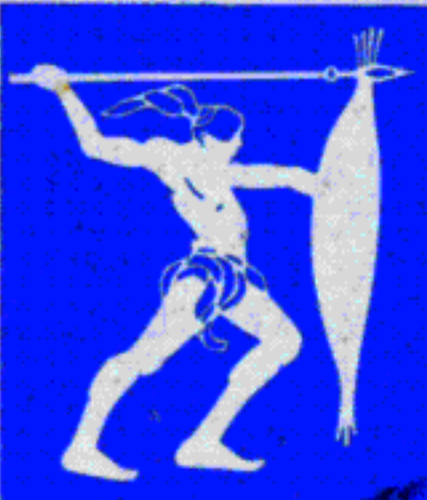


MARCH 1981



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



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P.O. Box 38  
 28 Penton Street  
 London N1 9PR  
 Telegrams: Mayibuye  
 Telex: 299555ANCSAG  
 Telephone: 01-837-2012

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# APARTHEID MURDER IN MATOLA

It was on Friday 30 at 2.00 am when the racist forces, their faces painted black and uniforms covered in graffiti, attacked not just 3 ANC residences, killing 12 of our comrades but invaded Mozambique, an independent African state and murdered a foreign national, Mr. Jose Ramos, a Portuguese technician under contract to the state-owned Mozambique Electricity Company.

The South African press called this crime a "military victory", a "daring raid" and an "Israeli-type pre-emptive strike against the African National Congress bases".

Two things need to be said about this dastardly act of barbarism: innocent members of the ANC were gunned to death in their sleep and Mozambique, which reserves the right to take steps necessary to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity, has been invaded in public defiance of international law.

It was perhaps in response to this that Comrade Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe in condemning "these barbarous acts that Pretoria is resorting to in defence of her racist and inhuman policies" added that the attack "was a signal warning to us not only to proceed with speed to strengthen our defence forces, but also to consolidate our military alliance with our Mozambique brothers in defence of our political order and developing economies".

At the funeral of our 12 comrades killed in the Maputo suburb of Matola, Comrade Mario Machungo, Mozambique's Planning Minister declared that "nothing will weaken our solidarity" with the South African people and the ANC.

Comrade President O.R. Tambo replied to the racist lies: "...there have never been

any ANC bases or camps in Mozambique. There are residences ... and if the qualifications to make a house a base is only that the people in it can use a gun, then let us be told now. Because every white man in South Africa can use a gun and there are weapons in every white household. Are these bases too?"

"There were no guns captured. The large quantities of weapons is the creation of active imaginations."

They were taken from racist South Africa's own armouries and he went on to say that it is a lie that literature was supposed to have been captured by the Boers because "works by Lenin are not documents carrying ANC secrets."

While Reagan is worried about what he calls "international terrorism" he had nothing to say about this example.

It is one of those bitter truths of our times that no progressive movement; no true revolutions has ever been immune to imperialist smear campaigns or direct attacks. It is a paradox of our times that the degree of success of any revolution can be measured by the imperialist propaganda campaign or acts of aggression against it — however sad the tragedies may be. This is true of Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Iran, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Cuba. The list is endless.

This is also true of SWAPO — which is banned even in the Transkei where it has no role to play. This is becoming true of the ANC which has long been a target of our enemies.

# EXTEND AND DEFEND OUR REVOLUTIONARY GAINS!

President O. R. Tambo's January 8th,  
1981, Statement.



*Comrade President O.R. Tambo*

*Compatriots and Comrades,  
Fellow-fighters for the liberation of the  
motherland,*

Once more a New Year is upon us; since today is January 8th, we mark also a new anniversary of the African National Congress—the 69th.

1980, the initial year of our Decade of Liberation, has passed, and with its passing has ushered us into a new time-span which will, this day next year, culminate in the epoch-making 70th anniversary of the African National Congress.

In our message of January 8th, last year, we reviewed some of the challenges that the previous year had posed to us as a people and pointed out some of the main directions that we needed to take if we were to make

progress towards our overdue emancipation.

The time has come that we address ourselves to the experiences of the year that has just passed, so that we are better able to determine what actions we should take to bring closer the realisation of our common aspiration—the restoration of power to the hands of the people and the destruction of the evil and degrading system of apartheid.

This time last year we said that victory was within the grasp of the heroic people of Zimbabwe. This historic fact that political power is today so firmly in the hands of the brother people of Zimbabwe, a victory which simultaneously meant the ignominious and well-deserved rout of the forces of reaction, is not only a tribute but also bears witness to the strength of the movement for national liberation which is making its own contribution to the triumphant march of the peoples of the world towards a better and happier future.

That same movement for national liberation is moving the fighting people of Namibia to assured victory, under the leadership of Swapo. Once more we can say the victory that is within the grasp of the people of Namibia is one that these brother people share with the progressive forces of the world. This victory will also constitute the concrete contribution of the people of Namibia to our collective advance in one inter-dependent and world-wide battle fought on many fronts.

Only yesterday, the United Nations conference on Namibia opened in Geneva, bringing together for the very first time, on the one hand the authentic representatives of the people of Namibia, organised and united in Swapo, and the Pretoria colonial regime on the other. As the forces of tyranny had in the end to recognise Zanu and Zapu in the Patriotic Front as the only organisa-

tions with whom to negotiate the transition of Zimbabwe to independence, so also have these forces been compelled to recognise the fact that the same process with regard to Namibia must be negotiated with Swapo.

At this critical stage in the struggle of the Namibian people, in the name of the African National Congress and the patriotic forces of our country in their entirety and on your behalf, compatriots, we send our greetings and our pledge of solidarity to Swapo and the people of Namibia as a whole, convinced that the political and military victories they have scored within Namibia will be duplicated and reinforced at the diplomatic table, and fully conscious that their victory over the coloniser will drastically shorten the road we ourselves have to travel to reach the goal of liberation.

### **Pretoria's Illusions**

Despite its repeated and inevitable defeats at the hands of the national liberation movement throughout Southern Africa, the Pretoria regime continued during the past year to entertain hopes of re-establishing its domination over the independent countries of the sub-continent. It has accordingly continued to propagate the counter-revolutionary idea of a constellation of Southern African states, while persisting with its policy of aggression against these states.

The anti-colonial resolve of the peoples and governments of our region has ensured the defeat of these policies as well. Even for the blindly arrogant authors of the scheme of a constellation of puppet states, it must by now have become abundantly clear that the constellation they visualised has been transformed by the concrete reality of the balance of forces in Southern Africa into an ephemeral mirage, a still-born illusion which no amount of propaganda will bring to life. In this connection we would like to take this opportunity to salute the nine independent states of Southern Africa which have come together in a determined effort to coordinate their economic development and to find and implement ways of reducing their dependence on apartheid South Africa. This initiative has finally buried the Pretoria regime's illusion that it could use the wealth we have created with our sweat and blood to enslave the new African peoples beyond our borders.

Similarly, the aggression carried out by the racist forces against independent Africa has not brought the apartheid regime the result it sought to achieve. The coup it tried to foment in Zambia was nipped in the bud. The mercenaries it has deployed in Mozambique have only served to strengthen the determination of the people of this sister country to defend their hard-won independence. The People's Republic of Angola remains as firm as a rock in its involvement in the battle for the total liberation of Africa and in the struggle for the consolidation of people's power. Despite its teething problems, the young Republic of Zimbabwe has bravely and unequivocally refused to bow down to the terrorist pressures emanating from Pretoria, which have included the training of yet more bandits for military incursions into Zimbabwe.

Quite clearly, therefore, in the field of foreign relations, particularly in the crucial area of Southern Africa, the decade of the 80's has begun inauspiciously for the Botha-Malan regime. The current year will undoubtedly see new advances made in our region, especially with regard to the issue of Namibia. If indeed, as a result of the genuine independence of Namibia, the racist South African soldiers no longer lose their lives on the Namibian battlefields, Botha and Malan can only draw cold comfort from such a development, because it will also mean that the Pretoria regime will then become the last and only relic of 500 years of the colonial occupation of the mother continent—a relic soon to be swept away by the people of Africa.

If this was the position of the colonial apartheid regime in its external political positions during 1980, what of its position inside South Africa?

Without question, we witnessed a development which is of crucial importance to the future of our country. During this past year, the Botha regime has, through its own actions, conceded the bankruptcy and futility of the brutal policy of apartheid. To put this in other words, the *Year of the Charter* marked the collapse of the political strategy of the apartheid regime.

You will remember the statement made by Botha that the independence of Zimbabwe under the leadership of our brother and

comrade-in-arms, Robert Mugabe, had altered the strategic position of South Africa. As you will recall, Botha then called for a multi-racial conference to discuss the future of South Africa.

In the end, no conference took place. Why? Because Botha, Malan, Koornhof and others in the general staff of the racist headquarters soon enough realised that the genuine representatives of the patriotic forces of our country would not attend such an apartheid public relations exercise. This meant that such a conference, far from reinforcing the positions of the apartheid regime, would expose to the world the utter isolation and unacceptability of this regime. It was therefore decided to allow the idea of a conference to die, killed by the benign neglect of those who had floated the idea in the first instance. P W Botha had to swallow his words and his pride.

But in making the call when he did, Botha conceded the point that the future of our country could no longer be decided exclusively by the ruling fascist and racist National Party, nor indeed by the white minority population of South Africa.

Botha let slip the same notion when he told his party's Transvaal Congress that to pretend there were no black people in South Africa might, in his words, be a lovely thought but it was not true. These were revealing words because they signified that the illusion, cultivated by white supremacists for three centuries, that the Blacks in South Africa were either foreigners or non-persons, had become dangerous to white supremacy.

Of course none of the enemy statements and proposals represented a change of heart. What they signalled was that our strength as an oppressed and fighting people had reached dimensions which gave the enemy increasing cause for concern over his chances of survival. During the *Year of the Charter*, the apartheid regime was to witness fresh evidence of the rise of the oppressed millions and a succession of defeats for its apartheid strategy.

As is well known, the enemy set out to constitute what it calls a President's Council in the hope that it would attract to this advisory council popular leaders of the so-called Coloured and Indian people. In the event, not a single patriot agreed to serve on

this body. Even the so-called official opposition, the Progressive Federal Party, refused to be drawn into this meaningless venture.

In the end what do we have? A council composed of white appointees of the fascist party and a coterie of black stooges, the overwhelming majority of whom are not even known to the communities whose aspirations they are supposed to represent. In brief, Botha's President's Council was as still-born as were his schemes to turn Zimbabwe into a client state, and as moribund as his plan for a constellation of Southern African states. What Botha has created is at best the President's Circus.

