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# SECHABA

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national congress south africa

**DUMA NOKWE**



**1927-1978**

# SECHABA

Second Quarter 1978

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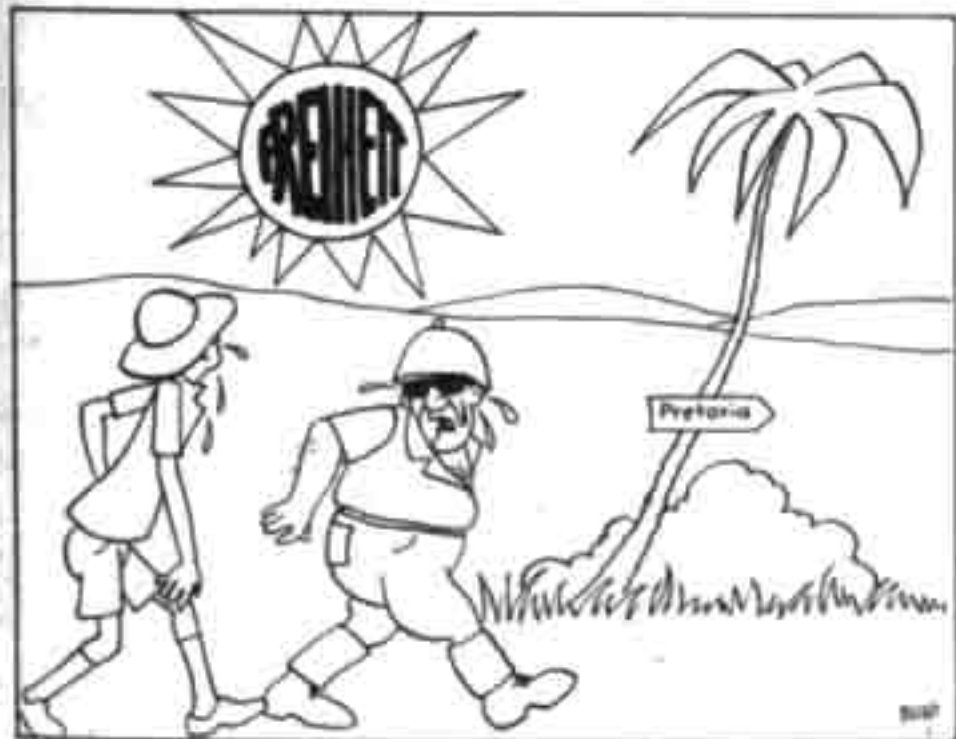
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# WE WILL PUNISH THE CRIMINALS

... Solomon Mahlangu must be saved from the gallows. Protest, give material and political support to the ANC ...



I believe, my son, that the ground is getting hotter by the day

In our last issue of Sechaba we published a list of patriots who "died in detention". Without exception they were all Blacks. The reasons for their death are given as slipping in showers; suffocation during an epileptic fit; pleurisy; thrombosis, heart failure; "collapse"; so-called "natural or even "unknown illness" or at times the cause is simply undisclosed. Some have simply fallen over a chair and died! The list is a long one.

No one was found guilty - not even the policemen. We know of the case of Iman Haron, the Cape Town Moslem leader, who "fell down a flight of stairs" in September 1969. The inquest found he had, among other injuries, 26 separate bruises on his body and that not all of these could have been caused by the fall. The widow received only an ex-gratia payment of R5000. Yet nobody was responsible for his death! Not even for the death of James Lenkoe, a Terrorism Act detainee who was said to have hanged himself in March 1969 and the inquest had medical evidence concerning burns on his toe which according to this evidence, had been caused by electricity. What about Ahmed Timol, a detainee under the Terrorism Act, who died in October 1971 after a fall from the tenth floor of John Vorster Square where he was being interrogated? Or Luke Mazwembe, who was first killed and then "hanged" to fake a suicide? Or Dr Nabaoth Ntshuntsha, a Soweto homeopath, who according to the police hanged himself with his vest in the empty police cells at Leslie on January 8, 1977 - three weeks after his arrest? Or Comrade Lawrence Ndzanga, an ANC leader and member of the National Executive Committee of SACTU who according to the police, "collapsed and died"? The case of Steve Biko who "died of hunger strike" is still fresh in our minds.

Now they want to take the tender life of Solomon Mahlangu; an ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre; a young man of 21 whose only "crime" is his love for freedom in the land of his birth.

This is not the first time that the racists sentence our people to death. The names of Mini, Mkhaba, Khayinga, Peter, Ndongeni and Bongco who were executed in the

sixties for their ANC activities can never be eradicated from our memories. Nor can we forget our martyrs: Albert Lutuli, Bram Fischer, Monty Naicker and others or those gallant heroes of Umkhonto we Sizwe who fell in Wankie and other places in Zimbabwe in 1967/68 especially the members of the Lutuli Combat Detachment which was involved in a six-hour gun battle in the heart of Zimbabwe. What is usually described as "Wankie Campaigns" is a living symbol and embodiment of the dauntlessness, courage and self-sacrifice which the sons and daughters of our people - "the cream of our society" - showed during those trying times. The names of Andries Motsepe, Patrick Moloao, Benson Ntsele, Paul Peterson and many others are household names in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the whole liberation movement. Some of our comrades who fought in Zimbabwe are still languishing in Smith's gaols - others have died far away from their homes. Nobody knows where their graves are. This list includes those who died in exile: Robert Resha, Michael Harmel, Jack Hodgson and Duma Nokwe. The spirit of Uncle J. B. Marks will always be with us.

What about our heroes who are now languishing on Robben Island: Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Mhlaba, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni, Mkwazi and many others? And our comrades in Pretoria Local Prison: Goldberg, Kitson, Suttner, Rabkin, Cronin and others?

Solomon Mahlangu must be saved from the gallows. Protest, send petitions, demonstrate, give material and political support to the ANC; support armed struggle in South Africa; demand the release of all political prisoners and an end of all political trials in South Africa! Remember: 1978 is International Anti-Apartheid Year!

How on earth can humanity allow the crime of Apartheid to continue? How long will this crime continue?

We on our part pledge persistent action which will culminate in the punishment of those who have set themselves up as hangmen of our freedom fighters. Power will belong to the People - the ANC will punish these criminals!



The National Executive Committee meeting held in Lusaka from the 25th to 28th January 1978 decided to appoint:

*Dan Tloome as Deputy Secretary General and Deputy Treasurer General.*

*Joe Nhlanhla as Administrative Secretary at the Secretary General's office.*

*Moosajee as Administrative Secretary : Treasurer general's office.*

*J. Jele: as Head of the International Department.*

*Eddie Funde as Head of Youth and Students Department.*

*Tebello Motaponyana as Deputy Head.*

*Pappy Moloto as Administrative Secretary.*

*Chief Representatives:*

*Mark Shope . . . . . Nigeria*

*Max Moabi . . . . . Angola*

*Cap Zungu . . . . . United Kingdom*

*Moosie Moola . . . . . Egypt and Middle East*

*Tony Mongalo . . . . . USA and UN.*

# APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM  
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

**" . . . these new moves by the racists must be seen as a further consolidation of fascist tyranny . . . "**

New laws are being enacted by the apartheid regime which entrench national and racial oppression and represent a further attack on the rights of the working people. These laws come from a system in crisis.

The South African economy is at a very low ebb. Returns on investment in the apartheid regime have fallen from over 18% in the 1960's, to just over 8%; inflation has been steadily rising; the balance of payments has been in deficit and unemployment has reached enormous proportions. On the question of less foreign investment and the outflow of capital from the country, the racists have to admit that one of the root causes is the political challenge being posed by the oppressed people of South Africa. Our people continue to shake the hated system of apartheid to its very foundations.

The world should be aware of the fascist response to the twin problems of political unrest and economic instability. These measures which deepen the national oppression of the African people, depriving us of 'citizenship' in the land of our birth, and attack the few remaining rights of all nationally oppressed working people, make us aware of the need to combine more than ever before, the two aspects of our struggle: National liberation and class struggle.

The crisis in South Africa obviously affects different sections of the population in different ways. While the white businessmen debate the problems of continuing the super-exploitation of our people effectively, the oppressed themselves are facing massive unemployment. In the town alone black unemployment has been estimated at over

2 million or 20% of the working population.

One of the new measures to deal with people who are denied the right to work is a Bill whose content is blatantly fascist. Black people who are unemployed for more than four months in any single year face ARREST in terms of the 'Bantu Homelands Citizenship Amendment Bill' now before the all-white parliament. The four months need not be consecutive but can be a total of four months or 122 days in any one year. We are no longer unemployed but 'idle Bantu' and this new Bill encourages conviction for so-called first offenders.

It has been a feature of apartheid colonialism that most of our people convicted for 'crimes' by the state are merely paying the penalty of their colour. But these new moves by the racists must be seen as a further consolidation of fascist tyranny. They clearly expose the real nature of apartheid and demonstrate how national oppression is used to keep the profits flowing. The punishments meted out for being unemployed will be: Detention in a rehabilitation centre or farm colony or "similar institution established or approved under the Prisons Act"; Performance of prescribed labour at any rural village, settlement or rehabilitation scheme within a "Bantu area". Unemployed people are being forced to give their labour away for nothing - to keep the racists' coffers full.

Another effect of the Bill, which is a proposed amendment to the Bantu Urban Areas Act of 1945 - further threatens the rights of permanent residence for people born in townships like Soweto. The racists sound more and more arrogant. Connie

Mulder, now Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, recently pronounced that: "No black would have South African citizenship when National Party policy was carried out to its full consequences". We can assure the Minister that the policies of white supremacy are on the way out in Southern Africa. These measures themselves reflect the oppressors' relative weakness and desperation to find a way out of the crisis.

The fact is that the racists see in this move a chance to clear out all militant protest from the towns and relegate it to penal slavery or to starvation in one of the bantustans. They see it as their chance to push out all the working men and women who have been steeled in urban struggle and all the students and pupils who have been using the boycott weapon. Fascist policy aims to 'rid' the cities and farms of all Africans, except those who provide labour.

This enemy offensive will not deter us from our efforts to raise the level of struggle and will make more unshakeable our resolve to fight for the creation of a People's South Africa where "the state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits".

The racists' drive against those living in the urban areas is based on the concrete problems they are having in containing the uprisings. The battle-ground has been extended: out of the ghettos and right into the heart of the white areas. This has really dealt a blow to the confidence of white supremacy. 1977 saw a steady increase in the number of bomb explosions inside South Africa and the onslaught will continue to rise in the foreseeable future. The enemy admits to more than 30 acts of sabotage over the past 18 months, which it attributes to the ANC. But what the regime admits is only 'the tip of the iceberg' - innumerable armed actions are suppressed for the obvious

Soweto, August 76, our youth demonstrate their militancy in their call "Release Detainees"



**"it is vital that we step up mass resistance. 1978 must go down in history as anti-apartheid year . . ."**

reason that if they were publicized there would be panic in the country.

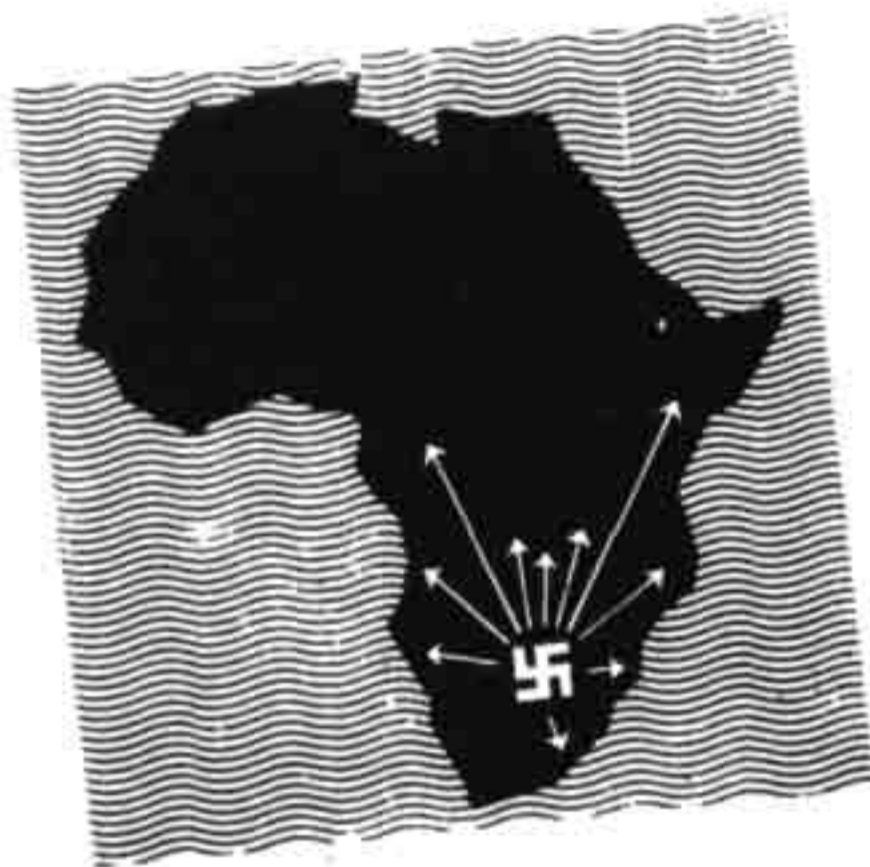
One spate of actions we did hear about had the enemy on the run. These took place in November and December of last year and were signalled by a bomb explosion in the Johannesburg Carlton Centre on November 24th 1977. Six days later, a mailbag exploded on a train in Irene station. On December 6th an explosion took place outside the Germiston police station and two days later the Benoni railway station was bombed.

It is clear that our underground machinery is alive and that more and more people are learning how to organise clandestinely. This is also reflected in the distribution of the Movements' propaganda inside the country. Thousands of ANC leaflets are being circulated throughout South Africa and the enemy is forced to admit that these are being read in 'most black townships near cities'. One leaflet to mark the beginning of 1978, Apartheid Year, addresses itself to all sections of the population and points the way forward:

**BROTHERS AND SISTERS!** While the fascist bosses get fat over their christmas turkeys, the working people of South Africa reel under increasing burdens, bringing many of us to the point of despair. Our militants are rotting in the racists' prisons. Throughout the land, deaths, detentions, harassments, humiliations, unemployment and starvation and ruin for millions of us the so-called 'holiday season'. We cannot bear this oppression any longer. Recent events have shaken the fascists as never before, but it is vital that we step up our mass resistance to the Apartheid state. 1978 must go down in the history books as **ANTI-APARTHEID YEAR!**

**WORKERS OF ALL RACES!** A falling standard of living and the prospect of unemployment are all that South Africa's capitalist economy has to offer you in the

predicted years of economic crisis ahead. Only a strong united working class can win the fulfilment of your deepest wishes. Rally behind the banner of SACTU, the South African Congress of Trade Unions. Use the powerful strike weapon to force through your economic demands and the programme enshrined in the **FREEDOM CHARTER.**



**STUDENTS AND PUPILS OF ALL RACES!** Reject the fascist education system that is forced down your throats. Whether you are subject to Bantu Education or Christian National Education, it is 3rd-rate education designed to support an unjust system. Use the boycott weapon, raise your voices and demand a single, free, compulsory national education system, founded in a society which allows you actually to benefit from what you must study so hard and for so many years.

**WOMEN OF ALL RACES!** For as long as the Apartheid state continues to exist, you will be faced with sex discrimination in wages, employment opportunities, legal matters and many other areas. Fight for a state where all forms of discrimination including sex discrimination and sexism will be outlawed forever.

**SOUTH AFRICAN SOLDIERS!** You are being killed and maimed for a regime whose every temporary victory only holds out the prospect of further bloodshed, in foreign lands, against foreign peoples who are only fighting for their freedom. There is no hope of crushing the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. You are only fighting for the interests of the monopoly capitalists and their British, French, American and other imperialist backers. Stop the fighting! Draftees, you must evade this so-called 'National Service', or else sabotage the racist war machine from within!

**POLICEMEN!** Stop shooting unarmed men, women and children. Stop harassing

the people. Some of you do not even have roofs over your heads. Apartheid has nothing for you. Turn your activities against your masters! Come over to the side of the people.

The **AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS** representing the most oppressed section of our people, leads the South African liberation movement against all the sham institutions held out to us by the fascists - Bantustans, CRC, South African Indian Council, new constitutional 'proposals', and so on. There will be no resting until all the people have full rights in a society based on the will of all the people. We shall create a People's Republic!

**Racist forces repress brutally but have no hope of crushing the liberation struggle**





“... the ANC leads the South African liberation movement  
against all sham institutions ...”

**THE VICTORY OF OUR CAUSE IS CERTAIN!** No power on earth is able to hold down an oppressed people forever. This country was colonized by force, the regime is maintained in power by force, and it will be thrown out by force. The use of force to achieve Freedom is not of our choosing. The strategy of armed struggle was initiated only after the ANC was declared illegal and so forced underground, and only after decades of peaceful demands for the ending of racial and colonial oppression yielded no improvement.

**UMKHONTO WE SIZWE (MK)** is the People's liberation army of S.A. MK is the fighting arm of the people that will bring the arrogant racist bosses to their knees. Since the uprisings beginning June 16 1976, its ranks have grown as never before. It is the duty of all the oppressed in S.A. to join MK. Everyone must become a freedom fighter!

