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# SECHABHA

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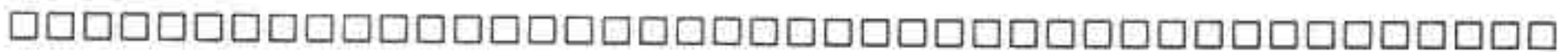


**LONG  
LIVE  
THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC  
OF ANGOLA!**

**Comrade President Dos Santos**

# SECHABA

## APRIL ISSUE, 1983



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

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## Apartheid Morality

The two years of drought have pushed South Africa's agricultural industry to the brink of disaster — an unprecedented disaster — say the South African newspapers. There is below average rainfall. We are told that as long as the rains hold off South Africa will continue to lose 50,000 tons of maize a day, which represents a loss of income to farmers of R10 million a day.

Good rains would not increase the crop prospects, but would "stabilise" the situation and prevent further disastrous losses, they argue. Vast areas of the country's ranching areas of grazing are affected, and cattle losses could be calamitous during the coming winter; homelands cattle are dying in their hundreds; discussions are going on about maize prices for drought-ravaged crops. Higher prices are being demanded. This has led to a manipulation of prices: the current price is R155 but prices could go up to R380 a ton.

We are told that the drought has robbed the country of hundreds of millions of rands in foreign exchange; drought will cost South Africa an R800 million foreign exchange loss during the 1983-84 export season and



this will have negative effects on the balance of payments; agricultural exports in a normal year constitute about 20% of all exports, excluding gold. Because of the drought the country would have to suspend its export programme and this affects the earnings of the railways and harbours, compounding the financial difficulties of the South African Transport Services. Crop farmers as well as cattle and sheep farmers are affected. Water cut backs are being introduced in areas like Natal. The threat of famine is real.

There is something very wrong here. It is not a matter of faulty logic. No one seems to care about the plight of the Africans; the pre-occupation is how the drought affects their profits and pockets!

It is true that the plight of our people cannot be adequately expressed in figures and statistics: it is suffering, starvation, exploitation, national degradation and racial discrimination, disease, emotional and psychological instability and death.

Let us take the case of our health as an example. Our people have been suffering and have been ravaged by diseases long before the drought struck South Africa. The regime's policies are to blame for the high incidence of disease in the homelands. An estimated 240 out of every 1 000 children in "resettlement camps" die before they are one year old. This compares with an infant mortality rate of 10 out of





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1000 among the white children in Cape Town. Diseases which find a favourable home in the homelands — and which are getting worse in spite of medical advancement — include tuberculosis, polio, typhoid, cholera, trachoma and kwashiorkor. The health situation in the rural areas has been steadily declining.

Population removals diminish people's resources and create much stress, inevitably leading to a high incidence of disease. Starvation and a general lack of food in the "resettlement" camps predisposes people to a number of diseases which are largely responsible for the high infant mortality rate. Inadequate sanitation responsible for water-borne diseases — an indicator of this being the cholera outbreak of the past two years — and poor housing have a negative effect on health.

Health services for "resettlement" areas are minimal, a "matter of luck"; distance from hospitals, transport to get to them or visits by mobile clinics are some of the hurdles. Yet we are told of multi-million rand casinos and hotel complexes in and around the bantustans!

These diseases are not "diseases of underdevelopment" but the cornerstone of apartheid morality. Starvation and poverty in South Africa are not a result of a natural disaster but are man made, a result of the disastrous policies of apartheid. This is genocide!



# Angola is not Seeking Peace at Any Price

The racist South African regime, with the assistance of the United States, and the Mobuto dictatorship in Zaire, which has just concluded a defence agreement with Israel, is now intensifying its campaign to 'destabilise' the government of the People's Republic of Angola. In view of this, we print here some of the statements that have been made on the situation by the Political Bureau of the MPLA, the Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and the Minister of External Relations, Paulo Jorge.

In a statement issued on the 4th February, 1983, to commemorate the beginning of the armed struggle for liberation in Angola, the Political Bureau of MPLA defined the state of affairs:

"South Africa, spearhead of international imperialism in Southern Africa, is occupying a substantial part of our national territory and supporting, training and arming puppet gangs who, apart from spreading terror and death among our people, are destroying strategic economic targets as part of the destabilising activity aimed at preventing the consolidation of our independence and the development of the People's Republic of Angola on the road to socialism."

The statement went on to accuse the press and other information services in the west of misrepresenting the situation in Angola:

"From the ideological standpoint, and within the context of this imperialist political and military offensive, a vast international disinformation campaign has been unleashed, aimed not only at discrediting the People's Republic of Angola, but at dividing our people and confusing Party members by putting out false reports."

In the same month, the Minister of External Relations, while on a visit to London, moved to counteract the 'disinformation campaign' by holding a press conference, at which he accused some of the western countries of putting out reports intended to "deform the reality of our country." In this connection, he dealt with two matters — reports that at the Sal talks in Cape Verde





*Angolan Foreign Minister, Paulo Jorge*

the South African representatives had proposed a ceasefire, and reports that the Angolan Government had been negotiating with the Pretoria-backed rebels of UNITA.

#### **Fabrications in the Western Press.**

He declared that all these reports were fabrications. In answer to a question about ceasefire proposals, he said:

"...we saw the proposal you are referring to in the western press. At the meeting in Sal between the two delegations the South African delegation did not propose any ceasefire. The meeting between official Angolan and South African delegations took place at the request of the South African government. And the proposal for that meeting was merely an exchange of views to see what steps could be taken to find a solution to the war situation prevailing in Southern Africa. And these ideas were clearly also related to the independence of Namibia. And the South African delegation in fact proposed a further meeting between the two delegations. That meeting has not yet taken place, although the western press has already

announced that it took place and that there was such a ceasefire agreement, which is not true."

He dismissed the suggestion that the Angolan government had been negotiating with UNITA:

"The position of the Central Committee of our Party and the position of the Angolan Government is that there is absolutely no question of any conciliation, or reconciliation, as we now hear, between the Angolan Government and that band of puppets and traitors. And if that group of bandits is still able to do anything in our country, it is thanks to the massive support it is given by the racist Pretoria regime. That group of bandits does not have the military capacity to face up to a confrontation with our armed forces. And we are convinced that with the independence of Namibia, this problem will be gradually solved."

#### **Racist Mercenaries**

The Minister was asked some questions about the foreign mercenaries now imprisoned in Angola, and one in particular, whose children have no relatives to care for them. He replied:

"...in making...a gesture of clemency, the Angolan Government must also take into account the feelings of the Angolan people, insofar as many members of the Angolan population also lost their relatives who were killed through the dreadful activity of these mercenaries...And we have parents who lost their children through the activity of these mercenaries."

#### **'Contact Group' and 'Linkage'**

At the conference, the position of the Western Contact Group concerning 'linkage' between the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and Cuban troops from Angola, was touched on more than once. In answer to various questions put to him on the subject, Comrade Jorge said:

"...that question has been put to me very often and I have answered it very often. If answering it today means that I will not



hear the same question in times to come, I shall be very pleased. The question of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola has to do with the twofold invasion carried out by two regular armies a few weeks before the proclamation of independence in 1975. And when this double invasion took place the problem of Namibia's independence was not involved. It should be recalled that the Contact Group was set up in 1977, two years after these events. Security Council Resolution 435 was adopted in 1978, three years after these events, and it does not refer to the presence of Cuban forces in Angola...

"The Angolan position is as follows. We consider that once a ceasefire has been established — a ceasefire between SWAPO and the Pretoria regime, since the Pretoria regime is illegally occupying Namibian territory — which would mean the first step towards the implementation of the United Nations plan, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435, and this plan has four aspects — a ceasefire, the gradual reduction of South African forces in Namibia, the participation of United Nations forces, and free and fair elections for Namibia's independence... We were therefore saying that once a ceasefire has been established and once the United Nations plan is under way, in our view the possibilities of aggression and armed invasion by the racist Pretoria regime will have been considerably reduced. And on the basis of the process under way for Namibia's independence, the Angolan Government will examine, with the Cuban Government, the drawing up of a new programme for the gradual reduction of Cuban forces in Angola.

*"The Cuban forces are in Angola on the invitation of the Angolan Government, and the same is not true of the South African forces, whom we did not invite..."*

"What we fail to understand is how it can be that an American delegation, knowing that the African continent clearly rejects the attempt at 'linkage,' knowing also that the Non-Aligned Movement rejects the attempt at 'linkage,' and when the Americans also know that the General Assembly of the

United Nations itself — recently in December — adopted a resolution clearly rejecting that attempt, should come and talk about that same problem again."

Later, he added:

"What we fail to understand is the concern expressed, especially by some of the western press, about the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, when they do not show the same concern about the presence of South African forces in the People's Republic of Angola, illegally occupying part of its territory. At the same time, one cannot understand why they do not have the same concern about the presence of multiple American military contingents in various parts of the world. Why are they not also concerned about the presence of American contingents on Cuban territory?"

He laid the blame for the present deadlock over 'linkage' on the United States:

"As we see it, the United States bears the main responsibility for the present impasse in the solution of the problem of Namibia, which responsibility is also shared, in our view, by the Pretoria regime."

