

JULY 1981



SECHABANGA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

60 YEARS OF STRUGGLE!



Moses Mabhida - Secretary General
South African Communist Party

SECHABA

JULY ISSUE, 1981

P.O. BOX 38, 28 PENTON STREET
 LONDON N1 9PR UNITED KINGDOM
 TELEGRAMS: MAYIBUYE
 TELEX: 299555ANCSAG
 TELEPHONE: 01-837-2012

**SEND YOUR ORDERS NOW TO
 SECHABA PUBLICATIONS**
 P.O. Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR

ALL ORDERS OF TEN OR MORE COPIES –
 50% DISCOUNT
 KINDLY INCLUDE A DONATION WITH YOUR
 ORDER IF POSSIBLE
 SAMPLE COPIES OF *SECHABA* AVAILABLE ON
 REQUEST IF ACCOMPANIED BY A POSTAL ORDER
 (OR IN THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH STAMPS)
 TO DEFRAY POSTAL COSTS

ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTIONS

USA and CANADA (airmail only)	\$12,00
ELSEWHERE	£ 6,00
<i>SINGLE COPIES</i>	
USA and CANADA (airmail only)	\$ 3,00
ELSEWHERE	£ 0,50

**LISTEN TO
 RADIO FREEDOM**
**VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
 CONGRESS AND UMKHONTO WE
 SIZWE**

RADIO MADAGASCAR
 shortwave 49m band, 6135 KHz – 8-9 pm daily

RADIO LUSAKA
 shortwave 41 m band, 7.3MgHz – 8,30 to 9am daily

RADIO LUANDA
 shortwave, 40 & 30 m bands;
 medium wave 27,6 m band – 7,30 pm daily

RADIO TANZANIA
 shortwave 19 m band, 15.435 Khz
 8,15 pm – Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday;
 31 m band – 6,15 am Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday

CONTENTS

EDITORIAL: This is time for political Mvuselelo	1
PARIS CONFERENCE: Sanctions-Weapon against Apartheid	3
POEM	12
PLIGHT OF THE DISABLED	14
THE FANTASTIC AMANDLA	17
PROFILE Raymond Mhlaba	23
BOOK REVIEW	27
FRG COLLABORATION: In Practice	31

EDITORIAL: This is Time for a Political Mvuselelo

This month our movement is commemorating, indeed celebrating, an important event in the history of our movement. On July 30 the South African Communist Party will be 60 years old. It was founded in 1921 as the Communist Party of South Africa and in 1953, after it was banned in 1950, it reorganised itself as the South African Communist Party. It was the first detachment of our movement to go underground and therefore has a wealth of experience in underground work in South Africa.

But what happened before that?

When the Communist Party was formed—even before that i.e. since 1915 when the International Socialist League broke away from the South African Labour Party—it was an organisation of white workers and intellectuals. Looking at the South Africa of those days and at the strength of international socialism during that period, the reasons for this become immediately obvious. It is true that there is one African, T.W. Thibedi, who joined the Party before 1921—during the days of the International Socialist League. Those days he was more of an exception than a rule—but a pointer to a new direction.

Shortly after its formation the Communist Party began active work among black workers, it organised black workers into trade unions of their own; it began recruiting the African workers and intellectuals into its ranks; it organised night schools to teach black workers not only to read and write but also about socialism and the writings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. It was very difficult for the African workers to master the heavy stuff from the classics, but they learnt a lot from the masters of scientific socialism.

By 1928—in barely seven years—the Communist Party was completely changed. Out of 1,750 members, 1,600 were Africans. In other words its membership was African, Indian, Coloured and White. These were mainly workers, but not only workers. These were days of intense national and class struggle—a good school for revolution but at times the fees were high: Johannes Nkosi, an active communist organiser, was murdered in Durban on December 16, 1930.

Those Africans and Blacks who joined the Party were not just 'fellow travellers'; they were and are still dedicated communists and national liberation fighters. They were highly respected personalities in their local communities; some had even acquired a national status. In the Party itself they held high-ranking positions—Albert Nzula, Moses Kotane were (and now Moses Mabhida is) Secretaries General, and leaders like J.B. Marks (the white press deliberately misspelt his name as Marx, something which, ironically, Uncle J.B. might have regarded as an honour) was for many years National Chairman of the Party until his death in 1972 when he was succeeded by Dr Yusuf Dadoo.

The black communists, together with the white communists, played an important role in working out the relationship between the national liberation struggle and the class struggle. Not that there was any differentiation between black and white communists, the problem is that the South African racists are very 'colour conscious' and there is another, more sinister, aspect of this, namely the attempt by the enemy (and this includes narrow nationalists) to counterpose black to white communists, and if this tactic fails they resort to their 'Big Gun': the black communists are

'stooges' of 'white communists' or even more crudely they are 'dupes'—and in the characteristic racist vein and logic—they are the riff-raff.



This is the mentality of the racists. This attempt to play down the role of the black communists and their invaluable contribution to the national liberation struggle has an ideological and political purpose. Firstly, the aim is to 'inform' the Blacks in South Africa that the communists are white and therefore by implication they are irrelevant to our struggle, and secondly, the racist ideology has to be the 'general outlook' of everybody. This anti-communist slander is meant to drive home the point that whether you, (an African) are in the movement or not, it is immaterial—there is no difference—'white domination' is everywhere. This is meant to demoralise our people, to dissuade or 'persuade' them not to join the liberation struggle because, after all, they will find the same situation existing everywhere—'white domination'.

But our people, knowing what our movement stands for, are reacting and responding differently from the white racist expectations. They know that our movement, led by the African National Congress, consists of people—of all South African people irrespective of colour and ethnic origin, who are united by their commitment, conviction and realisation of the need to destroy apartheid. They are united in this spirit of brotherhood and togetherness by the realisation that unity of all revolutionary forces is a precondition for our victory. They fully accept the leadership role of the African people in our revolution—hence the specific leadership role accorded the ANC in the revolution. This 'formula' corresponds perfectly with the South African reality and the content of our revol-



Comrade Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman SACP

ution at this present stage is the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed African majority and other nationally oppressed Blacks.

On this occasion of the 60th anniversary of the SACP let us raise the struggle for national liberation to even greater heights; let us intensify the mobilisation of our people. Surely this is time for a political mvuselelo (mass mobilisation)—a mvuselelo which will culminate with the celebrations commemorating the 70th anniversary of the ANC on January 8, 1982.

SANCTIONS – WEAPON AGAINST APARTHEID AGGRESSION

An International Conference on Sanctions Against South Africa took place in Paris, France from May 20-27th 1981. The Conference was organised under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation and the Organisation of African Unity. Below we publish the statement made by President O.R. Tambo.

The African National Congress greets you all in the name of the people of South Africa, whose relentless struggle for liberation is the fundamental justification for this august assembly of the representatives of concerned humanity.

Allow me also to greet you especially in the name of Nelson Mandela and other national leaders and political activists held in the prisons of Apartheid, and also in the name of Petrus Mashigo, Naphtali Manana and Johnson Lubisi who, at this very moment, are sitting in death cells in Pretoria, awaiting their turn — but also prepared, if needs be, to be hanged by the apartheid fascist regime, for their role in the fight to end the apartheid crime against humanity.

Mr President, your election to preside over and guide the proceedings of this crucial conference accords not only with your own talent and vast experience, but also with the shining example of dedication to the cause of liberation has been the hallmark of the African and foreign policy of your country, Tanzania, from the earliest moments of her independence. We congratulate you!

When the General Assembly decided to call this Conference in co-operation with the OAU, it had in view that “urgent action must be taken by governments and organisations towards the imposition and full implementation of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions”.

This view was arrived at on the basis of the repeated determination of the General Assembly that within the meaning of the United Nations Charter, Apartheid constitutes a threat to international peace and security, and that in the maintenance of this system peace had in fact been breached. This is also the position which accords both with our own view as the oppressed people of South Africa and with the actual realities of the situation in Southern Africa.

We therefore believe that it is one of the principal tasks of this conference to reaffirm the determination of the General Assembly, and accordingly reiterate the call for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa under the provisions of Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.