### Dummy Institutions

Another of his schemes that suffered a similar fate was the proposed 'Black Council' which was meant to group together the so-called non-independent Bantustans and representatives of the urban African communities. This attempt to resurrect the old toy telephone—the dead and unlamented 'Native Representative Council'—was abandoned by the regime as a doomed venture, having been dismissed out of hand and with open contempt by the entire black population. Botha, Malan and Koornhof have tried to retreat to their lairs to lick their wounds and to cook up more hairbrained schemes which will similarly perish in the face of our determination to secure for ourselves genuine liberation.

The fate of the so-called Coloured Persons Representative Council, the CRC, is a matter of common knowledge in this country and abroad. This enemy-imposed institution was destroyed by the Labour Party, expressing the people's mass rejection of the institution, and in the process winning a victory of strategic importance for our liberation struggle. In a bid to replace the CRC, the apartheid regime took measures to introduce what is called the 'Coloured Persons Council'. A mass denunciation of the CPC by the people, as being yet another dummy institution, compelled Botha to abandon its establishment.

The Indian section of the Black population has been informed that during 1980 there would be elections to the enemy-created institution, the South African Indian Council. Knowing that such an

exercise would in fact result in the destruction of the SAIC through mass rejection by the people, the Botha regime decided not to have these elections after all. Any hope of ever being able to breathe life into the inert carcass of the SAIC vanished when the very stooges who had accepted to serve on it, (no longer able to withstand popular pressure), themselves demanded the dissolution of the SAIC.

The cumulative effect of this aggressive mass opposition to dummy councils was the collapse of the grandiose scheme the apartheid regime had thought up, namely the much-trumpeted three-tier parliament. The fate of this infamous plan is today the subject of a deafening silence on the part of the regime.

In July, the apartheid State President, Marais Viljoen, made bold to suggest that '1980 should be known as the "Year of the Constitution".' That rather incongruous proposal was met with stony silence by the rest of the racist ruling clique who were by that time aware of the wholesale collapse of all constitutional schemes the regime had tried to formulate. In any case, 1980 was already known by the people of South Africa as the '*Year of the Charter*'—the Freedom Charter, which defines the basis of a true Constitution for South Africa.

This clique also knew that the central purpose of these constitutional schemes had failed with the collapse of each one of the convoy of councils it had lined up. That central purpose had been the preparation of the elements of what in the politics of Southern Africa has come to be known as an 'internal settlement'.

As Zimbabwe and Namibia have demonstrated, this so-called internal settlement is in fact no settlement at all. It is but an arrangement to consolidate the collusion between the colonial regime and its puppets for the perpetuation of white minority rule.

Marais Viljoen had expected that during 1980 the component parts of such an oppressive scheme would have been prepared and ready for presentation to the world as a settlement of the South African problem. What Viljoen and his fellow racists failed to understand was that the mass commitment of the oppressed to genuine liberation permits of no settlement which falls short of the transfer of power to the majority of the

people of South Africa. The failure of these apartheid schemes points to the people's refusal to be ruled; it reflects their determination to terminate their colonial status; it is a great step forward to a new and democratic South Africa.

Botha knows that there is nothing left in his bag of apartheid separate development tricks that can so much as reduce the rejection of his regime by the majority or save it from ultimate destruction by the risen people. In the result, having exhausted all his political options, such as they are, Botha has had to fall back on the only option now left to him—which is direct and open military rule.

Hence 1980 saw the appointment of Magnus Malan into the apartheid Cabinet as racist defence minister and the deployment of military personnel into other leading state committees, including the all-important National Security Council. It is this development which must serve notice that, far from being a somewhat kind-hearted reformer of apartheid, Botha, for all his torrent of words, remains a racist and a fascist tyrant, for he is committed to the survival of the apartheid system, the permanence of white minority rule at all costs.

### 1980—Remarkable Achievements

It will be recalled that this day last year we said that it was the task of all patriotic and democratic forces of our country to observe the 25th anniversary of the great Freedom Charter in a fitting manner. The militant resistance to the internal settlement schemes was an act in observance of this great anniversary, a re-affirmation of our pledge to fight together in unity, and on all fronts, for the realisation of a Government of the People. We can all be justly proud of this spirit of dedication to our noble and invincible cause.

As at no time since the great Treason Trial of the 50's, the Freedom Charter last year took the centre of the stage as a document of reference in the raging debate, generated by our advancing liberation struggle, over the crucial question of a future South Africa and a viable alternative to the apartheid system.

We would like to commend the patriots who made certain that during the *Year of the Charter*, the Freedom Charter was available in large numbers to the people. We salute all

comrades and friends in the broad movement for national liberation who ensured that the Charter was once more discussed and its correctness re-affirmed by the masses of the people.

In this connection, the launching of the Free Mandela Campaign was enormously timely and appropriate. The interests of our common future as a South African people demand the immediate release from prison of the national leaders and political activists who are where they are because they love their country and their people, and are willing to die for both. As the 'Sunday Post' explained, the people demanded the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners because they wanted to place their country, South Africa, 'under the authority of a truly popular government without any accompanying bloodshed'.

In their support of this campaign, the people of South Africa spoke with a unity rarely known and strikingly non-racial. The international community is equally unanimous in making the same demand. But, not uncharacteristically, the apartheid regime's response to these demands shows suicidal insensitivity. Nevertheless, the campaign must be continued.

Last year on January 8th we said, because of our victories during the Decade of the Seventies, the enemy was trying to regroup and strengthen his forces in preparation for an intensified counter-offensive. This, as we have seen, he tried to do and failed. That failure has deepened the political crisis which is gripping the apartheid regime.

Intense conflicts are raging within the ruling party. Grave doubts have infected the white population as a whole as to the ability of the ruling clique to guarantee the security of this population. Malan and his fellow generals have had to quell localised mutinies that have broken out within the racist army. Young Afrikaners at the University of Stellenbosch, the training centre of many racist leaders, have directly confronted the fascist Prime Minister P W Botha with the demand for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners and completely rejected his so-called programme of reform.

This deepening crisis of the apartheid regime has reached the levels that it has, not because Botha, Malan, Koornhof and others are less competent than their prede-

cessors, but because our level of struggle has, during the *Year of the Charter*, attained new heights and greater effectiveness.

Dear compatriots,

Last year, on January 8th, we issued a call for mass struggles everywhere and around all issues that both agitate us and are reflected in the Freedom Charter. Your response was magnificent. You did indeed confront the enemy on all fronts.

The enemy himself admits that, during the *Year of the Charter*, which Sactu had also proclaimed the *Year of the Worker*, the strike movement among the black workers for higher pay and better working conditions, for recognition of our unions and the reinstatement of sacked workers, drew in at least four times more workers than in the year 1979.

Mighty struggles have raged around the issue of rent increases, highlighted by the militant and united rent strike at Zwide in Port Elizabeth and the anti-rent increase demonstrations and the stay-at-home in Soweto.

Once more the youth abandoned their classrooms in continuation of the struggle for an equal, non-racial, free and compulsory system of education. The apartheid regime tried to defeat the schools boycott by resorting to its tried method of violent repression and the killing of our people in cold blood. When the campaign of terror failed to achieve its objective, the enemy decided to close down nearly a hundred schools.

The people in the countryside were not dormant either during the *Year of the Charter*. The Batlokwa in the North of the country continued with their heroic struggle against removal from their ancestral lands. In the south, the overwhelming majority of the residents of the Ciskei region told the Quail Commission fearlessly and unequivocally that not only are they against the so-called independence of the Ciskei but they are also in favour of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. After a lull of many years, the struggle surfaced in the Orange Free State and continues.

An important additional feature to all these campaigns was the growth of the level of unity in action among the fighting contingents. The necessity of all of us to build on this achievement cannot be over-emphas-



ised. When striking workers, boycotting students, bus boycotters and others all come together to reinforce one another, when there is solidarity through action, then we can confidently say that we are using our united mass strength properly and effectively.

### **Umkhonto we Sizwe Strikes**

In this connection the attack by a unit of Umkhonto we Sizwe on the enemy's railway communications which was timed to reinforce the Soweto campaign against rent increases was highly commendable. Even more so were the heroic and daring armed operations carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe during the *Year of the Charter* and the *Year of the Worker*. Once more our combatants re-affirmed in action that they remain true to the tradition of combat established by our forefathers at Isandlwana and elsewhere. Silverton, Booyens, Sasol and



**Booyens police station**

Chiawelo will go down in the history of our struggle as glorious forerunners of the people's war that has already started. A vitally important feature of these actions is that they were an integral part of a militant country-wide mass struggle by the people

fighting on all fronts. They helped to raise the level of overall struggle and heighten its impact.

In addition, against the background of industrial strikes, schools boycotts, the arrest of church leaders and numerous forms of resistance against the notorious apartheid regime, the armed actions by Umkhonto we Sizwe gave a new dimension to the solidarity of the people of the world with the oppressed, the exploited, the democratic and fighting people of South Africa. We congratulate our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

### **Multi-pronged Onslaught**

But if in 1980 our struggle developed into a multi-pronged and effective onslaught upon the racist regime and its structures, we were far less successful, in fact we failed, on what must be regarded as a major front—the Bantustan front. In observing the 67th anniversary of the ANC in 1979, the *Year of the Spear*, we called for a determined assault on the artificial political, economic and racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development. We invited all true patriots to join in this effort. Last year, launching the *Year of the Charter*, we renewed our call to all opponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash this determined mass assault.

The reality we face, however, is that the so-called community councils continue to exist. Not a single one of the Bantustans has been destroyed as a result of mass pressure. Indeed, the arch-collaborator, Sebe, is bent on pursuing his treachery by dragging the unwilling people of the Ciskei to Bantustan independence, having worked with Pretoria's Ministry of Information to stage-manage what purported to be a referendum.

Within each one of these Bantustans and in all of them without exception, the life of the people has worsened. The Matanzimas, the Sebes, Mphephus and others have continued to carry out the instructions of their masters to police these vast desolate camps of corruption, unemployment, landlessness, hunger and starvation. We have failed, although we have it in our power, to smash these institutions of oppression. But this situation cannot be allowed to continue. We



*Racists train Bophuthatswana army*

therefore, yet again, call for resolute action against the Bantustans and Bantu Councils, whatever their new names.

Last year, in our address to the nation we sought to define a path of honour for those who, as we said, while working within a separate development institution, defend their role as being one of patriotic participation and not a betrayal calculated to condemn our people to permanent domination.

We offered a path of honour to such among our people as claimed to be patriots working within the enemy institutions with the sole object of destroying them or transforming them into instruments of struggle, weapons in the hands of the fighting masses. And yet what has happened? There is no evidence anywhere that any of these Bantustans and councils have become or are becoming useless or dangerous to the enemy thanks to the dedication and commitment of those who have been very vocal in proclaiming their patriotism. It is a sharp rebuke to genuine patriots serving within the separate development institutions that so many white South Africans are beginning to see it as their patriotic duty to abolish the apartheid system and dismiss its perpetrators.

