



MAYIBUYE NO: 9

1980 YEAR OF THE CHARTER

The Fortnightly Journal of the African National Congress.

NIGERIA SUPPORTS S.A. LIBERATION STRUGGLE

PRESS STATEMENT ON THE VISIT BY THE ANC DELEGATION TO NIGERIA

Saturday last, 6th September 1980, marked the end of the official visit to the Federal Republic of Nigeria by a high powered delegation of the ANC led by the President, comrade O.R. Tambo, at the invitation of the Nigerian Government.

During the six-day visit the discussion focused on the current political situation in South Africa. The warm welcome accorded the ANC delegation in Nigeria served as an affirmation of the firm positions of Nigeria in the OAU, UN and the Non-Aligned Movement in support of the struggle of the people of Southern Africa.

The ANC and the Nigerian Government were at one that the black people of South Africa are colonially oppressed, and that under the Apartheid system only whites enjoy the right to self-determination. The Nigerian Government pledged its political and material support for the liberation struggle against racist ruled South Africa and Namibia, led by the ANC and SWAPO respectively.

The Nigerian Government pledged to continue the campaign for the release of comrade Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the people of South Africa, in the OAU and other international forums.

The ANC delegation left Lagos convinced that the people of Nigeria clearly stood behind the statement of their President, His Excellency Alhaji Shehu Shagari at Zimbabwe's independence celebrations, "that the struggle must continue right up to Cape Town".

The ANC's visit to Nigeria further strengthened the historic bonds between the ANC and the Government and people of Nigeria.

Sizakele Sigxashe.

Secretary

Department of Information and Publicity.



Matanzima dethrones King Sabata

More than twenty years ago, the Pretoria regime decided to carry out a gigantic fraud in broad daylight. The scheme was christened "separate development" and sub-titled "Bantu Authorities".

The problem that the racists had to solve was a difficult one. It was how to intensify the oppression of the African people while pretending to be liberating them. With what it thought was great cunning, the apartheid regime decided that the best solution to the puzzle was to intensify the oppression of the African people by "liberating" them. Pretoria then "liberated" us by giving us "homelands".

To take charge of these places which the Pretoria regime wanted us to call our own, and that with pride, Pretoria had to get some from among the slaves to act as slave-drivers. To camouflage the true identity of these slave-drivers it became necessary to give them new titles. So Pretoria called them Chief Ministers. As meritorious award for work well done, some of these Chief Ministers have since been promoted to the rank of President. Among these Presidents, and obviously revelling in his role, is Kaizer Daliwonga Matanzima.

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Life has proved that in choosing this man as chief slave-driver for the Transkei, the Pretoria regime chose very well indeed. This regime knew that to carry out the fraud with the apparent conviction of a liberator, it was necessary to get a person who was himself or herself fraudulent. K.D. Matanzima fitted the bill perfectly.

A minor chief among the Tembu people of the Transkei, it was decided to give him, in preparation for his role as chief slave-driver, a status which has never existed in the traditional structures of the Tembu. Pretoria endowed him by decree with the title "Paramount Chief of the Emigrant Tembus". (Incidentally, a similar award was given to Mphephu many years later when Pretoria proclaimed him "Paramount Chief of the Venda", once more a position which never existed in the traditional structures of the Venda.)

But to go back to Matanzima: one morning therefore, he found that by fraudulent means he had all of a sudden, become equal to his own King, or "Paramount Chief", Sabata Dalindyebo, the true successor and occupant of the Tembu throne. As we all know, Matanzima then proceeded by degrees to float further downwards into the cesspool to the rank he now touts about, that of "President of Transkei".

Sabata Dalindyebo however continued to uphold the role of a King as he understood it from the glorious history of his predecessors such as Ngqika, Moshoeshe, Shaka, Sekhukhuni and Magigwane. He saw and continues to see himself as a servant of the people able to continue in his traditional position only as long as the people themselves feel that he is serving them. In the execution of that function, Sabata Dalindyebo joined the Transkei Democratic Party as a founder member, ultimately rising to the position of President of the Transkei Democratic Progressive Party.

Having sold himself to the enemies of the people and perverted the role of a traditional ruler, Matanzima could not but view with fear the positions that Sabata took. Therefore, for many years, he stalked Sabata Dalindyebo as a hyena stalks its prey. He has now pounced and dethroned one who is his superior not only traditionally but also in moral and political integrity and everything else.

