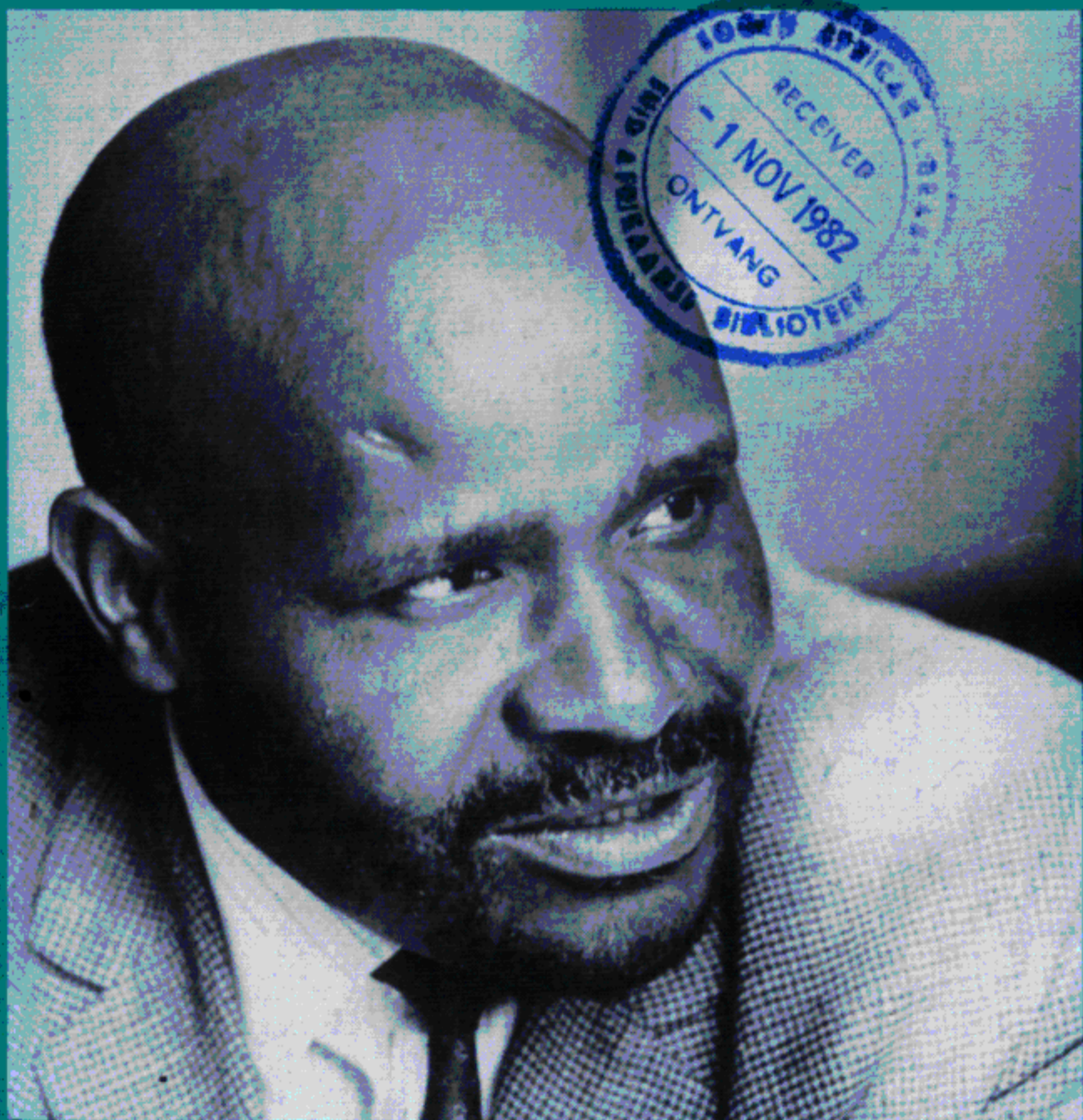


JULY 1982



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**Comrade Thomas Nkobi
Treasurer-General of the ANC**

SECHABA

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EDITORIAL - CALL TO THE YOUTH

June 16th this year, marks the 6th anniversary of the heroic resistance of our youth, against the inferior and much hated system of Bantu Education. On this day, we look back and reflect on the events around June 16 1976 - when the cream of our youth the flower of our nation resolved that Bantu Education that had come to symbolise servitude, inequality, racism and capitalism, had to be challenged, crushed and consigned to the dustbin of history.

