting as we ate. It was a relief to reach your line because from your cell to this point, you had to be kicked by young warders who regarded the whole thing as a joke.

The medical orderly came and a group of prisoners formed a queue for medicine. We saw the orderly himself kick at one prisoner, and he used a baton on another. Then we heard: "loop weg jou Poqo Vark, toe jy wit mens wil doodmaak het jy het nie van siekte gepraat nie" ("get away, you Poqo pig, when you wanted to kill

white people you didn't talk about sickness"). Then a voice (from the sympathetic criminal prisoner, Pheko) saying "that murderer Nel will give you poison if you frequent the medicine box. I know, because he did it to the prisoners in Rooi Hel when I was serving there".

All we had for protection from the bitter cold were short trousers of a light canvas material, a khaki shirt, a torn jersey and a jacket of the same material as the trousers, and sand shoes if we could find them in the place we were forced to leave them when we went into the cell in the evening. No socks for the African prisoner, no long trousers.

Then we were ready for our first appearance on the work span - the work team. We were taken to the stone quarry on the eastern side of the island. We had to carry our lunch, food for 200 prisoners, in drums. We were supposed to take turns and on the way we had to endure insults and beating.

On the span was a young warder by the name of Gouws, about 17 or 18 years old. One man in charge was called Delport, a sadist who grinned while he knocked someone on the head with a baton or truncheon. The older prisoners told us that once he had quarreled with one prisoner called "Congo". Delport called Congo to the shack by the worksite, and there shot him in the stomach. He then smeared himself with oil on the lapels as evidence that Congo had tried to strangle him. Delport used young Gouws to persecute us. I was to experience the humiliation of being clouted by this young brat, and when I tried to defend myself I heard the cocking of rifles, and the voice of Rex, a comrade who had come earlier onto the island, stopping me from the act I was contemplating. I was later warned by the sympathetic criminal prisoners and the other comrades to control my temper, because I would get myself killed, and maybe other prisoners in the process.

We were made to roll heavy slabs of slate, and for people who were not used to this type of work it could be highly dangerous. That we did not injure ourselves was only due to the advice of the experienced criminal prisoners who coordinated our movements by song. At times we had to get these slabs out of a pool of water and

.....
"...crushing of stones was a means of punishing people... You were required to complete a quota... Failure to do this was punishable by loss of meals..."
.....



Elias Motsoaledi, life imprisonment, continues the struggle with his comrades.

being sometimes bare-footed, the comrades had their feet cut by sharp pieces of slate in the water.

Instead of using mechanical or chemical methods to cut slabs of slate from the quarry, chisels and a 16lb hammer were used. Gravel was made by crushing stones with a 4lb hammer. The crushing of stones was a means of punishing people. You were required to complete a quota - which was increased as soon as it was found that you were able to fulfill it. Failure to do so was punishable by loss of meals.

After work we went back to jail where we were made to stand naked in a long queue waiting to be searched. You had to take off

your clothes as soon as you entered the line, no matter how many people were in front of you or how cold it was. How relieved one would feel when the cell was locked and the freedom songs started. These songs tended to dissipate fatigue and the feeling of despair which the day had put into one; they revitalised our revolutionary zeal.

The days went on with hard work, assaults and insults, then we heard that Comrade Nelson Mandela had arrived on the island. We were excited; this brought new spirit into us. He was kept with three other comrades in the new jail which was still being built. The warders made it a point that we never saw him. Then they took him away to Pretoria just before he was charged with the other leaders arrested at Rivonia. A statement was released in the press that he was removed because the PAC group wanted to kill him. This was a blatant lie, because if there is a man who is respected even by his political opponents it is Comrade Nelson.

On July 18, 1963 a radical change for the worse took place. Although we used to work at the same places as the criminal prisoners, and do most things together with them, we were in different cells. Some of these prisoners were extremely good, kind and helpful to us, but there was a sizable minority which, in collusion with the authorities, behaved brutally.

On this day, the Landbou Span - the agricultural team of 150 men, mostly political prisoners - were preparing a field, removing the lime topsoil and bringing in loamy soil. While the work was going on, the comrades saw the warder in charge, Ewart Kleinhans, and some criminal prisoners assaulting another criminal prisoner. They started muttering at the brutality they were seeing. As chance would have it, the captain, Gerrike, came on inspection. The warder - with his twin brother who was also in and the prisoners who took part in the assault - told the captain that their victim, in collusion with the political prisoners, had attacked Kleinhans. They said it was due only to the assistance of loyal criminals that he had been saved.

The captain believed them, and they pointed out 6 comrades, whom they accused as the hachers of this plot. The aim of the plot they said, was to kill the whites and escape. The captain, who had come on horseback, then drove the comrades back to the jail - chasing them with the horse and sjamboking them. All of these prisoners were members of the PAC. When they reached jail they found that the authorities were ready to lay into them. They were beaten with pick handles - one had his finger broken and then put in chains and locked up in isolation. Some of the young men were beaten up and forced to give evidence in the prison court. They were sentenced to 16 days 'spare diet' each. Among them were Shweni and Doc, who were later taken from the island where they were serving 20 years imprisonment. They were charged with killing police, and were hanged.

When we returned to jail that day, we were confronted by the commanding officer, Colonel Steyn, and the captain. They told us that they had been treating us well but that we were ungrateful and had started plotting to kill whites.; now they were going to show us how people like us were treated. They said they were going to spread us around the cells which were occupied by the criminals, and bring criminals into those cells in which there were still political prisoners. The captain told the criminals they could do what they wanted with us - even commit homosexual acts on us - he would protect them.

From that day, hell was unleashed. Many of us, including myself, were transferred from the quarry and sent to the Landbou. From jail to work it became just a string of assaults. I never knew that the wheel barrow could be an instrument of torture. Some of us were given rickety wheel barrows with iron wheels to push on loose sand. They were filled to capacity, the wheels sunk into the sand and the warder would start beating you to get the wheel barrow moving. After unloading, you were forced to run, and within two hours you were completely exhausted, with blisters on your palms. The blisters would start bleeding - but still you were forced to get on with the work. Some criminals were given empty wheel barrows to come up behind you at speed, and knock you on the achilles

Moses Masemola had to go to the hospital with injuries he sustained in this fashion. One day the same trick was tried on Them-bekile Nyobo. When he resisted, he was beaten by the prisoners and the warder.

One day I was given a bag full of sand to carry on my back. It was about 100 kilograms, and two prisoners had to lift it onto my back. As I was moving with it a prisoner was instructed to trip me and did. In trying to break the fall, I injured my shoulder. When I tried to go for treatment I was told that "Poqos do not get sick" (All of us were called Poqos, whether we were ANC or PAC.) Being made to carry such a heavy load was my punishment for speaking to another prisoner and because I had been a lecturer outside.

I had to continue working with this shoulder injury until one day, while pushing a wheel barrow, it dropped from my grip: I could not use my right hand to hold or pick up anything. My whole left arm went cold. I went to see the prison doctor, who was suprised to see my arm had been left to deteriorate to such an extent. I was then taken to Cape Town for an x-ray. The doctors there said I should return, but I never did. I was treated locally, with infra-red rays, until I finally recovered.

On the day I was discharged from the prison hospital, I joined a span which was busy constructing a rugby field. One of the Kleinhans brothers, Piet, came up to me at 4pm, when we were knocking off, and said that I had become fat at the hospital. I knew he had marked me out. We were told to collect tools and fall in; I went to fetch a wheel barrow, and was preparing to enter the line when Piet shouted that we must remove our caps to be counted. I was preparing to remove my cap when he came up and asked why I did not obey his command. As I tried to explain, he pulled me out of the line and started to punch and kick me. His brother approached and pointed an FN rifle at me so that I should not attempt to defend myself.

When Piet Kleihans stopped, I was bleeding from the ears, nose and eyes, and my face was swollen. So the very day I had left hospital, I had to go back. It took me six weeks to recover, and as a result of that assault I became short-sighted.

The Chief Warder had seen me after the

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"...Many of our comrades have died because of sheer negligence and callousness...The apartheid regime likes to persecute dying people...".
.....



Ahmed Kathrada, leader of the youth, jailed for life on Robben Island.

assault, and I told him who had done it. He then told me that they would lay a charge against the warder. This they did, and some PAC members and I gave evidence. We subsequently heard that Kleinhans was found guilty - and fined.

One day, before I went to the hospital about my shoulder injury, I had seen the warder Ewart Kleinhans and his criminal helpers dig a hole in the sand. In the hole they buried Raymond Msongelwa of Uitenhage, a PAC member, up to the neck. Then one of the prisoners warned the warder that the captain was approaching, and they took Raymond out. While I was in the hospital, however, another PAC member,

Johnson Mlambo, was also buried up to his neck - and urinated on by the same warder.

The prison medical service was extremely biased against political prisoners. Many of our comrades have died because of negligence and sheer callousness. Comrade Siphon from Port Elizabeth died in 1964 because the warders contended that he was not sick. Then there was Comrade Loabile, who died of cancer after he had been declared healthy. We also lost Comrade Shilongo of SWAPO, and Comrade Ncaphai from Port Elizabeth. And there was Funane of PAC, who died in 1974.

Comrade George Ottman, though he was in great pain, was chased from the hospital. They said he had nothing wrong - until he was transferred to Leeuwkop, and found to have appendicitis. Comrade Jonas of SWAPO was diagnosed to have cancer of the kidney. The doctor advised that he should be released, but the authorities refused. The same happened with Kholisile Roxo. When I left he was seriously ill, yet the authorities resisted all efforts to have him released. I later heard that he had died. There are many such cases, like that of the late Bram Fischer. The fascist regime likes to persecute dying people.

In March, a group of comrades had arrived the day before, and were ordered to join the quarry group. The warders were excited to be presented with fresh material for assault. This span's job was to carry rocks - at the double.

Among these new men were Denis Brutus, Billy Nair and George Naicker. As we got to the work site we were attacked and given a thorough beating. Denis, who had been shot by the Special Branch, had stitches as a result of the removal of the bullet, and the brute struck him on the stitches, thus reopening the wound. Also in this group was Meyiwa who is one of the Maritzburg Ten and who was sentenced to life imprisonment with Harry Gwala. I myself sustained injuries whose scars lasted about eight months on my back.

The following day the new men were taken to the stone quarry and the span was worked to the limit, to the extent that one

of the PAC youths who came with them during lunch hour could only take his food and put it by his side and then drop off to sleep for the whole hour. He had to return to work without eating the meal.

On April 1, my wife paid me a visit, and I told her about the assaults I had suffered. She consulted with the lawyers, and as a result, the firm of Bernard and Joffe sent a Mr Brown to the prison for consultation. Because he had stated that he was sent by my wife to discuss some matters with me, they allowed him in, because they thought my wife was contemplating divorce. When they realised the real reason, they stopped consultations, but the lawyers fought for the right to see me and ultimately managed to return

We then decided to sue the Prison Department for assaulting me. In this suit we included the previous assaults. The authorities did not contest the allegations but decided to settle outside court. I was not happy with this, because I wanted the case to go to court so that we would expose the conditions. But the lawyers prevailed on me and said that they would write a letter to the department. I was granted R375 damages. On October 25, 1964, I was transferred from the main sections, and sent to the segregation section to join the leaders - who since their sentences at the Rivonia trial had been segregated from us.

Some weeks before, Billy Nair and five of the seven FNI group, led by Dr. Neville Alexander, had been taken to the segregation section. The Alexander group had been awaiting trial on Robben Island towards the end of 1963, and after their conviction in April 1964, they joined us in the main section. They immediately embarked on challenging the situation which they found prevailing there. As a result, one morning Don Davis was assaulted with batons because he had objected when a warder was assaulting another prisoner. A week or so later Neville was also assaulted, and because the group objected, the five were taken to the segregation section. Billy's crime for removal from the main section was that he, too, kept raising questions of treatment by the authorities.

1965 I returned - to be sent back to segregation, where I stayed until my release. Life in the segregation section was very tight when I came. We never left the yard unless we were called to the office for some reason. We did stone-crushing in the yard. During weekends we were locked in for 23 hours, with 30 minutes exercise in the morning and 30 minutes in the afternoon.

Comrade Mandela acted as the spokesman for us. We took up the fact that we were confined to the yard, and insisted that we should be allowed to go to work in the open air. Later this request was acceded to. We were sent to the lime quarry, where we worked with pick and shovel, for all the time I was there. We kept on making representations for more creative work, but this was never granted. While I was in the main section, the comrades in segregation had been having discussions with the authorities through Comrade Nelson on the whole of prison life. He brought up the question of our clothing, work, food and general treatment. The representations continued even after I had joined them.

It was in 1965 that we were allowed to study. They also started a library for us in the section. But because the authorities realised that we valued the privilege of study, they began to use it against us.

The discrimination in food and clothing was a sore point, and we took every opportunity to express dissatisfaction. We raised it with representatives of the prison department and also with representatives of the Red Cross. The only concessions made were on the question of clothing.

The efforts made by Comrade Nelson and the comrades in the main section did bring about some changes in treatment. But because of inconsistency of prison policy, each new commanding officer could undo all that may have been conceded by his predecessor.

The Strachan case, in which Comrade Mbeki gave evidence about conditions, also had a great impact on our lives on the island. But, for this, Comrade Mbeki was persecuted by being kept in isolation in Colesberg prison for a long time before being returned to the island.

In 1966 the whole jail went on hunger strike because of the food. The comrades in the main section were on hunger strike

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"...In 1969 - 70 Comrade Nelson was instructed to prepare a document demanding the release of political prisoners..."
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Denis Goldberg, serving a life sentence in Pretoria's maximum security jail.

for six days and we in segregation for three days. As a result, some comrades in the main section were charged in the magistrates court and had their sentences increased. The selection of this group shows the sadistic nature of the authorities. There were those who, because of the strike, and the fact that work had continued - collapsed.

Joe Gqabi, one of those charged in the Pretoria 12 trial, was then sent to segregation. When Mrs Helen Suzman came to the island, the comrades prepared memoranda on various aspects of our life, including education. Other aspects were taken up by Comrade Nelson, and education by Dr. Alexander.

In 1969-70 Comrade Nelson was instructed to prepare a document demanding the release of political prisoners, which was discussed at length by us. We tried to include all the prisoners in segregation, but the PAC were reluctant to take part. So when the document was completed it was signed only by the ANC and its allies, and by Edward Daniels, who had been arrested for ARM activities.

This document presented a political argument as to why the government should release us, and in the interim, demanded improvements in prison conditions. The other members in the main sections could not sign it for obvious reasons. The authorities made every effort to make contact with the main section impossible. At times we went to work in a closed van, and the warders saw to it that on our way, all prisoners were removed. They were not even allowed to see us.

In 1969 or 1970 in the main section, an incident happened at the stone quarry. The comrades who were doing stone-crushing had prepared shelter for themselves from the cold wind coming from the Benguela current. Delport, the warder, ordered them to move away from these shelters. They refused. The commanding officer was called and threatened the comrades with armed warders. The comrades insisted that they were not refusing to do work, but they were not prepared to expose their health to deliberate destruction. This struggle lasted for two days before the authorities gave in. But, as always, some comrades were victimised - they lost their study privilege. Among them were Zola Nqini, Lungelo Dwaba and Marcus Solomon.