It would then become the responsibility of the Conference to discuss and agree on the means and methods that the world community must adopt to ensure the imposition and full implementation of these sanctions. In these deliberations, we must necessarily take into account the abuse of the veto powers by some permanent members of the Security Council and commit ourselves to the adoption of measures which will bring to a halt this unacceptable frustration and blocking of the will of the rest of



Comrade President Oliver Tambo with the Permanent Representative to the UN of the Kingdom of Swaziland, H.E. N. M. Malinga.

the world.

I am certain that we are all greatly strengthened in our resolve to achieve progress by the fact that we meet on French soil in the fortunate circumstance that the people of France have just elected a new President, bringing to an end more than two decades of rule by governments that have collaborated closely with the racist South African regime. By their vote the French people have shown that they do not want to supply nuclear reactors, mirage planes, submarines and other war materials to defend apartheid, they do not want technology and licences, skilled personnel and finance to flow to assist the apartheid regime; they do not want their rugby teams to tour South Africa, their cities, such as Nice, to be twinned with

apartheid cities, such as Cape Town; they do not wish to warm themselves with South African coal extracted under conditions no better than those so vividly described by Emile Zola. This momentous step by the French people heralds, we hope, the death knell of the monstrous alliance with the self-confessed successors of the Nazi regime which but a short forty years ago occupied this city and this country.

We wish to reiterate our congratulations to Francois Mitterand on his election, and express the hope and conviction that the new Government of France will respond by bringing to an end the self-seeking alliance that has thwarted international action against apartheid for so long, so that France can join the overwhelming majority

of nations which has in fact already imposed sanctions against apartheid South Africa.

In this regard the statement to the Conference made by the First Secretary of the Socialist Party of France, Mr. Lionel Jospin is the new voice of France signalling the dawn of a new era in the relations between the French Government and the peoples of Africa in general, and of Southern Africa in particular.

Mr. President, the issue to which this Conference must address itself has a long history, for the question has appeared so often on the United Nations agenda, or remained there for so long.

We have, today, to deal with a rogue regime that has repeatedly, consistently, and deliberately violated almost every single norm recognised by the international community.

† The apartheid regime stands today in breach of almost every single clause of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

† The apartheid regime stands today in breach of United Nations General Assembly, Security Council, and International Court of Justice decisions over its illegal occupation of Namibia;

† The apartheid regime stands today judged as a criminal under the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid;

† The apartheid regime stands today in breach of the United Nations Charter for its repeated acts of aggression against its neighbours.

Let us, therefore, at the onset of this conference be very clear about the nature of the problem with which we are dealing. We are not discussing a normally law-abiding member of the international community that has had a momentary lapse. We are dealing with an outcast, one who continues to follow policies that have been declared a crime against humanity, a regime that has repeatedly acted in defiance of United Nations resolutions.

Sanctions are not to be seen as a way

of reforming apartheid, nor merely as a gesture of disapproval. Sanctions are a weapon that the international community can and must use against the racist regime — a weapon that can weaken Pretoria's capacity to maintain its aggressive posture. Sanctions are a way of cutting off support for racist South Africa, and denying the regime the means through which it can sustain and perpetuate itself.

Sanctions will not and cannot be expected in themselves to bring down the apartheid system. They are not an alternative to struggle by the South African and Namibian people, but an important complement to it.

The effect of sanctions, properly implemented, will be to limit the scope, scale, and duration of the war that is now raging in Southern Africa. Unless the international community can do this, the repercussions of the conflict will almost certainly engulf us all.

As we meet here, the widest coalition in South African history has come together to boycott the celebrations marking the 20th anniversary of the White Republic. The degree of polarisation in South Africa is revealed in the differing perspectives towards these celebrations.

To the majority of the population the regime and its supporters are celebrating two decades of the most brutal repression, oppression and exploitation that our people have ever known. The regime is celebrating the establishment of the death camps which it calls homelands. It is rejoicing in the fact that the entire African people have been made aliens in their own country. It is celebrating the fact that apartheid has brought unemployment to nearly one half of the working population of the country. It is dancing a victor's dance to express its satisfaction that it has removed by assassination such patriots as Vuyisile Mini, Joseph Mdluli, Steve Biko and Solomon Mahlangu; that it has incarcerated for long terms and for life national leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Dennis Goldberg, Harry Gwala, Zephaniah

Mothopeng and others, and that it is today poised to assassinate more freedom fighters adding to the thousands it has killed in Soweto, Langa, Elsies River, Matola, Kassinga and elsewhere.

The conflict inside South Africa is sharpening. At every level, the mass of the population is finding ways to show its opposition to the apartheid system. In schools, factories, rural settlement, squatter camps and townships, in every walk of life, the people have taken action to show that they are determined to take upon themselves the burden of their liberation, and to use every weapon at their disposal to bring about a democratic non-racial South Africa.

In the face of this growing threat to its power, the regime has resorted to greater repression and more brutality. Today power is exercised by the oppressor, overtly and unashamedly, through the violence of a particularly brutal authoritarian and militarist state. It is the resolute determination of the people of South Africa and Namibia to seize power, to wrest it from their oppressors, combined with the victories of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, that has provoked a crisis for apartheid South Africa. In its frenzied efforts to preserve the apartheid system, the regime has extended its long war against the South African people to an undeclared war against independent Africa.

These past 20 years have witnessed an unprecedented level of militarisation. The armaments being deployed, the sophisticated military technology in use in the burgeoning military-oriented sectors of the economy, and the scale of manpower mobilisation for military purposes, all attest to the fact that South Africa is now in the control of a particularly dangerous politico-militarist clique. This makes a race war an imminent possibility, and the resolution of the conflict in South Africa therefore becomes a major issue in international relations.

It is 20 years since South Africa was expelled from the commonwealth and in the period that has followed it has been

ejected from almost every international organisation. But even as it has been isolated it has received increased economic and military support from some western countries. This collaboration has been central to the development of South African militarism and the self-confidence with which it has been demonstrated in an escalating war of aggression against neighbouring states, and in shackling Namibia into the apartheid nexus in gross violation of decisions of the world community.

The countries that have built the South African war machine and buttressed apartheid have also deployed every political and diplomatic tactic in an effort to shield the regime from international action. Despite the clearly expressed desire of the international community they have acted to block action by the Security Council.

Their repeated frustration of the attempts by the Security Council to act in response to General Assembly resolutions, (as most recently in the exercise of the triple veto) — the persistent thwarting of the will of the international community, now lays these countries open to the charge of abusing their powers in the Security Council. They have perverted the historic responsibility given to them as permanent members by using their power to promote rather than remove the threat to and the breach of international peace and security.

It is important to know why they have acted in this way. Why do these countries fly in the face of world opinion and remain adamant in their claim that dialogue rather than isolation is the correct policy against apartheid South Africa?

For us, the answer is obvious. The dispossession of the African people took place in large measure during the period when South Africa was a colony of Britain. Capital, technology and skills from all three veto casters participated in laying the foundations of the apartheid economy. They helped to shape the institutions and mechanisms for the exploitation of labour that make invest-



The ANC Delegation with SWAPO President Sam Nujoma

ment in apartheid so uniquely profitable. Links with these three countries have helped to ensure that apartheid remains profitable. Not surprisingly, therefore these three wish to preserve apartheid.

Moreover the so-called Union of South Africa was created as an imperialist outpost and remains today as an agent of the imperialist design. Its role was to dominate and control the economies of the southern half of the African continent, its function to ensure that the vast natural resources of the area were protected and reserved for exploitation by imperialism. Today, the role and function of apartheid South Africa are seen in a similar light, and the regime that is assigned the responsibility of acting as NATO's gendarme in the Indian and South Atlantic oceans, must itself be protected by its imperialist masters.

Had there been any doubt about these they have been rapidly dispelled by the Reagan Administration. The President of the United States has publicly described apartheid South Africa as a friendly country, a wartime ally, and a partner in the defence of United States strategic interests.

We are astonished at the conscious distortion of historical fact to justify

embracing the Botha regime. Far from being a wartime ally, Botha and the party he leads allied themselves with the Nazis and opposed South Africa's entry into the war. The Nationalist Party shares with the Nazis a common ideology and brutality, and has taken upon itself the mantle of Hitler. It has become a fountain of that ideology and maintains close links with racist and racist groups in many countries including the United States.