#### **President dos Santos' Statement.**

In a speech made on the occasion of the visit to Angola of the United Nations Secretary-General, the President of Angola accused the Reagan government of causing this deadlock and of deliberately bringing about the failure of the 1981 Geneva talks on the independence of Namibia:

"The conference failed for reasons independent of our will and at a time when the United States Government was changing administration. Then, on the initiative of that government, there came into being the concept of phases of implementation of Resolution 435 and that of regional security problems, in a veiled attempt to introduce into the negotiating process elements extraneous to Resolution 435, the internationally accepted basis for the solution to the Namibian problem. One of these extraneous and utterly unacceptable elements is the artificial 'linkage' of the decolonisation of



Namibia with the presence of Cuban internationalists in Angola."

The President then added:

*"The People's Republic of Angola is not seeking peace at any price."*

# PEOPLE'S WAR— the task is to make these words a reality



**Interview with  
Comrade Joe Slovo**

Below SECHABA publishes an interview which first appeared in DAWN, the journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the African National Congress. The interview was conducted with Comrade Joe Slovo. He was asked first for his assessment of the main features of the current politico-military situation in the Southern African region and he replied:

In general, it can be said that today in Southern Africa we are witnessing perhaps one of the most intense and co-ordinated offensives by imperialism. The purpose of this offensive is clear: it is to destroy Angola and Mozambique because of the advanced social systems which are being built there; to delay Namibian independence and when it comes to ensure the installation of a puppet regime; to destabilise all the surrounding states and make sure that they are compliant with the sub-system of imperialism which is centred on South Africa in the South; and above all to strangle our struggle.

This offensive shows itself in a number of ways and the world has seen in the recent period the kind of activities which are being undertaken in pursuit of this offensive. There is open aggression by South Africa against Angola. There has been the invasion of Lesotho with the massacre of not only ANC refugees but local Lesotho citizens; there are the Zimbabwe incursions; and apart from these direct acts of aggression there is aggression through the proxies of the South African racists and of imperialism generally.

There is Unita in Angola, MNR in Mozambique. There is the preparation of vast numbers of ex-Selous Scouts in various parts of South Africa, some of whom have already committed aggressive acts within Zimbabwe, admitted by the South African Defence Force. There is the encouragement, arming and support for the BCP based in South Africa which regularly makes raids into independent Lesotho.

Particularly sinister is the recent



development in the region in terms of which the Zairean government has embraced the regime whose actions in the Middle East have horrified the world, i.e. the Israel fascists. Recently, Shamir visited Zaire with a band of 90 military advisers and it is clear that what is intended there is to create another front against the embattled government of Angola if there should be a settlement in Namibia. In other words, to create military forces for the purpose of lending more support for the old, discredited FNLA.

Apart from these direct and open acts of actual military involvement there is also the economic and diplomatic offensive by imperialism, which uses its most important sector, i.e. racist South Africa. There too the purpose is clear; to undermine the resolve of independent Africa in support of our struggle. We have recently witnessed the pressures and threats against countries like Swaziland, and there are many other examples. It is clear in general that imperialism has chosen South Africa as one of the zones of time-strategic importance in the world, not only in Africa. And imperialism is devoting its considerable and many-sided resources to attempt to reverse the gains of the independence process and more particularly to destroy the new social systems that have emerged, and even more especially to destroy the revolutionary movements like Swapo and the ANC. It clearly must not be allowed to succeed, and one can say that it can be stopped, that with the continued, growing and necessary support of the socialist world, of the progressive forces in the rest of the world, and above all through our own struggle, this process can be stopped.

Coming to our country, I think to give the main characterisation in brief, one would say that first of all there is at the moment a serious economic crisis with the main burden of the crisis clearly falling on the black people and in particular, the black working class. For a short time (about a year ago) the rise in the price of gold

interrupted this decline in the economy. But now it is admitted on all sides that South Africa is in trouble. There is a negative growth rate, a decline in investments in the manufacturing sector, a growing deficit in the balance of payments — it had to be rescued recently by the International Monetary Fund which interestingly enough did not impose in South Africa the kind of conditions which it always attempts to impose on developing countries. It is only too ready to give South Africa an enormous loan without insisting on any of those conditions which we know usually amount to interference in the internal affairs of the country who accepts the loans.

In addition, there is a decline recently in foreign investments. If one leaves aside these high-sounding phrases about growth rate and so on and so forth, for the people it really adds up to one thing: A GROWING MISERY.

Unemployment is reaching the 3 million mark, the wage packets people are getting are buying less and less, consumer goods, rents are rising, transport costs are rising etc. In the military sphere, I think it is obvious to all that what we are witnessing in South Africa is the militarisation of the whole state. The defence costs are rising; there is the rising influence of the military apparatus at every level of the government; every white from the age of 16 to 60 is expected to answer the military call-up; and in general one can say the influence of the military as evidenced by the elevation of Malan, is rising and will continue to rise in a state which can really only depend for its survival, in the end, on brute force.

Basically, one can say the most important process taking place relates to the new constitutional proposals we have been hearing about in the recent period. We know that these proposals are basically designed to split the growing unity of the black people. I think that it is sad indeed that the Labour Party, which in the past has played such a positive role in the struggle against apartheid, has become tempted to



collaborate in what we can only describe as 'this grand design' of apartheid. And it is interesting to note in this regard, that no sooner was the decision taken from the Labour Party conference, than Botha himself, the government press, the US State Department, the British Foreign Office and other similar groups welcomed it with joy and celebration. We are confident that in the long run the Coloured people will not allow themselves to be used in this way. The only future of all the people, including the Coloured people, lies in **black unity**.

In general it can be said that in South Africa there is no way the racists can maintain their rule without black collaboration. Their strategy of survival rests on this: to win the Coloureds on their side, to win the Indians on their side, to build the power of their African puppets in the Bantustans, to fill the army, the police force and their security services with African, Indian and Coloured collaborators, and to win the Black middle class to their side by a few concessions.

Looking at the situation in South Africa, one can say that it is the special irony of South African history that the perpetuation of the whole structure of white domination — economic, military and political — depends upon the very people who are oppressed and exploited by it. When this truth is fully realised by all people and acted upon, there can be no doubt that racist power will crumble like a structure which is built on sand.

**On the sharpening contradictions within the ruling Nationalist Party of Botha and Malan, Comrade Slovo had this to say:**

Every serious revolutionary movement takes advantage of all divisions that may emerge within the ruling camp. For us too, the divisions we have seen developing within white politics are something we have to take into account very seriously. It is of advantage in the long run to the revolution-

ary struggle. There have been very important new divisions which have emerged particularly in the Nationalist Party. What is at the bottom of these divisions?

There is no time to make long analyses about this in the course of this short interview. In general, one can say that some of the divisions have an economic cause because although all classes within the white group benefit from white domination, they do not all benefit to the same extent and in the same way and therefore you have occasional policies advanced by the ruling class which may do a little bit of immediate damage say to the white working class, or to other groups within what one will broadly call the white ruling class, its appendages and its supporters.

There are of course other divisions which are not based in pure economics and these are connected very often just with the political power struggle which goes on inside and outside the ruling National Party. So one could say much more on this. But for us really the important question is whether we can conclude that within the sphere of white politics there is any hope of a fundamental change of course in favour of the people, I think the answer that we must give is an unqualified NO. There is no such prospect.

For example, our movement is trying to bring about a revolution, to put it simply. To put it simply again, ranged against us are forces who are trying to stop that revolution. Now, we know that even within our ranks, within the ranks of the revolutionary movement, we debate. We sometimes even disagree on how to make that revolution. But we are in one camp. We eventually reach a consensus and whatever differences of emphasis emerge from time to time, as to what is the best way of making the revolution, of advancing it at any given movement, we belong to the same camp. And in a sense, from a reverse point of view, it is the same with the enemy. There is basic agreement between them that the purpose is to try and stop that revolution.



Whether it is Treurnicht, whether it is Botha, whether it is the Republican Party, whether it is the PFP — the one thing that is common to all of them is that they belong to that group which is trying to stop our concept of the revolution.

Of course there are differences within their camp as there are differences within our ranks. There are differences between them on what is the best way of stopping that revolution, what is the best way of maintaining white domination. And therefore, much of the division within the camp of white politics relates to the very polemic, to the very debate on tactics, a debate on how far they must go at every given moment in pursuit of something which is common to all of them, i.e. to stop the creation within South Africa of one united non-racial democracy. And every serious force in white politics has a policy which is based on that objective, on that there can be no doubt.

There is one more thing to be said and that is the division we have noticed recently; the emergence of new political forces within the white community indicates strengthening of right-wing rather than left-wing tendencies. We can say further that because of the split-away of the rightists from the right-wing National Party, we can expect that so-called verligtes like Botha are going to be increasingly tempted to move more and more in the direction of the right in order to maintain their support amongst their traditional groups in the town and countryside. We can see this process taking place in the so-called liberal elements in the white community. Even the PFP which we have never regarded as a revolutionary force, but has expressed some liberal and humane concepts in the past, is now being pushed in this direction. It was disgusting to read how their spokesmen praised the murderers of the South African Defence Force when they moved to murder the men, women and children in Maseru. It is equally disgusting to read in the columns of the Financial Mail, which in the past has

projected itself broadly as the supporter of Oppenheimer, the PFP etc., when it is inciting the government to hunt and murder us wherever we are.