The one redeeming development in this situation of continuing failure has been the great victories won by our 'Coloured' and Indian compatriots who have successfully attacked and destroyed the enemy's creations.

Given that the vast majority of our people stand in deadly opposition to the separate development programme, a special responsibility falls on the masses of the African people, the worst victims of separate development, to play their historic role by being their own liberators. The Bantustans and community councils stand between us and a Government of the People. They must be attacked from within and from without.

#### **Campaign Against Republic Day**

On May 31st this year, the racist regime will be celebrating the 20th anniversary of the fascist republic imposed on us in 1961, in the face of our determined opposition under the leadership of Comrade Nelson Mandela. Undoubtedly, the oppressor regime will try to embroil us in activities organised to mark this occasion. But racist Republic Day cannot by any stretch of the imagination be a day for the oppressed, for the black people of South Africa, or for any democrat. Like

the racist Constitution of the Union of South Africa, the Constitution which created the so-called Republic was the exclusive work of whites only, for whites only. We have our national days and our anniversaries, January 8, March 5, March 21, June 16, June 26, August 9, December 16. We can have nothing to do with May 31.

We refused to recognise the legitimacy of the apartheid republic in 1961. We have much less reason to recognise it today, when the burning demand is for a People's Government. Indeed, to re-inforce this demand we need to initiate a Campaign Against Republic Day.

Over the years, many of our people, fellow fighters for the liberation of the motherland, have been demanding the calling of a national convention to draw up a democratic constitution for our country. As we all remember, this call was first made by the All-In African Conference, which met in Pietermaritzburg on the 25th and 26th of March, 1961, attended by over 1,500 delegates from town and country, representing 145 religious, social, cultural, sporting and political bodies, and called to discuss, among other things, the intended proclamation of a fascist republic in our country on May 31, in circumstances which presumed our non-existence.

The conference decided to demand a sovereign national convention representative of all South Africans, to draw up a new non-racial and democratic constitution for our country. The racist regime ignored the demand. Consequently, the people embarked on mass struggle, commencing with the widespread national stay-at-home at the end of May, through to the commencement of armed struggle for the seizure of power.

It will be noted, therefore, that the call for a national convention was essentially a call to action. Secondly, once the apartheid regime refused to summon the Convention, then the demand for a national convention became inextricably bound up with the demand for the destruction of the regime itself.

The national convention we are talking about, therefore, is one which would be a democratic forum vested with sovereign powers; it would bring together the leaders

and representatives of the people of South Africa, and would produce a blueprint of the kind of South Africa that would meet the aspirations of the majority. Such a convention can only come about as a consequence, as a result—of bitter struggle.

Our unity is, and always will be, one of the principal fountains of strength in our march to victory. The high level of unity generated by the struggles waged last year itself became a mighty weapon in our hands.

### **An Injury to One is an Injury to All**

We need further to expand on this basis to ensure that we actually act together as one people with one destiny. For this reason, the proliferation of centres in the democratic trade union movement should be a matter of serious concern to all of us. Equally worrying is the fact that we have waged the continuing struggle for a democratic system of education as different contingents, separated from one another for geographic and other reasons. In particular, we have not yet succeeded to bring together in common and simultaneous action all the black students, teachers and parents. By and large, we left the red meat workers to fight their battles alone when we did not respond sufficiently to their appeal for a nationwide boycott of red meat in solidarity with them. We have allowed the Ndebele people to fall victim to Mangope's machinations in the same way as we have not come to the aid of the brave Batlokwa people. To remedy this national failure, we should adopt as our battle-cry, the motto of our trade union movement and of Sactu: *An injury to one is an injury to all!*

The kind of unity we must seek, therefore, is unity in action, unity for common action against the common enemy, unity for victorious struggle. As we prepare for the observance of the 70th anniversary of the formation of the ANC next year—a proud moment for the people of South Africa—we must give organisational priority to the issue of unity.

The unity of the African people, who constitute the principal motive force of our revolution, must develop to firmly embrace all blacks and all democrats, and aim to engage all the forces for democracy, freedom and anti-racism in the struggle against



*ANC Youth building Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College*

is not waiting for the whites of South Africa to realise the folly of their ways and to turn away from the suicidal path on which they are set. South Africa will be liberated, as Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe were, despite any fortresses the majority of white South Africans may conceivably but quite erroneously believe to be impregnable

### **20 Years of Umkhonto we Sizwe**

The year 1980 was a historic year. So is 1981. It is the year when we shall be observing very important dates. The first of these, which falls on June 16th, is the 5th anniversary of the heroic Soweto uprisings. The second, which falls on December 16th, is the 20th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe. What is common to these anniversaries is that they focus on the role of the youth of our country.

In observance of these anniversaries we need to accomplish a number of tasks. We need to ensure that the millions of our youth inside the country—students, working people, the youth in the rural areas, young women, young Christians—these millions must be mobilised into the appropriate organisational formations for the intensifi-

cation of the mass struggle. The youth must be drawn in even greater numbers into the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, inside and outside the country, to become part of the disciplined vanguard forces of our revolution. Those young people, both black and white, who have been and are being drawn into the enemy forces of repression, the army and the police, must realise that to dedicate their young lives to a lost and hopeless cause is to refuse to contribute in bringing into being a country which they can truly call theirs, a country in which they can mature and pass away in peace and happiness. We call on these to guarantee their future by coming over to the side of freedom, equality and democracy.

### **1981—The Year of the Youth**

The youth already in the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe must use the occasion of these two anniversaries to improve their level of competence in all fields in which they are involved, whether political, military, academic or administrative. They must seek to raise their level of political understanding and their discipline, to become better cadres for the victory of the people's cause. They must use their enormous talent and creative intelligence to formulate and propose new initiatives for the advancement of the struggle and actively participate in the solution of all problems facing the revolution. The youth at Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, which must develop into a prototype of the new school that we will construct in a liberated South Africa, must carry out their responsibilities in a manner befitting the pioneering role in which history has thrust them. The children at the Charlotte Maxeke Creche must be brought up to play their role as the new men and women that a free South Africa will need.

It is our hope that the international democratic youth and student movement will also use the occasion of these anniversaries to strengthen its links of comradeship and solidarity with the embattled youth and students of our country, and take new initiatives to intensify the campaign for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

We are confident that our youth will accomplish the tasks we have assigned

them. It has taken many generations of selfless struggle to reach the point where we can say victory is truly in sight, as we do today... white minority colonial domination.

### South Africa Belongs To Us

On the other hand, South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White. Today, this country is an outcast among the nations. It is the scene of a heinous crime against humanity, perpetrated by the racist regime in the name of white South Africans. The number of people the regime sends to the gallows each year is higher than all the hangings in all the countries of the world put together. More than 700,000 Blacks are arrested for petty offences each year—nearly 2 000 daily. Thousands are pushed through the law courts as political offenders, among them hundreds of Black children. The regime is notorious throughout Southern Africa for its massacres and other atrocities, bombings, subversion, harassment and racial hatred. The important point we are emphasising is that the regime's authority for these crimes derives from the white section of the South African population.

We, the daily victims of these crimes, have dedicated ourselves to the task of turning South Africa into an African country among African countries, a nation among the world's nations, ruled by a government which derives its authority from the majority of its people, and living in peace and harmony with its neighbours. Employing every conceivable means at our disposal, we shall achieve this goal. We shall surely bleed in the process, but we shall bleed together, Black and White, oppressed and oppressor alike.

Even at this late hour, therefore, we say to the whites of our country that they have a joint responsibility with the rest of the population of South Africa to take our country out of the ruins of the colonial era and place it in the 1980's as an African country, sharing the aspirations of the peoples of Southern Africa and not seeking to thwart the realisation of those aspirations by terrorising the people of this region.

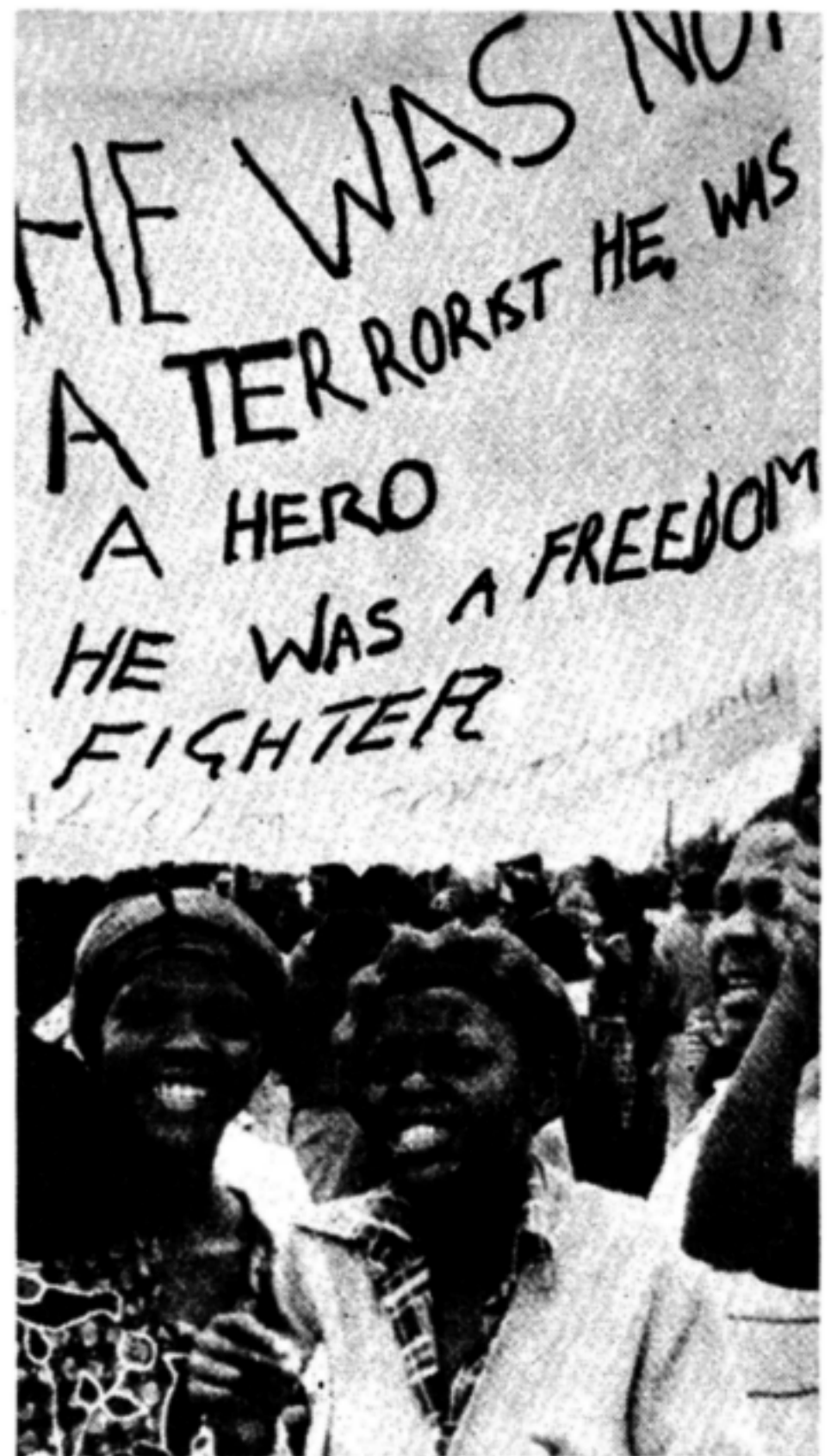
History has imposed an obligation on the youth of today to occupy the forward trenches in the final assault on the bastions of

racism, apartheid and colonialism. As the late 'Malome' Moses Kotane said in 1968 in a statement to the youth of South Africa:

*'At this hour of destiny your country and your people need you. The future of South Africa is yours and it will be what you make of it'.*

On the other hand, a people, a country, a Movement that does not value its youth does not deserve its future. The youth of our country, especially in recent times, have already won international recognition as dedicated and gallant fighters in the leading ranks of our revolutionary struggle. Their contribution is already manifest in the changed and changing fortunes of apartheid rule within South Africa. They are already playing their part in giving shape to the South Africa of the future.

