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JOE NZINGO GOABI
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EDITORIAL: NEW ZEALAND: Solidarity in Action

New Zealand is in the news again. In 1976 the African states withdrew from Montreal in protest against New Zealand collaboration with apartheid sport. The result was the Gleneagles Agreement. The Government of New Zealand even misled the world into believing that it supports the Gleneagles Agreement. Muldoon, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, pretends that he is against apartheid but during the Springbok tour he even announced that the army would be called upon to support the police in protecting rugby matches in which the Springboks are involved.

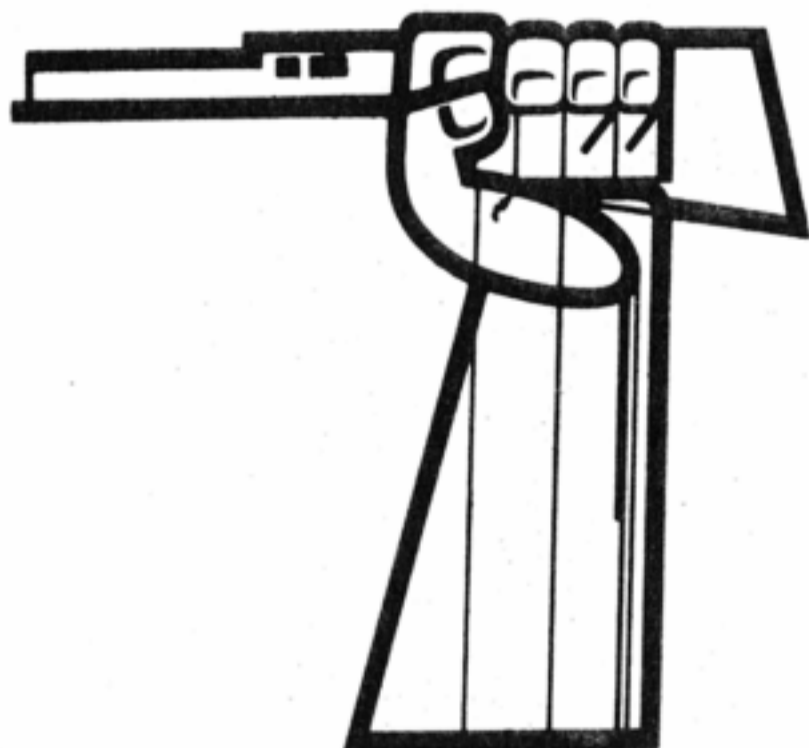
The New Zealand Commonwealth and Olympic Games Association has not been innocent in this collaboration with apartheid. If they have been firm on the condemnation of the apartheid tour and warned the rugby union of its consequences for New Zealand sport this tour would not have taken place. Lance Cross, Chairman of the New Zealand Commonwealth and Olympic Games Association, has not concealed his shrewd and covert support for apartheid by deliberately misinforming everyone that opposition to apartheid was "communist inspired" - as if Africa cannot decide who the enemy is. We should not forget that in 1976, Cross lied when he said that rugby was not part of his Games Association. It was later revealed that rugby only withdrew in 1977. Last September the Chairman of the Commonwealth Games Federation, Sir Alexander Ross, sent a letter to Cross requesting that his Association intervene with the Government and rugby authorities to abort the tour. This letter was even concealed from the New Zealand Commonwealth and Olympic Games Association until it was brought to their attention via Mr Les Lartyn of Australia. It was then reported that the letter was a personal one to Cross and that was why it

was not tabled to the New Zealand Commonwealth Games Association! The New Zealand Commonwealth and Olympic Games Association has avoided condemning the Springbok tour although motions of this effect were tabled to the meeting.

The Springbok rugby tour to New Zealand has been condemned world-wide and many countries have already displayed their protest by instituting strong action against New Zealand. The OAU has already resolved its actions against New Zealand.

We should also remember that the New Zealand Government is a signatory to the Gleneagles Agreement and has therefore agreed to take every practical step to stop sports contact with racist South Africa. Why this double-dealing? Or is this the New Zealand form of "freedom and democracy", that is not "interfering in sporting matters?"

The whole manoeuvre is a serious matter because some countries now will start asking the question: why should we not play with racist South Africa if New Zealand can do it? This rugby conspiracy is a very carefully orchestrated plot. This is all the more so since three of the major supporters of apartheid sport in South Africa are:





Anti-tour demonstrators face New Zealand police

Sigma: which distributes Peugeot and Mazda cars in South Africa;

Holiday Inn Hotel Group: which pours large sums of money to promote and provide respectability for South Africa's "multinational" sports policy; and

Mobil Oil: which provides large sums of money to attract overseas sports stars to come to South Africa. Mobil Oil also financed the setting up of a sports research programme at one of South Africa's white universities.

Surely New Zealand is definitely
perpetrating racism in sport.

Credit must go to the protesters in New Zealand who have made tremendous sacrifice on our behalf or rather in solidarity with us. Many have been beaten up by the police. Several have been imprisoned. Barbed wire was erected to separate players from spectators. This was solidarity in action - what we have always been calling for. We shall always remember the sacrifices made by the New Zealand people. The wave of activities are a lesson to all those who are committed to the anti-apartheid struggle; they indicate that the process of collaboration with apartheid can be halted if we act jointly and collectively. Let us then act jointly and collectively: the struggle continues - victory is certain!

'Our Alliance is a living organism that has grown out of struggle'

President O.R. Tambo on the occasion of the 60th Anniversary of the South African Communist Party, July 30th, 1981

On July 30 1981, the South African Communist Party organised a meeting in London to celebrate its 60th anniversary. Chairing the meeting was Comrade Yusuf Dadoo, SACP Chairman. Solidarity messages were given by the General Secretaries of the British and Irish Communist Parties. Giving the key-note speech on behalf of the SACP was the Party's General Secretary, Comrade Moses Mabhida. Below we publish the address by our President Comrade O.R Tambo.

Comrade Chairman,
Your Excellencies,
and Comrades,

Let me commence by thanking you, Comrade Chairman, and the SACP for inviting the African National Congress to be a party to this occasion and in particular, for the opportunity of sharing a platform with the Communist Party of Great Britain, represented here by the General Secretary Gordon McLennan and with the Communist Party of Ireland, represented by Comrade Michael O'Riordan.

These are our allies; they are part of the international movement of solidarity which gives us strength and confidence in the certainty of our victory. These parties, together with other communist and workers parties around the world, are parties which we can always appeal to for solidarity in the conviction that they will respond.

It is a great pleasure for us, a great honour to participate with them on an occasion of great significance in our struggle in South Africa.

You Comrade Chairman, and Comrade General Secretary of the SACP have shared hundreds of platforms together in our lifetime in South Africa and in many parts of the world outside our country. Today, we share a platform on an occasion which takes our reflections back across a span of 60 years, in which we can recall great names

that have ensured that our struggle shall continue and is continuing today ... names that shall always be honoured in our history.

We share this platform in another significant context, for me in particular. I have the great pleasure today of repeating on behalf of the African National Congress and our people in general, our congratulations to Comrade Moses Mabhida on his election some while ago, to the position of General Secretary of the SACP.

We utter these congratulations with a sense of confidence, knowing his background, knowing his role in our struggle especially in the discharge of his tasks in the ANC, his absolute loyalty and his understanding - profound understanding - of the character of the South African situation and its problems. Confidence, because he succeeds one of the great giants of our struggle in the position of General Secretary of the SACP - Moses Kotane: whose contributions alone, to the building up of the forces that can resist fascist onslaught on any scale is acknowledged by all who have worked with him, such as I have, - by all who have read about him.

We are confident that you Comrade Moses, will prove yourself a worthy successor, and perhaps in the fullness of time we shall likewise name you among the giants of our struggle.

Comrade Chairman, I should like to pay a special tribute to you today. It is

60 years since the SACP was formed. It is several decades since you have been involved in the front ranks of our struggle, inspiring everyone around you, inspiring younger generations: first among the volunteers in situations that threaten arrest, torture, imprisonment; never missing where there is struggle to be waged. You were awarded the title *Isitwalandwe* by our nation not as a formality but in recognition of your services. This was more than 25 years ago. Your presence here, and chairmanship of this particular meeting enables us to recall with great clarity the various revolutionaries with whom you associated in your period of service to our people and our country.

On this the 60th anniversary of the founding of the South African Communist Party, I bring the greeting and felicitations of the NEC of the African National Congress, and the good wishes of all those engaged in the liberation struggle and all the oppressed in South Africa.

This year also marks the 25th Anniversary of the Women's great march to Pretoria - the march of our gallant women. It is the year that carries with it the 20th Anniversary of the founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe. It is the Year of the Youth of our country. We hail the SACP in the name of these contingents of our army of liberation which together with the SACP comprise a fighting alliance that represents the power of the South African revolution in the making.

We salute the SACP, particularly in the name of the combatants who have fallen in the course of our struggle as well as on behalf of the national leaders and militants presently held in the enemy's prisons.

We congratulate the SACP on this occasion, particularly for the dedication and commitment of its leaders and cadres that has ensured its survival these 60 years, despite intensive repression and desperate attempts to destroy it.

We applaud your achievements, for the SACP has not only survived, but is today stronger, and increasingly makes more significant contributions to the liberation struggle of our people.

The ANC speaks here today, not so much as a guest invited to address a foreign organisation. Rather we speak of and to



Comrade O.R. Tambo

our own. For it is a matter of record that for much of its history, the SACP has been an integral part of the struggle of the African people against oppression and exploitation in South Africa. We can all bear witness, that in the context of the struggle against colonial structures, racism, and the struggle for power by the people, the SACP has been fighting with the oppressed and exploited.

Notwithstanding that it has had to concentrate on thwarting the efforts to destroy it, cadres of the SACP have always been ready to face the enemy in the field. Because they have stood and fought in the front ranks, they have been amongst those who have suffered the worst brutalities of the enemy, and some of the best cadres have sacrificed their lives.

And so, your achievements are the achievements of the liberation struggle. Your heroes are ours. Yours victories, those of all the oppressed.

The relationship between the ANC and the SACP is not an accident of history, nor is it a natural and inevitable development. For, as we can see, similar relationships have not emerged in the course of liberation struggles in other parts of Africa.