Since Botha and Reagan have proclaimed themselves as allies we must consider what are their common objectives in Southern Africa. What interests, and most importantly whose interests will this alliance promote?

For the imperialists and racist South Africa alike, the ultimate objectives are: to regain economic, political and military control over the entire Southern African region and to perpetuate the plunder of the region's mineral resources. The strategy applied in order to secure these objectives includes:

Firstly, the denial of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and the attempted isolation of the liberation movement.

Secondly, the isolation of independent African countries from the world

progressive forces in order to weaken them, the destabilisation and the overthrow of their legal governments.

Thirdly, the attempt to transform the Indian and South Atlantic oceans into military zones as an extension of the NATO alliance.

Within this strategy the maintenance of the apartheid system is an a priori condition and its success requires, as an indispensable element, the strengthening of the apartheid regime.

The arrogant assumption of the paramountcy of outside interests above those of Africans is but one aspect of the ideology that unites Pretoria and Washington. The inevitable victory of the liberation struggle will teach them that it is the interests of sovereign governments and of the majority of the people that need to be taken into account when considering our countries, our future, and, need I emphasise it, our minerals and wealth.

Though Mr Reagan was frank about the motivations of the alliance with racist South Africa, other statements by the veto casters cloak their real motives with a veneer of concern for the peoples of Southern Africa.

Thus, we are told that armed struggle and sanctions are unnecessary, because Mr Botha is, and can be further persuaded to bring about changes in the apartheid system; where is the evidence that the transgressor against international law and violator of the international peace can somehow be talked into joining the forces that are determined to end both the transgression and the system that initiated it.

What change there has been in South Africa has not been initiated by our oppressors, but by the nationwide upsurge of our people and their determination to resist apartheid. The change that has taken place is that the tide has turned irreversibly in our favour, and the forces of liberation now pose a very real and invincible challenge to the wielders of power in Pretoria.

Faced with this reality, the apartheid regime has been prospecting frantically for new ways of securing apartheid

domination. Thus any move made by Botha is a reaction to the strengthening forces of liberation and is a defence of apartheid. Such moves are a justification not for relaxation, but for the intensification of the offensive, both domestically and internationally.

The alleged concern of the veto casters for the interests of the black population is also expressed in the argument that sanctions will harm the black people of South Africa and be disastrous for the independent states neighbouring South Africa.

The call for sanctions was initiated inside the country by the majority of the people of South Africa, and has since been reiterated on a number of occasions. The OAU and other progressive forces responded to this call from the South African people, and we now have the support of the overwhelming majority of the nations of the world as expressed in the General Assembly.

There is no possibility of the people of South Africa ever accepting the status quo and acquiescing in their own oppression and exploitation. There should no longer be any doubt that nothing can deter the South African people from continuing the liberation struggle until victory is won. To achieve this objective no sacrifice is too great, no price too high.

We know that a bitter struggle lies ahead. We can see that already the war has spilt over our borders as Pretoria threatens and attacks our neighbours. The OAU, and the frontline states, and I mean all, including Lesotho and Swaziland, without exception are committed to our liberation struggle and to the eradication of apartheid. It is therefore inconceivable that there can be peaceful development and security anywhere in Southern Africa as long as apartheid continues to exist.

Without action by the international community the war will continue to spill over, and larger areas and more people will be sucked into it. No state on the border or within range of Pretoria's war machine will be able to escape the consequences. Concern for the

suffering peoples of the frontline states can therefore best be manifested by taking urgent steps to limit the Pretoria regime's aggressive capacity, to act to weaken it by effective comprehensive sanctions.

It is significant to note that pleas on behalf of the Southern African countries are made not by those who it is claimed will suffer from the imposition of sanctions, but are put forward by those who have extracted super profits from the exploitation of black labour in the apartheid economy and wish to continue doing so.

These countries opposed sanctions initially because they claimed concern for the black people of South Africa. Now they claim to be acting in the interests of the peoples in the countries neighbouring South Africa. The net result of their activity, of the failure to impose sanctions has been that apartheid repression and brutality have grown, and the only people not to have suffered in the process has been the white minority.

Mr President, the evidence is incontrovertible. Opposition to sanctions in the Security Council or in the Parliaments of Western Europe is based not upon concern for the peoples of Namibia, South Africa or Southern Africa. The 12 vetoes were cast quite simply to protect the Botha regime and to preserve apartheid. The specious arguments have been put up to justify this action and to try and deter action by those countries which support the liberation struggle.

At this International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa the African National Congress appeals to the international community:

* We ask those countries which have already imposed sanctions to take action to widen their scope, to make them all-embracing and strengthen the enforcement machinery.

* The ANC makes a special appeal to all oil-producing states to join in the embargo already imposed by OAPEC and OPEC members and others, and further to take effective legislative and

administrative measures to ensure that their embargoes are water-tight — or should I say oil-tight. The international oil companies and tanker fleets have been supplying embargoed oil to South Africa. We urge that governments should take measures to stop the supply and transport of embargoed goods to South Africa.

* The ANC appeals to those governments who have hitherto refused to impose sanctions until the Security Council made them mandatory now to act. A Security Council resolution can make sanctions mandatory, but is also the sovereign right of every country to choose to impose sanctions. It is within the domestic jurisdiction of every government to take effective measures to stop all commercial, financial, economic, political, technical, military, cultural and sporting links with racist South Africa.

In making these appeals to states to act without waiting for the Security Council decision, we do not suggest that the attempt to secure mandatory sanctions be abandoned. On the contrary, our efforts in that direction must be increased. One of the principal issues to which this Conference must address itself is what steps the world community should take to ensure that the Security Council discharges its proper function and brings to an end the breach of the peace and threat to international security that now exists in Southern Africa. In as much as the Security Council has failed to act, the members of the General Assembly should now "unite for peace" and make appropriate recommendations.

By imposing sanctions and simultaneously persuing the goal of mandatory action, we will expose the veto casters and other collaborators as the allies and protectors of apartheid.

Mr President, since the opposition to sanctions is based upon a determination to preserve the apartheid system, we must expect that every device will be used to make sanctions ineffective. After all, it was Britain who

both asked the UN to impose sanctions on the rebel Smith and who was one of the chief offenders in breaching oil sanctions — so there is a lot of experience there. But we should not be deterred. Let us remember that if it is inevitable that sanctions won't work and are ineffective, there would have been no need to cast vetoes; why flog a dead horse? The veto was used precisely because sanctions can be made effective and can have an impact. The Conference must therefore concern itself with the task of mobilising the international community to ensure that sanctions are made effective.

Apartheid's collaborators must be made to realise that they cannot defend racists and claim to be non racist. They cannot support apartheid and preach freedom. They cannot exploit cheap labour in South Africa and continue to trade with Africa and the Non Aligned countries. They cannot seek concessions and licenses in countries supporting the liberation struggle and participate in the profits from apartheid. They cannot allow their arms and products to be used in aggression against South Africa's neighbours and expect to be absolved from blame and accepted as friends.

So I make this final appeal to all those who support the liberation struggle: Put these choices before the collaborators. They must be forced to choose between links with apartheid and relations with the majority of the international community, between links with apartheid and links with Africa. Collaboration must be made unprofitable and it will cease.

I have made these appeals on behalf of the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa, and all the peoples in the war zones of Southern Africa. But this is not a selfish appeal. The establishment of the United Nations stemmed from the desire to bring an end to wars, to stop aggression, to eradicate racism. Collective security is of concern not only to the nations of Southern Africa but of all peoples and countries, and sanctions are the primary means available to that end.

Action under Chapter 7 is the ultimate peaceful sanction provided for in the UN Charter. If sanctions are not imposed on so blatant an offender and so persistent a violator of the Charter as apartheid South Africa, then the efforts of the international community towards a peaceful resolution of international problems will have proved an exercise in futility.

Finally, Mr President, we pledge the solidarity and support of the ANC and the fighting people of South Africa to SWAPO, the PLO and all peoples fighting against fascism, racism and imperialism. We gratefully acknowledge the support



of the governments and peoples of Southern Africa and the OAU, as well as that of progressive countries, organisations and peoples throughout the world. We reiterate our pledge to rid humanity of the scourge of racism and apartheid-colonial domination in South Africa. VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

SECHABA INTERVIEWS COMRADE

THABO MBEKI ON THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE



Comrade Thabo Mbeki

Do you think that the conclusions reached at this Conference will contribute to the further intensification of the isolation of South Africa?