It would be natural to think that Matanzima pounced now rather than at any other time because his prey had become enfeebled and was ready for the final death blow. Yet not even Matanzima, fraud that he is, can pretend that this was the case.

Matanzima's problem is that he has played out his role of chief slave-driver too successfully. He has driven the masses of the people of the Transkei to the very brink of popular revolt.

The people are suffering under an impossible burden of taxes, land hunger and unemployment. Bribery is rampant. Nothing can move without some official receiving a secret handout. Corruption in both high and low places knows no

bounds; Matanzima's "army", police and civil service are demoralised. Even the "ministerial" slave-drivers are obliged to play ja baas to the "presidential" one to guarantee their salaries at the end of the month and a continuing opportunity to extort bribes from the people in between paydays. In short, Matanzima's "liberation" is collapsing under the weight of its own fraudulence.

The "President" stands exposed for what he is a hireling of the slave master: a slave-driver whose primary aim in life is to accumulate as much wealth as he can expropriate from the slaves while keeping these slaves docile for the benefit of the master himself.

The people have seen through the camouflage in which Pretoria had enveloped Matanzima and his henchmen. The people are saying Matanzima must go. And he must go with his treacherous and fraudulent self-rule.

By dethroning King Sabata, Matanzima and his bosses in Pretoria think that they are forestalling the impending rebellion of the slaves. Matanzima and his co-murderer, Security Police Chief Ngceba, have just assassinated a colleague of theirs, Saul Ndzumo, as they have others before him, once again because they think they are quelling a storm before it breaks.

The fact of the matter however is that by serving the people, King Sabata has become a friend and a hero of the people. By persecuting and dethroning him, Pretoria's chief slave-driver in the Transkei has further angered the people and confirmed them in their resolve to bring down the Matanzima brothers and their hated Bantustan system.

Pretoria's cunning schemes were not so cleverly conceived after all. The people of the Transkei with King Sabata in their midst, are playing an increasing part in the intensifying struggle for a united and democratic homeland of South Africa. The victory of the people of South Africa is certain!



HELP SPREAD THE MESSAGE OF THE ANC!

PASS MAYIBUYE ON:

- GIVE IT TO YOUR FRIENDS AND FAMILY
- DROP IT IN A NEARBY POSTBOX OR YARD
- STICK IT ONTO A PUBLIC WALL OR BUS SHELTER AT NIGHT
- DISCUSS THE ISSUES RAISED WITH THE PEOPLE YOU MEET AND YOUR FRIENDS



VAFI VA VANTIMA A VA ETELELI HI KU RHULA



Hakanyingi, loko rihanyu ri hi tikela, hi hlupheka swihuhurhi swa misava swi hi tsekatsekisa; hi rila hi ku: a swi ta antswa loko a hi fa, munhu a ta etlela hi ku rhula - kambe do, laha tikweni ra ka hina, laha Afrika-Dzonga, va fi va vantima a va etleli hi ku rhula.

Hulumende yi humese rito masirha ya vanhu vantima kwale Rhandi (Kusuhi ni le Joni) ya yemburiwile. Mhaka yi nga leswi Sasol 2 yi ta akiwa leswaku ku ta endliwa oil hi malahla. Marhambu ya vako-kwa wa hina ma yemburiwa, tinhloko ta swikwembu swerhu ta ninginisiwa-ninginisiwa ti yisiwa hala na hala. Vuloyi byonghasi!

Ehenhla ka hinkwaswo leswi, masirha lawa ya hina ma yemburiwa emunyameni, exihundleni leswaku mhaka leyi yi nga tiviwi hi vanyingi. Van'wamaphepha, vahaxi va timhaka a va pfumeleriwi ku ya vona mhaka leyi hikuva i mhaka ya vusathani.

H
Hi xintu, emasirheni ka hloniphiwa, hi ku vandzamele hi xichavo ni rirhandzu ra gandzelo. Emasirhe ni a hi kona ko tlangela kona hikuva la va nga etlela kona i timitso ta hina. Ku tamela mufi tanihi xiharhi i xisolo xo ka xi nga rivaleriwi. Muceri wa masirha u fanele hi n'wi khoma bxa noyi.

