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O.R. TAMBO WITH E. HONECKER IN BERLIN



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CABINET RESHUFFLE

The recent setting up of the President's Council results from a report issued in May 1980 by a commission under the Minister of Justice, Schlebusch. The commission was established a year ago after almost total opposition to an earlier constitutional plan emanating from a Cabinet Committee set up in 1976 and chaired by P.W. Botha, who was then Minister of Defence.

After investigating "possible and desirable adjustments to the existing constitutional order in respect of the two political systems for the Coloured and Indian communities", the Botha committee produced a plan that won the support of the ruling Nationalist Party but virtually no one else. It envisaged three separate parliaments (white, Coloured and Indian), dominated by the white parliament, with Africans expressly excluded. The "black nations", the Constitution Bill said, "should each be given separate freedoms in the land allotted to them for the exercise of their political aspirations."

Opposition to the proposals in the Coloured and Indian communities, even by the most "moderate" sections, focused on the exclusion of the African majority and on the racist divisions basic to the scheme. Both the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) and the South African Indian Council (SAIC), virtually powerless bodies set up by the regime in earlier attempts to divide the people, rejected the proposals.

Infuriated by opposition on this and other matters, Botha warned the Coloured Labour Party that "if it did not cooperate with him he would find Coloured leaders who would". Early this year, the CRC was dissolved and the term of office of the appointed SAIC was indefinitely extended and the first elections to it cancelled.

With the opposition growing, Botha set up the Schlebusch Commission in 1979

to come up with new proposals. Although its work is unfinished, it issued an interim report in May this year, as the school boycott and other protest were gathering force and scores of people were being detained. The proposals in the report were immediately put into law by the regime. The timing of the proposals and the speed with which they were implemented illustrate the regime's awareness that it is facing unprecedented resistance throughout the country to the entire apartheid system.

Central to the plan is the President's Council. It has 60 members appointed by the President and drawn from the "white, Coloured, Indian and Chinese communities". With the setting up of the Council, the white Senate will cease to exist, as from 1 January 1981. The Council is an advisory body, consisting of "experts" rather than representatives. One of its main functions is to produce ideas for further constitutional developments.

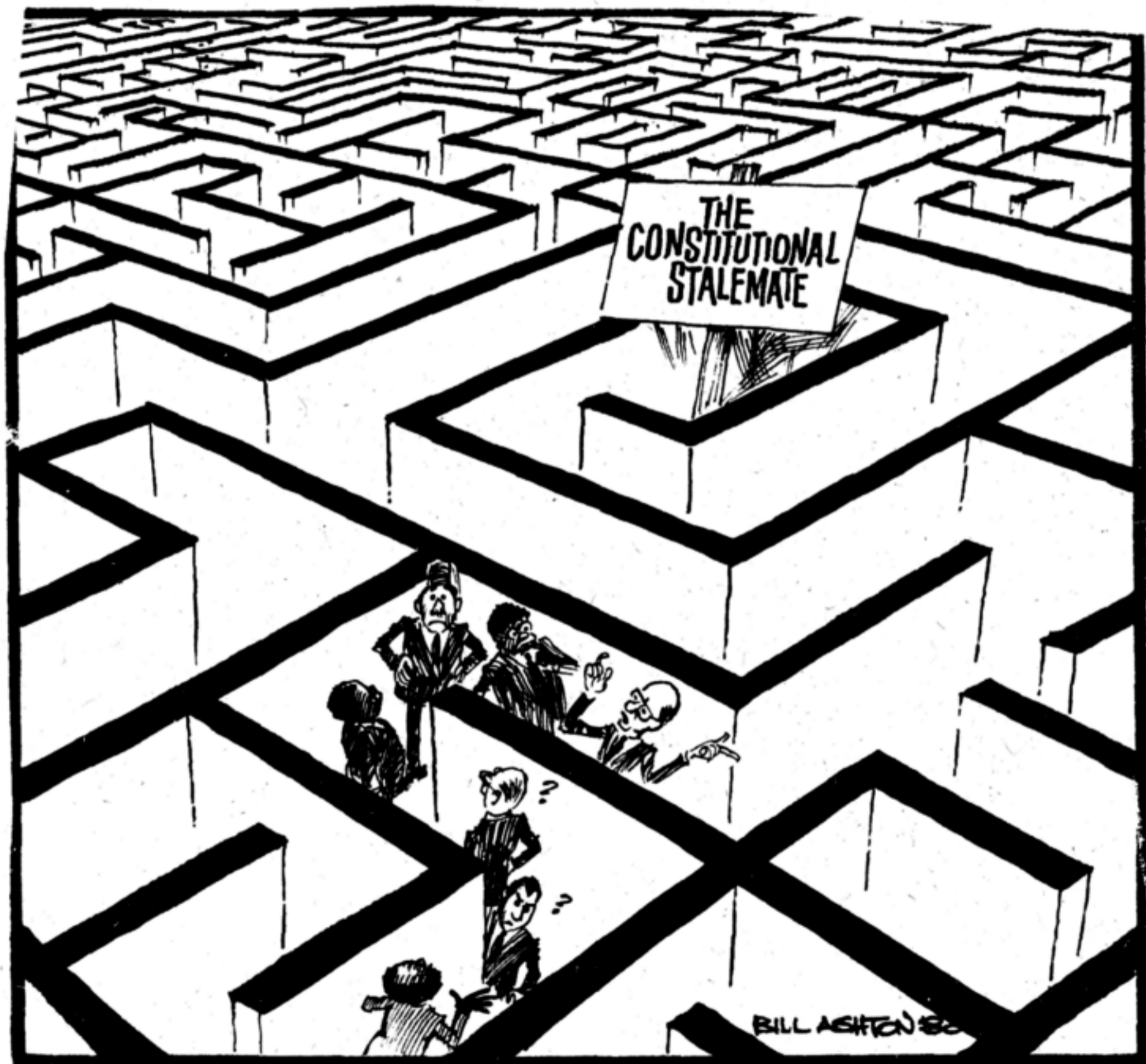
Although the Coloured Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party have refused to have anything to do with the Council, Botha has found 14 people from the "Indian, Coloured and Chinese communities" who are prepared to sit on it, including some who resigned from the Reform and Labour Parties expressly to do this.

Calls for the inclusion of Africans on the President's Council were met with explanations from the regime that this was out of the question, an "insurmountable problem", as Botha put it. He spelt out clearly that, while the regime was prepared to create consultative bodies for Coloured, Indian and African leaders, it was not prepared to accept majority rule in South Africa. "If confrontation must come over that," he said, "then it must come." More recently, the new Minister of Constitutional Affairs, Heunis, confirmed at the Cape National Party Congress that 1

there would be no Africans on the Council. He said that Africans had been excluded because their "political future lay in the homeland system". There have recently been suggestions that, although Africans will not be on the Council, the regime may try to find some who would be prepared to sit on some of its working committees.

Initially there was a proposal for a separate "Black Advisory Council" which could liaise with the President's Council. Not surprisingly, this met with the same almost total opposition as the previous constitutional scheme, and the idea was dropped.

Instead, Botha launched a new round of talks with bantustan leaders to promote the "constellation of states". A key part of this idea is that South Africa is one economic unit and that the existence of viable independent economic units within it is an impossibility. It appears that the idea of consolidating scattered bits of the bantustans into single units has been more or less dropped. But political "independence" is still fundamental. This is clear not only in statements about how Africans are to be allowed to exercise political rights, but also in the development bank which is the centrepiece of the "constella-



"HERE'S THE WAY OUT—I THINK."



tion of states": only "independent" bantustans will have a say in decision-making in the bank.

So the constitutional plans which are supposed to usher in a new era are based on the fundamental principles of apartheid, racial division and oppression of the majority. They simply seek more openly and desperately than ever to bring about an alliance of sections of the Coloured and Indian communities against the Africans, who are declared to be "foreigners".

The same basic principles are present in another potentially wide-ranging set of proposals from the regime, for the restructuring of local government. Plans have been revealed for the scrapping of the provincial system of government and the setting up of nine metropolitan regions. Africans would apparently be excluded from the system of metropolitan boards which would administer the regions. While the scheme would allow whites, Indians and Coloureds to have a share in decision-

making, it would keep within the Group Areas and "separate development" policies. Africans would be excluded because there are plans for autonomous municipalities in African urban areas.

At the same time as producing these proposals for dividing the black majority, the regime has been increasing its powers to suppress resistance. One aspect of this has been the increasing role of the military in every sphere. The one significant constitutional change that has resulted from the Schlebusch Commission is a provision which allows 12 additional MP's to be appointed to parliament. This power was used in bringing General Malan straight from the army into the Cabinet as Minister of Defence.

While the regime produces schemes to divide the oppressed, it is drawing its own forces together in preparation for an intensified war against the people.

WAR AND PEACE

Statement of O.R. Tambo, President of the ANC (SA) to the International Preparatory Committee of the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, Sofia, Bulgaria, September 23-27, 1980.

On behalf of the African National Congress and the people of South Africa, I wish to greet the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Government and people of the Socialist Republic of Bulgaria, the land of Dimiter Blagoev, Georgi Dimitrov; the land of comrade Todor Zhivkov.

We greet the World Peace Council and congratulate you on bringing together this great assembly of peoples. Our congratulations go particularly to you, comrade President Romesh Chandra, who has built the WPC into a mighty world force for peace.

Likewise we salute this great and historic assembly sitting as the World Parliament of the peoples for peace.

I wish at this early stage of my contribution to acknowledge the support and assistance the ANC and the fighting masses in South Africa received from you gathered here from different parts of the globe, together representing a cross-section of the world.

We take this opportunity to extend our solidarity with all peoples fighting against colonialism, racism, zionism, fascism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, for national liberation, peace and social progress.

In this connection, let me declare on behalf of our oppressed masses — the fighting children, youth, workers, women, churchmen, peasants, patriots of South Africa — our firm solidarity with the Palestinian people led by their vanguard, the PLO and its indomitable leader, Yasser Arafat. Together we share the common obligation to defeat the growing and

dangerous racist-zionist alliance of South Africa and Israel.

As we have done before, we re-affirm our solidarity with the people of Western Sahara and the POLISARIO; FRELITIN of East Timor and the gallant peoples of Latin America, including the heroic Nicaraguan people, the people of Puerto Rico, the Caribbean, North America and revolutionaries in Indo-China and other parts of Asia.

Finally, we salute the heroic Namibian people — our allies and comrades-in-arms in the struggle against the fascist regime of Pretoria. In no way could I more fittingly underline the unity in struggle between SWAPO and the ANC, than by adopting in this statement, that portion of President Sam Nujoma's address to this World Parliament which dealt with the situation in Southern Africa, in the course of which he correctly described the struggle in South Africa.