In April 1971 we were joined in our section by the Namibian comrades who included Herman Ja Toivo, the SWAPO leader. The treatment meted out to them by the warder in charge, Carstens, was bad - and to right this we went on hunger strike. Then on May 28, at night, Lieutenant Fourie who was the jailer came with the warders to raid us. Many of the Namibian comrades were assaulted. Ja Toivo was attacked in



Rivonia trialist, Raymond Mhlaba, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964.

his cell and beaten. The walls had blood on them, which was removed the following day. Jafta Masemola of PAC was also seriously assaulted. Abe Chiloane, also of PAC, was most seriously injured because this was his second assault within a week. He was urinating blood. We were made to stand naked holding the wall in those cells for the entire duration of the raid, which was more than three hours.

The Namibian comrades were later removed - only Ja Toivo remained in the section. A special section was created for

them and other ANC and APDUSA prisoners.

At the quarry, dogs were used on the comrades and three were bitten. When the Commissioner of Prisons came the matter of these attacks was raised with him.

Since we had come to the prison we had been asking to see the prison regulations - but in vain. We could not understand why this was not possible because the law made provision for it. We were even surprised when the prison department contested the application made by Kadder Hassim of APDUSA to have the regulations. He won the case, and extracts of the Prison Act were reluctantly made available.

In 1974-75 a further attack on our "privileges" was made. We were told by the authorities to burn our letters and we refused. Comrade Mhlaba was asked to draw up a document to the Commissioner of Prisons contesting this. Then we were told that only immediate, or first degree, relatives were allowed to visit us. We were also told to give a list of our first degree relatives and we refused because we were afraid that this could be used to harrass them. Comrade Sisulu was unable to receive visits from his daughter-in-law because she did not fall into the category of first degree relative.

In December 1975 the authorities started to persecute the Namibians once more. Head Warden Marais assaulted Kasheya and Hidinwa. When I left jail, the Namibian comrades and APDUSA, and ANC comrades in their section were being charged with refusing to work.

It was my experience in prison that whenever the conditions in the country were unfavourable for the racists, we felt it, because they became vicious with us. Now that the situation in South Africa is tense, I think conditions on Robben Island will deteriorate. When I left there had been some improvements, but I think these will be nullified. So the campaign for our comrade's release - and for an end to the racist regime - should be stepped up.

APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

HANDFUL OF AFRICAN APPRENTICES



Apartheid is a vicious system of national oppression and class exploitation of the black majority of our people. It affects our people directly. The black working class suffers the most. Apartheid legislation, discrimination in education and training and private "closed shops" agreements between employers and the white unions all work to ensure that Blacks in general - and Africans in particular - are denied access to the highly skilled and best paid jobs.

As these government statistics released early this year show, in April 1977 only .5 per cent of managers were Africans, whereas 93 per cent of miners and 86 per cent of labourers were Africans. In apprenticeships, discrimination is even more marked. Over 96 per cent of apprentices in electrical trades were white, 91.5 per cent in metal and engineering and 86 per cent in the motor industry.

It is government policy that no African may be apprenticed in so-called "white areas" - that is, 86.3 per cent of the country - or may work as apprentices in these areas.

The handful of African apprentices are those trained in the Bantustans and forced to work there for low wages. Skilled African building workers are similarly prevented by the Bantu Building Workers Act from working in their trades outside of the Bantustans or African townships (ghettoes).

The following table shows the inhumanity of Apartheid, covering all employees other than those in Agriculture and Domestic Service and is taken from the Department of Labour's Manpower Survey No. 12 as at 29th April, 1977.

CATEGORY	WHITES	%	COLOURED	%
(1) Professional, semi-professional and technical.	270,298	61.27	39,396	8.93
(2) Managerial, Executive and Administrative.	138,388	96.62	1,097	.77
(3) Clerical	412,506	67.95	48,355	7.96
(4) Sales and Related Work	145,059	59.88	24,740	10.21
(5) Mining and Quarrying.	34,043	5.95	2,173	.38
(6) Transportation, Delivery and Communications (including SAR&H)	62,911	21.09	32,081	10.75
(7) Operatives and Semi-Skilled in Building and Construction.	12,665	9.95	10,738	8.43
(8) Operatives and Semi-Skilled in Manufacturing Industry.	42,252	6.81	128,567	20.72
(9) Supervisors and Other Skilled and Semi-Skilled (N.E.C.)	73,130	27.01	33,381	12.33
(10) Service Capacities (includes Armed Forces & Police but not domestic servants).	105,501	22.27	49,593	10.47
(11) Labourers	5,995	.50	127,497	10.56
<u>ARTISANS AND APPRENTICES</u>				
(12) Metal and Engineering Trades.	88,103	91.53	6,746	7.01
(13) Electrical Trades.	33,746	96.19	801	2.28
(14) Motor Trades.	31,190	85.70	3,119	8.57
(15) Building Trades.	32,505	50.88	25,034	39.18
(16) Printing Trades.	9,045	82.83	1,125	10.30
(17) Furniture Trades.	723	11.50	4,211	66.96
(18) Food Trades.	4,103	73.43	688	12.31
(19) Diamond Cutting, Jewellers and Goldsmiths.	2,392	89.96	149	5.60
(20) Hairdressing and Miscellaneous.	9,754	83.90	1,333	11.47
<u>BANTU BUILDING WORKERS ACT</u>				
(21) Building Workers (Skilled)	—		—	
	<u>1,514,309</u>		<u>540,824</u>	

.....
 Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside South Africa ... inside

INDIANS	%	AFRICANS	%	TOTAL	%
15,728	3.56	115,749	26.24	441,171	100
3,026	2.11	719	.50	143,230	100
47,343	7.80	98,896	16.29	607,100	100
20,313	8.38	52,152	21.53	242,264	100
188	.03	536,000	93.64	572,404	100
13,151	4.41	192,206	63.75	298,349	100
2,274	1.79	101,660	79.83	127,337	100
47,991	7.73	401,691	64.74	620,501	100
12,436	4.59	151,806	56.07	270,753	100
19,504	4.12	299,156	63.14	473,754	100
37,915	3.14	1,035,485	85.80	1,206,892	100
1,020	1.06	382	.40	96,251	100
315	.90	222	.63	35,084	100
1,216	3.34	870	2.39	36,395	100
3,630	5.68	2,721	4.26	63,890	100
356	3.26	394	3.61	10,920	100
897	14.26	458	7.28	6,289	100
393	7.03	404	7.23	5,588	100
103	3.87	15	.57	2,659	100
302	2.60	237	2.03	11,626	100
		16,169	100.00	16,969	100
<u>228,101</u>		<u>3,006,182</u>		<u>5,289,416</u>	

DEATHS, DEATHS, DEATHS

The number of awaiting trial prisoners who died in police cells has risen alarmingly in the past 3 years: In 1975, 92 awaiting trial prisoners died in police cells; 117 in 1976 and 128 in 1977. There is also a high percentage of "suicide" cases. There were 24 "suicides" in 1975; 19 in 1976, and 28 in 1977. It should be noted that these figures exclude deaths of security law detainees and convicted prisoners.

Major-General J.P. Roux of the Prisons Department told a passing out parade of prison officials that the average daily prison population had topped the 100,000 mark, and that the prison population was growing "at twice the rate of the population as a whole".

The figures showed that 95 per cent of the people apprehended were offenders *under the pass laws*.

The South African prison budget was increased by nearly R11.5 million in Parliament bringing the estimated total to R92 million.

This shows that South Africa is not only a police state, but a huge military camp and the state is involved in killing our people. The ANC has always maintained that the only way to stop reactionary violence is to step up the revolutionary onslaught on the racist regime of Vorster.

SEAN HOSEY RELEASED

Sean Hosey, 29, arrived in London after completing a 5 year sentence in South Africa's notorious Central Prison in Pretoria.

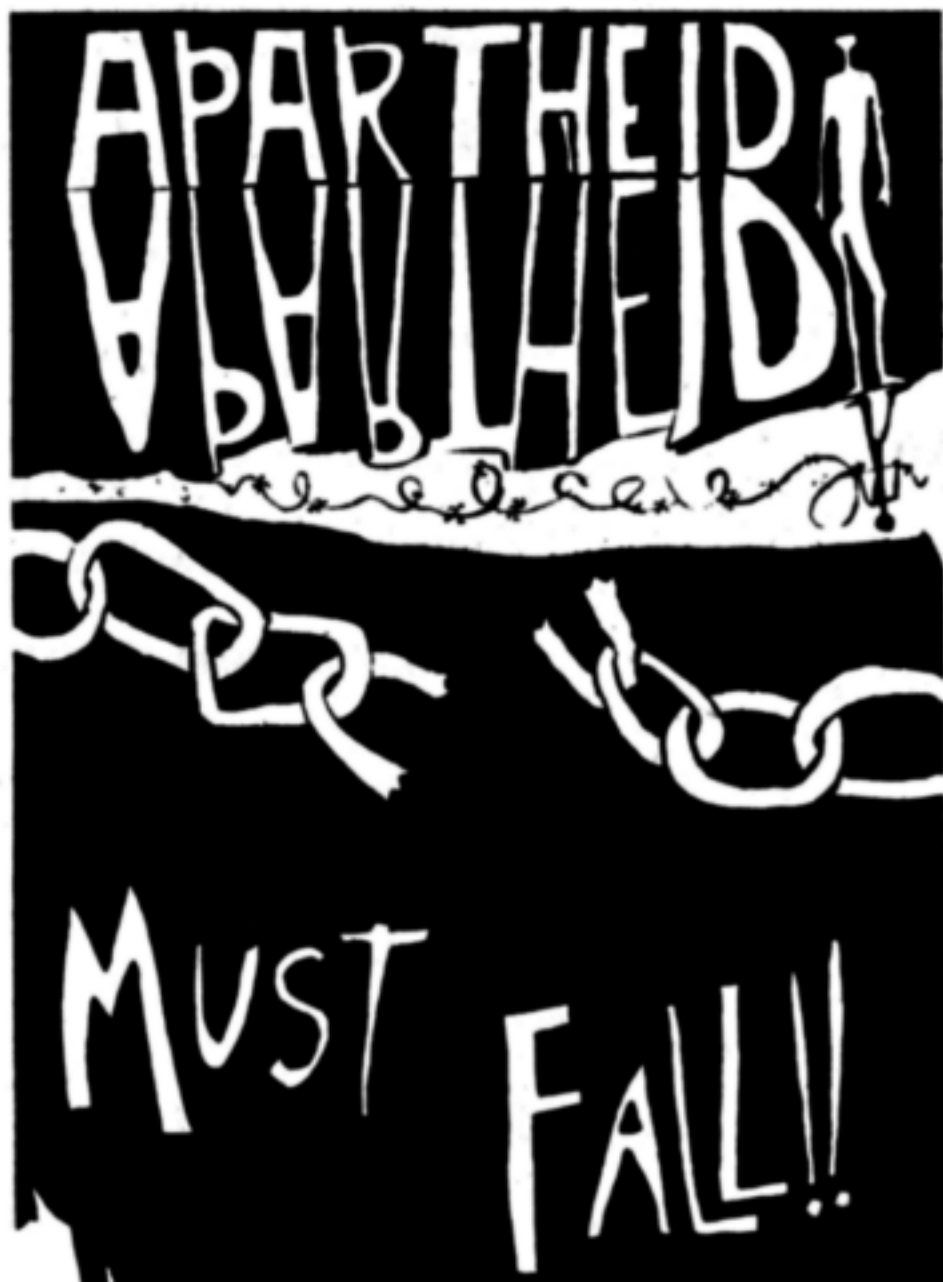
He was arrested by Security Police at Tongaat in Natal in October 1973, two days after he arrived in South Africa. In June 1975 he was jailed under the Terrorism Act after being found guilty of trying to contact underground ANC cadres.

On his arrival in London, where he was given a hero's welcome by supporters of the ANC, Sean said: "Although I was only what might be described as a courier when I was arrested, my five years in jail have made me very aware and have politicised me greatly in the South African context".

Sean Hosey, the Irish-born trade unionist plans to address meetings, speak on South Africa, and work for the release of his comrades who are in jail in South Africa. Sean Hosey had this to say about South African jails:

"After my arrest I was placed in confinement for 9 months in a cell 10 foot by 6 foot and was assaulted many times. I was kept naked for four days during interrogation and kicked and punched in the head...I was witness to even worse assaults on the five men arrested with me. I saw the burn marks on their testicles through electric shocks. Their feet were bleeding where guards had stamped on them. I found out later that this was standard treatment...".

At the airport were British trade unions, the Communist Party, Young Communist League, and the South African Communist Party Chairman Yusuf Dadoo and representatives of the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions.



ABEL MTHEMBU AND "HLUBI" CHAPHI LIQUIDATED

Abel Mthembu, former member of the military wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, was shot three times through the head and back at his home in Dube.

Abel Mthembu admitted in the Pretoria Supreme Court that he had given evidence against Nelson Mandela at the Rivonia trial. This time he was giving evidence at the Pretoria 12 trial, especially against Joe Gqabi. Abel Mthembu has been living in fear of an "assassination attempt". Before giving evidence he had asked that his testimony be heard in camera because he feared for his life, but the request was turned down. He was shot dead exactly one week after the Pretoria 12 trial ended.

Abel Mthembu's death has led to a number of questions which pre-occupy the police: the question of "blanket protection of key state witnesses" is said to be receiving "top priority" at Police Headquarters in Pretoria, though the Deputy-Commissioner of the South African Police, General Mike Geldenhuys has warned that it is a difficult task to "provide round-the-clock protection for these witnesses".

The "most feared" policeman, Detective Sergeant "Orphan" "Hlubi" Chaphi who served for 13 years on the Brixton Murder and Robbery Squad was gunned down outside his Rockville house. After parking his car Sergeant Chaphi was walking towards the door when a bullet hit him in the stomach. He fell on the ground and doctors removed a bullet from his stomach in an emergency operation. But it was too late.

"Hlubi" played a dirty game during the Soweto uprisings, he was brutal and vicious: he was armed and involved in the shooting of demonstrators in 1976. One Soweto student said: "Some of the black cops were withdrawn from Soweto. They couldn't be relied on to kill young kids. But there were some like Hlubi who was vicious especially to young people. He would pick

on you for nothing...Some students planned to knock him off. He was attacked during that time and stabbed".

WHITE LAAGER

White South Africans have long relied on their police force and army to keep Blacks "in their place". But with the continuing unrest that has followed the bloody massacre at Soweto 2 years ago, a massive effort is being made to mobilise every able-bodied white man and woman in the country. And at white schools the Youth Preparedness scheme has been accelerated.

Recent articles in the Western press which speculate about whether white South Africans will fight it out or be more pragmatic and gradually give way to the inevitability of black majority rule, miss the point. White South Africa is at war with its black subjects, and will fight until it is beaten.

The great majority of whites are now armed. Gunshops throughout the country were sold out last year, and the public is still buying up sporting rifles and target pistols as fast as new stocks arrive. Blacks, of course, may not own firearms. Farmers in rural areas have all been issued with the latest automatic Belgian FN rifle, which is in fact a machine gun. Every second weekend these men meet together for "commando training" where they practise "killing terrorists". The army often sends a man to these weekend camps to lecture the men on new techniques of bush fighting that have been learned in Rhodesia (they never talk of Zimbabwe). The farmers use blanks at these practice sessions, but the bullets they keep at home are live.