Tlhandla-kambirhi, masirha lawa ya yemburiwe hina vinyi va wona hi nga byeriwanga, hi nga komberiwanga, hi nga pfumelanga. Va ka hina, a hi ku dhe lela swi na mabunu swi na munhu hansu. I
Sasol 2 yo yini yo akeriwa henhla ka hina?

Valungu va hi tshame henhla hi laha hi swi tivaka loko hi file wo kho va hi landzelela; a hi na le vuchavela-whawha.

E Sasol 2, ku fana nile Sasol 1 na 3, ku endliwa oyili hi malahla. Hi vuxika hi fa hi xirhami va teke malahla va yise Sasol. Hulumende yi rhandza oyili ku tlula hina vantima, ku tlula masirha na swikwembu swa hina. Na swona oyili ya kona va yi tirhisa ku fambisa swihahampfbuka, tihipo ni mimo vha yin'wana ya nyimpi. Ku lwiwa na va mani loko

ku nga ri vanhu lava va nge va lava ntshunxeko; ku lwiwa na va mani loko ku nga ri mina na wena loko hi ku: masirha ya hina i magandzelo werhu, a hi lavi munhu a ma thintsha. Leswi hi swona swi nga endla leswaku mabuthu ya African National Congress lawa ma vuriwaka Umkhonto we Sizwe ya nga hisa ma thangi ya tioyili kona kwe va SASOL 1, 2 na 3.

Valweri va tiko va hise Sasol hikuva a va lavi oyili yi endliwa va vikela hina hinkwerhu. Va endla leswaku oyili yi nga endliwi yi fambisa ni-



movha ya maphorisa loko va famba va hi rhurharhurhisa, loko va famba va hi khometela loko hi lava mintirho, va hi dlayetela loko hi lava miholo leyi yi nga ta ringana ku hlayisa miti ya hina, va hi dlayetela loko hi lava dyondzo yo antswa.

Ku yemburiwa ni ku rhurhisiwa ka masirha ya hina ku fana na ku rhurhusiwa ka hina lomu a hi tshame kona, lomu a hi ku rhandza; ka fana na ku hlongori wa ka hina emadorobeni hi masipala, ka fana na ku hlongoriwa ka hina emadorobeni ni lomu kunene hi

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ANC EDUCATION POLICY

A. Preamble:

South Africa, being a capitalist society, has pursued and practised educational systems in conformity with its capitalist objectives. As early as 1869, a special report by the then Superintendent-General of Education stated that the "Natives" were to be trained to provide "a fair supply of ordinary artisans and domestic servants". "Coloureds must fulfill the humble tasks of agricultural labourers and sheperds". "Whites on the other hand must be given the best and the most advanced education", so that they can have "directive intelligence" which will enable the white race "to hold its supremacy as future employers of labour...as masters in trade, agriculture and industry".

This long standing policy is manifest in such Acts as the Bantu Education Act of 1953 (amended in 1954, 1956, 1959, 1961) the Extension of University Education Act of 1959, the Coloured Persons Education Act of 1963, the Indian Education Act of 1964. These Acts provide for separate, inferior education for Black South Africans. While White Education is privileged, it also suffers from the distortions and racism of Christian-National Education policy.

The African National Congress of South Africa has formulated a clear policy for a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa, enshrined in the Freedom Charter. This policy will continuously be enriched through practical experience as our struggle develops.

The development of our struggle demands that the ANC assumes responsibility for manpower planning and development to serve the requirements of a complex, agro-industrial South Africa. Hence, even the fields of study as well as the content of education for our cadres have to be under the direction of the African National Congress.

B. General Aims of the ANC Education Policy:

The entire educational programme, under the direction, guidance and control of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress of South Africa, will be geared towards the following objectives:-

1. To prepare cadres to serve the national liberation struggle of the people of South Africa in the phase of struggle for seizure of political power and the post-liberation phase.
2. To produce such cadres as will be able to serve the society in all spheres i.e. political, economic, socio-cultural, educational and scientific. Priorities will be dictated by the needs of the liberatory struggle in the pre-and post liberation period.



C. Principles of the ANC Education Policy:

1. Revolutionary:

The Education Policy of the ANC shall be geared towards producing a new type of South African dedicated to serve the interests and needs of the South African people as a whole.

2. Mass Accessibility:

The ANC educational programme, as an on-going process, shall cater for both young and old irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed.