This World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace convenes at a crucial and opportune moment in world politics when the international forces in favour of peace have great need to get together to examine once more the fundamental question of war and peace globally.

It is clear to all of us present here and millions besides, that international tension has increased sharply in recent times. The Prospects for the maintenance of world peace seem much dimmer today than they were only a little while ago.

We have convened here to examine this dangerous situation so that individually and collectively we can understand it better. Out of that understanding must come a response from this historic gathering aimed at saving mankind from the horribly destructive fury and the unimaginable consequences of a thermo-nuclear war.

But whence this threat to international peace and security? It would seem to us that the world is entering a period not dissimilar to that which characterised the world scene for a quarter of a century prior to the end of the Second World War.

World War II represented the most determined offensive by the forces of reaction to halt the progress of mankind towards a better life free from national and social oppression. Millions of people paid with their lives to save humanity from a reign of tyranny that would have been unparalleled in its savagery and brutality.

Thanks to these sacrifices, the Second World War ended with the confirmation of the historical inevitability of man's national and social emancipation. Among its most important results were the destruction of Nazism — the spearhead of international reaction, the wrenching from the oppressive and exploitative world imperialist system of a number of countries and the alteration of the international balance of forces in favour of the national liberation movement in the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The period of the "Cold War" after the Second World War represented an attempt by world imperialism to negate these results and to retain and reimpose its hegemony over the peoples. Thanks to the strength of the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, and the vigilance of the world peace movement, the intentions of the imperialists to impose their will on the world by force of arms were foiled. For 35 years now mankind has managed to stave off a Third World War.

The atmosphere engendered by the forces of reaction during the period of the "Cold War" however created the possibility for international imperialism to unleash a destructive arms race, to conduct local wars, to intervene physically in many countries and to resort to gunboat diplomacy as a matter of course.

This period saw the military occupation of South Korea by the United States, brutal United States aggression against heroic Vietnam and the people of Indo-China as a whole, the Bay of pigs invasion and the policy of blockade, military confrontation and provocation with regard

to Cuba, and the expropriation of vast Arab and Palestinian lands by the Zionist regime of Israel.

The invasion of the former Congo Kinshasa, now Zaire, the overthrow of Mossadeq and the installation of the Shah in Iran, the destruction of progressive governments in such countries as Guatemala, Brazil, and Dominica in South America all expressed the naked resolve of international imperialism to impose its diktat on the world.

To this period belongs also the policy of the opening of military bases in many countries outside the imperialist countries themselves, as well as the formation of aggressive military alliances such as NATO, SEATO and CENTO.

The historic victory of the Vietnamese people against the occupation forces of the United States and their puppets has a significance which goes beyond the fact that Vietnam is today free and united. Vietnam represented the all-round defeat of the bellicose policy of the imperialist in the post-war years in its entirety.

Vietnam confirmed that the international balance of power had shifted irrevocably in favour of the forces of national independence and social progress, whatever reverses these forces might suffer here and there. Vietnam proved to the forces of reaction that the socialist community of nations, the rest of progressive mankind, and the world anti-imperialist movement, had sufficient political will and strength to resist and defeat the most desperate machinations of these forces of reaction. The rout of the U.S. forces in Vietnam represented also the collapse of the policy of nuclear blackmail followed by the United States since Hiroshima. Vietnam opened the eyes of the ruling groups in the imperialist countries to the fact that vast numbers of their own peoples were no longer prepared to be dragged to the slaughter as feckless combatants in imperialist wars. Representing the views of the saner circles within the U.S. ruling class, Senator Edward Kennedy has observed that "the lesson of Vietnam" is that the United States must shed the cumbersome mantle of world policeman.

In place of that mantle, the perspective 5

that peace-loving mankind offered the United States and its allies was that of peaceful coexistence and cooperation among states with different social systems, the limitation of strategic arms and the reduction of already existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons, detente and the solution of international conflicts by peaceful negotiation, and the recognition in practice of the right of each people to determine its own destiny.

For a short while it seemed that imperialism had accepted that this perspective was the only rational one. It appeared that the "lesson of Vietnam" to which Kennedy drew attention was at last beginning to form the foreign policy of the major Western countries.

In this context, the vast majority of mankind welcomed the growing strength of detente which was exemplified and reinforced by such agreements as SALT I and II and the Helsinki Accords on European Security and Cooperation.

At the same time, this period, characterised by movement towards the relaxation of international tension, saw a quickening of the process leading to the national emancipation of the peoples, the strengthening of democracy and the enhancement of the prospects for social progress in many parts of the world.

Accordingly, not only were the countries of South East Asia liberated. That process also found confirmation in Africa with the collapse of the Portuguese empire and the birth of new independent African states, and recently, the birth of the new Zimbabwe. During this period, democratic revolutions took place in many parts of the world including Ethiopia and Madagascar, Afghanistan and Iran, Portugal and Nicaragua.

At the same time the movement for a new and equitable international economic order gained in strength, characterised by just demands for greater control over national resources, against domination and exploitation by the transnational corporations, for less exploitative terms of trade which favoured the industrialised Western countries at the expense of the raw material producers, and for a redistribution of the world's productive capacity to enable the

poor nations to feed, clothe and house themselves.

All these political and economic developments confirmed the correctness of the thesis that a secure, just and stable world peace favours the movement for national independence, democracy and social progress.

The fact of the matter however, is that the forces of reaction have themselves learnt this truth. They learnt it practically in such countries as Afghanistan, Iran, Nicaragua, Angola, Ethiopia, and Grenada in the West Indies; In those countries they have found it impossible to repeat what they did in Chile. They learnt it also in Cyprus, where a combination of Turkish military invasion and an attempted coup d'etat by internal reactionary forces has failed to transform Cyprus into a NATO staging post.

U.S. President Carter describes this situation as "turbulent" and the world as "a dangerous place". In his address on May 9th this year to the Philadelphia "World Affairs Council" he said: "The central reality that confronts America today is that of a complex world — a world that is turbulent because it is politically awakened for the first time in its collective history".

Recognising that the fact of the awakening of the peoples of the world constitutes a danger to continued imperialist domination, the forces of reaction are trying to find ways to impose their own version of tranquility on the world scene. According to President Carter at the same Philadelphia meeting to which we have referred, the contemporary world:

"requires confident, stable and powerful American leadership to shift the trend of history away from the spectre of fragmentation and toward the promise of genuinely global cooperation and peace."

Earlier in the year Carter's National Security Advisor, Brzezinski, had expressed the same sentiments when he said that 85 per cent of the world's population is seeking "a significant redistribution of political and economic power." He went on to say that:

"If (in this process) American power is overshadowed, there is the real danger that this process of global adjustment

which is so far-reaching, and which is of unprecedented magnitude, will gradually degenerate into anarchy and violence and can be exploited by our adversaries for short-sighted ideological ends."

Representing the view of powerful American business interests, the US magazine "Business Week" observed in an issue during March 1979 that between its collapse in Vietnam and the fall of the Shah, the United States had been "jolted by a series of shocks signalling the accelerated erosion of its power and influence."

"Business Week" went on to point to the absolute independence of the United States on international markets and foreign raw materials, and said that U.S. leaders were convinced that the "reaffirmation of American influence was necessary if the U.S. was to preserve the way of life that had been built after the Second World War." (See: Afrique Asie: No. 220, 1980).

Speaking for the military circles of the United States, Defence Secretary Brown told the New York Chamber of Commerce in June of this year:

"There is (today) among the U.S. public a better recognition than in recent years that the United States does have vital interests extending well beyond our shores to distant and sometimes unfamiliar parts of the world. There is a greater willingness to protect these interests and to assume our proper role as a world leader. There is renewed understanding both of the need for the military and the needs of the military. Indeed public opinion polls show the highest level of support for increased defence spending since 1950."

For his part, Samuel P. Huntington, former assistant to Brezinski and now Director of the Harvard University Centre for International Affairs, speaking in the same vein as an important section of U.S. academics specialising on strategic and foreign policy questions says that:

"the general (US) public is clearly unhappy with (the) decline (of US power and influence) and wishes the United States to reassert itself in world affairs ... There is renewed support for the military forces and related instruments necessary to support a firmer stand against the Soviets." (The

Washington Quarterly", Autumn 1979.)

We have quoted at this length from U.S. sources to give this Parliament a view of what constitutes what the ruling group in the United States calls a "new national security consensus", and because we believe that the prime source of the present international tension and threat to peace is exactly this ruling group.

The United States, leader of the world imperialist forces, constitutes today the spearhead of the international forces of reaction. According to the calculations of Washington, the only way to fashion an international order that accommodates the interests of imperialism, and especially U.S. imperialism, is openly to resort to the threat or the use of force to an extent equal to or surpassing that achieved at the height of the Cold War.