Since the heroic uprising by our students six years ago, the influence, support and prestige of the African National Congress, have grown by leaps and bounds. The heroes of 1976, after careful analysis of the situation in our country, correctly found their political home in the African National Congress and the army of our people, Umkhonto we Sizwe. They felt the need to pick up the gun of the fallen comrades, and continue the fight until the hated brutal fascist order in our country is eradicated.

The African National Congress, and the entire people proclaim ever-lasting glory to the martyrs of the June 16th uprising. Their sacrifice will continue to inspire us as we continue to struggle to rid our country of racism and capitalism. It was from the ashes of June 16th and subsequent student actions that the heroes of our people like Solomon Mahlangu, James Mange, Mashigo, Manana, Lubisi, Tsotsobe, Shabangu, Moise and many others emerged.

Since June 16th, the ranks of our movement and the people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe are being filled with youth from the factories, schools, universities and the peasantry. The enemy is being engaged systematically in armed combat inside our country. From the stone throwing and molotov cocktail swinging youngsters, have appeared on the battlefronts of our country,

skilled, well-trained disciplined revolutionary fighters confronting the enemy.

As we observe the sixth anniversary of the rising of our youth, we are heartily inspired by the militancy, steadfastness, political and class consciousness of our oppressed working class.

The working class, our most revolutionary and decisive detachment is on the march - and with determined steps, it is marching against the capitalist system and its repressive state machinery.

The working class demands are not merely economic but are increasingly becoming political. The demands are no longer confined to the improvement of living and working conditions, but also embrace rejection of bantustans, influx control regulations, oppressive and restrictive legislations. Indeed, the workers' political voice, is increasingly being heard consistently and regularly. The broad democratic front of the working class within a single democratic federation, is no longer a mirage but a realistic goal. One country one trade union federation, one union one industry, has become a rallying cry shouted out by the working class.

In the forefront of the working class battles, are the young men and women who led the marches and demonstrations against inferior education in 1976.

The African National Congress, the trusted vanguard of the national liberation struggle of our people, calls on our youth to take their place in the progressive civic organisations that have been created by our people to fight the daily afflictions suffered by them in their localities. Let the struggle against high rents, high transport fares, poor housing, community councils, management boards, be intensified. The young



people must join their parents, in building popular mass democratic civic organisations that must lead the struggle against apartheid in all its manifestations.

We also appeal to the young people of our country, the hope and inspiration of our people, to build and strengthen the progressive youth and student movement in our country.

We call upon the youth, to intensify the onslaught on the enemy, by joining

both the African National Congress and our people's army Umkhonto we Sizwe. The youth that has joined the South African Defence Force, must stop pointing their guns at their kith and kin, but should form its own clandestine groups and start operations against the South African Defence Force. Use those grenades, rifles, explosives, against the army whose role is perpetual slavery.

We call upon you young countrymen,

to campaign vigorously for the rejection of the recommendations of the Presidents' Council. Let us not be party to divisive devices, designed to weaken our united struggle, against the enemy.

On this occasion, we pay tribute to the brave young men and women within the white section of the population who are swelling the ranks of our democratic movement. The growth of this democratic wing within the white section of the population, is viewed with alarm by the ruling circles. This is so because it further exposes the bankruptcy of the policies that have hitherto been a mainstay of white domination which a growing section of the white youth are no longer prepared to defend. During the Year of Unity in Action, we are calling upon the democratic white youth to take their place within the militant ranks of our revolutionary movement.