So, to end up, where there are divisions we must not ignore them — they weaken the enemy. Even divisions within the right weaken the enemy. But the dangerous thing would be for us to expect, as some people sometimes are misled to expect, that within the sphere of white politics there will be some kind of move or there is some kind of potential for a real advance in the direction of fundamental change in South Africa. That can only take place through our struggle and through our power.

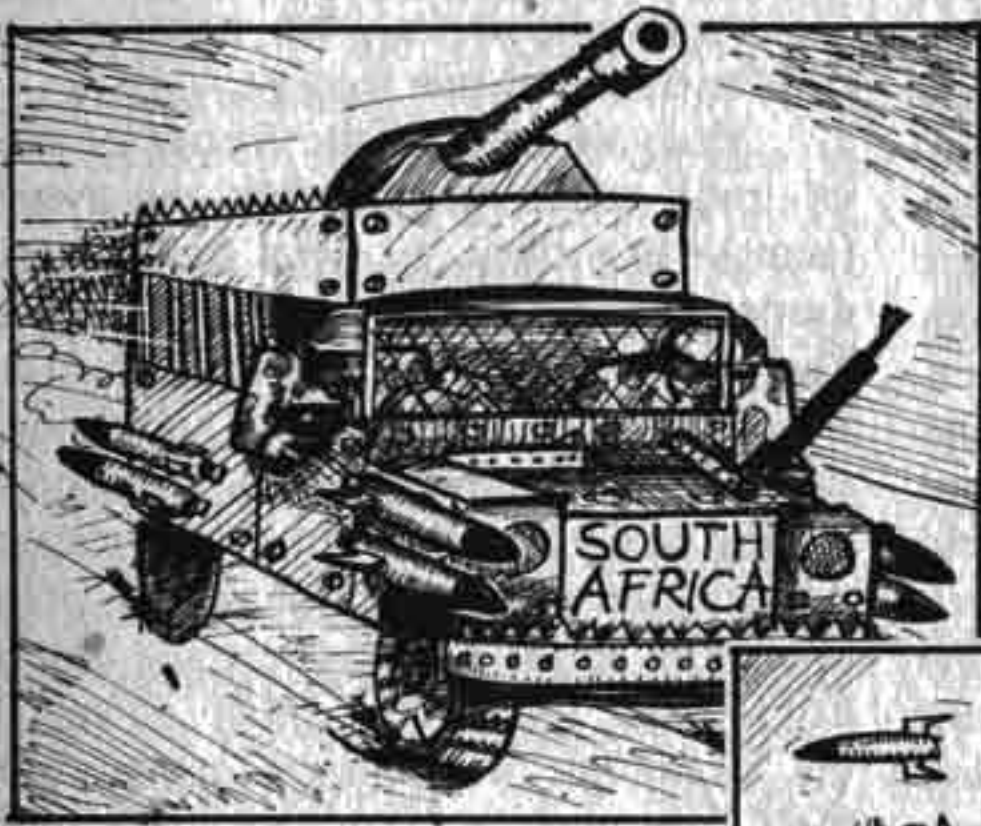
**Comrade Slovo explained the connection between the tasks of this year and those of last year as follows:**

In brief I may say that looking at the 3 year period you referred to, it was a period of perhaps the most amazing advance and achievement in the whole history of our organisation. It is true to say that it is during this 3 year period that the ANC was accepted as never before as the only serious opponent to the racist regime. It is regarded everywhere as a viable alternative force for future power, by the world, by Africa and more importantly by our own people.

This has happened not because people have suddenly come to understand what we are and the correctness of our policies. It has happened because people have seen what we have done in action. People have witnessed the calibre of our leadership inside the country; the readiness of our cadres to sacrifice even to the extent of giving their lives in the course of liberation. It is this revolutionary practice and not just revolutionary theory which has won for us this unchallenged place.

In the political field our underground has grown and has over the period more and more been able to provide guidance to mass





struggles. In the military field we have proved that there is no target beyond our reach; whether be it Sasol, Voortrekkerhoogte or nuclear power stations. And the connection between the tasks of this year and those of last year is that we have to build on these achievements. The slogan of united action is appropriate and is the key because, as I have already mentioned, the enemy has, as never before, embarked upon a policy of dividing the black people. Therefore the struggle against Bantustans, against the new constitutional proposals, against the community council, is inseparable and indivisible.

It is not enough to just keep on saying we are one people in one country, we must ensure that we act in that way. We have to ensure that the one people in South Africa,

consisting in the first place of the black oppressed, of the African, Indian and Coloured people, together with those sections of whites who are prepared to come in, in an unqualified manner, and join the revolutionary struggle, act in unity. It is the united action of these forces which is the key to this coming period. And in general, although it has been rephrased and reworded, it is now the slogan of united action, it is basically the continuation of what we set ourselves in 1982, only more so.

Comrade Slovo looked at the question of the organisation of trade unionism in South Africa and assessed the problems confronting our revolution in the vital field of working class mobilisation in the following way:



Like all projections into the future, the prospects depend upon our liberation movement. Left to itself, without the participation and leadership of our revolutionary movement, we cannot expect great things from the great events that are happening in South Africa, i.e. the growth in the organisation of the black workers. I say this advisedly and let me explain why. We know that there has been an enormous and unprecedented leap forward in the field of trade unionism in the past few years. It is difficult even to catch up with the statistics. The last time I came across them I counted that there were over half-a-million black workers organised into trade unions. I believe it is not being unrealistic or over-optimistic to say that within a year or two we can expect this figure to jump to over a million, an immense force. And its not only trade union organisations. We have seen in the past year, as a result of the deteriorating economic situation to which I have already referred, the growth of militant strike action. I think we can also project in the coming year that this process will be deepened, because the economic conditions are going to continue to deteriorate and the workers will of necessity be thrown into struggle, to win back the pay rise which they have achieved in the past and which has now been eroded by inflation and other factors, and to improve their conditions generally.

So it is clear to everyone that all this creates an enormous potential for the advance of the revolutionary movement because we know, and we have said so over and over again, that is the working class which is the backbone of the alliance of classes which constitute the liberation forces. It is the working class which is the only force that will guarantee that our victory will lead to real social emancipation, will lead to the abolition of that kind of exploitation which is at the foundation of racism, and not just a regime which will just replace the one set of exploiters for another, even though they might be of

a different colour. So we all understand that the working class has this most profound and fundamental role to play.

When we look at the figures of growth in trade union membership, or even the increase in strikes, we must understand the deeper meaning of what is happening. There have been more strikes in the United Kingdom in the same period, and in France than in South Africa. They have not led to any basic leap forward in the participation of the working class at the political level. The social democratic trade unions in Europe are among the most powerful in the world but trade union organisation in itself has not led to the revolutionary advance of the working class or its ideology. So what I am trying to say is that on its own the trade union movement does not spontaneously generate revolutionary politics. It does not lead to more advanced revolutionary action. The fact that it is there, and it is growing, that the workers are organised, are embattled with the bosses, provides an enormous potential for the future.

But whether that potential is exploited or not depends upon the politics of trade unions and the ideology of trade unionism, and that in turn depends upon the role of political movements. It depends on our role as the revolutionary movement to provide leadership and guidance to this mighty force which is emerging amongst the workers. It depends on us having the capacity of injecting the right kind of politics and thinking into the working class; and helping to make it understand that it is not there just to engage in what is basically the famous struggles for higher wages, which we support and which are necessary, struggles for better conditions which in themselves can become schools for making the working class receptive to a deeper understanding of the workings of the system that they need to overthrow. But basically if we leave it at that, it is even possible that trade unions which are not motivated by correct politics can



become collaborationist groups. They can become part of the so-called reformist lobby in South Africa.

Therefore it depends on workers in South Africa, on the advanced workers, it depends on our movement, to be able to connect the struggle that is going on, the organisation that is going on, with the more long-term objective of getting rid of the racist regime and the system it upholds. Finally, trade unionism which is divided as black trade unionism is in South Africa today is trade unionism which can be more easily exploited for the very purpose I referred to, by the enemy. Therefore, one of the fundamental tasks facing us as a movement, as workers in South Africa, is to try to bring about unity between what exists and to go forward in unity; and to create that kind of trade union movement in South Africa which will really mould the working class into a force which in the long run is unconquerable.

**And finally he saw the further unfolding of our people's war, particularly its military aspects, as follows:**

I am pleased you have used the words *people's war* because it is these very words *people's war* that define our tasks in the further unfolding of the armed struggle. Our tasks are more and more to involve the people in actual participation and not just as sympathetic onlookers, not just as masses who welcome what we are doing, not just as people who cheer the brave deeds of our cadres and who weep when any of them are caught and destroyed by the enemy. If we are talking in terms of *people's war* as we are talking in terms of *people's war*, the task in the unfolding of the struggle is to make those words a reality. What we have done in the last few years has made this possible more than ever before. It has made possible for us to transform what we are doing into something which approaches much more closely the

words *people's war*. I've already referred to some of our great achievements in the operations we have carried out, but in every struggle we know that the very success of your actions by the use of a specific set of tactics changes the situation and poses new tasks and even new tactics.

President Tambo has spoken about this at a number of meetings and public declarations in the recent period. He has made clear in recent speeches (one example is the funeral of our comrades in Lesotho) that we are entering a stage in which we have to answer the enemy's murderous and terrorist tactics against civilians, against women, against children, against unarmed refugees, by more than just hitting their economic targets.