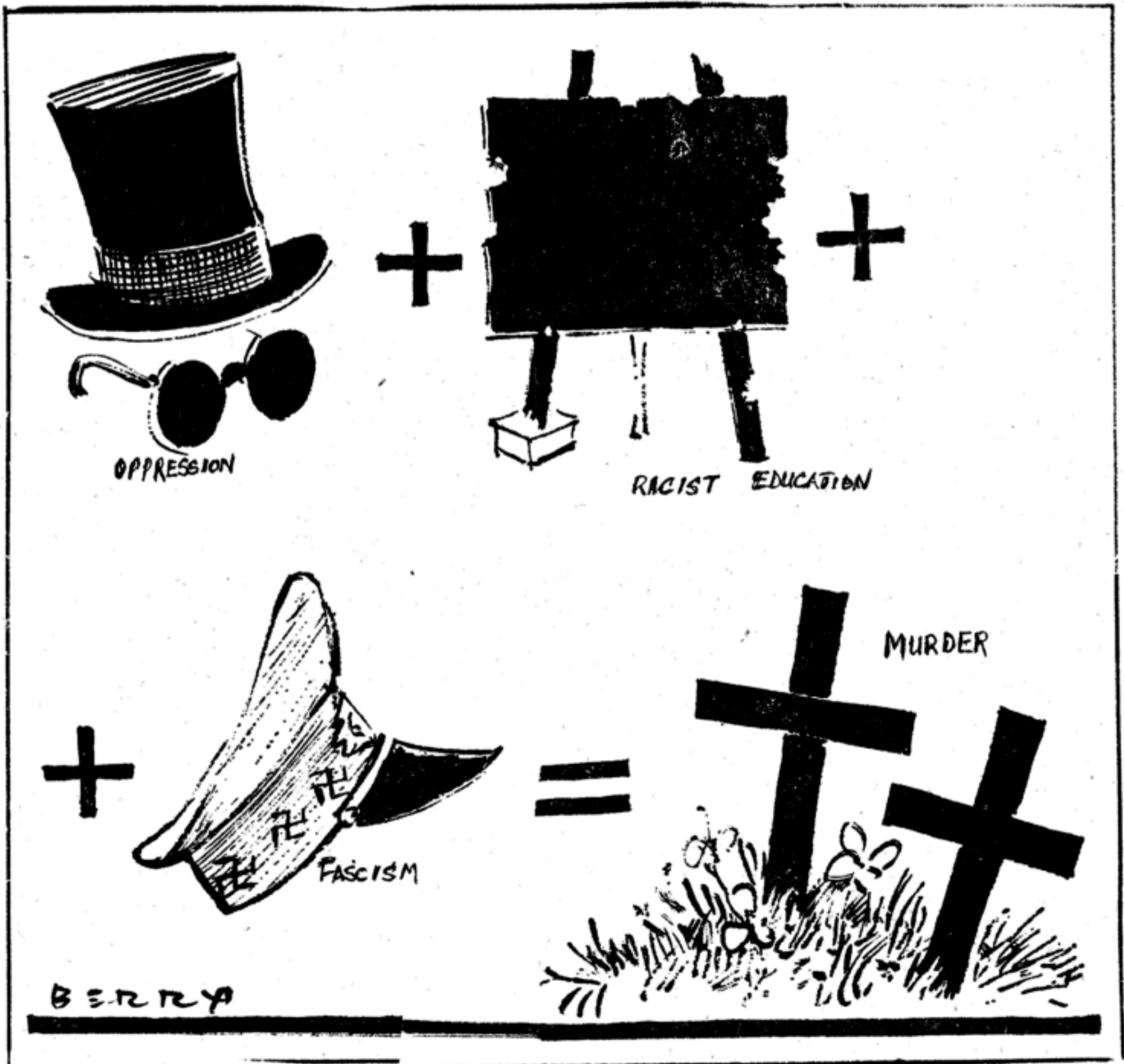
In pursuit of this policy, the Carter Administration has decided inter alia on the following measures:

(a) the abandonment of military detente in Europe through what the U.S. describes as "modernisation of theatre nuclear weapons" (Muskie. U.S. News and World Report, August 18, 1980). In fact this means the introduction of new weapons into Europe, especially the Pershing II and Cruise missiles. This has been accompanied by attempts to strengthen NATO and to enhance its aggressive stance. As part of this operation special attention is being paid to Turkey to reinforce her as a NATO base. Further, there are ongoing discussions to increase the importance of Portugal within the NATO deposition of means and forces and to bring Greece back to the NATO fold. In this process the United States has taken many steps which effectively seek to turn many countries of Western Europe into vassals of the United States, compromising their sovereignty and using them as instruments for heightening confrontation with the Soviet Union and other European socialist countries;

(b) the further enhancement of the military power of the U.S. in the Middle East through a policy which aims to strengthen Israel as well as integrate a number of Arab countries into the military schemes

of the United States. Already Egypt has been ensnared into these schemes. The United States is arming Morocco, enabling her to continue her illegal occupation of the Arab Democratic Republic of Sahara. The support given to Morocco however also aims at giving the U.S. the possibility to use the Moroccan armed forces and Moroccan territory in its global strategy. Reinforcing these forces is of course the U.S. Sixth Fleet based in the Mediterranean;

(c) the transformation of the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean into a vast military base of the United States. According to the international press there are, in the vicinity of the Red Sea and the Strait of Hormuz, the largest concentrations of U.S. air and naval forces that this century has seen. (Afrique Asie, No. 213, May 1980). Oman is being transformed into a principal strategic base. Military facilities have been sought in some East African



countries. Most important, also, the U.S. and Britain are cooperating to build the Indian Ocean island of Diego Garcia into a huge air and naval base for U.S. forces. Already the U.S. has placed large forces in the Indian Ocean and continues to raise their strength. France also has, according to the U.S. Defence Secretary Brown "a powerful naval force in the Indian Ocean". (Speech to the "World Affairs Council", Los Angeles, April 7, 1980).

Needless to say, apartheid South Africa forms part of the imperialist build up in this area. Certainly, as U.S. Presidential candidate observed recently, "nobody can doubt South Africa's strategic importance" which is confirmed by the continuing contacts between the United States and Pretoria in the nuclear field.

(d) the domination of South East Asia and the Far East through a continued U.S. military presence in the area and the incorporation of military powers in Far East Asia as allies of the U.S.. As the then Assistant Secretary of State for South East Asia declared in February last year: "I believe that the essential fact is that, for the first time this country, the United States has established bonds of cooperation with the two giants of Asia: Japan ... and China ... This is of great strategic importance which is truly colossal. The position of the United States in South West Asia is today stronger than it has ever been for twenty or thirty years." (Afrique Asie, No. 205: Jan-Feb, 1980).

(e) the frustration of all genuinely progressive change in the Caribbean and South America. For this purpose the policy of confrontation with socialist Cuba is being refurbished. The United States is once more resorting to the promotion of coups and the support of the most reactionary regimes in this area to defeat the struggle for the social renewal of this region. The most recent and current results of this policy are the coup in Bolivia and U.S. arms deliveries to the reactionary regime of El Salvador.

(f) the deployment of U.S. troops so that

they are available on the spot or can reach quickly any area that Washington may determine. In August this year United States Secretary Muskie announced that "the (NATO) allies agreed in May to give us greater flexibility in deploying our forces outside the NATO area". (U.S. News and World Report, August 18, 1980.) Consequently the U.S. has constituted a "Rapid Deployment Force of 100,000 men capable of reaching any part of the world quickly and at short notice. This has reactivated the policy of acquiring bases and other military facilities to service its mobile air and naval intervention forces. The mobility of other U.S. forces is also being enhanced. This includes such measures as the prepositioning of equipment, especially naval vessels.

The totality of these measures has raised alarmingly the military profile of the United States and its allies in international politics. Many countries are faced with the direct and immediate threat of Western military intervention.

By these actions the forces of reaction led by the United States have considerably increased international tension in the hope that in this atmosphere it will be possible for imperialism to impose a path of evolution on the peoples that will not threaten its exploitative and oppressive interests.

It is this which threatens world peace, and not some fictional "expansionism" of the Soviet Union. It is to the defeat of this aggressive stance of international imperialism that this World Parliament must address itself.

It would seem to us that among the issues to which we must address ourselves as a matter of urgency are the following:

- 1) the building up of the peace movement especially in the imperialist countries in defence of detente in Europe, between the Soviet Union and the United States and throughout the world, for disarmament and the ratification of SALT II;
- 2) the launching of a struggle for the with- 9

drawal of U.S. forces back to their bases in their own country;

3) the intensification of the struggle for the transformation of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf into a Zone of Peace by the withdrawal of imperialist troops and bases from the area;

4) further reinforcement of the struggle for a just and lasting solution of the Middle East problem including the fulfil-

ment of the national aspirations of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO;

4) the intensification of the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and the destruction of the apartheid regime of South Africa as part of the struggle to restore peace in Africa and to demilitarise the Indian Ocean;

5) the strengthening of the movement for



MEN ON THE MOVE



solidarity with all the peoples such as those of Indo-China, who are daily being confronted with acts of aggression aimed at restoring imperialist hegemony over their countries;

7) the raising of the level of support for the peoples of South America and the Caribbean who are threatened by the re-activation of the "Monroe doctrine" which seeks to maintain this area as an extension of the U.S. economic and political system;

8) the strengthening of the struggle for a new international economic order which would benefit from the implementation of an actual programme of disarmament

and would itself add immensely to the securing of world peace and security.

We believe that victories in our common struggle on all these fronts would achieve the purposes for which we are gathered here -- the bringing into being of a world order in which the policy of war has been relegated to the past. This World Parliament has the task to find the ways and means of achieving these victories.

ANC TRIAL

Nine men, all members of the African National Congress, have been facing trial at the Pretoria Supreme Court for more than 6 months now. They are: Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, 28, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo, 20, Naphtali Manana, 24, Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi, 27, Hlolile Benjamin Tau, 24, Phumlani Grant Shezi, 24, Jeremia Radebe, 26, Boyce Bogale, 26 and Thomas Mngadi, 29.

They have been facing common charges of "High Treason", two charges of murder, 21 charges of attempted murder and one of robbery with aggravating circumstances. There are also 4 alternative charges of taking part in "terrorist activities". They all have pleaded not guilty. The murder charges arise from the death of two women during an attack on the Silverton branch of the Volkskas Bank. The attempted murder charges arise from injuries to two men during an attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station in January 1980.

"Common purpose"

Though they were arrested in different parts of the country, at different times, they face these common charges solely because of their common membership of the African National Congress. These common charges therefore imply that by merely joining the African National Congress whose major strategic objective is the armed seizure of political power — each was "criminally" liable for the acts of all other members of our movement. As their defence counsel Mr Jules Browde argued in closing the case for the defence "that the state's reliance on a common purpose in respect of each act individually done in

execution of the conspiracy was contrary to principles of law". This gross violation of the rule of law by the fascist regime and their courts is very dangerous as this has already claimed the life of one patriot — Solomon Mahlangu — who was charged under similar circumstances (common purpose) sentenced to death and murdered.

What are the facts?

In the course of the trial, all the accused denied being in any way connected with and/or responsible for the attack on the Silverton Bank which resulted in the death of 2 women, an injury of a policeman and several other people at the scene. Six of the men denied having anything to do with the attack on the Soekmekaar Police Station. Though admitting the attack, Lubisi, Mashigo and Manana denied being guilty of attempted murder, because they did not have the intention to murder anyone. They also denied that the incident involving a Mr P. Montle's van amounted to robbery. (This referred to the van they used to escape after the attack - see Sechaba April 1980 p. 16)

Aspects of ANC Policy

During the trial it came out in the evidence (by the accused) that:

- † they were told (during training) they were not to use methods which involved civilian killings;
- † ANC was against the type of violence carried out by the Red Army in Japan and was also opposed to the taking of hostages for ransom and killing them if their demands

were not met:

† the ANC decided not to carry out a planned attack on the Wattloo tank farm (oil refinery installations) near Pretoria

because too many lives would be lost (this was decided after 8 days of reconnaissance).

In relation to the attack on the Soekmekaar

STOP PRESS

Save Their Lives!