Housewives spend a lot of time at pistol clubs nowadays. The targets are sometimes human silhouettes. And at the government schools boys and girls throughout the country spend two sessions a week at the rifle range.

Whites living near the borders have already set up informal communications

systems, as developed by farmers in Rhodesia. A man going to visit a neighbouring farm some miles away will telephone his neighbour before leaving, and call back home on arrival. If he should go missing it would soon be known.

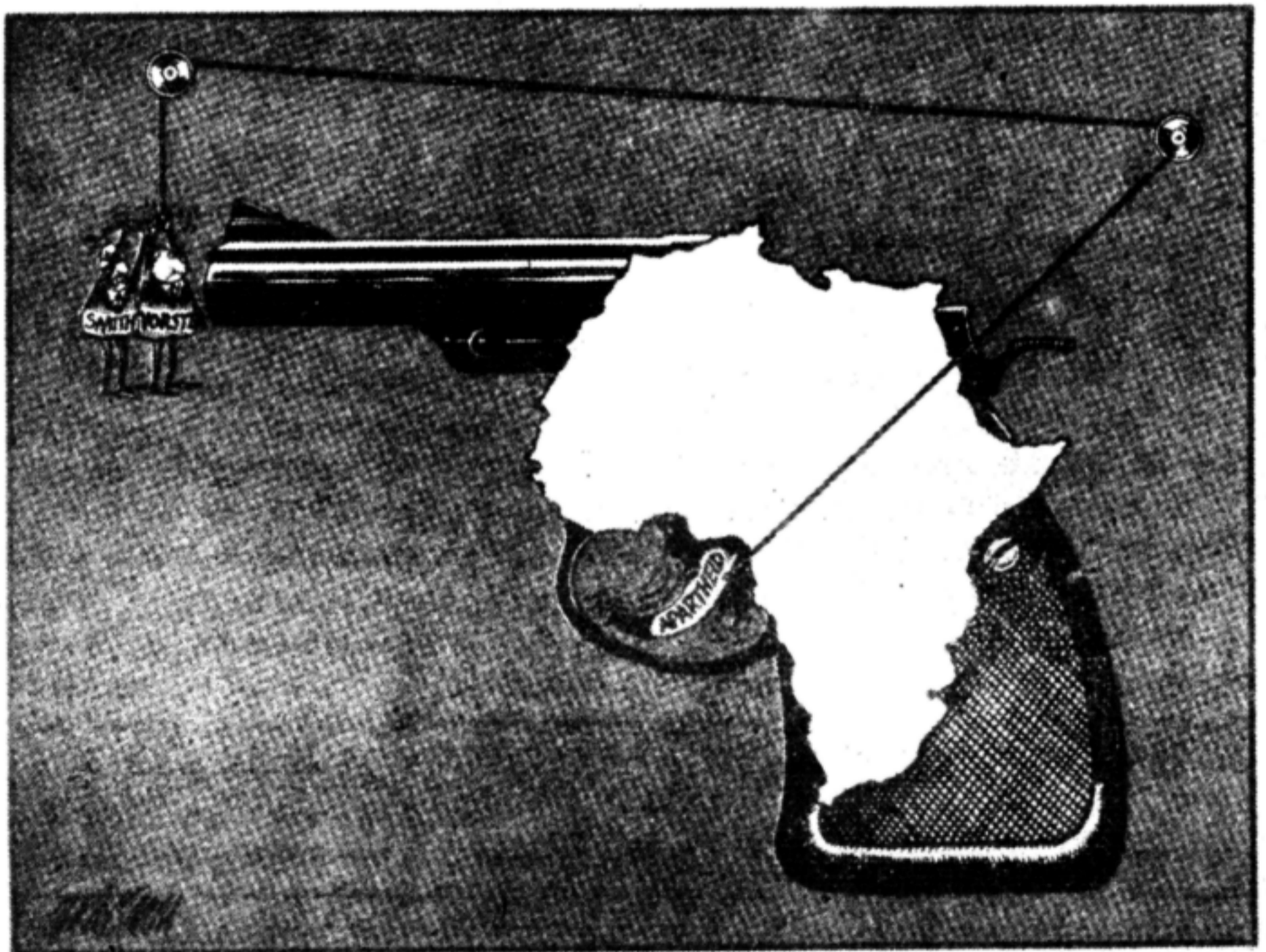
White families living in remote areas have been advised to mount spotlights so as to be able to illuminate a large area outside the house if necessary, to cut down all trees within 200m of their homes, to keep large dogs, and to erect 8ft high fences, preferably electrified.

While the Whites are thus arming themselves and fortifying their homes, they are also developing new ways of terrorising the black population. One is the "lightning swoop", a combined operation by the army, airforce, civilian reservists and national servicemen. Without prior announcement black living areas are swiftly surrounded - usually around 4am - and for the following 8 hours every person leaving

or entering is searched. Riot police patrol inside the area and search homes at random. For special effects airforce helicopters fly slowly along just above the rooftops. In Cape Town such swoops are conducted about every two months. White residents are unaware and undisturbed by these operations, and are told of them by their newspapers in reports such as: "A combined police and army manoeuvre was conducted outside Cape Town yesterday. Fifteen drug traffickers and two wanted criminals were arrested. Several pass offenders were also apprehended. Police spokesmen described the operation as successful".

The aim is, when necessary, to be able to surround every black urban living area in South Africa within two hours. June 16 this year saw Soweto similarly surrounded.

An example of how white civilians "join in" when needed was given in late 1976, when the "unrest" spread to the Cape. When the disturbances were at their height an



army truck packed with automatic rifles and ammunition was driven to Stellenbosch University campus and men students were armed. Several of these students drove off to black living areas in open trucks with two or three armed students lying down in the back. If any stones were thrown at the vehicles, the armed students would jump out and open fire.. When later challenged about this by newspapermen, army spokesmen said only police reservists had been given rifles.

Stellenbosch university is of course in the heart of Afrikanerdom, but even on the English speaking white campuses a massive swing to the right is apparent. "Rhodesian societies" flourish, and often hold exhibitions with photographs showing bloody pictures of Whites killed by guerrillas in Rhodesia. White student protest is a thing of the past, and any students with left-wing views who speak out are quickly banned. But there are not many such students. The white camp is drawing together. Silencing of dissenters has been very through in the last year, with the banning of newspapers, organisations and individuals. The death of Steve Biko in detention and the murder of Rick Turner come to mind.

There has been a dramatic rise in the number of young girls - predominantly Afrikaners - joining the army. The commandant of the women's training camp at George in the Cape Province recently said it was wonderful to see such a patriotic spirit in the (white) youth.

A common site in white residential areas nowadays is a group of boys playing at being riot police. They have plastic sawn off shot-guns, plastic crash helmets, plastic tear gas grenades and camouflage uniforms. The so-called riot police are in fact terror police. They tour the black townships in their Land Rovers which have wiremesh over all the windows, and whenever they find a group of more than three men together, they break it up. These were the men who shot more than 100 residents at Cape Town's Langa township in the New Year "riots" last year. Blacks are literally terrified of the riot police. For young Whites they are heroes.

Television has proved to be a highly



successful means for indoctrinating Whites. Brigadiers with rows of medals on their chests and sincere voices often loom large on the screen and say how proud South Africa should be of its boys on the border and how God is on their side etc. The general picture presented of the rest of Africa is of millions of bloodthirsty savages. Which, at heart, is how most white South Africans see their fellow black citizens.

Indoctrination is an essential part of the mobilisation programme and begins at an early age with Christian National Education (with its roots in Hitler type fascism) and the Youth Preparedness programme. Children whose parents refuse to allow them to take part in the military aspects of these programmes are expelled.

Like many countries, South Africa has a civil defence programme. But it is much more intense than most, and involves only Whites. White residents regularly receive leaflets with information such as what to do if a petrol bomb is thrown through your window, how to give first aid in a variety of situations, who to phone in an emergency and so on.

The above remarks are simply a few random observations on how South Africa is gearing itself to deal with a large scale internal guerrilla war. White South Africans are preparing to fight their black countrymen, and virtually the entire white population is involved.

But what the racists do not realise, is that history is on the side of the oppressed, the Blacks, and no matter how much they strengthen the "unity of the white race", the black man's march to freedom cannot be stopped.

O.R. TAMBO: FASCISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

Statement by the President of the African National Congress of South Africa O.R. Tambo, on the occasion of the Launching of the International Year Against Apartheid. United Nations Organisation, New York, 21 March 1978.



Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Thirty-three years have passed since the Second World War came to an end with the defeat of Nazi Germany and her allies. In this period many of the wounds inflicted during that holocaust have healed. A new generation has grown up without experiencing what would be a cataclysmic third war.

All this attests to the vigilance and the strength of the democratic and peace-loving peoples who have thus managed to hold in check the forces of military aggression and domination.

Tribute for this success is also due to the United Nations Organisation, which has by and large repelled powerful pressures to turn it against the purposes for which it was created.

Yet it is well to remember that thirty years ago this year, the South African white minority electorate voted the present regime into power. On the other hand, thirty years ago this year, the Member States of the United Nations Organisation, horrified by the deperately anti-human theories and activities of the Nazis, approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Even as the fascist forces were holding their victory celebrations, the United Nations Organisation was, for the third year in succession, grappling with the question of racism in South Africa.

Then, as now, the racists tried to shelter themselves from world condemnation by claiming that the criminal practices they were and are engaged in fell within the realm of domestic affairs in which the world community had no right to interfere.

We stood by the position at that time, as we do today, that national oppression and fascist tyranny must of necessity be a matter of concern to all freedom and peace loving peoples throughout the world.

Arising directly out of the experience of the rise and defeat of fascism, the founders of this Organisation realised, and

sought to give concrete expression to the fact, that the sphere of international relations has ceased to be a tangential factor in the formulation and execution of national policies. Rather, the international setting, itself brought into being by the interaction of national policies, correspondingly provides the condition and the framework for the pursuit of national objectives.

The United Nations Organisation, its Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, are therefore some of the outstanding products of the victory of the peoples of the world over Nazism. They constitute the conscious resolve of humanity to ensure that both national and international affairs are governed by a common code of behaviour based on freedom, equality, social progress and peaceful coexistence among the peoples.

It is therefore appropriate that it was the United Nations Organisation that decided that 1978 should be observed as the International Year against Apartheid. Recognising the specific tasks of this Organisation, we are convinced that it is here that we should put before the world democratic forces an urgent call for immediate and decisive action against the inhuman system prevailing in South Africa, not as an act of charity towards our people but as a necessary condition for the realisation of the United Nations objective of establishing and guaranteeing a just and stable world peace.

To put the matter briefly, the accession of the apartheid regime to power 30 years ago coincided with the efforts of the fascist forces, defeated in Europe, to regroup themselves wherever this was possible, in preparation for their re-emergence on the world scene, once more organised, once more strong enough to seek to impose their will on the peoples of the world. In South Africa these forces found fertile ground, enriched by a long history of colonial and white minority domination, and made specially favourable by the fact that the present rulers of our country had for many years prior to their 1948 victory organised themselves into the Nazi vanguard of South Africa, adopted and schooled themselves to the philosophy and practice of Nazism and openly declared their determination to turn South Africa into a Nazi stronghold.

When, therefore, this Nazi vanguard came to power, and for so long as it retained its hold on this power, it was clear that the task which mankind had set itself - to rid the world of fascist tyranny - and for which it had already paid such high price, was as yet unaccomplished. Democratic humanity is thus faced with the task of dislodging and destroying the forces of Nazism, now embedded in the fabric of South African society.

When the United Nations resolved in its 1975 General Assembly session that it has "a special responsibility towards the people of South Africa", it was acknowledging and laying emphasis on the fact that we had inherited the retreating but unrepentent forces of Nazi aggression and domination. What Nazism achieved through gas chambers and concentration camps nearly four decades ago has been repeated in our country over the past 30 years by the subtle methods and techniques, with Sharpeville and Soweto serving as danger signals alerting mankind to the gruesome inhumanity of the South African apartheid system. No one could possibly deny that millions of black people who should be alive and healthy today have died during the past 30 years, killed and consumed by the apartheid system and those who work it.

We want to suggest here that this "special responsibility", by the very nature of its origin, is shared alike by the peoples of the world. It extends to the millions upon millions of the peoples of Europe, Africa, the Americas and Asia who stood together to defeat fascism, who came together to form this Organisation, and who, by that act, collectively pledged to ensure that the scourge of the swastika would never again haunt the world.

The world-wide programme of activities to observe the International Year against the inhuman apartheid system should therefore not overlook the Nazi component of that system, and should reflect the essential continuity of the struggle from Hitler to Vorster. These activities and actions should in part be targeted on all the well-known and notorious pillars of support for the apartheid regime, which are political, economic, military and cultural.

In turn, we, the people of South Africa, 27

under the leadership of the ANC, as the front-line soldiers, the spearhead of the democratic and anti-fascist forces, accept it as an obligation we owe to Africa and to all progressive mankind to crush the fascist monster in our country, to expunge from the face of the earth this forward base of Nazism and thus ensure, for all the people of South Africa in the first instance, freedom, peace and social progress.

During the past 30 years, we have also seen very rapid advances in the economic development of the country with the apartheid state intervening on a massive and comprehensive scale to build up the technical base of an increasingly industrial economy, to concentrate capital into fewer and fewer hands and to ensure huge profits for these few monopolies which today dominate the important sectors of the economy. It is no accident that today the Vorster regime is able to boast about the capacity of the country to produce armaments.

The racist regime also prides itself on having one of the most powerful armies on the African continent, and for good reason. For nearly 20 years the fascists have paid particular attention to the creation of a force of aggression with an offensive capability far beyond the task of suppressing the national liberation movement within the country. Today the world is confronted by the reality that the racist regime has the capacity to produce nuclear weapons and has acquired the means for their delivery. What is to come has already been presaged by the arrogant invasion of the People's Republic of Angola and by the so-called extension of the defence border to the equator. The criminal acts of armed aggression against Botswana, Mocambique and Zambia are not unrelated to the aggressive policies of the South African regime.

The path that the apartheid regime has traversed over the last 30 years is in essence no different from that pursued by Nazis in the period up to 1939. It is inevitable that like its predecessor, the South African Reich will seek to impose a world order characterised by national and colonial oppression, extreme exploitation, rabid racism and fascist repression.

We have said before and say again that by its nature, apartheid, like Nazism, constitutes a threat to peace and international security. The collective experience of the peoples of the world attests to the truth of this statement.

Yet there are some Member States of this, of all Organisations, who today refuse to recognise this reality. In this regard, history is again repeating itself. Once more the Western Powers are embarked on a policy of appeasement for very much the same reasons as they gave encouragement to Nazi Germany, and they routinely proffer the same arguments to justify this dangerous policy.

Again the reason for this is to be found in the fact that the same West European and North American financial and military interests which financed and armed Nazi Germany still occupy decisive positions in these countries today. As in the past, they are moved by considerations of earning super profits and therefore support any regime that guarantees them these profits, without regard to the cost in human privation and suffering.