**VORSTER AND HIS TERRORISTS MUST BE SWEEPED AWAY!** It is not the militants in the liberation movement who are the terrorists. It is not us who murdered Steve Biko and scores of others in S.A. jails, it is not us who caused rivers of blood to flow in the streets of the townships. We do not send poisoned clothing to little girls, blow up exiled student leaders with parcel bombs, or launch genocidal wars of aggression against foreign peoples. The thugs who commit these crimes are the supporters of the fascist state, not its opponents.

**UMKHONTO WE SIZWE PUTS WEAPONS INTO THE EAGERLY AWAITING HANDS OF THE PEOPLE, ALLOWING US TO CONFRONT THE FASCIST TERRORISTS WITH THE ONLY LANGUAGE THEY UNDERSTAND.** Only when we have achieved a government based on the will of all the people will we lay down our arms!

**DIE STRYD DUUR VOORT!  
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!  
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!**

## GOGH STREET SENTENCE

Our movements' activities are always reflected in the political trials taking place at home. Once such trial which we reported in the last issue of Sechaba has come to a close. Democratic world opinion was shocked to hear of the brutal sentence passed on Solomon Mahlangu, a young man of 21 years.

As usual the South African press saw in this incident another sensational "news item" with "appealing" headlines: "Gogh Street killing"; "Arms cache in groceries"; "Blacks with machine guns of communist origin". They fail to analyse the causes that led to the Gogh Street Incident. They are reluctant to identify the cause of the crisis in South Africa and are unwilling to show the way out of the crisis. They concentrate on side issues like "How the terrorists attacked" and hair-raising "experiences" of machine gun and hand grenade attacks and thereby conceal the real issue like why "urban unrest" - and this unrest is not confined to the cities - has captured the minds of the Blacks in South Africa.

Gogh Street is one of the streets in the centre of Johannesburg. It so happened that on Monday, June 13, 1977 - 3 days before the commemoration of the 1976 Soweto uprising - three young Blacks: Mondy Johannes Motloun, 20, of Duduza, Nigel; Solomon Mahlangu, 21, of Mamelodi, Pretoria and Lucky Mahlangu, of Duduza, Nigel, were confronted by plain clothes policemen at a taxi rank in Johannesburg. These Special Branch men stopped them and attempted to search their bag and a scuffle and "confusion" arose. In that confusion Lucky Mahlangu escaped; two whites died and two were injured. It is reported that: "Mr Mahlangu said he ran into John Orr's garage, climbed a back wall into a bottling

company and hid among some crates. He heard shots and an explosion. Then he heard Mr Motlounng screaming and realised he had been captured. He decided to give himself up to the police..."

Since then our comrades have been tortured in Leeuwkop Prison and at the Fort in Johannesburg. We know that Mahlangus' attorney, Mr C. Mailer, was not

informed about their date of appearance in court even though the Security Police had known for some time that they were being legally represented. Since June 13, when they were detained in terms of Section 6 of the notorious Terrorism Act, they were not allowed to be seen by any member of the community including their lawyers. They did not even know that they were being legally represented. The attorneys first heard of their court appearance "after reading a report about it in the Star".

Their case was postponed until October 4, 1977 in the Kempton Park Circuit Court. Later, on November 29, it was postponed until February 13 and the State Prosecutor Saunders, announced that Comrade Mondy Johannes Motlounng was "under psychiatric observation". Later we heard that Mondy "was declared unfit to stand trial due to brain damage". He was assaulted and threatened with death if he did not make a false statement. We know that in John Vorster Square that was more than just a threat.

Black Security police sergeants were used as interpreters and the statements were recorded - tapes which were to be given back to the police. This disproved the so-called "impartiality" of the magistrates. They collaborated with the police force. It is reported that Mahlangu had been starved for a few days after his arrest and had been given nothing to drink on the day of his arrest.

Our comrades appeared before Justice Theron and 2 assessors on 9 charges of murder, attempted murder and taking part in "terrorist activities": committing acts which "would endanger the maintenance of good law and order in South Africa"; "they came to South Africa via Swaziland with the intention to kill members of the South African public, or seriously wound them, damage their property and overthrow the Government of South Africa".

Solomon Mahlangu was sentenced to death for a crime which the judge admitted he had not committed - under the charge of murder. He pleaded "not guilty" and as the death sentence was passed he raised his clenched fist and shouted "Amandla!"



# A FUTURE FREE OF EXPLOITATION

**"We in Southern Africa are all pledged to fight for the creation of new socio-economic systems . . ."**

ANC President, Comrade Oliver Tambo addresses the First Congress of MPLA which took place in Luanda, in December 1977.

Comrade President Agostino Neto,  
Comrade Members of the Presidium of the Congress,  
Comrades Militants and Combatants of MPLA

Comrades and Friends:

We bring to this historic First Congress of the MPLA warmest and most fraternal greetings from the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, from its militants and combatants, from the workers and peasants, the women and the youth; from the entire struggling people of South Africa.

We feel genuinely proud that we are active participants in the making of African history here in Angola at this time.

The heroic anti-colonial struggles of the peoples of Africa for national independence, including, in particular, the armed struggles of the people of Algeria, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique, culminated in the epoch-making collapse of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. The earth-shaking victories of FRELIMO and MPLA brought Southern Africa to the crossroads. But the revolutionary experience accumulated during the liberation wars ensured that the people's advance towards social emancipation would not be halted.

Thus it is that as the year 1977 opened with the 3rd Congress of FRELIMO, so it is ending with the 1st Congress of MPLA. Both Congresses are the collective voice

of the Mozambican and Angolan peoples, proclaiming the continuation of the revolutionary struggle at a higher plain, more arduous but no less glorious than the earlier struggles. The historic significance of the 1st CONGRESS of MPLA is precisely that, for Southern Africa, like the FRELIMO Congress, it blazes a new trail out of the cross-roads towards the conquest of a socialist future for the peoples - *a future free of exploitation.*

Our esteemed Leader, Friend and Comrade President Agostinho Neto, expressed a key and important truth when he said in one of his statements that the victory of the Angolan people was "a victory of the peoples advancing towards progress".

This first Congress of MPLA is a victory of the Angolan people. It is also a victory of all the peoples, including the peoples of South Africa, who are pledged to fight for the creation of new socio-economic systems which will be characterised by the abolition of exploitation of man by man through ownership of productive wealth by the people themselves; characterised as well by the self-government of the ordinary working people through the institution of popular power and characterised also by a commitment to strive for a world that has been rid of the parasites that have imposed on all of us; fascism, racism and apartheid, deprivation and backwardness, ignorance, superstition and destructive wars.

Angola's orientation towards the social emancipation of her people has therefore, like Mozambique, brought to the fore, in our region, the confrontation between the liberating theory and practice of socialism

and the oppressive, exploitative and anti-human system of capitalism.

This latter social system is of course represented, par-excellence, by racist South Africa itself. Hence today the open and sharp confrontations between People's Angola and Mozambique on the one side and fascist South Africa and colonial Rhodesia on the other.

Given such a juxtaposition of two diametrically opposed social systems within the same region of Southern Africa, conflict and confrontation become inevitable.

But of major importance for us in understanding the nature of this confrontation, is the fact that the victories of the MPLA and FRELIMO have become a key factor in the politics of the racist regime within its own ranks and generally inside the boundaries of racist South Africa.

These victories have helped to deepen the general crisis of the apartheid colonial system : they have in the actuality of

South African politics helped to strengthen the forces of progress and severely weaken the forces of reaction.

In that fact lies the fundamental reason for the desperate determination of the Vorster regime to destroy these two People's Republics. In that also lies essentially the reason why we of the African National Congress join voices with Comrade President Neto in saying - the victory of the Angolan people is indeed truly our own as well.

In the very first hours of its existence, people's Angola had to defend itself against the massive military onslaught of a mature but decaying imperialist system. The trials that confronted the MPLA even before November 11, 1975, right through to 1976 when the racist oppressor army of the Vorster regime was evicted from Angola, were not a test solely of the valour and military preparedness of MPLA and the people of Angola.

More significant in the longer term, the

President Oliver Tambo salutes the MPLA Congress in Luanda



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**"The ANC in South Africa represents the kind of life Angolans and Mozambicans strive to build . . ."**

---

attempted military destruction of the People's Republic posed the question on the battlefield - had the time come for the birth of the new liberating social system in Angola?

Or was the balance of forces still such that moribund imperialism, with its oppressive and exploitative system of social relations would continue to hold sway, dictating to the people of Angola what kind of independence they should have?

The results of that contest have now become a matter of proud historical record. Progress triumphed over reaction, thanks to the heroic sacrifices of the people of Angola, supported by their progressive African allies, by Cuba, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and by all peoples advancing towards progress.

What started as a triumphant march by the forces of reaction into the heart of Angola ended up with a deeper crisis for the Vorster regime inside South Africa itself.

The humiliating defeat of Vorster's army was at the same time defeat for the social system for which that army had been created, trained and armed to defend.

The myth of the invincibility of the racist army was destroyed for ever. For the fascist regime of John Vorster, whose ultimate and principal means of survival is naked brute force, this was a stunning blow.

It proved to our own people, as well as to the more far-seeing sections of the oppressor population including especially the youth, that in the confrontation with the forces of progress, the fascist state is destined inevitably to lose, wherever that confrontation takes place, but above all, and especially, within South Africa itself.

Today the fascist regime is haunted by the spectre that large sections of the white population will, as the struggle intensifies, refuse to be used as cannon fodder to protect the interests of big capital and fascist domination. Already, thousands of white South Africans have left and are

leaving the country. The regime stands in dread fear of the further narrowing of the social base of the system of apartheid domination. In this context, therefore, the so-called landslide victory scored by the Afrikaner Nationalist Party during the recent racist elections in South Africa can only be fragile and temporary.

Terrified at the prospect of the victory of the forces of progress within the country in the aftermath and as a direct continuation of the popular victory in Angola, the Vorster regime unleashed the bloody terror that is today symbolised by SOWETO.

By this brutal means the enemy thought he would solve that part of his crisis which is characterised by the ready acceptance among our people of the liberating ideas and the revolutionary practice of the MPLA.

The regime also thought that through the ruthless massacre of our people, it would once again re-establish the terrorist military and political authority that the regime's armed forces lost on the battlefields of Angola.

Inevitably, the racist regime has failed dismally to achieve any of these objectives. So entrenched has the spirit of revolution among the people become that the enemy has been compelled to take extreme measures against even those who still preached peaceful transition to democratic rule.

The African National Congress with its allies, is the representative inside apartheid South Africa of the kind of life that the people of Angola and Mozambique are striving to build, the kind of life that all peoples advancing towards progress aim for. Exactly because of this, its authority among the broad masses of our people has risen so high and has proved so indestructible that the enemy himself has had to admit this fact openly and repeatedly.

Instead of submitting to an already disproved invincibility of fascist arms, the best sons and daughters of our people

have responded with enthusiasm to our call to them to swell the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our own\* people's army, the military wing of the ANC and to confront the enemy with revolutionary arms now.

The African National Congress therefore continues to find confirmation of the correctness of its positions from the historical experience of the MPLA.

One of these positions is that the victorious revolution cannot be defended successfully without arms. This condition is imposed on all revolutions by the fact that the forces of reaction never hesitate to attempt to reverse the historical process by force of arms.

In building up our own popular army we aim therefore not only at the overthrow of the fascist regime, we aim also at building up a politically conscious and revolutionary army, conscious of its popular origin, unwavering in its democratic functions and

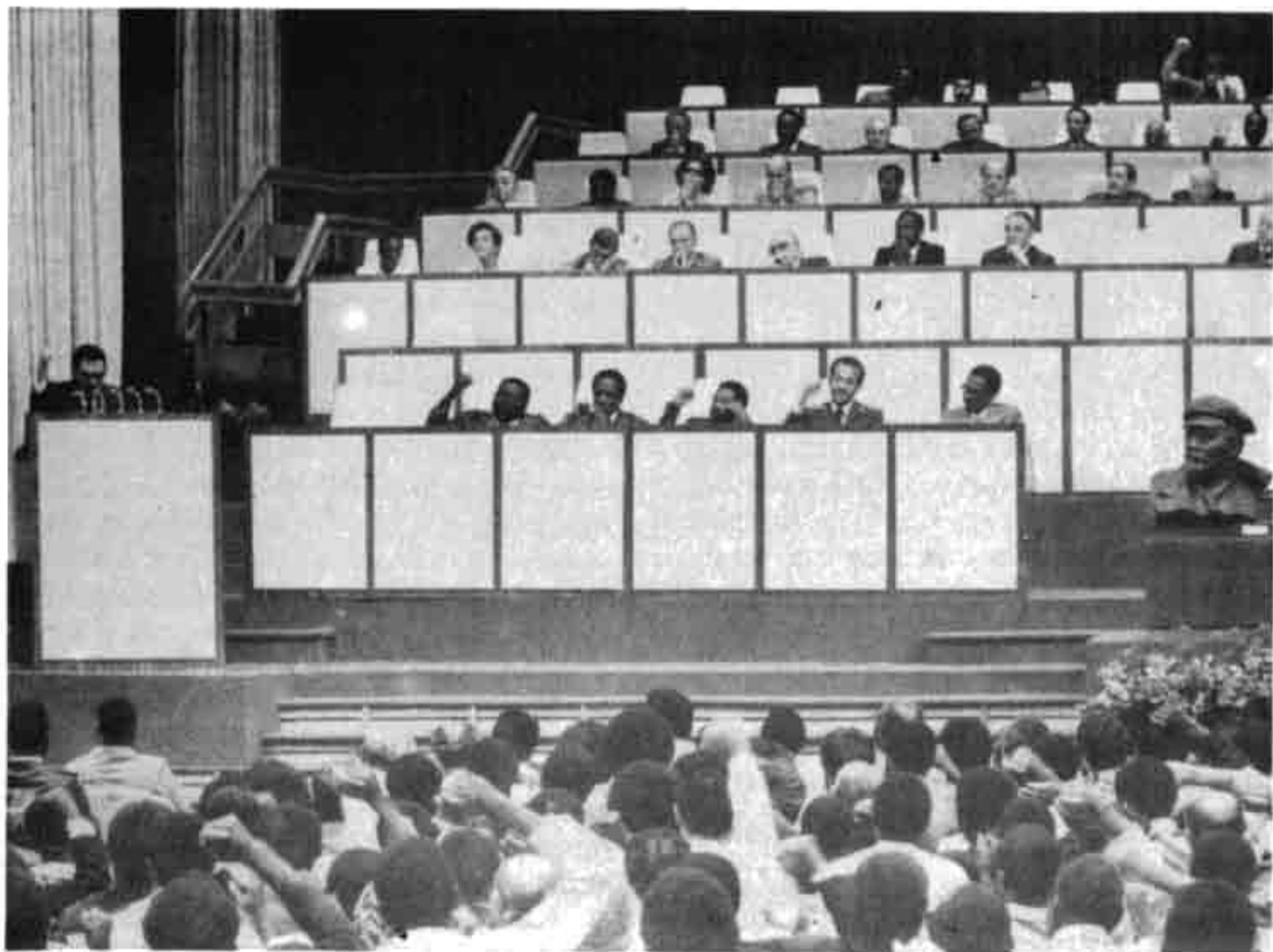
guided by our revolutionary orientation. We know FAPLA is such a force, and we know that, that is why FAPLA is invincible.

We of the African National Congress visualise a South Africa in which the people shall govern, in which the wealth of the country shall be restored to the people and where the land shall be shared among those who work it. We aim to establish in our country a society free of the exploitation of man by man.

We fight for a South Africa in which the people shall be guaranteed the right to work in which it will be the duty of the people's state to ensure that the doors of learning and of culture are open to the working people. We seek to live in peace with our neighbours and the peoples of the world in conditions of equality, mutual respect and equal advantage.

Those who monopolise political power, the land and the wealth of our country

**'Victory is Certain!'** Participants of MPLA's First Congress respond to the speaker's call



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**“ . . . we aim at building up a politically conscious army, guided by our revolutionary orientation . . . ”**

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today, those who prohibit the distribution of everything that is progressive in literature and the arts, those who launch aggressive wars, will naturally do their best to ensure that we do not realise our goal of translating our liberation into a genuine people's liberation, leading to the radical social transformation of our country.

As revolutionaries it is our duty to deny these counter-revolutionary forces the possibility of victory. Part of that denial consists in our ensuring that no elements of the enemy's fascist state machinery including his armed forces, remain as organised units within the new society.

Angola and Mozambique have today ensured that. We also shall have to take the same path. In our view this is as true of Angola and Mozambique today as it will be true of Namibia and Zimbabwe tomorrow.

No element of the South African fascist state can be expected to defend or administer a SWAPO victory in Namibia. Equally, no element of the Rhodesian colonial state can be expected to defend or administer a Patriotic Front victory in Zimbabwe.

For that reason, as in Angola and Mozambique, we support the demand for an unconditional transfer of power to SWAPO of Namibia and to the Zimbabwe PATRIOTIC FRONT. The collective revolutionary experience of the peoples of Southern Africa teaches us that where the enemy refuses to accede to this demand, then its realisation has to be fought for.

The imperialist proposals concerning Namibia and Zimbabwe are once again an attempt to ensure that the genuinely revolutionary forces of these countries are denied the possibility to bring about authentic people's liberation, to deny them the possibility of undertaking a radical transformation of their societies.