To be true to history, we must concede that there have been difficulties as well as triumphs along our path, as, traversing many decades, our two organisations have converged towards a shared strategy of struggle. Ours is not merely a paper alliance, created at conference tables and formalised through the signing of documents and representing only an agreement of leaders. Our alliance

is a living organism that has grown out of struggle. We have built it out of our separate and common experiences. It has been nurtured by our endeavours to counter the total offensive mounted by the National Party in particular against all opposition and against the very concept of democracy. It has been strengthened through resistance to the vicious onslaught against both the ANC and the SACP by the Pretoria regime; it has been fertilised by the blood of countless heroes many of them are unnamed and unsung. It has been reinforced by a common determination to destroy the enemy and by our shared belief in the certainty of victory.

This process of building the unity of all progressive and democratic forces in South Africa through united and unified action received a particularly powerful impetus from the outstanding leadership of Isitwalandwe Chief Albert J Luthuli, as President General of the ANC. The process was assisted and supported by the tried and tested leadership of such stalwart revolutionaries as Isitwalandwe Usuf Dadoo and Isitwalandwe the late Moses Kotane, revolutionaries of the stature of J. B. Marks and Bram Fisher.

Today the ANC and SACP have common objectives in the eradication of the oppressive and exploitative system that prevails in our country: the seizure of power and the exercise of their right of self determination by all the people of South Africa. We share a strategic perspective of the task that lies ahead.

Our organisations have been able to agree on fundamental strategies and tactical positions, whilst retaining our separate identities. For though we are united in struggle, as you have already pointed out Comrade Chairman, we are not the same. Our history has shown that we are a powerful force because our organisations are mutually reinforcing.

It is often claimed by our detractors that the ANC's association with the SACP means that the ANC is being influenced by the SACP. That is not our experience. Our experience is that the two influence each other. The ANC is quite capable of influencing, and is liable to be influenced by others. There has been the evolution of



Comrade Moses Mabhida

strategy which reflects this two-way process.

In fact the ANC was quite within its rights to tell the SACP that we are sorry we cannot release Comrade Moses Mabhida from his tasks in the ANC - find another comrade to be General Secretary. Yet we agreed he would make a good General Secretary for the SACP. He was not grabbed.

This kind of relationship constitutes a feature of the South African liberation movement, a revolutionary movement, a feature of the SACP which helps to reinforce the alliance and to make it work as it is working. It is a tribute to the leadership of the SACP.

We are therefore talking of an alliance from which, in the final analysis, the struggle of the people of South Africa for a new society and a new social system has benefited greatly.

Within our revolutionary alliance each organisation has a distinct and vital role to play. A correct understanding of these roles, and respect for their boundaries has ensured the survival and consolidation of our cooperation and unity.

As stated in its programme, the SACP

unreservedly supports and participates in the struggle for national liberation led by the ANC, in alliance with the South African Indian Congress, the Congress of Trade Unions, the Coloured People's Congress and other patriotic groups of democrats, women, peasants and youth.

The strategy of the African National Congress sees the main content of the South African revolution as the liberation of the largest and most oppressed group: namely the Black population. And by Black I do not mean what our enemies have elected to designate as Black - namely just the Africans. By Black, we mean all the oppressed. Those who were formerly called Non whites and which we prefer to call Black.

Of course, it does not suit the enemy to club all the oppressed and exploited together. It is better for the enemy that this vast majority be split up into what they call Blacks and then Indians and Coloureds. That fits their strategy - serves the interests of their strategy best. But I am talking about the oppressed population as the Blacks.

Whilst concerned to draw in, and unify, all progressive and democratic forces in the country, including those amongst the whites, our priority remains the maximum mobilisation of those who are the dispossessed, the exploited and the racially oppressed.

That is only a priority, for we recognise that victory requires that we build up maximum unity of the forces for progress. Indeed we need to break up this white racist clique, win friends from among the ruling class and isolate the fascists. Then a united people of South Africa can deliver the final blow, crush the colonialist structures and move to a new South Africa.

The poverty of our people, the incidents of malnutrition, unemployment and other manifestations of the criminal policy, the criminal system under which we live, demand that our people should fight with everything they have, all the time, to destroy the system. To this end the ANC has called upon the people to resist this oppressive and exploitative system at every level, using every occasion and every means at their disposal. And the response has been nationwide. People in all walks of life and races have banded together in opposition to

the fascist regime. Almost every township has been faced with rent strikes and other forms of resistance. Fare increases are met with boycotts. Youth and students have maintained their action against the education system and found widespread support from parents.

Though many of these actions are local and focus on immediate issues, they are not directed at seeking piece meal and at best temporary redress. These actions are not an end in themselves but they are part of the struggle for a new social system in our country.

The ANC has called upon and encouraged workers to use their labour power, not only to improve wages and working conditions, but also to destroy the exploitative system itself. Workers have been and are responding to this call. In the process, employers have been dismissing large numbers of the poorly paid and brutally exploited strikers.

The right of the workers to withhold their labour is universally recognised as fundamental. The ANC is determined to defend the right of South African workers to strike - especially the Black workers. Firms which victimise strikers do so at their peril. They must be made aware that they dismiss their workers at the risk of dismissing their profits. The ANC intends to see to it, that the workers right to strike is defended.

The objective of our struggle in South Africa, as set out in the Freedom Charter, encompasses economic emancipation. It is inconceivable for liberation to have meaning without a return of the wealth of the country to the people as a whole. To allow the existing economic forces to retain their interests intact is to feed the roots of racial supremacy and exploitation, and does not represent even the shadow of liberation.

It is therefore a fundamental feature of our strategy that victory must embrace more than formal political democracy; and our drive towards national emancipation must include economic emancipation.

Mr Chairman, exploitation and repression are brutal. But they have not deterred or cowered us. On the contrary, throughout the country, the struggle is generating a climate of defiance, in which

people are going into action without thought of torture, arrest or even death. They are asserting their right to freedom of association and speech, their right to strike, and most importantly for the right to govern.

They do so in the context of a mass struggle which demonstrates the success of our strategy of reinforcing popular actions with armed force - as was shown most forcibly during the nationwide campaign of boycott and rejection of the white republic in May of this year.

The ANC and its allies recognise that in our situation in South Africa armed struggle is an absolute imperative. But we have always seen mass mobilisation as essential to the growth and development of armed struggle. We acclaim it as an achievement, that in both areas of activity - the mass struggles as well as armed action, - there is now ample evidence of growth and expansion.

Umkhonto we Sizwe has emerged as a force to reckon with. And yet, we all know that before we can hope to bring the enemy down, the scope and scale, as well as the quality of the operations of this our people's army, must be greatly stepped up. Umkhonto we Sizwe has won its first great victory - namely, that the enemy has proved unable to stop its growth, its expansion and the increasingly effective striking powers of our guerrilla army.

That is a victory which we must build on. To say that, is to pronounce the challenge posed for our revolutionary alliance. Unless we build on that victory we will lose the victory itself.

For even as the unity of the oppressed has grown and strengthened so too has the offensive against us. As we stand poised for new advances, the onslaught grows more fierce.

As the apartheid regime has sought ways to preserve itself, power in South Africa has increasingly become concentrated in the hands of a particularly dangerous and authoritarian politico-military clique, which tries to retain control through the unashamed and overt use of institutionalised violence and the escalation of brutal repression. Not content with waging war against the South African and Namibian people, the regime has embarked upon an

undeclared war against neighbouring states.

In repeated breaches of the UN Charter and of international law, the territorial integrity of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe is violated by the regime, the political stability of independent states subverted, and economic development retarded and sabotaged.

In opening this meeting, Comrade Chairman, you have drawn our attention to the new crime of aggression against the Peoples Republic of Angola. We should like to especially associate the ANC with the resolution adopted here today. And to add, that in our view Angola's closest friends should rally to her defence, and that Africa must act against the aggression against Africa. We consider the situation demands an emergency meeting of the OAU to decide upon concerted measures to be taken to drive South African troops out of Angola and out of Namibia.

We should not omit to emphasise and underscore, the special role of the new administration in the US, in relation to this aggression. There has been some consistency in the behaviour of the South African regime ever since Mr Reagan appeared on the scene. The first signs of a new arrival in the arena of international relations was the fact of the Geneva Conference being torpedoed.

A state had been reached when all concerned had agreed including South Africa and at that moment the Reagan Administration appeared on the scene. The first evidence of that was the collapse of that Geneva conference. It was succeeded by an attack on Angola; an attack, an invasion against Mozambique when our people were butchered and assassinated in Matola.

Now as pressure grows for the implementation of Res. 435 to resolve and finalise the Namibian question, the greatest ever invasion is mounted against Angola - the greatest certainly, since the mid 1970s. Backing all this up is surely that administration which proclaims itself as an ally of South Africa, which labelled the national liberation movement as international terrorism to be eliminated and liquidated. It is in pursuance of that policy that by way of liquidating SWAPO, the South African regime is being assisted and encouraged and equipped to try and

destroy Angola.

In condemning this aggression, we must also condemn with equal vigour the allies of the criminal regime in South Africa.

For our part, we declare our indissoluble unity with the people of Namibia in their struggles. We support SWAPO and we will do everything in our power to ensure the success of their struggle.

We have in the past declared our solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa especially when they come under attack by our immediate enemy. We proclaim this support today for the people of Angola.

The ANC has received and continues to receive international support and solidarity from a variety of sources. We must today, acknowledge especially, with appreciation, the very significant support we receive from the socialist countries. You have mentioned many of these countries - all of them without exception have given freely by way of supporting our struggle and meeting our demands.

We appreciate in particular that they and some African countries have not hesitated to deliver weapons to peoples fighting for their liberation. The enemy likes to squeal that we have been fighting with either Soviet made weapons, or communist made weapons. It does not matter what weapons they are. But we are glad to have them, and shall continue to use them if they are effective - and they are.

This support has been given during the liberation struggles in southern Africa and the rest of Africa and has been extended to the independent states that have been forced to defend their own victories.

The devastation wreaked in Southern Africa by the Pretoria regime places an added responsibility upon the liberation movement. For, it is only after the seizure of power in Pretoria, that the people of southern Africa will be able to concentrate all their energies and resources into consolidating their independence, furthering economic development and promoting social change. Until the Pretoria regime is defeated in Namibia and in South Africa, there are no prospects for peace and security in southern Africa and the defeat of that regime is precisely the task of the ANC, SACP and all the people of South Africa

who have committed themselves to the struggle for total liberation.

For the revolutionary movement, anniversaries cannot only celebrate the past. We must recall and acclaim our history, but more importantly, we must use the past to arm ourselves for the future: to learn lessons and to strengthen our resolve and commitment.

The founders of the African National Congress vested in the organisation the historic responsibility of uniting the South African nation across the boundaries of colour, race and creed. That task has devolved upon each of our members and cadres, and to it, has been added the isolation of the Pretoria regime and the mobilisation of the widest possible support for our liberation struggle.