We have been very patient. It is the history of the ANC, which some have criticised that it has a lot of patience. For the first 50 years of its existence, it had the patience to hope, and to organise the people in an attempt to bring about a change without illegalities, without violence. In the first phase of our armed struggle there has been the patience — and we have been praised for it — to try to carry out our activities trying to minimise the loss of innocent blood. Indeed, this burden which we have imposed on ourselves has prevented us from doing even greater things. There is no example the enemy can point to of us having killed or murdered a white woman, or a white child as they did in Maseru. There is no example the enemy can point to where we have in our actions deliberately fired into residences, being completely impervious to who is in there, even whether the people there have anything to do with the enemy. We have conducted ourselves in this way.

But as the Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe says, the people's patience is not endless and clearly the time has come when we must raise our struggle to a qualitatively higher level.



# REJECT dummy institutions

*Below, Aziz Pahad assesses the implications of racist South Africa's constitutional proposals.*

In 1981, the apartheid regime announced plans to bring about constitutional "changes" in South Africa. Simultaneously, a massive propaganda campaign was launched in South Africa and internationally to show that South African politics had entered a new era of "liberalisation".

Today the Reagan and Thatcher administrations are spearheading this orchestrated campaign. They argue that the constitution "dispensation" vindicates their policies of "constructive engagement" and "gradual evolutionary change". This in turn has become a further pretext for openly and defiantly violating the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime, and fulfilling their long-cherished ideal of bringing South Africa "in from the cold".

For us and those genuinely concerned with our aspirations and ideals, the questions we must seek to answer are: *Why have these changes been initiated? What are their contents? Do they herald in a new era of change for the oppressed?*

## **Apartheid in acute crisis**

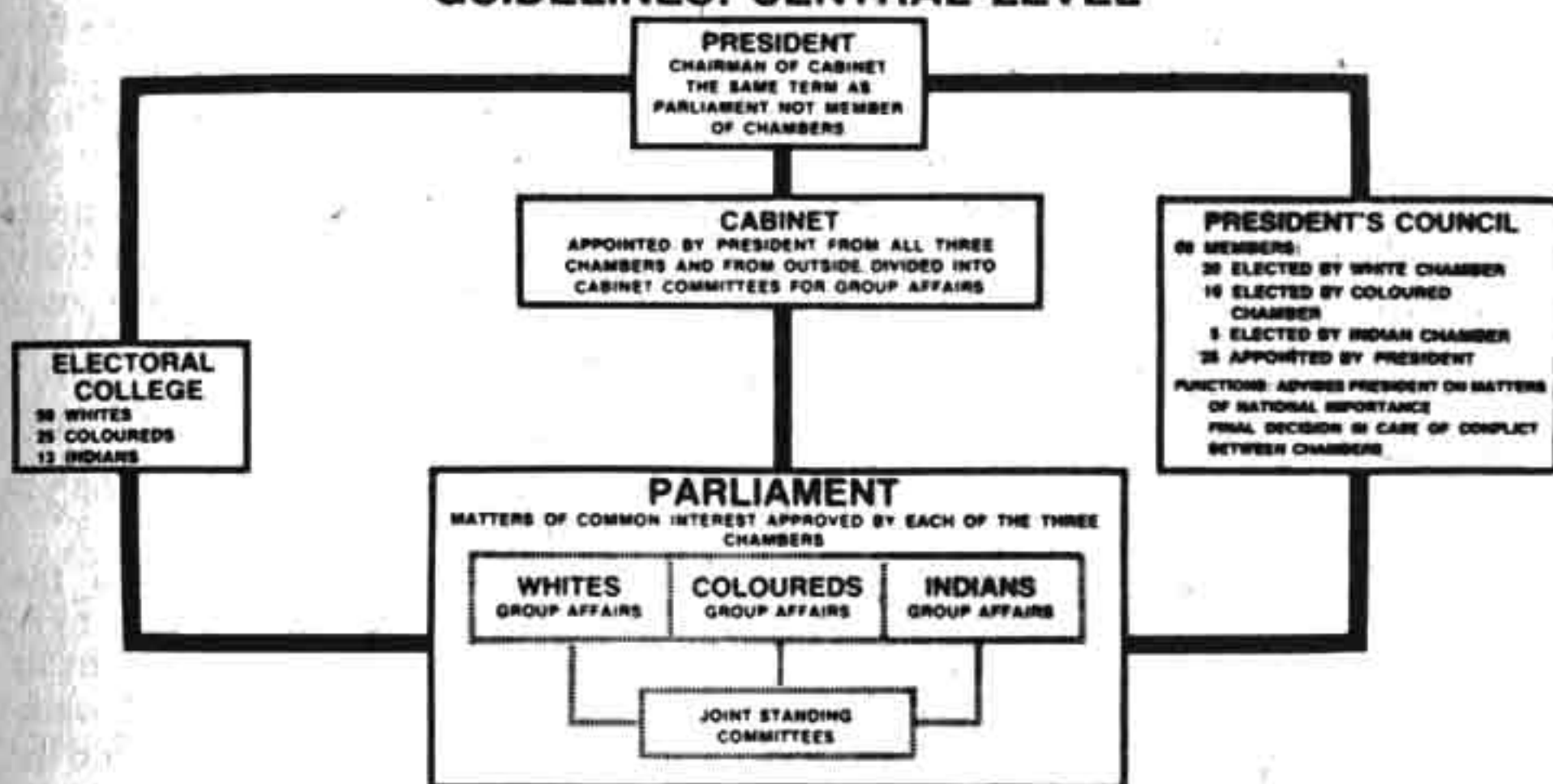
The constitutional proposals come at a time when the regime is experiencing deep contradictions and is in a state of acute

crisis. This has basically been brought about by:

- a) the change in the balance of forces internationally and specifically in Southern Africa with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and Rhodesian racism;
- b) the heightened mass upsurge at all levels in South Africa and Namibia. Under the banner of "unity in action" the black working class, the leading force of our revolution, continues to grow in strength, organisational unity, consciousness and maturity. Major sectors of the oppressive and exploitative system are being shaken by militant industrial actions; political, community, women, youth and student organisations continue to consolidate themselves; the church-state confrontation is sharpening; a small but growing number of democratic whites are joining the liberation front; an increasing number of white youths are refusing military conscription; the political work of the ANC (legal, semi-legal and illegal) has reached new heights and this has been complemented by brilliant actions of our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The attack on the top security Koeberg nuclear plant being the most "sensational" of the latest series of armed actions.



## SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF GUIDELINES: CENTRAL LEVEL



- c) the acute economic crisis which has gripped the capitalist world, and an integral part of it, the South African economy, which is experiencing stagnation, adverse balance of payments, massive and rising unemployment etc;
- d) the increasing isolation — political, economic, diplomatic etc — of the regime.

It is in this context of the regime's growing contradictions and the intensified resistance against it, that we must look at the present subterfuges to maintain that system.

### Origins of proposals

The present proposals have their origins in Vorster's 1977 announcement of plans to create three separate parliaments for Coloureds, Indians and Whites, each with their own Cabinet and Prime Minister. This announcement came in the wake of the 1976 uprisings and the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. Each parliament would have full legislative powers over its *own affairs*, while joint issues would be dealt with by a 'consultative Council of Cabinets' under an executive President.

The strong rejection of these proposals both from the oppressed as well as sections of the white constituency, led to the setting up of the Schlebusch Commission to look into this matter. After two years of deliberations it recommended that a President's Council be set up to deal with the issue.

The President's Council, set up in 1980, was loaded with Nationalist Party supporters, representatives of industry and the military and a few discredited Coloureds and Indians. Its vague proposals served as a basis for the Botha "coup de grace" in July 1981. The proposals included:

- † One parliament with separate chambers for the Whites, Indians and Coloureds. (The white chamber to have more members than the other two put together);
- † An executive President elected by an electoral college consisting of 50 Whites, 25 Coloureds and 13 Asians. Each chamber to select its own representative only.
- † A "multi-racial" cabinet elected by the President and will be divided into "cabinet committees for *group affairs*";



† Joint committees to “iron our differences” on matters of mutual interests. (Obviously the only “mutual interests” of any significance is the preservation of white supremacy);

† Disputes not resolved by the joint committees to be referred to the President’s Council made up of 25 members nominated by the President; 20 Whites by the white majority party, 10 Coloureds by the Coloured majority party, and 5 Indians by the Indian majority party.

There are also proposals on provincial and local government. These are crucial aspects of the regime’s whole constitutional strategy and deserve full analysis in further articles.

Any lingering doubts that these anachronistic racially-determined and white-controlled structures are absurd and farcical are quickly dispelled by a look at how the legislation is to be enacted.

The President is the sole arbiter of whether a particular Bill is a matter of “exclusive interest” to one community or a matter of “mutual interest”. If the former, a cabinet committee consisting of the members of the community concerned will initiate the Bill. If the latter, then the Bill is introduced into the Joint Committees of the three chambers manned by “specialists” from the majority and opposition parties of each chamber on a proportional basis.

If there is failure to reach agreement, the matter is then referred to the President’s Council. Bills are drafted by white civil servants and have to be approved by the President.

“Community interests” have been defined as “matters which are considered by a group as part of its identity, for example religious worship, education, its community life in its own residential areas, and aspects of welfare such as care for the aged.”