Fundamentally hostile to the aspirations of the peoples to determine and control their own destiny, the multi-national corporations and the military-industrial complexes as well as their political representatives in the leading western countries are infected and guided by a chronic anti-communism which sees fundamental democratic advances as a communist threat to their interests.

The continued resolve of the imperialist powers to roll back the advance of democracy, on their own or through their representatives, has been demonstrated by the brutal war of aggression against the people of Vietnam; the bloody suppression of the people of Chile; the massacre of the Palestinian people for daring to say that they also are entitled to their own country and their own national rights. Even the Italian people are threatened with reprisals if in the exercise of their democratic rights, in their own country, they elect representatives that the United States Government might not like.

Half a century ago, the forces of reaction



Comrade Tambo expressing the demands of our people to the international community.

designed a grand strategy to strengthen Nazi Germany with a view to using her as their striking force for the imperialist domination of the world. That policy led to one of the most barbaric episodes in the history of mankind, the highest price being paid by the ordinary working people of the world who had never sought war but yearned for peace, democracy, a fuller life for themselves and equality among the peoples.

The same strategy is being pursued today with regard to apartheid South Africa. The same interests are continuing to strengthen the Vorster regime and wish to use the South African fascists as their striking force against the peoples of the African continent to stall and reverse our advance towards complete political and economic independence.

Already the sterling efforts of the Governments of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola and Mocambique to improve the lives of their peoples have to take into account the fact that on their borders there exists a regime which is hostile to their efforts, a regime which on a daily basis uses its economic, military and political power to try to transform these countries into appendages of apartheid South Africa. Recent events prove this. The international community is confronted with the immediate threat that the Vorster regime will sooner or later gamble on its military might to ensure the success of this policy.

The African National Congress is convinced that these attempts will fail, thanks

to the firm patriotic and anti-racist positions of the Governments and peoples of the independent countries of Southern Africa. We are equally convinced that we must play a decisive role to guarantee this victory.

As we have done before, we wish to pledge again that the African National Congress, its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, its allies, and our people as a whole will spare neither their lives nor their labour in the sacred struggle to rid the world of the South African fountainhead of racism, fascism and international aggression. To the same degree, we pledge our support for the armed struggles of the people of Namibia led by SWAPO, the Zimbabwe people fighting under the banner of the Patriotic Front, and the Palestinian people, presently the victims of brutal Israeli aggression. Our specific special responsibility to the peoples of the world lies in our ensuring that our country is removed from the coterie of areas which constitute a threat to international peace and security. We, together with the Governments and the peoples of Southern Africa must ensure that fascism is denied the regional base which would improve its possibility to act out its role to its ultimate limits as the enemy of mankind.

We are therefore the front-line troops of a world-wide army which, victorious in 1945, is still confronted with the responsibility of ensuring that the peaceable purposes of that victory are not compromised or denied by permitting the forces of international reaction in South Africa or any other part of the world to regroup

and prepare themselves for their longer-term objectives.

The international campaign of solidarity with our fighting people, and all the peoples of Southern Africa must therefore be seen in the wider and more fundamental context of building a world in which democracy, social progress and peace are assured.

The United Nations Organisation is seized of such fundamental questions as the evolution of a new international economic order, the abolition of hunger, disease and ignorance throughout the world, world disarmament and the creation of other conditions to ensure a just and permanent world peace. Despite the gigantic and difficult problems that faces them, our people are also concerned to see a quick and appropriate solution of these problems.

It is a matter of great strength to us that the peoples of Africa, united in the OAU stand with us in our struggle to destroy the apartheid regime, and liberate our country.

The Socialist countries are ever a bed-rock which assures us the material and political support to counter the preponderant assistance which the powerful military and political establishment of the leading imperialist countries accords to fascism in South Africa.

Ever increasing numbers of peoples and Governments in Asia, Latin America and Western Europe are also joining hands with us in the struggle. We must again pay tribute to Nordic countries, Holland and Canada for the more responsive positions they are taking to our demand for concrete action to isolate the Vorster regime.

Much has been done throughout the world by voluntary anti-apartheid groups, by democratic political parties and the international trade union movement, and by the United Nations itself to advance our common cause. Without the support of these forces our struggle would not have reached the level that it has today.

Yet, in spite of the heroic sacrifices of our people, in spite of the actions of the rest of mankind in support of our struggle, the reality is that the Vorster regime remains uncowed. This as you know and as we have said is thanks to the support which that regime gets from the dominant forces in

the imperialist countries, which are continually looking for ways to circumscribe the democratic voice of the people, which are increasingly playing up the politics of racism and which are continuing to use their intelligence services as an instrument of terror against their own people.

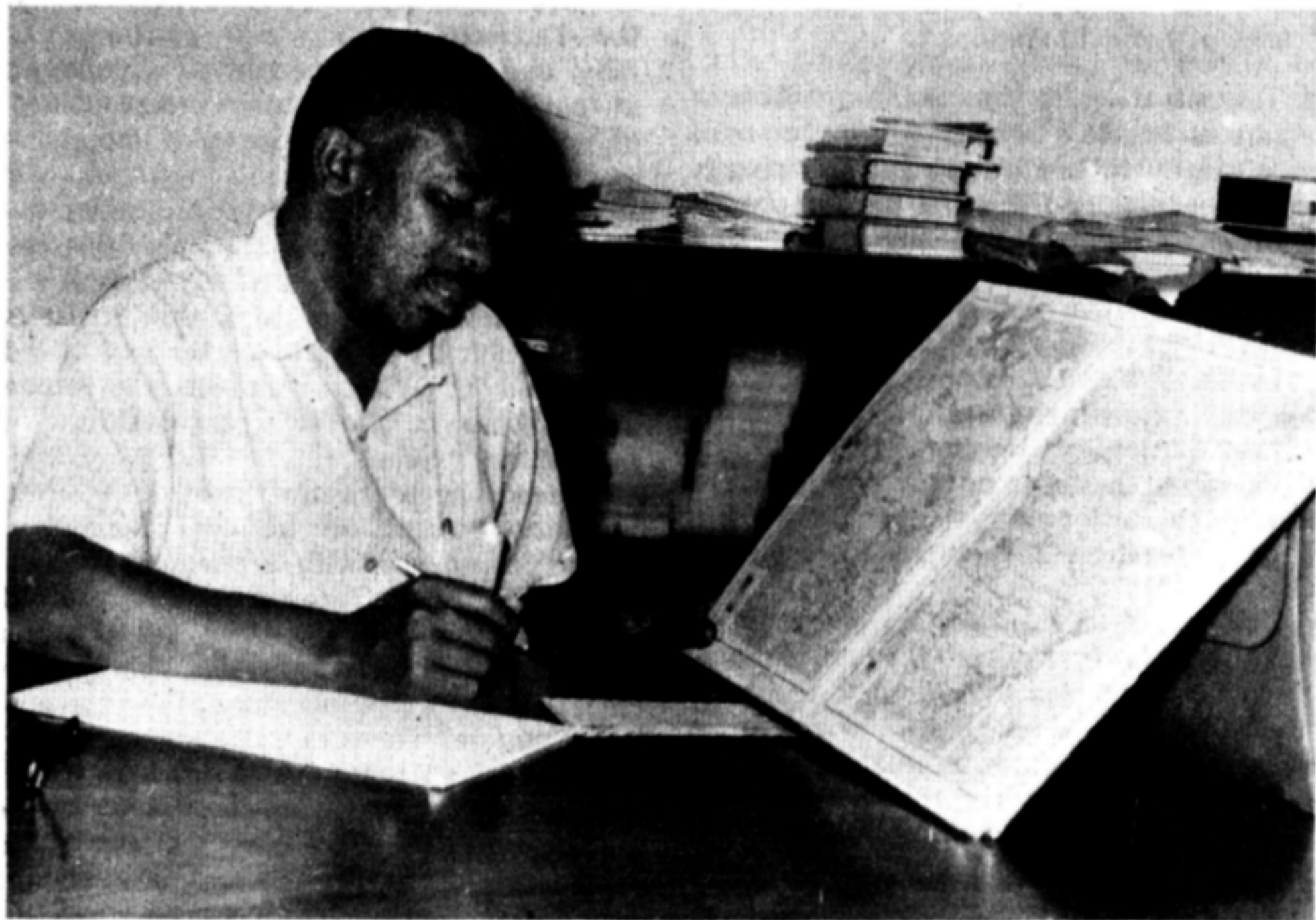
In this historic International Year against Apartheid specific responsibility therefore rests with the democratic peoples of the world to compel the Governments of the leading West European and North American countries to implement the programme of action adopted by the United Nations, to impose comprehensive economic sanctions against the Vorster regime, to ensure the strict observance of the mandatory arms embargo covering both spare-parts and nuclear energy, and generally to ensure the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

Centrally there is the task of supporting, politically and materially, the armed struggle and the entire liberation forces led by the African National Congress.

We make this appeal to the world community through the United Nations Organisation in the conviction that the whole of this humanity has been alerted to the international danger posed by the continuation of fascist white minority rule in South Africa. We make this appeal to those with whom we are united in a common struggle, those who genuinely value their own liberty, and who realize that the persistence of the apartheid-colonialist system in Namibia, Zimbabwe and particularly, in South Africa, is a fundamental condition for the disruption of world peace on a scale unprecedented in the history of human conflict.

But we emphasize that however forbidding the sacrifice we in South Africa have to make as the price of victory, it is all dwarfed by the greatness, the supreme nobility and above all, the absolute justice of the cause for which we fight. Inevitably, therefore, we shall win; Africa will be totally liberated; a new and truly democratic world order will be born, and, as, the ANC declares in its Freedom Charter, there will be peace and friendship.

ALFRED NZO: THE SPIRIT OF LISBON



Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the African National Congress, South Africa

A Statement of the African National Congress of South Africa delivered by the Secretary-General, Alfred Nzo at a Conference of the Continuation Committee of the Lisbon International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Southern Africa - London, 21 - 23 March, 1978.

It is now nine months since the Lisbon Conference in support of the peoples of Southern Africa was held. In a way, the developments that have taken place since then, especially in the field of international solidarity, are closely associated with the results of this conference.

This is particularly the case in Western Europe, some of whose governments contin-

ue to act as a serious obstacle to the efforts of the rest of democratic mankind in support of the heroic struggles of the peoples in the Southern Africa region, by either giving direct support to the Vorster and Smith regimes, or by engaging in diverse political and diplomatic manoeuvres, which in the final analysis only help to shore up these regimes and perpetuate their stranglehold over millions of oppressed people in the area.

The African National Congress views this current meeting as a particularly important event for the international solidarity movement with the liberation movements in Southern Africa and we are confident that at the end far-reaching decisions in

support of the common struggle against imperialist and colonialist aggression and exploitation and racial bigotry will be arrived at. Our current meeting must also live up to the decision of the UN declaring 1978 an Anti-Apartheid year whose campaign was launched on the 21st March. This event will also add to the great significance of our deliberations.

The situation in the Southern African region as a whole has been characterised by a steady intensification of the struggle of the peoples and this has been the main determining factor and driving force behind the intensive political developments that were witnessed in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself.

In Namibia and Zimbabwe the search for political alternatives to the course set by the revolutionary representatives of the peoples in these countries continues to occupy the attention of the Smith and Vorster regimes and their international allies.

The group of five Western members of the UN Security Council, Britain, France, the USA, Canada and West Germany intensified their contact with the Vorster regime whose aim, the international public was informed, was to eventually bring about an internationally recognised and accepted solution of the Namibian problem.

On the other hand, the South African regime has refused even to consider SWAPO as the sole legitimate spokesman of the people of Namibia, despite the fact that it is clear to all concerned that no solution can ever be brought about without the participation of SWAPO

The Smith regime, in alliance with African stooges in Zimbabwe, the Rev. Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa and Chief Chirau, announced a settlement in terms of which so-called majority rule would be declared in Zimbabwe by the end of December 1978. Under normal circumstances this fraudulent settlement plan should have been condemned without difficulty by all those who have all along professed to be working for a just solution in Zimbabwe. The prevarication of the British and American ruling circles on this question has been clearly

noticeable and it is obvious that it is now only a matter of time before they and their allies give public support to the sell-out settlement scheme of the "Gang of 4" in Rhodesia.

It is at a meeting such as this one that we should come out with a categorical position in support of the clearly-stated stand of the Patriotic Front which continues to rally and lead the people of Zimbabwe in a struggle for genuine independence.

In South Africa, the bastion of imperialist reaction on the African continent, the struggle of the oppressed people under the leadership of the African National Congress, continued to steadily intensify during the past months, drawing into the arena of political activity ever-growing sections of the oppressed population both in the urban centres and in the rural backwaters of our country.

Indeed, never in the history of white minority domination has the regime of terror been faced with a dilemma of such magnitude. In the face of naked terror and ever-tightening administrative control, the super-exploited black workers, the youth, the revolutionary intellectuals, the rural and urban masses are demonstrating that they will not let go the political initiative which has passed over irrevocably into their hands.

The bankruptcy of the so-called Bantustan solution on which the regime has staked the hopes for mobilising the oppressed masses over to its side has become clearly exposed. During the final preparations for the emergence of the Bophuthatswana Bantustan towards the end of last year, the clear unacceptability of this form of "independence" was unequivocally expressed by the masses of our people. The South African press revealed the fact that fewer than 20% of the eligible "voters" in this Bantustan cast their vote. But of course, in order to justify the whole farce, the propaganda machine of the apartheid regime attempted to project a different picture of the stark reality.

Other organs of remote control such as the Community Councils, which are replacing the Urban Bantu Councils, have come into trouble. Not so long ago the citizens of Soweto almost massively boycotted elections to these councils. This led

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"...there has been a steady growth of the strength and combat capacity of the underground ANC, and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe...".
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even some Afrikaner intellectuals to publicly state that the African people will be only satisfied with full independence, thereby demonstrating their somewhat reluctant understanding of the clear writing on the wall.

It is, however, clear that immediate steps are necessary to provide an alternative to the thousands of children who, because of their courageous stand, are presently roaming the streets. The African National Congress has entered into agreements with some African countries for possibilities of setting up schools to meet the current emergency in this field and we call upon the international community to assist us to realise our plans to meet the urgent educational needs of our people.

There has been a steady growth of the strength and combat capacity of the underground African National Congress and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The evidence of the growing strength of our

revolutionary movement has been testified to by the increasing number of sabotage actions that have taken place in various parts of the country, the overwhelming majority of which have not been reported in the South African press. The activity of the urban combat units of our military wing have increased to such an extent that even some other leaders of the fascist regime have joined James Kruger, the Minister of Police, in soberly assessing the impossibility of crushing and destroying the African National Congress. In such areas as Port Elizabeth the police have publicly stated that they are working around the clock to discover the units of the African National Congress responsible for recent acts of sabotage. A number of enemy agents and spies have been eliminated. Some of those eliminated are former members of our revolutionary movement.

The underground actions of the African National Congress and her revolutionary



allies are accompanied by a steady stream of propaganda both through underground leaflets and also through radio broadcasts, thanks to the assistance of an increasing number of African countries in this field.