The ANC's capacity to unite our people and to lead a unified liberation struggle is one of our most formidable weapons, and it is consequently a prime target of the enemy.

It is only as a united force that we can move forward.

It is as a united people that we shall be victorious.

To move forward, we need to move forward toward victory. An essential of forward movement is that we should together work for the highest level of mobilisation of our people inside South Africa and of the international community. For the consolidation and expansion of our underground organisation in our country, we we should aim at planting Umkhonto we Sizwe and spreading it among the popular masses, so that the masses become the active expression of our armed struggle.

We need to work together for the fulfilment of the objectives elaborated in the Freedom Charter.

We need, in other words, to consolidate further our alliance and ensure its maximum effectiveness.

LONG LIVE THE SACP!
LONG LIVE THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN
THE ANC AND SACP!
LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF ALL
PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC
FORCES IN OUR COUNTRY AND IN THE
REST OF THE WORLD!

ANGOLA: The Undeclared War

As racist South African troops continue their brutal assault on the People's Republic of Angola, SECHABA looks at the recent build-up towards this undeclared war.

* * *

If an indicator was needed as to the effects of the aggressive and arrogant policy of the U.S. Reagan Administration, then the present situation facing the People's Republic of Angola would serve as a prime example. In a statement issued in June of this year, the Central Committee of the MPLA Workers Party found it imperative to stress that: "Never since the historic year of 1976 - when the South African troops were forced to leave our country following the occupation started shortly before independence - have the acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Angola attained the same degree of intensity and continuity as over the past six months."

These developments are directly connected with Reagan's brand of imperialism as well as with the complicity of some western countries who are seeking to justify their support for Angolan puppets as a way of counterbalancing the help rendered to SWAPO by the People's Republic.

MOUNTING TERROR

Racist South Africa's catalogue of crimes against the Angolan people continues to grow. At the same time the white minority regime is receiving the most overt US support for its terror campaign since the days of Nixon's Watergate Administration. Although documented by the Angolan Government, these crimes often go unreported in the western media. Their scale needs to be fully appreciated. Between the months of January and June 1981, the

following acts of aggression were committed:

- 472 reconnaissance flights
- 22 incidents of strafing from the air
- 30 bombing raids
- 111 landings of heliported troops
- 4 incidents of dropping paratroopers
- 2 incidents of artillery shelling
- 22 build-ups of forces and materials.

What of the effects of this list of atrocities? Hundreds of civilians and military personnel were killed and wounded; transport and social and economic targets were destroyed, and entire villages were demolished.

TOWARDS AN INVASION

These attacks have taken place at the same time as racist South African military strength has been reinforced. Namibia is now occupied by more than 40,000 armed men, many of them stationed along Angola's southern border with Namibia, particularly at Ondangua. By the last two weeks of July 1981, racist troop movements began to take the form of an invasion.

Pretoria's forces crossed into Angolan territory and occupied the towns of Mulemba, Nehone, Ndova, Mupa, Evale, Chana, Caiolus and the village of Mutako, which was totally destroyed. The racist assault was composed of an infantry brigade, 2 combined battalions of mercenaries and racist South Africans, a motorised infantry battalion reinforced and supported by aircraft, 3 helicopters, long range 155 millimetre artillery, 81 millimetre mortars and



Racist South African sabotage in Angola

armoured personnel carriers of the AML 60 type.

TERRORIST POLICY

Responding to the fascist onslaught against his country. Angola's President, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos told the opening of the 3rd ordinary session of the People's Assembly on 5 July :

"There is in fact deliberate action, an undeclared war waged with the intention of intimidating the Angolan people and destabilising our country and progressive countries in the region. This bellicose and terrorist policy of Pretoria is the main cause of the instability and lack of security in Southern Africa today."

Comrade President dos Santos went on to stress that defence of the country's revolutionary gains and its territorial integrity would remain the fundamental task facing the MPLA Workers Party and the Angolan people as a whole. By the 5th of August, the Deputy Foreign Minister,

Venancio de Moura had summoned ambassadors of all countries accredited in Angola as well as representatives of international organisations to condemn the continuing invasion. He emphasised that if need be, Angola would invoke Article 51 of the United Nations Charter which affirms the inherent right to individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a member of the United Nations Organisation.

IMPERIALIST INVOLVEMENT

The Apartheid regime's violence against Angola should not be seen in isolation. It must be viewed in the context of increased support for the UNITA puppets, moves to rescind the Clarke Amendment by the Reagan Administration and the attempt to "solve" the problem of Namibian independence outside the framework of Resolution 435. These manoeuvres over Namibia include a hysterical campaign against the alleged "Cuban and Soviet presence in Angola" in which attempts are being made to link that presence with the possible

"difficulties" involved in the early achievement of Namibian independence.

But the people of Angola are as ever standing firm by their principles of internationalism. As President dos Santos recently said: "We cannot abdicate from giving help to our brothers and freedom fighters of Namibia and South Africa. This is a matter of principle. We are fighting for the total independence of Africa and for freedom, peace and progress for the peoples".

As SECHABA goes to press, the situation in Southern Africa is becoming more and more tense. While President Reagan announces his intention to go ahead with production of the barbaric Neutron bomb, racist South Africa is accelerating its undeclared war on the People's Republic of Angola. The racists and their western allies are intent on destroying the advances

won by the MPLA Workers Party. As the President of the African National Congress, Comrade O.R. Tambo, pointed out at the First Congress of the MPLA held in Luanda in December 1977:

"Angola's orientation towards the social emancipation of her people has .. 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."

Once again, on behalf of the fighting masses of our country, the ANC reaffirms its unwavering solidarity with the People's Republic of Angola and all Front-line States who are facing our common enemy with determination, intent on our shared goal of an end to all vestiges of racism and colonialism on the African continent.



PRESS RELEASE

**Mozambique, Angola and Guinea
Information Centre
34 Percy Street, London W1P 9FG**

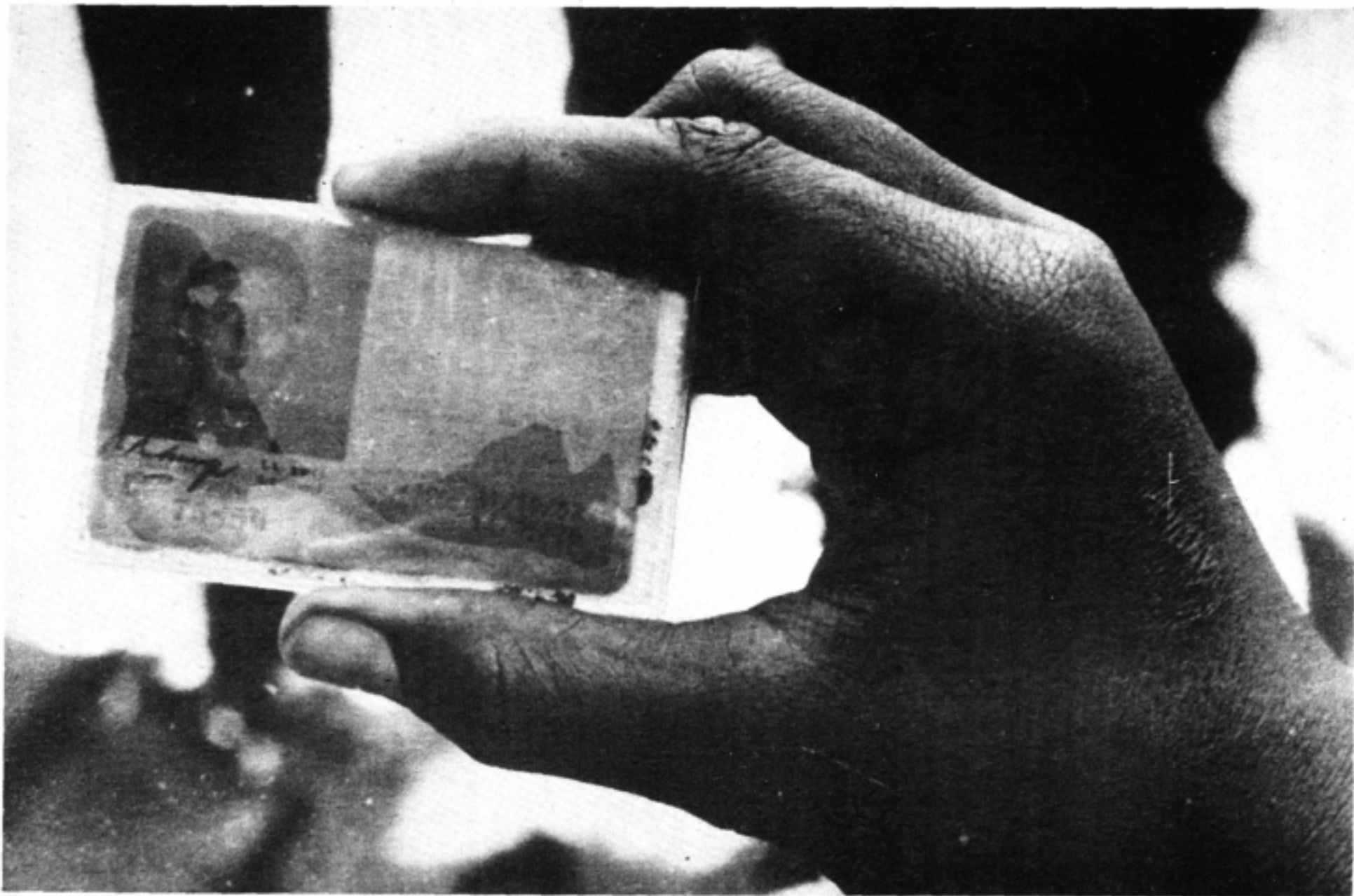
ANGOLAN PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS APPEALS TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL KURT WALDHEIM AS ANGOLAN FORCES BATTLE WITH INVADING SOUTH AFRICAN TANK COLUMNS

In a telegram yesterday to UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, Angolan President Jose Eduardo Dos Santos asked for UN action to end South African aggression against Angola and 'to neutralise the imminent and massive invasion being prepared against my country'. Warning that more than 45,000 South African troops, with mercenaries and puppets under them, were massed on the Angola-Namibia border 'with the objective of occupying part of the sovereign territory of Angola', he said that this was a serious situation 'which could provoke a war with unforeseeable consequences'. As a sovereign state and UN member, President Dos Santos said 'Angola may find itself forced to invoke Chapter 51 of the UN Charter', which provides for individual and collective security in case of attack.

Meanwhile, in a communique issued last night (24.8.81) at 11 o'clock, the Angolan Ministry of Defence described the situation in Southern Angola over the past three days.