South Africa's supreme court rang to the sounds of freedom songs as apartheid's top judge, Justice Jaap de Villiers, sentenced Ncimbithi Johnson Lubisi, Petrus Tsepo Mashigo and Naphtali Manana to death.

Although the three were given leave to appeal against both conviction and sentence nothing of the sort was given to Ikanyeng Moses Molebatsi and Hlolile Benjamin Tau who were sentenced to 20 years or to Phumulani Grant Shezi and Jeremiah Radebe who got 15 years and Boyce Bogale and Thomas Mngadi who received 10 years.

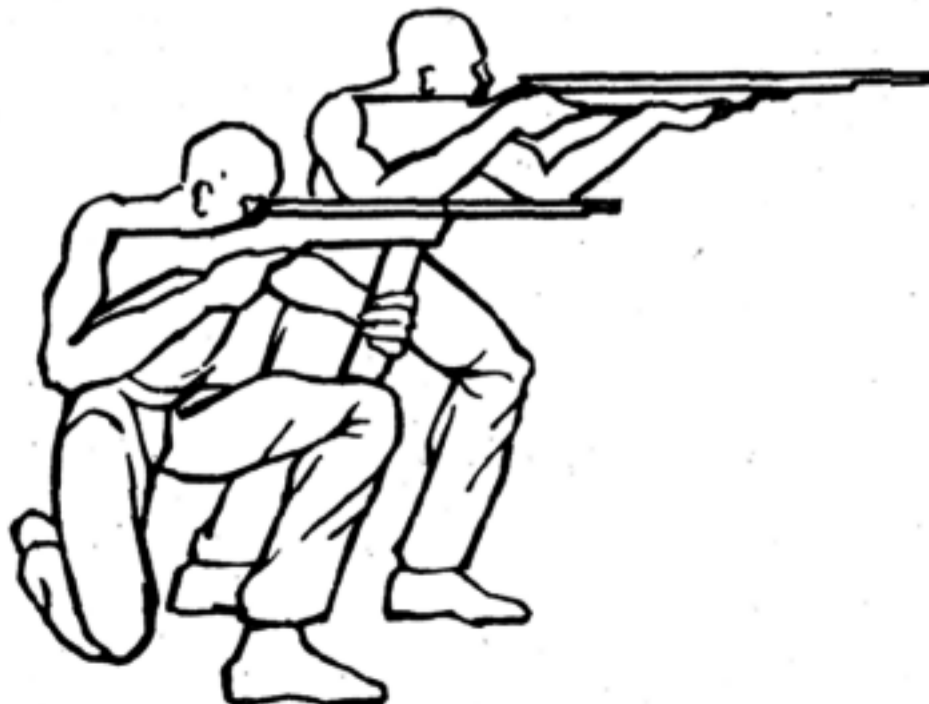
A characteristic feature of this trial is that none of the nine was at the bank in Silverton, near Pretoria and two of the men were not even in South Africa at the time.

The sentence was passed on November 26, 1980, a day on which Prime Minister Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan attended a massive parade of South African

produced weaponry and two weeks after the South African Foreign Minister R.F. "Pik" Botha held discussions with Dr. Joseph Luns, Secretary General of NATO in a meeting which Alfred Nzo characterised as "the beginning of a sinister conspiracy and dangerous step towards integrating the apartheid state into NATO's military umbrella".

The African National Congress is calling on the international community that stands opposed to apartheid to rally against these sentences; to mount an emergency campaign to save the lives of these men, to send protests to the racist regime at Union Buildings, Pretoria, South Africa and to demand that captured guerrilla fighters be treated as prisoners of war according to the Geneva Conventions.

The racist ship is still sailing on and on in this reactionary sea. But now and then she strikes against an iceberg and as things are she is bound to sink.



Police Station, one of the accused, said that "the attack on the Soekmekaar police station was an 'armed propaganda' attack in protest against the removal of black residents in the area". It was also to demonstrate to the black policemen that, whereas they join the police force believing they were assisting the community, that what they were doing was contrary to the wishes of the people.

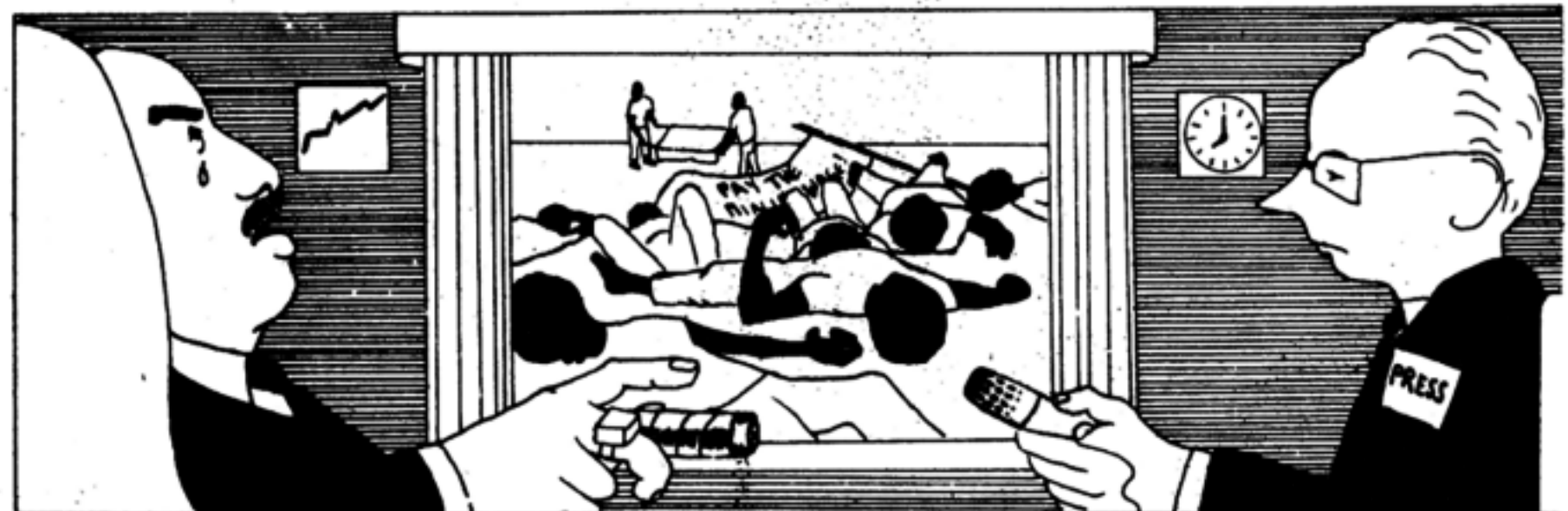
Another, asked by the defence what he would do if ordered by the leader of the ANC to attack the bank, he replied

there was no other way than to go and take up arms." He decided to get military training "to come back and fight Apartheid" which caused his problems.

The background of the 9 comrades points an accusing finger at the system of Apartheid in general and the "illegal" principles on which the racist courts operate. There is a case of young men against whom the racist "legal" system fitted its very design and basis of operation — to conspire against all the freedom loving people of our country. We call upon all peace and freedom



"I am calling on you to deal with this situation."



"How could such a tragedy happen?"

that he would refuse "because it was against ANC policy ... people could be killed or injured."

Reasons for joining ANC

All the accused left South Africa to seek military training abroad after the bitter experiences of June 1976 and after. In the words of one of them "if my people were going to be treated like animals,

loving forces the world over not only to follow with keenness this process of eroding the rule of law but also to relate this phenomenon to the overall genocidal apartheid plot.

This whole exercise on the part of the fascist regime, in the manner in which they handled the case (including the use of torture) must be treated as a serious Apartheid conspiracy to murder young patriots whose only crime is love for the

freedom of their people and country. This is a pointer to the hollowness of the "reforms" that Piet Koornhof and other racist Ministers and a large part of the western media, hailed as a major breakthrough in the process of destroying Apartheid.

Let us step up our vigilance and

campaigns for the isolation of the racist regime, for the support of the African National Congress and the Release of Mandela and all other political prisoners. Our united multi-frontal assault on the inhuman crimes of Apartheid is a guarantee towards success.

SAVE OSCAR MPETHA

Oscar Mpetha, founder member of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the last elected President of the African National Congress in the Cape, was arrested on August 13, 1980, together with another trade unionist, Leon Mqhakayi. They were first held under Section 50 of the Criminal Procedures Act, and after 48 hours this was changed to Section 22 of the General Laws Amendment Act. Mqhakayi was later released but Mpetha is now being held under the Terrorism Act.

This is what happens to trade unionists working in South Africa. While the Apartheid regime and its apologists are trying to convince the international community that there is a "new era" in the labour history of South Africa, they continue to mount vicious attacks on the trade union movement and its leaders.

Oscar Mpetha is 71 years old and is suffering from diabetes. He has dedicated his life to the struggle for the rights of the South African workers. As Chairman of the Nyanga Residents Association, Mpetha played a leading role in mobilising our people when the Apartheid regime threatened to demolish the Crossroads squatter camp outside Cape Town in 1978. Again, during the successful Fattis and Monis boycott in 1979 — which won both

national and international support — Mpetha, who is the National Organiser of the African Food and Canning Workers Union, led the workers to victory against the bosses. The Nyanga Residents Association is also playing a leading role in the present bus boycott which has been supported by the Cape community for the past 18 weeks.

This is Oscar Mpetha — a freedom fighter and a true leader of our people, who is actively involved in mobilising our people against the injustices of the Apartheid system. The fascist police have arrested him in an attempt to break the unity of the workers. But the people of South Africa have shown clearly that they will not be deterred in their struggle to eliminate the entire Apartheid system.

FREE OSCAR MPETHA!

JOURNALISTS FIGHT BACK

Black journalists and technical workers in most of the major newspapers have been out on strike. It is the culmination of a process which was triggered off by a pay dispute at the Cape Herald and had covered the whole of the newspaper industry. This escalation into a nationwide strike was in response to the call of the Media Workers Association of South Africa (Mwasa) formerly Writers Association of South Africa (Wasa).

The transformation of Wasa into Mwasa was influenced by various subjective and objective factors. Dominating in the former being the urge on the part of black journalists to form a united front with the workers in the industry against the common exploiter — the Argus and S.A.A.N. (South African Associated Newspapers) Groups. The main objective one being the experience of the success through joint action by workers and journalists at the Post, Transvaal plant. The character of the Herald strike seeks to justify the necessity and advantage of this transformation of Wasa.