The future that the African National Congress and our people are fighting for, is a future of happiness, and security for all South African citizens, a future that will guarantee for every South African a worthy place under the South African sun. A future that will give a real meaning, to South African true patriotism. This future is enshrined in the Freedom Charter. It is a future that all of us must aspire to and be prepared to fight for.

We are not alone in the fight to destroy the fascist apartheid system in our country. On our side, are the militant people and youth of Namibia, struggling under the

heroic banner of SWAPO, to destroy the same racist enemy that oppresses us in our country. It is now only a matter of time, that SWAPO and the oppressed masses of Namibia will finally drive out the racist enemy from their country and begin the task of building a truly democratic state.

The glorious youth and people of independent Africa, are actively engaged in the process of consolidating the independence of their countries so that they can better assist us in our revolutionary struggle.

Under the heroic banner of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, the youth of Palestine, are courageously resisting imperialist backed Israel aggression. Determined through their sweat and blood, to eventually win the right for the Palestinian people for self determination including the right to their own state, their heroic struggle is a direct contribution to our revolutionary struggle for national and social liberation.

The heroic youth and courageous people of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala and everywhere else, including the democratic and progressive youth in the socialist countries, continuously bend every effort to increase their assistance and support for our struggle in the interest of the worldwide anti-imperialist struggle for peace and social progress.

With such a mighty supporting force, mobilised throughout the whole world, our revolutionary struggle must soon realise its strategic objective of seizure of power.

FORWARD TO VICTORY!
AMANDLA NGAWETHU!
MAATLA KE ARONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

(The above statement was issued by the Secretary General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo, on June 16th 1982)

The Steyn Commission and the people's right to know

by MBW

The Steyn Commission has tabled its Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media. The South African Outlook (April, 1982) described the report as a "rambling, self-indulgent piece of writing based on unscientific methodology and spiced with errata."

This bulky three-volume 1,367 page report is about far more than the press — it is the first-ever comprehensive exposition of the "total onslaught" philosophy that has become the all encompassing justification for any — indeed any — action the racist Government cares to take. According to the Chief of the Defence Force, General Magnus Malan, total strategy is a "national reorientation aimed at survival".

This report is aimed at legitimising the racist Government's attempt at forcing journalists to reflect the ever diminishing picture of South African reality. Omissions do not only falsify reality but "reassure" the people instead of challenging them to face the conflicts, issues and demands of the time.

But before we discuss the issues raised in this Steyn Commission report, let us look at its background and composition.

Background

4 There have been quite a number of commis-

sions lately. At the University of the North (Turfloop) alone two commissions were appointed to inquire into the student unrest in 1974 following the "pro-Frelimo" rallies. These were the Jackson and the Snyman Commissions of Inquiry. Then there was the Cillie Commission which investigated unrest throughout the country in 1976 following the Soweto uprising and the manner in which the media dealt with it. The Rabie Commission reviewed security legislation.

But before we forget let us remind ourselves that the last commission into the South African Press was appointed at the end of 1950 and sat for 13 years at a cost of R355 000 without presenting its third and final report. It was disbanded in 1964, after presenting two interim reports — 19 volumes. Soon after the second report was issued, the only two remaining commissioners of the original seven asked to be relieved of their duties.

This commission, chaired by Justice J.W. van Zyl, included Dr. L.I. Coertze, Professor P.W. Hoek, C.M. van Coller and N.J. Lamb. The first volumes of their report were tabled in the Assembly in English by the then Minister of Interior, Senator Jan de Klerk, in February 1962 amid strong Opposition protests. The report is anti-English press and English-speaking

newsmen and accused them of all sorts of "crimes". The Newspaper Press Union and the South African Society of Journalists agreed to a code of conduct and punished transgressors.

A Press Council to "discipline newspapers" was recommended, so was a register of journalists "and only registered journalists should be allowed to work for newspapers or send reports overseas". The Commission complained about reports sent overseas about South Africa's racial and political situation, which were said to be "very bad", "bad" or "faulty" with an anti-Afrikaner bias and were slanted in favour of Blacks. The South African Press Association,

the main source of news for Reuters international news agency was blamed. The appointment of a new commission was recommended.