South African Mirage and Buccaneer aircraft had attacked and destroyed the town of Cahama, more than 200km inside Angola, and the commune of Tchibemba, more than 300km inside Angola. Tchibemba is north of Cahama, on the main tarmac road to Lubango, capital of Huila Province. On 24th August two motorised South African columns entered Angola's Kunene Province from Namibia, one composed of 32 tanks and 82 vehicles, supported by aircraft. This is therefore the biggest ever tank column to enter Angola.

The communique states that the first column clashed with Angolan forces in the Xangongo area, around 100km inside Angola, where fierce fighting still continues. The second column, after occupying the village of Chatequero, around 150km inside Angola, also clashed with Angolan forces and fierce fighting continues there as well. At the same time the Xangongo municipality is being subjected to heavy air bombing by the South African Air Force. On 22nd August a Defence Ministry communique warned of an imminent South African attack on Njiva, capital of Kunene Province.



SADF Identity Card found in Southern Angola after S.A. bombs wrecked havoc to Angola's economic infrastructure

UK Students Step Up Solidarity Struggle

On the weekend of July 11th, 1981 the tenth annual Southern Africa Conference, jointly organised by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement and the National Union of Students, took place in Queen Mary College in the east end of London. The conference was designed as a forum for anti-apartheid activists in the student movement to meet and discuss the current situation in South Africa and Namibia, to hear speakers from the liberation movements, and to plan campaigns within colleges and universities of Britain in solidarity with the liberation struggle.

In the ten years since the first conference was held British students have initiated many solidarity actions. One of the most successful campaigns undertaken, which continues today, has been on the question of disinvestment. Most British universities, and especially the older and more established ones, have large investment portfolios intended to produce finance for the institutions in addition to the government grant. The most lucrative of these investments are generally those in companies operating in South Africa - lucrative because of the low wages guaranteed by the apartheid system.

Students began to investigate their universities' investments, and were outraged to discover that a part of the funds that paid for their educational facilities came from profits made by the exploitation and oppression of black workers in South Africa. The students were not slow to realise the contradictions in this situation - they were benefiting from an advanced education whilst black children in South Africa, where they received any education at all, were only taught what the white regime felt it was necessary for them to learn to be efficient in its service. In many universities campaigns were initiated to force

the authorities to dispose of their investments: in some places the students took direct action, such as occupations or sit-ins, in others the campaign included a rent-strike and hunger-strike.

The student campaigns were strengthened by the traditional view of British universities that they are 'liberal' institutions, open to all irrespective of race, colour, creed or sex, and by the active support of the National Union of Students. The clear contradiction between the universities' public declarations of 'liberalism' and academic freedom, and their investments in the apartheid system, together with widespread student, and in some cases staff opposition to the investments, led to a number of universities acceding to the students' demands, and disposing of their shares in South African companies. A number of British universities still have shares in companies operating in South Africa, however, and a renewed campaign is being organised to end this collaboration.

Other actions in which students have been involved in the last decade include the long-standing campaign against Barclays Bank, because of its key role in the South African economy, which has resulted in a sizeable drop in the number of students placing their accounts with Barclays, and the removal of Barclays branches from a number of college campuses. Students have also campaigned against academic and sporting links with South Africa, playing a major role in the mobilisation against the racist Springboks tour in 1970, and have organised fund-raising campaigns for material support for the ANC and SWAPO. Throughout the AAM's long campaign for independence in Zimbabwe student activists were involved. Recently attention has been focussed on the campaign to free Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners in South Africa, and a

number of students unions have named halls or buildings after Nelson Mandela and Herman ja Toivo, have proposed honorary degrees for Mandela and have supported the international calls for his release.

The 1981 conference was attended by about 100 student activists from over 50 colleges and universities, and was opened by the National Treasurer of the NUS, who stressed to the delegates the vital importance of continued solidarity work, and voiced NUS's particular concern at the recent harassment of students in South Africa because of their involvement in the Republic Day Boycotts and other anti apartheid activity. Keynote speakers included representatives of the ANC Youth Section, who introduced a discussion on the threat that South Africa poses to world peace, and who informed delegates of the extent of the massive attacks launched by South Africa on neighbouring independent African states, particularly Angola and Mozambique. A representative of SWAPO addressed the conference on the current situation in Namibia, and appealed for increased solidarity actions by students, especially in light of Britain's role in the Western Contact Group. Two recent films were shown: the first, "We are all workers" documented the strike at Fattis and Monis, and included an interview with veteran trade unionist Oscar Mpetha. Delegates were told of the trumped-up murder charges Mpetha now faces, and urged to take actions to ensure his release. The other film shown was "South Africa belongs to us", about the struggle of women in South Africa, and the AAM Women's Committee made a special plea for delegates to mobilise support from women students, especially for the women political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia.

A series of workshops were held, to examine particular forms of British collaboration with apartheid, and to plan mobilisation of students in opposition to Britain's continued support for the racist regime. The conference agreed on a number of campaign priorities for the forthcoming year, which would lend support to the AAM's major campaign "Isolate South Africa -- Sanctions Now!"

The conference recognised that the

vital prerequisite for any successful campaigning lies in informing and educating the mass of students about the real nature of apartheid, exposing the myths about "reforms", and publicising the extensive support given by Britain to Pretoria, and the refusal by Britain and its partners to take effective action to end South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Delegates agreed that in order to do this it is necessary to build strong Anti-Apartheid Groups in our colleges and universities.

The first priority for student activists will be to organise protests at Barclays Bank's continued support for apartheid. Actions will include pickets of Barclays branches on or near university campuses, where leaflets will be distributed to new students urging them not to bank on apartheid. This will provide the first opportunity to inform new students about the apartheid system, and the extent of British support for it, and is seen as particularly important as a means of bringing in new students to support the campaign. This will be followed by a series of nationwide protests at the banning, detention and harassment of students in South Africa, to take place on October 19th, the anniversary of the SASO and SASM bannings.

On this day students will publicly burn South African flags, and raise ANC flags in their place: a national focus will be in London, where the NUS President will burn a South African flag outside the South African embassy. This will be accompanied by a leafletting campaign, which will inform other students and members of the public that this form of peaceful action has led to the arrest of students and others in South Africa, and that similar actions could now result in a sentence of as much as 5 years. Students attending the conference were deeply concerned at the repression of their fellow students in South Africa, and it is planned to set up an urgent action scheme whereby student unions all over Britain will undertake to organise protest campaigns whenever students in South Africa are detained for political offences.

As the threat of racism grows in Britain itself, many student unions plan to hold anti-racist events (such as meetings, demon-

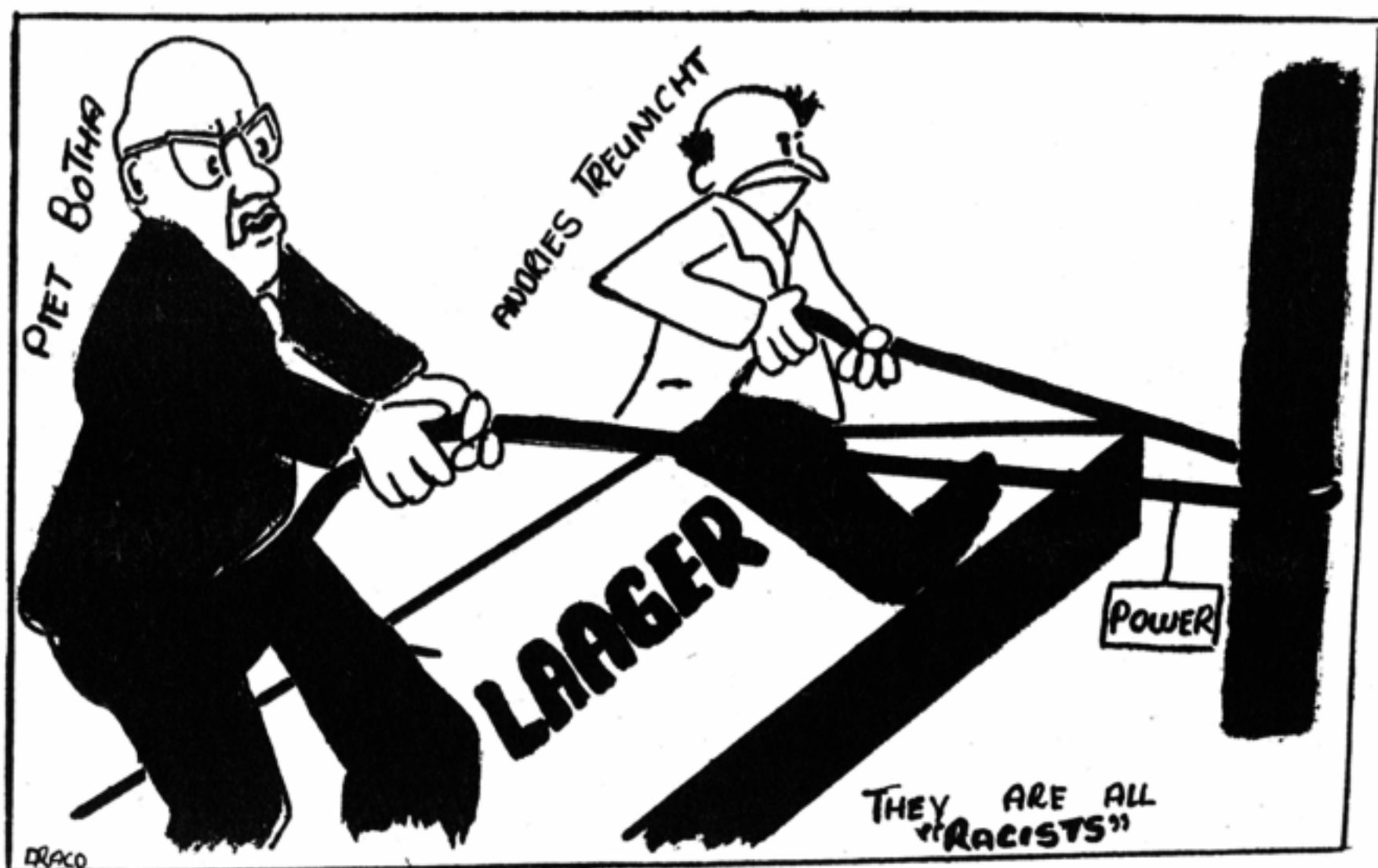
strations and festivals) over the coming year. Delegates at the conference agreed that it is not possible to seriously oppose the growth of racist ideas and organisations in Britain without showing how Britain continues to support and profit from racism in South Africa and Namibia, and determined to make this an integral component of all anti-racist campaigns.