3. Science and Culture:

The ANC educational programme shall draw on the most advanced scientific knowledge and progressive cultural activities of the people of South Africa and the world.

4. Integrated Education:

The ANC educational programme shall combat within education the division between mental and manual training as well as the artificial separation of arts and sciences.

5. Democratic:

While observing the priority to impart basic knowledge at each given level in each field, the ANC educational programme shall promote the full creative and democratic participation of students, teachers and the community in all educational activities.

6. Dynamism:

The ANC educational programme shall develop in keeping with the demands of the situation in a changing world.

Adopted by the Council Meeting of the ANC Education Department.
1st to 3rd October, 1978 in Morogoro, Tanzania.

SUMMER SCHOOL REPORT

At the end of July, Year of the Charter delegates representing external units of a cross-section of ANC youth and students resident and studying in 15 countries in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Americas converged on Balatonszemes, socialist Hungary, for an historic event: the 1980 ANC Summer School. The 8-day programme was carried out according to schedule, thanks to the selfless assistance of youth and student organisations of the socialist countries who provided part of the transport funds, the scrupulous co-ordination by the ANC Youth Secretariat and the diligence of the Preparatory Committee of ANC students in Hungary.

The Summer School, the first of its kind since the 1977 Moscow Youth and Students' Conference, took place at a time when, across the face of our country, the oppressed people in their various detachments including the youth and students, were locked in battle with the fascist regime and the exploiters. As the gathering went into session, more and more lives were being laid down in the spirit of no surrender which has always been a noble feature of our struggle for national liberation. The new battles being fought, the participants declared, reflected a great stride ahead in the development of our struggle as shown by the demands of the students and the workers, and remarkable instances of unity in action by the oppressed people as a whole. In advancing such far-reaching demands as the release of Nelson Mandela and other patriots from enemy dungeons; in openly identify-

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas, and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a massive state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.



Right to left: P. Moloto (Youth Secretariat), representative of Zimbabwean students, Mavis Nhlapo (Women's Secretariat), A. Masondo (NEC).

ing with the Freedom Charter in this year of its 25th anniversary, the people show their determination to stand by their vanguard, the ANC, despite enemy repression. This active link between the people and their organisation has made it possible for the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, to register tremendous victories on the battlefield.

Against the backdrop of these events in our country is the significant shift in the balance of forces in southern Africa as a result of the attainment of victory by the people of Zimbabwe - a victory to which the contribution of the youth cannot be overestimated. At the same time gruelling battles are being fought in the battlefields of Namibia which signify the dawn of the liberation of the Namibian people from fascist and colonial captivity. Internationally, in Iran, Nicaragua, Grenada, victories have been scored in Western Sahara, Palestine, East Timor,...

It is this favourable and challenging internal and international situation which formed the basis of the deliberations and whence the school derived its impulse.

On settling to serious business in plenary sessions and commissions, the participants registered a unanimity of views with regard to the level of our struggle and the demands of the present epoch both at home and abroad. The deliberations on papers prepared by various centres covered a wide range of political and organisational issues - all emphasising the need for a clearer understanding of the character of our struggle and for the constant improvement of our discipline for, as one banner declared in the conference hall: "Discipline is the Mother of Victory!" The machinations of the enemy in its desperate efforts to undermine our struggle were underlined and the need for vigilance was emphasised. To achieve all these aims, it was emphasised, we need to ensure closer unity between the educational and military fronts, and to perfect the organisational machinery of the Youth Section and thereby assist in strengthening the organisational unity

of the people's movement. All the declarations were backed up with concrete programmes of action for heightening our contribution to the home front which is the pivot of the struggle.

During the opening session, the delegates received with appreciation messages of solidarity from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the Pan-African Youth Movement, the Algerian Youth Union and many other national and international youth and students' organisations.

To the inspiring enthusiasm of the young participants was added the rich experience of the movement through the representative of the National Executive Committee at the school and National Commissar, comrade Andrew Masondo, who captured the mood of the participants when he said in his message: "Considering that the youth of any country is the most important asset of any people, it is important that the youth of the ANC and South Africa as a whole appreciate their role and responsibility in the emancipation of our people and the construction of a new democratic South Africa devoid of political oppression and economic exploitation". All delegates were at one with him when he declared in conclusion, "let us pledge ourselves to protect and preserve the unity of our organisation and to develop our political understanding so that we can make a revolutionary contribution."