Already they have produced an impres-



Funeral of Silverton martyr

sive galaxy of young heroes such as Basil February who fell valiantly in Zimbabwe in 1967 after killing 15 enemy soldiers; Hector Petersen, the first martyr of the Soweto uprisings; Solómon Mahlangu whose name still strikes fear into the hearts of our enemies; the Silverton Three—Thami Makhubo, Zamela Madela and Fannie Mafoko. There are hundreds of other young martyrs. There are the thousands, among them many whites, who have confronted and continue to confront the enemy on a wide range of fronts. Hundreds have been tortured, tried in the racist courts, and imprisoned. But they persist in struggle.

To honour our youth, to salute their heroism and their dedication to the revolution, to provide them with better possibilities to accomplish their tasks for the year, the National Executive Committee of the ANC has decided to dedicate this year to our youth. I therefore declare 1981 **THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH**. Let us all join together to achieve its objectives.

We further charge the African National Congress, Umkhonto we Sizwe and all other democratic and patriotic formations of our country with the task of doing their best to assist in the accomplishment of these missions.

As we begin a new year, on the occasion of the 69th anniversary of the ANC:

- We charge the youth with the work of carrying out the tasks we have already mentioned;
- We urge the workers to reach out to organise the unorganised, to bring about the unity of the democratic trade union movement and to intensify the struggle for a just wage and for freedom;
- We urge all the Black people to smash the institutions of separate development, including the community councils and the local management committees, and to thwart the attempt to revive the SAIC;
- We call on all the women to build on the advances they made during the *Year of the Charter*, to strengthen their organisations, to draw the millions of our womenfolk into the struggle, and, in the year of the 25th anniversary of the famous Women's March on Pretoria, steadfastly to

follow the example set by the leader and heroine, Lillian Ngoyi;

- We call on all black professionals, teachers and lecturers, journalists, medical practitioners and nurses, lawyers, social workers, office workers and others to resist and thwart the attempts of the enemy to turn them into a collaborationist middle class, and to stand firmly with the majority of the people for liberation;
- We call on our people in the countryside to unite themselves into popular organisations and join in the fight against the balkanisation and fragmentation of our country and people;
- The churches, mosques, religious organisations and Christians and Moslems at large should further enhance the dynamic role they have begun to play, in moving the Christian and Moslem masses of our country into the forefront of the battle for a free and humane society;
- Workers in the field of culture and sports are urged to make greater use of their skills and talent to promote the people's cause, to honour our heroes and heroines, to inspire all of us into great feats of revolutionary daring and sacrifice;
- The Black business community has a duty, among other things, to help by providing the financial and material means without which no struggle can be conducted.

### **Save Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana**

Our special salutations this *Year of the Youth* must go especially to the combatants who laid down their lives heroically at Silverton and Chiawelo, and to the three comrades—Ncimbithi Lubisi, Tsepo Mashigo and Naphtali Manana—over whose heads dangles the hangman's noose. We pledge to stand by these combatants at all times.

Special salutations must also go to all the comrades who are in prison. Thanks are due to them for the stirring message of struggle they sent out to us in the name of Comrade Nelson Mandela which was able to reach all of us during the *Year of the Charter*. We also greet those who are detained, banned and

banished, including the most recent victims of fascist tyranny—the leaders of Mwasa. We pay homage to the families which have lost their loved ones during the course of the struggle this past year.

We salute the new *Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe*, Govan Mbeki, who was elevated to this rank on June 26th in the *Year of the Charter*. We also take this opportunity to bow our heads in respectful memory of the late Bishop Reeves, who was also elevated to the rank of *Isitwalandwe/Seaparankoe* on June 26th in the *Year of the Charter*.

### **Solidarity with Zimbabwe and Namibia**

We send special greetings to the heroic people of Zimbabwe whose victory during the *Year of the Charter* brought our own liberation that much nearer. Similarly we reiterate our pledge of solidarity and comradeship with the people of Namibia under the leadership of Swapo. Their victory is certain.

We greet all the friends and supporters of our struggle throughout the world, the PLO, Polisario, Fretilin and other liberation movements, the peoples of Africa, the socialist countries, the Asian, Latin-American and Scandinavian peoples and governments who share with us the common burden of struggle for liberty, and the progressive peoples and governments of the West. During this past year, the bonds of cooperation among ourselves grew stronger. It is our wish that in the new year we should further advance our level of cooperation.

As we prepare to observe the 5th anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, the 20th anniversary of Umkhonto we Sizwe and our *Year of the Youth*, we turn our minds to the countries and brother peoples of Southern Africa, who have kept their borders, their houses and their lands, as well as their hearts open to our youth during these past 20 years. We salute them with abounding warmth today, specially recalling what they have suffered, and knowing what they have yet to suffer before the complete collapse of the apartheid system in South Africa.

We greet all our people at home and abroad. We salute the militants of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe and, as we said last

year, all the other fighting patriotic forces of our country on whom the burden rests to organise and lead our people in the intense battles that lie ahead.

We wish you and all our friends and fellow combatants in Southern Africa and throughout the world a great year and a continued forward march to liberation.

Finally, today we begin the countdown, through 52 weeks, to January 8, 1982—the 70th anniversary of the ANC.

As we observe that national and international occasion, next year,

- What progress shall we have made in uniting the majority of the people and the liberation forces against the apartheid colonial regime?
- What mighty blows will Umkhonto we Sizwe have delivered against the enemy?
- How far shall our struggle have advanced towards the goal of liberation?
- How far shall we, by our own struggles, have advanced the progress of peoples fighting against fascism, racism, colonialism and imperialism in other parts of the world?
- What concrete support shall we have given to Swapo, and the Namibian people?
- What shall we have done about the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners?
- In particular, what shall the ANC show for its 70 years of continuous struggle for unity and liberation?

The answer to all these questions, and more, lie in the battlefield immediately ahead of us. Let us go forth and find them. But we must be under no illusions. The forces of international reaction have been re-grouping, determined to retrieve some of their losses. We face a very different year of struggle. We shall need one another and all our allies and friends the world over. We shall need to fight for unity, and fight in unity for Victory.

**The Struggle Must Continue,  
At All Costs!  
Victory is Inevitable!  
Forward to a People's Government!  
Long Live the Year of the Youth!**

# WOMEN'S ACTIONS SHAKE APARTHEID

The last year has seen an increasing upsurge of political and mass struggle by women in South Africa. With the growing momentum in the fight for national and social liberation, women are coming to the fore on all fronts. The concrete evidence of this action clearly demonstrates that the struggle for women's rights and the overall fight for national liberation can not be viewed separately.

Women are demanding a solution to the acute problem of unemployment, which has resulted in more than 2 million people out of work, one million of them women. In 1977, black female unemployment stood at 19.4 per cent of the economically active population. This was a 13.61 per cent increase on 1970-77 figures. The creation of the Bantustans has made life a nightmare for the 4 million women, children and old people who live in these barren dumping grounds.

Women leave the reserves for 2 main reasons. The first is economic — the result of the breakdown of the subsistence economies, which leave women with no alternative but to become migrants. Secondly there is the struggle against the breaking up of families. Women want to live with their "migrant" husbands. The reason why these women end up in squatter camps is because they cannot find accommodation in the townships. Their husbands live in single-sex hostels and they are forced to find shelter elsewhere.

## Rightless population

Migrant women are excluded from the system of labour recruitment and control. They have no rights whatsoever in urban area. Because they are not needed as labour units and because there are enough women still living in the "homelands" to reproduce the migrant labour force, the regime is not

concerned about what happens to these women or their families. In effect they constitute a rightless, surplus population.

Forced removals, the breaking up of families and other brutal acts carried out by the Apartheid state are being vigorously opposed by women. In Cape Town, the Crossroads community was faced with "removal". The Crossroads Women's Committee succeeded in organising the residents and in mobilising national and international support. They staked their rightful claim to permanence by building a school. They kept watch on the area to stop any attempts at demolition — they gathered in groups to confront the police and demolition squads. They sat down in the fields and demanded to be arrested as a group. They sat in the path of bulldozers and refused to be moved. The women also dramatised their struggle through theatre and took it across South Africa. Finally the regime, by then under massive pressure was forced to back down.

## Fight against rent rises

The urban areas have also been the scene of intensifying community struggles. High rents, inadequate maintenance, badly constructed houses, poor and expensive services have been the source of these actions.

The main source of revenue of the financing of townships come from:

- 1) Registration and labour fees, paid by employers;
- 2) Fines for certain offences;
3. A service levy paid by employers who do not provide accommodation for workers;
- 4) Sale of liquor;
- 5) Rents (including fees for services) from residents.



Previously Municipal Finances had to some extent supplemented the income from the sources listed above. This stopped with the takeover by Administration Boards from Municipalities, the state's policy being that Administration Boards be self-sufficient. In other words the African population are made to pay.

In Soweto the community council was established in 1978 against the will of the population. The "mayor" David Thebehali, received a grand total of 97 votes.

In August 1979 it was announced that rents in Soweto would go up in three stages from R24.92 in September 1979 to R30.72 in March 1980 and finally to R36.62 in September 1980. Nthato Motlana, Chairman of the Committee of Ten responded by saying that "If the whites want us to live 32 km away from them, then they must pay for that privilege.

Soweto women haven't taken the high rent yoke on their shoulders. More than 500 women, accompanied by their families (the demonstration numbered 5,000 in all) protested outside the Community Council Chambers in October of last year. Their statement read:

"We the women of Soweto hereby reject the leadership of Mr. David Thebehali and the Community Councils. We also reject vehemently the increased rents which aid racist organisations like SABRA. We have no citizenship in the land of our birth - therefore reject the honoured citizenship conferred on Dr. Piet Koornhof". A confrontation between the people and the police ensued and lasted for about seven hours. No woman wanted to go home before Thebehali showed his face.