The MPLA, the organiser, the leader, the vanguard of the movement of the

people of Angola for national and social emancipation was itself confronted with similar imperialist attempts, and it successfully foiled them.

But, to reach the point in the history of the Angolan struggle when it became possible to hold this First Congress, MPLA has had to fight for its very life against formidable enemies from within and from without. Imperialist reaction well understood that in order to defeat the Angolan revolution, it had to pierce the heart of that revolution, it had to smother its fountain-head, precisely, it had to destroy the MPLA.

The history of the MPLA therefore constitutes almost an encyclopaedia of the strategy and tactics of the counter-revolution against the revolutionary forces of Southern Africa.

We have seen attempts to cut the MPLA off from contact with the masses of the people of Angola. We have seen also attempts to drive wedges within the MPLA, to foment internal strife and discord through the exploitation of tribal differences, the use of racism, the encouragement of a rabid chauvinistic nationalism, the fertilisation of blind personal ambition and the vilification of the best representatives of the Angolan people.

We have seen the instigation of extreme leftist elements who, while posing as the true defenders of the interests of the people within the MPLA, were in fact involved in plots to starve the people into a state of disaffection and rebellion against the people's own fundamental interests.

We have seen attempts to encourage an anti-popular spirit of militarism among the armed cadres in an effort to denigrate the political leadership and political persuasion, and put on a pedestal the force of arms.

Imperialism along with its multi-national corporations also worked extremely hard to set up an alternative third force which would pose as liberation movements while at the same time remaining in the pay

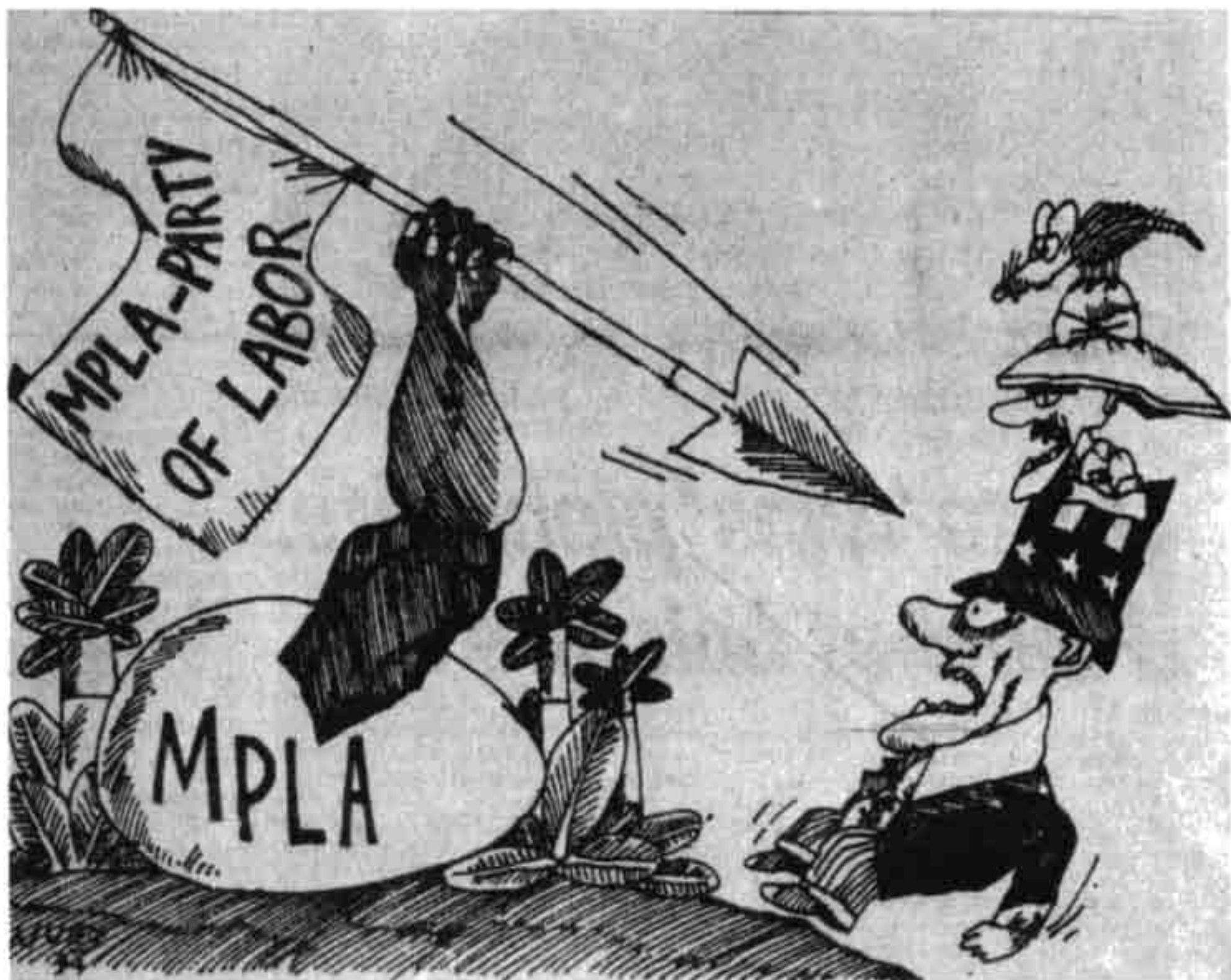
or exactly the forces against whom they would claim to be waging "liberation wars". We have seen imperialist attempts to balkanise and dismember Angola itself. We have seen open assassination of leaders and activists.

We have seen the forces of counter-revolution try to create animosity between the MPLA and its most tested and natural allies, especially from the Soviet Union and the Socialist Republic of Cuba. Thus would the MPLA find itself weakened and isolated and therefore ready prey to imperialist attempts to liquidate it.

We have seen all this and much more. But we have also seen the MPLA emerge from this enduring crisis triumphant - stronger than ever before. Such a record of victories is a great tribute to the

revolutionary maturity of the MPLA, of Comrade Agostinho Neto personally; it is a tribute to the veterans of two gruelling liberation wars, many of them present here today; it is a tribute to all those other heroes who have sacrificed their lives for the victory of the Angolan revolution and to ensure that once that victory was won, it was not lost again.

To see the MPLA as a target of imperialist attacks from 1956 to 1977, is to gain an idea of the experience of ANC during the same period. In December, 1956, the entire leadership of the organisations opposing the racist regime, led by the ANC, was arrested and brought to common trial on charges of attempting to overthrow the racist state. More than 150 leaders faced death sentences. This enemy act





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**“ . . . the masses of our people . . . constitute the political army  
of our revolution . . . ”**

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consolidated the unity of the revolutionary movement as never before.

In December, 1961, like MPLA in February of that year, we decided to embark on armed struggle and formed Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.

From then on, MPLA and ANC have shared victories and setbacks, we have shared heroes and martyrs; we have marched arm-in-arm and no imperialist wedge will ever be allowed to interpose itself between the Angolan people and the mass of the South African people.

And as with the Angolan experience, the victory of the South African revolution depends on the continuation of the ANC as the organiser, the leader, the vanguard of the movement for national and social emancipation in South Africa.

The South African fascist regime declared the ANC illegal more than 17 years ago, it committed Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Harry Gwala and other national leaders to terms of life imprisonment. It embarked on a wide range of tactics aimed at destroying the ANC. These have included attempts to strangle our revolution by isolating our movement from its allies, especially the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The regime has now embarked on a policy of consistent assassination of the leading cadres of our revolution. But all this has served only to heighten the determination of the people

and to deepen the political crisis of the racist regime, bringing ever nearer the day when these imprisoned leaders of the people will be free to assume their rightful place among the creators of a revolutionary democratic South Africa, arm-in-arm with the builders of the new social order in Africa and in the rest of the progressive world.

We are in unison with the MPLA when we say that the masses of our people - the workers, peasants, revolutionary youth and intelligentsia as a conscious and organised force, constitute the political army of our revolution, without whom, and against whom, victory is impossible.



In their name, and in the name of its armed combatants, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the African National Congress renews its pledge to continue the struggle, to fight with arms until our strategic objective of seizure of power is achieved. The people of South Africa, led by the ANC and its allies, will not betray the victory of the Angolan people led by the MPLA.

The ANC places on record its profound appreciation of the consistent all-round support given by the MPLA with a willingness which fully confirms the fact that MPLA, the Government and people of Angola, regard as their own the revolutionary struggles of peoples for national and social liberation. In giving this support, Angola is being faithful to the highest aspirations of Africa, to the basic

Comrade Agostinho Neto, President of the People's Republic of Angola addresses Congress



policy of the OAU, to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

In this context, we wish to mention the support, the cooperation and the facilities given to us by the countries of the Frontline, including Swaziland and Lesotho.

We wish to acknowledge also the support and assistance we receive from our mutual friends, the countries of the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, the GDR and Cuba; from Algeria and other member countries of the OAU; from countries in Western Europe, notably Sweden, as well as progressive movements throughout the world.

The ANC re-iterates from this rostrum of the 1st CONGRESS OF THE MPLA, its unwavering support for the Patriotic Front, SWAPO, the PLO, Fretilin, Polisario and all other revolutionary forces fighting for progressive change.

On behalf of the masses of the people of our country, we wish this First Congress all success. We have no doubt that its results will be a lasting contribution to the revolutionary process towards the establishment and consolidation of a new progressive order, not only for the peoples of Africa, but also for all mankind.

**VIVA O MPLA — PARTIDO DE VANGUARD DA CLASSES OPERARIO!**

**VIVA O PRIMEIRO CONGRESSO DO MPLA!**

**VIVA O CAMARADA PRESIDENTE AGOSTINHO NETO!**

**ABAIXO O COLONIALISMO E RACISMO!**

**ABAIXO OS BANTUSTANOS!**

**A LUTTA CONTINUA!**

**A VICTORIA E CERTA!**

“

ANC INTERNATIONAL —  
WHAT OTHERS ARE SAYING  
ABOUT US:

# SUPPORT FOR THE STRUGGLE

**“We are very grateful today that our true leaders had the wisdom to map out the path . . . of the ANC . . .”**  
Horst Kleinschmidt at UN



Giselle Rabesahala, Secretary General of AKFM attentively listening to the speech of the ANC delegate

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Late in 1977, as the last of the liberal, the Christian and the non-violent anti-apartheid pressure groups in South Africa felt the full violence of Vorster's fascist repression, a general awareness suddenly began to crystallize in these circles, within the country and in the western world: the national liberation movement, led by the African National Congress, had already embarked 15 years ago on the only path open to genuine opponents of apartheid, exploitation and imperialism - the path of armed struggle.

The murder of Steve Biko had awakened them to the fact for years, scores of militants had died and were still dying, in the same way. These martyrs had known, years before, that if they had stopped at non-violent action and appeals to reason and “fair play”, these would bring down the same savage repression in the end - while leaving the people without support or guidance for the inevitable struggle ahead.

In his address to the Security Council last October, Horst Kleinschmidt, external representative of the banned Christian Institute and former assistant to Dr Beyers Naude, said: *...as from now, there is but one path left, one path only, and that is the path of our national liberation movement, the African National Congress.*

*“We are very grateful today that our true leaders had the wisdom in years past to have mapped out the path from which none of us can detract today. We can do nothing else than to ask for our acceptance into their ranks.”*

A range of international organisations and national parties, in the West and in Africa, have come out in recognition of the African National Congress as the national liberation movement of the South African people, and have called for support for the struggle as led by the ANC. Among these:

- The Socialist International, which includes prime ministers and opposition leaders of several West European nations and social democratic party leaders in the other parts of the world, has urged all member parties to intensify solidarity work for the liberation of Southern Africa - “especially by supporting the African National Congress of South Africa.”

- In Madagascar in January, the ANC 17

“

delegation to the eighth congress of the ruling FIFANAMPIANA Party was received with prolonged applause and given first place among visiting delegations.

■ In Spain last December representatives from the ANC, Patriotic Front and SWAPO attended a human rights solidarity week organised by 14 church and other bodies. The ANC delegate met representatives of all major Spanish parties. All are eager to support the Southern African liberation movement.

■ In January the Brussels-based International Association of Democratic Lawyers (IADL) issued a declaration restating its “absolute solidarity with the people of South Africa and their liberation movement, the ANC, which is fighting for the elimination of apartheid, and for the establishment of a regime which represents the majority, freed from all forms of oppression.”

■ Meanwhile, inside Southern Africa, SASSAC, a committee of students at the National University of Lesotho, pledged firm support for the ANC, which “with its sister movement the SACP, is leading the way forward.”

The following are extracts from the various organisations' statements and conference reports:

### Socialist International

From the Socialist International statement on South Africa, October, 1977:

“We must halt all arms exports to South Africa and all military cooperation with its government. We must oppose the transfer of strategic technology to South Africa, including nuclear technology. No African country or combination of African countries could be a military threat to South Africa. Yet South Africa continues to be armed from abroad. A UN decision on a mandatory arms embargo is long overdue.

We must work for a prohibition of new investments and export of capital to South Africa and Namibia. A ban on investment in South Africa can be really efficient only if it is part of an international action that has the support of industrialized countries with the largest economic interests in South African business and industry.

Given the explosive situation in South Africa, each country, in addition to international measures, has to consider unilateral action as for instance has been done in Norway and Sweden.

We must work for increased support to the Front Line states. They show exemplary solidarity with the liberation struggle, experience great sacrifices and are objects of aggression. They all have a large number of refugees.

Governments should contribute or increase contributions to help the victims of apartheid. This includes help for legal assistance, help to the families of political prisoners, refugee aid and scholarships.

We must stop the flow of mercenaries to the racist regimes. This implies legislation to end the recruitment, financing, training, transit and assembly of mercenaries from our own territories. Mercenaries can and do play a fatal role in the prolongation of the war in Rhodesia and Namibia.

We should all intensify our solidarity work for the liberation of Southern Africa. Each party should start a national solidarity campaign in order to mobilize public opinion, raise funds and counter-balance racist propaganda in our mass media.

Governments should assist popular movements working in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. These include political parties, trade unions, churches and other socio-political groups.

The Socialist International urges its member parties to increase its efforts on these lines especially by supporting the African National Congress of South Africa.”

The statement is signed by the General Secretary. President of the Socialist International is the former West German Chancellor, Willy Brandt. Its leading members include the Prime Minister of Denmark, Anker Joergensen, the Prime Minister of Finland, Kalevi Sorsa, French Socialist Party leader Francois Mitterand, and cabinet ministers from some NATO countries, including Belgium and West Germany.

Now that the social democratic parties have committed themselves to strong international action against apartheid, and support for the liberation movements, they will be judged by their actions in future.

## Spain

In December last year representatives from ANC, Patriotic Front and SWAPO were in Madrid for "Africa Week". Their press conference was widely covered by all national media in Spain, and their subsequent meeting was attended by all major political parties in the country including the ruling Centre Party. At the end of the meeting the bodies organising the solidarity week decided to form a permanent Southern Africa support committee.

ANC had individual bilateral discussions with representatives of the Obrero Socialist Party, the Communist Party and the Centre Party.

## Madagascar

The Eighth Congress of FIFANAMPIANA Malagasy took place in Antananarivo on January 20-22. More than 820 delegates from all over Madagascar attended the congress. The ANC, represented by Comrade Sizakele Sigxashe, was among the many foreign delegations at the congress. Comrade Sigxashe had talks with Malagasy government and AKFM party officials, and with many other foreign delegations, including those from the islands of Reunion and Seychelles.

Comrade Sizakele stated at the Congress: "My delegation comrades has also been instructed to seize this opportunity to convey from this respectable rostrum, special combat anti-imperialist solidarity greetings, from the Supreme leader of our

*In South Africa we are clear who leads the struggle for national and social emancipation*







revolution, ANC, our NEC and its Revolutionary Council, Comrade President Oliver Tambo, to your Statesman, Head of State, Supreme Revolutionary Council and Government of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar - Comrade President Lt. Commander Didier Ratsiraka.

The inspiring victories scored by your people and government comrades, be it in the political, military, economic or social fields are a bitter blow to our common enemy of colonialism, imperialism, racism and exploitation of man by man. They are a further consolidation of your revolution towards a socialist Malagasy which is a natural rear base for our revolution too.

Comrades, the consistent anti-imperialist, anti-racist political line of FIFANAMPIANA Malagasy, from the difficult foundation years of struggle against colonialism to the present struggle of the seventies against neo-colonialism and for socialism, have drawn profound sympathy and solidarity with our organisation and people. For the people in South Africa therefore, FIFANAMPIANA Malagasy means the Malagasy Party of a new and free Southern Africa. The ANC attaches great importance to this, your 8th Congress which is being held at a time when the enemy in various guises are desperately trying to win back lost battles in your country.

Comrade Sizakele reports that: "Virtually all delegates expressed unconditional solidarity with ANC. They also pledged to increase their methods of support especially in 1978 - International Anti-Apartheid Year.

The local delegates were from the toiling masses, many of them bare-footed but alert and attentive right through the Congress, taking down notes and participating in the discussions of their road towards a Socialist Madagascar. At night they slept on improvised thin and small sponge mats in the same hall of Congress."

## **'ONLY THE ANC...'**

In his address to the Security Council, Horst Kleinschmidt said:

"The Christian Institute of Southern Africa

is no liberation movement, nor does it want to become one, but I believe that many in our own ranks can and will realise that their Christian convictions demand that they also play a full part in the liberation struggle as it is being performed by the African National Congress.