Yes, most certainly. For instance, let me give you an example. In his closing statement, the Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of Norway, reported to the Conference the position of his government with regard to the issue of the oil embargo. He stated that Norway was committed to the imposition of the oil embargo against South Africa and that Norway was working for a conference of oil producing countries as well as countries that have tanker fleets. This would be convened with the aim of discussing the practicalities of the implementation of an oil embargo. His statement was very well received by Conference.

The Nigerian Government, through the Vice President of Nigeria, spoke very firmly

once again, about the commitment of Nigeria to take action unilaterally — not waiting on the Security Council mandatory sanctions.

In his closing statement, the Chairman of the Conference, the Foreign Minister of Tanzania, Salim Salim, pointed to the fact that one of the things that the Conference had achieved was to expose the hollowness of the argument that had been used by the vetoing powers particularly, that sanctions should not be imposed against the apartheid regime because this will hurt the Frontline States.

The Conference was therefore a very important occasion not just because of the reiteration of the denunciation of the apartheid regime, but for taking the campaign for the total isolation of South Africa a step further, and to draw in more countries towards the actual practical implementation of sanctions.

Would you ascribe the absence of the United States and other Western countries, particularly those of the Contact group, to the influence of the new Reagan policy on Southern Africa?

Yes, definitely it was part of the whole line of the Reagan administration which is working towards consolidation of ties between the United States and apartheid South Africa. This was, of course, one of the principal issues to which many speakers at the Conference addressed themselves. Many speakers denounced the position taken by the US Administration. The Chairman of the Conference, Salim Salim, when summing up the discussions, pointed out very clearly that one of the messages of the Conference was that the United States cannot hope to strengthen its ties with apartheid and at the same time have normal relations with the rest of the world, particularly Africa.

Many speakers expressed their grave concern and expressed their commitment to fight against the new line of the Reagan Administration. They correctly denounced

the attitude taken by the US that the world is just more or less a backyard of the United States. They pledged that whatever the United States does in terms of strengthening its own alliance with the apartheid regime, the masses of the people of the world were pledging that they would strengthen their ties with the ANC and the struggling people of South Africa. They were saying that in the end it is the alliance of the people of South Africa and the vast majority of the peoples of the world that would succeed against this unholy alliance between Reagan and Botha.

We are sure that the reports on the campaigns inside our country gave inspiration to the participants of the Conference?

Yes the campaigns which were fairly widely reported in the press were very well received indeed by the Conference. In his speech

on behalf of the Liberation Movements on Africa Day, the President of the ANC, Oliver Tambo announced some of the actions that had taken place. The announcements were received with very warm acclaim. I think it was very clear in the minds of the people there that what was happening in South Africa was a translation into practice of the principles behind the Conference. That the people of South Africa were risking their lives to liberate themselves underlined the obligation of the rest of the world to show by practical means and practical measures that they were with the struggling people of South Africa.

Yes indeed, the fact of those struggles taking place around the question of the 20th anniversary of the fascist republic acted as a very important element in increasing the determination of the world community to assist, to act practically in solidarity with the struggling people of South Africa.

THE WRITING IS ON THE WALL

To the memory of a black worker shot in Pretoria by a white woman on Wednesday, April 15th, 1981.

When a woman has
Shocked and grieved us --
Changing our minds
There remains a taint in the sky
A black dot on the moon:
The writing is on the wall

I didn't believe
That my mother could
Hand me over to Moloch
The god whose favourite dish
Is the blood of our children.
Sure, the writing is on the wall.

When a woman shoots a worker
The situation is changed --
The shadows grow taller
She has gone too far.
There is a change in the air.
There is something in the air.
She has gone too far.
The writing is now on the wall.

I didn't believe that
My country could produce
A calamity Jane.
A blood sucker --
Chewing at me from the womb
With the gnashing of teeth
Now I know and
The writing is on the wall.

I didn't believe it
That women were
Really, really trained to kill
Even workers on strike
Until she shot him down
To the delight of
The "Establishment".
Now the writing is on the wall.

I didn't believe that
A mother in my country
Could really, really be
Queen in Sodom and Gomora.
It was not all
Written in the books.
Nor was it in the stars.
The stars did not foretell that
It would be written on the wall.

I didn't believe it
That women were really, really
Practising target shooting for real life —
Until it happened in day light
Under the sky of our land
A woman shot him dead
This wonder of creation —
Which could hold the burning
Blade of the sharpest sword
Meant to guillotine its own off-spring.
For sure, the writing is now on the wall.

In the bible story book
They make us see Delilah with
A heart starved with evil --
But Samson and Delilah
Bore no child to kill.
No, not from her womb is
The writing on the wall —
For downing a fascist.
Fascism which has now taken
The life of a black worker
Heroic, ebony, mahogany black worker
Whose heart brimmed with humanity.
A worker who went on strike
For the right to live
Under his own star —
Where is the fault for which
Now the writing is on the wall?

Is the fault
In our stars
Or in ourselves
Or in the power behind the
Throne of that white wicked woman
Who murdered a man
For the delight of
the "Establishment"?
Where is the fault?
They will not tell us
For all we know
The writing is on the wall

JAMES PITSE

Apartheid South Africa: PLIGHT OF THE DISABLED



participate in and contribute to various aspects of economic, social and political life;

5. to promote effective measures for the prevention of disability and for the rehabilitation of disabled people.

In order to understand the problems of the disabled various scientific, technical, medical and health organisations have been organising seminars, symposiums and conferences throughout the world to coordinate information and research to improve the medical, social and economic life of the disabled. Cases of physically handicapped include cerebral palsy, spina-bifida, paraplegia (both legs paralysed) and heinplegia (one side paralysed). The causes are birth injury, disease e.g. polio, or accidents. Those affected may benefit from extra-personal help and might need aids such as wheel-chairs, crutches or sticks.

There is another form of handicap: sensory handicap such as blindness and partial sight, deafness, partial hearing and speech impediments.

Mental handicap is a permanent condition in which the intelligence is impaired to some degree, from very mildly to profoundly. In racist South Africa this illness is on the increase because of the socio-economic policies of the Apartheid regime. This is said to be not medically treatable or curable. Mental illness covers a wide range of disorders and mental states from stress reaction, through depression to acute psychosis e.g. schizophrenia.

Children can be born disabled for a variety of reasons. Disability can result from mother's illness during pregnancy

The United Nations has declared 1981, The Year of the Disabled. The reasons behind this are clear when one considers that one in ten of the world's population is disabled for various reasons. In launching the Year of the Disabled the United Nations put forward five principle objectives to alleviate the problems faced by the disabled. These are:

1. helping disabled people in their physical and psychological adjustment to society;

2. promoting all national and international efforts to provide disabled people with proper assistance, training, care and guidance: to make available opportunities for suitable work and to ensure their full integration in society;

3. to encourage study and research projects; projects designed to facilitate the practical participation of disabled people in daily life, for example by improving their access to public buildings and transportation schemes;

4. to educate and inform the public of the rights of disabled people and to

(e.g. German measles), wrong foods, effects of drugs or other substances, from chromosomal abnormality or birth injury. Early ante-natal care is of prime importance for the detection and prevention of such diseases.

The infant mortality rate in racist South Africa is one of the highest in the world, in spite of South Africa's vast mineral and agricultural resources which benefit 16 per cent of the total population. What about the parents of these children? Conditions associated with the ageing include coronaries, Parkinson's disease, loss of sight and rheumatism. In racist South Africa these have been aggravated by the breakdown of the traditional family life by movement of the population — more than 2 million people in the past decade which has caused much suffering and misery.

Road accidents are another common cause of disablement and result in anything from broken limbs or disfigurement to spinal injuries and brain damage. Many people are disabled in accidents at work and in the mines in South Africa.

The rapid industrialisation of South Africa and the profit motive (as opposed to human progress) has taken its toll in South Africa. In the mines the black workers are exposed to special hazards of noise, radiation and poisonous chemical gases and dust which affect not only them but also their families and the unborn. Safety measures in the South African mines are very poor. In April 1980 more than 31 miners died on the Vaal Reef mines. The death rate on South Africa's coal mines is registered at 1.3/1,000 as compared with 0.27/1,000 in, for example, the United Kingdom. A total of 912 men were killed on the mines in 1978 and 25,298 were injured. The number killed on gold mines in 1979 was 563 with 19,308 injured. During the past 10 years the use of explosives underground caused the death of 365 people and injured 2,390. The vast majority of the victims are Africans.