The two Steyn Commissions

The first Steyn Commission was appointed in February 1980 to investigate the reporting of defence and police matters in the press. In other words the purpose of the Commission was to find a means of moulding newspapers to the needs of the armed forces. This perhaps explains why this commission — unlike previous ones — consisted of Colonels and Generals from the South African Defence Force (SADF). They were:





Justice Steyn, former Administrator-General of Namibia, and chairman of the Commission; Colonel K. H. Fischer of the SADF and Secretary of the Commission; Major-General Neil Webster, director-general (resources) of the SADF; Colonel K.C. von Lieres of the 7th Infantry Division – he is one of the officers who led the invasion into Angola in 1975; a practising advocate, von Lieres was one of the prosecuting team in the Soweto students' security trial in Kempton Park; Commandant L. C. Masterson, also an advocate and Commanding Officer of the Cape Town Rifles and Captain D.A.S. Herbst, a communication expert in the Troop Information Division of the Citizen Force.

Surely these people knew more about the army than about the press. This was the period of ANC attacks on Soekmekaar, Silverton bank siege and similar activities of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The ANC was the real target of this Commission. The 217 page report of the Commission reflected the official view.

In June 1980 the Commission of Inquiry into the Mass Media was appointed. Justice Steyn, who had just two months before completed his inquiry into press reporting of police and defence matters, chaired this

second commission. The appointment of Steyn as chairman of another Commission of Inquiry into the press was to get him to fulfil his own recommendations – to create an information policy. The other members of this five-member commission were:

Basil Landan, executive director of the Union Corporation (Ltd) Mining House and a man known for his strongly conservative views. He is said to have called for tougher measures against certain newspapers when he addressed the meeting between the racist Prime Minister and businessmen in November 1979. He suggested to the businessmen that they withdraw advertising from newspapers which published "disagreeable" news and did not show more restraint in their reporting. He holds several top posts, including chairmanships of African Coaster Holdings, Carlton Paper and Kohler Bros, is also Deputy-Chairman of Sappi; director of the French bank of Southern Africa; a trustee of the South African Foundation and a trustee of the National Development and Management Foundation; Managing Director of Toyota in 1964 and attached to the massive Leyland Motor Corporation – he was deputy-chairman and managing director from 1972 to 1975. James Hullet Hopkins,

vice-chairman of the board of directors of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC); for 14 years headmaster of Kearsney College, Natal – he was on the staff of Kearsney College for 37 years; also chairman of the Natal Private Schools Association and vice-chairman of the Council of the University of Natal and chairman of Durban's Edgewood Education College Council. After his retirement in 1976 he was invited by Piet Koornhof to join the board of the SABC. Klaus von Lieres und Wilkan served on the first Steyn Commission; so did Dr. D.A.S. Herbst. Dr. Herbst is a former news editor who wrote a doctoral thesis on the press. It is therefore obvious that, with the exception of Dr. Herbst, the other commissioners had limited qualifications in this field – except that they represented the establishment.

It should be remembered that in January 1981 as the Steyn Commission was conducting its hearings, the regime forced the closure of Soweto's Post and Sunday Post thus silencing the only legal outlet for public expression by black South Africans. Five MWASA journalists were under banning orders prevented by government decree from writing, from being quoted, from being in the company of more than one person at a time and therefore forced to live under virtual house arrest.

The Commission's mandate was to decide how much South Africans are to know about what goes on in our country. That meant to inquire into and report on the question whether the conduct of, and the handling of matters by the mass media, met the needs and interests of the "community" and the demands of the times, and if not, how they can be "improved". According to Alwyn Schlebusch, Minister of Interior, the Commission was appointed after the racist Government and the Newspaper Press Union had been unable to reach consensus on his proposed new controls over newspapers.