We believe that the ANC has carried in the hearts and in the minds of the people of South Africa the powerful tradition of resistance against racism and exploitation and that its ultimate victory will bring peace and justice to our land. In achieving this goal, the people of South Africa need to be united and it is only the ANC which can make this possible.

Vorster's policies today are the most direct provocation which will result in a race war of black against white. In my own view it is the African National Congress and the ANC alone which can prevent a confrontation based on race.

Many countries in Western Europe and in North America have in recent years through certain non-governmental organisations supported in various ways emerging organisations of opposition inside South Africa. Support for these organisations was often motivated by a fear for support of liberation movements (whose struggle includes a military one). By supporting internal organisations, so the argument ran, they were in fact contributing to peaceful change, to a reformist approach. I know that the Christian Institute was in certain instances the recipient of such moneys from abroad - prior to being declared an Affected Organisation in 1975.

Today the South African regime has through its own actions left us with only one conclusion to draw from this. The new situation shows beyond any doubt that all those who are offended by the present regime in South Africa have to recognise and support our national liberation movement, the African National Congress.

The message of the oppressed people today is this:-

- Take strong action to end apartheid. Don't debate whether economic sanctions will hit the poorest people worst.

- The poor people ask: when does apartheid end - not when does it become more endurable?"

“

# HOW STUDENTS SEE STRUGGLE.

The Southern African Students Solidarity Action Committee, (SASSAC), describes itself as an ad hoc committee of the Students Representative Council of the National University of Lesotho, formed after the June events of 1976: "Our aim is to contribute to the task of conscientising and mobilising the masses in Lesotho and Southern Africa, and to raise the level of student participation in such a task." Because of the significance of the political content of this document, Sechaba publishes extracts from the SASSAC statement.

"One of the major conflicts within the South African bourgeoisie has always been that between the section which has its base in nationally based capital - predominantly Afrikaner owned, and originally rooted in control of agriculture; Those sections which were firmly tied to the metropolitan base of imperialism - predominantly mining capital, but increasingly manufacturing and finance capital too. Agricultural capital has always been weak and secondary to mining capital. In the 1940's, a more substantial national based capital developed.

The Nationalist Party seized power through the ballot in 1948. Since that time we have seen the emergence of a strong South African based capital. Mining capital remains predominately imperial owned, but increasingly dividends are paid inside South Africa; agricultural capital has penetrated into mining and manufacturing. The state has remained essentially a mediator for the different fractions of the capitalist class, and has taken an increasing part in regulating the economy, in developing state corporations, negotiating international loans, encouraging the influx of foreign capital and investment. The inter-capitalist tensions have simply been about how best to preserve the interests of capitalism.

Although the Nationalist victory led to the introduction of apartheid - which

apparently shocked the liberal states of the West, apartheid was soon to be accepted gracefully by the Western world, because it was to serve their interests as well. Separate development, as it was delicately called, was a mechanism designed to ensure the maintenance of the labour reserves and the super-exploitation of black labour.

Although the imperialists would have preferred a more liberalised solution and the formation of a proletariat proper with its reserve army of unemployed to keep wages down, instead of the preservation of the 'tribal' base in the homelands - this approach would have threatened the labour supply for the farms and the white working class security of jobs. This was the heart of the political base of the Nationalists. So the imperialists acquiesced. It was simply a question of different means.

Following the massive influx of black peoples into the towns, increase in political activity inevitably leads to periodic crackdowns by the SA state. Hence the banning of the Communist Party of South Africa; the introduction of the Suppression of Communism Act in 1950, followed by a host of other legislation; and the major political trial of the decade - the Treason Trial. It was at this time, 1955, that the Freedom Charter emerged as a collective political expression from the most representative selection of groups gathered together in South Africa ever before or since.. The late 1950's saw another boom, another rise in activity, and a comparable crackdown, which culminated in the Sharpsville Massacre of 1961, the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, and the Rivonia Trial at which patriots such as Mandela were sentenced to life on Robben Island.

By 1970, the position of the Republic of South Africa would seem to have been unassailable. Its confidence was overwhelming. But since that time the course of world events has changed dramatically as the level of revolutionary developments have matured internationally and on the African continent. By 1976, America had been taught a lesson by the Vietnamese that neither it nor the world would easily forget; its attempts to frustrate the victory





of the party of the workers and peasants, MPLA, in Angola, by the encouragement of South African intervention had failed, and been exposed. The Cuban contribution to the African Revolution will remain a shining example of international solidarity. As the internal contradictions within South Africa developed, and as the line followed by FRELIMO became clear after independence, the frontline states began to take a more militant bargaining posture with the imperialist powers.

By the early seventies, new organisations such as SASO, and the BPC, had been formed. Beginning with the 1973 strike wave in Natal, since then the South African government has faced continual resistance from an ever-widening base - workers, students, community leaders; opposition to resettlement schemes; increasing militancy from the Coloured and Indian peoples, who are showing their readiness to identify with their fellow oppressed Africans. June 1976, and the events which followed, have revealed the willingness and strength of all levels of society to involve in the struggle.

The recent actions of Vorster, which represent the most severe crackdown since the 1960's, although completely logical when seen in the historical perspective, have in this new situation genuinely alarmed the imperialist camp. The Western powers have finally come to realise that the fascist state they have been nurturing and bolstering in the interests of their super-profits has now become a serious danger to the stability and long-term interests of capitalism in the entire sub-continent. They are well aware of the need to go for serious compromise settlements. But Vorster has now run out of control. He has decided to show international world opinion that in the interests of the political supremacy of the white race, he will continue with the old methods of internal colonialism, and super-exploitation. South Africa, as he puts it, is prepared to "stand and survive on its own."

The advantage of the South African liberation movement, spearheaded by the African National Congress, is that it has had a long history, and ample opportunity to

mature, both organisationally and ideologically. At the same time, industrialisation and growth, in accordance with the laws of capitalism, have brought into being an African proletariat, liable to become an increasingly militant force as times goes on. The 1970's has brought out the importance of the role of the working class in a broad based opposition to the state.. Thus the overall developments in Southern Africa have given the South African liberation movements new impetus, and brought a new challenge. The struggle has developed a broader base.

If there is one lesson, however, that has emerged from the struggles of the Angolans, the Vietnamese, the Mozambicans and Guineans, it is that they have challenged the general validity of the argument for an all-embracing national unity covering all movements and classes. Indeed their experience suggests the inevitability at some stage of an open confrontation between narrowly nationalist petty-bourgeois elements and those who favour the further advance of the revolution from opposition to colonialism, to a broader anti-imperialist struggle. PAIGC and FRELIMO and MPLA had largely resolved this question before getting independence as a result of internal struggle between these two lines, and this has strengthened the prospects for socialist development in their countries.

To conclude: it should be clear, first, that the recent clash between Vorster and his mentors represents a cul de sac in which imperialism is prepared to cut its losses, and go to any length to devise new strategies. Second, it should be clear that all liberal and petty bourgeois compromises are out. The ANC, in particular, will be faced with challenges on this front in the near future. Finally, the interconnectedness of all the struggles in the sub-continent should be emphasised. It is now one struggle. No compromises at any point or the liberation of the whole area will stand in jeopardy.

The document ends with the statement that : "the ANC of South Africa, with its sister movement, the SACP, is leading the way forward."

# HONORARY DOCTORATE FOR GOVAN MBEKI

On January 9, 1978 a ceremony was held at the University of Amsterdam to award an honorary doctorate to Govan A. Mbeki. Attending the ceremony for the ANC and the family were:

Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC;

Thabo Mbeki, Member of the NEC;  
Moeletsi Mbeki and (Mrs) Mothapelo Mbeki, the daughter-in-law of Comrade Govan Mbeki.

Moeletsi spoke on behalf of his father and Professor De Jong, dean of the faculty of Social Science, spoke on behalf of the faculty. Professor De Jong spoke with passion and showed a great deal of conviction, deep understanding of the problems facing our struggle and unequivocal support for our movement.

The evening meeting organised by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement supported by the University Council and other progressive forces in Holland was addressed by Comrade Alf Nzo. This meeting closed with a rendering of Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika, our national anthem, by a Dutch student choir. The following day the ANC delegation was invited by the Burgomaster (lord mayor) of the City of Amsterdam.

The ANC wishes to thank the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, the Dutch Communist Party and all the progressive forces in Holland for honouring our leader, Govan Mbeki and through him our people. Our people who listened to the speeches delivered on that day through our radio transmissions from the neighbouring countries, regard the award of an honorary doctorate to Comrade Govan as another blow at the racist theories about "black inferiority". Indeed, Govan Mbeki is one of the leading intellectuals our people have produced but now he is breaking stones on Robben Island. Along with all other political prisoners he has now been denied the right to study above the level of matric. Let us all demand his release and that of his comrades.



One of Govan Mbeki's sons receives the honorary doctorate for his father.

*Letter from Comrade Govan Mbeki to Professor Dr. G. den Boef, Rector Magnificus, University of Amsterdam:*

I have great pleasure to acknowledge with sincere thanks yours of 8 December 1977. I regret, however, I could not write earlier because I have just received it.

Kindly permit me to extend my sincerest thanks to your University for the honour it has done me by awarding me the degree of Doctor of Social Sciences, honoris causa. I am particularly thankful to the Faculty of Social Sciences that made the suggestion and to Prof. Dr. de Jong Edzn, my promoter. My thanks go, of course to the whole University and the Governing Council.

In normal circumstances I should have attended personally to accept the award and to have made remarks to suit the occasion as well as the "celebration of your Dies Natalis". However one must draw consolation by expressing the hope that "more is nog 'n dag."

My sincerest Greetings

19 JUL 1978



The Prison  
Robben Island  
1400.  
South Africa  
14 January 1978

Prof. Dr. W. den Boef  
Rector Magnificus  
University of Amsterdam  
Amsterdam

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attended personally to accept the award and to have

made remarks to suit the occasion as  
well as the celebration of your dies natalis.  
However one must draw consolation  
by expressing the hope that "more is  
every day".

My sincerest greetings  
Yours very sincerely  
Mamadou Hakeki

FORN A. H. Hakeki



# THE TORTURE OF LINDIWE SISULU...

"Sometimes they made me sit down, and applied the shock torture.  
The pain was worse sitting down . . ."

**S**he is only 24, Lindiwe Sisulu, daughter of Walter Sisulu, the former general secretary of the African National Congress of South Africa now serving a life sentence for alleged "sabotage" on the notorious Robben Island just off Cape Town. But during her 24 years Lindiwe has endured more and suffered more than most people experience in a lifetime.

Lindiwe was only 10 when her father was arrested at Rivonia farm on the outskirts of Johannesburg in 1963. Together with other leaders of the liberation movement like Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Denis Goldberg (and, before his earlier arrest, Nelson Mandela), Walter Sisulu had been organising the underground apparatus of the liberation movement from the Rivonia hideout. It was difficult and dangerous work, and all those who were engaged in it knew that the penalty, if they were captured, could be death.

There were five children in the Sisulu family- Lindiwe has three elder brothers and one younger sister. They were all brought up in the atmosphere of conspiracy and danger which surrounds those who are engaged in underground work. At the time of Walter's arrest, his wife Albertina and his son Max were also in detention, held under the notorious 90-days no-trial Act which had been rushed through the South African Parliament earlier in the year. Max was released a few weeks later, but Albertina was held for the whole 90-day period before she was freed. Lindiwe herself had been arrested at a demonstration before she was ten years old and was held for a few hours before being released.

But Walter's arrest brought the family affairs to a crisis. Four young children - two boys and two girls - were deprived of both parents and their eldest brother and left to fend for themselves. Normally in a situation like this African neighbours would step in and take care of the young ones, because this sort of tragedy is an everyday occurrence in the townships of South Africa where thousands of Africans are arrested everyday for pass offences.

In the case of the Sisulu children, however, it was the Security Police who stepped in and sent an African woman to look after them, but the object was not so much humanitarian as authoritarian, as their "stepmother" was under instructions to keep the children isolated from the community and to make sure that nobody had contact with them.

It was a miserable time for the children. Lindiwe had just come home from the holidays from Swaziland, where she was at boarding school. She was used to the idea of her father being arrested, because for years he had been a prime target for the security police, and was harassed and persecuted continuously and arrested time without number on trivial charges.

Lindiwe thought that this time, as usual, her father would be released on bail or acquitted and would return home soon, as had happened on all previous occasions. But she realised the situation was more serious this time when women came and staged the traditional ceremony of weeping. The security woman was in the home at the time, but could do nothing to stop them.

"We associate weeping with death, and so we were made to realise that something terrible had happened", said Lindiwe.

"But still we didn't know how serious the situation was until months later, on the evening before judgment was to be given, when we were told of the possibility that Walter and his comrades could be sentenced to death.

"That really shocked us. We thought that if the death sentence was passed Walter and the others would be executed immediately. And even when we got the news that they had been sentenced to life imprisonment we felt no relief, because in South Africa political prisoners get no remission, and a man sentenced to life imprisonment must stay in prison until he dies. We couldn't reconcile ourselves to the idea that we would never see him again."

The children's results in their school examinations that year were very bad.

"But the teachers didn't worry about this or scold us", said Lindiwe. "They sympathised with us, and we were all put through to the next year irrespective of the results". Mandela's daughter Pumla was at the same school and had the same experience.

**D**uring the Rivonia trial Lindiwe was unable to talk to her father while he was in court, "but we used to wave to the police truck taking him to and from court each day. We couldn't see him but he could see us and once we heard him shouting to us". After the verdict the accused were whisked off to jail - the blacks to Robben Island and Denis Goldberg to Pretoria Local prison where the white political prisoners are held in conditions of maximum security.

After the trial had ended life became very tough for the Sisulu family.

"Between 1965 and 1968 my mother didn't seem to have enough food for us. We never knew from one meal to the next whether there would be anything to eat.

"My mother was working as a nurse, and she would also sew or knit or sell clothes, but she never earned enough. In addition to her own children my mother also had to look after her sister's children and those of her sister-in-law who had died in 1962."

**W**hatever happened, all the children had to be kept on at school, and hunger or no hunger they carried on with their studies. The family burden was eased somewhat in 1968 when Lindiwe's brother and cousin completed their last year of schooling and went out to work, contributing their earnings to the family pool.

Lindiwe herself completed Form 5, the last school year, in 1971 and then went on to do her Advanced Level courses at the Waterfield school in Swaziland. She also studied Latin, because she had been offered a place at Leeds University in England and planned to take a law course there. But she was refused a passport by the Vorster Government.

Eventually she started a degree course at Swaziland university, majoring in history and politics, but before she could complete her studies she was arrested at home in Johannesburg on June 13, 1976, and held without trial under section 6 of the notorious Terrorism Act.

She was detained for 11 months, the

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"... I was subjected to all kinds of physical assault ... the cells were like dungeons ..."

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**... DAUGHTER OF  
THE STRUGGLE**

police alleging that she had handled money on behalf of the banned African National Congress.

"At first it was not so bad", she said. "We had a way of communicating with the other prisoners. Even after a session of interrogation and torture, you knew you could return to your cell and talk to the others through the wall and be comforted".

Like most other political prisoners, Lindiwe was subjected to various forms of torture, mainly electric torture.

"They tied my hands behind my back and applied various gadgets which produced an intense shock. Sometimes they made me sit down and applied the same torture; the pain was worse sitting down".

The police frequently applied electric torture to her sexual organs, and during one session of this the main inquisitor said: "I could never rape an African who stinks. I would get a drunk man from the street to do it".

The police kept questioning her about

things of which she knew nothing.

"What I was arrested for had nothing to do with the ANC, but the police didn't believe what I said and so they kept on torturing me. They also interrogated me about my mother, against whom they were desperate to produce evidence.

"And they went in for mental torture, which was perhaps the worst. They would say they had arrested my mother and two brothers and that there was nobody at home except the small children. I believed them and it upset me.

"They also said my mother was critically ill and wanted to see me, but they would not let me go to her unless I talked. Later they told me she had passed away. In a way I was quite relieved. I believed she had been arrested, and thought it would be better for her to die than be subjected to the sort of torture I had experienced. I thought it inevitable that they would kill her at some stage.

"I wrote to the Minister of Justice

Albertina Sisulu with daughter Nonkululeko



Walter Sisulu during the Treason Trial



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**"Lindiwe and her comrades have chosen the road of struggle.  
They know it is the only way home."**

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complaining that I had not been allowed to attend my mother's funeral. After that my treatment changed. I was allowed clothes and books sent in from outside, and I immediately realised the police had been lying because from the way my things were packed I knew that nobody could have packed them except my mother".

After two months Lindiwe was transferred to Hartebeestpoort police station, and total isolation.

"I couldn't hear a sound, sometimes for days on end. I was not only in solitary confinement, as I had been all along, but totally alone, as I could not talk to anybody through the walls. But at least at this police station I was not subjected to electric torture - they did not have the equipment. All I got was beatings".

Later she was transferred to Pretoria Central prison.

"Here the treatment was worse than ever, it was absolutely criminal. I was subjected to all kinds of physical assault, and they were interrogating me all the time. The cells were like dungeons.

"They told me they had arrested my brother Zwelakhe when he came to bring me clothes and that he was going to be charged with unlawful communication with a prisoner, but this story also turned out to be untrue."