Apartheid Kills

In Apartheid South Africa the regime's political and economic policies contribute directly to the suffering, sickness, poverty and misery of the vast majority of the

oppressed people. It is these policies which result in a large number of disabled people in spite of the country's wealth. The racist policies create killer diseases such as TB, German measles, gastro-enteritis and other infectious diseases. This inflicts heavy toll on the oppressed black masses of our country.

A survey of the history of poverty in South Africa shows clearly that the present poverty found in rural areas was not evident when the whites first arrived in the country. Rather it has arisen from "progressive underdevelopment" which has resulted from the colonisation of our people. The African people were forced into a meagre 13% of the land area of South Africa. A large proportion of the male population was forced to the cities to work on the mines and in the factories. This in itself aggravated the health situation, caused shortage of water, lack of sanitation leading to diseases such as cholera and other killer diseases.

The Bantustans became a reservoir for cheap labour, a dumping ground for the old and unemployed, which in itself caused disability. This massive influx of people has led to the creation of numerous squatter camps. Many of the squatters were labour tenants who were forcibly removed from white-owned farms in adjacent areas. Many of the people are extremely poor and have no access to land or water supply and proper sanitation facilities.

This explains, for example, the recent outbreak of cholera in the Eastern Transvaal. In the last decade only 5 cholera cases were reported in South Africa but from 1979 more than 940 cases were reported with 17 deaths. According to the Rand Daily Mail of 23rd January, 1981, about 23 deaths occurred and 1,300 cases were reported. In the meantime the authorities are only trying to curb the spread of the disease — it should not spill over to the whites more so that diseases do not respect the racist laws! Nothing is said about eradicating the source and cause of the disease.

The racist Minister of Health Dr. Munnick has stated quite categorically that the Government did not intend to introduce a National Health Scheme for South Africa because the regime is only concerned 15

with the health of its population when the white population is threatened. Whites in South Africa can afford private medical treatment. Only 2.50 per cent of the GNP was allocated to health in South Africa.

Child Victims

Malnutrition is one of the greatest problems facing our people. Between 1979 and 1980 it was estimated that there were approximately 100,000 pellagra cases. It was at this time that the racist Minister of Health said that at least 40 children in Pietermaritzburg die of kwashiokor or marasmus every month. It is estimated that 50,000 black South African children probably die directly or indirectly of malnutrition in the rural areas of South Africa and a further 100,000 children's lives are at stake.

Another aspect of this problem is the question of abandoned children. According to the Johannesburg Welfare Society in the first six months of 1980 more than 120 cases of abandoned children were reported. The figure of 1979 was 175. The causes were found to be stresses of urban life and absence of traditional extended families, poverty, lack of housing and other inadequacies.

It is clear that Apartheid is not in any position to solve the problems of the disabled — in any case the racist regime in South Africa has never envisaged attempting to alleviate their plight. The declaration of the Year of the Disabled underlines sharply that in South Africa, only a social revolution will be able to heal the disabled society of Apartheid.



THE FANTASTIC 'AMANDLA'

Below SECHABA prints an account of part of the tour made by the ANC's AMANDLA Group in Europe last year, a tour which carried the message of our struggle through the powerful weapon of the people's culture.

ELVARUM—NORWAY

Elvarum is a unique place. In 1979 a great portion of this city's population was mobilised into active support for SWAPO of Namibia. Young and old, city councillors and nurses, school pupils, people from all walks of life engaged in various activity (gathering and constructing school material, collecting and repairing old bicycles, collecting and sorting clothes, street-collection of money etc) for SWAPO. In the process people received a history of Namibia, the genocidal propensities of the German invaders, the flagrant scoffing of international law by the latter-day fascists and the struggle for liberation. One of the main organizers for the AMANDLA concert, was a teacher in the regions' Teacher Training Institute who had been very pleased with the meeting of the NORDIC delegation with ANC President O.R. Tambo at the Paris Conference on Namibia.

The audience was asked to regard the AMANDLA performance as the best possible bouquet we could give in appreciation for their work. We encouraged them to increase and intensify their support for SWAPO.

Fireworks exploded on stage forcing one reporter (at least) to repeat and concur with what his counterparts had said elsewhere. "The fantastic AMANDLA" was the title of his review. The paper also carried a long interview with the ANC, our position on culture and politics, and the role of foreign investments in fascist South Africa.

The coldest day saw AMANDLA's continued rise to warm triumph. In the

end, the standing ovation, flowers for the cast, T-shirts with a heart and this inscription "A bit of the heart of Elvaum", told of their own joy. This was also the day of the highest record sale in Norway plus at least 2,5000 Norwegian crowns collected for the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Mazimbu, Tanzania ... some indication of their own gratitude to and appreciation for the ANC and AMANDLA.

THE HELSINKI FESTIVAL

The timing of AMANDLA in Finland was planned to coincide with a festival of political songs (organised among others) by the Finnish Workers' Cultural Centre in Helsinki. Invited to participate, were progressive Finnish Choral groups. International guest performers included a Chilean quintet, a male opera artist from the DDR and ANC's AMANDLA.

Since the entire festival took three hours or more, and ours was the final act, the festival turned out to be one of the most valuable cultural, educational experience for our comrades. Billed last, they had an opportunity to be entertained by a variety of music. As critical spectators, they could observe the importance of every detail on stage, for example. The thread of unity, despite cultural differences, was discernable to all. Perhaps the Chilean group had a special contribution to make in this educational experience. There were only five performers. Yet the power of those voices and their intensity; the stern determination on their faces; the variety of simple traditional instruments and their

many uses; the speech guitar strings; the versatility of each artist, all these dramatised the very things we should strive to achieve. These must be lessons whose impact will have to be translated by AMANDLA in practical terms. These are lessons that must endure. Later the concert was transmitted on National Finnish Radio.

Two leading Finnish actors, in an aesthetically refreshing manner had to introduce each group. It seems as though it was part of the general plan to arrange the program in such a way that the festival would progressively build into a crescendo with AMANDLA as the climax. Then there was the language factor. Like our own languages, the Finnish language seems more phonetic than the other languages of the region, with distinct stresses on syllables thus giving it a musical quality. We were able to appreciate this quality when the two actors alternated in a dramatic and poetic introduction of AMANDLA. They would start and then end each paragraph with the word "amandla", relishing its sound and fully appreciating its meaning. Even though we did not understand the language, it sounded beautifully. Naturally, when it was our turn, our comrades did it again. By some pre-arranged plan, at the end every group had to be back on stage. Led by the DDR artist, everyone joined in the singing of the International Youth Anthem as a final amen to a nourishing experience.

But the festival was not the only thing for that day in Finland. Later that evening we went to a "jam session" organised by the Communist Youth League. There must have been at least one thousand people at their club. One of the very best, if not the best, Finnish bands was playing Cuban music when we arrived. Our comrades responded. When their turn was over, AMANDLA instrumentalists charmed their persistent patterns and power into every Finnish heart and the whole place literally danced to our music.

In the meantime people who had bought our record had been quietly assimilating our sound. The peak came when suddenly saxophones, trombones and other brass instruments released and weaved their multiple tones among our drums and guitars

and percussion and all burst into a symphony of Mbaqanga. Applause thundered. Those who know the thrills and wails of Comrade Gwangwa's trombone, can fully understand why our comrades were almost ecstatic.

DENMARK

Is it possible for anyone to adequately convey what happened? When facets of an extra-ordinary experience still baffle with the many angles it has, it can't be an easy task. But we must at least try to give a "feel" of the moving occasion.

About ten minutes before the curtain opened, the most unexpected, unbelievable and overwhelming in its impact happened to and for AMANDLA. Comrade President Tambo was right there before them, in person.