As the historic event drew to a close, its achievements were already manifest. All delegates representing ANC youth and students had drawn fresh inspiration and militancy from the various activities including exchange of experiences and finally they all pledged "to undertake to make this Year of the Charter the beginning of a decade that will see the uplifting of our own political consciousness and our own revolutionary practice". The Final Declaration adopted unanimously at the closing session goes further to declare: "In this regard the correct policies and programmes that the National Executive Committee has put forward, especially as regards:

- the intensification of the armed struggle waged by Umkhonto we Sizwe...;
- the mass actions of the workers in demand of political and economic rights;
- the mass actions of youth and students in opposition to policies of slave education;
- the mass struggles of the rural and urban dwellers in opposition to bantustanisation, farm-land slavery and forced removals;
- the mass struggles of women in demand for their full rights as legitimate equal citizens;

will continue to guide and direct us in our quest for national liberation and social emancipation."

No less significant a contribution to the success of the Summer School was the friendly atmosphere and pleasant relationship that existed between our hosts and the delegates. It was with emotion when with a standing ovation the participants adopted the message of thanks which declared in part:

"We...hereby express our most profound thanks and appreciation to the Communist

Party, the Government, the Solidarity Committee and the Communist Youth Union of Hungary - KISZ - for having made it possible to hold this successful Summer School. Our appreciation goes to the selfless assistance and support that was rendered to our organisation, youth and people in the true spirit of internationalism...Such a contribution to our movement indeed complements the efforts of our people to liberate our country from the terror regime of Pretoria."

The preparedness of our youth and students to become a worthy asset of our movement and its allies, of our people and our revolution is once again being reiterated in word and deed both inside and outside the country. This spirit shall continue in this Decade of Freedom and beyond.

**OURS IS THE LAST GENERATION TO BE OPPRESSED
FORWARD TO A PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT!!**

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ya cukumetiwa emakwandasini ya le tiBantustani. Hinkwaswo leswi swi komba lunya ro hlantisa ra hulumenda ya Pitori.

Loko a va ri vona a va ta pfumela xana loko ho ya aka xo aka ehenhla ka masirha ya vona, hi handza swikwembu swa vona va Powula Khuruga a hi va vuti seni, va nga tsaka xana? Swi endleriwa hina va ka ntimeni.

Hulumende leyi hinkwerhu ha swivona leswaku a yi yeyisi ya hlola. Yi ta eyisa ku ya ku yile loko hi nga yimi hi milenge hi tiya tinkonkala hi tame-la mathlarhi hi sirhelela miti ya hina na swa hina. Va ka hina, hi nge wisi loko hulumende leyi ya ha ri kona hita tlevurisiwa hi ko hi tshwuka mahlo.

A hi hlanganeni sweswi hi va nyandza yin'we. Un'-wana na unwana wa hina a ve mulweri wa tiko, a khoma ku tsongo laha a ku kotaka a tova. Hi nga ti nyadzi, risokoti ri dlele ndlopfu hi ku yi luma laha yi tsandzekaka ku ti vhekela. Na hina hi nga chavi malebvu ya nghala, a hi hlawuleni laha ku vavaka hi luma kona. Tindlopfu to fana na leyi ti wile eAngola, Mozambique ni le Zimbabwe- na hina vu a hi wiseni ya hina.

African National Congress, huvo ya hina vahluphiwa wa hinkwerhu va Afrika-Dzonga yi ri mathlarhi! Va Sasol a va tshwi! Hi nga pfumeri ku xaniseka. Ntshunxeke wu le mavokweni ya mina na wena. Ku chava swi vanga rifu ni ku xaniseka. Loko ho kana-kana na ntshunxeke wu ta kanakana. Hi nga ri mupdzuku, namunthla hi rho siku ra ku tintshunxa. A hi lweni ni nala kun'wana ni ku kun'wana la hi hlanganaka na yena, emigodini, etifeketirhini, emasin'wini, ekamagistrata, eswikolweni, hinkwako kwako.

A hi lweleni hulumende yin'we ya vanhu hinkwavo Afrika-Dzonga. Ntwanano i matimba. African National Congress (ANC) i huvo ya ntshunxeke, huvo ya mina na wena.

**MATIMBA! A HI TOVENI HI YA MAHLWENI!
VUTOYA BYA HI HETA!
A HI NGENI MEMO HI TIYISELA!**

Mayibuye Briefs

6th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ETHIOPIAN REVOLUTION.