In a speech to the Newspaper Press Union (NPU) congress at Skukuza, Kruger National Park, in September 1979, Schlebusch envisaged a tougher Press

Council, empowered to suspend even indefinitely, the publication of any newspaper harmful to the "security of the state". It should be remembered that the National Press Union represents newspaper proprietors. That is why they declined to be their own executioners or to put it in other words to muzzle themselves.

At Skukuza Schlebusch said more. Besides mooting the idea of giving NPU legal powers to curb the "misuse of press freedom", he envisaged a Press Council made up of representatives of the press and the "public" and including two active journalists – one English and one Afrikaans – and in addition:

a Press Code under which all newspapers published in the Republic must operate regardless of whether they are NPU members; the Press Council would then be empowered to investigate transgressions of the code and on a finding of guilty, the journalist mainly responsible for the report would be liable to a fine of R1000 and could be barred temporarily or permanently from working as a journalist, the newspaper proprietor could be liable to a fine of R10 000 and the newspaper could be closed down temporarily or permanently. This was a sort of "code of conduct" for journalists.

The NPU rejected these proposals made at the Skukuza Congress. Then a Commission was appointed. Perhaps this conflict of interests explains why no press representative had been appointed to the Commission. In any case this was not the first time that such things happened.

The report of the Commission is a lengthy document which deals with the "North-South" or "First World-Third World" conflict, the KGB, World Council of Churches, Black Theology, the Afrikaner civil religion, the environmental threat or ecological crisis and much more besides and for the first time gets round to the media by page 965!

The mass media are to be viewed in the context of the "Southern African conflict" and "threat situation" that is "external Soviet inspired onslaught" on South Africa



or a "Soviet threat" to South Africa which is reinforced by a "third-world threat".

This confused jargon comes out clearly in the following passage:

"a particularly significant area of confluence wherein the Marxist, Third World and Western streams of anti-South African action meet, mingle and reinforce each other ... This area of confluence is that of spiritual politicisation ... of Political Theology and Theological Politics".

As we said before the ANC is the main target of this Commission. The ANC is portrayed as an organisation whose origins are said to be external, foreign and outside

South Africa. Not only that. The ANC is aimed at the "destruction of true African cultural identity":

"It is therefore most probable that the origins of the ANC were not as purely African as they may appear ... but that it in fact sprang from the same seed whence came the Social Gospel, the politicisation of Western Theology, the collectivisation of society and Soviet Communism. Consequently the ANC holds within itself the potential force for the destruction of true African cultural identity..."

The South African Outlook comments about the Commission's peculiar use of

language which is characterised by a penchant for catch-phrases and jargonised constructions, often used wildly out of context, serving as substitutes for serious analysis and argument. In the report there is a lot of talk about "an expanding and developing democracy"; "delicate bloom of developing democracy" and the South African society is described as an "aggressively heterogeneous population". What is this if not intellectual phrase-making with ill-informed generalisations?

Conclusion

The clampdown on the press in South Africa is a logical sequence of apartheid and should be seen as part and parcel of the Government's denial of political rights to millions in the country and of practices such as detention without trial.

The problem regarding "press freedom" in South Africa is that the racist Government wants the more than 20 million Blacks to read and hear what the authorities deem fit. When you have a majority with no democratic or political rights and not represented in the decision-making of the country, then it is the duty of any honourable newspaper to act as a voice of these unrepresented millions. Not that the press in South Africa ever did this. What has actually been happening is that the press failed to cover our grievances and our struggle adequately.

But the point we are making here is that press freedom goes hand in hand with political freedom and democracy and as long as all South Africans do not enjoy political rights, there will be no press freedom.

The press in South Africa operates everyday in a minefield of political contentions and controversial matters — a highly charged field of operations. No code of conduct or commission will defuse this situation. The Steyn Commission was supposed to be a medicine for sedating the press. The aim was not to protect it from manipulation (by ANC "terrorists") but to beat it into docile submission. The corrosive effect of the 100 laws which

control the press has now been made worse by the recommendations of the Steyn Commission.