The Cape Herald Strike

On the 25th October 1980, journalists, clerks, telephonists and advertising salespersons went on strike in demand for higher wages. The workers gave the management a memorandum detailing grievances about working conditions and asking for rectified salary scales for all departments. Various meetings held between the action committee of the workers at the Cape Herald and the management of the Argus Company could not resolve the dispute.

The first response by the management of the Argus to the strike was to withhold

the salary cheques of the workers. The management claimed to be ready to continue discussion of the staff's complaints as soon as they returned to work. The salary demands were not met. The Managing Director of the Argus Group, Mr Miller, was adamant that the "staff are being paid up to the date they went on strike. Their employment will be resumed and their salaries paid from the moment they return to work". The Company's other excuse for ignoring the workers' demands was that the South African Society of Journalists was negotiating new salary scales to apply from January 1, 1981. This was unacceptable to the workers, most of whom were no more members of the Society but were members of Mwasa, which had its own demands.

Call for nationwide strike

A spokesman of the Cape Herald staff had announced by the 28th October that they had received messages of solidarity from the editorial chapels of Argus and South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN) throughout the country. This came in the wake of a decision, the previous day, by the Media Workers Association of South Africa that it had declared support for its Cape Herald colleagues. By the 1st November, journalists at the Post and Star in Johannesburg struck in solidarity with Cape Herald journalists.

On the 3rd November, Mwasa called for a nationwide strike by its members and made the following demands:

† salaries, wages and working conditions of media workers be improved;

† the situation at the Cape Herald be resolved;

† all the workers be paid for the time they have been on strike, because management are responsible for the situation; † managements to talk to Mwasas elected representatives.

Mwasas also distributed thousands of leaflets in Soweto, urging the black community to support the strike by boycotting Argus newspapers. By the 5th October the strike had spread to cover 12 newspapers, 1 magazine and the National News Agency. The 12 newspapers were The Post (Tvl), Sundat Post, the Cape Herald, Sunday Tribune, Daily News and Sowetan — all owned by the Argus Group. The SAAN's Rand Daily Mail, Financial Mail (magazine), Sunday express, Sunday Times and Soweto News.

Reaction of other journalists

The South African Society of Journalists, a non-racial union with predominantly white membership, came out in support of the black journalists.

At the SAAN Chapel of the S.A.S.J., members decided not to fill in the jobs normally done by their Mwasas colleagues. Following a meeting at the Sunday Tribune's S.A.S.J., the Chapel affirmed its support for its Mwasas colleagues and charged that they "will dissociate themselves from assisting in the production of the Tribune Herald .."

Following these unilateral actions, the National Council of the S.A.S.J. pledged that it "fully supports the right of Mwasas to recognition by newspaper management and efforts to improve the pay and working conditions of all newspaper employees." They also warned that the "current dispute is leading to grave discontent among S.A.S.J. members" who have threatened to take industrial action in support of their colleagues.

Other Solidarity Actions

The Western Cape Traders Association, which represents 2,000 shopkeepers and traders threatened to instruct its members

to boycott the Argus in support of the striking staff at the Argus owned Cape Herald. The Chairman of the Traders Association, Dawood Khan, had met the Argus manager, Mr Willis on the instructions of his working committee to discuss the strike. There he was promised that a settlement was due soon. Two weeks later he was reported to have said: "But nothing has been done ... what concerns us more is that the black staff at the Cape Herald are being paid lower salaries than their white counterparts on the Argus." The matter was being referred to a full executive meeting which would instruct its members to stop selling the Argus if no settlement was reached.

Negotiations

Although the managements of both the Argus and SAAN groups ultimately had separate and joint meetings with Mwasas representatives, no settlements had been made except for hopes being expressed that there could be progress.

At a time when the state is making frantic attempts to suppress the press in general and individual newspapers in particular, it is distressing that black journalists should be the overall victims. This is a clear manifestation of the extent to which national oppression and exploitation of Blacks can go.

This is not a strike in isolation. It is part of the general upsurge by the whole population against Apartheid colonialism and exploitation. It is a clear exposition of what meaning the much talked-about "reforms" have to Blacks. No amount of intransigence will halt the march towards recognition of black trade unions on the terms of the workers themselves. If there is any further understanding needed of what Wiehahn is or was about — the organised challenge of the black workers provides the answer.



ANC—ZAPU cadres in training 1967

WE FOUGHT IN ZIMBABWE

part 1

This interview was granted to us in Bulawayo in June 1980 by one of the ANC members arrested in Rhodesia in 1967/68 and released from prison in May 1980 after the independence of Zimbabwe.

What were the objectives of the Wankie and Sipolilo campaigns?

We were pioneers of a joint effort by the ANC and ZAPU to operate against the oppressors throughout Southern Africa. There was a distortion and misrepresentation of facts about our participation in the guerilla war in Rhodesia. The Pretoria

regime alleged that it sent its forces here to deal with the ANC guerillas who were here. We came here in August 1967 — they were here since 1966.

Of course the world knows that the South African racialists do not check the utterance of lies, indeed the whole racialistic philosophy is founded on a persistent determination to avoid the truth. The SAS, the police, special branch, CIDs, and army units operated in Rhodesia in 1966. Their intention at the time was the same as that of Goering in Spain in 1936. They wanted to observe the guerilla tactics first-hand in the field in order to be able to devise a systematic method of counter-insurgency

in South Africa. They were preparing for what they knew was coming. We came to fight here the racist South Africans. They were amassing information and they were improving their tactics. We wanted to do the same. We came here to face this part of Southern Africa, to liberate the people from colonial repression and substitute a democratic government of the people.

How was the campaign organised?

Our destination was Sipolilo. I don't know whether that is exactly what you wanted. We had been instructed to move from the Zambezi to Sipolilo by the headquarters of ZAPU and ANC in Lusaka, to organise the armed struggle in that region. Now Sipolilo lies in the Urungwe Tribal Trust Land, that is, in the Dande Tribal Trust Land. Our aim at the time was first of all to make contact with the masses — train them, educate them politically, and get them to participate in the armed revolution. But we never really reached our destination, we merely reached the outskirts of Dande TTL — that is, the Hunyani River.

What was the relationship between you and your ZAPU comrades?

Our cadres were merged into one fighting unit. We operated under the command of a ZAPU colleague, comrade Moffat Hadebe, and the political officer was an ANC man. The relationship was good, that is, we did not differentiate ourselves from the ZAPU people with whom we were, that is, we identified ourselves truly with the cause of the liberation movement in this country.

Can you describe what happened when you first entered Zimbabwe up to the time you were captured?

Well we moved from the River Zambezi towards Sipolilo in a south-east direction.

Whereabouts did you cross exactly?

We'll just say somewhere near Feira. We moved from the River Zambezi towards Sipolilo. We took about three months before we made contact with the security

forces. Before our engagement with them we ran short of logistics — of food supplies. The food that we had in our bags was insufficient to last the length of the period we took to make contact. As I said we took about three months to make contact with the security forces. What happened was that the food supplies we had were depleted. So we had to make do with what was available in the forest, in the way of shooting wild animals, that is, impalas, bucks, antelopes, elephants, zebra, rhinoceros, ignana and all. Because I remember the time when all that was left of the food that we had brought with us was powdered milk, which we used, that is, a half pound to a four gallon tin of water. We ate this with meat but we had no salt and that is when I began realising that the hygiene, or nature study lessons I had studied at home, at school, had some truth in the sense that salt supplies iron in the body. I came to appreciate this fully when we ran short of food in the forest. Because you know we got weak. You would see a man just falling — just because he was weak. It affected very much our knees, elbows and all.

Had you brought any salt with you?

We had but then we finished it. We hadn't brought much of it. We had not realised that it was the most important item of food that we should have had large amounts of. So we had brought very little of it and we ran short.

I am not a peasant, really, you know, I grew up in town. I was born and bred in Port Elizabeth. I noticed that the peasant stock amongst us coped very well with the conditions there, that is, they lasted, they were stronger. As for most of the ANC chaps, most of them were town fellows, city boys. They had it tough. We managed by sheer strength of determination, by sheer morale, but I noticed that the peasants, as most of the ZAPU people were, they were used to the type of terrain that we met. Of course we had trained before, they and we had taken a long time in training. That should have aided much. If it had not been for that I suppose we wouldn't have really coped with the

situation. Because we were facing an escarpment, we were marching up an escarpment. The relief of the country is uphill and we were not used to that type of terrain. We had met of course in training, in the different countries in which we trained, such as Tanzania and other countries. But the difference in this case was that we were not going there as we had done in the other countries in which we had trained, in order to go back to the camps to rest. We were there to stay. So when we actually came to make a contact with the security forces, we were weak, we were thin, we were emaciated. They were fresh, strong. But in determination we met them on an equal basis. We made contact. What happened first was that we had to send some men to go and try and forage for some food. We gave them money to go and buy some food from some shops. They went a first time and they came back but the amount of food they bought was not sufficient to carry us for two days. As a matter of fact, I never even saw it myself because at the time it happened I was not around. Then when they went the second time, they were arrested and interrogated by the special branch and the CIDs and some security forces were sent to our direction.

When they went to buy the food, did they carry their weapons with them?

Yes, they carried their weapons with them.

So it was obvious to the local people that they were freedom fighters?

Yes. It was obvious to the local people that they were freedom fighters, although of course we did take the precaution that whenever they approached a village they should at least try and hide and not be seen by the people. But you know what happens in the reserves there; you will find that before you arrive at a place, at a village, you have been seen from a very long distance, and it did happen that the police were patrolling the area, and they had been informed the first time we had gone to buy food. The police had been informed by the locals and so the place was under police surveillance, and so when our

men arrived they were expected and they were captured.

But of course they fought? some of them were captured in the shop where they went to buy some food. The police tried to take some of them to where the others were but then those men fought and started shooting. Some of them fell there, some of them ran away, and some of them were captured.

And then the security forces came to us at our base, which we called Base 5. That was on the 18th. In fact, they started looking for us from about Tuesday and Wednesday before the Monday of the 18th March, 1968. Incidentally on the 11th there were three men hanged in Salisbury for guerilla activities. We heard this over the radio. We had radio receivers in the forest.

From Tuesday the 12th and Wednesday the security forces started searching for us by planes, helicopters, that is, spotter planes until the 18th when we made contact with them. We fought, that is, they came into our base and tried to overrun it; they used planes. They failed to overrun our base and they retreated. You see, by this time they had surrounded us and then we fought. In all they used about 12 planes above us including two bombers, which at the time we thought were Canberras, but I later came to realise that they were using what are called Hawker Hunters. They bombed and strafed us, but we did not suffer any casualties. When I was arrested, the special branch asked me the number of casualties in our first engagement and when I told them that, no, we had not suffered any casualties at all, they beat me up, saying, did I think that the Rhodesian security forces were not good at their work, that they did not know what to do. Although it was eventually proved that I was right ... even in court they admitted that we had suffered no casualties in our first engagement of the 18th March. The casualties we suffered were later after that. So that was our movement down to Sipolilo.