On 12th September Ethiopia celebrated the 6th anniversary of its democratic revolution which followed the overthrow of Emperor Haile Selassie. Since the victory of the revolution far-reaching social and economic changes have taken place, one of the most significant being the transfer of land from rich landlords to the peasants and the setting up of agricultural co-operatives. According to Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and other leaders, the establishment of a Marxist-Leninist Party is becoming vitally necessary for the further development of the revolution. Recently the First Congress of the Commission for the Organisation of the Ethiopian Workers' Revolutionary Party was held in Addis Ababa. 1,500 delegates from all 14 provinces elected a central committee and other high bodies. Before the national congress regional and local branches had been set up.

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT CALLS FOR RELEASE OF ANC PRISONERS

The European Parliament (comprising representatives of member states of the European Economic Community) has passed a resolution declaring its support for the oppressed majority of South Africans, and calling for the immediate release of Nelson Mandela and other imprisoned ANC members. The European Parliament further expressed its belief that violence in South Africa will continue as long as the South African regime "continues to enforce oppressive and bureaucratic legislation and fails to allow the black, coloured and Asian populations a full part in the administration of South Africa."



Peter Moll Richard Steele

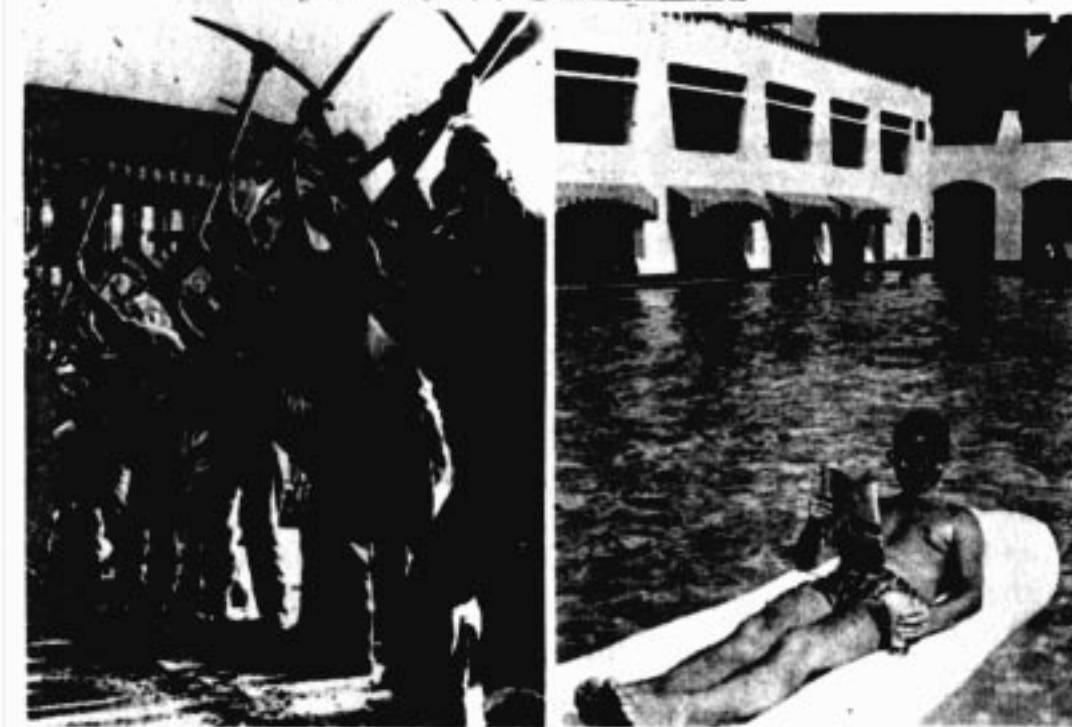
PETER MOLL AND RICHARD STEELE GIVEN C.O. STATUS.

The London-based Committee on South African War Resistance has welcomed the recognition as conscientious objectors of Peter Moll and Richard Steele, both serving 12-month prison sentences for refusing to do military service because they consider the South African Defence Force "a major pillar of a fundamentally unjust political, economic and social system". In terms of their new status they will no longer be subjected to repeated periods of solitary confinement for refusing to wear brown military overalls, and will be allowed to wear blue overalls denoting their new status.