Racist South Africa's security laws endanger the ability of the public to keep abreast of developments which have, or could have, an effect on its future well being and free flow of information. For instance reports about our armed actions have to be so carefully worded that they are not construed as being incitement or an instigation, aid or encouragement to commit sabotage. Newspapers have to be wary not to "sensationalise" events. Suppression of reports of such news does not eliminate the problem; it only aggravates it.

The Steyn Commission was actually awarding the racist Government some form of permanent state of emergency powers.

The question arises: who has to put his house in order? Is it the Government or the press? The mass media have a duty to account to the public. This is all the more so because the public has a right to know — our people demand the right to know.



Reaching the Canadian People

In the June issue of Sechaba we published a short report on the Canadian Conference in Solidarity with the liberation struggles of the Peoples of Southern Africa. Below we print the speeches given to the Conference by the heads of the ANC and SWAPO delegations.

Address by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress.

It is a matter of great pleasure and inspiration to our delegation that so many thousands of miles away from our country and the southern part of Africa, we find ourselves in the midst of this extra-ordinary gathering of friends and supporters. We sincerely thank the organisers of this Conference for having made this possible.

This is the first time that I visit Canada to participate in an occasion such as this Solidarity Conference. I count myself very fortunate that on this first visit, I should find myself in the company of that important section of the Canadian people that is represented here.

As a people, for many years we have lived with and known a different Canada. We have known a Canada that is rapacious and an enthusiastic partner in the commission of the crime of apartheid, a Canada that condescended to talk to us because and when it saw in us an object of exploitation.

Mr. Chairman, I am talking of that part of Canada that is represented among others by Alcan and Massey-Fergusson, that Canada which in recent past permitted the transshipment of arms by the United States Space Research Corporation through this

country to the hands of the murderous apartheid regime.

Reaching the Canadian People

We would like to convey the greetings of the leadership and membership of the ANC and our popular army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, to you who are gathered here and through you to the millions of Canadians whom you represent.

We speak of millions, Mr. Chairman, because we are convinced that the majority of the population of Canada does not have the love of apartheid system which motivates the transnational corporations to invest in South Africa and obliges certain circles among the political establishment of this country, by their actions, to help perpetuated this evil system.

It is the view of the African National Congress that one of the central tasks to which this Conference must address itself is exactly how to reach out to these millions, how to activate them, how to transform their antipathy towards apartheid into active struggle for the isolation of the Pretoria regime, for increased support for SWAPO of Namibia, the ANC, the Frontline States, the peoples of the Southern African region.

The situation in this region demands that we must together succeed in this task. We have to pursue the objective that we



Comrade Alfred Nzo

make the issue of apartheid as much an issue of Canadian national politics as it is in other comparable countries such as Sweden, Holland and Italy. To illustrate what I mean, let us take the example of Holland. The Dutch government is preparing legislation to prohibit the export of oil to South Africa, to forbid new investment and to ban a number of commodities from importation into Holland, including coal. We see no reason whatsoever why Canada cannot follow this example and herself take practical measures in consonance with her declared abhorrence of the apartheid system.

We should seek to widen the concern about Southern Africa beyond those sectors of the Canadian public which are today the most involved in trying to do something about the situation which obtains in our part of the world. This means that you, who are the vanguard of the movement of solid-

arity with the peoples of Southern Africa, need to reach out to the people of Canada so that ever larger sections of this population join this movement of solidarity as active participants.

It is impossible to gainsay the fact, Mr. Chairman, that as the African National Congress, as activists for the liberation of South Africa, we are interested in seeing the international solidarity movement with our struggling people grow into a formidable fighting force that will put pay to the hopes of the Botha regime that it will somehow regain acceptance by the world community. Not only is it not possible to gainsay this: it is also not even necessary to attempt to contradict it. Yet we are convinced that our common victory against racism, fascism, colonialism and aggression in South Africa and Namibia will and must have a positive impact beyond the confines of our region and the African continent.