So were you arrested in that first engagement or later?

Not at all ... I came to be arrested in May.

So what happened after the 18th?

We made contacts with them.

Were you able to move further into the country?

Yes, we were. From the 18th we just dispersed throughout the country. You know, there were 100 of us and then we just divided ourselves into small groups and dispersed throughout that area. Now each of these small groups had contacts with the enemy.

And how did you come to be captured?

I fell into an ambush.

And were you with other people at the time, other comrades?

Yes. No -- there were two of us, but the other one managed to go back to Zambia.

And what happened to all the other comrades from the original 100?

Some of them fell, some of them managed to go back to Zambia, and some of them were captured and kept in prisons or sentenced to different terms of imprisonment, some 20 years, some life, some were sentenced to death.

What do you think the campaign achieved overall? Is it correct to say that it failed?

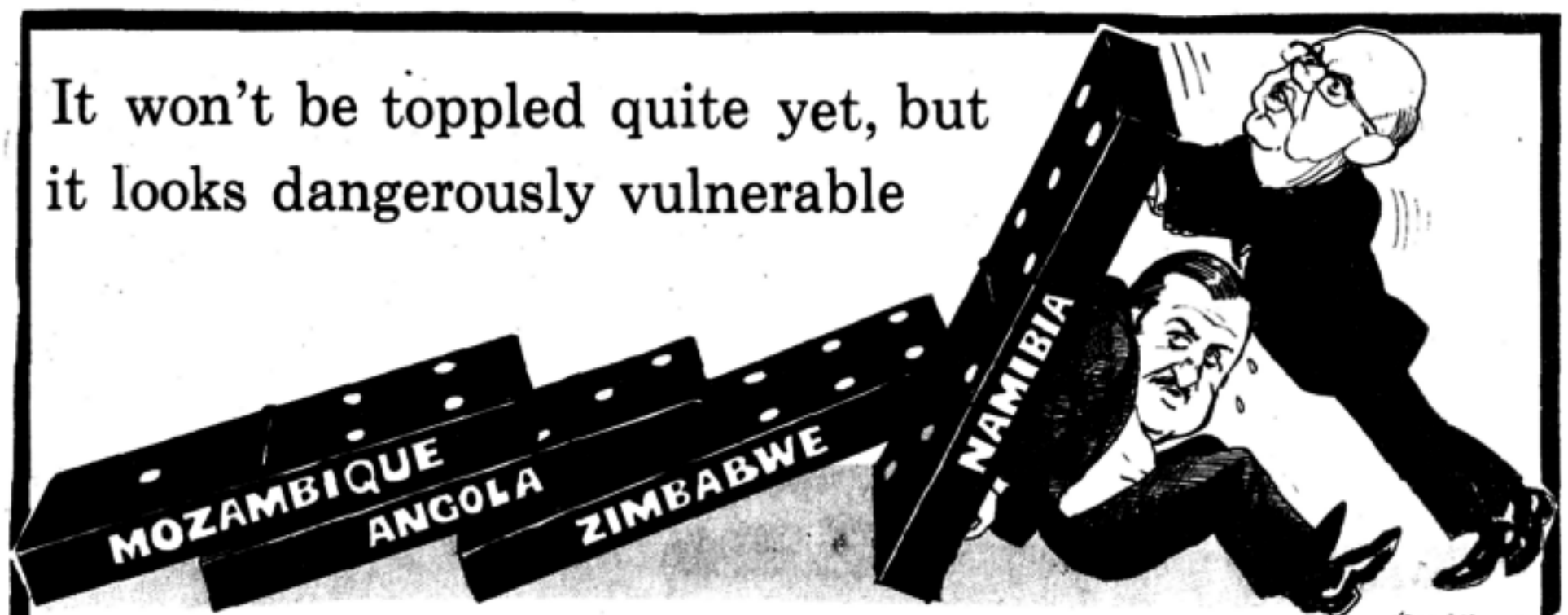
No, definitely not. We did not fail at all. I

said that the South African racists were operating there. They operated together with the Rhodesian security forces. We met the South African racists. They were deployed throughout the country in every base camp, at every police station and in every army barracks. We fought them and were captured by them. They interrogated us and used the same methods of extracting information as they were well-known for. The methods they used were used by the Gestapo during the Second World War but the Gestapo died with Hitler.

We contributed in freeing the peoples of this part of Southern Africa. We identified ourselves fully without reservation with the oppressed people of Zimbabwe. In the bush, in the prisons, we have no regrets. We have stayed in the Rhodesian prisons for 13 years. We did not fail, we won, despite the capitalist machinations, the sanctions-busting, and the hypocrisies of people like Harold Wilson. The people won. Lancaster was brought about by the concerted effort of the people here in the bush, not by the Kissingers, the Carringtons, and the Thatchers, but by the gun, and so it shall be in South Africa.

So what did the campaign achieve?

The campaign showed the world that the people of Southern Africa were determined to free themselves by the barrel of the gun. The campaign showed the positive intensification of the armed revolution at the time.



What happened to you after you were captured?

We were interrogated by teams of the Rhodesian and South African Special Branch, the CIDs. They were members of the so-called BOSS of South Africa.

Were you with your other comrades at this time or were you on your own? Did you see the others who were captured?

Yes. As we were captured we were sent to the same police station and we met there. They were not very stringent about meeting at the time because what happened was this: they captured us one by one or in twos so they dealt with us as we came. So it was not necessary for them to be stringent in the police station, that is, to separate us because before you meet the other men, you are already through them. Now, they used to interrogate us.

Where were you being held at the time?

When I was captured I was taken to Mangula. Incidentally, before I was taken to Mangula, I was sent to Doma base camp. It served as the operational headquarters of the battalion that was deployed against us. I was taken to the officer in command of the battalion. I later came to realise that this was General Hickman who later became the commander of the army in Rhodesia. From there I was taken to Mangula. I was kept at the police station. I was interrogated by a certain member of the Special Branch, I believe.

Rhodesian Special Branch?

Yes, Rhodesian Special Branch. He was a Mr. Merrigen (phonetic). I think I stayed there 2 to 4 days. I'm not sure now. From there I was taken to Karoi Police Station where I met the well-known Patrick McGuinness of the Special Branch of Rhodesia. That is where we went for the preparatory examination in court and were remanded to Karoi prison from which we were transferred to Salisbury. We were sentenced on July 1st, 1968 in Salisbury. We stayed on then in Salisbury to January 20th, 1969



when we were transferred to Khami Maximum Prison, where I remained until I left, about two weeks before the 8th of May this year. I was transferred to Grey Prison for two weeks and then we were released on the 8th of May. Now there were others who had been captured in other prisons, in Sinola, and others were kept in Chikurubi; others had been kept in Grey Prison, others had been kept in Wankie. We have seen many of the Rhodesian prisons.

Can you describe the methods of interrogation they used? Were you tortured?

Yes, we were tortured. They used electric shocks on us. They beat us, and in beating us they used all types of instruments — baton sticks, knobkerries, rubber truncheons, and even a hosepipe, canes, iron rods. They would place the burning end of a cigarette between your fingers and toes or stick it under your chin. They selected the most sensitive parts of the body to inflict their tortures. They dipped us in 44 gallon drums full of water, submerged your head in these drums, and keep you for some seconds. Or they would make you lie down and put a rag on your mouth and tie it behind your neck and pour water on your nose. You felt like you were drowning. In fact, they used many methods in extracting information. The aim was to get information.

What were they trying to find out?

A lot. They wanted to find out our strength, they wanted to know the contacts we had made, they wanted to know about our head-quarters in Lusaka, they wanted to know what type of people we had as our commanders in Lusaka, they wanted to know about our leadership. They wanted to know whether we had had any contact



with the local people, they wanted to know the state, the degree of our military training and they also tried to assess our political integrity. For instance, they would offer us to work for them, make hints — would we be prepared to work for the Rhodesian Security Forces, and if you were, would you be prepared to be taken back to Zambia and work for the security forces within ZAPU in Zambia. You would be sent there as if you had escaped from prison. So that is why I say they were trying to gauge our political integrity.

Did any of the comrades in fact agree to work for them?

Not to my knowledge.

Coming on to the various prisons in which you were held, particularly Khami Maximum, where you were for the longest time, can you describe the prison and the cell in which you were held?

I forget now the dimensions of the cell. I think it is about 9 feet long and about 4 or 3½ feet wide. They are single cells, that is, solitary confinement, sort of.

Khami is a complex of prisons; that is, there is Khami Maximum prison and there is Khami Medium prison and there is DMP for mentally disturbed prisoners. It is self-sufficient in a way in the sense that it has some dairies, and livestock, they have laundries and workshops. It is situated about 18 miles from Bulawayo, that is, I believe it is somewhere north-west or west of Bulawayo. I am not very sure of that because I am a stranger in this country. I had never been in this country before I came here with a gun.

We were in the Maximum prison, which contained D class prisoners. D class prisoners are people who are said to be the most dangerous prisoners. That is where all the political prisoners were kept. This Khami Maximum prison has two blocks, which are called A Hall and B Hall. B Hall is of 148 single men's cells. Now A Hall has only 10 single men's cells and the top floor has six 30 men cells. The first floor has 26 cells, that were meant to contain three men each, but from about 1972

onwards the number in each cell was four, five and at one time there were six men. The ground floor has 10 single cells, as I said, and the rest are four-men cells. This is A Hall. These halls are within walls. The first structure of the wall is situated somewhere in the middle of the yard, that is, the yard is surrounded by this wall. The wall is about 12 feet high. It is a concrete wall, it is white-washed. It stands about 12-15 feet away from the wall of the block itself. Then there is another, the outside wall, the wall that you see when you come from the outside, which is about 100 metres from the inside wall. Now the outside wall has seven towers. The inside walls have two towers at A Hall and two towers at B Hall. In these towers there are warders, who are armed with FN rifles and some shotguns. They used to have 303s. And at one time I did see some Brens at the corner towers. This would be the case, especially at times of tension, when there were some guerillas seen in the vicinity. The conditions in this prison were terrible, treatment of prisoners was very bad.