### Hostel Dwellers Resist

African women are not allocated housing and cannot be registered tenants of rented houses. Widows, divorcees, or deserted wives cannot automatically remain in their homes. For them as well as for single women, living in the cities means the choice between lodger or hostel dweller.

Appalling conditions in hostels were

exposed last year when 700 women from the Alexandra Hostel threatened to march to the Alexandra Liaison offices to protest against proposed rent increases. After discussions, the women agreed to draw up a petition.

More than 350 women signed the petition and stated that: —

- † the hostel was a health hazard in that walls were wet and rooms cold
- † that they had no dining rooms and were not allowed visitors
- † that some of them had school-going children living with relatives who were not allowed to visit them in the hostel
- † that they were sick and tired of complaining about the dire shortage of water
- † that they had to spend most evenings in the dark rooms because of the poor electricity supply.

In Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, Bloemfontein, Sharpville and Pietersburg similar protests and demonstrations have taken place against rent increases. In Durban, more than 100 women marched into the City Council meeting and told officials that they would rather take their families and squat in the bush than pay more for housing. The Durban Housing Action Committee — formed by tenants associations — managed to forestall the increases until February 1981.

### Bus Boycotts

Mass opposition to bus fare increases has also taken place in many areas of the country. Last August the people of Wenbezi township near Escourt boycotted their local bus service. The residents of Sheshego, near Pietersburg have been walking to work since early September. But the biggest boycott last year was in the Cape.

For four months the entire black population of Cape Town refused to board the buses in protest following increases of between 30% and 100% on City Tramways buses.

In Ladysmith last year, women who could not manage the long walk to work 15

slept on plastic sheets outside the factory gates. This is one example of the role women have been playing as entire communities have become organised into action groups to demonstrate their direct grievances and to defeat the bus companies.

### **Domestic Workers Fight Back**

Despite the fact that conditions of service for domestic workers are open to more abuse than any other type of work, domestic workers are fighting back. In the Sea Point area of Cape Town they have been mobilising against the recently introduced 'key law' which was gazetted on December 17, 1980. The law states that employers should be in possession of a domestic worker's register containing the full names of the worker, reference book number, date of occupation of quarters etc. The employer is also to be in possession of a duplicate key which must be made available on demand to any police officer or employee of the council. If the employers go on holiday they must appoint a representative who will stay on the premises to keep charge of the register and keys. The law also states that only domestic workers may be present in the quarters between midnight and 8am.

The Domestic Workers' Association, who represent the majority of black domestic workers in the area have been leading the fight against this fascist legislation. Before the law was enacted they distributed 10,000 leaflets to workers in the Green and Sea Point areas to expose how employers in the area had already taken the law into their own hands. Workers reactions to this legislation were of the order: "They can get the keys, but we'll change the locks every time", and "I'll leave my job if it becomes law that the police can come into my room any time of day or night. I must have my private things and I won't stand for this".

### **Struggles in the Factories**

Resistance by women in workplaces is increasing too. This is shown by the

numerous strikes in which black women have been actively involved in recent years. Outstanding examples of these are: at Rainbow Chicken Factories in Worcester and Hammersdale, Sea Harvest Fish Factory in Saldanha Bay, Fruit Growers Co-operative in Ceres and Grabouw, Helderburg Meat Products and many more.

In the food, beverages, liquor, tobacco, clothing, footwear and textile industries patterns of employment have changed dramatically in the last 30 years. The workforce, once largely made up of white women is today largely black. In the textile industry women receive an average 20 per cent less than the industrial minimum wage. Wage discrepancies are frequently written into the industrial contracts themselves.

As the regime refines its methods to ensure the highest profit from super-exploited labour, African women are increasingly becoming industrial workers.

### **Women Organise!**

The struggles we have covered are but some examples of the ongoing organisation and mobilisation being carried out by black women in South Africa. Last Year South African Women's Day (August 9th) was celebrated nationally by meetings in Soweto, Durban and other centres. Leaflets containing the Charter of the Federation of South African Women were distributed. These called for an end to oppression and exploitation and all obstacles in the path of the development of South Africa's women.

On International Women's Day, March 8th, the women of South Africa hail progressive and peace-loving forces the world over and say:

**LONG LIVE INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S DAY!**

# INTERVIEW

*Sechaba interviews Mavis Nhlapo, Secretary of the Women's Secretariat.*

*What is the main goal of the Secretariat at the present time?*

"The main aim of the Women's Secretariat is to concentrate on the area of the mass mobilisation of women in South Africa in particular. We believe that in order that the rest of the social system that is existing in our country, can be completely uprooted, we need to mobilise over 50% of the population of our country. As in other countries, around 51% of the population of South Africa are women and therefore it is necessary that women should be active participants in the struggle that is going on inside the country. This we do through various means. A lot of propaganda work is conducted inside the country giving direction to movements that are engaged in the everyday struggle of our people. Externally, the Women's Secretariat mobilises support for our struggle especially concentrating on women's organisations. At present we are canvassing for material aid mainly for the Child Care Centre that is being built in Morogoro in Tanzania where we have children who are born in exile. This is what we are concentrating on presently, but I must emphasise that our main concern is the political mobilisation of the masses of the women inside South Africa itself.

*Do you think women are playing as much a part in the affairs of the African National Congress as is possible?*

Of course, women are being given an equal share with men in the ranks of the African National Congress and women are in the army of our movement, Umkhonto we Sizwe. They are being given equal training



facilities as the men and mission which they can execute disregarding their sex. But of course it is a problem of all societies that women have traditionally been occupying an inferior role and therefore we cannot expect or imagine that women will be able to overcome these problems overnight. As I say, all fields are open to women in the ranks of the African National Congress but we still have to fight within our ranks the remnants of a system in which even if women are given equal chances but because of the low level of education that they have been receiving over the years, because of the lack of confidence that women generally have in themselves, we need to make a stronger effort into drawing in women as full equal participants as the men.

*Now the African National Congress of course, gives women an equal place with men in its ranks, but do you find that just as much as you have to fight against an inhibition on the part of the women, you also have to fight against a certain amount of prejudice amongst the men?*

Of course, this is typical of all societies that have so far been subjected to the domination of men over women. But in the ranks of the ANC, we do not give primary attention to this type of struggle

because we believe that this is so secondary to the primary goal of our struggle, which is the uprooting of the system that is existing in South Africa itself. Of course, we believe that as part and parcel of the overall struggle for national liberation, we have to struggle for women's rights. Although women can be equal participants, men also have to be taught that they have to get rid of the old conceptions of the role of the women, especially in the liberation struggle. We have seen evidence of women becoming equal participants with men in the revolutions that have taken place in Southern Africa. We have witnessed this in Mozambique and Angola. But as those revolutions have shown that even if women participate in the struggle, these old ideas that I mentioned still persist. Therefore these have to be fought and we are doing exactly that in the ANC.

*In fact these differences and these conflicts will be eliminated in the course of the main struggle for liberation?*

Yes, we do not actually pay much attention to these differences and these struggles, because we believe that in the main course of the struggle for national liberation, women will assert themselves and therefore will assume their rightful place in the struggle and in society.. The practical struggle that has been going on in countries of Southern Africa has proved that without the active equal participation of women the struggle cannot be advanced.

*Tell us something about yourself. Tell us about your childhood and schooling and what brought you into the ranks of the African National Congress.*

I was born in the township of Soweto, called Orlando East, that is on the outskirts of Johannesburg, 25 years ago. I went to school locally together with two of my sisters. I am one of a family of five children and my family experienced the difficulties that hundreds of African families have to experience in South Africa because my parents had to pay for our education.

I remember there were times when one of us did not go to school because there was not enough money. My mother was often sick and not at work, and my father who was a teacher, didn't earn enough and he could not find a better job. There were times when our family would have to do without food for a long time. Friends, especially from the relatives on my mother's side would have to come to our assistance. The type of childhood that I experienced is not only typical of myself. I was fortunate, considering that at least I was able to go to school and it was only in difficult times when my mother was not working that we really felt the brunt of this suffering.

I finished my primary school despite all the difficulties and I went on to my secondary school. Fortunately I got a scholarship just when I was about to drop out of school. Because I got good results in the examination I was able to go back to school to do my matric. Afterwards I went to Fort Hare to study Science. My aim was to study pharmacy. But pharmacy is only available in Turfloop and because I was not either Pedi or Sotho speaking I was not eligible for Turfloop. I had to go through a lot of bureaucratic channels and in the end time was running out and I was afraid that I might not get into either college. So I opted to go to Fort Hare and study Science there.

I did my first six months but had to break off in the middle of the year because there was a strike and I was one of those students who was not readmitted. It was really a strike in one hostel where the warden was obviously working in favour of executing the university regulations which were an extension of the apartheid laws set into the campus.

I was not re-admitted but I applied again in 1974 and did my first year again in Fort Hare and I went on until 1976. As you know on June 16, two uprisings broke and my youngest brother who was 17 was killed during the demonstrations. He was killed in Johannesburg I remember I got home on the 17th of June, and we didn't know what had happened to him

until we discovered his body in the government mortuary some two days later. He had been shot through the forehead by the police. Then the police started harassing the whole family, trying to question us as to why he was involved in the demonstrations and trying to indicate that he must have got influenced by our own activities because I was secretary of a students' representative council and my other sister was also active in the students' movement. We began to feel that they are trying to formulate charges against us to justify either detaining us or arresting us or bringing up any form of charge against us. I felt that the best thing to do would be to leave the country and to seek for the African National Congress and join the ranks of the liberation army.

*Were your parents involved in politics?*

From their conversations with us we learnt that they had been involved in the 50's especially in the mass demonstrations of the Defiance Campaign. I suppose it was because of the intimidation that had been executed against our people and especially after the banning of the ANC in 1960 that they began to withdraw and they really did not talk much about their political involvement or our own experience at school. Everyday life was what really prompted us to join the students' movement and become active in politics.

*What did you hear about the ANC when you were at school?*

Well of course there was a lot of talk about the ANC in particular, especially on campus. I remember when we were discussing the strategies that the students' movement had to take. Our discussions were mainly confused on the question of the tactics of the ANC and the PAC. Well I must say that the information we had was not very clear. This was because the movement had to go underground after 1960 and our generation did not really have much knowledge about the essence of the liberation movement of the African National Congress.

After June 16, 1976 one could feel the presence of the ANC in terms of the slogans of the people and the reference that was repeatedly being made to the ANC. Students would just refer to the need to go out and seek the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe. There was the mood that we cannot consider consultation any more and the most important thing was to take up arms. The only way in which we could take up arms is to join the liberation army and of course the ANC became a household name especially amongst students.