In a major interview (Sunday Express 23.1.83), Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, gave some hint

of the regime’s real motives. He stated that any changes were in the context of certain fundamental principles – “the *community basis* of the South African society should be reflected and maintained in any new political dispensation,” and:

- \* the self-determination of each group over its own affairs and co-responsibility over matters of common interest must be maintained;
  - \* order and stability may not be endangered;
  - \* own residential areas for each group is non-negotiable;
- the government does not regard the whites as expendable; on the contrary the safeguarding of the political rights of whites is the prerequisite for peaceful evolutionary political reform and for the maintenance of civilised standards.

This then is the essence of the much heralded “constitutional changes”.

### Reactions to proposals

It is a tragic fact that some, albeit a limited number, of stooges within the Coloured and Indian communities have accepted the proposals. These are largely discredited and opportunist elements who previously collaborated with dummy institutions like the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), and the South African Indian Council (SAIC).

Rajbansi, the executive Chairman of the SAIC, said that the Council would give the proposals a “fair trial” and added that “we must get in and push for changes. I don’t think our consciences will suffer.” On whose behalf is he speaking?

The SAIC has been totally rejected by the Indian community. In 1981, after a massive boycott campaign initiated by the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, a mere 10.5% voted in the elections to the SAIC. Even this figure is an exaggeration as it represented a percentage of registered voters and not the community as a whole.



The decision of the Coloured Labour Party at the Eshowe Conference at the beginning of January, 1983, to accept the proposals introduced a new and dangerous dimension to opportunist and collaborationist politics.

It undoubtedly rescued the plan from collapse and gave it much needed credibility. The very fact that the decision was taken in such haste and before details of the proposals had been tabled in a White Paper, begs many questions.

The Labour Party had gained strength and respectability because of its anti-apartheid stance and its tactics to make the CRC system unworkable. However, sections of it having enjoyed some privileges and trappings of "power", began to vacillate and seek opportunistic gains.

Consequently, over the years support for it, especially in the urban areas amongst the workers, professionals and youth and students, began to wane. The basic cause of this was its failure to actively participate in many of the stirring mass campaigns of the 1970s; its almost total impotence at the time of the students' uprisings in 1976; its lack of contact with the growing black trade union movement and community organisations.

The message was clear: adopt a more militant and dynamic posture reflecting the interests and aspirations of the masses or recede into obscurity or the enemy camp.

It gave its answer at the stage-managed Eshowe Conference and this has surely struck its death knell.

#### Attempts to rationalise Eshowe decision

Attempts have been made to rationalise this diabolical decision by expounding high-sounding principles which appear democratic and progressive in form but are essentially reactionary in content.

The Coloured Labour Party's Deputy Leader, Curry, proclaimed: "... the issue is not whether we agree with the proposals but whether we can achieve more effective

bargaining power with the government. We must become *conciliators*."

Hendrickse, its leader, revealed the depth of mendacity and bankruptcy to which some have fallen when he unashamedly paid tribute to the courage of Botha for "having taken the risks he did". He added that "I believe it required dedication to accept the fact that he will go down in the annals of history as one who was prepared to accept a split in the National Party rather than continue on a path that would lead to a situation too ghastly to contemplate ... We say with conviction that the *time for protest politics has passed* (sic) ... the Party would force the pace of change by participating in the system." (Rand Daily Mail 5.1.83). This, in the context of the Eshowe declaration which states that even the concept of a unitary state is negotiable must surely place the present Labour Party leadership in the enemy camp.

It was therefore hardly surprising that the white-controlled media welcomed the Eshowe decision. Headlines such as "This moderation must be rewarded", (Sunday Times 9.1.83) became the order of the day. There were reports of "jubilation" in government ranks at the decision. Heunis elatedly stated that "the government is grateful and impressed with the responsibility and positive attitude with which the great majority of members of the Coloured population had approved the issue." He added that when "reasonable leaders negotiated in a positive spirit, there would be rewards."

Only fools, idiots, collaborators and opportunists can fail to grasp the meaning of "reasonable", "positive spirit" and "rewards" as interpreted by the white power structures.

Internationally, South Africa's allies quickly welcomed the decision and it received extensive and favourable treatment in the "free and objective" western media.

The Reagan administration saw the



decision an indication of the "larger process of change."

A British Embassy spokesman saw the decision as an encouraging sign which showed that peaceful evolutionary change was taking place in South Africa.

These statements provide a clear example of the dialectical connection between imperialism's broader strategy towards South Africa and the tinkering with aspects of the apartheid system.

### Massive wave of rejection

In sharp contrast the oppressed people of South Africa, through militant action, have given unequivocal and sharp notice of their feelings.

There has been a massive wave of rejection of the proposals. This has come from all sections of our nation — Africans, Coloureds, Indians and democratic whites — representing a diversity of political, professional, industrial, religious, women, community and youth and students' organisations.

Alan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, called the Labour Party decision "disgusting" and "reeking with opportunism".

The Federation of Cape Civic Organisations (representing several community organisations in the Cape Flats) said, "The Labour Party, like all other puppet bodies and homeland governments have once again illustrated that they don't represent the true interests of the majority." (Cape Times 6.1.83.

The Natal Indian Congress stated that the proposals' primary objectives were "to continue white supremacy buttressed by Indian and Coloured support." It added that the acceptance of Botha's plan will alienate the Indians and Coloureds from their natural allies, the Africans.

Dr Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of 10, said that "it seems we are doomed to relive the experience of deciding, wrongly, that it is better to participate in government created institutions than to stay

out of them." Buthelezi strongly attacked the decision and gave dire warnings of blood baths.

A joint statement by the Transvaal Anti-SAIC and Natal Indian Congress rejected the tricameral parliamentary system and said "Indian South Africans have in their history never taken sides with the racist regime against the interests of the African people and do not intend to do so now." They went on to pledge their organisations to create "a society based on the principles of the Freedom Charter." (17.1.83).

In his January 8th message ANC President Tambo said "The recent decision of the South African Labour Party to support and participate in the implementation of the President's Council schemes must be condemned without reservation." He called on the Coloured community to "reject and rebuff all attempts to draw them into the camp of the oppressor; to set them against the majority of the people in South Africa, to set them against the peoples of Southern Africa and the entire continent, to set them against the international progressive community." He added that "...there can be no solution to the South African problem without the transfer of power into the hands of the majority."

The scope and depth of the opposition to the proposals is reflected in the spate of resignations from the Labour Party; the formation in the Transvaal of an ad-hoc committee of Coloured community organisations to fight the proposals whose first meeting attracted 15 organisations and all indications are that their ranks will be swelled by others.

Meetings organised by the Labour Party leadership have left them in no doubt about the feelings and anger of the masses. A meeting in Stellenbosch, filled by over 600 people, had to be adjourned after violence erupted.

A scheduled meeting in Cape Town had to be cancelled and Hendrickse said that it





would take place "when things have simmered down". Undoubtedly he will have to wait for a long time unless he enlists the help of his new-found allies in the police and military. This has already happened in the Transvaal. A meeting at Reiger Park attended by over 500 people erupted in violence, and police in camouflage uniform arrested 12 youths. The speakers were drowned by constant chants of "We want Boesak", "Boereboetie", and "Away with sell-outs". At another emotionally-charged and packed meeting in Eldorado Park, the police used teargas to "control violence".

At a packed meeting in Lenasia (Indian township) attended by over 1500 people a resolution rejecting the proposals was unanimously passed.

In January 1983, the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee held its first Congress. It was attended by 400 delegates and observers from trade unions, political,

community, women and youth organisations. The Congress brought into sharp focus the growing links between the fight against the constitutional proposals and the broad struggle against the whole apartheid system. The Congress took two historic decisions. First to revive the Transvaal Indian Congress. Secondly, to set up a steering committee to create a United Democratic Front to spearhead the campaign against the constitutional proposals.

In a message to the Indian people in 1975, Dr. Dadoo said: "Our place in a free South Africa is going to be decided by the role we continue to play in the liberation struggle. It is by fighting side by side, arm in arm, with our African and Coloured brothers and sisters — it is by our persistent and perpetual resistance to apartheid, by our willingness to make the supreme sacrifice, that we can help to build a secure place for ourselves, our



children and for all the oppressed people in a free, democratic South Africa... Neither we nor any section of the South African people can be free as long as the African people are denied fundamental human rights."

The people's rejection of the proposals underlie this fundamental truth.

The regime's response to the growing rejectionist campaign was clearly defined by two newspaper editorials (25.1.83).

First the Transvaler (that well known mouthpiece of "objective" writing) stated that the decision to revive the old Transvaal Indian Congress is part of the "power alliance" between "Indian and Coloured pundits who are opposed to the constitutional proposals ... It is a pity because one thing that South Africa can do without is the sort of agitator politics which the Transvaal Indian Congress, the ANC and its allies envisaged in the 50's in their campaign for a non-racial state.."

Secondly the Citizen (established by the regime's slush funds) commented that "it looks like a section of that community (i.e. the Indians) is going to be among the most militant opponents of the government's healthy power sharing plans ... We are going to have to put up with a great deal of militancy from the new Indian Congress and the United Democratic Front is likely to be bothersome."