**O**nce again Lindiwe was moved on, this time to Nylstroom jail. Here the treatment was much better, but she was very much alone. "The matron was a religious fanatic and brought us books to 'improve our minds', but at least her behaviour towards us was tolerable.

"I fell sick at this time. As a result of this and everything else that had happened to me in the last few months, my weight had dropped from 98lbs. to 80lbs. I was just skin and bone. I asked to be transferred to hospital. They came and took me away one day and I thought I was being taken to hospital, but instead they drove me home. My 11 months of prison nightmare were over.

"My mother found me when she came

home from work that evening. It was a great day for all of us".

Lindiwe's student days were over for good. She had to get treatment for a partially paralysed leg and her nerves were also completely shattered. But her mind was made up. From now on she was dedicated to the cause of Freedom and all her time was taken up with work in the liberation movement.

She gets inspiration from her father, whom she has seen from time to time on Robben Island since she turned 16 and was allowed to visit him.

"He is in good spirits, and still has his sense of humour", she said. "But my visits were always cut short for one reason or another. It was a torment for me to see him scolded and harassed. He suffers from high blood pressure, and these provocations used to make him angry and irritated".

She last saw Walter in July 1976, just before she left the country. Her mother Albertina told her one day that the police had come to the house looking for her, and she and her comrades decided that she should leave South Africa to carry on the struggle from abroad.

We met her somewhere in Africa, a slim wisp of determined womanhood, eyes bright with the courage of the freedom fighter, though shadowed with the pain of the ordeals she has undergone.

There are thousands like her today in the ranks of the liberation movement, many of them are still in their teens, boys and girls driven out of Soweto and the other African townships by the batons and bullets of the racist police. Their anger against apartheid, and determination to achieve national liberation, have been forged in the fire of struggle. Now many of them have weapons in their hands, and their eyes and feet are turned homewards. They know the struggle will be long and difficult, but they also know they have no choice.

Lindiwe and her comrades have chosen the road of struggle. They know it is the only way home.





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# DUMA NOKWE: HONOURABLE SON OF AFRICA

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“. . . in those days the Llb degree was considered to be beyond the intellectual ability of blacks . . .”

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**O**n Thursday, 12th January, 1978 the mighty heart of Duma Nokwe ceased to beat and he went to sleep but forever. That mighty brain stopped to think with terrible suddenness and so close to the accomplishment of Duma's life work! He died as he lived, fighting and struggling for the liberation of his people. He spent his last days of his life organising jointly with the ANC Regional Committee in Lusaka the commemoration of the 66th anniversary of the ANC which was held at the Evelyn Hone College Hall on January 8 1978 and addressed by President Tambo. Duma Nokwe was the chairman of the meeting.

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Duma Nokwe as always defiant as he is arrested by the racists in April 1961

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The following day he addressed the people of South Africa and Zambia through Radio Freedom and Zambian TV. Even as he was fighting his last battle on the death bed at the University Teaching Hospital in Zambia where he was admitted, he was regretting the "likelihood" of his failure to honour an appointment with one leading Zambian official to discuss pressing organisational problems.

Philemon, Pearce Dumalisile (popularly known as Duma) Nokwe was born into a working class family in Evaton, Transvaal, on the 13th of May 1927. He attended the then academically famous St. Peter's Secondary School in Johannesburg where one of his teachers was Oliver Tambo, the President of the ANC, with whom he later shared the position of leadership through some of the most difficult phases of our struggle. He proceeded to Fort Hare University College where he graduated with a B.Sc in 1949 and

the following year he earned a Teachers Diploma. He taught for a while at Krugersdorp.

Whilst at Fort Hare Duma became an organiser of the ANC Youth League branch - a branch which played a remarkable role in the formulation of the now famous 1949 Programme of Action of the ANC Youth League. Duma became Secretary of the ANC Youth League in 1953 and remained in that position until 1958. In 1953, he led the South African youth contingent to the 4th World Youth Festival at Bucharest where, as a talented musician, he drilled and led the youth in songs. Together with Walter Sisulu, he later toured the Soviet Union, the Peoples Republic of China etc. Some of his academic contemporaries at Fort Hare include such well known figures as Elijah Mudenda, former Prime Minister of Zambia; Dr Wayaki, Foreign Minister of Kenya and George Silundika, one of the leading members of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

**I**n 1952 the ANC and its sister organisations embarked on the Defiance Campaign. Duma Nokwe participated in this campaign which was to result in the arrest of 8,500 Congress leaders and activists. This led to his dismissal from teaching. He then decided to study law in order to fight the injustice against the oppressed people. He joined the University of Witwatersrand to read law. By so doing, Duma was mindful of the political significance his decision meant to the entire black community. In those days white supremacy was epitomised amongst other things by the claim that the LLB degree was beyond the intellectual ability of blacks who were deliberately failed by the notorious professor Hahlo to prove the alleged inherent black inferiority. Duma's level was so high that even the racist professor Hahlo found it impossible to fail him. Thus he became the first African to obtain a Witwatersrand law degree and the first African Advocate in 1955! Like most Africans he was a part-time student, supporting himself by teaching in a privately-run central Indian High School in Johannesburg.

Having achieved this victory over the racist professor - a victory which was applauded by the entire black community

Duma continued to meet new impediments making the pursuit of his hard won profession most difficult. Bans made it impossible for him to travel to other cities without a permit. In 1954, he was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act - a ban which was extended for a second 5 year term in 1959. He was denied an office in the same building with other Johannesburg advocates. During the Treason Trial of 1956, involving 155 Congress Alliance leaders including Chief Albert Lutuli, Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others, Duma was among the final thirty accused and facing capital punishment. But Duma was not only an accused in that trial; he together with Nelson Mandela and others was part of the Defence Team on behalf of their political colleagues.

During the 1960 State of Emergency, he was gaoled for five months. A few months later, he was one of the convenors of the December 1960 Consultative Conference of African leaders, whose role was to map out a common strategy in the face of South Africa becoming a fascist republic following its expulsion from the British Commonwealth. Although not in a position to attend being under banning orders, he was elected to the Conference Continuation Committee to participate in the "All-in African Conference". With Oliver Tambo having been assigned the task of setting up the External Mission, Nelson Mandela as the overall leading figure, Comrade Duma played the central role in the organisation of that first conference which took place in March 1961.

**D**uring the same month, the marathon Treason Trial collapsed but Comrade Duma was rearrested under the Unlawful Organisations Act with eleven others for the part he played in organising the Maritzburg Conference which closed the chapter of non-violent struggle in South Africa. Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of

As ANC Secretary General inside the country Nokwe was very active. He is seen on the right with a fellow treason trialist.



## STOP PRESS

On Friday April 7, 1978 the trial of the Pretoria 12 came to an end. The trial began early last year and was restarted in January because the first judge died.

Six of our comrades were acquitted, namely: Joe Gqabi, 48; Michel Ngubeni, 42; Nelson Diale, 41; Elias Masinga, 24; Pauline Mohale, 26 and Petrus Nchabeleng, 50. Justice Myburgh sentenced the remaining six (6) members of the African

National Congress to 73 years; Mosima Sexwale, 25, sentenced to 18 years; Naledi Tsiki, 22, got 14 years; Simon Mohlauyaneng, 24, received 10 years; Martin Ramokgadi, 64, was sentenced to 7 years and Jacob Seathlolo, 47, and Lele Motaung, 45, were both sentenced to 12 years each.

The state had demanded death sentence. The six men in the dock raised their clenched fists and shouted "Amandla" and the Africans packing the public galleries replied: "Ngawethu"!



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". . . Duma has left behind an indelible imprint on the trend  
of our movement's history . . ."

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the ANC, was in the process of being born. Duma was sentenced to twelve months imprisonment but successfully appealed against his sentence.

In 1963 he was instructed by the ANC National High Command to leave the country to join his colleagues in the External Mission of the ANC. He was involved in all the campaigns of the ANC External Mission. No task was too low for this man who had been the Secretary-General of the ANC from the year 1958 to 1969. In 1975 he was appointed Deputy Secretary-General and ANC Director of International Affairs. In this capacity he contributed to the mobilisation of international progressive forces headed by the socialist countries behind the struggle of our people and mobilised world public opinion in general for the isolation of the fascist Vorster regime. In 1974 he led the ANC delegation which supported by the Afro-Asian and socialist countries, campaigned for the expulsion of Apartheid South Africa from the United Nations. South Africa was saved by the triple-veto exercised by the US, Britain and France. After this Security Council debate, Comrade Duma took the advantage of the fact that this time he was not restricted to the UN as in the past and toured the United States addressing meetings of solidarity. He also contributed to the strengthening and consolidation of progressive forces in Africa especially in the OAU where he was personally held in high regard and his contributions were both highly esteemed and welcome.

Nothing pleased him more than addressing the South African people through Radio Freedom - Voice of the ANC. His last broadcast was in his favourite feature: "Thunder and Lightning", in which he had just started a new series entitled: War against fascism. It is significant that his name, Dumalisile means Thunder on a clear, cloudless day. He did not only speak to our

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Duma decided to study law in order to fight the injustice against the oppressed people.

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people but helped also in producing ANC radio announcers and radio journalists.

At home Duma's name - like those of our martyrs, Albert Lutuli, J.B. Marks, Bram Fischer and our leaders on Robben Island, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada or our leaders outside - Moses Kotane, O.R. Tambo, Dr Dadoo - is a household name.

Duma Nokwe has died but he has left behind an indelible imprint on the trend of our movements' history; he has left his clear footprints which we must follow.

**C**omrade Duma Nokwe reflected the characteristic feature of the overall ANC strategy which he helped to develop; *he was a man of our times but in him were elements of the future of our movement.* He was an intellectual of a rare type; his total integrity as a leader, comrade and courageous freedom fighter impressed all those who met him. Duma Nokwe was a complete human being whose main quality was humility and a broad understanding of human nature, a man who chose to suffer when he could have been comfortable in the discomfort of the Apartheid system. He became a man of the peoples of the world; an internationalist who fought against factionalism; a vigorous opponent of any manifestation of tribalism and regionalism; he fought mercilessly against narrow-minded nationalism and anti-communism.

Duma Nokwe was himself a shield and spear of the African National Congress. To pay tribute to Duma, let us pledge that the struggle shall continue; and not only that: we shall ensure the certainty of victory and power will belong to the people!!

**AMANDLA!**

**MAATLA!!**

**HAMBA KAHLE DUMA!  
TSAMAYA SINHLE!!**

(Duma is survived by his mother and father, of whom he was an only child as well as his wife, children and two grandchildren.)

**D**umalisile (Duma) Nokwe, Assistant-Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa passed away in Lusaka on 12 January 1978 after a short illness. His remains were laid to rest at the Leopardville Cemetery after a memorial service held in the hall of the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Lusaka. The service was attended by over 1,000 people. These included Government and Party officials of Zambia: The Secretary General of UNIP, Mr Grey Zulu, and the Hon. Prime Minister, Mainza Chona and members of the Diplomatic Corps in Zambia. Also present were leaders of the Southern African liberation Movements, representatives of the OAU and the Pan African Womens Organisation. The memorial meeting was chaired by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC.

Speakers included: Mr Grey Zulu on behalf of UNIP; Moses Garoeb on behalf of SWAPO; Jane Ngwenya for the Pan African Womens Organisation; President Joshua Nkomo on behalf of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe; Dr Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Despite many obstacles placed in their path, the parents of Duma Nokwe arrived in time for the burial.

Messages from governments, organisations both national and international and from individuals poured into the offices of the ANC, some of which are printed in this issue below.

At the service in Lusaka revolutionary songs by the Sechaba choir of the ANC and the SWAPO singing group were that very famous and moving poem "roll Call" was recited by its author George Shea.

## GOVERNMENTS

**Luiz Cabral - Jt. Secretary PAIGC**

The news of the tragic loss of Comrade Duma Nokwe caused profound shock among our militants. In these sorrowful circumstances we have the honour to extend

to the leadership and militants of the ANC as well as the South African people our heartfelt condolences. May the qualities and examples of the great deceased reinforce your determination to pursue your fight for freedom and dignity of your people in the interests of Africa and humanity.

**Dr. Leboa Jonathan, Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Lesotho.**

I have learnt with deep regret of the untimely death of a great and courageous son of Africa Mr. Duma Nokwe. Please accept sincere condolences of Motlotlehi's Government and the people of Lesotho on this sad loss... May his family to whom our sympathy also goes take comfort in the fact that Duma Nokwe's engagement in the struggle for freedom and rights of his people is imprinted in the sands of time.....

## EMBASSIES

**Jose Sobrado Cid, Ambassador of Cuba in Zambia.**

.....The death of our dear Comrade should not discourage us, because when a freedom fighter like Comrade Duma Nokwe dies, he becomes a source of inspiration for the increasing of the struggle of the oppressed masses against the racists, fascists, the reactionaries and international imperialists all over the world until victory is won...

**Gerhard Stein, Ambassador German Democratic Republic - Lusaka.**

To us the painful but irrevocable death of Comrade Duma Nokwe should be the motive to close our ranks still closer. By completing his aim of life, the liberation of all oppressed people, we honour the

At the graveside Duma Nokwe's parents witness the tribute paid to their son. As she buries her son, Duma's mother is helped by ANC President Oliver Tambo. Above right: the flagged draped coffin is lowered.



memory of Comrade Nokwe best.....

V. Solodovnikov, Ambassador USSR, Lusaka

It is with great sorrow that we learnt about the untimely death of Comrade Duma Nokwe, one of the outstanding leaders of the liberation struggle of South Africa. Please accept sincere condolences on behalf of the Embassy staff and on my own behalf.

## ORGANISATIONS

Kurt Kruger, General Secretary, Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic.

With deep pain we learnt of the death of Comrade Duma Nokwe. We mourn with you the loss of a highly respected and meritorious personality of the struggle of the South African people and of the National Liberation Movement against imperialism, racism and colonialism...

ANC Students -Maputo

...Learnt with great sorrow of the death of our Comrade Leader Duma Nokwe... To our leadership we express our determination to carry on resolutely with the struggle and to Comrade Nokwe's family we send our deepest condolences.

Pan-African Youth Movement - General Secretariat.

Pray accept heartfelt condolences on death of Comrade Duma Nokwe. His good work great inspiration for African youth working for liberation of Africa...

Gorden McLennan - General Secretary Communist Party of Great Britain

British Communists express deep sorrow and solidarity on tragic loss of outstanding leader of ANC...

Secretariat of French Communist Party.

...In these sorrowful circumstances we address deep condolences to the ANC

leadership and assure the people of South Africa of the solidarity of the French Communists in the struggle for freedom and human dignity.

Montenero Peronist Movement - Argentina  
F.V. Narvaja - Sec. International Affairs.

Argentine people and MPM join in mourning loss of Comrade Duma Nokwe. Common struggle shall continue until final victory.

Mr Grey Zulu, Secretary General of UNIP, ZAMBIA.

We in Zambia are greatly honoured that we will be the custodians of this gallant man."

British Anti-Apartheid Movement - London

...His life was an inspiration to all fighters against apartheid, racism and colonialism... Our tribute to Duma is to intensify our work and to reaffirm our solidarity with the ANC.

National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation USA.

...We in the United States feel deeply his loss because we have been so profoundly influenced by his revolutionary example. His legacy will illuminate the path ahead...

Henry Winston and Gus Hall - Communist Prty USA.

It is with great sorrow we learn of the death of Comrade Duma Nokwe...We feel we have a special tie with the South African people in the common struggle against imperialism. We vow to heighten the struggle against the Vorster racist apartheid regime to hasten victory for the black majority for a Peoples' South Africa.

George M. Hauser - American Committee on Africa.

Grieved to hear Duma Nokwe has died. He was a stalwart in the liberation struggle. We shall miss his leadership and comradeship.



**GEGEN RASSISMUS UND NEOKOLONIALISMUS  
FÜR DIE BEFREIUNG DES SÜDENS AFRIKAS**



**Duma Nokwe at the International Conference against Racism, Berlin, G.D.R. 1968**

**Nigerian Anti-Apartheid Committee.**

The Nigerian Anti-Apartheid Committee deeply regrets the untimely death of Comrade Duma Nokwe who visited us only last August.

**Defence and Aid - Netherlands.**

In sympathy with the passing away of your great combattant Duma Nokwe.

**Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee - Frankfurt/M FRG**

Shocked at sudden death of Duma Nokwe. Will always remember him with admiration and shall intensify our work in the spirit of Duma Nokwe.

**Anti-Apartheid Movement Netherlands.**

Deeply shocked at passing away of Duma Nokwe. In spite of his illness in recent years he was one of the most active and moving leaders of his people in the struggle against racist minority regime and its imperialist allies..Be sure of our continuing support for the struggle...

**Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee**

Heard with sorrow about premature death of Comrade Duma Nokwe. He was sincere friend of the Soviet people. Memory of Comrade Nokwe devoted son of South Africa will live forever in our hearts. Our condolences to the Nokwe family and his comrades-in-arms.

**National Executive Committee -South African Congress of Trade Unions.**

We learn with great shock the sudden death of Comrade Duma Nokwe. Kindly convey our condolences to his family.

**Umkhonto we Sizwe**

The armed wing of the African National Congress has lost a leading soldier. Fortunately not before he had painstakingly sharpened the spear which is now harrassing the fascist murderers at home. TSAMAYA SINHLE DUMA. AMANDLA NGAWETHU! DEATH TO IMPERIALISM!