AAM and NUS have called on every students' union to set up a special committee to investigate each college's links with South Africa: such links vary from the purchase of South African products for college canteens and refectories to academic exchanges and investments in South African companies. By identifying such immediate and local forms of collaboration it is hoped that we can mobilise the maximum number of students in opposition to this collaboration. It is also stressed that students should not campaign in isolation, but that they should seek the support of trade unions in their colleges and of community organisations, thereby creating the broadest possible base for support.

Other initiatives planned for the first term of the academic year include a day of action against the Namibian uranium contract, which will involve pickets of

electricity offices in protest against the illegal importation of Namibian uranium with the agreement and connivance of the British government. Leaflets will be distributed urging protests to the British government at the illegal trade. It is also planned to organise a speaking tour of colleges, jointly with the campaign to Stop the War against Angola and Mozambique. This is felt to be especially important, since whereas the British media daily report the latest news from Afghanistan and Poland, there is an almost total news blackout on the daily atrocities perpetrated by the apartheid military against the people of Angola and Mozambique.

A campaign which has been taken up by students in the past, and which it is hoped will be much more widely taken up this year, concerns the efforts of South African companies recruiting British students to go and work in South Africa. As the regime faces a serious shortfall in white skilled labour, it has been making major efforts to recruit new graduates from Britain, particularly in the fields of minerals technology, teaching, nursing and engineering. It is the practice in Britain for companies recruiting graduates to visit the universities to interview applicants. The campaign aims to stop these visits, and to



stop advertising material being provided by Careers Services if it prompts employment in South Africa or Namibia.

In order to take up this issue effectively, particularly at a time of massive unemployment in Britain, it is necessary for us to win the arguments with those who are considering going to live in South Africa. A widespread campaign, including leafletting and articles in student newspapers, and meetings, will be employed, to explain that by choosing to work in South Africa one is placing oneself firmly in the apartheid camp, and that it is not possible, as some appear to believe, to work in South Africa without implicitly supporting apartheid.

The other major area which students have been urged to take up with renewed vigour is in raising material aid for SWAPO and the ANC. These campaigns are important, not merely for the materials

raised, but for their role in educating others about the reasons for, the justness of, the liberation struggle. Particular projects which students have been asked to raise aid for are SWAPO's education campaign and the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom School.

The campaign programme for the next year is ambitious. British students are faced with many difficulties brought about by the policies of Mrs Thatcher and her Tory Government, such as unemployment and cuts in educational expenditure, which will place great demands on their time and resources. However, after a successful conference we are confident that we can build the support that is needed; the student movement in Britain has a long history of involvement in anti-racist and solidarity campaigns, which now more than ever before must be harnessed in support of the growing liberation struggles of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

ANC MILITANTS SENTENCED TO DEATH

On August 19, 1981, three ANC militants were sentenced to death in the Pretoria Supreme Court. Anthony Tsotsobe (25), Johannes Shabangu (26) and David Moise (25) were found guilty of "high treason" by the Apartheid court. Charges against them had included attacks on Booyens police station, Dube railway station and the SASOL 2 oil-from-coal plant. The trial itself, which began on April 11 of this year, exposed the travesty of justice in racist South Africa as never before.

The proceedings were characterised by '3 trials within a trial' as the Counsel for Defence produced witnesses to prove that statements made by the accused to the Security Police could not be regarded as admissible in court. Six witnesses, one a 15 year old girl, gave evidence of their torture by the same Security police in Protea Police Station. They described how they had been beaten, shocked and tortured. The young girl had been beaten with a hose pipe the men faced torture with electric wires with their hands and feet bound together.

Then came the evidence of the three comrades themselves. Anthony Tsotsobe described how he was handcuffed behind his back, his face covered with a wet sack and whipped. The court heard how Shabangu had a broken jaw after 'falling down stairs'. He described how he was hung head down by his leg irons from a tree in the bush during interrogation. A 'ghost mask' was placed over his face and he could not breathe. He subsequently lost consciousness. David Moise was suspended head-down from a football pole with a wet sack tied to his face and 'punched as though a punching bag'; he was then burnt on the heels.

Revealing the nature of so-called justice in racist South Africa, Justice Theron, having heard the above evidence, RULED THAT STATEMENTS THAT HAD BEEN MADE TO THE SECURITY POLICE WERE ADMISSABLE IN COURT.

Another feature of the State's case was its submission that the Three should bear the same responsibility for all the allegations in the charge sheet — in other words that their membership of the ANC meant that they had been part of a 'conspiracy'. Counsel for the Defence described this as a 'startling proposition' even in relation to the racist state's body of law.

These three freedom fighters have now joined their comrades Mashigo, Lubisi and Manana in the death row in Pretoria Maximum Security Prison. The African National Congress has issued an urgent call for immediate action by the international democratic community to stop these judicial murders from taking place. Below we print the statement issued by the NEC of the ANC and an extract from the response of Comrade President O.R. Tambo to the death sentences.

The "Treason Trial", involving three courageous sons of the oppressed people of South Africa, David Moise, Johannes Shabangu and Anthony Bobby Tsotsobe has ended. All three have been sentenced to death by the fascist court in Pretoria.

Throughout the trial which lasted for many weeks, the fascist inquisitors had set out to prove that these revolutionary patriots, members of the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, were guilty of "high treason, terrorism, attempted murder and robbery". Once again the South African judiciary which had long been identified as a loyal tool and an important facet of the defence mechanism of the fascist state has unashamedly succumbed to the dictates of its blood-thirsty master.

The overwhelming majority of the people of South Africa totally reject this verdict. This was amply demonstrated outside the court room when judgement of guilt was handed down as hundreds of spectators in unison shouted their rejection of the court's findings.

Revolutionaries, condemned to death, have never denied their membership of the African National Congress, an organisation identified as the courageous defender of the true aspirations of the oppressed masses and which is dedicated to the restructuring of the future South African society along democratic lines set out in the Freedom Charter; to serve the true peaceful interests of all the citizens of South Africa,

irrespective of race, colour or creed. It is only in the countries that are in the grip of a fascist terroristic system as South Africa is, that brand noble ideals embodied in the Freedom Charter as advocating high treason.

The bar of world public opinion long ago declared the aggressive apartheid system, espoused and defended by the South African ruling class, as a crime against humanity. This declaration has charged humanity with the special and inescapable responsibility of defending those who are involved in a life and death struggle against this barbarous oppressive system, for freedom, human dignity and social progress. It is thus imperative that democratic forces all over the world should take up this latest fascist challenge with renewed vigour demanding the release of the condemned patriots and others before them, including all the imprisoned leaders of our people.

The apartheid regime must be forced to observe the Geneva Conventions on treatment of freedom fighters captured in combat, in compliance with the 1977 additional Protocol I relating to the protection of victims of international armed conflicts.

The African National Congress and the fighting masses fully accept this latest challenge of condemning to death yet again members of our revolutionary movement. It is clear that the apartheid regime is motivated to carry out these acts of barbarism by desperation and fear as it

sees its inevitable doom approaching. This latest crime presents yet another springboard for raising to still higher levels the national liberation struggle that is currently consuming the entire territory of South Africa. The mass political upsurge will intensify and the armed struggle will be raised to new and higher levels.

That is the inexorable verdict passed by the African National Congress and the entire people against the apartheid regime of terror.

**FORWARD TO VICTORY!
'AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE A RONA!**

Following their arrest last year, the three young men were each brutally tortured into signing an incriminating statement virtually dictated by the fascist police. In sentencing them to death the judge relied solely on these statements which he claimed were confessions of guilt - voluntarily made by our comrades.

The inhuman apartheid system relies on fascist methods for its doomed survival. Its sordid record features such ghastly crimes as the Soweto massacre, the assassination of detainees such as Steve Biko, the execution of opponents like Solomon Mahlangu, the murder of refugees as in Matola, numerous and savage crimes against the entire people of Southern Africa, and the use of torture on a scale unequalled in the world. In contrast to this scene of blood, and destruction - the innocence of Tsotsobe, Moise and Shabangu stands out like a tower, strikingly serene and unblemished. It invokes a feeling of pride in them. Pride in what they stand for, pride in what they represent.

For, as members of the African National Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe, they stand for social justice, for an end to man's exploitation of man, they represent the aspirations of the oppressed and exploited majority, they fight for a liberated, democratic and non-racial South Africa and for peace in our country and beyond its borders. In the pursuit of these noble goals, they march shoulder to shoulder with the peoples of the progressive world. ¶

O.R. TAMBO

MK IN ACTION

AS MASS POLITICAL RESISTANCE TO THE RACIST REGIME MOUNTS ARMED ACTIONS BY THE PEOPLE'S ARMY, UMKHONTO WE SIZWE HAVE ROCKED THE S.A. STATE. BELOW WE LIST SOME OF THE ACTIONS REPORTED DURING 1981.

January 26

Time-bomb explodes in warehouse belonging to government official near Durban

February 7

Bomb explodes outside Daily News building, Durban

April 21

Electricity substation near Durban attacked with explosives

May 6

Bomb explosion on railway line near Cottondale



May 19

Railway line near Port Elizabeth cut by explosion

May 25

Power lines cut near Vrede, Orange Free State

May 25

Railway line at New Canada cut by explosion

May 25

Railway line cut by explosion near Durban

May 25

Police station at Fort Jackson near Mdantsane attacked

May 25

Police patrol attacked near Mdantsane

May 27

SADF Recruiting office in Durban attacked with bomb

June 6

Grenade explodes in home of Mdantsane security policeman

June 11

Durban-Empangeni rail-link cut by explosion

June 26

Monument destroyed by explosion in centre of Durban



June 28

Railway line between Felixton and Port Durnford (Natal) cut by explosion

July 3

Limpet mine found on oil storage tank in Alberton depot

July 21

3 Power stations in E. Transvaal sabotaged

July 26

2 Durban motor showrooms damaged by explosives

August 6

Bomb explodes in Port Elizabeth shopping area

August 11

Voortrekkerhoogte military base hit by rocket attack in Pretoria

PAGES FROM HISTORY PART ONE

On the eve of the 70th anniversary of the ANC on January 8, 1982, Sechaba intends to publish a series of articles on some aspects of our history. We therefore start with the article on:

THE EMERGENCE OF BLACK CHRISTIANITY

The role of missionaries in our country is well known. What is not well-known is the significance of the black christians and the political role they have played in the early phase of African nationalism in our country.