*And this was part of the general view amongst the students at Fort Hare?*

Well, Fort Hare has always been regarded as the cradle of action in relation to other campuses. At Fort Hare we have a divided student body, at least we had then, divided because most students came from the ruling families in the Transkei. By this I mean the civil servants who keep the Transkei bantustan machinery running. Divisions came about because we could not agree on many issues because students from other areas would obviously be opposed to that system and to those views. This type of disagreement made it impossible for us to have a common approach on many political questions.

*Did you see any underground ANC literature when you were a student?*

Well actually we did receive on a number of occasions documents and leaflets from the ANC especially after 1975. Some people were able to receive the radio message from Radio Freedom, although it was difficult to get that.

*I suppose you had to be careful what you discussed on the campus as there must have been many police spies.*

Of course the police spies were there and in most cases they were known to the students. But the nature of oppression in our country is such that people are really tired of that system and they really want to see it 19

changed and despite the presence of these police spies, students would take the floor and call for the destruction of the system and this to me was truly remarkable.

*Did you yourself ever have any trouble with the police?*

Well I first had trouble with the police around 1971 in the wake of the black consciousness movement. I just attended a meeting of SASM, the South African Students' Movement. I attended this meeting when SASM was founded in our school and after the meeting we were picked up by the police and taken to John Vorster Square. We were asked to report on who said what in the meeting. For two or three hours we had to answer questions and we were later released. The second experience that I had with the police was a very narrow escape when they came to my home actually pretending that they were from the local administration offices and were looking for documents and letters. I just went out immediately suspecting that it might be the police ; later they produced guns and demanded from my sisters my whereabouts so this was when I really decided that I had to leave the country.

*Did you leave South Africa knowing that that you were going to look for the ANC?*

I was actually helped by the ANC to leave the country. The man who took me out was an ANC man. This happened also to a lot of the people who came out afterwards, people who I knew and who we had worked with especially the local students in Soweto. When they came out I found most of them joined the ranks of the ANC and they said they had been helped by the ANC. Most of the people that I myself had worked with inside the country were actually ANC people. I mention Nkosazana Dlamini as an example with whom I had worked but I was not aware that she was ANC until they all came out. So this indicates that the ANC has been active although working under very difficult conditions.

*Does this also indicate that the ANC is getting stronger amongst the people?*

The ANC is definitely getting stronger. If one meets people from inside the country one is able to hear the ANC being mentioned time and again especially Umkhonto we Sizwe, the people's army. It has come to the people as an alternative to the existing system. This is because practical work that the ANC is doing inside the country, and especially accompanying it with military operations which, although they are not presently on a mass scale are able to identify with the ANC wherever these take place. This helps the people to identify with the movement.



Had you seen our children  
Mowed by bullets, gassed and beaten  
Armed with stones and dustbin lids  
Where lead took lives  
But did not end in death  
You will know why we fight.

# APARTHEID CRIME CONDEMNED

*Statement by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General  
of the African National Congress.*

The apartheid regime of South Africa has once again carried out a criminal act of banditry against the peoples of South Africa and Southern Africa.

Early in the morning of January 30th, commandos of the racist South African army attacked three residences of South African refugees, members of the African National Congress, in the town of Matola in the People's Republic of Mozambique. 12 of our people were killed.

The commission of this crime marks a stepped up onslaught by the Pretoria regime against both the oppressed people of South Africa and the peoples of independent Africa. The assassination of our people in an independent state by the tyrannical apartheid regime is a continuation of the barbarous policy of the apartheid regime which has resulted in the death of hundreds of Namibian refugees at Kassinga in Angola as well as more than a thousand children killed during the Soweto uprisings in South Africa.

The policy of mass murder once more confirms the criminal nature of the apartheid regime whose continued existence constitutes a challenge both of our people and the rest of democratic and peace-loving mankind. No longer able to hide behind the former Smith regime of Rhodesia, the racists of South Africa now stand out as the principal enemy of the peoples of Africa. The invasion of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the violation of its territorial integrity is part of a policy which is aimed at destabilising the independent states of our region and overthrowing the legitimate governments of these countries.

Apartheid South Africa tried to foment a coup d'etat in Zambia. It has carried out repeated invasions of Angola. It has trained armed and infiltrated bandits and mercenaries into Mozambique and Zimbabwe and now it has invaded Mozambique in continuation of this policy.

The African National Congress vehemently condemns the act of terrorism carried out by the Pretoria regime against the peoples of South Africa and Mozambique.

We thank and salute Frelimo and the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique for the urgent and timely steps they took when exercising their right to protect refugees who have entered Mozambique. They came to the aid of our people who were being massacred.

As a result of these measures, the enemy suffered many casualties in killed, wounded and captured. This constitutes a clear warning that its acts of banditry will not go unpunished.

We call on the world community to take urgent and appropriate measures to ensure the immediate destruction of the apartheid regime, including the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions and increased support for the African National Congress.

In the face of this enemy onslaught, we call on our people, on all the democratic forces of our country including and in particular the People's Army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, further to intensify the struggle for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and the establishment of a democratic and peace-loving South Africa.

**The Struggle Continues!  
Victory is Certain!**

Alfred Nzo  
Secretary General 21

### *German Democratic Republic Statement*

"Together with the entire peace loving world, the German Democratic Republic is filled with disgust and indignation at the cowardly attack of South African troops on the homes of defenceless people in Mozambique. For the umpteenth time, under flagrant violation of international law, the apartheid regime has carried out a brutal and heinous act of aggression against the territory of an independent, sovereign African state and thereby most gravely endangered peace.

Encouraged by the benevolent attitude of imperialist countries especially the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany and Israel, in contradiction of the relevant U.N. resolutions, the South African racists are behaving more and more impudently. They are constantly violating Angolan territory and killing in the most brutal way, defenceless children, women and the old.

The German Democratic Republic demands that an immediate stop be put to all acts of aggression and underlines again the necessity of strict and comprehensive sanctions against the South African racist regime. The GDR condemns those forces which encourage South Africa through political, diplomatic, moral and military support to stage its permanent acts of aggression against sovereign African countries and which give it their backing.

The German Democratic Republic voices its unqualified solidarity with the peoples threatened by South Africa and with the patriots of SWAPO and the ANC who are fighting for their freedom. The GDR resolutely demands observance of the relevant U.N. resolutions and will continue to do its utmost to end once and for all the policy and practice of apartheid and racial discrimination which are endangering peace and contravening all principles of international law.

### *Pan-African Youth Movement*

Pan-African Youth Movement learned with indignation, the Pretoria fascist attack on ANC houses in Maputo. We vehemently condemn the cowardly attack aimed at

intimidating the ANC and Mozambique. Please accept deepfelt condolences and total inflinching solidarity for the struggle to liberate South Africa under the leadership of the ANC.

### *Women's International Democratic Federation*

WIDF grieved at losses suffered in terrorist attack on South African freedom fighters in Mozambique. WIDF is always with ANC and the South African people fighting apartheid for national independence and social progress, condemns such terrorism against anti-apartheid forces and Frontline states and condemns imperialist forces for supporting such acts.

### *Organisation of African Trade Union Unity*

The OAUTUU and its affiliates condemn very strongly the callous and wanton crime of murder committed by the South African racists against the ANC officials in Maputo. Workers of Africa once again would like to assure the ANC and SACTU of our firm commitment in the struggle to eliminate Apartheid. These wanton acts will only serve to strengthen our determination. The OAUTUU has called on all world working class to express their solidarity with the Government of Mozambique and the ANC.

The struggle continues unabated.



*Helmet left behind by racists at Matola*



# RACIST ATROCITIES EXPOSED

## International Commission Meets in Angola

The Second Session of the International Commission of Inquiry into the Crimes of the Racist and Apartheid Regime in Southern Africa was held in Luanda from January 30th to 3rd February. Legal experts and eminent individuals from all corners of the world came to the People's Republic of Angola to hear further evidence of the crimes of apartheid under the theme of 'Escalating Aggression of the South African Racist Regime Against the Front Line States, Especially the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zambia, and Against People Struggling for their national Liberation in Namibia and South Africa.' The Inquiry was also attended by delegates and observers from solidarity movements and other progressive organisations.

It was fitting that this second session was held in Luanda as a note of respect to the heroic people of Angola who, at great human and economic expense, remain totally committed to the struggle for peace in Southern Africa. Delivering a statement of solidarity at the opening session of the Inquiry, Colonel Hashim Mbita, Executive Secretary of the OAU Liberation Committee, paid the following tribute:

'In recent years the People's Republic of Angola has suffered most for its commitment to the total liberation of Africa. We salute the gallant sons and daughters of this young Republic for their courage and exemplary commitment to the struggle in the face of such immense acts of provocation and destruction of their life and property. The unwavering stand of the people of Angola is a source of great inspiration

and pride for the people of Africa and peace loving people of the world. Angola is paying heavily in the name of peace and the total liberation of the African continent. The sacrifices made by the people of Angola can only be repaid by the complete elimination of all sources of injustice in Southern Africa'.

On its first day of sitting the Commission heard detailed evidence from a delegation led by the Minister of Justice of the People's Republic of Angola (PRA) of the continued and increasing acts of aggression carried out by the racist Pretoria regime on the people of Angola. During the opening ceremony the reality of the situation facing the PRA was clearly spelt out to the Commission by Comrade Henrique de Carvalho Santos 'Onambwe', Central Committee Secretary for Legal Studies of the MPLA Workers Party:

'The inventory of South African aggression against our country cannot fail to be impressive. In the last three years alone, our territorial integrity, our sovereignty and our people's right to live in peace were violated by about 1,400 reconnaissance flights, 290 air bombings, hit-and-run actions by heliported troops and 70 land attacks. In our unrestrained way we wept for more than 1,800 deaths and 3,000 wounded, the majority of them defenceless civilians. The destruction of schools, hospitals, public services, vehicles, bridges, roads, fields and humble peasant dwellings—the preferred targets of South Africa's aggressive fury—represent a set of material damages which has already surpassed, since 1975, the unbelievable sum of



*A "grave" in Lubango*

\$7-million.

It hurts us to think about what these impressive human and material means would represent, if they had not been robbed of life and productive use, for the benefit of education, of health, or our working people's well-being and progress. But this is the heavy price we must pay for the uncompromising defence of our national independence and for our firm socialist, anti-imperialist choice, which we shall not renounce.'

### **Racist Aggression**

Three workers from a furniture factory at Lubango gave evidence of their experiences during a major South African Air Force bombing attack on the industrial area of the town during September 1979. This attack completely destroyed their factory and damaged eleven other plants. 26 people were killed, 41 seriously wounded and 34 slightly wounded. One witness explained:

'When I left the debris and came out of the factory I saw that the comrade who distributed the bread had died beneath a

wall which had been hit. Then I began to see many people who had been wounded and were trapped under the cement walls, some of them with very serious injuries. Later on the FAPLA comrades appeared. They came to assist us and then we began to save as many people as we could, but many were already dead.'