**Secretariat - World Federation of Trade Unions -Prague.**

Deeply shocked at untimely death of great patriot and freedom fighter Duma Nokwe...Assuring you of our solidarity at all times.

**Romesh Chandra - World Peace Council  
- Helsinki.**

...His contribution to worldwide broad mobilisation of public opinion in support of struggle of his own people and for whole of Southern Africa will always be remembered.

**World Federation of Democratic Youth -  
Budapest.**

...Great loss to the revolutionary struggle. Ideals he pursued to free South Africa live forever.

**Leslie O. Harriman -Chairman Un Special  
Committee against Apartheid - New York**

Deeply grieved to hear of death of Duma Nokwe who has made great contribution to struggle for liberation of South Africa. We recall he was first ANC representative to appear before Special Committee in 1963. His statement at Lagos will always be remembered.

**Secretariat - International Union of Students  
- Prague**

Kindly accept Secretariat's deep condolences and sympathy for tragic death of Comrade Duma Nokwe...Victory to the people of South Africa.

**Lars-Gunnar Eriksson - International Univer-  
sity Exchange Fund - Geneva**

I personally and the IUEF Secretariat, Board and Assembly expresses its deepest regrets at the loss of vigilant SA Freedom fighter and good friend Duma Nokwe. We are with you and those others close to him at this time.

**African Liberation Committee -Dar es  
Salaam**

...Untimely death of Comrade Nokwe is a tragic loss not only to Africa but to the progressive world as a whole. Convey this sentiment to your President as well as to the family of the late Comrade.

Death of Comrade Nokwe irreparable loss to struggling peoples of Africa at very critical stage of struggle to liberate South Africa.

**The Socialist League of Malawi (Lesoma)**

...Bound together by a common destiny, we strongly feel that the death of this great African revolutionary is not only a loss of the African National Congress of South Africa but also a loss to the entire people of our sub-region locked in the fight for freedom and justice whether these are denied by a non-member or a member of our stock.

**Pan Africanist Congress - Dar es Salaam**

Shocked and grieved at the untimely passing away of Comrade Duma Nokwe. PAC sends heartfelt condolences and expresses sympathy and solidarity with our comrades of the ANC in their hour of sadness.

**Ruth Mompati - Womens International  
Democratic Federation -Berlin**

...Duma yet another victim of Vorster regime. Only way to mourn him is to intensify our struggle - that is what he would say.

**Basutoland Congress Party (Lesotho)  
Lusaka**

..Comrade Duma's physical departure presents a great challenge to all the sons of South Africa, particularly to the youth who have to surge forward and hold high the banner of African Freedom...

**ANC Students -Nigeria**

Bereaved a people's son. Let it be an inspiration. Together we will pick up the spear of the Nation to fight more courageously. Mobilise Don't Mourn.

**ANC Students - Bulgaria**

...We are determined to continue from where you left off. The struggle continues.

# OUR GREATEST INDIAN LEADER SINCE GANDHIJI

“ . . . Monty was one of the main architects of the unity of action of all oppressed black people . . . ”

January 12 was a very sad day for the people of South Africa. On this fateful day, within the space of hours, South Africa lost two of her most distinguished sons - Duma Nokwe and Gangathura Mohambry Naicker. Both of these great men, by their clear sighted and militant leadership, by their immense personal courage, sacrifice, and

total dedication to the cause of freedom of the people, have earned for themselves an honoured place in the history of our national liberation struggle as Heroes of the South African Revolution.

In this issue of Sechaba we pay special tribute to Duma Nokwe and Dr Naicker, and dip our banner in their honour.

A 'United Front' of all anti-racists and democratic forces — an ideal which Monty lived for



As one who has had the privilege, honour and indeed, the pleasure of being a close associate and comrade-in-arms of Dr Naicker - MONTY to all of us - in the political arena for the last forty years, it can be said without exaggeration that he was the greatest leader that the Indian community has produced since the time of Gandhiji.

Monty was a man of the people who believed in collective leadership and made an invaluable contribution in transforming the Natal Indian Congress once again into a mass organisation, unifying and mobilising all sections of the community - the working class, small traders, professionals and intellectuals, youth, students and women - for mass political action.

He strongly advocated and assiduously worked for the unity of the people - irrespective of their religious beliefs or political affiliations - in the common struggle against racial discrimination and for full democratic rights and equal opportunities for all.

Monty was an ardent revolutionary nationalist and one of the main architects in laying the foundation of building the 'Unity in Action' of all the oppressed black people in their common struggle for national liberation.

The Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact of 1947; The National Day of Protest 1950; the Defiance Campaign of 1952 and the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in 1955 bear ample testimony to his fruitful labour in this direction.

Monty was born in Durban in 1910 the year in which the ruling capitalist class consolidated their economic hegemony over the whole country with political power to maintain and perpetuate it. The new constitution legalised the racism, national oppression and class exploitation of the black majority: African, Coloured and Indian found themselves voiceless and voteless in the land of their birth.

Earlier, Monty's grandparents were brought from India to work the huge sugar cane plantations owned by the growing class of white capitalist landowners. There were promises of a better life from that obtaining in a poverty-stricken India dominated by British imperialism. There were also promises of full citizenship. Reality was different. Whilst the labour-power of the Indian masses, harnessed under near slave

conditions, built the economy of Natal and the country and created wealth for the white capitalist landowners, their own economic condition was dogged by want, poverty, unemployment and deprivation. The racism and racial arrogance of the white colonists found ready expression in laws denying them any semblance of civil liberties and democratic rights.

White tyranny and the harsh material conditions of life was answered by fierce campaigns of resistance, defiance and confrontation against white supremacy rule. The Natal Indian Congress (NIC) was formed in 1893 under the leadership of Mohondas Karamchand Gandhi, later to become the architect of India's liberation struggle. Struggle by way of mass petitions of grievances and demands, and deputations were soon succeeded by the mass-based passive resistance campaigns of 1907, 1913 and 1927. Although these campaigns are known as "passive" resistance campaigns, they were in fact active campaigns of protest and defiance.

It was against this background that Monty grew up. At the age of 17 he was sent to Edinburgh in Scotland to complete his secondary education and study medicine. In 1934 he returned to South Africa, having successfully qualified as a doctor, and set up practice in Durban, where he inevitably became involved with the social and economic problems of the many poor who daily filled his practice. Political consciousness grew out of these conditions and the desire to find solutions to them. During the course of the next 10 years Monty became involved in a number of organisations created to give organised expression to their struggle and drew nearer to the trade union struggle. Together with a group of radical activists, he formed the Anti-Segregation League to mobilise the Indian masses against the Smut's regimes Pegging Act, designed to restrict Indian landownership rights and introduce residential segregation. The League also saw as its other main task the ousting of the reactionary "leadership" dominating the once-powerful NIC in the interest of the tiny merchant class so ready to compromise in its own narrow interests.

In October 1945 the radicals seized control of the NIC with mass support. Monty was acclaimed by a crowd of 12,000

enthusiastic supporters as the new President, and the new executive, drawn from all walks of life - workers and trade unionists, doctors, nurses, teachers and progressive small traders - proceeded to transform Congress once more into a Peoples' organisation. In December, 1945 the militant section of the Transvaal Indian Congress (TIC) gained power in an attempt to unite all anti-racist and democratic forces in our country.

The new pledge by a united leadership of the Indian Congress reflected the force of ideas towards unity in purpose and action of all the oppressed and exploited: "to make common cause with all sections of the Non-European peoples in economic and political issues". The year 1946 saw the ideas of united struggle advance by leaps in the 3 great mass-based campaigns launched by the black people: the great African Mineworkers Strike, the anti-Pass Campaign and the Passive Resistance Campaign against Smuts' Ghetto Act for the Indian people.

Monty Naicker, together with the new leadership, threw himself unsparingly into mobilising the people to defy the Ghetto Act. Thousands defied by occupying plots of land and areas from which the Act excluded them. More than 2000 courted arrest and imprisonment; among them Monty. But not before he and myself left for India and gained support for the people's cause. The following year, an independent India cut off all diplomatic and trade relations with the racist regime of South Africa and raised and condemned the policy and practice of white minority rule at the UNO. The cause of the black people's struggles was internationalised and has remained a burning issue for freedom loving people the world over. More important was the way in which these 3 great campaigns interacted on each other, drew pledges of support and solidarity from each other and drew the forces of national and class liberation closer.

On 9th March 1947 the high degree of unity in action and perspective during the historic campaigns of 1946 found organisational expression in the Joint Declaration of Cooperation issued by Dr A.B. Xuma of the ANC and doctors Monty Naicker and Yusuf Dadoo of the Indian Congress. The Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo Pact laid the foundation of the formation of the Congress



Dr Monty Naicker, Indian Congress Leader

Alliance formed in 1955. For Monty, who at his inaugural speech as President of the NIC called for a united front of all anti-racist and democratic forces against white supremacy rule, an ideal was being given substance. It was an ideal which he lived for and practised in real life right to the end. During his lifetime he worked closely with all genuine patriots - Africans, Coloureds, Indians and democratic whites. He never built nor encouraged ideological barriers around him, being equally at home with Christian, Hindu, Moslem and non-believer; with communist and revolutionary nationalist. What mattered was the common struggle of the oppressed and exploited against the common oppressor.

Soon after the Declaration of Cooperation, the ANC and the Indian Congress with the full backing of the SACP and the APO (Coloured Peoples Organisation) jointly launched the great Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign early in 1952 as the practical testing ground of unity in action of the toiling masses. The Campaign became the most forceful reminder of the Power of the People when properly organised. Thou-

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**“ . . . his hand went up in the clenched fist salute . . . ‘Amandla!’ I said.  
The first grew firmer . . . ”**

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sands defied selected unjust laws all over the country. More than 8,000 Africans, Indians, Coloureds and White democrats were arrested and imprisoned, the regime of white supremacy, conscious of the danger posed by the massive defiance confidently and skillfully organised and with such united backing, introduced new draconian laws. But the new strategy of mass based action in which the freedom of the people became the primary responsibility of the People themselves, could not be denied during the entire decade of the 50's. Nelson Mandela, then National Organiser of the Campaign was to declare, when it became known that the Presidents of the ANC and NIC, Chief Lutuli and Monty Naicker had volunteered to defy jointly: “We can now say that the unity of the Non European people in this country has become a reality.”

Monty emerged from his period of imprisonment after the Defiance Campaign with a renewed and undaunted vigour setting about organising and mobilising the people in the campaign of seeking out from the People their deepest aspirations and demands for a future South Africa and consolidating the unity thus far forged.

In March 1954 the alliance between the ANC and Indian Congress was strengthened by the CPC (Coloured People's Congress), COD (Congress of Democrats, the organisation of white democrats) and SACTU (South African Congress of Trade Unions, the only non-racial Trade Union Council in South Africa). From the Congress Alliance, headed by the premier liberation organisation, the ANC, organisational unity was crowned on 26 June 1955 - South Africa Freedom Day - with political unity with the adoption of the Movement's basic programme of principles - the Freedom Charter.

In December 1956, Monty together with 155 of the Peoples leaders was arrested for High Treason.

The trial dragged on for 5 long years and in the end all the accused, once facing the possibility of the death sentence were released. Monty himself like so many other Treason Trialists was already serving a 5 year banning order when charged.

But the People were not deterred. New forms of struggle to cope with the new situation were being forged and prepared. The massacre of the African people at Sharpsville and the banning of the ANC closed the doors to the possibility of non-violent change in our country. On 16 December 1961, with simultaneous acts of sabotage in the major provinces of our country, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the National Liberation Movement, led by the ANC, announced to all South Africans: “There comes a time in the life of a nation when there remains only one choice: Submit or Fight. That time has now come to South Africa”.

Indian militants joined their African and Coloured compatriots within the ranks of MK and a new chapter in the history of our national liberation opened.

For Monty Naicker the years from 1960 to 1974 were years of continuous banning orders, restricting his life and effectively cutting him off from any political activity. Failing in health, he nevertheless became from 1977 the head of the anti-South African Indian Council Campaign to mobilise the Indian people once more to reject the dummy Indian council and the fraudulent 3-tier Parliament for Whites, Coloureds and Indians.

Almost his last sentiments and act in hospital according to a close friend, as reported in the Leader, were:

“Monty,” I called. “Hello”, he replied “How are you?”

“Well,” he said, “getting on - but things in this country - they are moving too slow - too slow for change.”

...his hand went up in the clenched fist salute and stayed there. “Amandla!”, I said. The clenched fist grew firmer... I had to return it to bed.”

Monty Naicker died as he lived: Defiantly, heroically. The greatest tribute we can pay to this great son of the people is to intensify the Freedom Struggle.

**HAMBA KAHLE MONTY NAICKER!**

Dr Yusuf Dadoo

# T.T. NKOBI: JACK'S FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM

“. . . he became a great teacher, contributor to the nucleus around which MK units were established . . .”

On December 17, 1977 a memorial meeting was held in London to mark the death of Comrade Jack Hodgson. The meeting organised by the ANC was attended by over 300 people. Speakers at the meeting were: Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer General of the ANC and representative of the NEC; Dr Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party; John Gaetsewe, Secretary General of SACTU; Joe Slovo, representing the Revolutionary Council; Rusty Bernstein spoke on behalf of the family. The meeting was chaired by NEC member Steven Dlamini, President of SACTU.

We reproduce the speech of our Treasurer General below and a message to Comrade Rica Hodgson FROM our President Oliver Tambo.

Comrades,

Our meeting takes place today at a very grave, but at the same time glorious, moment in the history of our people. At no stage in our history has the struggle between the forces of social progress, national independence and peace on the one hand, and the forces of colonial and class oppression on the other, reached such a revolutionary height.

Our colonial oppressors have used everything in their armoury to destroy our struggle - detentions, torture, massacres, the imprisonment of thousands upon thousands of workers, youth and students. But not only does our struggle continue, its pace and scope grow continuously in both quantity and quality!

Never before have our people displayed such a unity of purpose in action. The destruction of the very foundations of the racist system of oppression has become the

first item on everyones agenda. Quite clearly, new higher tactics of the direct hit are being applied. Reports of grenade attacks, dynamite attacks, of the blasting of railway lines etc are being received more and more frequently. NO LONGER ARE OUR PEOPLE UNARMED!

For many years now the South African Security Police and propaganda machinery have focussed attention on the activities of the great freedom fighter Jack Hodgson, regarding him as one of the most feared South African Communists, a military expert and teacher in the use of explosives and sabotage, a man greatly loved by all who cherish freedom. THIS IS TRUE!

Jack Hodgson was a man with a deep appreciation of oppression, as a result of which he became a great teacher contributing to the nucleus around which Umkhonto we Sizwe units were established. He was among the first with technical know-how of explosives who was fully prepared to impart this knowledge so that the aims of liberation could be achieved. He insured that the Black man was no longer unarmed in his struggle, but would fully understand the military aspects of warfare, and would have the means of implementing them.

Jack was in the forefront fighting fascism wherever it existed. After fighting as a "Desert Rat" in North Africa, he came back from the war against Hitler's Nazism, Mussolini's fascism and Japan's militarism to a South Africa where the disciples of Hitler were organising themselves to usurp power.

A centrepiece of the Springbok Legion, which had the slogan at that time already of "Do Not Mourn, Mobilise", he dedicated 45

his life to ridding South Africa of the scourge of fascism. \*

The foundations of our ability to resist, to conduct a war against our oppressors, were laid in the founding of our military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, of which Jack was a founder member. Thus when we commemorate the founding of MK, and pay this tribute to a founder member, we remember at the same time all those patriots who have lost their lives in pursuance of the aims and objectives of the ANC, that is - to liberate our country from the colonialists and imperialists by means of armed struggle in order to transfer political, military and economic power to the people.

Jack Hodgson was indeed a great soldier. During his illness he never moaned and groaned: Indeed he was a quiet man of action, seldom seen in the limelight, but the results of his activities are today felt everywhere. He is a man like Che Guevara, Mini, Fisher and many others who will be more feared by the enemy dead than alive, as the ideals of what they fought for, and the example they set, will last forever.

Back home he was fully engaged in the liberation struggle, and the comrades who worked with him used to call him the "Desert Rat" because of his zealousness and dedication to the cause of liberation, and his tremendous ability to work harmoniously with the underground machinery. Without going into great detail about everything that Comrade Jack did for the ANC, we pay tribute to this great warrior who was an example to the Whites in South Africa, showing that there is room for all sections of the population to play their part in liquidating fascism in our country.

He was amongst those whites who refused to enjoy the bribery and privilege that is part and parcel of the way of life for Whites in South Africa. Instead he chose a life full of hardship and self-sacrifice, totally dedicated to the cause of liberation, human justice and dignity.

Jack was a man of the people, and shared the suffering and sorrow of the Black people of South Africa. When the Malan

Government took power, he was in the forefront fighting against fascism in South Africa, and those of us old enough to remember will never forget the many battles on the City Hall steps.

Comrades, the activity of Comrade Jack was not done in isolation. There are progressive whites who lived and thought like he did, men like the late Bram Fisher, or Denis Goldberg serving a life sentence in Pretoria Local and many others who are identifying themselves with the liberation struggle for national independence, freedom, peace and justice. They are the vanguard in whose footsteps whites in South Africa should follow. The African National Congress calls upon all sections of the population to join the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe to fight against fascism in our country. **THIS IS WHAT JACK HODGSON STOOD FOR! LIVED FOR! DIED FOR!** The ANC shall continue this great work of armed struggle which you initiated until victory is achieved.