It is a known fact that the first African convert was Ntsikana, son of Gaba, who was converted "some time about 1815". He was followed by many others including Tiyo Soga (1829-71) who was the first African to be ordained by the United Presbyterian Church in Scotland in 1856. Ntsikana, Makanda (Nexele) and Tiyo Soga played their part but today we want to start with Nehemiah Tile, especially the religious and political role he played during his time.

Who was Nehemiah Tile?

Tile's origins are somewhat obscure. A dominant figure in the early history of the Church in South Africa, Nehemiah Tile established the Thembu church - "the earliest fully established independent church in the sub-continent", which developed into a significant movement of political protest, a response of the Africans to the process of expansion of colonialism in that area. In the early 1870's he worked in Thembuland as a Wesleyan evangelist, helping Rev. Peter Hargreaves, a pioneer

missionary, whose Clarkebury circuit fell within the Queenstown Missionary district. Recognising Tile's potential, the Wesleyan church sent him to Healdtown College, where he joined a handful of Africans who were doing theology and he came under the influence of such leading African Wesleyans as Richard Kawa and James Dwane.

From 1879 Tile served as a probationer minister moving from one area to another in Thembuland. He came into conflict with his superior in the Church, Reverend Theophilus Chubb, the Superintendent of the Clarkebury education institution and left the Wesleyan Church. Two reasons seem to have motivated this stand of Tile, namely the discrimination in the church and the general political activity in the Thembu social life. The Wesleyan church could not accept Tile's involvement in Thembu politics. The church alleged that Tile:

- had stirred up hostility to the magistrates in Thembuland;
- had addressed a public meeting on the Sabbath;
- had not kept Chubb informed of his (Tile's) political work; and
- had donated an ox at the circumcision of Dalindyebo, the son of the Thembu paramount Chief.

There were other reasons which motivated Tile to react in the way he did. It goes without saying that the Cape Native Affairs Department also put pressure on him. The Transkeian rebellion of 1880-81, the influx of the Trekboers from what was then called the Cape Colony (a portion of the Eastern Cape) into Emigrant Thembuland in 1882/3 and the War of Dispossession of 1887 demonstrated not

only the reality of white intrusion but also the hardships of armed resistance.

In 1883 Tile founded the Thembu Church. This signified a continuation of his protest and meant a combination of religious and political aims. This enabled Tile to articulate and provide channels for the expression of deep felt grievances of the people. "Tile now spearheaded another, more subtle, form of opposition". In August 1883 he organised a meeting at Ngangelizwe's great place which adopted a petition to the Cape Government signed by the paramount and his three sons, requesting that all but one of the magistrates be removed from Thembuland. In December another petition followed, signed by more chiefs and members of his Ngangelizwe's family. The colonialists feared Tile's influence on Ngangelizwe so much that in April 1884, Elliot, the Chief Magistrate wrote (not without regret) that Ngangelizwe was "entirely in the hands of Tile". By May 1884 Tile's demands had grown: no hut tax, for this would merely support the magistrates. He took his campaign into the colonial press. He did not stop at that. He sent statements and articles in support of Ngangelizwe's petition to the Cape Mercury and the Cape Argus. De Wet, the new Secretary for Native Affairs visited Mtata in September 1884 and was confronted by Tile who was the chief spokesman for Ngangelizwe and the Thembu at a mass meeting.

Because of his politico-religious activities, Tile was arrested and put in jail charged with "incitement" and denounced as an "agitator". This was supposed to intimidate him. But on the contrary this seemed to inspire him and his colleagues.

Rev. Dr Hengt Sundkler, an authority on independent churches in South Africa and who wrote the book: *Bantu Prophets in South Africa*, seems to know very little about Nehemiah Tile.

THE THEMBU CHURCH

It is therefore necessary and important to generalise and point out the significance of Tile and his movement. Tile's secession was a pointer to a new direction, an alternative, which would lead to an establishment of an independent African church. It was a forerunner of a protest movement founded by Rev. Moses Mangena Mokone in 1894. The Thembu Church was definitely the predecessor of the Ethiopian Church. Tile's support derived from the fact that the Wesleyan Church, the oldest and most influential mission church in Thembuland, had become associated with the imposition of colonialism and Tile, expressing the deep-rooted feelings of the people, resented this. Tile understood that black christianity, if it was to be a force of resistance with a lengthy existence, had to form an alliance with the paramount, endowing him with a religious sanctity and enhancing his traditional role, helping to buttress his authority which was being weakened and eroded by missionary activity and the political and economic penetration into the area by the colonialists. He understood the connection between colonialism and missionary activity.

Tile had radical views on the proper relations of Black and to White in South Africa, in which ethnic considerations took second place to a common destiny of Blacks. The Thembu Church was an African-run body, rejecting white racist and paternalistic control and asserting African independence of action. Though it used Wesleyan forms of worship which were modified in that prayers were said for the paramount, his heir and rule, Tile did alter the wording of a traditional prayer in order to remove any implication that the Thembu were in a status of political subordination. The Church itself became more than just a place of religious worship. It signified a political



protest movement which sought to escape from the reality of colonial rule. It was only in the Thembu Church where all men and women were equal and black. There was no white racist control

Whereas in the past white pressure led Africans to offer resistance by appealing to the ancestral spirits, the new church signified the usage of a new tool in the struggle for freedom: the use of a christian framework to express African equality in the age of white domination. Tile broke with the church with which he was associated, formed a new church and worked with the traditional political leadership which he assisted in resisting colonialism. Saudners, whose invaluable research on Tile has helped us to understand the man, comments:

"The head of the Thembu church set his political sights on a return to the days of independent chiefly rule, instead of looking forward to participation in a common society, with the Transkeian territories part of a multi-racial Cape. In doing so he was moving in a direction opposite not only to that of the bulk of the new African elite that emerged in the Eastern Cape and east of the Kei from the late 1870's, but also to the dominant tradition of the twentieth century African nationalism."

Edward Roux (not without regret) states in connection with the independent African churches that "some of these churches were purely tribalistic affairs or confined to particular areas."

The African National Congress, which is heir and inheritor of this great heritage of militant tradition of resistance of the 19th Century and therefore indebted to our forefathers for the legacy and heritage they left behind for future generations, views the matter somewhat differently. It is our considered opinion that when the Africans fought in the last century they were not fighting for a "return to the past" or for the "preservation" of their social system. On the contrary they fought for its defence and development, they fought and died for the defence of hard earned achievements, for a noble cause: namely that education, christianity and technical superiority should not be misused for the exploitation of man and his destruction but should be used for

his progress. In short, our forefathers were forward looking. As for the accusation that some of these organisations were "tribally" or "tribalistically" inclined our answer is simple. The poverty and pass laws have tended to confine Africans in one area or region. Organisation had to start from somewhere and if by sheer accident of history the people spoke the same language and had the same culture that is not necessarily "tribalism".

Nehemiah Tile died shortly before Christmas in 1891. But his church lived on. It was subjected to many pressures. Splits occurred in the church. Tengo Jabavu, a staunch Wesleyan strongly opposed to the Thembu church, attacked it in the columns of his newspaper, 'Imvo Zabantsundu'. By 1895, King Dalindyabo, Ngangelizwe's son and successor, had severed all links with the church and the ministers - Tile's successors - who had neither theological training nor government recognition became frustrated.

M.M. MOKONE AND THE ETHIOPIAN CHURCH

If an impression is created that the movement for black church independence from missionary control was confined to the Cape, that has to be corrected. In Natal in 1846 the first African convert in that part of our country, Umbulazi, was baptised by Dr Newton Adams of the American Board missionary and that signalled the growth and spread of Christianity among Africans in that part of our country. In 1885 at Taung, then Bechuanaland, the London Missionary Society came into some problems. Chief Kgantlapane took an active part in the founding of the Native Independent Congregational Church and he appointed ministers of his own choice to lead his church. Four years later in 1889 a "young and over zealous" missionary of the Berlin Mission to the Bapedi in the Transvaal, J A Winter, anxious to give the African church leaders more responsibility, formed an independent church, the Lutheran Bapedi Church and Khanyane Napo, an evangelist of the Anglican church in Pretoria, formed his own organisation, the African Church.

These attempts were isolated and sporadic, but "when these ideas spread to the Witwatersrand, the whole movement took a new momentum". This was due to the fact that the discovery of gold in 1885 was a decisive factor for mission work - the Witwatersrand became an attraction for African labour and an important centre for missionary work. Thousands of African workers went to work in the gold mines, some were christian workers, mostly Wesleyans: "In 1885 there were in Johannesburg no less than sixty-five such voluntary preachers of the Wesleyan church, coming from various parts of the country."

One of these was a Wesleyan minister, Moses Mangena Mokone. He was born in the Transvaal in 1851 and in 1870 went to Natal and worked there for 10s a month on the sugar plantations. He then went to Durban, where he worked as a domestic servant and attended night school. In 1874 he was baptised by the Wesleyans and took up preaching. Mokone resigned from the Wesleyan church in 1892: "He was later followed by Revds. Marcus Gabashane, J.G. Xaba, P.S. Kuze, J.M. Dwane, Abraham Mngqibisa, J.Z. Tantsi and Samson Mtintso". Mokone opposed what he regarded as racial segregation within the Church, as seen by there being once conference for white and another for the African leaders. What was even more disturbing is the fact that the Whites had the right to attend the black meetings, if they so desired, while Blacks were excluded from white meetings. Together with others (ministers, evangelists, teachers and ordinary adherents of the Wesleyan church) Mokone formed the Ethiopian Church. Thus the first Ethiopian Church was founded on the Witwatersrand.

THE BLACK AMERICAN CONNECTION

Recently Sechaba wrote a profile of Charlotte Maxeke and showed the role she played in introducing the A.M.E. a Black American Church organisation, to South Africa. Revds Samuel Jacobus Brander, Joshua Mphothleng Mphela, and Steven Nguato of the Ethiopian Catholic Church in Zion appeared before the South African Native Affairs Commission on October 4, 1904. They explained the reasons for their

break-away from the "Church of England" - and from the A.M.E. They broke away from the "Church of England" to form the A.M.E. Church and later on affiliated to the A.M.E. of America. They joined the black American church because the black Americans "had education and other things better than we had. We considered that it would be better for us to join them, so that they could help us, being Coloured people themselves."