A few members of the Commission were taken to Southern Angola where, protected by troops of FAPLA, they were able to view at first hand the effects of racist aggression. A family settlement destroyed by napalm; a bridge demolished; towns on the border completely flattened; FAPLA units dug in underground: this is the reality of life for the people of the area.

Members of the Commission were also taken to a hospital in Luanda where victims of this aggression are treated. Particular note was taken of the fact that the apartheid armed forces are making use of plastic fragmentation weapons, shrapnel from which cannot be located by X-ray and wounds are therefore extremely difficult to treat.

The final witness produced by the Angolan delegation was ex-Captain Jose Belmundo, an Angolan citizen who had been recruited into the racist army in 1976 and, after training in Pretoria and Durban, became a member of 32 Battalion, a large unit of foreign mercenaries and Angolans. Belmundo described in detail the operations of this and other units whose main tasks were the destruction of Angolan property and the terrorising of the Angolan people.

Despite the unmeasurable suffering being dealt out by fascist aggression, the People's Republic of Angola stands resolute in its principles. As explained in their report to the Commission:

'The People's Republic of Angola strictly adheres to its guiding principles, such as respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all states, non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, non-alignment and consequent anti-racism.

The Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola have never entered the territory of the South African people. The People's Republic of Angola has never leased its territory for military bases to be used for any kind of expansionism. The arms that our people raise against the South African aggression are only to defend our cultivated fields, our schools and factories. They are arms against war because they defend peace.

The principles of peace and good relations with all peoples of the world are clearly expressed in the principal political documents of the MPLA Workers Party and of the Angolan state. These principles are spread and practised in schools, factories, fields and army barracks. This country was not made with hatred, but with love, and the immortal leader of the Angolan revolution, Comrade President Agostinho Neto, winner of the World Peace Council's gold medal, before becoming a revolutionary and statesman, defended as an artist a humanism that raised this Angolan poet to world level. It is this humanism that is defended inch by inch against South Africa's napalm. In Angola it is humanity that is defended against South Africa. In Angola the racist South Africans commit genocide, commit crimes against humanity.'

### **Terroristic Methods**

The delegation of SWAPO of Namibia led by

Comrade David Merero provided the Commission with detailed and horrific evidence of the escalating brutality of the illegal racist occupation of Namibia. Comrade Merero stated in his report to the Commission that, in response to the unwavering will of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, 'the fascist junta has embarked, with the terroristic methods of repression and terror, on a campaign against the entire civilian population'.

Silas Ndapuka, a shopkeeper from Ombafi, gave evidence of how he was brutally beaten and subjected to electric shock torture by members of the racist military. Kefas Shipwata, a school teacher by profession, testified to similar treatment and appealed to the Commission to look into the plight of his family. 'The soldiers went to my house and beat my wife Augusta and the girl Aloisia Amukatu who lived with us. They were so badly beaten that by the time I got out of the country they were still in hospital. I was told by people who saw my wife that she could not walk, and the girl had a broken arm. Now I do not know their fate anymore.'

Ruana Nambinga, a nurse and a member of SWAPO since 1973, unfolded to the Commission her story of horror and terror. She was first arrested and tortured over six months in 1975 before being sentenced to seven years imprisonment. Her torture included interrogation in a room of snakes. She was again arrested in July 1980. She described a part of her treatment:

'A policeman came with a rope, tied my arms behind my back and blindfolded me, then electricity was attached to the little finger of both my hands. It was switched on and off and I screamed. To avoid the noise I was making when I screamed, they put cotton wool into my mouth and covered my mouth with a cloth so I could not breathe properly. They kept on switching the instrument on and off. This started from eight in the morning until two o'clock. The following morning I was again called to the office. They immediately blindfolded me and applied the instrument to my head which inflicted an electrical shock on me and after this my arms were tied up and I was pulled up to hang from the roof for more than three hours. The following morning I was again brought



*Captured mercenaries and counter-revolutionaries*

to a small room and a rope was tied around my neck and pulled. I fell down unconscious. When I woke up I was in a pool of blood and realised I had broken my jaw and blood was running. I asked for a doctor but I was told I was not going to be given one until I told the truth.'

Two young women, ex-agents of the racist army, gave evidence of how they were trained in the use of intra-vaginal devices containing poisoned razor blades. They were ordered to encourage SWAPO members to have sex with them which would result in the men's death. They were also supplied with poisons to contaminate food and drinks.

In written evidence submitted by SWAPO, a 17-year-old ex-member of the racist army described further details of fascist brutality:

'Among other things, we killed at random, raped women and planted mines on roads and footpaths ... But the worst has been done to SWAPO supporters who have been captured. Their right legs are usually cut off at the knee. Though the amputation is done with an electric machine, unbearable pain is sustained because no anaesthesia is administered ... In 1979 at Okaky we found a lady who was accused of having bewitched one of our men. We punished her by cutting off part of her buttocks, roasted them and forced her to eat them. Apart from that we cut off her ears and split her upper lip to disfigure her. I do not remember her name, but I

know for sure it happened.'

Members of the Commission were taken to inspect the largest refugee camp in Angola where over 25,000 Namibians who have fled the brutality of the racist regime are cared for. There are at present 50,000 refugees in Angola.

In putting the racist occupation of Namibia into perspective, SWAPO stated in its general report that:

'SWAPO would also like to bring to the attention of the Commission that the racist troops in Namibia should have already been defeated by the fighting Namibian people, but for the overall financial support the fascist regime is supplied with by the multi-national companies operating illegally in Namibia who are exploiting both natural and human resources, and mainly the deadly and sophisticated weaponry and technology racist South Africa is getting from its imperialist allies. This support has enabled South Africa to be intransigent, obstructionist and arrogant in defiance of all the demands of the Namibian people and those of the international community at large.'

### **Inhuman Torture**

The delegation of the African National Congress to the Commission of Inquiry was led by Comrade Zola Bona, who, in his general report, stressed the continuing crimes against the people of South Africa:

'Year after year we have told the international community how that obnoxious regime has committed greater and

graver crimes against the oppressed of our motherland. These stretch from the humiliation of all political opponents who fall into the hands of the police, the inhuman torture of captured patriots, the murder by police in the streets, police stations and prison cells, including judicially sanctioned murder as was the case against Vuyisile Mini and his comrades and recently against Solomon Mahlangu. The same fate awaits three patriots, stalwarts of the liberatory struggle led by the ANC, who were recently sentenced to death by the racist court in Pretoria. They are Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Mashigo and Naphtali Manana.

The racist regime is an illegal regime which does not represent the interests of all the oppressed blacks. It is this illegality that has forced thousands of patriots to join the liberation movement in opposition to the obnoxious policies and practices of the apartheid regime. The racist regime's response has been to adopt even more draconian laws to intensify oppression and persecution, to further increase the powers of the police and to authorise and sanction greater repression and police action. In the suppression of the resistance to apartheid, torture and terror have been widely used to intimidate all patriots. In spite of this the people have not been cowed down. Instead they have increased their resistance to apartheid tyranny and are striking for the setting up of a non-racial society based on the **Freedom Charter**. This increased resistance is reflected in the 1980 detention figures. At least 965 people were detained, 36 sentenced to a total 227 years imprisonment for sentences under the Terrorism Act and 14 banned. The statistics show that in detention last year were 341 pupils, 117 college and university students, 67 political leaders, 39 community workers, 10 journalists and 21 trade unionists. The remaining detainees' occupations were unknown. Among these at least 3 were minors aged between 15 and 17 years.'

Four militants of the ANC gave evidence of their brutal treatment at the hands of the racist police. Their witness not only portrayed the horror of apartheid, but also the undeterred will of the people to struggle for their liberation.

The delegation paid tribute to the Front Line States for their commitment to

liberation in Namibia and South Africa.

'It is essential', Comrade Bona stated, 'that the international progressive movement should appreciate the tremendous pressures bearing upon the independent states of Southern Africa as a result of both the independence of Zimbabwe and the escalation of resistance within Namibia and South Africa. It should be well understood that the solidarity which these states have given to the liberation movements have made them objects of aggression by the racist regime. It is in this light that the need for solidarity both materially, politically and diplomatically with these Front Line States should be seen.'

At the closing ceremony the President of the Commission, Sean McBride, winner of both the Nobel and Lenin Prizes, accused the South African regime of international terrorism and crimes against humanity. He stressed that the most important work facing the Commission was not the gathering of evidence but the persuasion of the international community of the importance of the Commission's findings.

All the proceedings of the Commission of Inquiry in Luanda were imbued with the spirit of the Commission's hosts, the Angolan people. This was reflected in a message to the Commission delivered by a young girl representing the children of Angola and their organisation, OPA.

'As our beloved late Comrade President Agostinho Neto, Immortal Guide of our Revolution, taught us, imperialism does not learn the lessons of history and today it carries out its aggression in an attempt to prevent us from helping the people of Namibia and South Africa achieve their independence and also to destroy our economy and make the National Reconstruction of our Homeland more difficult. However, bombs will never stop the struggle of the People. And as in Angola, in Vietnam, in Nicaragua and in Zimbabwe, the Peoples of Namibia, Western Sahara, Palestine, East Timor, El Salvador and South Africa will win'.

# PROFILE:

## ELIAS MOTSOALEDI

Born on July 26, 1924 in Phokwane district in Middleburg, Transvaal, Elias Mathope comes from a poor family which could not afford to give him enough education. So he completed primary school at the age of 17. He then went to look for work in Johannesburg where he lived with his brother who was then working as a "kitchen boy" somewhere in Observatory in Johannesburg. He has this to say about this early period:

"This was the first occasion that I had ever been to Johannesburg or even travelled on a train. For the first time, I also experienced the process of humiliation at the pass office. Because it was against the pass laws it was most difficult even to stay with my brother whilst looking for a job, and I had to go to his room late at night and leave again very early in the morning so that I was not seen by his employers".

He later obtained a pass which he calls a "slavery document". But because he was not used to this document as a person who grew up in a rural area where there are hardly any police to be seen questioning people for passes, he forgot it at home one day and he was arrested.