### **Treading the path of Judas**

It is a sad fact of history that once you tread the path of Judas you lose all principles and increasingly become puppets manipulated by the paymasters, dependent on their goodwill and forced to reflect their philosophy. Tragically this is the fate that has befallen some of the black "leaders." Hendrickse recently commented that "those who do not support the moves towards Constitutional reforms were playing into the hands of communists." Jack Rabie went further and charged that the protesters were being manipulated by "Andropov and his lieutenants in Moscow." Matanzima,

Mphephu, Sebe, Mangope and others are singing the same swansong.

Le Grange, the Minister of 'Law and Order' (sic) has given the Labour Party the green light to form a "military wing", to deal with its opponents. Police in battle dress are present at all meetings and deal ruthlessly with opposition.

Intimidation and harassment has increased and few doubt that the regime will increasingly resort to its traditional methods of arrests, bannings, and detentions. Undoubtedly, the coming period is going to be challenging and trying. However, armed with the knowledge that our people have a rich and proud legacy of struggle, we are confident that none of this will deter an increasing number from swelling the ranks of the broad democratic front.

As far back as 1953, Nelson Mandela stated: "We must accept the fact that in our country we cannot win one single victory of political freedom without overcoming desperate resistance on the part of the government, and that victory will not come of itself but only as a result of bitter struggle by the oppressed people ... The theory that we can sit with folded arms and wait for a future parliament to legislate for the essential dignity of every human being irrespective of race, colour or creed is crass perversion of elementary principles of political struggle. *No organisation whose interests are identical with those of the toiling masses will advocate conciliation to win its demands.*"

### **Confronting the regime's subterfuges**

It is in this spirit that we confront the regime's subterfuges today. Our people are fully aware of the fact that the central aim of the regime's proposals are: —

- a) to weaken and divide the oppressed and break our growing unity, which is an essential prerequisite for final victory;
- b) to win active collaboration from some sections of the oppressed;
- c) to create illusions of change and divert



the struggle from our basic demands for total political, economic and social independence;

- d) to drive a wedge between the masses and the liberation alliance headed by the ANC;
- e) to break out of its international isolation by seeking, with the aid of its allies (specifically the USA, UK and Israel), to project a "liberal" image.

Our people have therefore embarked on a programme of mass militant campaigns to defeat this strategy.

The message that is coming out loud and clear is that we are not fighting for token changes but for the total destruction of the whole apartheid system and the creation of genuine People's Power.

The nature of the constitutional proposals and their clearly limited and controlled area of operation are calculated to ensure that participation within the institutions is designed to divert our politics into channels acceptable to the regime and hence irrelevant to our basic aspirations.

Today, when there is a revolutionary upsurge in our country and when our people have experienced the fraudulent nature of regime-created institutions and have no trust in them, our only answer is to refuse to participate in any such schemes.

The crucial task of mobilising our people around the main issues facing us now and in the future, cannot be carried out from within such institutions. To achieve this we must find the organisational structures and methods which have their roots amongst the masses and which relate to their aspirations.

The overriding concern must be to bring about unity in action around a common programme. This must encompass our fundamental demand for a non-racial and democratic South Africa. We must guard against those who base their "opposition" to the regime's proposals on the fact that Africans are not included and call for a fourth chamber for Africans, as well as

those who want to channel opposition into sterile debates about the mechanics of the proposals while losing sight of the fundamental objectives of these proposals.

In this respect it is vital for Buthelezi to grasp the fact that his policy of "meaningful gradualism" (according to which the Labour Party should establish a group of experts in consultation with the Black Alliance to work out a detailed position while the regime be asked to nominate representatives to sit with the Labour Party experts and jointly consider the proposals) has many pitfalls and can easily be co-opted into the enemy's long-term strategies.

#### Our Tasks

We must ensure that around the slogan of *Unity in Action* there is a dynamic and active campaign to reject every aspect of the constitutional proposals. This campaign must serve as a platform :—

- † to broaden the political consciousness of our people around the issues confronting us daily;
- † to begin a sustained campaign of mass political agitation, organisation and mobilisation;
- † to strengthen the fundamental truth that freedom is indivisible and that the unity of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and democratic whites must be developed and consolidated;
- † to raise fundamental alternative demands as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

We have a proud record of resistance to national and social oppression. Today we are faced with a challenge that will have far-reaching effects on the unfolding revolutionary struggle in South Africa. We must respond to this challenge.

**Reject all dummy institutions!**  
**Destroy the apartheid system!**  
**Power to the People!**



# MILITANT SOLIDARITY



by Tilley Isaacson

"We see this meeting as an expression of the IOJ's militant solidarity not only with Angola but with all the front-line states." With these words Comrade Roberto de Almeida, Secretary for ideological work of the Central Committee of MPLA Workers' Party, welcomed delegates to the IOJ Presidium meeting held in Luanda from the 27 - 29 January, 1983. Indeed, the presence of 54 democratic journalists representing 30 different countries in the People's Republic of Angola, was an important demonstration of active support and anti-imperialist solidarity with that courageous nation.

Delegates to the Presidium, who included ANC and SWAPO journalists, heard the report by IOJ Secretary General, Jiri Kubka on IOJ activities since its 9th Congress, held in Moscow in 1981. The priority tasks for the IOJ General Secretariat in 1983 were discussed and approved by the participants. During the deliberations, stress was laid on the problems facing democratic journalists and tribute paid to those persecuted by reactionary regimes who face imprisonment, torture and even death in the fulfilment of their duties. The need for progressive journalists to expose the crimes of colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism was re-emphasised.

## **Solidarity Meeting**

The IOJ's support for the forces of progress and freedom in Southern Africa was given concrete expression by the holding of a solidarity meeting on the first day of the Presidium's deliberations. At this meeting

the 'Luanda Declaration' was adopted which strongly condemned racist South Africa's persistent acts of aggression against the independent states of Southern Africa.

The Declaration also reaffirmed the IOJ's unflinching support and solidarity with journalists of SWAPO and the ANC. The participants took this opportunity to renew their call for the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and all Namibian and South African political prisoners. An urgent demand for the commutation of the death sentences imposed by the apartheid regime on the 'ANC Six' was also made at the solidarity meeting.

## **Angolans honour Fucik**

A significant event held on the occasion of this IOJ Presidium meeting, was the renaming of a square and adjacent street in Luanda after Julius Fucik. Explaining this decision, Domingos Bernado Abo, first secretary of the Provincial People's Council, stated that Fucik and his struggle against fascism, had become an example to all oppressed nations. A plaque reading "Julius Fucik Square - Czechoslovak Journalist and Hero" was unveiled by the Chairman of the Union of Czechoslovak Journalists, Zdenek Horeni.

## **Journalists for Peace**

The significance of the venue of this Presidium meeting was brought home to all delegates when they were given the opportunity of hearing an address by the Angolan Foreign Minister, Paulo Jorge. He briefed journalists on the war situation facing his people as a result of Pretoria's policies of aggression and destabilisation. He linked



# Presidium of the International Organisation of Journalists

the situation in the region to the urgent need for all democratic journalists to fight for peace and prevent a nuclear war catastrophe.

Paulo Jorge also underlined the importance of the timing of the IOJ meeting. This took place on the eve of the anniversary of the birth of the national liberation struggle in Angola. He added that the event was an honour for all his people and an inspiration to Angolan journalists.

## Pledges of Solidarity

The IOJ Presidium did not end without a reaffirmation of the international responsibility of democratic journalists. It renewed its solidarity with the peoples of the Middle East and unanimously condemned Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people. A decision was taken to intensify the IOJ's work in the initiatives of UNESCO, especially in relation to those concerning the establishment of a new world communication order.

An indication of the growing strength of the IOJ was the inclusion of new journalist organisations into its ranks. Those joining on the occasion of the Presidium were journalists from Benin, Senegal, Mauritius, Surinam and Trinidad.

Of special significance to democratic South African journalists was the posthumous awarding of the international journalism prize for 1982 to Comrade Ruth First. Others honoured in this way were Annibal de Melo, posthumously, (Angola) The General Union of Palestinian Writers and Journalists and four Dutch media workers assassinated by the Salvadorian regime.



The spirit of this historic Presidium and the importance of the work of the IOJ itself, was perhaps best summed up in the final words of the Luanda Declaration which read:

*"We put our enormous sources of information in the service of the just struggle of peoples against the crimes of racism, the demon of imperialism and colonialism."*



**Below we print the Declaration of the Caribbean Journalists to the IOJ Presidium.**

Within recent weeks a tragic development took place involving a number of professional cricketers from the English-speaking Caribbean, which must be brought to the attention of this historic IOJ conference.

The South African Cricket Union has organised a six-week tour for which 15 Caribbean cricketers are contracted to play in racist South Africa for a fee of 90 000 US dollars each.

The traitorous action of these cricketers has been widely condemned throughout the Caribbean region, and we, the Caribbean delegates at this meeting, representing journalists and media workers in Grenada, Trinidad and Surinam, consider this action by the mercenary cricketers as a flagrant attack on all those struggling against the injustices and the inhumanity of the fascist apartheid regime.

We also consider their despicable action to be a gross insult to the people of the entire Caribbean region, who have consistently demonstrated their disgust and disapproval of the criminal Pretoria regime.

We applaud the decision of some sections of the Caribbean mass media to boycott coverage of the rebel cricket tour, and we call on our colleague journalists throughout Africa to do likewise.

Furthermore, we call on all African governments to declare these cricketers persona non grata, and we demand that upon their return to the Caribbean their governments withdraw their passports, seize the money given them for their mercenary services, and donate the funds to the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO).