Ethiopian women soldiers march through Revolution Square on 6th anniversary of the Revolution.

1980- THE YEAR OF THE WORKER



Who are the idle ones?

Black workers in South Africa know what idleness and laziness is.

— When we leave the compounds in the dark mornings to clock in at the docks, the mines, the factories and the bakeries for the early morning shift and pass by the sleeping bosses' houses;

— When we go sweating from work into their air-conditioned offices to get our passes signed;

— When we pass their night clubs and bright lights in the evenings on our weary ride home;

— When we shake off sleep to go to trade union meetings, exhausted

by overtime work while they are relaxing on their golf courses;

— When we see them in their swimming pools and shining cars, and hear stories from our brothers and sisters who work for them in their clubs, hotels, houses and gardens;

Yes, we see what idle means.

And when our bones ache from the work we do so that they can enjoy their idleness, we make up our minds that our revolution will once and for all put an end to this system of masters and servants, of idle rich and toiling poor.

Reprinted from 'Workers' Unity'.

17th ANNIVERSARY OF RIVONIA

On 9th October, 1963, Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the liberation movement went on trial in Pretoria in what became known throughout the world as the 'Rivonia Trial'.

"I am the First Accused," Mandela opened his statement from the dock at the start of the defence case. "...In my youth in the Transkei I listened to the elders of my tribe telling stories of the old days. Amongst the tales they related to me were those of wars fought by our ancestors in defence of the fatherland. The names of Dingane and Bambata, Hintsa and Makana, Squnghi and Dalasile, Moshoeshoe and Sekhukhuni, were praised as the glory of the entire African nation. I hoped then that life might offer me the opportunity to serve my people and make my own humble contribution to their freedom struggle. This is what has motivated me in all that I have done in relation to the charges made against me in this case."

In answer to the charges of sabotage, Nelson Mandela admitted that he was one of the founders of the army of the people, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and explained their reasons for doing so:

"Firstly, we believed that as a result of Government policy, violence by the African people had become inevitable, and that unless responsible leadership was given to canalize and control the feelings of our people, there would be outbreaks of terrorism which would produce an intensity of bitterness and hostility between the various races of this country which is not produced even by war.

Secondly, we felt that without violence there would be no way open to the African people to succeed in their struggle against the principle of white supremacy. All lawful modes of expressing opposition to this principle had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or to defy the Government. We chose to defy the law. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the Government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence.

But the violence which we chose to adopt was not terrorism. We who formed Umkhonto were all members of the African National Congress, and had behind us the ANC tradition of non-violence and negotiation as a means of solving political disputes. We believe that South Africa belongs to all the people who live in it, and not to one group, be it black or white. We did not want an inter-racial war..."

After speaking of the ideals of the ANC and the African people, Mandela concluded: "Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent. I know this sounds revolutionary to the whites in this country, because the majority of voters will be Africans. This makes the white man fear democracy.



Mandela and Dadoo during the Defiance Campaign - before the turn to armed struggle.

But this fear cannot be allowed to stand in the way of the only solution which will guarantee racial harmony and freedom for all. It is not true that the enfranchisement of all will result in racial domination. Political division, based on colour, is entirely artificial and, when it disappears, so will the domination of one colour group by another. The ANC has spent half a century fighting against racialism. When it triumphs it will not change that policy.

This then is what the ANC is fighting for. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live.

During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

At the end of the trial on 11th June 1964 Mandela was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment along with seven others - Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmed Kathrada, Denis Goldberg, Andrew Mlangeni.



Radio Tanzania -
External Service Dar es Salaam
on 15435 KHz, 19 metre band shortwave
on 9680 KHz, 31 metre band shortwave
Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15 pm
SA time
Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15 am
SA time
Sundays at 8.45 pm SA time

MADAGASCAR

6135KHz, 49 and 60 Mb short-
wave,
8.00pm - 9.00pm daily

RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe on:

LUSAKA

9580KHz, 31 Mb shortwave
Mon - Fri 7.15 - 8.00 pm
Wednesday 10.00 - 10.30 pm
Friday 9.30 - 10.00 pm
Sat and Sun. 7.00 - 8.00pm
11890KHz
Sundays 8.00 - 8.30 am
(19 metre band)
Lusaka Radio -
40 and 30 metre bands on shortwave
27.5 metre band on medium wave
7.30 pm SA time