It should be noted that the United Nations has recently entered the field of radio propaganda in South Africa. It will however, be important that the ANC, should play a major role in directing this form of propaganda into South Africa, otherwise it can be self-defeating and dangerous to the uninterrupted progress of our struggle.

The economic crisis facing South Africa has continued to deepen as a direct consequence of the steadily intensifying struggle of our people. The permanently disturbed political climate and the intensified activity of the international community in support of our struggle, have rudely shaken the confidence of the overseas investors in the omnipotent strength of the Vorster regime and its ability to protect the vast economic interests of the international capitalist monopolies.

Whilst it is true that growing economic crisis has imposed a heavier burden on the shoulders of the black people through rising spiralling prices of essential commodities, rising transport costs, high rents etc., unemployment, the suggestion that because of this factor it is unrealistic to continue to call for an economic boycott of South Africa, must be rejected as playing into the hands of the international monopolies that enjoy super-profits through their activity in the apartheid economy and thereby buttressing the apartheid regime. The oppressed masses, especially the Black working class, are reacting to this situation by intensifying their onslaught against the regime and its domestic and international supporters who bear collective responsibility for their plight. That is why our people are supporting the growing calls for imposition of economic sanctions against the regime and are branding as traitors those amongst them who are calling for the abandonment of this course.

The Vorster regime in characteristic reaction to the growing struggle of the people has intensified its repression whilst at the same time it has also continued to

seek ways of weakening the united resistance of the black community.

A blow was struck against a number of Black political organisations and newspapers. More people have been murdered by the Vorster regime either in the streets of our ghettos or in detention during the past 9 months. With unparalleled cynicism, the murder of detainees has been shrugged off by the courts of law and consequently the police, responsible for these crimes, have escaped unscathed. Such were the verdicts in the court cases involving murdered detainees like Mzizi, Hoosen Hafejee, Steve Biko and many others.

Many political trials are continuing in South Africa involving scores of freedom fighters. This includes the trial of the Pretoria 12, who from the beginning of this year are being re-tried following the death of the first trial judge. A great number of our people were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment last year.

The African National Congress would like, however, to emphasise the urgent question of Solomon Mahlangu who was sentenced to death recently following a shooting incident in Goch Street, Johannesburg, last year. In the course of the trial Comrade Mahlangu was referred to as a member of the African National Congress who had entered South Africa after receiving military training in Angola. The court had alleged that he had entered South Africa for the purpose of killing whites, evidently deliberately distorting the revolutionary aims of our national liberation struggle and seeking justification for the death sentence which was imposed on him at the end of the trial.

Solomon Mahlangu is not a criminal but a patriot who, like hundreds upon hundreds of his fellow compatriots, had answered the call of the African National Congress and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe. He is a prisoner of war and must be treated under the relevant Geneva Conventions. At the same time we solemnly warn the Vorster regime that their monopoly of capturing and dealing with impunity with those that fall into their hands in the field of battle will soon be over.

During the second half of last year the

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"...there has been a growing tendency towards seeking greater unity amongst all sections of the black community ...".
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Vorster regime introduced its grand strategy for seeking to promote the divisions within the black community by announcing its intentions to introduce three "separate and equal" parliaments for the white, coloured and indian sections of our population. The rationale for this new scheme was that the 3 communities share a common fatherland to the exclusion of the African people who are supposed to have their own separate "fatherlands", the Bantustan tribal enclaves. This action has of course been rejected by the Black communities on the grounds that it seeks to entrench the apartheid system. Instead, there has been a growing tendency towards seeking greater unity amongst all sections of the black community as a fitting rebuff to the Vorster regime's schemes of divide and oppress.



Not all is well within the ranks of the racist minority. Despite the fact that the November 1977 so-called general elections presented a picture of acceptance of the disastrous policies of the ruling National Party by the white population, the existence of political instability within this section of the population cannot be successfully swept under the carpet. The rate of emigration has continued to be a factor of concern for the regime as it represents a measure of unease within the white population.

Replacements for those whites fleeing South Africa has come mainly from Smith's Rhodesia. The unstable immigrant force is itself fleeing from the wrath of the Patriotic Front and the revolutionary masses of Zimbabwe and is not likely to stake itself for the defence of South African fascism as our struggle intensifies.

A growing number of white youth are refusing to be inducted into the white racist army in spite of the fact that the number of those brought before the courts for this crime of draft dodging is increasing. Some of these young people have found their way into the outside world where they seek political asylum, mainly in Britain and the Netherlands. The future does not hold any hope for relaxation of this concept especially as the possibility of actually dying in the battlefield for a cause the white youth does not see its way clear to supporting, increases. The more radical of the white youth see the way out of the present crisis in participating in many different ways in the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people as they become more and more convinced that an essential requisite for peace and stability in South Africa lies in the destruction of the system that shackles millions of their fellow

The international relations of the fascist regime have suffered further setbacks in the past 9 months. The hey-days of the short-lived "success" of the policy of so-called detente in Southern Africa have gone never to return. The independent peoples of Africa through the Organisation of 35

African Unity are now fully geared to giving all the necessary and possible support to the armed struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The Vorster regime has during the past 9 months gone through the traumatic shock of losing the support of some countries in Western Europe which it had regarded as its traditional allies. This is the case with Holland whose Government leaders received a delegation of the African National Congress in October last year. The discussions that took place did not only result in a clearer understanding of the positions of the African National Congress, but at the same time an agreement was reached whereby the Dutch Government would channel various forms of humanitarian assistance to the African National Congress. This was indeed a very important development as it conclusively proved that it was possible to break the wall of imperialist support for the Vorster regime by winning over some of the smaller countries of Western Europe.

The United Nations Security Council finally adopted a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa. Of course the African National Congress is not naively sitting back satisfied that all is well after this event. Recent developments have shown that the merchants (of war) are still pursuing their business through intermediaries and conduits such as Israel, Iran, Chile and other coteries of fascist regimes, especially in Latin America.

It is common knowledge that before these developments some Scandinavian countries, notably Sweden, had already established very close fraternal relations with the African National Congress. We must attribute these developments to the growing strength of the solidarity movements in a growing number of countries of Western Europe.

This accounts for the rapidly strengthening relations between South Africa and Israel and it is no longer a secret that this development has brought about close military ties and nuclear collaboration between the fascist task-forces of international imperialism.

The United Nations Security Council decision on an arms embargo does, however,

show that it is no longer possible for imperialism to totally ignore the pressure of democratic forces within the UN. After all, the Carter Administration cannot pretend that it is interested in the well-being of the underdog through its demagogic shouts in so-called defence of human rights when it will be seen to be actually and openly supporting the fascist regimes that continuously pose a threat to the peace and stability of the newly independent states. This poses an increasing dilemma for international imperialism and at the same time it opens up new possibilities for the peace-loving to successfully press ahead in the struggle to effectively isolate the regimes of terror in Southern Africa.

It must also be borne in mind that an urgent question before the peace-loving international community is the growing nuclear capability of the Vorster regime. This was further emphasised by the exposure of the Vorster regime's plans for testing a nuclear device last year. We must not be taken in by the denials which poured forth from Pretoria after the publication of the Soviet nNews Agency statement exposing the advancement of the Vorster regime's nuclear plans.

We must point out that the African National Congress has foreseen the dangers of the nuclear collaboration between the imperialist countries, especially the Federal Republic of Germany and the fascist regime of South Africa. In no less than two publications and in numerous press statements our organisation has gone on record in the past condemning the treachery of West German imperialism and mobilising world public opinion to denounce the dangerous collaboration - This we did in the interests of peace and security on the African continent and in the world as a whole.

The acquiescence and even the support of the international imperialist system for the racist, fascist regimes in Southern Africa has emboldened them to carry out persistently aggressive acts particularly against the front-line African countries of Zambia, Angola, Mocambique, Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho. These countries are being punished for their consistent and vital support for the national liberation movements of the oppressed (people)

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"...the international community should intensify its efforts to isolate the regimes of terror in Southern Africa..."
.....

whilst at the same time it is clear that their progressive internal socio-economic and political policies, especially in the new Republic of Angola and Mocambique are seen as posing a direct threat to the vast economic, strategic and political interests of the imperialist system.

It will be recalled that the most recent aggression against the Republic of Zambia was carried out by the Smith regime whilst its black stooges were touring some Western European countries including the USA canvassing for support for the so-called settlement-scheme agreed to between Ian Smith and the 3 puppets - Rev. Sithole, Bishop Muzorewa and Chief Chirau.

The World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism which met in Lisbon, Portugal, from the 16th to 19th June 1977 adopted a programme of action which is still valid to the present day. We would like, however, to mention some few points which will take into account some of the new developments since the historic conference.

We would like to summarise our demands as follows:

1) The international community should intensify its efforts to isolate the regimes of terror in Southern Africa. Following the adoption of a UN Arms Embargo against South Africa last year, all efforts must be made to extend the arms embargo resolution to embrace mandatory economic sanctions including all other forms of support for the Vorster regime. The international democratic forces must ensure that all violations of the arms embargo which is obligatory on all member states of the United Nations must be exposed and the violators internationally condemned.

2) Urgent campaigns for the release of all political prisoners in Southern Africa must be embarked upon without delay. Those already condemned to death must be reprieved and given their freedom.

3) We demand that freedom fighters captured on the battlefield must be accorded

prisoners-of-war status in terms of the relevant Geneva Conventions.

4) All creations of the Bantustan policies of separate development must be isolated and denied international recognition.

5) The growing South African nuclear potential must be exposed and condemned and pressure brought to bear on all the imperialist countries that collaborate with the Vorster regime in the nuclear field to cease such collaboration without delay. Specifically, we recommend that an international campaign be launched against South Africa's nuclear enrichment project.

6) The countries that share borders with the racist-fascist regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia must be given all possible assistance by the international community in order to increase their capacity to repel the repeated aggression by these terror regimes.

7) We call for non recognition of the fraudulent manoeuvre by Ian Smith and his puppets.

8) The growing collaboration between the fascist regime of Johannes Vorster and Israel should be condemned as posing a serious and continuing threat to the peace and security of the African and Arab regions and directed against the national liberation movement of the African and Arab people, in particular the Palestinian resistance under the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organisation.

9) The liberation movements in Southern Africa the Patriotic Front, SWAPO and the African National Congress - must be given all-round assistance to increase their striking power against their common enemies and for the liberation of the oppressed peoples in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The ultimate victory of our revolutionary struggles leading to the creation of just and 37

democratic societies in Southern Africa will call for more sacrifice on the part of the oppressed peoples. The course to that victory is clearly along the intensification of the armed revolutionary struggle. Nothing will divert us from this course. We pay tribute to all our supporters in Africa, the Soviet Union, Cuba and other Socialist countries, the democratic and progressive movements in Western Europe, America

and Asia. We are confident that the results of the current meeting will consolidate and extend that support.

**VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MATLA KE ARONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

ANC INTERNATIONAL



O.R. Tambo heads the ANC Delegation in discussions with Alfred Neumann.

ANC VISITS THE GDR

The relations between the ANC and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) have always been cordial and friendly and are based on mutual respect and cooperation in the confrontation against the common enemy which is international imperialism. These relations have evolved in the past, continue and develop in all directions.

This time the delegation of the African National Congress, headed by its President

O.R. Tambo, visited the GDR from the 15th to the 22nd May, 1978. The ANC delegation was received by Erich Honecker, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR; Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee; Alfred Neumann, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Government Commission for the International Anti-Apartheid Year and Kurt Seibt, Chairman of the Central Auditing Commission of the SED and President of the GDR Solidarity Committee.

Comrade Tambo exchanged ideas with the GDR hosts on the international situation and the anti-imperialist struggle in Southern Africa. He emphasised the lessons

our movement has learnt in the struggles of the peoples of Vietnam, Angola and Mocambique. He went further to underline the unique character of our struggle namely, an anti-colonial struggle in a highly developed industrial country and he emphasised the need to consolidate the two forces in our movement: the national and class forces. The anti-imperialist nature of our struggle finds its expression in its anti-racial character, he said. The Vorster regime is our immediate enemy but, because of the nature of all-round involvement of imperialist countries, the fight against the Vorster regime takes a form of direct confrontation with the forces of international imperialism—hence the complicated nature of our struggle. He outlined the forces at work in South Africa as a) the fascists; b) the reformists and c) the revolutionaries rallied around the ANC.

Emphasising the growing international solidarity with our people, especially the close relations with the socialist countries who are the backbone in the international solidarity movement, Comrade Tambo said: "...we aim at involving our friends in greater detail."

Comrade Honecker showed a deep understanding and appreciation of our situation and problems that face us; he outlined the GDR's foreign policy of support to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and exposed the imperialist plans and manoeuvres in that part of the continent. Comrade Hermann Axen expressed the internationalist aspirations of the people of the German Democratic Republic whose love for freedom and national independence is evidenced by their acts of solidarity and hatred for the system of imperialism and colonial domination. Comrade Alfred Neumann explained in detail the preparations of the GDR for the International Anti-Apartheid Year and Comrade Kurt Seibt voiced the GDR's preparedness to give more solidarity to the ANC. The whole trip proved to be a great success and a friendly meeting of the two anti-imperialist forces. On the final day of the visit the following joint communique was published in the GDR party paper Neues Deutschland:

Below is the full text of the Joint Communique on the visit of the ANC Delegation to the GDR. It is a concrete expression of anti-imperialist solidarity:

At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), a delegation of the African National Congress headed by its President, Oliver Tambo, visited the German Democratic Republic between May 15 and 22, 1978.

The delegation was received by Erich Honecker, Secretary General of the Central Committee of the SED and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR. During the discussions Oliver Tambo gave information on the struggle of the South African people against the system of Apartheid, colonialism and fascist rule practised by the racist minority regime in South Africa. Oliver Tambo in this connection pointed out that the Apartheid policy of the Vorster regime, the most vicious form of national oppression and exploitation, constitutes a permanent massive violation of human rights perpetrated against the majority of the population in the Republic of South Africa.

Oliver Tambo expressed his thanks for the all-round political support and large-scale material assistance which the SED and the people of the GDR are giving to the struggle of the South African people.

Erich Honecker paid tribute to the progress achieved so far in the struggle of the people of South Africa under the leadership of the ANC which struggle has demanded so many sacrifices and he assured his guest that the SED and the entire people of the GDR will at all times give active political, diplomatic and material assistance to the people of South Africa.