Your memory will remain everlasting in our minds for the courage and inspiration you have demonstrated for all the people of South Africa, and indeed throughout the world.

**VICTORY OR DEATH!**

**AMANDLA! MAATLA!**

**POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

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Dear Rica,

We are all saddened by the passing of Jack. I know Adelaide and our children join me in expressing sincerest condolences to you and to your family in this difficult hour of your life. A member of the N.E.C. will be at the Memorial Meeting to represent our broader family, of which Jack was a beloved and admired member.

The last two years have been very hard for Jack and for you; and were a constant pain to all of us who feared we might lose



“ . . . what Jack gave in service to our people has already gone into the making of our history . . . ”

him prematurely, as we so tragically have. Yet, while he lived, we hoped. He himself inspired this hope in us. I remember the evening, some three weeks before Jack left us, when Adelaide and I called in at your home. We found him battling for breath; but what little air he managed to put into his reluctant lungs he used exclusively in a conversation about our struggle. He got me so pleasantly involved that I soon forgot about his breathless breathing: I was suddenly back in Africa, among our militants and activists, north and south of the Limpopo - and Jack was also there. We were talking about the problems and prospects of our struggle. And as usual, he was so cheerful and so full of enthusiasm that he seemed to be treating his severe condition as a rather bothersome inconvenience, an ill-timed distraction.

Such was the Jack we have known and lost: His fanatical preoccupation with the pursuit of the cause of freedom, democracy

and social justice in our country towered above all else and dominated even the most critical moments of his long illness.

And you, Rica, many of us see in you and Jack an example of the perfect couple. With that couple no longer physically complete, not only do we feel broken, but society itself is the worse for it.

Our loss is, however, not total. What Jack gave in service to our people, to our Movement and struggle, to all South Africa, neither death nor time can take away. For it has already gone into the making of our history, the definition of our current activity, and the shaping of our future. And I have not the slightest doubt that in the fulness of time, it will blossom into a new South Africa. Therefore, dear Rica, Keep Strong and Feel Strong.

Amandla!

O.R.

The fascist regime's repressive laws since the 1950's continuously sparked militant protest



# JAPAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO APARTHEID

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**"Japan has rapidly increased its involvement in the strengthening of the South Africa economy . . ."**

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It is important that the world should be kept informed of the special role of Japan in supporting the South African apartheid economy. Although it is by no means the only country which is collaborating extensively with the white minority regime in South Africa, it has increased its involvement rapidly in the last few years, and has become uniquely important in such crucial areas as the bulk export of South Africa's mineral wealth, and the provision of technical assistance for the establishment of South African industry.

The Japanese contribution to *apartheid* is often overlooked in more immediate concerns with the roles of the more traditional economic allies of *apartheid* such as the United States, the United Kingdom and other members of the European Community.

Japanese involvement in South Africa involves huge and growing sums of money. According to the South African figures, Japanese exports to South Africa increased by 74% in the six years from 1968 to 1974. In the same period, Japanese imports from South Africa increased by 2,426 per cent, making Japan the largest importer of South African exports after the United Kingdom, and its fourth biggest supplier. South Africa accounted for 30 per cent of all Japan's exports from the African continent in 1974, and 20 per cent of its exports to Africa. Japan's imports from South Africa were almost double its exports there. Obviously, then, Japan's major role is as a purchaser of South

African goods. Japanese exports to South Africa are of concern mainly because of their link with Japanese investment and technical assistance.

Since Japan has few natural resources of its own, it has a voracious appetite for mineral imports. The general pattern is for long-term deals with major mineral exporters, in which South Africa figures prominently. This type of arrangement is uniquely valuable to South Africa's ruling white minority in its efforts to export the country's minerals, and even more important, to obtain long-term purchasing commitments in order to raise the capital for major infrastructure projects designed to speed up the export of minerals. Some of the biggest trade deals between Japan and South Africa are vital to the most important development projects, along the classic colonial model of facilitating the export of a country's irreplaceable wealth.

The classic case of this is the Sishen-Saldanha scheme, the scheme for railroad and harbour construction and expansion of the Sishen mine to boost exports of South African iron ore deposits, and also the newly discovered mineral deposits in the North-West Cape. The scheme is also seen as the focus of a major industrialisation drive in the region and of major importance to the whole country, including construction of a steel mill and dry dock. The economic viability of the scheme depends on enormous long-term contracts for the export of iron ore to Japan. In 1968 the Japanese steel industry



Japanese workers who do not reap the apartheid profits protest against inflation

was already buying about 400,000 tons of iron ore a year from the Sishen mine, owned by the State corporation ISCOR.

Contracts provided for five million tons of ore a year to be purchased by Japanese mills from two private companies at Sishen, starting in 1976. Another contract provides for the purchase of 70 million

tons of iron ore over a 16-year period from Consolidated African Mines, for delivery when the new ore terminal facilities at St Croix Island are completed. Another contract provides for purchases of over 400,000 tons of manganiferous ore from CAM between 1974 and 1977, and deliveries of 8.6 million tons over 11 years beginning in 1977.

An even larger contract with Iscor for seven million tons of ore a year, starting in 1976, would be "one of the biggest export deals of all time", according to the South African *Financial Mail*. Protracted delays ensued, which the *Rand Daily Mail* reported in May 1974 to be attributed to "growing pressure on Japan to scale down its trade with South Africa." In July 1975, however, it was reported that ISCOR had concluded an initial contract for the export to Japan of 7.5 million tons of iron ore a year, although all details were secret. Meanwhile, the steel industry was considering cooperation in the development of the proposed huge Saldanha steel production complex, despite reported opposition from the Japanese government. Contracts provide for the purchase of 19 million tons of semi-finished steel from Saldanha between 1976 and 1978, and a further 11 million tons after 1979.

These enormous purchase orders obviously underwrite the construction of the whole Saldanha-Sishen transportation network, the steel mill at Saldanha Bay, and the St Croix ore terminal. These are projects of major importance to the minority regime in South Africa, and are attracting hundreds of millions of dollars from the international financial market on the basis of the Japanese commitments.

A similar project in which the Japanese also play a crucial role is expansion of Richards Bay and construction of a new railroad to serve this new port. In this case the commodity involved is coal, which the Japanese are buying in the attempt to restrict their overwhelming dependence

on Middle Eastern oil. The project was approved by the South African government in 1971 after the signing of a \$288 million contract for the export of 27 million tons of coal to Japan over an 11-year period starting in 1976. The contract also gave a powerful impulse to the revitalisation of South Africa's whole coal industry, since it was for such huge amounts at four times the domestic price. The industry was stagnant for many years, and Japan's contribution to its revival will help South Africa to become less dependent on oil for its own energy needs. Japanese companies are among those reported to have sought to enter into partnership arrangements with South African companies for the exploitation of newly operative coal deposits. The Japanese purchase contracts are with the Transvaal Coal Owners' Association, and since 1970 the Mutsui Mining Company of Japan has been providing long-term technical assistance to the Association.

Another avenue which is being taken up by the Japanese in their search for alternative energy sources is the extraction of oil from coal. In this it is reported that the South African government is providing direct assistance to the Japanese, among other countries, in a reverse technical assistance deal.

Many other minerals are being exported on a massive scale to Japan. In 1974, Nippon Metal Industry and Nisshin Steel signed long-term contracts with the African Metals Corporation, a South African state corporation, for a major part of their chrome requirements, while many other deals are already in progress — involving Southern Rhodesian as well as South African production. This has led to the construction of greatly increased ferrochrome capacity in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa in the last few years, installed with foreign capital and expertise on the basis of export orders by Japan and other countries. In addition, a quarter of all South Africa's platinum production is shipped

to Japan. This is another commodity for which demand has boomed, resulting in the rapid expansion of mining activities. Manganese is another important South African export, and Consolidated African Mines alone closed a contract last year for the export of one million tons of ore a year to Japan by 1980.

Other minerals which Japan buys from South Africa include diamonds, asbestos, copper, vanadium and fluorspar. Last but by no means least, Japanese power companies have concluded contracts for the purchase of huge quantities of refined uranium from South Africa for the crash programme of nuclear power construction which is a central feature of the Japanese energy programme, arising out of pressure on the government from the power companies involved in the uranium purchases. By the end of 1973, 46 per cent of all Japan's projected uranium purchases were to be obtained from South Africa and Namibia.

It is the minerals which will provide the basis for a sudden expansion of South African exports to Japan in the coming years. Nevertheless, the most important export item has traditionally been maize, which is also the staple item in the diet of Africans in South Africa who live in extreme poverty. The enormous exports of maize, as well as sugar, wool and other agricultural products to Japan obviously drives up the price of these commodities in South Africa itself, depriving the people in the greatest need of the most basic item in their daily diet. Japan's purchases of sugar have become so important to the South African sugar plantations that they have geared their processing standards to the requirements of Japanese mills.

Japanese exports to South Africa are of crucial importance to its economic expansion. Most of the exports are either capital goods required for increasing local production in South Africa, or semi-finished products, including components for assembly there. Easily the most important

**“ . . . many of their major enterprises are in border areas where wages are far below the minimum . . . ”**

item is motor vehicle components. In 1973 Japan became the most important country of origin for vehicles sold in South Africa, which have to be assembled there under local-content regulations. Japanese makes have captured a third of the competitive South African market, and are especially strong in the light commercial vehicle sector. In fiscal year 1974, South Africa was the third largest market for Japanese car exports. It is no accident that Japanese makes assembled in South Africa, using some locally made components, are identical to those produced in Japan. The key is in the provision of blueprints, licences, franchises, managerial and technical personnel and all other aspects of a technical assistance, including specialised equipment.

In 1972 Toyota, Nissan and Mitsubishi mounted an aggressive campaign to expand their share of the South African market already captured by export sales prior to the local content regulations.

After aggressive sales of finished products, which involved dumping of cut-rate cars through a South African sales company, the accumulated capital was retained in South Africa and used to establish an assembly plant. Further revenue was acquired by the sale of assembly franchises and of parts. Thus, the companies are enabled to invest large amounts of capital through the retention in South Africa of export earnings instead of their repatriation. This easily nullifies the official policy of the Japanese government of prohibiting investment in South Africa.

A variety of different techniques are used by Japanese firms to invest in South Africa, most of them in direct partnership with state corporations and local private companies, and following South African government policy to the letter. Many of the major enterprises are in border areas in line with the South African Bantustan policy, where mini-

**Foreign Minister Hatayoma and Economic Affairs Minister Ushiba; strengthen apartheid**



mum wage determinations are invalid and wages are paid far below even the minimal wages in the major industrial centres.

Japan's so-called ban on investment in South Africa has a number of loopholes, including permission for investment in trading house offices and similar marketing facilities. There is also some evasion of the policy via investment from Japanese-controlled companies registered in other countries, such as Switzerland. The most important deals, however, remain the technical assistance and franchise operations, together with the provision of major capital equipment and installations on easy credit terms backed by the Japanese government itself. In 1973, the two major electrical machinery companies were commissioned to supply power generators for a power plant, the key installation in the South African government's Orange River project, the largest ever undertaken in the country. Japanese companies are also participating in steel mill construction by Iscor, with orders for steel rolling mills and billet steel mills. A vital element in the deal was an easy-term loan guaranteed by the Japanese government's Export-Import Bank. Another contract was given to the Mutsui group for construction of an oxygen furnace at an Iscor plant, said to be biggest "prize" in the machinery field that South Africa had so far signed. This was reported to be in recognition of the role of Mutsui as the agent in the Japanese-South African coal deal.

The massive orders for mineral shipments to Japan have created a need for new shipping capacity. Since 1972, Japan's shipbuilding industry has already sold three super-tankers and a sugar bulk carrier to South Africa for this purpose. In addition, eight conventional ships belonging to the South African State shipping concern, Safmarine, are being enlarged and modified in Mutsubishi shipyards in Japan, to suit them for containerisation, a process which will put large numbers of black dockworkers in

South Africa out of work.

With the conclusion of these massive deals involving Japanese government financing for the installation of plant and equipment in South African government projects, a process which constitutes direct investment in all but name, there has been considerable criticism of the Japanese involvement. As a result, the Japanese government announced in 1974 that there would be no more Ex-Im Bank loans to South Africa. However, an official of the Bank frankly admitted that there would not be any substantial policy change as a result of the announcement, since the Bank had already committed itself to financing the major deals which would be in effect for many years ahead.

Another source of direct Japanese financing of South African projects is the banks. Huge loans were provided by seven Japanese banks through a joint subsidiary set up in London, the Japan International Bank, in connection with loans to the South African government and its agencies through the European American Banking Corporation. The Japanese government, alerted by press publicity and comments abroad, including the United Nations, stopped the loans only after \$10 million had been handed over. Another bank loan was subsequently arranged, however, by Slater Walker Securities of South Africa, a subsidiary of a British company. A \$20 million loan was provided by nine Japanese banks for South Africa's industrial projects.

As I have outlined, Japanese trade with South Africa, particularly its imports from South Africa, are of great and growing importance to the minority regime, especially in exploiting the natural resources, both mineral and agricultural, of the country. This collaboration is about to take off for much higher levels in 1977, when the massive long-term deals in coal, iron ore, uranium and other minerals become operative. At the same time, Japan is investing heavily in South

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**"The Japanese government is promoting an increased financial commitment to apartheid . . ."**

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African State-run enterprises, including the biggest projects ever undertaken there, and in various joint enterprises in strict compliance with the Bantustan policy. This is done as part of the export deals to South Africa, where the proceeds are kept in the Republic for investment, as well as through complex technical assistance deals whereby Japanese goods are produced in South Africa itself. In addition, we find that the Japanese government is financing the installation of whole plants, steel mills and other operations through its backing of package deals through the Export-Import Bank. Additional finance is supplied, for South African government and other projects by Japanese banks.

This growing support for the South African economy reveals the hypocrisy of the Japanese. The government, under inexorable pressure from the big corporations, is promoting an increased financial commitment to *apartheid* at the same time as promising a stand against racialism around the world. It claims to be banning investment while all the time Japanese investment is booming. It announced the end of Export-Import Bank deals for South Africa only after the major multi-million dollar deals for years ahead had been safely finalised. It claims to impose a ban on South African sporting, cultural and other representatives while allowing free access to business and government representatives, and even allows direct



**"You see . . . if you switch off the lights there are no blacks in South Africa."**

financing of numerous Japanese agencies permanently in South Africa. It is attempting to solve its energy and raw materials problems at the expense of Africa. It is even importing agricultural products to the detriment of the poorest people in South Africa.

All of this could be explicable in terms of Japan's overriding national interest — except for one thing. By committing itself so strongly to South Africa, Japan is increasingly showing itself to be an unreliable ally for independent Africa, and the whole of the Third World. Its gestures of solidarity with Africans are mere tokens, designed to cover up the alliance with Africa's enemies. It is vital that the veil of obscurity and secrecy over Japan's dealings with South Africa be lifted, so that the world can see clearly what is happening. In November 1974, Foreign Minister Toshio Kimura mentioned an agreement in principle, that if Japan cut its trade with South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, independent African countries would make up the difference. Yet the reverse has happened. Trade and devious forms of investment in South Africa are booming. The conclusion would appear to be either that Japan despises independent Africa, and has forgotten its vital resources of minerals and other raw materials, as well as its important markets for Japanese exports, or else the Japanese

have assumed that the Africans will not be able to see their real strategy of alignment with apartheid.

In September 1974, the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid, led by Ambassador Ogbu, sent a delegation to Japan to discuss its policies towards apartheid. In his welcoming speech the Foreign Minister claimed: "Japan has consistently opposed this inhuman policy which ignores social justice and human rights, on every possible occasion. This policy of Japan will continue unswervingly in the future."

In the light of the above information — actions speak louder than words. The Japanese have miscalculated. This is not only a moral and political issue, it involves Japan's economic future also. South Africa has always stressed the alleged prosperity of its apartheid economy, based on gold and cheap labour. But with the falling price of gold and shrinking South African output, we are beginning to see this famous prosperity and economic strength being eroded seriously by the demands of maintaining the *apartheid* fortress and its rich white minority.

The major props remaining are the international bankers and the countries prepared to place massive orders for many years in advance to underwrite the ambitious new schemes by which the South African government hopes to continue its economic growth of the last decade or so. In this, Japan is the chief subsidiser of the *apartheid* economy. They may yet come to realise that not even this can safeguard their existing investment in South Africa. The limited survival prospects of the minority regime are artificially bolstered by the apparently total commitment of Japanese big business, backed by the resources of the Japanese government. In the long run, this is directly contrary to the national interest of Japan and its people.



\*THE SILENCED MAJORITY\*



# ISRAEL'S COLLABORATION WITH FASCIST SOUTH AFRICA-II

"... the least publicised and most sinister area of the relationship  
is the nuclear connection . . ."