**Long live the struggling masses of South Africa.**

**Down with racism, apartheid and imperialism.**

**A Luta Continua.**

**Victory is certain.**

**Forward Ever, Backward Never.**





# RECOLLECTIONS OF

# NELSON MANDELA

## PART 2 by an ANC veteran

*This is the second in a series in which a veteran of the struggle recalls some of his personal experiences of Nelson Mandela.*

### **Nelson Mandela in my Flat.**

Comrade Bram Fischer had apparently received an anonymous phone call warning that a nationwide police swoop was about to take place within hours - within two hours, to be exact. This fitted in with our own intelligence, indicating that long lists of people to be arrested had been circulated to all police stations in the main population centres throughout South Africa. The year was 1960, and all this information followed the shocking events at Sharpeville, and the nationwide stay-at-home which followed.

We managed to phone the main cities, warning of impending arrests, but the notice we had received was too short, and phone bookings delayed for too long. Our contacts, as well as ourselves, had to take evasive action. The calls themselves were tricky, as it was obvious that most of the known phones

were tapped. I got away (as the caretaker of the block of flats later told me) barely half an hour before the two thick-eared gentlemen came knocking at my door.

For five months and more I slept, heavily disguised, in all sorts of nooks and crannies. My favourite spots were a well-known golf course; backyards and garages of friends who are unaware of it to this day. The sleeping bag was comfortable but the nights extremely cold. I was the liaison between those in hiding and the fortunate few who were not arrested. At last, the Emergency came to an end.

The relevance of this is that I had made up my mind to find a flat which would be relatively safe, and which I would enter and leave as though the Emergency still existed. I was determined that when the next crisis occurred, this lair would make it unnecessary for me to suffer and shiver out in the open again.

I found the ideal place, after looking at about twenty others. Comrades will under-



stand my reluctance, even now, to describe why I say it was ideal. Suffice to say that my false name appeared on the list of names posted up in the hallway. For many months I never moved into that flat without applying all the tricks and precautions I had learned during the Emergency. I treated that flat as a permanent emergency hideout, and it paid dividends when the time came.

Nelson Mandela had been underground for quite some time. I had to arrange a meeting place for the top ANC committee had to be watertight, absolutely safe, and in a place above suspicion. I found the place, in a white area, and asked the sympathetic couple to absent themselves from their flat until after midnight. No questions and no answers. They agreed without hesitation.

The cars carrying the comrades arrived on time, one after the other. But just as the last comrade passed the next door flat, I noticed that a grey-haired old couple quietly opened their door and peeped in the direction of the disappearing comrade. I heard the old man say to his wife, "Quickly go and phone, my dear," or words to that effect. They had probably been sitting in their kitchen, whose windows looked out on to the passageway. They probably lifted the curtains, as old people are apt to do to satisfy their curiosity about passers-by. But when they noticed that these were all black men, they came out to make sure.

This was a major crisis. Not only was Mandela present, but every one of the others had gathered illegally, one way or the other. Every one of them, if caught, could be gaoled for years. The police could arrive at any minute. The order was given to scatter, and be picked up at arranged points.

But what to do with Comrade Mandela? His driver had returned to the township, and was to return at eleven o'clock. It was now barely past eight. I hastily explained the position of my flat, and all the precautions I had taken about it. I'm sure some were sceptical, but there was no alternative. It was agreed that Comrade Nelson should take immediate refuge in my hideout, which, fort-

unately, was not far away. We swiftly drove away, taking all the necessary precautions. As I remember it, he had a small travelling bag with him, probably in case of such an emergency.

Fortunately, I had a spare bed handy. This was pulled out, while Comrade Nelson treated himself to the luxury - unusual for him at that time - of a hot bath.

When he emerged, we sat down over tea and biscuits, to discuss in detail the security involved in the situation. After I had satisfied him about the flat and all the precautions I had taken, we agreed that he would stay put while I notified the underground about the position, as well as arranging for changes of clothes, and so on, to be supplied.

Just in case of an unusual intrusion, the story we agreed upon was that his name was 'David,' and that he was a friend awaiting the chance to go overseas for further studies. Booking had to be made, and then he would leave. This was the gist of the story we prepared, but it was extremely unlikely that anyone would arrive, as I had told only the minimum number of people about the flat, and they certainly would not come uninvited.

At about five o'clock in the morning, I was awoken by the creaking of the bed, and movements around the room. It was a one-roomed flat, although there was a sort of alcove for the beds. When my eyes became accustomed to the darkness, I saw that he was pulling on long-john underpants and a thick vest, then over this a track suit, and finally canvas shoes. I was puzzled by all this, but made up my mind that if he intended going for a run, I would not reveal the whereabouts of the key. But of course he had no such intention. All he did was to pull the curtains slightly apart, silently open the main window, and then, to my utter amazement, begin to run on the spot. I silently watched this performance for a while, turned over and went to sleep again. I woke up at various intervals up to about 6.30 a.m., and each time saw this non-stop running. When I finally awoke to prepare to go to work, I had





to move deftly out of the way of his frog jumps, after which followed great leaps into the air, with feet touching hands held in front and on the side. The whole performance must have lasted close on two hours.

At breakfast he announced that he expected me to join him the next morning. This I did, and by the time he left, was doing a full hour of similar exercises. I was very grateful to him later on, when incarceration came my way, and I was able to while away many an hour keeping fit.

Comrade Mandela soon had a pretty thick outgrowth of beard, and a moustache to match. His simple disguise was very effective, and the loose chauffeur's coat hid his big frame, and made him look much thinner. Each time he went out to see anyone, or anyone visited him, it involved a minor military exercise. Everything - especially the timing - was meticulously carried out. If this had not been so, the chances of his capture would have been greatly magnified.



### **Mandela's Faith in his People.**

I would like to relate two small incidents which occurred, one at this lair, and one at the next place to which he moved. Both again illustrate his faith in, and judgment of, his people.

Although my job allowed me to spend almost unlimited time attending to his welfare, I nevertheless had to attend to my office work periodically, so as to allay any suspicion, because the SB shadowing me would have noticed my absence.

It was the second morning of Comrade Nelson's stay at the flat. As usual, I peered through the peeping glass in the door to make sure nobody was loitering in the passage. Then I saw the man who did the cleaning. As comrades know well, blocks of flats in the white areas employ African men to polish floors and generally tidy up. And there he was in the vestibule. I stepped back and quickly asked Comrade Nelson if the man had been in to do the chores the previous day. "No," he answered, and, striding across to the door, had a peep himself at the man moving about outside. I explained that if the worker were not allowed to gain entry, he would most likely report the matter to his 'baas' and then we'd be in trouble.

Nelson's decision was firm and audacious. "Call him in. Make tea, have biscuits on a plate, and sit down with us when I speak to him. We'll tell the story already agreed on. All the books and notes, from Clausewitz to Shakespeare, will be part of the studies I'm preparing myself for, if he should notice anything unusual." With that, he stepped back towards the table, while I asked the cleaner to step inside. I disappeared into the kitchen, and soon heard an animated conversation taking place between the two.

We went through the exercise as planned, and, although the man felt uncomfortable at first, he soon got used to the idea of drinking tea with a white man, and, with some very obvious prompting from Nelson, in a language I could not understand, he really warmed to us, and felt very much at ease in the end.

Before many days had passed, this friend was even doing some shopping and other little chores for his friend, 'David.'

All went well until a few weeks later, when Comrade Nelson asked me to call the man from his 'flat in the sky' - his room at the top of the block of flats. I went up. When I got to his room, the door was wide open, he was out, and lying open on his bed was a magazine with splashing headlines, "Black Pimpernel still at large," and about ten different pictures of Nelson Mandela spread over the two pages. I decided to call him anyway, in spite of this harrowing revelation, just to observe his reactions. After an animated chat, Comrade Nelson bade goodnight to him, and out he went.

I could hardly wait to splutter out the bad news about the magazine. True, it was difficult to recognise Nelson when disguised, but as 'David' in the flat, there was no mistaking who he was from the photographs. We grimly discussed this setback. My instinct was to arrange another hideout at once. We had one in mind for such contingencies, but it had to be a last resort. 'David' pondered deeply over this dilemma. Then he shook his head, and said, "I'm staying. Leave him to me. He won't give me away. I'm certain of it."

He was absolutely right. He told me that this man kept on calling him 'David' as though he had never seen the magazine, but significantly, as though to underline his point, he never again asked Comrade Nelson when the plane was going to take him to Europe for his studies.

### **Mandela as a Gardener.**

Later, Nelson Mandela became a gardener. He had been shifted to a house in a different area, with some friends of ours. They had one small son, and an African woman working for them. He was also introduced to her as 'David,' the potential student. But she was apprised of the fact that if anybody came to the door, she was to wait until 'David' got out of the house and to the bottom of the garden, with his fork and shovel.



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Very soon it was determined that she was a member or former member of the ANC, and soon she was acting as an important courier for him. He never mentioned who he was, and she never asked. She persisted in calling him 'David,' never indicating that she knew who he was - but of course she did, and he knew that she did. This delicate and sensitive relationship came naturally to her; ask no questions and you will be told no lies, seemed her attitude. She was a really lovely and brave comrade-in-arms, one of the many unsung heroines of our struggle.