"Unamanga", and then "no, it's a joke" could be heard around the crowded backstage. But even as some refused to believe, everyone was charging in the direction of the entrance almost drawn by sheer instinct. They had to verify for themselves the truth or lie. Reality grabbed and we could hear people actually holding their breath. Each and all AMANDLA was stunned, instantly whirled off their feet and the joke was on



introducing Amandla



Scene: Part of Call-Freedom Charter

Scene: Indlamu





Scene: Before They Came - harmonious relationships

Scene: The Court's due





Scene: Gumboot dance

them as the President advanced, beaming, holding each hand with both his.

It was not enough that joy tingled in every cell, invading known and untouched depths of sensations and thoughts. Many eyes, ignoring make up, floated and danced in tears. After each had greeted him, the person would move back still overcome, still incredulous, making room for other victims of joy. As though rehearsed, the most natural act followed. All around the President, spreading their warmth and happiness, their regained strength plus unspoken gratitude, his comrades and children embraced, hugged and then again embraced.

And then, as quickly as he had come backstage to lessen the shock of being confronted by our leader's presence during the actual performance, the President had gone to the packed concert hall to take his place of honour amongst the Danish public.

If any single performance of the entire tour could be said to have been a rare display of beauty and bounty combined, this one must be it. From start to finish, without exception, we were to be captives of the most balanced blend of political content and artistic forms. At first, willing to be consumed, all waited impatiently as someone explained the programme in Danish, and then it all happened.

They marched in and as they took their positions a radiant human crescent unfolded before the audience. As firm fists rose before the vastness of a backdrop as old as the ANC (BLACK GREEN YELLOW) and as the controlled power of our anthem, "Nkosi sikelel'i Afrika" enveloped every bit of space, all seemed to have been made humble and proud simultaneously. Our President's eyes, with nothing else before but a thing of beauty, leaped to the beat in all those hearts. The Danes were in it too. All marvelled at the sight of grandeur.



The band opening scene part two.

If Comrade President had astounded them with that unannounced arrival, this was AMANDLA's turn to astound. It had to be that, a process of give and take. And there was plenty for our seat, determined to see, hear, feel and with his own indomitable depth reach out to them, communicating, speechless. In such a living breathing rhythmic laboratory our President could for the first time witness the unmistakable success of an experiment whose formula he helped to discover.

When AMANDLA took up "Tambo, Tambo, Sikhckele mfoka Tambo", all forty eight eyes focussed on one seat in the audience then enthralled all in the theatre radiating the relentless determination of the valiant and committed when they affirm our unshakeable resolve to reclaim our country. Certainly, that must have been AMANDLA's moment of glory. As picture after picture became amplified, the entire house was at our comrades' mercy and none could escape untouched and without feeling responsible in one way or another. At the same time all present were recipients of a love and generosity

flourished with the innocence of a child plucking and distributing flowers.

In the end, the range of experience and feeling had run the whole gamut from the bouancy GUMBOOT to the vigorous "DANCE OF THE PEOPLE".

Those who know Comrade President Tambo might remember the picture when we say this: countless times the spectacles went off and on. Eyes sparked and darts flew savouring every bit of ANC's own majestic sights and sounds. For honouring them, they played for our President and played as though everything depended on that, in the process elevating all those involved in the struggle to end the exploitation of man by man. When it was all over, the roses and the standing ovation seemed redundant. Excellence is it's own reward. But our Danish friends were entitled to their part.

THANKS TO AMANDLA.

PROFILE: Raymond Mphakamisi Mhlaba

Raymond Mhlaba was born on February 12, 1920 at Holy Trinity Mission, in the district of Fort Beaufort. He is of peasant origin and since there is no irrigation system in the African rural areas the people depend entirely on rain. His parents were not educated, his father passed Standard 3 and his mother could only read and write Xhosa. His father joined the police force in 1916 and remained with them until he was pensioned off in 1940. This had a double impact on Raymond's young mind: he "came face to face with the system" at an early age and he therefore grew up under his mother's care and influence because his father was stationed at various different places.

Raymond went to Healdtown High School - a missionary institution near Fort Beaufort and studied up to Junior Certificate. There were, as usual with African students, financial problems. At Healdtown he joined the Mayibuye Students Association, an organisation of students from Victoria East and Fort Beaufort districts whose activities included the education of the youth in these districts about their Motherland and organising picnics. He was also a member of the Christian Students' Association.

In 1942, he went to Port Elizabeth, where in 1943 he joined the Communist Party and shortly thereafter, the Laundry Workers' Union. In 1944, he joined the African National Congress. Those were the years when he was living at Sidwell, a mixed area of Coloureds, Indians and Africans, that is, before he was transferred to New Brighton Location, an entirely African township. In New Brighton he became a member of the New Brighton Residents' Association which catered for the interests of the

residents.

From 1943, he and his colleagues were very active in the trade union movement with the result that by 1948, they had a solid Laundry Workers' Union, which covered all the Dry Cleaning and Laundry Factories in Port Elizabeth and was affiliated to the National Headquarters in Johannesburg. As an active trade-unionist, he was arrested during a successful strike in 1948 and his employers subsequently sacked him. He was later employed by a firm of concrete specialists until the Defiance Campaign in 1952 in which he served a term of 47 days imprisonment. Then he was sacked again. In August 1953, Mhlaba joined a firm of solicitors who employed him until October 1961 - when he went underground.

Ray (as he was popularly known) held leading and significant positions in both the ANC and the CP: from 1946 he was District Secretary of the Port Elizabeth Branch of the CP until its dissolution in 1950 - when the Party was reorganised at an underground level as the SACP. Mhlaba joined the underground Party. From 1947, he was Branch Chairman of the ANC in Port Elizabeth until June 1953. This ANC Branch became prominent in 1950 and undertook to revive other branches in the area. In 1950, he was elected to the Advisory Board to test its futility or otherwise as a body run in an advisory capacity. At the end of that year the residents asked him to resign as they felt that it was a waste of time. Since 1953, he has received numerous banning orders: the Minister of Justice debarred him from being a member of a number of organisations and also prohibited him from attending gatherings.

Mhlaba's philosophy is simple, down-to-earth and working class:

"As early as May 1943, I realised that my people were suffering from both class and national oppression in this country. This is why I took an active part in the Trade Union movement as well as in the African National Congress

The fact that the African has no political, economic and elementary human rights in this land of his birth, is the major reason why I am at present involved in the Rivonia Trial. Hitlers come - Hitlers go".

Mhlaba's involvement in the Rivonia Trial is a fascinating story and an instructive lesson for all those who are fighting the fascist beast today. Though today this story may take a form of an anecdote in the political life of Mhlaba, it was a very serious matter those days a life and death matter. It does illustrate the courage with which our people face imprisonment and their refusal when captured to plead for mercy or to minimise their sentence when this can only be achieved by revealing to the enemy at the time of their trial, information which may be useful to the enemy but harmful to the movement.

Mhlaba (and the enemy now knows this and therefore we are not revealing any secrets) was part of one of the first groups to go out for military training. This was way back in the early 60's. This group included Mkwazi, Mlangeni and others and unfortunately Patrick Mthemba. We say unfortunately because he later sold out. The enemy then had no information about this group when the Rivonia arrest took place. Raymond had left the country illegally as part of this group around August/September 1961 - before the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe. . He, like other members of the group, completed his training, returned clandestinely to the country in February/March 1962.

The important point is that Raymond was not in South Africa when through a series of sabotage acts in all the main centres of South Africa, including

his home town Port Elizabeth, Umkhonto we Sizwe publicly announced its existence on December 16, 1961. Mhlaba was eventually captured at Rivonia in 1963 but at the time the police could find no evidence outside the fact of his presence at the Rivonia farm during the raid, of the degree of his involvement in the underground movement (the ANC, the CP and Umkhonto we Sizwe) nor of what he had been doing ever since he disappeared from public life in Port Elizabeth in August/September 1961. The police and state included Mhlaba in the Rivonia trialists and cooked up charges against him. The main burden of these charges rested on their producing false witnesses including the notorious Port Elizabeth sell-out Kholisile Mdwazi whose false evidence sent Mini, Khayingo and Mkhabela (also from Port Elizabeth) to the gallows. These false witnesses testified that Raymond personally supervised and participated in the Port Elizabeth blasts of December 16, 1961.