This realisation was motivated by the fact that the Africans wanted to teach the gospel and erect schools, industrial schools, to educate our people in the Transvaal and because our people did not have the money. Education was seen as a means to bridge the gap between black and white. But problems emerged. The mother body, the black American church organisation, did not keep the promises. They had promised that they would give a school from America at their own expense - with teachers and all - but their branch in South Africa found that they had to do everything themselves "and at the same time collect our yearly income, and also take collections for Easter Day, contingent moneys, and all that money had to be forwarded to America". Rev. Brander reported to the above mentioned commission:

"I did that three times, when the Church was in danger of debt, three times I sent an application to America for them to help us, and they said they could not help us, at the same time saying we had to forward all our moneys to them". This caused a rift if not a split, between the black American A.M.E. and the independent churches in South Africa.

It is important to note that Mokone's group was not limited to any ethnic group and its interest, it had a wider horizon and appealed to all. The term "Ethiopian" itself was an interpretation of the Scriptures - that itself being a departure from missionary education which demanded that Africans should only read (if not memorise) the scriptures. Mokone had heard the missionaries refer in their sermons to Psalm 68:31 "Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands unto God". Mokone took this to mean the right of the Africans to independent church organisation under

African leadership. Mokone collaborated with Kyanyane Napo, S. Brander, Jonas Goduka (Tile's successor whom Mokone met in the Eastern Cape when he went to establish the possibility of working together with the Thembu Church) and James Dwane.

Who was James Dwane?

Born in 1848 and ordained in 1881 as a Wesleyan minister, he was gifted as a speaker, had ability and possessed a powerful personality. He was sent to England in 1894-95 to represent his church and to solicit financial support. As soon as he returned to South Africa, he quarrelled with his mission authorities about the disposal of the money. He left the mission church to join forces in 1896 with Mokone and became a leader of the new movement. In 1898 and 1899 Dwane travelled to the United States and in 1900 founded his "Order of Ethiopia Church". The Abyssinian victory over the colonialists at Adowa in 1896 must have had a great impact on the leaders of Ethiopianism in South Africa. Dwane even wrote to King Menelik of Ethiopia "asking him to take oversight of the religious conditions in Egypt and the Sudan and that he, Dwane, had tried to collect funds for this purpose among the Negroes in America".

SIGNIFICANCE OF ETHIOPIANISM

In summary, we would like to say a few words about the reasons for and significance of the emergence of the Ethiopian movement. The white man's God and gold influenced and changed the African belief and behaviour: the independent churches were a symptom of an inner revolt against the colonialists' missionary crusade; an expression of distrust, resistance and opposition, a sign of the vitality of the religious and cultural heritage of the Africans. The independent churches were not only an opposition to European control but were also a positive desire to adopt the message of the church to the heritage of the Africans. The root cause of Ethiopianism were:

- a) the colour line between Black and White, especially within the church;
- b) the land question: "some of the African land syndicates before 1913 were composed of Ethiopian leaders"
- c) African unemployment: "Many of the outbursts of the Independent church movement occurred during this period of bitterness caused by unemployment".

In other words the reasons were both religious and political as well as economic. The religious expressions were a reflection of the deep underlying economic and political questions; a struggle against political domination by and economic penetration of colonialism as well as cultural (through religion and education) conquest.

These are some of the forces, indeed, people, who contributed to the political ferment towards the end of the last century; a ferment which culminated in the formation of the ANC on January 8, 1912.

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POEM:

Flowers Shall Grow

flowers shall grow
when warriors go home
when we return
tears of mothers
turn golden dewdrops
years of painful cries
turn oceans of mirrored smiles

flowers shall grow
come winter, summer
autumn or spring
sprouting on pearly shores
spreading like wildfire
blooming in soft
morning dew

back home
flowers are growing
raving like the honeybee
angrily stinging
leaving no thorn unturned
so that
flowers must grow

Gloria Mtungwa

PROFILE: ANDREW MOKETE MLANGENI

Born on May 6, 1926 at Prospect Township, Johannesburg, Andrew Mokete Mlangeni was the ninth child of a family of twelve with a twin sister. His father died in 1932 and his mother who had just given birth to another set of twins, had to maintain the twelve children. Because of the poverty of the family he only started going to school at the age of ten, in 1936. In order to assist his mother financially, (in paying school fees, buying clothing to say nothing about food, rent, bus fares etc) he became a golf caddie at the age of 12. He used to do this after school hours and this enabled him to buy clothes. These were hard days just before the Second World War.

One of Mlangeni's older brothers, then living at Pimville Location, offered to take him into his house and paid for his school fees. This was in 1942 and he was then in Standard V. In 1943 he passed Standard VI and, because of a family misunderstanding, he left Pimville to join his mother, who was one of the first squatters at Orlando West, Johannesburg. In 1944 Mlangeni was admitted to St Peter's secondary school, Rosettenville as a day scholar and in 1946 he completed his Junior Certificate.

We mention this poor background of Mlangeni because during the Rivonia Trial, the racists tried every trick in the book to "prove" that the leaders of the ANC were "well off" people who were living in comfort - if not luxury - and only using their "mischievous" tactics of "launching the masses" or "inciting" them about grievances which did not exist in reality!

Unable to proceed further with his studies for financial reasons, Mlangeni took a number of jobs. It was at this time that he felt his problems were part of a bigger problem that affected not only him, but the rest of the Africans, the rest of the black

oppressed. He sought for solutions. In 1951 he joined the ANC Youth League and three years later, in 1954, he joined the "mother body", the ANC proper; he took an active part in the organisation of the Congress of the People; he was one of the delegates who participated in the Kiptown Congress of the People which adopted the Freedom Charter; he was elected branch treasurer in 1955 and was a member of the Ad Hoc Committee elected to supervise the "stand-by-our-leaders" campaign and ran the ANC affairs during the Treason Trial.

Mlangeni, a man of working class origin and a worker himself, participated in the 1957 Putco bus drivers' strike for better working conditions and a living wage. He and others were expelled but not before the company had complied with the demand that drivers should have conductors. Mlangeni became branch secretary in 1956 and Regional Secretary for Soweto from 1958 to 1960 when the ANC was declared unlawful. In 1961 comrade Mlangeni was one of the organisers of the All-In-African Conference in Pietermaritzburg in which he participated as a delegate from Dube. In the same year he investigated the forced removal of the community near Lydenburg together with the late Comrade Joe Gqabi, then New Age reporter and later to be incarcerated on Robben Island. Both were arrested for "trespassing"; for being in a Trust Land without permission. Andrew Mlangeni worked closely with Joe Modise who was then living in hiding underground - before he left the country.

J. Joffe, one of the defence team at the Rivonia Trial has, together with M. Koff, written an unpublished manuscript of the Rivonia Trial. In it he describes Mlangeni as follows:

"Andrew Mlangeni, a large solid man,

who complained immediately that he had been tortured with electric shock treatment during his detention, demonstrated the still visible burns and scars. It seemed to us from the little we knew of Mlangeni, that - even if it was not true - he was well characterized by the witness who said he was known in the national movement as "Robot"; certainly he had the capacity to stick to his post to the bitter end, a man of single-minded loyalty to the cause".

His "single-minded loyalty" is noticable in his words:

"Because of the ruthless treatment meted out to the African people and the pass raids etc I decided to play a part in contributing to the liberation struggle of the African people in South Africa".

By the way, he and Elias Motsoaledi had in fact been arrested some weeks before the raid at Rivonia. They had been held in detention throughout this period, taken to identification parades to be shown off to various witnesses of acts of sabotage, and were later joined with the Rivonia accused on a basis no one understood except their captors. Patrick Mthembu's evidence enabled the state to include them in the Rivonia Trial

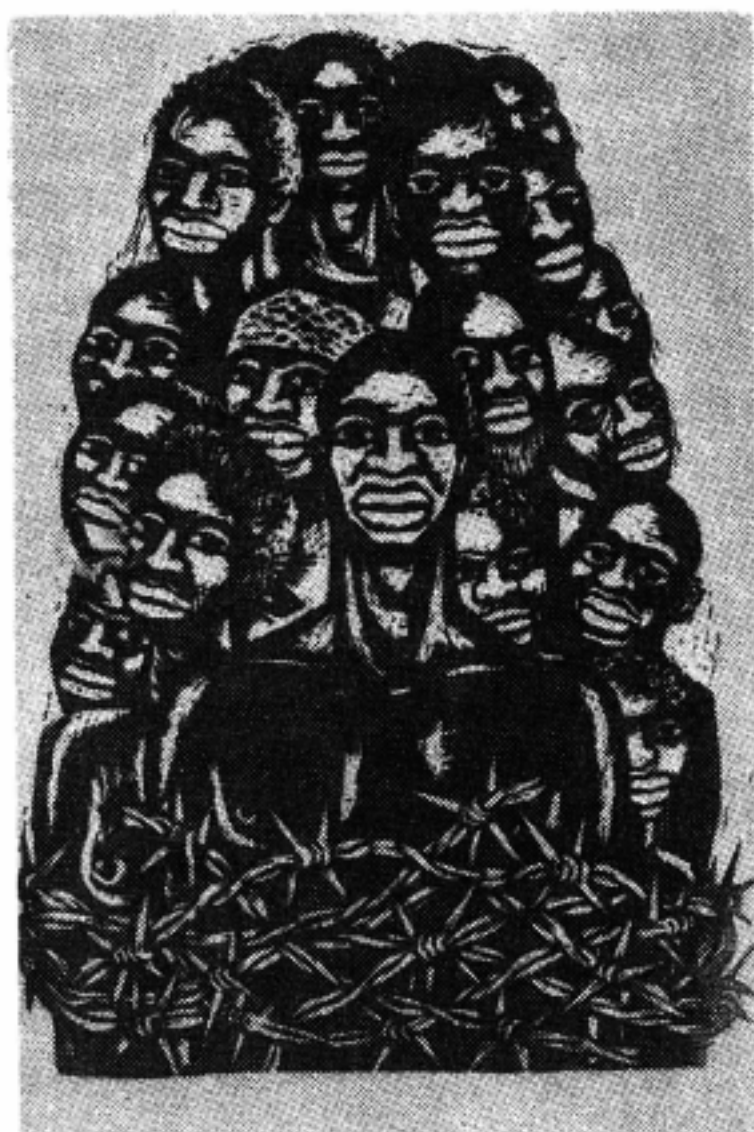
The tragedy with Mlangeni's involvement in the Rivonia Trial is that he was out of the country from October 1961 to February 1963 - the period during which several of the State witnesses claimed to have seen him involved in aspects of recruiting and transporting military trainees. The witnesses were fabricating and he was in no position to state where he was - and the neighbours were too scared to testify!

One of the reasons for this fear was Percy Yutar, the State prosecutor. This little man, who would follow a point in court with neurotic tenacity was indeed a psychiatric case. Not only because he had a deformed and withered hand which perhaps distorted his personality but because he could easily abandon all the codes of legal behaviour and standards of justice, hounding and exterminating his/and his government's enemies. He had such a

passionate hatred for "wrong doers" and "criminals" that his voice rose to a falsetto which was tantamount to a crisis call for the prosecution.