The type of food that they gave us was not nourishing at all. It was not meant to nourish, it was merely meant to keep you going and that was all. It was sadza, but most of the time it would be full of worms, weevils and grit. The official amount of meat we were supposed to get was 4 ounces, but I can assure you that has never been the case, due to graft, due to some corrupt practices in the kitchen. All the officers just helped themselves to the prisoners' rations. We were supposed to get coffee. What happened was that we did get something called "coffee" — most of the time it would be weak and without sugar. There were times that they did give us sugar, such as immediately after Christmas after they had stolen all the Christmas hampers that had been sent to us by our relatives. At such times they would feel generous and give us some sugar, but for 11 months of the year there was no sugar in the coffee. This coffee did not have milk. When I arrived in Khami in 1969, there was no fruit. They began giving us fruit around the end of 1969. We later came to understand that this was due to a certain officer who had arrived.

I forget his name. He was an efficient officer. He had the rank of Assistant Superintendent. He was efficient at his work; he since told me that he had been in Kenya. Unfortunately for me, when he was telling me all this, we were having a quarrel. At the time I was demanding some clothing of mine that had been confiscated by the Special Branch when I was captured. I wanted this and I was making an application through him to the police. They picked me up one morning, after I had signed the application and I was taken to his office. He raved and shouted at me, and threatened and intimidated me. But otherwise he was efficient in his work as a prison officer. It so happens again that he once quarrelled with Moffat Ndhlovu.

His name was Manders. So it was at his time that fruit began coming. We were given fruit once in two days. But most of the time even this fruit ran short. Let's say at A Hall, at any given time there were more than 400 people. They would come with about 175 to 200 or sometimes 225 oranges, that is, the remainder would not get anything. At Christmas time we were allowed food, parcels from our relatives. It was the general practice that they stole our Christmas hampers. This became worse in 1978 and 1979. The Christmas hampers that we, the South Africans, were sent by the Red Cross, were also subject to this thieving and at one time the ANC sent us some towels. These were sent to us through me, that is, it was my name that was written on the parcel, but the prison officers refused that I should take them with me and go and give them to my other comrades. They only wanted me to take one towel. There were 15 towels there. When they were not looking I managed to grab five more and went into the cells with them. I don't know what happened to the remainder. I did not see it when I came out. In fact, when I came out, none of the valuable property that I had obtained whilst I was in prison was in my keeping, such as my certificates. I didn't get them. At about the time we were to be released I considered some litigation against the prison authorities, but at the time I felt that this was going to cause an unnecessary delay, which meant I would be kept in prison while they were

sorting the whole thing out. Now at present I don't know what to do, but Mr. Eliot has suggested I should write to the college, the University of London, under which I studied and ask for copies of my certificates. The person who is supposed to be in charge of education in the prison is the chaplain. When I came to Khami it was Reverend Nyawa. Well, he didn't stay long after I arrived from Salisbury. Then came a couple of priests of the Anglican denomination, and Reverend Mapondera of the Methodists. The Anglican priests were Reverend Crane and Reverend Magava.

How much study were you able to do in Khami? Was it only for some of the years there?

They stopped this in 1972, because they said we had come to the country to kill and maim whites and now we could not expect them to educate us, even when we told them they were not paying for the education, it was the Christian Care. They would tell us that the taxpayers were paying and they were taxpayers. And so

it was taken away. We do suspect it was at the recommendation of the prison authorities to take away this education. At the time the Minister of Justice and Law and Order was Mr Desmond Lardner-Burke. He did come to the prison, I think thrice in my stay at Khami. The officers and even the black warders had shown an envy of the privilege to educate us. They would make many insinuations about us getting degrees when we had come to kill people, about Khami now being a university instead of a prison. Ultimately, the privilege was withdrawn.

Were you kept in a single cell all the time or was it just to begin with?

I understand that on arrival in Khami a man has to be kept in a single cell in B Hall for not more than a year. As a matter of fact, in Salisbury I was informed by Superintendent Bottomley that we would be D-class prisoners for 12 months, after which we would be made C-class. But this never materialised. So in Khami you are

supposed to be in B Hall for twelve months, and after that you have to be transferred to A Hall, but this did not actually happen like that. For instance, I stayed in B Hall for 28 months. Bothwell did not leave B Hall at all until he was transferred to Chikurubi prison last year, about January/February.

So was Bothwell Ndhlovu in solitary confinement all those years?

Since December 1969 until he left. They were transferred in March. Since 1969 December to March 1979. He stayed there 10 years in solitary confinement.

Why was he given that treatment?

You can't say. We don't know, really.

Were there others with him treated the same way? Was it all the three who went to Chikurubi?

There were others. A man like Richard Mapolisa had once been in A Hall, but he had not stayed for long and he was re-transferred back to B Hall.

What about the other ANC prisoners?

No, most of us were transferred to A Hall, but we stayed different durations in B Hall. I stayed 28 months, others stayed two, four, five or six years in B Hall. George Motusi died in 1976. He was in A Hall only for about seven months, I believe. He had arrived in Khami in 1971.

Where had he been held before that?

He was in Salisbury.

When you got to A Hall, were you kept separately from other prisoners as a group of ANC prisoners or were you mixed with the others?

No, we stayed with the others.

Were you in the 30-man cell in A Hall?

man cell. After that I went to cell 58 — a 30-man cell. After that I went to the first floor a 30-man cell, until there was a bit of a fight in the cell last year and I was changed from that cell to another 30-man cell. Then there was another fight again on April 1st, and then I was taken to B Hall. I stayed in B Hall from April 2nd until 26/27th November when some of the chaps were released because of the Lancaster House Agreement, that is, the amnesty arising thereto.

Can you describe the daily routine at Khami?

First thing in the morning we have to clean our cells before we are counted. At the time they come for counting the cells must be clean. We shine the floors using rags. They are very very strict about the floors. Floors have to shine. In fact since I came out of prison I haven't seen floors shining like the floors in prison. We have to make up our blankets and these take on different forms, different shapes. You have to decorate them. I am unable to produce this now. After that they come to count us. They unlock for counting, and after that we go for our ablutions. Then we are sent back to the cells to wait for breakfast. Breakfast is soft porridge and coffee. We have our breakfast in the cells. We just go out of the cells to collect our food and eat inside the cells. At about 9 we are supposed to be taken out for exercise in the yard. This did not always take place like that. This depended on the disposition of the warder in charge. The halls are under the charge of a sergeant. He might decide to take us out at 9 or he might just decide not to take us out at all and he would not be challenged by anyone. He could always give an explanation to the Superintendent that we had misbehaved or displeased him somehow. They did even at times tell him lies, that we had just been to exercise and come back. We were supposed to come back immediately we had our dinner, lunchtime, which was just sadza and beans.

To be continued...

FRANKFURT BOOKFAIR

The 32nd Frankfurt Bookfair took place from the 8th to the 13th October 1980. It was the first time the organisers of the Bookfair had invited the liberation movements to the Bookfair. This year's theme was "Black Africa" and after a long debate the African National Congress and SWAPO were invited as special guests. The invitation however did not come automatically, the South Africans and their friends did not want the ANC and SWAPO to attend the Bookfair.

The Frankfurt Bookfair is a very prestigious event both for the West German Government and the West German Publishing Houses and it was no accident that the focus this year was on "Black Africa". The West German Government regards itself as the friend and ally of the African countries, but at the same time it collaborates on a massive scale with racist South Africa, the enemy of the African countries. They have helped South Africa with the technical know-how, equipment and expertise to develop its nuclear capability which is now a major threat to the Front Line states and world peace. West Germany also has close cultural and sporting links with the racists. The Bavarian Prime Minister, Frantz Joseph Strauss is a close friend of the racists and he undertakes yearly trips to South Africa and Namibia. West Germany is also a major trading partner of the racist regime, it was the "moneybag" of Muzorewa and they donated millions of Deutsch-marks to his so-called election campaign. At the same time, Savimbi, the puppet of South Africa and the butcher of the Angolan people has an office in West Germany. It was therefore not surprising that the traditional ally of the racists should come under fire from the racists themselves for having invited the ANC and SWAPO.

Since the theme of the Bookfair was "Black Africa", many African Publishing Houses as well as famous African writers were invited. To focus on the theme, all African writers and participants were housed in the special "Africa Hall". It was interesting to discover that the South African racist publishers were not housed in "Africa Hall" but in Hall 5, two blocks away. The only South African publisher who was housed in the "Africa Hall" was Ravan Press of Braamfontein. The representative of Ravan Press tried to project himself and his publication house as liberal. They had the interests of the black people at heart, he said and on this basis they claimed the right to be in the "Africa Hall". This issue was hotly debated by the African participants because no racist Publishing House could claim to represent the black people of South Africa, they could only be the representatives of the racist regime or the Harry Oppenheimer types. These are the people, the delegates maintained, who are the major exploiters of the wealth and the black people of South Africa, so what right did they have to claim they represented the people of South Africa. Every participant pointed to the ANC Bookstall as the only representative of the people of South Africa. This, the African participants claimed was the height of arrogance and insult to Black Africa.

On Wednesday, the 8th October, the Frankfurt Bookfair was officially opened by the West German Deputy Foreign Minister. She came to "Africa Hall" to officially meet and welcome all the participants and special guests. Since the general public were only allowed into the Bookfair in the afternoons, we had enough time to meet and lobby the African participants against the racists.

But the greetings and meetings were 27

short-lived. Whilst the organisers and many other publishers wanted the Bookfair to be a strictly economic venture, the whole storm erupted over the presence of the South African racists at the Bookfair. Whilst the old classical arguments of "pure economics" kept free from politics were being propounded to defend the presence of the racists, we were mobilising. We reminded our comrades and friends about the Information Scandal, how the South Africans through the Information Department and Security Police have subverted and taken over Publishing Houses. The Bookfair was the ideal platform for the racists to exhibit and sell their racist propaganda. It is therefore very important to cut this life-line.

The decision was taken by the African writers and publishers to boycott the Bookfair if the racists were not banned from the Frankfurt Bookfair. After a long and heated debate, the organisers said that since the racists had a legal contract, like all African publishers, it was not possible to have them banned at this particular Bookfair. As an act of solidarity and support for the liberation struggle all African writers signed a petition calling on the organisers to withdraw the invitation of the racists to the Bookfair. By unanimous decision all the African participants in a disciplined and dignified protest, marched to Hall 5 where the Bookstalls of the racists were occupied whilst the over 250 black participants and supporters were addressed by the representatives of the ANC and Swapo as well as well-known African writers such as Chinua Achebe of Nigeria and Sembene Ousmane of Senegal. Speaker after speaker denounced the Organisers of the Bookfair for conniving with the racists. Everyone called for total support of the ANC and Swapo whilst denouncing the apartheid regime for its daily violations of the sovereign territories of the Front Line states and called for African writers and publishers, supporters and all progressive countries to boycott the Frankfurt Bookfair in the future if the racists were allowed to use the Bookfair.