The State Prosecutor in the Rivonia trial, the notorious Percy Yutar, was very much aware that the evidence against Raymond Mhlaba was false and despite the array of false witnesses of evidence against Ray, the Special Branch was desperately keen to know of Raymond's involvement in the underground. The Special Branch had failed to extract this information from Ray when he was in detention. They now made another desperate bid to elicit this information - they framed Ray for acts of sabotage purportedly carried out by him at a time when he was not in the country; at a time when they could not establish where he was! This is racist South Africa's justice!

They hoped that Ray would either 'defend' himself (and in the process reveal where he was at the time of the sabotage acts of December 16, 1961) or under an intense barrage of cross-examination by the fascist prosecutor, Percy Yutar, in court, would crack. In the trial, Ray answered the charges against him by "denying" that he had participated in any sabotage on December 16, 1961 - which in any case was the truth!

When it came to Yutar's turn to cross-examine him, Yutar, doing the job of the police, pressed home the point and demanded from Ray that he (Ray) substantiate his alibi by revealing where he was during that crucial period. Ray's response to Yutar's relentless pressure was his infectious, high-pitched laugh and firm retort: "I am not going to tell you that".

Ray was convicted and sentenced to life - which in South Africa means "until the end of your life", until you die. After their sentence the Special Branch were aware that if Mhlaba and Kathrada, who was also sentenced to life on thin evidence (and often false evidence) were to appeal against their sentence, they would probably have their sentences reduced to the minimum of 5 years which is the mandatory sentence on conviction under the then Sabotage Act or the present day Terrorism Act which has since replaced the Sabotage Act.

The defence in the Rivonia Trial was led by the late comrade Bram Fischer and shortly after the Rivonia trialists were taken to serve their sentences on Robben Island, Bram Fischer went to visit the comrades in prison in order to receive their instructions about the possibilities of the Rivonia trialists appealing against their conviction and sentence. The keynote of the attitude of the accused to the trial had been expressed by Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela in his statement from the dock whose main content was:

- (a) to turn the trial from one of defending themselves on a capital charge to that of using the courtroom to indict the racist regime led by the then Verwoerd; to turn the court into an ANC political platform; to use the court to address our people and inform them about the policy of the ANC;
- (b) even on conviction by the court to maintain this position and refuse to plead for mercy from the oppressors' courts.

As a result, Raymond and Kathrada who had the best chances of having their sentences drastically reduced and avoiding life imprisonment, adhered strictly to this position and when Bram Fischer consulted them on Robben Island about their appeal all accused unanimously and voluntarily chose to stand by their political convictions, to live with their integrity and dignity, intact before their people and refused to appeal against the conviction and sentence.

In the process of his political involvement and activity in the ANC, CP and Umkhonto we Sizwe, Mhlaba was forced to make tremendous sacrifices. We are talking about family sacrifices. Perhaps Mhlaba is the best person to express this.



“On March 24, 1943 I married Miss Joyce Meke of Dorrington Location, Fort Beaufort. Out of the marriage we have eight children. It was a terrible loss to me when, in February 1960, she was knocked down by a motor-car as she was crossing a street in Port Elizabeth and died within fifteen minutes”.

This happened a year before Mhlaba went underground and his youngest son, Loyiso, was then less than 3 years old. His sister Zodwa Mhlaba cared for the children - Raymond's parents had just died before that.

Mhlaba, like Kathrada, continues to serve his long sentence, knowing that they could long have been freed from prison without regret and with the confidence that they have served and continue to serve the struggle. And no-one has felt more frustration over the stoic refusal of Raymond Mhlaba to give, in the face of possible punishment, information that the police then so desperately wanted than the Special Branch.

Where Ray was and what he was doing in the underground has probably long been pieced together in its substantial aspects by the enemy, in some parts through betrayals, by people like Patrick Mthembu - — who was killed recently. Before he died Mthembu lived the haunted life of a traitor - and revolutionary justice made sure that he does not do worse harm to our people.

The Special Branch continue with their brutality but they do this in the knowledge that those who fight on the side of the people are made of a fibre that is beyond their comprehension and that neither torture, imprisonment nor death sentence is sufficient a weapon in the hands of the oppressor to crush the people's struggle.

The continued imprisonment of Raymond Mphakamisi Mhlaba, his colleagues and all other political prisoners in South Africa, remains an indictment against the racist regime. Kathrada's biting sarcasm and rapier-like tongue continues to prick his captors and the corridors of Robben



Island prison continue to reverberate with Ray's infectious laughter throughout his imprisonment.

**WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF
ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS IN
SOUTH AFRICA!.**

BOOK REVIEW: For the Freedom of his People



Professor Z.K. Mathews

Mathews, Z. K.

Freedom for my People - Autobiography of Z. K. Mathews: Southern Africa 1901 to 1968. Memoir by Monica Wilson, Cape Town 1981.

Many autobiographies (published or unpublished) or even biographies of Africans tend to be something like an

“autobiography of an unknown African” - at times the author is known only after the publication of a biography or autobiography. The tragedy is that sometimes this happens long after the person is dead. One needs only to page through T. D. Mveli Skota’s African

Yearly Register to verify this. In a sense Z. K. Matthews' autobiography is to some extent different in that he was well-known throughout South Africa and abroad - but this book does reveal many facts about and aspects of his life which were, up to now, unknown at least to this reviewer.

Born in 1901 in the Barkley West District of the Cape Colony, Zachariah Keodirelang Matthews attended school in Kimberley before he went to Lovedale and Fort Hare. He completed his B.A. in 1923 and a Teacher's Diploma the following year. The historic significance of this was that Z. K. Matthews was the first African to obtain a university degree within South Africa:

"A thousand myths clinging to European minds like cobwebs in a long-empty house were about to be swept away, not by me, but by all who would follow me" (pg.81).

Soon thereafter, in 1925, he became Headmaster of Adams High School in Natal. Again the first African to hold such a post since the early days of John Dube. Before we forget whilst still at Fort Hare, there was a "bright faced little girl who was one of the noisy ones" (pg.67) "sometimes during that spring I found myself seeking her out with my eyes across the heads of the busily-eating students, and when she studiously did not look back, I began to seek ways and means of winning her attention" (pg.68). This was Frieda Bokwe. They got married in 1928. In 1930, Z. K. Matthews obtained an LLB degree with the University of South Africa and in 1934 an M.A. at Yale. He obtained a Diploma in Anthropology at the University of London in 1935 and in 1936 became a lecturer in Anthropology and Bantu Law and Administration at Fort Hare.

This was the beginning of his problems especially after 1945 when he became Professor of African Studies and Head of the Department of African Studies at Fort Hare and in the 50's when he served twice as Acting Principal. This was before he resigned in 1959,

when they decided to make Fort Hare a "tribal college" catering for Xhosas only. By the way, ZK (as he was popularly known) resigned just before his retirement and therefore lost his pension rights. He was not the only lecturer to resign.

In 1960, ZK opened a legal firm in Alice and acted as an attorney and soon thereafter (1962) left South Africa for Geneva where he worked at the offices of the World Council of Churches. After Botswana's independence, he became the Ambassador for Botswana at the UN, a post he held until he died in Washington in 1968 and now lies buried in Gaborone, the capital of Botswana. This was not before he had published a lot of articles in newspapers (Imvo Zabantsunu being one of them) scientific journals and magazines. He is a holder of doctorates honoris causa from different universities.

But that is only one aspect of ZK's life. Even that aspect - the academic one - was not all that smooth and rosy. It was a struggle, nay a battle - because the very existence of an African intelligentsia (without doing anything else except working in their professions) is a challenge, if not a destruction of racist myths about inherent or biological inferiority of the Africans. As a teacher and lawyer ZK had to be subjected to unheard of humiliation especially when it came to attending meetings of the Teachers Associations to which he belonged and at times was a leader; or attending some academic conferences or seminars. As a scholar he had to fight against reactionary theories such as those found in Loram's Book about the "theory of arrested development" that is, Africans because they are Africans, can only go so far and no further, so fast and no faster. What about the thesis that it was an affront to the Africans not to distinguish them on ethnic grounds!

As an educationalist, ZK believed that education must have respect for facts and the ability of a leader to stand on principle is an aspect of it. Much could be said about ZK's contribution in the field of education - not only in

South Africa but also in East Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika (now Tanzania) etc) but perhaps this is enough for today. But one thing we cannot miss to mention is that Fort Hare produced a galaxy of stars for the whole sub-continent, indeed, up to Kenya and Uganda and some of these stars are still shining bright in 1981. A list of these stars - part of it is in the book under review - looks like an African "Who's Who".