Mlangeni is now serving a life sentence on Robben Island. Mayibuye, an ANC fortnightly, describes Mlangeni as "a man of quick gait though patient and steady .. (he) fulfilled many dangerous missions with speed and efficiency" One of the pillars that sustained Mlangeni on those difficult and dangerous years was Johanna Junny, his wife whom he married in 1949. They have ten children. Junny has had a tough time since Mlangeni's arrest and yet has not wavered. She has had to bring up the children; educate them about why their father is not with them so that they take a positive attitude to the movement; send them to school and shoulder many other social responsibilities.

Our people will remember Andrew Mlangeni and his family long after they have forgotten about Percy Yutar with his deformed personality and a voice that rose to a falsetto. Let us make the slogan of the ANC Youth League "Freedom in Our Life Time" have meaning also to Andrew Mlangeni.



OBITUARY: Joe Nzingo Gqabi

On the night of Friday the 31 July, 1981, enemy hirelings of the white racist regime of South Africa carried out another of their dastardly attacks on the leadership of the African National Congress of South Africa. This time it was in the capital city of independent Zimbabwe and on the life of Comrade Joe Nzingo Gqabi, the ANC representative in that country. The hirelings opened fire at close range into the head and body of Joe who died immediately. The first attempt on Joe's life was early this year when enemy agents planted 7 kilograms of dynamite under his car which was discovered in time.

Born in Aliwal North in the Cape, 52 years ago, Joe joined the movement in the middle of the 1950's. He was a veteran of several ANC campaigns. At about the same time he joined the staff of New Age, the militant newspaper in Johannesburg. He was both photographer and reporter. This job gave him considerable experience in investigative journalism in exposing the hidden crimes of apartheid. Following the Sharpeville massacre and the declaration of the State of Emergency in 1960, Joe was amongst the 2000 political detainees. It was during this period that he showed his courage and dedication.

In 1961 Joe was amongst the first to answer the call of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). He left the country and went for military training. He was captured and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for having left the country illegally. At the end of the 2 year term he was re-arrested in the Fort and charged under the Sabotage Act and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment on Robben Island where he served his sentence together with some of the top leaders of our movement - Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada and others. Released in 1975, severe restrictions

were placed on him. But this did not deter him from re-organising the ANC apparatus. Joe Gqabi was definitely involved - in one way or another - in guiding and advising the students and youth during the Soweto uprisings in 1976.

It was immediately after or during these uprisings that he again shot into prominence as the principal defendant in the lengthy trial of "The Pretoria 12" which caught the attention of the country and the world. He was the No. 1 accused in the Pretoria 12 trial. He was one of the 6 acquitted - the others got from 6 to 18 years imprisonment. He escaped shortly after acquittal in 1978 and found his way in the ranks of his comrades in the external mission of the ANC.

Soon after Zimbabwe's independence Joe was appointed to represent the ANC there. This appointment which he honoured with distinction enabled him to build an impressive rapport with the leadership and people of Zimbabwe as evidenced by the speech of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe at his funeral.

Joe Gqabi dedicated himself so courageously and selflessly to our struggle that he was elected Member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He showed leadership qualities but was never above the rank and file who admired and loved him. An honest man and a friend of the youth he was always ready to impart his knowledge and prepared to learn from the younger generation who had their own experience in the struggle. As a fearless journalist, freedom fighter, leader and man of the masses, he will be remembered by thousands of all oppressed who are proud of having produced such a gallant son.

If the racist regime thought by cowardly murdering Joe Gqabi it was going to intimidate the front line states and demoralise



The late Joe Gqabi photographed with his wife and children before he left S.A. in 1979

the ANC, it has blundered. These acts of international terrorism can only steel our resolve to advance the struggle for which Comrade Joe lived and sacrificed his life, to new and higher levels.

To his wife Aurelia and his children Jomo and Nonkulueko, the ANC sends its condolences. We dip our revolutionary

banner in honour of this hero who symbolises the indomitable forces of resistance to racism, oppression and exploitation. We hold up our clenched fists and say: The Struggle Continues, Victory is Certain!

Hamba kahle Qhawe lama Qhawe!

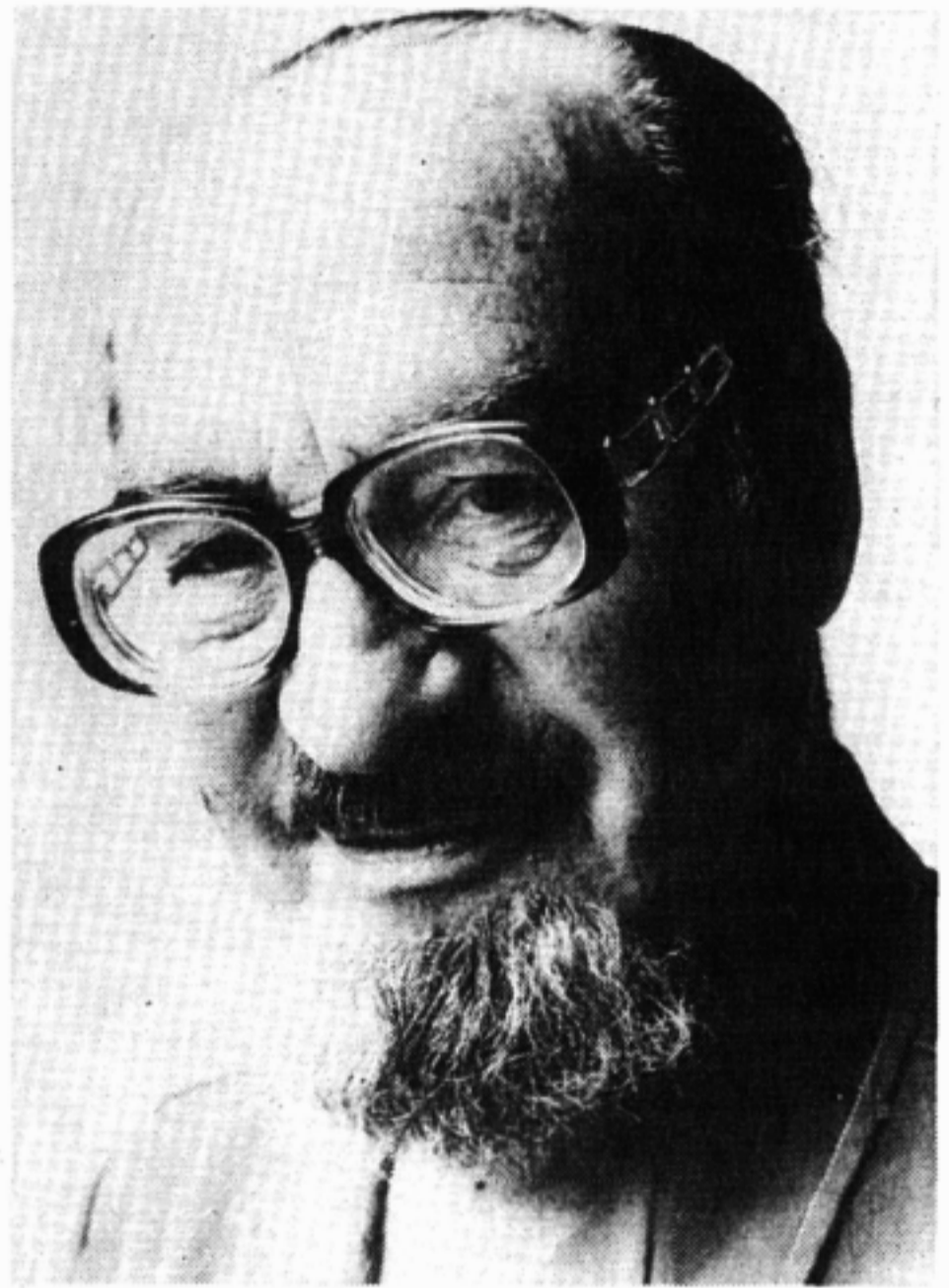
THE OBITUARY OF COMRADE PHINEAS NENE
WILL BE PUBLISHED IN THE NEXT ISSUE
OF SECHABA

OBITUARY: ELI WEINBERG

On July 18, 1981, Comrade Eli Weinberg left us, but for good. Born in the port of Libau on the Baltic Sea (in what is today part of the Soviet Union) in 1908, Eli experienced the harsh reality of the First World War and the liberating influence of the Great Socialist October Revolution in 1917. He was then still young.

At the age of 16 he joined a trade union and became involved in its activities. It was with this working class background and experience that he left Latvia in 1929 and arrived in Cape Town on the 9th December the same year. In 1932 he joined the Communist Party of South Africa and from 1933 to 1953 he was active in the trade union movement in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg. By 1948, Comrade Eli had already incurred the wrath of the racist regime and he was restricted from carrying out his trade union work. From 1953 onwards he was placed under further banning orders and when the State of Emergency was declared in 1960 he was detained for a period of three months. In 1964, he was arrested together with the late Bram Fischer and held in detention for seven months. After a lengthy trial, Comrade Eli was found guilty of being a member of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. On his release in 1970 he was banned for five years and restricted to his house and was required to report daily to the police.

Comrade Eli made his name not only as a trade unionist and revolutionary but also as a people's photographer. His recently published book "A Portrait of the People" portrays our struggle and movement vividly. His photographs were reproduced by the people's press "New Age", "Guardian", "People's World", "Advance", "Clarion" and "Spark". His interest in photography goes back as far as 1926 when he as an assistant in a photographic studio and later as a professional photographer. He contributed regularly to exhibitions and in 1964 one of his photographs of a group of Sotho women won him a prize of a silver medal



Comrade Eli Weinberg

and 100 dollars.

Comrade Eli also trained young photographers - one of his students being the late comrade Joe Gqabi who was recently assassinated in Zimbabwe.

In 1976, at the height of the Soweto uprisings, Comrade Eli was instructed by the ANC to leave the country for Tanzania where he was later joined by his wife, Violet. They lived in Dar es Salaam.

Comrade Eli has been involved in all aspects and phases of the work of the movement including the paste up and distribution of the announcement of the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe the military wing of the ANC, on the night of December 16, 1961.

The ANC dips its revolutionary banner to Comrade Eli Weinberg. We send our sympathies to his family especially Comrade Violet, his daughter Sheila and grandson Mark.

VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

Hamba kahle Qhawe lama Qhawe!

Andrew Mlangeni