An interesting footnote to these particular incidents is this:

If you look at the more detailed pictures or posters of Comrade Nelson in his striped T-shirt, you will notice a small black oblong object above his right shoulder, and, directly beneath that, a sort of indefinite blob. Let me explain this.

That black mark was (and probably still is) the handle to the built-in wardrobe in my flat, and the blob below it, the keyhole.

The late Comrade Eli Weinberg was smuggled in to take that historic picture.

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# Tribute to Canon John Collins

Sechaba salutes the memory of John Collins, Canon of St Paul's Cathedral, London, founder and president of the International Defence and Aid Fund, and campaigner for world peace. We deeply regret his death, which occurred at the end of December, 1982.

The following is part of the address prepared by Comrade Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer-General of the ANC, for the memorial service for Canon Collins, held in St Paul's Cathedral on February 3rd 1983.

Canon Collins, a champion of peace and a steadfast opponent of Nazism and tyranny in all its forms, courageously acted in support of those in South Africa who are struggling for the destruction of the neo-Nazi regime.

The large sums of money collected and disbursed over the last thirty years by and through Christian Action, the Treason Trial Defence Fund, the Defence and Aid Fund,

in favour of those 'suffering for conscience sake in South Africa,' to quote Christian Action, have, in their effect, gone beyond achieving the very important objectives of meeting the legal costs of thousands who have been arraigned before the oppressor's judges and magistrates, and aiding other victims of apartheid tyranny.

They have also given encouragement to us to fight on, whatever the odds. This consistent moral and material support has laid a firm base for sound relations between our people and the people of Great Britain. This contrasts sharply with the financial, military and diplomatic support the regime receives from the British Government and the ruling circles of this country.

Canon Collins' imprint is clearly seen in the invaluable work of the Defence and Aid Fund, which plays an important role in the campaign for the release of political prisoners - a campaign the ANC sees as an integral





*The late Canon John Collins*

aspect of our overall struggle – and in aiding and supporting the families of imprisoned comrades. In this way it is directly helping us in our struggle to rid our country of the scourge of racism and fascism.

Canon Collins was an inspiration to all involved in the just struggle to rid the world of the scourge of apartheid, a shining example of unyielding steadfastness in the pursuit of justice. Do not allow the flame he lit so courageously to die. Be part of the millions who are today mobilised to struggle against the threat of a nuclear holocaust. Caring for the poor, the oppressed and the despised should not be seen as an act of mere charity, but rather as an act of liberation. Then shall it be said of us, as it can truly be said of John Collins: 'By their fruits shall you know them.'

In the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, on behalf of the thousands who participated in mass campaigns such as the Defiance Campaign of 1952, and of our leaders who were charged with High Treason in 1956; on behalf of our leaders who are serving life sentences, the six young combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe who face the threat of death by hanging, the hundreds of others who are in prison, the banned and the banished, the thousands of dependants; speaking for those who, even now, are dying in the struggle to create the kind of South Africa that Canon Collins visualised, and for the millions of our people to whom his name is dear, we say:

**Farewell, dear friend!**

**Hamba Kahle Qhawe Lama Qhawe.**



# • BOOK REVIEW •

Walshe, P.

*Church versus State in South Africa - the Case of the Christian Institute. London 1983.*

The book under review deals with the politico-religious issues in South Africa in the nineteen sixties and seventies. It deals specifically with the rise, evolution, development and banning of the Christian Institute.

Formed in August 1963, after the Sharpeville massacres, the banning of the ANC and the State of Emergency - all this took place in 1960 - the Christian Institute was banned, together with 18 other organisations, on 19th October 1977. Black leaders were banned; so were members of the staff of the Christian Institute. Shortly thereafter, Steve Biko was murdered in police custody, and Vorster, amid continuing unrest which claimed at least 700 officially recorded deaths - "a total which in reality probably exceeded 1 000" (p.207) - called a general election for November 30th.

The man behind the Christian Institute was Beyers Naude, a man Peter Walshe says "would have had an immediate empathy with Albert Lutuli's hopes and fears - even if Lutuli's political vision would have stretched Naude's imagination in 1963 to the point of discomfort," (p.34) and although he would have agreed with most of what Bram Fischer said, "he would have been most uncomfortable with Fischer's emphasis on class conflict as the central process of history."

The history of the Christian Institute reflects the radicalisation and polarisation that took place in the late nineteen sixties and the seventies:

"...it had been a white controlled organisation and a predominately white initiative from the start. Belatedly it now tried to adjust, not only by supporting black consciousness organisations like the BCP, but by welcoming

tough-minded black leadership into its own ranks." (p.158)

The Institute had many problems: white indifference and Afrikaner hostility - a hostility which developed into a direct confrontation.

All this, and much more, is carefully detailed by Peter Walshe, who demonstrates a good grasp of his subject. The merit of the book is that it views the Christian Institute or the church/state controversy in the context of the political struggle that is taking place in South Africa.

But this book - in this reviewer's opinion - has some shortcomings and weaknesses. Like Peter Walshe's earlier book on the history of the ANC, it is partisan - his heart is in the right place, but the problem with Walshe is that he is aloof and his style is cold, at times impersonal. This leads to some unhappy formulations. For instance he says about the Soweto uprising, "On June 16th, what started as a peaceful demonstration in Soweto, *degenerated* (my emphasis) under the impact of insensitive police action into stone-throwing, and police gunfire." (pp.200-201) It is difficult to agree with this formulation, because the peaceful demonstration in Soweto developed - and did not degenerate - to stone-throwing, and today to the use of sophisticated weapons by the same students, many of whom are now members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.





# • BOOK REVIEW •

Though this book deals with the Christian Institute, this reviewer would have appreciated it if Walshe had dealt in greater depth with other aspects of church/state controversy, such as conscientious objection or even the future prospects of this controversy - of course with fewer cliches. More could have been said about black Christians or the theology of liberation. What about the independent African churches?

With these remarks, we recommend the book to readers of Sechaba.

F.M.

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*Babing, A. and Brauer H., Fanal am Kap, Berlin 1982.*

Alfred Babing and Hans-Dieter Brauer are not unknown to us especially since their last book on Namibia - unfortunately only available in German.

This book is dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the ANC. It is not a book on the ANC history as such but deals with broader issues of South African history from the times of Van Riebeeck to 1982. But the central theme is the history of the ANC.

The book differs significantly from some books written by some scholars and academics. It is simply written and straight forward. On the history of the ANC the authors base themselves on the publications, speeches, interviews and opinions of the ANC and its leaders. This has its advantages:

it eliminates any possibility of biased and subjective judgment and assessment and reflects the thinking of our movement on our history.

The book is geared towards the GDR readership hence the role of German imperialism in the history of the crisis in South Africa is highlighted. This is an important angle which has not been sufficiently looked into hitherto. This is skillfully counterposed to the revolutionary and anti-colonial traditions of the German working class whose roots go back as far as the days of August Bebel and were further developed with the formation of the GDR - a country which has no relations with racist South Africa; a country which unconditionally supports the ANC in many and various forms and therefore stands squarely behind us and is opposed to imperialism, colonialism and racism.

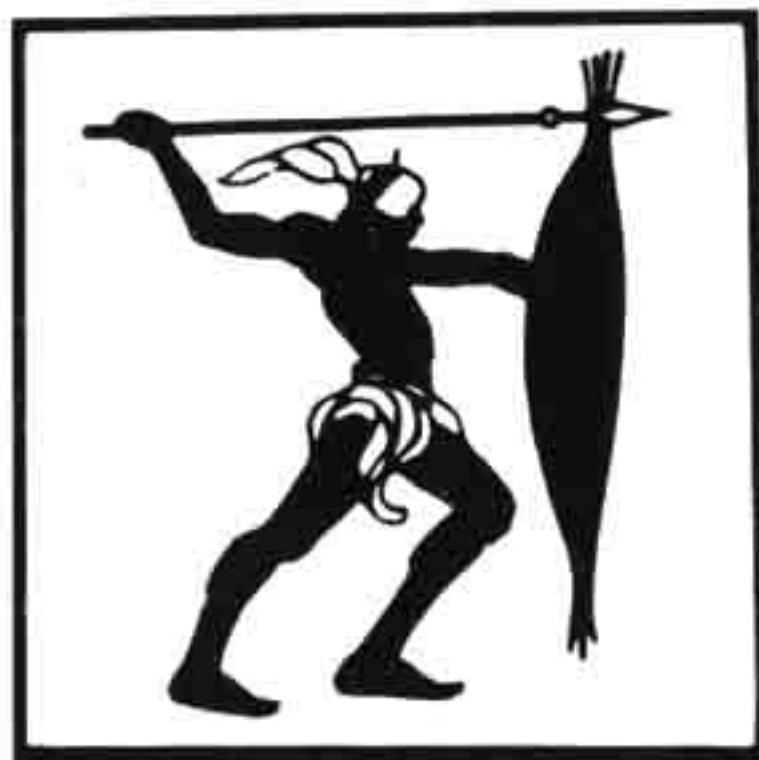
If there is any criticism one could make it is that the authors need to improve their command of the spelling of African names.

Kurt Seibt, the President of the GDR Solidarity Committee, expresses in the foreword a hope that this book will receive wide distribution and therefore contribute to a better understanding of the goals of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and deepen the idea of international anti-imperialist solidarity as an effective weapon in the liberation struggle. That thought alone make me think its translation into English will do just that!

F.M.



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