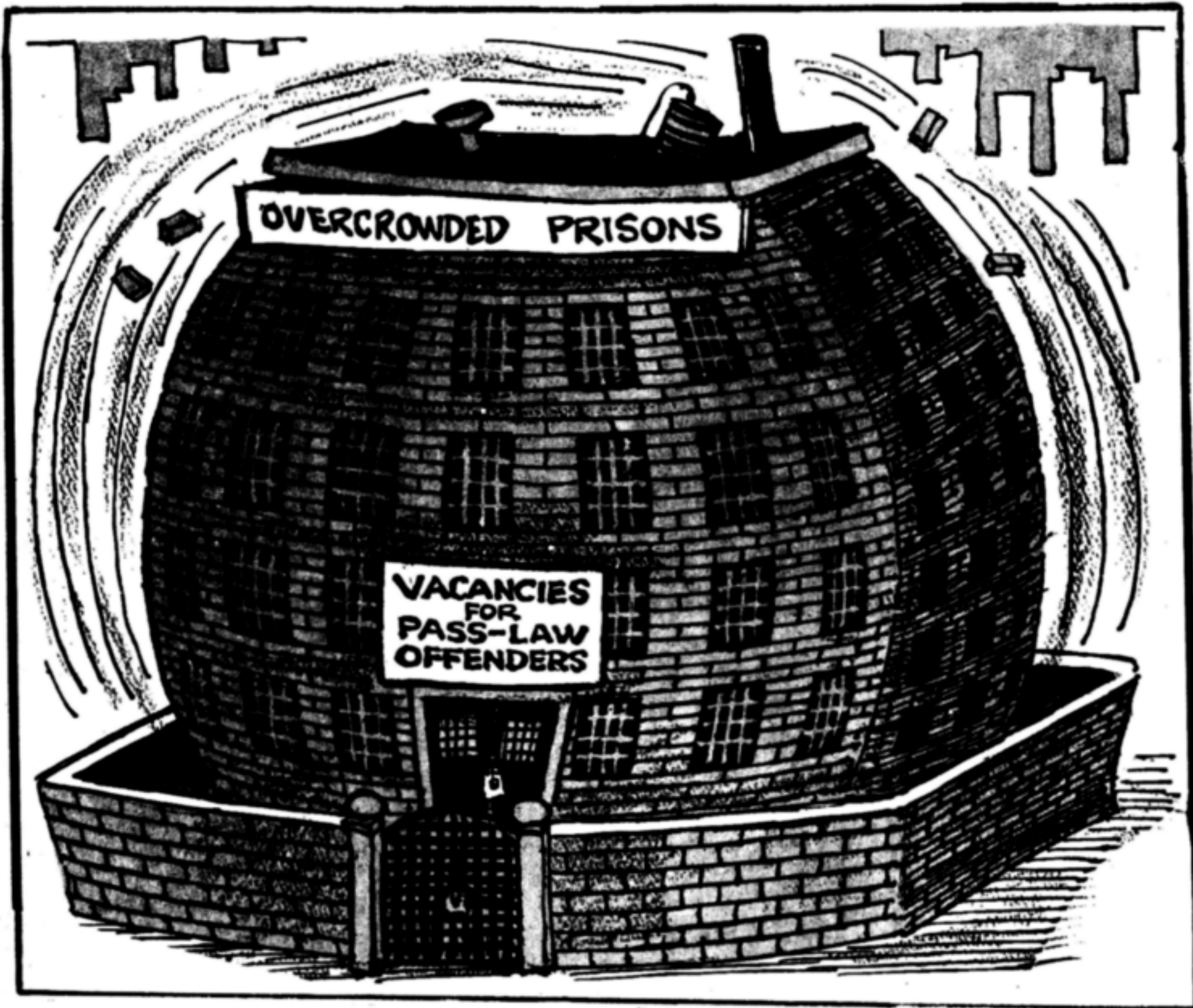
"I was bundled with others into a pick-up van and taken to Bez Valley Police Station, where we were all locked up in a cell. There was no chance of explaining anything, as even explaining how your name was spelt invited more trouble. It was the start of "hell" for me. You are even assaulted for not replying when your name is called out just because the European is unable to pronounce your surname correctly and you don't understand him".

Elias, the third born of eight children, had to work hard to help his brothers and sisters - his father died in 1949.

Motsoaledi was a very active member of the ANC and trade unions. In Johannesburg he joined up with Flag Boshielo (alias Mokgomane) who did much to politicise Elias who then joined the African National Congress in 1948. Flag came from the Pietersburg region and people like him, Elias, the late Alpheus Maliba who was murdered by the Security Police in 1967 (this murder was described at the inquest as 'suicide'), John Nkadimeng (now a member of the National Executive Committee) all played a key role in the efforts of our movement to mobilise the rural population.

These comrades were among the moving forces which set up Sebatla kgomo, the peasants' organisation, in Sekhukhuneland. One of the high points of this work was the movements' involvement during the uprisings in Sekhukhuneland in 1958 during which chieftainess Madinoge and others were sentenced to death, later commuted to life imprisonment and were released after having served about 15 years each. Madinoge and her colleagues were never accorded political status in prison; they were made to serve their sentences as ordinary criminals.

Who was Flag? Flag Boshielo was a highly respected member of our movement; he came out to exile, underwent military training, was a member of the National Executive Committee and in the late 60's or early 70s was en route on a mission into the country when he was ambushed while crossing overland on foot. During this ambush he "disappeared" and was either killed or captured by the enemy - to date we have not been able to establish his fate but if he is in captivity the enemy has never brought him to trial. Perhaps, like thousands of our people who "disappear"



the Special Branch have murdered him and therefore successfully suppressed all information as to what happened to him.

After joining the ANC in 1948, Elias was elected branch secretary of the ANC and member of the Transvaal Provincial Executive of the ANC. He was a leader in the Defiance Campaign in 1952 and was detained. In the same year he received banning orders.

A former Chairman of the South African Furniture, Mattress and Bedding Workers Union, Elias Motsoaledi became Chairman of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions in 1953. Motsoaledi was detained for four (4) months during the state of emergency in 1960. He joined

Umkhonto we Sizwe in 1962 and was detained under the 90-day law on July 11, 1963. After being betrayed by Patrick Mthembu and Bruno Mtolo he was charged with sabotage and other offences in the Rivonia Trial on 14 June, 1964 and was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island. Elias suffers from asthma and the climate in Robben Island has been very harmful to his ailment.

His wife, Caroline, a domestic worker at the time, was detained under the 90 day law in December 1963.

Let us fight for the release of Elias Mathope Motsoaledi so that he can live in peace within his seven children, six boys and one girl, and his lovely wife Caroline.

# BOOK REVIEW

## THE LIBERAL DILEMMA

*Asking for Trouble - Autobiography of a banned journalist; by Donald Woods; Victor Gollancz, 1980.*

*In Black and White - Voices of apartheid; by Barbara Hutmacher; Junction Books, London, 1980.*

Donald Woods was editor of the East London Daily Dispatch for 12 years. A "friend" of black consciousness leader Steve Biko, Woods was banned by the regime in October 1977, and fled the country at the end of the same year. He now lives in exile with his family in the United Kingdom.

"Asking for Trouble" is his second book his first was his biography of Steve Biko, which he started writing soon after Biko was murdered in September 1977, and published in Britain the following year.

"Asking for Trouble" is the story of of how a young white South African gradually changed his conservative and racist views to become an increasingly outspoken liberal editor.

It tells of Woods' early life in the Transkei as son of a trading store owner, his school and university years, and his early journalistic and political life. Although Woods writes with great skill and humour of these years, the most interesting part of the book, and the longest, is about his time as a journalist on the Daily Dispatch, the last 12 years as editor.

During his editorship he met prime minister Vorster on many occasions, and Woods gives a rare insight into Vorster's character and motivations. Woods also got to know BOSS chief van den Bergh quite well, and gives some interesting insights here as well.

Early in 1977 van den Bergh amazed

Woods when he said to him after they had been having a long argument: "There's one thing you and I agree on — P.W. Botha is a rubbish!". It was to be 18 months later when this rivalry would be fully known, after P.W. Botha had become prime minister. Woods records that van den Bergh said this with considerable vehemence, and comments: "It astonished me that such hostility could exist in a cabinet which presented a united front to the nation and to the world, and that van den Bergh should be so outspoken to me about it".

Other interesting aspects of the book are what it reveals of Woods' attitude to black consciousness thinking and its leaders, and the details it gives of the many campaigns Woods ran against the security police, and police minister Kruger, particularly after the murder of Mapetla Mohapi in detention and, later, after the murder of Steve Biko and the attacks against Woods' own family.

Woods is a great storyteller, and the book makes compelling reading. He gives for the first time the (almost) true story of his escape from South Africa, which is different from his account at the time.

Politically, the book is revealing. It becomes clear that Woods, in his outspoken support for many 'black consciousness' ideas was still no more than a conservative liberal. It is clear that Woods' support for black consciousness was because he hoped it would become a "third force" — a force standing between the racist regime and the revolutionary nationalism of the African National Congress and its allies.

As late as early 1977, Woods still attended the congress of the International Chess Federation in Switzerland to argue



the case for apartheid South Africa's continued participation in world chess.

However there is no doubt also that Woods became more "radical" after the killing of Biko and the banning of black consciousness and other anti-apartheid organisations in October 1977.

There are institutions in the West who hoped Woods would continue as a leading exponent for "third force" solutions when he left South Africa.

However this has not happened, and it is an indication of Woods' continuing political development that he concludes this latest book by saying that the "key political organization whose decisions will have the greatest bearing on the fate of the country" is the ANC.

Barbara Hutmacher's book is a series of interviews she conducted with 30 or so individuals in the eastern Cape region, mainly during 1977. She is a journalist from the United States who spent some time in South Africa, working as a reporter on the Daily Dispatch.

Those interviewed include black and white South Africans: politicians, ministers of religion, businessmen, journalists, black

community leaders, members of the idle rich and domestic servants. Those interviewed include Steve Biko, Nohle Mohapi, Peter Mopp, Cyril Mjo, Donald and Wendy Woods, Roger Omond, Thenjiwe Mtintso, Alan Paton and John Malcomess. The interviews with people like Steve Biko and Nohle Mohapi, are unfortunately very short.

Although some of the interviews still retain interest, many of them are rather 'flat' and repetitive. Barbara Hutmacher certainly does not have a writer's flair and hence the interviews don't come alive.

Futhermore, her liberal standpoint seems to prevent her from penetrating deeply into the nature of South African society; and her underlying attitudes — basically white liberal supporting aspects of black consciousness — and particularly her assumptions about the future, make the book out-of-date, because they are inaccurate.

For instance she seems to see the way forward as through the focus on "black identity" and "self help", but the way forward from Soweto has been shown to be by militant mass struggle involving the people in action at all levels to confront the fascist state.

J.C.



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# POEM

## 'WHAT FOR?'

White boys are dying  
In the borders  
Of South Africa,  
In a war not in  
Their brittle bones.

White boys are dying  
In the spring of  
Their untarnished youth,  
In a war that is not theirs.

The imperialists  
are playing golf  
In Bonn, England and America  
While white mothers are mourning  
In the houses of South Africa;  
For the loss of their sons,  
In a war that is not theirs.

Their bones are scattered  
In Angola, Mozambique,  
Foreign lands ...  
The salt of our country,  
In a war that was not theirs.

JAMES PITSE

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# The Defiant Youth