The ANC delegation had talks with a delegation of the Central Committee of the SED headed by Hermann Axen, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, with Alfred Neumann, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the GDR Government Commission for the International Anti-Apartheid Year, and with Kurt Seibt, Chairman of the Central Audit-

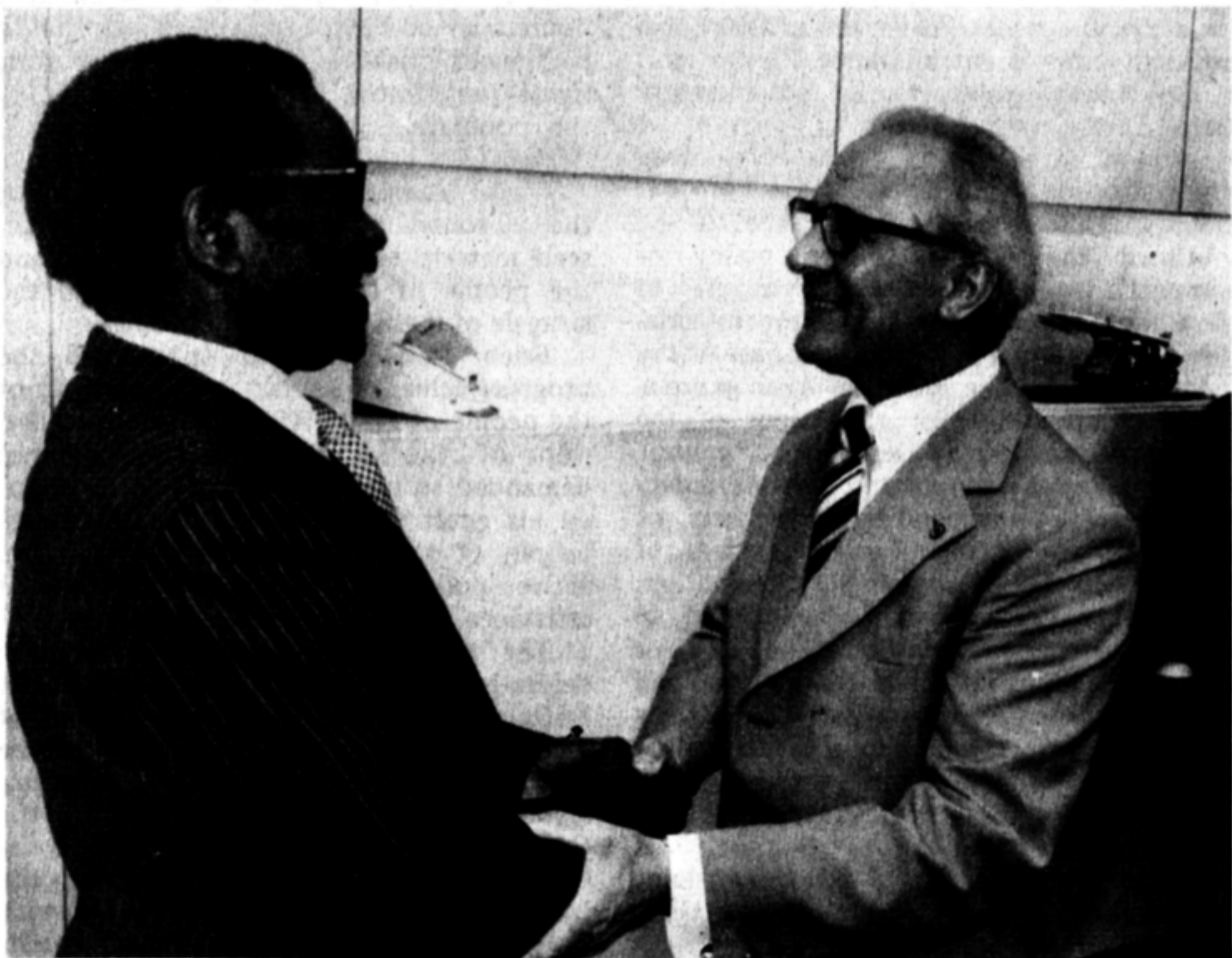
ing Commission of the SED and President of the GDR Solidarity Committee.

During the meetings which took place in a cordial and comradely atmosphere, the two sides exchanged views on topical international questions and reached complete mutual agreement. As a result of the discussions an Agreement was signed on increased cooperation between the ANC and the SED for the period 1978 and 1979.

In the course of the discussions the two sides agreed that the balance of forces internationally is gradually changing in favour of the forces for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. This development is a result of persistent efforts on behalf of the socialist countries, the national liberation movement, the working class in the capitalist countries

and all progressive forces, and their growing interaction and solidarity in the international arena. This positive basic trend in international affairs can be sustained despite the rising opposition offered by reactionary circles. Favourable conditions have thus been created for making progress on such vital questions facing mankind as putting an end to the arms race, taking effective steps towards arms limitation and disarmament, and eliminating the remnants of colonialism and racism in the interests of the peoples. The ANC and the SED strongly condemn the US plans for the production of the neutron bomb and both sides are in favour of the programme of initiatives for effective arms limitation proposed by the Soviet Union. Both sides express the hope that the UN Special Session on Disarmament will reach an agreement

The two anti-imperialists meet: O.R. Tambo with Erich Honecker.



on practical steps towards achieving detente in the military sphere.

The two sides paid tribute to the role played by the USSR and the socialist community in the strengthening of peace and security, and to the importance of the peoples' struggle for national and social liberation. They welcomed the important victories gained by the African peoples and their growing contribution to the worldwide revolutionary fight for peace and social progress.

The ANC and the SED fully support the just struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia against imperialism, colonialism, racism and neo-colonialism, for freedom and national independence.

The two sides welcome the revolutionary changes which have taken place in Ethiopia and support the just struggle of the Ethiopian people for national independence and territorial integrity. They condemn the machinations of imperialism and other reactionary forces whose aim is to undermine peace, security and social advance in the Horn of Africa.

The two sides emphasised that the continued existence of the internationally condemned Apartheid system which is receiving massive aid from imperialist powers, is a dangerous threat to world peace and security especially of the independent African states. In this connection the two sides vehemently condemned the development of the atomic weapons by the Apartheid regime with considerable support from the FRG.

They strongly denounced the recent barbarous aggression of South African troops against the People's Republic of Angola and refugees from Namibia which is illegally occupied by the Apartheid regime, were brutally killed.

The ANC and the SED on the occasion of the International Anti-Apartheid Year emphatically demand an end to the continuing economic, military and political support given by the imperialist states to the reactionary regimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and call for a strict implementation of sanctions previously adopted by the UN. In view of the stepped-up aggressiveness of the Vorster regime they called for new

intensive measures to accelerate the liberation of mankind from the scourge of colonialism and racism.

The two sides agreed on the usefulness of the visit of the ANC delegation in the GDR which has served to further consolidate the traditional cooperation and solid relations in the joint pursuit of the anti-imperialist struggle. In this connection concrete steps have been agreed in the Agreement.

The President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo, thanked the Central Committee of the SED for the cordial reception the delegation had been given in the GDR and expressed the determination of the people of South Africa to overthrow reaction and build a progressive society in their country.

Comrades Tambo and Jele pay tribute to the victims of Nazism at Sachsenhausen.





O.R. Tambo with Anker Jongessen (l), P.M. of Denmark and the SDP Secretary-General.

MISSION TO SCANDINAVIA

A delegation of the ANC led by the President Comrade O.R. Tambo concluded a successful official visit to the Scandinavian countries of Finland, Norway and Denmark, starting from the 13th to the 18th of March 1978. The delegation included Comrades: Josiah Jele - head of the International Department; Sobizana Mngqikana - Chief Representative in the Scandinavian countries; Antonio Mongalo - Chief Representative in Italy; Ruth Mompoti - ANC representative in the Women's International Democratic Federation in Berlin (GDR); Mohamed Timol - a youth leader and Andrew Mkhize from Sechaba.

The visit took place during a period of preparations for the launching of the UN Year Against Apartheid and the week of action called by the ICFTU. It was also a week after the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Nordic countries to discuss action against the racist regime of Vorster.

It was in this atmosphere therefore, that the delegation was received by the Governments, Trade Unions, political parties and solidarity organisations in these countries.

In Southern Africa, the situation had at this time reached a crucial level. In Zimbabwe an "internal settlement" had just been signed between Smith and the three puppets — Bishop Muzorewa, Ndabaningi Sithole and Chief Jeremiah Chirau; and the UN Security Council had voted on non-recognition of this. At the same time, there was panic in the imperialist camp and urgent meetings were held in New York and London between the leaders of the Patriotic Front and representatives of America and Britain, in an effort to sell the American proposals again. It was also during this period that Smith had again made incursions into Zambia, which action was also condemned by the Security Council.

In South Africa, the re-trial of the Pretoria 12 had resumed and Comrade Solomon Mahlangu had just been sentenced to death and an international campaign to save his life had already been launched.

FINLAND

During the two-day visit to this country, the delegation had fruitful discussions with the Prime Minister, Mr Kalevi Sorsa, the Foreign Minister, Secretariat of the Communist Party, and the Secretariat of Finnish Trade Unions. There was also the signing of a contract by the President of the ANC, O.R. Tambo and the Chairman of the Day-of-Work Committee, a campaign of contributing a day's wage to the fund to assist the ANC, Mr Jacob Socleman. A Protocol, a commitment by the students to give material support, was also signed by O.R. Tambo and the President of the National Union of Students Mr Jarno Heimo. The same documents were signed by the representatives of the Patriotic Front (Zapu) and SWAPO, Comrades Frank Mbengo and Hodino Hishongwa respectively.

All discussions held focussed on the developments in Southern Africa and actions that were planned for marking the Anti-Apartheid Year by the Government;

different political parties, the Trade Union Federation and the Finnish Afrika Committee.

The most important aspect of the visit was that it came a few months after the Finnish Parliament had voted unanimously on the recognition of the ANC as the only authentic representative of the South African people. The Finnish Government also committed itself to giving direct humanitarian assistance to the ANC.

NORWAY

The delegation held discussions with the Prime Minister Mr Oovar Nordli, the Foreign Minister, a group of parliamentarians representing the different political parties, the International Secretary of the Norwegian People's Relief Fund (a fund sponsored by the Norwegian Council of Trade Unions), Nesla Nelessen; a delegation from the Norwegian council for Southern Africa and the Norwegian Students International Assistance Fund.

Discussions covered the developments in Southern Africa and in particular the struggle of the South African people, spear-headed by the ANC. All parties pledged their support for the ANC and reported on programmes planned to step up the isolation of the racist regime and direct humanitarian assistance for the ANC.

DENMARK

The visit here coincided with a two-day hearing on South Africa organised by the Social Democratic Party. The hearing was opened by the Prime Minister of Denmark Mr Anker Jongessen and followed by an address by Comrade O.R. Tambo. After a reading of a message from Ambassador Leslie O. Harriman by E.S. Reddy, the Director of the UN Centre Against Apartheid, the Prime Minister and Comrade O.R. Tambo left the hall for a short discussion.

Other discussions held in Copenhagen were with Lise Ostergaard, a Minister without Portfolio, on matters concerning foreign policy; the representatives of the Danish International Development (Danida) 13

and the SDP Committee on Foreign Affairs.

In Elsberg, a town on the West Coast, Comrade O.R. Tambo addressed a meeting of the local SDP branch on the situation in Southern Africa. This was followed by a meeting with Chairman of Danida Chr. Kelm-Hansen and a high school teacher Steen Kristensen. The last discussion was with the President of the Social Democratic Youth Frode Moller Nicolaisen.

The visit to the Scandanavian countries was another proof of the growing prestige of the ANC and this poses new responsibilities on our movement especially at this stage of the revolution.

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SECHABA IN ITALIAN

On the 27th of June 1978, the Italian Edition of Sechaba was launched in Rome. The press conference organised for this purpose was attended by the Deputy Mayor of the Reggio Emilia; the assessor of the City of Reggio Emilia - Guisepe Soncini; the African National Congress - Antonio Mongalo; Andrew Mkhize for Sechaba and representatives of Trade Unions and different political parties and organisations in Italy.

The publishing of the Italian Edition is a concrete result of the Pact of Solidarity signed between the ANC and the City of Reggio Emilia on the 26th of June 1977. The launching of this edition was therefore marking the first anniversary of this Solidarity Pact; the 2nd anniversary of the Soweto Uprisings and the United Nations Anti-Apartheid Year.

The significance of this edition is that it is the first edition of Sechaba to be published in a language other than English, since its launching in 1967. The purpose for launching Sechaba was to put forward the ANC viewpoint on the situation in South Africa and to mobilise international support for the struggle in South Africa. This act, by the Italian comrades is not only a reflection of their understanding of the ANC intentions but also the need for the Italian people to understand clearly the struggle led by the movement they are supporting. It is also a challenge to other solidarity movements supporting the struggle of the South African people.

We, of the ANC, salute the move by our Italian comrades to print Sechaba in Italian and express the hope that other support organisations will follow suit.



African women from poverty stricken rural areas gather at a meeting.

WOMEN IN THE STRUGGLE

SPECTRE OF WIDOWHOOD

Mapetla Mohapi was one of the most dynamic young South Africans who was killed by the fascist racist thugs of the Vorster regime on July 15, 1976. According to "official explanation" he died of "suicide by hanging". At the funeral of Mapetla, Dr Manas Buthelezi made the following remark.: *"I am addressing myself to you women of South Africa. You must know that a spectre of widowhood is dangling over your heads"*.

These were words of wisdom, indeed words of challenge to our women whose husbands are languishing in jail, killed in detention or have left the country to look for better ways of fighting the system.

On the occasion of August 9, the South

African Women's Day, we remember our women, mothers, sisters, cousins and other relatives who have been silenced in that huge country which has been turned into a concentration camp by our enemies.

The historic events of the past few years have changed the balance of forces throughout the globe. The tide of revolutionary forces is sweeping through Africa at a tremendous speed. Today the countries of Africa, which for hundreds of years have been subjected to the brutality of colonialism and its side-effects which are starvation, illiteracy and exploitation, are free. These dramatic victories of all the oppressed people have had a profound inspirational effect on the people who are still suffering 45

under the yoke of oppression and imperialist exploitation. Of particular interest is the influence that the emancipation of women in the socialist countries, has had on all women suffering under the inhuman brutality of the capitalist system.

We may ask ourselves the following questions: Why should these women bother about their emancipation? Are they capable of being involved in the revolutionary struggle while they are still oppressed as women? What role can they play in the liberation of their people? Before we can make an attempt at answering these questions we have to look into the conditions of the women in South Africa.

President-General, Albert Luthuli once said: "Our women have never been treated by us as inferior. It is the Whites...who have done this". When Chief Luthuli uttered these words he was far from glorifying our pre-colonial past. on the contrary, he was emphasising the negative aspects of colonialism on our society. He was stating the simple truth that the women of South Africa suffer first and foremost from the disabilities of apartheid, which is a system advocating a totally divisive society, a society in which one section is looked down upon, degraded and humiliated by the other section of the society; the criterion being the colour of a man's skin. If the colour of a man's skin is below the degree of whiteness accepted by the South African regime, his fate is already determined. Never in the world has a people been subjected to such brutality, oppression and inhuman injustices because of the colour of their skin.

All women earn less than men in nearly every job, in government, provincial and municipal council services, in the clothing industry, liquor and catering trade, the food baking and confectionary industry and in other commercial trades.

Why? The myth that man is always the breadwinner is precisely that, a myth.

One in four white women is the head of the family at the age of 45. The statistics among black women are considerably higher.

Women are battling alone, supporting families and earning less than their male counterparts.

African males get less than white, Coloured and Indian males and white females. African women get less than African males.

In all Wage Board Determinations under the Wage Act, women's wages are 20% less than men's. White per capita income is 16 times that of Africans. Inflation hits the poor hardest - so it is Blacks who suffer most in South Africa.

Figures from the Department of Statistics show that the average white monthly wages rose from R324 a month at the end of 1972 to R489 a month at the end of 1976. Over the same period the average wage of Blacks rose from R43 a month to R 106.