It was interesting to see how the green-uniformed West German police formed a

protective barrier between the African participants and the racists. Although there were no violent intentions by any of the African participants, the racists were given the protection of West German law-enforcing agencies, an indication of the collaboration.

In another act of defiance, all the African participants agreed to stage a one-day boycott of the Bookfair on the 9th of October. No African delegate, writer or publisher attended the Bookfair on that day. On the 10th October various political forums were held which discussed the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. The ANC gave a talk on the Freedom Charter, Swapo gave a brief talk on the liberation struggle in Namibia and the Angolan representative spoke about the daily violations by the racists of Angolan sovereign territory.

An interesting development at the Bookfair was the decision of the organisers to allow the ANC Cultural Group, "Amandla", to perform. Not only was it a brilliant performance, but it proved to the audience of over 300 that the people of South Africa led by the ANC is putting into practice the Freedom Charter which states that the aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace.

After the performance our group received a tumultuous ovation. Our Bookstall was crowded with people trying to get copies of the "Amandla" record, ANC literature, to sign the petition calling for the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela as well as calling on the organisers of the Bookfair to ban the racists from the Bookfair in future. "Amandla" had dealt apartheid another body-blow and had struck another nail into the coffin of apartheid.

The Frankfurt Bookfair has reached the crossroads of confrontation. The organisers and the West German Government have only two choices — end the collaboration with apartheid or face a total boycott of the Bookfair in future. Apartheid has been condemned as a crime against humanity and for the West Germans to allow the fascist followers of Hitler to sell and exhibit

racist literature is being an accomplice to the crime of apartheid. They are therefore guilty of the same crimes against humanity.

We have to thank all the comrades and friends who helped us so much to

pressurise the organisers to abandon their racist allies. We thank the African writers and publishers for their steadfast support and we wish to reassure them that the struggle continues! Victory is certain! Forward to a People's Government!

ALL ROADS LED TO BERLIN

An International Scientific Conference was held in Berlin, capital of the GDR, on October 20-24, 1980. The theme of the conference was:

"The Joint Struggle of the Working Class Movement and the National Liberation Movement Against Imperialism and for Social Progress".

In Berlin there were representatives of 116 communist and workers' parties, other revolutionary parties and national liberation movements. In those 5 October days more than 195 people spoke about the fundamental questions of our times, about our common goal, common struggle and common destiny; about world peace, democracy, national independence and struggle for it; social progress of the peoples of all continents; about imperialism, neo-colonialism, threat of war, arms race, unemployment, racism and apartheid. We listened to speeches on the unity of the three component parts of the world revolutionary process — existing socialism, the international working class movement and the national liberation movement. The atmosphere at this conference, which was organised jointly by the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party and the World Marxist Review, was characterised by equality of all participants, mutual respect, friendship and internationalist solidarity.

ANC Speaks

This theoretical conference took place at

a time when in the practical-political field developments were taking their own course. There was the Iraqi-Iran war. At that time an Ethiopian delegation led by Comrade Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council of Socialist Ethiopia and Chairman of the Commission for Establishing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia, signed in Moscow a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. It was also at a time when Antonio Maidana, First Secretary of the C.P. of Paraguay and his comrades Alfredo Alcorta and Emilio Roa were kidnapped from Buenos Aires to Paraguay, where the Stroessner regime — an ally of the Botha regime — tortured, if not killed them.

The ANC delegation led by President O.R. Tambo came to Berlin to voice our opinion on the most burning issues of our times, to listen to opinions of others about the struggle for national liberation; about the necessary measures to secure world peace and to cement our common actions against international imperialism.

Comrade O.R. Tambo was driving this point home when he said that the unity of the three revolutionary elements of the revolutionary world process is a vital precondition for the final victory over all forces of imperialism, colonialism, racism, zionism and exploitation of man by man. He stated that the apartheid system is an expression of the system of imperialist domination. Now the task which faces us is the unity of all the national and class

forces which are interested in the overthrow of the racist Pretoria regime. The ANC is striving for the creation of unity in action of all oppressed Blacks and democratic Whites.

The Influence of World Socialism

The spreading influence of world socialism, successes of the national liberation movement and the mass base of the peace movement was dealt with by Ponomoryov, Candidate of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU:

“Lenin and the communists were the first who were able to see the tremendous revolutionary potentials of the peoples oppressed by imperialism and who consistently upheld the rights of those peoples to independence and to independent development.”

This was emphasised by Erich Honnecker, General Secretary of the CC of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and Chairman of the GDR Council of State:

“If one looks at the facts as they are one finds that the weight carried by the socialist community in the world is a powerful factor in the solution of the crucial issues facing mankind. The more socialism brings the advantages of its profoundly humanist order of society to bear the more stable it becomes and the greater is its international influence. The socialist revolution ... is a prolonged historical process of fundamental socio-economic changes... Nobody can deny the fact that the successes scored by socialism are of historic importance in the confrontation with imperialism.”

Mozambique Speaks

Sergio Vieira, member of the C.C. of Frelimo — Party, made a thorough analysis of the Mozambican revolution in the context of our epochal developments characterised by the revolutions in Vietnam, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Nicaragua, Iran, Afghanistan and Zimbabwe.

He was followed by Maxime Gremetz, member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the C.C. of the French C.P. who discussed French reality in the context

of developments in Western Europe.

Commissions Meet

On the following days the conference participants met in three commissions (they were called sections) on Security of World Peace, Disarmament and Imperialist War Policy; another one was on Neocolonialism and the third was on the Struggle for National Liberation and Social Emancipation. In these commissions the aggressive policies of imperialism in the Middle East, Horn of Africa, Indo-China, Southern Africa and Latin America were exposed; unemployment, neo-fascism, racism militarism and aggressiveness of the Western European and North American imperialist countries was discussed. NATO and anti-communism were under thorough scrutiny. But this was not all. The successes of world socialism, the international working class and the national liberation movement were appreciated.

Internationalist Spirit

Such a conference with such a topic and so wide a participation — the biggest and broadest conference of this nature in the history of the revolutionary movement — gave a new impetus for action and became a platform for exchange of ideas; it helped to uplift the consciousness about the identity of our interests especially in those parties and movements which were participating at such a conference for the first time or those who were visiting a socialist country for the first time.

The other important aspect of the conference were the bilateral discussions — we had a fruitful and interesting discussion with Henry Winston, National Chairman of the CP of the USA and his delegation — and the contacts with other parties and organisation e.g. Sierra Leone and Guyana. It was interesting to listen to comrades from El Salvador telling us how they captured and later executed the racist South African ambassador in their country.

One of the moving moments at the conference was a meeting between Erich Honecker and Oliver Tambo — they were not meeting for the first time. The two



Erich Honecker addresses the scientific conference

anti-imperialists met to assess the conference, to exchange ideas on the anti-imperialist struggle — ideas which were identical, and comrade Honecker reassured us of the unqualified support the GDR renders to our movement.

Such an atmosphere was possible thanks to the hospitality and thorough organisation and preparation by the host country, the GDR, its people and their party the Socialist Unity Party. The spirit and success of the conference were summarised by Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary of the C.C. of the CP of Uruguay when he said in

his toast:

“Our conference does not end with resolutions. It is a scientific conference, no international proclamation, to work out a single strategy, a single tactic, which will be binding to all. But besides the limitations which the realities in our countries set for us, the declarations, the contributions of the comrades, the participation of so many forces, of so many liberation movements, of the socialist countries, of socialist parties, of communist parties and liberation fronts — are the best resolution in life — the resolution of unity.”

AHMED KATHRADA PROFILE

This is the first profile in a series that Sechaba intends to publish on the biographies of our leaders especially those on Robben Island.

Born on August 21, 1929 at Schweizer Reneke, Transvaal, Ahmed Kathrada came to Johannesburg — for schooling — in 1938 and went as far as matriculation. In 1939 he came under the political influence of Dr Dadoo and the two Cachalia brothers, Yusuf and Moulvi. He began active political work in 1941 at the age of 12.

In 1946 at the age of 17, Kathrada gave up schooling to do full time work in the offices of the Passive Resistance Council which conducted a resistance movement in Natal and Transvaal against unjust land laws affecting the Indians. Over 2,000 Indians were imprisoned. He served his first prison sentence of one month in a Durban gaol in December 1946 as a passive resister. The offence committed was the occupation of a piece of land in Durban set aside for Whites only.

After serving his sentence he continued his full-time political work and took active part in campaigns. He came into contact with various leaders such as Mandela, Sisulu, Marks, Dr Xuma. In 1951 he enrolled at the University of Witwatersrand to take a B.A. degree but gave up a few months later because he was elected to go to the World Youth Festival in Berlin. He was sent by the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress. In Berlin he was elected leader of the delegation of 65 South Africans of all races.

After the Festival he represented the Students' Liberal Association (Wits University) at the Congress of the International Union of Students in Warsaw. He was then invited to work at the headquarters of the World Federation of Democratic Youth

(WFDY) in Budapest where he remained for nine months. He says about this period:

“During my stay in Europe I visited the Auschwitz Concentration Camp in Poland which left a strong and lasting impression on my mind. It forcefully demonstrated the effects of racialism and made me more convinced than ever of the urgent need to eradicate the poison of racial supremacy which was already growing to alarming proportions in my own country.”

In 1952 Kathrada returned to South Africa and soon became involved in the Defiance Campaign in which about 9,000 volunteers were imprisoned throughout the country. He was arrested and convicted to 9 months.

In 1953 he was elected to the Executive Committee of WFDY in absentia. Ahmed Kathrada, the hard worker, held positions in the following organisations: Indian Congress, Indian Youth Congress, Peace Council, Youth Festival Committee, Joint Committee of Youth Organisations etc. In 1954 he was served with banning orders which forced him to resign from all the organisations he belonged to — 39 in all. He was prohibited from attending gatherings.

In 1955 he took an active part in starting the Central Indian High School, a private school catering for Indian children from Johannesburg who were being forced to travel 20 miles a day to attend school in Lenasia, which was at that time just bare veld. He was full time secretary of the Central Indian High School Parents' Association until the Treason Trial. In 1956 he was arrested on a charge of High Treason and was only discharged in 1961. In 1962 he was placed under house arrest and in 1963 went underground.

He was arrested at Rivonia and is now serving life imprisonment on Robben Island.

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