One thing which needs to be said is that one day a true history of Fort Hare - this "hidden history" will have to be re-written. This book is a step in that direction. This is all the more important today when Bantu Education and Bantustans are demolishing the traditions at Fort Hare. This by no means implies that missionary education was universal and compulsory let alone democratic, since the conditions and environment would not allow this process to take place. Professor Matthews himself admits that education and reality at and around Fort Hare were two different things:

"It was like our life at Fort Hare, utterly detached from the real world into which you stepped as soon as you set foot on the road to Alice". (pg. 72).

But the Fort Hare of ZK was definitely better than the Fort Hare of Bantu Education and "tribal colleges" which is a shadow or a ghost of the original Fort Hare.

This brings me to the "difficult" aspect of ZK's career - his political career. I say "difficult" because even the book under review does not tell us much about this aspect of his life. We know that he joined the ANC in 1940 and in 1943 became the Treasurer of the Cape Congress and was elected to the NEC. As a member of the Committee which drafted the African claims in South Africa - a document which was unanimously adopted by the annual conference of the ANC at Bloemfontein on December 16, 1945 and as one of the architects of the 1949 Programme of Action - the year in which he became

President of the Cape ANC until he was succeeded by W S Gawe in 1955 and an ex officio member of the NEC. ZK was very much involved in the "inner circles" of the ANC and was therefore one of the policy makers. The problem is that he says very little about these important issues - at the most they are mentioned in passing.

When he was Acting Principal of Fort Hare or on some mission connected with his profession Dr. Njongwe took over his duties e.g. preparation for the Defiance Campaign of 1952. But the greatest merit of Professor Z. K. Matthews is that he was the first to articulate the idea of a Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter. This was at the annual conference of the Cape ANC in Cradock in August 1953. He worked for that. He was not there when it was adopted in Kliptown in 1955. But he was one of the Treason Trialists - arrested for "treason" - the Freedom Charter and was again arrested during the State of Emergency in 1960.

There are problems with the book. The narrative is flat - politically speaking - and the ANC does not feature much - even the Youth League at Fort Hare - in the story except towards somewhere in the end, dealing with the fifties. Many names are thrown about and we do not see the relevance of these names to the narrative except that these are "big names". Anthropological terms such as "primitive world" (pg.103); "student of primitive cultures" (pg.104); "son of an illiterate pagan" (pg.120) do not help to clarify historical processes and they confuse the political student, let alone the masses for whom this book is, apparently meant. The pictures in the book are interesting: they show ZK in his "environment" and in action but why should a photograph of Robert Sobukwe be included in a book on ZK?

Monica Wilson says in the preface that she wrote the memoir "covering his (Z.K.'s) 24 years at Fort Hare and five years in Geneva ... I knew and admired Z. K. Matthews over thirty years. I was born and grew up in Lovedale, went to school there, and for a year was a part-

time student at Fort Hare. From 1944-6 I was lecturer in anthropology on his staff at Fort Hare. At the special request of my husband he stood godfather to our youngest son. His wife was my lifelong friend who had also grown up in Lovedale, and with whom I share many common memories”.

These credentials are acceptable - all the more she should have acted as an editor of the manuscript. For example, the term “Zulu impi” which is supposed to mean “Zulu warriors” is confusing and misleading because “impi” in Zulu means a war, a battle and not warriors. We are not worried by the etymological meaning but, to quote ZK, African Studies must have respect for facts.

With all these remarks, we are here dealing with an autobiography of a great

man. On the death of ZK, Nelson Mandela wrote on 1 October 1970 to his aunt - he is “nephew by marriage” to Mrs Matthews:

“Unlike many highly qualified intellectuals ZK had no anti-left prejudices and worked in harmony with lovers of freedom from all schools of thought The question whether ZK was liberal, conservative, or agitator becomes a purely terminological one, which we must leave to academicians. Ragadi we remember him with much affection”.

This is ZK, the man, inspirer, fighter, intellectual and ANC leader.

F.M.



Prof. Mathews addressing Natal Indian Congress conference

FRG COLLABORATION IN PRACTICE



AAB Executive Secretary being harassed by FRG police

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of the foundation of the racist "Republic of South Africa" the South African Embassy in Bonn organised a reception in the residence of its Ambassador in Rudigerstr. 20-24, 53400 Bonn 2 on June 1st 1981. Amongst others State Secretary Lautenschlager from the Foreign Office in Bonn participated in this reception. The Anti-Apartheid Movement (AAB) had asked its members and friends to join a protest demonstration against this reception.

They had prepared posters, pickets and slogans for this purpose such as "20 years of 'Republic' — hunger, torture, gallows", "Execution of Solomon Mahlangu — a reason to celebrate?". And AAB had constructed a huge wooden gallows with which the execution of the ANC freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu was symbolised. Although AAB protested the Bonn police had ruled that the venue of the demonstration had to be a street corner which was 50m away from the entry of the residence

When the first AAB demonstrators appeared on the spot, Chief Commissioner Muller immediately demanded control of the pickets. AAB Executive Secretary Ingeborg Wick was asked to take off her sandwich board which read "No collaboration with the murderers of Mahlangu" and to hand it over since it meant an insult. Ms Wick pointed out that the wording unfortunately corresponded to the truth and that it was known worldwide that the 'Republic of South Africa' was a criminal regime. Therefore she refused to hand this placard over to the police who repeated this demand several times.

Then the police started to use violent methods against Ms Wick. She resisted the brutal acts of about 4-5 policemen. They assaulted her, hurt her body at various places, tore her blouse. Her bag was thrown aside and her left shoe was damaged. Several policemen drew her and forced her into a police car. She was driven to the police headquarters in Bonn-Bad Godesberg where she was searched and personal data taken. The film from her camera and leaflets of the AAB and of the African National Congress (ANC) concerning the twentieth

anniversary of the foundation of the 'Republic of South Africa' were confiscated. She was threatened with a court case because of "resistance against the authorities" and of "having caused injuries" to a policeman. The police repeated that Chief Commissioner Muller had given the instruction to confiscate the placard "No collaboration with the murderers of Mahlangu" because it was an insult.

The police also confiscated the gallows which the AAB had constructed.

This incident is not the first of its kind. Already on Soweto Day 1976, on June 16th, the same Chief Commissioner Muller had violently confiscated and partly destroyed placards which read "Murderers of Soweto - Allies of NATO". The court case against the responsible person of the AAB demonstration then after 4 months was turned down due to "minor guilt and lack of public interest in persecuting it". This happened after an intensive campaign was started inside West Germany and abroad.

Today the AAB again calls on the democratic public to protest against this pro-apartheid behaviour of the Bonn police.



**SECHABA
and other
ANC Publications
are obtainable
from the following
Addresses:**

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 1791
LUSAKA
Zambia

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 2239
DAR ES SALAAM
Tanzania

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 3523
LUANDA
People's Republic of Angola

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
Federal Government Special
Guest House
Victoria Island
LAGOS
Nigeria

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
26 Avenue Albert Sarraut
DAKAR
Senegal

African National Congress –
South Africa
P. O. Box 680
MOROGORO
Tanzania

African National Congress –
South Africa
5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
ALGIERS
Algeria

The Representative
African National Congress –
South Africa
5 Ahmad Hishmat Street
ZAMALEK Cairo
Arab Republic of Egypt

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
310 East 44th Street,
NEW YORK, N. Y.
NYC 10074 – USA.

African National Congress –
South Africa
Box 302
Adelaide Postal Station,
TORONTO – Ontario M5C-2J4
Canada

African National Congress –
South Africa
F- 68 – Bhagat Singh Market
NEW DELHI – 1
India

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
P. O. Box 2073
S-103 12 STOCKHOLM 2
Sweden

The Representative
African National Congress
of South Africa
Via Capo d'Africa 47
00184 ROME
Italy

SECHABA Publications
28 Penton Str.,
LONDON N1 9 PR
England

DDR-1106 BERLIN
Angerweg 2
Wilhelmsruh



Raymond Mphakamisi Mhlaba