Put another way, the rise in white wages from R324 a month to R489 was an increase of R165 - more than most Blacks are earning in total even today.

The figures also show that white wages rose by much more than those for Coloureds and Asians.

In South Africa the expectant working mother, who is a contributor to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, is entitled to 40% of her salary for four weeks before the birth of her child, and eight weeks after birth, she can be absent from work for twelve weeks and receives benefits for that time.

Domestic and agricultural workers do not come under any of the industrial and welfare legislation and have no protection whatsoever - pregnant or not. They are as stated earlier the lowest paid workers with no social security.

For those who are to receive benefits in terms of the Unemployment Insurance (Act) Fund - UIF, the administrative delays are a great frustration and irritation to all working mothers, though white women receive their benefits quickly, Coloured, Asian and particularly African women undergo a trying time to get their benefits, many of them because of influx control, pass laws and the host of other repressive legislation are endorsed out before they receive their benefits.

All in all, to be a black woman worker places one at the bottom of the working class scale - it is a virtual guarantee of poverty level wages and conditions of work.



Lilian Ngoyi, President of the ANC Women's League, life-long freedom fighter.

In addition the black woman worker has all the responsibilities of feeding and keeping the family clean - her work is never finished.

Mobilise the Women!

The history of the struggles of the peoples fighting for their liberation throughout the world shows that the women have never at any stage sat back and waited for their men to take up arms and destroy the enemy while they - the women - watch apathetically.

It has been proved on several occasions that through organised units women have been able to fight excellently with all the bravery that the most gallant soldiers could have shown. Our women in South Africa are fully participating in the liberation movement. They are in the forefront of the struggle for freedom at home - they strike alongside their men for higher wages, demonstrate with their children against discrimination in education. They nursed their children wounded by the racist thugs with love and affection. With broken hearts they buried their young ones killed by the racist police. They mobilise support and help actively our political prisoners and their dependants at the risk of their own freedom, their own lives.

In the External Mission of the South African liberation movement they are doing all jobs necessary and essential to mobilise a world wide solidarity support for our struggles. They are actively participating and building the army to give the final blows to the white racist regime of Vorster.

Women — a dynamic force:

The victories of the people of Angola, Mocambique and Guinea Bissau were attained because of the full participation of the women in those countries in the revolutionary struggles.

It is therefore evident that, despite the position of inferiority that they have been forced to assume by society, despite the odds imposed on them by society, women have always emerged as determined fighters, loyal to the cause of the revolution and prepared to fight for their freedom at all costs.

But this involvement of the women in the struggle calls for a need to organise. South Africa has got a nation of bitter women, women whose children have been massacred by the fascist police of John Vorster in the streets of Langa, Gugulethu, and Soweto, women of all races whose progressive sons and husbands have been murdered by the "security" police, women whose husbands, brothers, sons and daughters are languishing in Vorster's jails.

These women present a strong potential force for the advancement of the revolution. But first of all they have to be helped to



Women, fired by their oppression and exploitation prepare to demonstrate.

identify the enemy. The victory of our struggle will depend on the mobilisation of the female masses of our country, carried out with a clear understanding of principles and on a firm organisational basis. Our women have to show that the cause of their oppression is the whole system of apartheid exploitation. This is exactly what our women should fight against.

The laws of apartheid, though they are directed at the whole lot of the black people of South Africa, have as their primary victim the black woman. These laws have reduced her to the level of a non-existing object, a tool that only has to be used and thereafter stored away somewhere and completely forgotten about until one wants to use it again. Nowhere in the world have women suffered the evils of a regime as the black women of South Africa. Under the apartheid laws, manifested in the migratory labour system, a woman has to stay in the country-side, often left with only a small plot of land that she has to cultivate and which will be the family's means of subsistence while the husband goes to work in the gold mines, which have claimed hundreds of people's lives. The husband leaves for months on end, without any word from him, and all the time the wife has to be looking after the children, who are more often than not victims of tuberculosis, kwashiokor, scurvey and all other diseases

associated with malnutrition and poverty. Infant mortality is very rife.

These young women who can neither read nor write, are widows long before they reach the age of 30. Some of them, young married women have never been mothers; their life has been one long song of sorrow, burying one baby after another and lastly the husband who comes back from the gold mines being nothing but a skeleton; that lover she has never known as husband and father. To these women adulthood means the end of life; it means loneliness, sorrow, tears and death - a life without a future.

The women suffer disabilities in virtually every facet of their existence - which is bound by a complex interlacing of "tribal" and common law. The "tribal" laws have been so distorted by the white minority regime to suit its purpose. The most notorious of such laws is the Natal Code which states that women are perpetual minors, they cannot enter into any contracts and the women can never be the head of a household. But it is at the same time surprising to find that there are numerous cases of women being left by husbands to virtually be the head of a household while the husbands go out to work in the cities, because according to the laws of South Africa only the husbands are "relevant" to the white economy.

AFRICAN WOMEN WORKERS

To appreciate the position of our African women workers, we have to examine the unique industrial legislation in our country.

The main industrial law is the Industrial Conciliation Act, which provides for the registration and regulation of trade unions and employers' organisations: for collective bargaining, arbitration and conciliation machinery and for Job Reservation.

In terms of this Act an African, male or female, is not an 'employee', and is thus excluded from membership of registered trade unions under the Act and denied the right to participate in collective bargaining. It results in the white, coloured and Indian workers bargaining and making agreements with the employers. The employers of industry know that these workers can only speak for themselves and not for the majority of the black workers.

The employers are a united force, they are confronting a divided working class.

The African workers are denied the right to argue for their case, agreements

made by the white, coloured and Indian workers in this unjust way are by Ministerial decree extended to African workers.

African women and their men have no political rights; African women suffer oppression in common with their men. They work, like their men, in exhausting, stultifying jobs that are reserved for them and other women of colour by South Africa's colour bar legislation and practices.

African women occupy lower status jobs in agriculture and services. They tend to be employed in those spheres vacated firstly by white females, later by Coloured, Indian and African male workers. The women work in textile, tobacco, food, clothing and laundry factories, as nurses and teachers. There are no African women attorneys, advocates, judges, magistrates, engineers and architects, pharmacy or university lecturers. We have only a few African women doctors.

African women are a larger proportion than their white, Coloured and Asian counterparts in the labour force.

Due to the economic necessity there are

Delegates concentrate on the proceedings at a South African Womens Federation meeting.



proportionately far more African working mothers than their white counterparts, and the African working mothers have small children to care for. The children of white working mothers are taken care of by their "domestic servants". Creches and nursery schools are provided for whites by the municipal councils and by private bodies in the industrial areas.

A significant development in working patterns is the increasing number of black women who work.

Black women represent the largest percentage of growth in employment in South Africa. In the period from 1951 to 1971, employment of black women was increased by 130%. There were 65,500 black women in agriculture and 63,300 in domestic work and thousands more now employed in industry. In the clothing

industry there were 12,929 females compared with 1,982 males. In the nursing field there were 17,162 registered nurses with 5,890 training.

On the other hand this struggle for the freedom of the women should not be divorced from the whole struggle of the people of South Africa - it is an integral part of the revolution for the establishment of a new social order in our country.

At this stage vital questions have to be answered. Whose task is it to organise the women? What strategy is to be employed? How can all the exploited women of our country irrespective of race, colour or creed be roused to consciousness?

The task that faces every progressive-minded person is to make our women aware of the fact that there is an unbreakable connection between women's human and social positions and private means of the ownership of production. The question of the women should be examined as part of the social, working-class question and should be bound firmly with the proletarian class struggle and revolution.

The liberation of our women will only come when the exploitative capitalist society has been destroyed and a society based on a just distribution of the wealth and land is established.

There has never been a more suitable time than this to carry out the above-mentioned tasks. The revolutionary situation existing in our country today can be taken advantage of and used to reach our women through all possible channels. With the intensification of the armed struggle let the women not be left out in the cold. They must be fully integrated into the revolutionary process and in that way they will at the same time be emancipating themselves from "traditional oppression".

If we make one of the revolutionary aspects of our work to be the emancipation of the women, we are sure to have taken one of the major steps towards the creation of a new South Africa, free from all the evils of the present system and, what is more, we are sure to have liberated our women from the "spectre of widowhood".





The funeral procession honours Moses Kotane at Novodevichy Cemetery, Moscow.

MOSES KOTANE

ISITHWALANDWE RESTS IN PEACE

Moses Kotane was buried at the Novodevichy Cemetery in Moscow at midday on Friday, May 26. His funeral was attended by a large crowd of mourners, comprising former colleagues in the Communist Party and the African National Congress, African students in the Soviet Union, political workers and academics with whom he had had contact on his many visits to Moscow and even some nurses from the hospital where he had spent the last years of his life. Some of the mourners had travelled from distant parts of Africa and Europe to attend the ceremony, though the only member of Moses' family who was able to arrive in time was his son Joseph, a student in Budapest, Hungary.

The funeral proceedings took part in two stages. The first took place in a small hall attached to the hospital mortuary where Moses Kotane lay in state in an open coffin banked with flowers and a magnificent collection of wreaths sent by fraternal organisations and some of his former comrades. A wreath from the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party bore the message: "In memory of Moses Kotane, South Africa's greatest Communist Party and ANC leader, an outstanding fighter for national and social emancipation". Another wreath said simply: "To dear Comrade Moses Kotane, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, from the Central Committee of the

Communist Party of the Soviet Union". A wreath sent by the National Executive of the African National Congress stated: "To Comrade Moses Kotane, courageous and beloved leader of the oppressed people. Hamba Kahle Malume". Other wreaths bore personal messages, including one stating simply: "Mayibuye".

Only a limited number of mourners had access to the hall, and they stood in silence for several minutes, their minds full of memories of their departed comrade. It was hard to believe that a man so vigorous and positive in life was now silenced by death, though as he lay in his coffin his face bore that familiar expression of defiance with which he had faced his enemies throughout his long and stormy career in politics.

From the mortuary hall, the coffin was carried in a vehicle, specially designed so that three or four of his comrades could accompany him on the journey, to the cemetery, where the main body of mourners

were waiting in the central square. Here, with the body still lying in the open coffin, all those present paid their last respects to Moses Kotane, and the funeral orations were delivered by Dr Yusuf Dadoo, national chairman of the South African Communist Party; Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress; and R. Ulyanovsky, Deputy Head of the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

With fists clenched in the ANC salute, the mourners sang the national anthem "Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika", followed by a number of freedom songs. The coffin was then closed and carried on the shoulders of his former comrades-in-arms to another corner of the cemetery, where a grave had been dug. As the body was lowered into the grave, a Soviet military band crashed out the opening chords of the "Internationale" - the tune whose words and music had accompanied Kotane throughout his career in politics and most vividly expressed the brotherhood of man for which he had been fighting. Once again, the mourners joined in the singing, sending Kotane on his last journey with the pledge to carry on the struggle to which he had contributed so much until final victory was won and South Africa was totally liberated.

Novodevichy Cemetery, on the banks of the Moscow River and next to the fabulously domed Novodevichy Convent, now a branch of the history museum, is the resting place of many of the Soviet Union's most famous sons and daughters. Here lies buried too J.B. Marks, the former ANC leader and national chairman of the SACP who predeceased Moses Kotane in 1972.

Most of the graves are surmounted by a bust of the deceased, and on a walk through the cemetery it requires only a small flight of fancy to imagine oneself in the physical presence of the most famous figures in the history of the Soviet Union. J.B. Mark's grave already has its bust, and in due course so too will that of Moses Kotane. For the time being his grave is surmounted by a framed portrait.

For revolutionaries of all countries, the Soviet Union has always been a home from home. Both Marks and Kotane loved, and were loved by the Soviet land and its



people. While South Africa remains in chains, they could have no better resting place.

Moses Kotane was an internationally known and respected leader of the South African liberation movement, and memorial meetings in his honour were held in many centres - in London and Lusaka, in Toronto and Soweto. Those who worked with him

will never forget him. At lunch in a Moscow hotel after the funeral, some of Kotane's intimates recalled their past association with him, reminding one another of his firmness and vigour, his warmth and loyalty, his sense of humour and fun, gathering together all those memories of the good things in his life whose memory they will cherish forever.

In the forefront Comrades Tambo, Dadoo and Nzo bear the coffin of Moses Kotane.



AN INTERNATIONALIST AND A PATRIOT



Moses Kotane celebrates his 70th birthday with Comrades Dadoo and Tambo.

Friday May 21 was a sad day for all the members of the ANC, its allies and all our supporters and sympathisers. On that day Moses Kotane - Isithwalandwe - died in Moscow, where he was hospitalised, after a long illness which attacked him since 1968.

Moses Mauane Kotane was born in Tampostad in the district of Rustenburg, Transvaal on August 9, 1905. He came from a peasant family. Though his family background was Christian, the environment in which Kotane grew up was a non-Christian one. At the age of 13 he went to look for work and when he was 15 years old he entered for the first time the door of a classroom - a mission school which he attended for 2 years and then qualified to

be a "full member of the church" Since that he worked as a "kitchen-boy", a "house-boy", milkman and an employee of the West Rand Consolidated Mines. His wages ranged from £1 to £2/10 a month.

When in 1928 he got a job at Quinn's Bakery as a packer-dispatcher, a new chapter started in his life. Kotane had joined the stream of the industrial working class and he was no longer a "migratory labourer". In the same year he joined the African National Congress and the Bakers Union, which was formed by the Communist Party after the collapse of Kadalie's ICU. It is significant to note that this step led Kotane to join the CP in the following year. By so doing Kotane joined the growing stream of Africans who later became the

first generation of African communists on our continent.

Kotane's leadership qualities were soon discovered by his colleagues and on September 1, 1929 he was elected Chairman of the South African Federation of Non-European Trade Unions and in the same year he was instrumental in the formation of the League of African Rights - a united front of all progressive organisations: the ANC, ICU and other African groups. In 1931 Moses Kotane became a full time functionary of the Communist Party of South Africa: first as a compositor of the party paper *Umsebenzi* (the Worker) and in 1938 rose to the position of the General Secretary of the CP - a post he held until his death.

There is not a single activity of our movement in which Kotane was not. He was one of the leading figures at the All-African Convention Conference held in Bloemfontein in 1941 and as early as 1943 he was involved in the drafting of the African Claims and Bill of Rights which were adopted by the annual conference of the ANC in 1945. In 1946 he was elected member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He worked closely with Dr Xuma, the ANC President-General, and in 1949, together with Selby Msimang and O.R. Tambo drafted the Programme of Action. Almost 10 years later, in 1958, he served on a committee which drafted the new ANC constitution. If there was any man who was feared by the racists in our country, it was Moses Kotane. He was arrested many times - also during the 1956 Treason Trial, hounded, banned and house-arrested. When he left the country in 1963 he had been banned for a decade. But in 1956 he did manage to attend the famous Bandung Conference of Non-Aligned States and thereby helped to integrate the ANC into the world-wide anti-imperialist movement of our times. When in the late 50's it became clear that there was a possibility of the ANC being banned, Moses served on a committee which worked out a new underground structure which would serve in the event of the ANC being declared illegal.