Community of aims and interests have naturally led to the strengthening of military collaboration between the two countries. Israel's ambassador in SA Itzhak Unna, affirmed that S Africans regard Israel as a "frontline bulwark against Soviet expansionism". ASA military delegation visited Israel in 1967 after the June War to study the military strategy involved to become part of the curriculum in the S African military colleges. The

British Guardian reported that senior Israeli army officers were training the SA army in counter-insurgency methods, and that General Meir Amit, then visiting SA (in connection with the Iskoor venture) had confirmed the military collaboration between the states. During 1976 General Webster, of the SA General Staff, spent some months in the Galilee, in the Hashomer Hatzair kibbutz Sassa) as guest of the army. In the Galilee, efficient



measures have been developed in dealing with "infiltrators" from Lebanon and Syria.

The BBC reported that 50 persons of the SA Navy were being trained near Haifa to man the Reshet missile carrying patrol boats that were being built for SA in Israeli shipyards. Six such boats are to be supplied.

The supply of military hardware appears to be the driving force in S Africa's relations with Israel. The Israeli Uzi gun has long been in use in SA. In May 1971 Edwin Ogbu, former head of the UN Committee for the Struggle Against Apartheid, accused the Israeli government of selling arms to SA in violation of the UN arms embargo. Israel is supplying Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles for the SA navy, and these are S Africa's first sea missiles. The sale of these missiles is said to have come "as a bombshell to Britain and other states who had refused to sell the South Africans the missiles they so desperately needed."

Vorster's trip to Israel was prompted by S Africa's interest in financing long-range expansion of Israel's arms industry, thereby paving the way for Israeli arms sales to SA. Vorster reportedly wanted Israel to double its current production of 4 Kfirs a month, which would necessitate the cooperation of the US which licenses the sale of General Electric turbojets for the fighters. As far as SA is concerned it would seem that no difficulties have arisen — the USA, in order to preserve its image in Africa prefers that military hardware be supplied via Israel and other states.

Washington Post figures showed the rapid increase in S African investments in Israel's war industry: in 1976 they would amount to R20m. and R32m. in 1977, as against R11m. in 1975. During his sojourn in Israel, Vorster visited the Israeli aircraft industry and an airforce base, indicating where his main interest lay.

US aid to Israel is a means of providing

aid to SA, against whom there is an official embargo. The newspaper describes the US-Israel-SA relationship as a "satanic triangle" directed against the national liberation movement in Africa and against the struggle of the Arab countries to put an end to the consequences of Israeli aggression.

The least publicised area of the SA-Israeli relationship, but the most sinister and potentially the most dangerous, is the nuclear connection.

At the time of Vorster's visit, Israeli leaders intimated that in return for military hardware, Israel would receive from SA strategic materials such as coal, chrome, platinum, titanium and uranium. SA is at present the second largest uranium producer, outside the socialist states, with about 25 per cent of the known reserves. In April 1975 Vorster announced the completion of the first stage of a pilot plant for uranium enrichment, using technology (as detailed in SECHABA, Nov Dec 1975) supplied by the West German STEAG corporation. In June 1975 a pilot plant was commissioned at Pelindaba to produce uranium hexafluoride, the gaseous "feed material" for the enrichment plant. In April 1975 Mr Roux, Chairman of the Uranium Enrichment Corporation (UCOR), disclosed that a R910m uranium enrichment plant would be constructed as an internationally financed venture, to produce 5000 tons of enriched uranium a year by 1986, with a development potential of 10,000 tons (SECHABA, First Quarter, 1976).

It was expected to come into operation by 1984. In view of an expected world production gap of 6,000 tons of uranium per year by 1985, SA would become a major world supplier and would involve many countries in the apartheid economy.

We note at this stage that natural uranium contains 0.7 per cent of the light isotope U235. For operation of nuclear reactors the natural uranium must be enriched until it contains about 3 per cent

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**“ . . . the USA prefers that military hardware be supplied (to South Africa) via Israel . . . ”**

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of U235. In principle a plant that enriches to 3 per cent can also enrich up to 90 per cent by continued recycling, and this is the concentration necessary to build atomic bombs. The SA government is fully aware of this option. On 12 July 1974 Louw Alberts, Vice-Chairman of the Atomic Energy Board, boasted that SA was able to produce the atomic bomb, and in May, 1976, Vorster emphasised that SA had not signed the nuclear non-proliferation treaty and that her defences included a nuclear capability.

Uranium enriched to weapon-grade concentration is not the only nuclear option. In February 1974 Dr Straszacker, Chairman of the SA Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM), announced that a power plant consisting of two nuclear sectors of nearly 2,000 megawatt total capacity would be built at Koeberg near Cape Town, and start operating by 1982. At the end of May 1976 a \$1000m contract was signed with a French consortium for the erection of the plants. The French government significantly is also a non-signatory to the non-proliferation

treaty. It is estimated that the plutonium which will be extracted from these plants will suffice to construct 100 atomic bombs. The technology would be far simpler and cheaper than that based on uranium enrichment. At this stage Israel comes into the picture.

With the supply of enriched uranium, guaranteed, Israel, who like SA has refused to adhere to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, has ordered two reactors from the USA with a capacity of 1970 megawatts. The plutonium-rich spent uranium is to be processed outside of Israel under strict US supervision. But Israel has firmly refused to have supervision extended to the nuclear reactor in Dimona where Israel's nuclear capability has presumably been developed.

General Dayan has frequently boasted of Israel's nuclear option, and President Katzir has spoken openly of Israel's nuclear potential. The organ of the West German arms manufacturers has been more specific, claiming that Israel possesses 13 atomic bombs.

The SA-Israeli Pact concluded during

**Arab prisoners face  
Zionist authority.**



Vorster's visit to Israel provided for scientific and technical cooperation, and this evidently includes nuclear cooperation. The proposed nuclear alliance of two bankrupt regimes to threaten the national liberation movements in Africa and the Middle East; an alliance which proposes to maintain an apartheid regime in SA and an expansionist policy of military occupation in the Middle East with the aid of nuclear blackmail.

A direct consequence of the liberation of imperialist activity (coordinated by Kissinger) to bolster up Vorster's racist regime, imperialism's main bulwork in Africa against the African national liberation movement. NATO provided direct support modernising and re-equipping the SA army — anti-tank missiles from the FRG, Mirage fighters, air-to-air missiles and Agosta submarines from France, Hercules transport planes from the USA, planes and missile boats from Israel — in addition to large investments in the SA war industry, including the sale of patents and licences for the manufacture of military hardware.

Another step was to consolidate the alliance with Teheran. Jerusalem Post quoted diplomatic sources in Cape Town, who described Vorster's impending visit to Israel "an attempt to establish a kind of Pretoria-Jerusalem-Teheran axis". In 1973 Iran was the only major oil producer to ignore the Arab oil embargo of SA, and is today the chief oil supplier to SA (and to Israel). Reports from SA indicated that Vorster's talks in Iran were to centre around Iran's plans to develop her nuclear capability. Subsequent reports of agreement between American and French concerns to supply Iran with nuclear reactors which would evidently be fuelled with enriched uranium from SA, complete the picture. Kissinger, announcing an agreement in Teheran to sell \$10,000 million worth of American arms to Iran in the next four years in exchange for oil, declared that the US would consider the possibility of assisting Iran to finance the

acquisition of nuclear fuel "from a third country" as a solution to the deadlock concerning the supervision that the USA would be obliged to maintain over the reactors she would supply to Iran. Kissinger elaborated that the deadlock (to be so elegantly resolved) concerned the plutonium necessary for the atomic bomb which would be produced in the reactors.

Plutonium and bombs: S African fuel and Israeli knowhow. The Tel Aviv-Teheran link in the axis is long-standing. Although there are no official diplomatic relations with Iran, Israel maintains a large, unofficial, diplomatic mission in Teheran. Iran is one of Israel's main trading partners. Most of Israeli oil comes from Iran and Iranian oil is also transported through the Eilat-Ashkelon pipeline on the way to Europe. Israeli construction and industrial corporations operate in Iran, but the main connection is military. Details have been reported in Opeis, organ of the American Institute for Foreign Policy, in Winter 1975. Hundreds of young Iranian officers have undergone training in Israel as have the Security Service personnel, and anti-insurgency units. A pact signed in May 1969 provided for equipping the Iranian army with Israeli electronic equipment and training the Iranian operators. In 1972 it is estimated that Iran purchased military equipment from Israel including Gabriel missiles — worth \$100 million.

Arms, oil, plutonium, atom bombs: these constitute the material basis for a tripartite axis, developing under the auspices of the American Big Brother, directed against the national liberation movement in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East and African continent. The South African racists, the Zionist expansionists and the Persian feudal monarchy have taken upon themselves the somewhat difficult job of holding up the march of history.

**Stop the execution of**

# **SOLOMON MAHLANGU**

**sentenced to death  
for fighting apartheid**



# 'EXPLAINING' WITHOUT UNDERSTANDING

"In the final analysis it is the South African people who are shaping their own history . . ."

**Southern Africa in Crisis:**  
Edited by: Gwendolen M. Carter  
and Patrick O'Meara.

The aim of the Director of Indiana University Press and the editors of the volume was to "provide background and insight into the rapidly changing international situation in Southern Africa". They therefore prepared "with maximum

speed a volume of essays by recognised authorities on each of the countries of that area".

These "recognised authorities" turn out to be well known specialists in the Africa-ist Establishment such as Colin Legum, Tony Hodges and Gwendolen Carter amongst other less known "experts". Notwithstanding minor differences in approach to their specific fields, the authors are to

**Soweto pupils burn their school books in protest against Bantu education**



a lesser or greater degree completely committed to the survival of fundamental western interests. The Volume is a brief intended for western interests rather than an intellectual project aimed at clarifying the past and present situation in Southern Africa.

Colin Legum who wrote both the introduction and conclusion to the Volume, for example, as usual seeks to avoid ideological issues, and deflects our attention away from the culpability and criminality of western policies. Instead he repeats his provocative thesis that "the primary reason for the Soviet Union's decision to intervene in Angola was determined less by a desire to undercut western influence than by a wish to prevent the Chinese from playing a successful role in the subcontinent...." Similarly, the other authors, like the western press, treat Southern Africa entirely as an extension of global rivalries. They treat the struggle of the people like a football game without a life of its own; each team wearing the uniforms of its sponsors and nothing more. They rarely mention a liberation movement without the prefix "Soviet backed" or "pro-western". They do not, on the other hand, label stooges as "pro-capitalist" or "pro-imperialist". The authors also fail to understand the meaning of these labels in the day-to-day affairs of the ordinary Southern African. The

people or the leaders themselves are not interviewed or the extent of their popular participation gauged.

The volume comes to us in this spirit; and ostensibly written by experts who hardly disguise their own anti-revolutionary bias; which takes seriously the dangers of communist takeovers, but ignores the reality of imperialist penetration; which treats all the liberation movements in Southern Africa with a surface neutrality but are prepared to believe and repeat the worst about them. It is a book that makes careful political distinctions to support their different theses but ignores compelling evidence that contradicts them. The narratives are internally inconsistent, implying more than they prove.

The authors of the book don't understand the fundamental fact that the victories of the liberation movements are not just functions of military successes or external support, but a vindication of political outlook and popular mobilisation. In the final analysis, it is the passions, sacrifices and consciousness of the Southern African peoples themselves that will and are shaping their own history. Unfortunately writers like Legum, Carter and the others who explain revolutions in the interplay of interventions and elites cannot understand that.

T.S.



# MANGAUNG

JANUARY 8 1912

I was born on January the eighth  
For my birth  
My parents travelled  
Days and long miles  
To a place called  
MANGAUNG  
Which means  
The meeting place of the leopards

Today,  
The enemy calls my cradle  
Bloemfontein.  
Mangaung was warm  
Hospitable  
A meeting place  
Where now  
Only poisonous crops  
Of injustice  
Bloom.

Well,  
Just for me  
One January 8th  
My parents came  
From all corners heights and plains  
Of our land  
Stolen  
And in pain...  
Our cattle gone  
Our homes burnt  
Our fields made green by us  
But, especially not for us  
And if they could only speak.  
All those rivers of South Africa  
Could tell of countless seasons  
Of our blood, our tears

But that's when my parents  
Were not married.  
They walked alone,  
Just like each fighting bulldozers alone  
Alone, tried to brave  
With bare hands  
The mad stampede of elephants  
When single-handed victories  
Often leave each parent armless  
If alive at all...

But before that certain January 8th  
After the enemy  
Settled a little family he had  
Over our EVERYTHING  
He united  
And strengthened his fighting muscle  
Against my people

Today  
English French Dutch  
German Italian Greek  
Portuguese and other  
Tongues of Europe  
Pronounce themselves  
Nation - indivisible  
In my country!  
And us -  
Sotho Venda Xhosa  
Tsopi Shangaan Zulu  
The same European tongues  
Pronounce  
Nations - divisible  
In my country!

Oh,  
But just for my birth  
Serious anxious and colourful parents  
Were there,  
They came  
On foot on bicycle  
Oxwagons horseback  
Some by trains with cattle, like cattle,  
Through rains and the frying sun...  
The wind thorns and rock  
Sand too they conquered,  
They came  
The flame-hearted ones,  
The back-bent and bruised ones  
Their unseen scars swelling anew  
The whipped ones came  
The down trodden  
Violated again and again  
Though unyielding  
Whenever tried like reeds  
In the cruels whirls and storms  
Of Anglo-Boer love  
They arrived,  
These unconquerable custodians of justice



And rallied  
 Their visions fixed on a gigantic  
 A pregnant idea!  
 Down from the place  
 Of another birth  
 The birth of dispossession  
 Called Natal  
 They came with stories  
 Of how the valley of a thousand hills  
 Always green and swollen with hope  
 Seemed to swallow Tsekela waters  
 Just to let freedom riders pass!  
 And those whose wagons and bicycles  
 Saw the Lekwa and Nciba waters  
 Rise  
 With African pride  
 Also impatient for return of stolen banks  
 Whispered in various tongues  
 That even creatures  
 Known to love human blood  
 Popped their heads high  
 Up and down  
 Spirited by the call of  
 MANGAUNG  
 And bubbled  
 Deep in their water-home  
 Ndlalanhle!  
 Just to let freedom riders pass!  
 Titlela a ti basi  
 Tsela Tsweu  
 Just to let freedom riders pass!  
 Just to lighten the burden  
 Ndila tsena  
 Let the roads be white  
 They all sang  
 Just to let freedom riders pass.

They came  
 Burning deep inside  
 In the hidden brow  
 Watery in the hidden eye  
 Weighted on the mind  
 By what they called  
 The pains of labour

From pass-carrying mines  
 From pass carrying farms

From pass churches, pass-schools  
 Pass universities, pass stores, pass laws  
 From plenty heavy pass work  
 Our people did and still do,  
 Speaking all the despised languages  
 Of our roots  
 And European ones too  
 They arrived  
 All their hearts pounding  
 All thoughts now extended, mingling  
 All embracing now  
 Awaiting  
 The beginning of the death of our  
 Splitting pain  
 The pain that separates us  
 Awaiting,  
 The birth of our nation  
 There at MANGAUNG!

I think my parents  
 Chose this place because  
 I was to be special  
 The first fruit of peace  
 From ourselves to ourselves  
 The living wedding gift  
 An unbreakable vow  
 That each is empowered  
 And raised higher  
 Only  
 And then only  
 In the tightening and linking  
 Of our clenched fists:  
 In short  
 A weapon against  
 Divide and destroy

Today,  
 The enemy greases the pockets  
 Of a few greedy ones  
 Who wear our leopard skins  
 And forget MANGAUNG!  
 The enemy dots our country  
 With smallpox and leprosy  
 Dumps  
 Called Bantustans  
 To hasten the death  
 Of our nation!

# MANGAUNG

But I'm an extraordinary spirit  
A power, a force, a home  
A shield  
A spear  
A child  
Yes, a child born with stubborn leopard spots  
Of racism  
All over  
But born nonetheless  
Breathing, kicking stretching  
Into the future  
Breathing heavily  
With the hearts of leopards and lions  
Plus all the known  
And unknown courage and triumphs  
Of Africa  
For I was born  
At the gathering of the brave!

Today,  
The enemy tramples  
On the burial place  
Of our umbilical cord  
With iron boots tanks  
And bullet-belts

Oh no!  
Please!  
I'm not boasting  
When I say  
I have the most supreme family tree  
For every vein in my body  
Every artery was infused with blood  
Rich  
With the history of freedom fighters.  
And just for my birth  
They all came!  
Thulimahashe was there  
Remembering Soshangane  
Sikhukhuni stood high  
And kings standing taller  
And more majestic  
Than any Hollywood king of kings  
Makhado with his elephants head  
He remembered Thau ya Ndou  
Khama Moshoeshoe  
All shielding the lowly victims of

Capital and race  
Victims of bloodsucking exploitation  
Cetshwayo with unshakeable Shaka  
On his mind  
All took off  
Their cloak of loneliness  
Hints, Makhanda - Nxele  
Their leopard flesh touching close  
And all carrying  
The spear of the nation!

And then  
To think  
All of them  
All in me  
This wealth, this vast greatness  
Our country, our people  
All in each of us,  
Whatever our birth  
Wherever our birth  
Wherever we carry the struggle

For I was born  
Crying FREEDOM!  
While our working people  
The true midwives of our wealth  
Midwives of vision, hope  
Our future  
Tenderly passed me  
From hand to joining hand  
Of leopard hearts  
Blowing into me  
The rising strains of  
Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika'

And  
What's my name?

The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
Of South Africa. Born January  
8, 1912.  
I gave birth to UMKHONTO  
WESIZWE on the 16th December  
1961

Lindiwe Mabuza

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