It was at the historic 1962 conference in Lobatsi (Botswana) - the first conference

held when our organisation was banned that O.R. Tambo as head of the External Mission indicated to Moses Kotane that he needed his (Kotane's) assistance in the work of the External Mission. After consultation with the ANC leadership inside the country Moses Kotane left the country to come and assist in the work of our External Mission. Kotane's presence in the work of the External Mission proved to be invaluable. The positive role played by the ANC delegation at the AAPSO meeting held in Moshi (Tanzania) in 1963 was enhanced partly by the presence of Moses Kotane in the ANC delegation - a delegation which was led by O.R. Tambo. Since then Kotane has undertaken various missions on behalf of the ANC.

From December 1965 to December 1968 Moses Kotane was based in Morogoro (Tanzania). He was the ANC Treasurer-General at Headquarters. Kotane worked until late in the night. He permitted himself no time to rest and even resisted all attempts to persuade him to go for holidays. His sense of discipline or to be more precise his sense of self-discipline sense of discipline or to be more precise self-discipline forced him to work without a break. He expected his colleagues to do the same: He was a strict disciplinarian.

The "Morogoro period" was perhaps the most difficult in the history of the ANC. Yet it was during this period that his supreme qualities of leadership emerged. He and Uncle J.B. Marks were by far senior to all those they worked with. Yet they treated them as equals and comrades sharing common experiences and wisdom.

Moses Kotane's contribution to our movement and struggle is immense: he was an activist and a theoretician; publicist and polemicist; aggressive debater, and an administrator; a man who hated sectarianism of any type. He was a communist, a Marxist-Leninist and at the same time a member of the ANC par excellence. He did not "support" the ANC but was himself a personification of the ANC; a man who attached so much importance to the national liberation of the African people, especially the African workers. His conviction, devotion, dedication and commitment to the cause of his people was to him more



Kotane being welcomed in Johannesburg on his return from Bandung

than just a question of principle: it was a way of life. As a member of the most oppressed and exploited group, he saw this as his duty. As a Marxist-Leninist he saw the question of the liberation of the African people and all nationally oppressed Blacks as the primary task of our revolution; an application of Marxism-Leninism to concrete South African conditions; a precondition for the liberation of the South African working class and a cornerstone of proletarian internationalism as applied to our concrete situation. His internationalism strengthened his patriotism!

That is why he saw no contradiction and conflict in being an ANC member and a communist. On the contrary, he maintained that the CP is inseparable from the ANC and vice versa. Moses Kotane became a confidant of the ANC President-General,

Albert Luthuli who relied so much on him. Kotane's clear insight into the problems of our movement developed in him what we call a foresight; almost a premonition.

His death has robbed us of a political giant, a man who has emerged from the womb of our movement, growing with it; contributing to its growth in an almost unique manner and literally being taught everything he knew by the movement and our people whom he served so loyally and taught so enthusiastically. Our people are proud of having given birth to such a noble son. Let us all follow his example! Moses Kotane is survived by his wife Rebecca, and his sons Leni, Joseph, Sam and Isaac.

STEVE BIKO AND BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS

Biko by Donald Woods, Paddington Press Ltd, New York and London, 1978.

No. 46 — Steve Biko by Hilda Bernstein, International Defence and Aid Fund, London 1978.

Towards the end of last year the South African racists became more and more arrogant. The wholesale bannings of 18 black organisations, covering student and youth movements, welfare organisations, charitable and church groups, associations of writers, journalists, and women, cultural and black consciousness organisations and two black newspapers showed clearly that the racist regime of Vorster is not prepared to tolerate anything even the peaceful voices and forms of cultural and national expression voluntarily chosen by the people.

Whilst we were still shocked by this act, Vorster held his all-white elections where he told his white electorate: "There is no middle road!". They voted for him. Since then much has happened and is still happening.

The emergence of "Black Consciousness" towards the end of the 60's and its development in the 70's was one of the most dynamic phenomena to have taken place in our country. From its inception in 1968 up until 1971 SASO was confined to the campuses and then they decided to "go out into the community". But this could not be realised fully because "Black Consciousness" did not have a clear programme defining its goals and methods of achieving them; it was not an homogeneous group capable of acting in a coordinated fashion and failed to develop roots in the masses and did not muster all the forces - black white - that can bring about change in South Africa. There was also the question of the racist onslaught: many leaders of this

organisation were arrested, harrassed and banned. This gave rise to problems of continuity of leadership and financial problems: the amount of money and time spent on the defence of leaders and activists affected the smooth-running of the organisation as a whole. In short, "Black Consciousness" - unclear eclectic and contradictory as it was - expressed an attempt by the young black intelligentsia to define themselves in the context of institutionalised racism in South Africa. These were courageous and hard working young men and women whose ideology was not anti-white as such but directed against white racism and white liberals in South Africa.

Stephen Bantu Biko was born in Kingwilliamstown, Cape Province, on December 18, 1944; went to Lovedale, where he remained for three months and then moved to Marianhill in Natal. In 1966 he enrolled as a student at the University of Natal to study medicine. He was doing his third year when he left the university.

He involved himself in the politics of the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), a predominantly white liberal student body, but later became disillusioned with this organisation and formed the all-black South African Student's Organisation (SASO) in 1968. He was instrumental in the formation of the Black People's Convention (BPC) - which at its Durban congress in 1976 elected him Honorary President. In 1972 Steve Biko worked for the Black Community Programmes in Durban and also helped in publishing "Black Review", a political analysis of the different trends and tendencies in South Africa. It was subsequently banned and Steve Biko, together with his comrades was served with banning orders. He was restricted to Kingwilliamstown, his home town. It was in 1975 that he founded the Zimele Trust Fund (Zimele means stand on your own



"BIKO HAD THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHT' TO 'STARVE' HIMSELF TO DEATH." --POLICE MINISTER KRUGER

feet) to help political prisoners and their families and in 1976 he became the Secretary-General of the Trust Fund.

Steve Biko's short life is full of incidents: he was an intellectual who did not fear to stand for the rights and articulate the aspirations of his people and for this he was arrested, detained, banned and imprisoned many times - the last time being on August 18, 1977 and on September 12, 1977 he "died of hunger strike".

This story is told in detail by two South African journalists and writers, Donald Woods, a white liberal former editor of the East London Daily Dispatch and a friend of Steve Biko and Hilda Bernstein, an active supporter of our movement.

The two books have much in common: exposure of the system; the brutality of the unrepentant Special Branch and interrogators; the lies, inconsistencies and contradictory evidence of the doctors and the arrogance of Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Police. Steve Biko died naked, lying on a mat with head injury and brain damage.

Donald Woods' book is disappointing in many respects. His historical background to the rise of the "Black Consciousness" movement and especially on the history of the ANC and the historic Rivonia speech by Nelson Mandela, is flat: the masses play no role, on the contrary he says;

"South African history will one day accord full and due honour to the distinguished roll of courageous leaders who devoted their energies to the cause of their people... I believe, though, that Steve Biko will be accorded a special place in our national history, not only because of his own remarkable qualities, but because he was to become the first of these major leaders to die at the hands of the state". (p29-30)

In the book he expresses his pacifist views: "unless the Nationalists can be compelled, soon, to the negotiating table to discuss and implement significant concessions granting at least minimal democratic rights to blacks, there will inevitably be racial war in South Africa". (p270)

This is a gross distortion of the aims of our movement. Our strategic goal is seizure of power and forcible transfer of power from the fascist, racist minority regime into



“The future belongs to the young...”

the hands of the democratic majority and a creation of a people's democracy which means and presupposes all-round defeat of the racist colonialist regime and its elimination: dismantling the political, economic, cultural and other formations and structures of fascist rule; it also necessitates the smashing of the state machinery of fascism and constructions of a new one committed to the defence and advance of the people's cause. Our tactic is armed struggle which draws in all the revolutionary forces, particularly the black working people, into one concerted action to dislodge the oppressors from all their decisive positions of strength, from all the decisive positions of statepower.

In other words we are not aiming at “compelling the Nationalists to negotiate” with us for “significant concessions granting at least minimal democratic rights”. As for the so-called “racial war” it is found neither in our documents nor in our thinking. We are fighting an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist war. That is why

the ANC felt and still feels “Black Consciousness” and Steve Biko belong to this broad front of all genuine patriots and revolutionaries headed by the ANC.

The way out of this cul de sac is armed struggle and the Soweto events and what happened later do indicate that it is not enough to die for freedom: the leaders and organisations of the black people of South Africa have to mobilise the people and train them militarily so as to confront the enemy on equal terms. The future of South Africa lies in the implementation of the Freedom Charter. The methods and forms of struggle to achieve our strategic goals are to be found in our “Strategy and Tactics” document which was adopted at the Morogoro Conference in 1969.

The two books, despite the weaknesses, short-comings and limitations, do give us an insight into the machinations of the racist Vorster regime.

F.M.

DIALOGUE WITH A BLACK POLITICAL PRISONER

This poem is dedicated to Nelson Mandela.

James Berry was born in Jamaica, has lived in the United States and many years now in England. Among his publications is Bluefoot Traveller an anthology of UK Caribbean poetry.

1
In my mind I visit you here
in walls within walls.
Caring stirred your long
crucifixion. I look
at you. I listen.
You speak as if
to no one:

White skin is a vice.
Black skin is a vice.
My nation is burdened
with vices of skin,
with killing virtues,
to still a people
like an old picture.

And in the flattening
of the mountains
and the arresting
of the waves and minds
I do not go with a word.
I have a night
a starless night given me
as a dateless calendar.

2
I am here a second night
to see you, momentous man.
You breathed breath of Bambata
and Dingane, Makana and Hinsta,
Dalasile and Mzilikazi,
Sekhukhuni and Moshoeshoe.
60 You grew guarded by the chief.

A people's voice waited on your tongue.
I will hear the words
of inarticulate silences.
You answer:

Where's the good news
I thought I brought,
once a fire in my belly?

A new day was never easy
to fathom. An end
so readily appears a mirage
to combat
as if with valid momentum.

And good people support
recklessness. Good
people avoid their vision.

And I, not a piece of land
or a mule
or nuggets found,
am neither host nor guest
but a forfeited servant
making no pace with time,
building toy houses with
the same bricks everyday.

I too am voiceless,
my stream of mind sealed
and drained. My breath
is boarded up. My muteness
keeps a State secure.

I say to you:
you exposed the character of freedom.
You inspired the acts
of freedom. Your words propagate
words: you left them like
a summer's ripened grain
arrayed before the court

at your crucial time.
You answer:

I was pure then, pure
as a flame unflickering,
as if linked with the sun.
I stood beyond myself -
doomed fearlessness.

Can't live in echoes
of my crucial days.
Can't try not to see
my shrivelling prime.
Every sign is abrasive,
every edge coarse.
Movements kill my touch.
Time beats me blunt.

The sea washes round
an establishment here -
breath of slaves,
breath of idealists,
breath of lunatics
and men of another race
of men, my lords.

At the centre innocently
the sun drops fire
round our quarried hole,
our testament of sweat,
our testament of waste
that we widen and widen.

3
I am here a third night
to see you.
Releasing is your challenge.
Walls within walls challenge you
with waiting gunfire,
yet you smile.

You answer:

I saw my love today,
glimpsed her intensely
through bars and guards.
If I am here twenty years
I shall glimpse her
ten days intensely.

It is never the pride of power,
the misuse of knowledge
or the array of war that arouses
my sound fruit of love
but each echo of her touch
repeating.

4

I am here a fourth night
to see you.
The helpless committed you.
I will hear you.

No last day to contemplate
you stand before your black calendar.
You don't look at me.
Your silence is long.
I leave you in silence.

5

I am here a fifth night
to see you.
I don't know what to say.
A restlessness haunts you.
Your strongest voice encircles me:

In this
our future
the green and the green
arrive
to confrontation.



A
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And pageants that mark our history
applaud my failures.

And my nation plans.
My nation plans with
faces of men confident as Moses,
rigorous as monks,
impelled as Napoleon.

And the voices, the invested voices
from dustless chambers
institute an old wild wish.

6
I am here a sixth night
to see you.
Destinies of hurt haunt me.
I will arouse you.
I will have every word you contain.

Tonight you are like
a hollow tree
housing hives of bees.
You say:

There is only hollowness.
Created trifles unravel a man,
make him murder time,
make him measure himself
gently to nothing.

His nation arranges poverty.
His nation organises
failures of the neighbour.
His nation organises
a burden to grow,
a burden to love
and the missed ways of friendship.
And nobody is non-black,
the masses non-whites.

Could I have followed
same tracks of life
and made them highways?

Could I have seemed whole
in the clear mirror of some minds
who would prevent this burden?

7
I am here a seventh night
to see you.
Tonight you are the chief,
like a tree dressed
with dying leaves.
You say:

It's not the dying leaves that cling.
Burdened with a symbol of dark,
burdened with a symbol of light,
one tribe carries the other's load.

Nights bring no quiet.
The dazzle of day hurts me.
Mornings don't thrust me
into my sandals now.
No rhythm in flight,
doves of my thoughts are dead.
I pass on absence.

You do not pass on absence.
You exposed the character of freedom.
You inspired the acts of freedom.
You left your words
from a crucial time,
son of Africa.

James Berry.

SOLOMON MAHLANGU

Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu was born in Mamelodi, Pretoria on October 10, 1956. He started schooling in Mamelodi and had his first year of matriculation when the student's uprising of June 1976 broke out. This uprising started as a protest against compulsory introduction of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African schools in the Transvaal. As the campaign developed, it became clear that it was more than a protest against the Afrikaans language. It was basically a protest against the whole system of Bantu Education, designed to train the African population for serfdom in Apartheid South Africa. The students, youth and workers were demonstrating their total rejection of the Apartheid system itself.

As the campaign spread, Solomon Mahlangu became more and more involved in the protest as it swept through the schools and streets of Soweto and other African townships.

The frightened and trigger-happy police opened fire, killing hundreds of our people and wounding thousands.

The students hit back with sticks, stones and everything they could come across. Solomon Mahlangu was involved in all this but soon realised that, unarmed and untrained the students could not succeed - he together with his friends, decided to join the ANC: the national liberation movement.

He left South Africa in October 1976 and joined the ranks of the ANC. In South Africa they had often heard talk of heroic struggles of the ANC and deeds of men like Mandela, Sisulu and others. Solomon Mahlangu and his friends organised themselves into a political discussion group in search of an answer to the burning problems of our country. Now they had to take action in support of their beliefs.

He was trained in Umkhonto we Sizwe and during their training he showed devotion and dedication to his people's cause and excelled in all subjects. In June 1977, after completing his training, he was infiltrated back into South Africa together with Mondy Motlounq.

What happened in Goch Street is known



to all of us - Sechaba reported this incident in previous issues.

Solomon Mahlangu displayed the utmost courage during his trial, while under torture and refused to be broken. When finally brought to court he pleaded "not guilty" to the charges.

Solomon Mahlangu has been sentenced to death. His fate depends on pressure public opinion in South Africa and abroad can bring to bear on the Vorster regime.

On the 15th of June 1978, Solomon Mahlangu was refused leave to appeal against the death sentence. Only the last stage of appeal to Vorster's Chief Justice remains before the racists can murder our comrade.

The ANC calls on all progressive forces to redouble their efforts to isolate the racist regime of Vorster and expose its terror tactics.

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