We are convinced, Mr. Chairman, that you cannot finally defeat racism in Canada without defeating racism in South Africa and Namibia. Or to put the matter in other words, it is not possible to support the continued colonisation of Namibia and not pursue a policy in Canada which favours the continued dehumanisation of the indigenous Canadian-Indians, an immigration policy which discriminates against the black races of the world, and so on.

Similarly, Mr. Chairman, it is not possible for the workers at the Massey-Ferguson factories in this country to be certain of the permanence of their jobs so long as there is dirt cheap labour in South Africa, Namibia and indeed in other parts of the world such as Taiwan and South Korea where labour is captive to the greedy whims of the transnational corporations.

Can the church in Canada consider that it has broken away from the historical role which earlier civilisations imposed on the church, the role of agent of dominant, exploitative and oppressive classes—can the church in Canada consider that it has broken away from this role while an important section of the established church in South Africa continues to be an active, conscious and pliant partner in the maintenance of the apartheid system?

Or can the church in this country go about its parished and diocesan tasks with equanimity while Rev. Cedric Mayson of the Methodist Church in Johannesburg is facing trial, while Father Simangaliso Mkatshwa of the Catholic Church suffers in Pretoria under a succession of banning orders and while Revs. Phaswana, Phosiwa, Farisani and Mahamba of the Lutheran Church are detained and facing trial in Venda, while Bishop Tutu of the Anglican Church and the SACC is denied his passport.

When our President, Comrade Oliver Tambo spoke to the Conference of Black American leaders in Washington last June, he pointed out that it was not possible for the US administration to support fascism in South Africa and not seek to employ fascist methods at home. The recent US Senate hearings under the Chairmanship of Senator

Denton whose aim was to label SWAPO and the ANC as communists and terrorists represent the importation into the United States of the practices of South African fascism.

The democratic, anti-war and anti-racist forces in the United States may soon be faced with the resurgence of McCarthyism spearheaded by Senator Denton's sub-committee. Once this successor of the infamous House of Un-American Activities sub-committee feels it has gathered enough strength, it will not rest merely with investigating SWAPO and the ANC. It will inevitably reach out to persecute the anti-apartheid movement in the United States and from there attack the rest of the progressive forces of that country.

From what we have said, it should be clear, Mr. Chairman, that the African National Congress also takes the view that to express solidarity is not an act of charity. We would like to believe that after all these months of intensive preparations and the sacrifices we have all made to be present at this Conference, we meet here because we consider ourselves severally and collectively as one united army committed to the liberation of the peoples of Southern Africa. We would like to believe that the commitment is not inspired by pity but by the recognition that the people of Canada cannot truly be free while those of Namibia and South Africa are oppressed.

Sacrifices for Freedom

Certainly, Mr Chairman, as far as the Southern African region is concerned, we of the ANC are sustained in our struggle by the knowledge that there is not a single country in the region in which the masses of the people do not feel that the struggle for the liberation of South Africa is not their own. Throughout the region, the masses of the people display an astounding readiness to make all necessary sacrifices to ensure that our country is liberated. There is everywhere an openly expressed recognition of the fact that Africa cannot be free until South Africa and Namibia are free.

The decision of the momentous Summit



Comrade Hidipo Hamutenya

of Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States which took place in Maputo, Mozambique on the 6th and 7th March this year, at which the presidents of SWAPO and the ANC were also present, reflected and endorsed these popular positions. Central to the importance of the summit is the fact that it marked a decisive step forward in elucidating a common programme of action for the peoples of Southern Africa aimed at the intensification of the struggle for the liberation of Namibia and South Africa, the isolation of the apartheid regime and the enhancement of the region's defensive capability in the face of the escalating aggression of the Pretoria regime.

These positions as well as the objective situation in the region once more draw attention to the strategic role of the liberation movements of Namibia and South Africa in the fundamental transformation of the situation in the sub-continent as a whole.

The most important contribution we of the African National Congress can and must make to the restoration of peace, security and stability in Southern Africa, to the furtherance of the cause of national independence, equality among the peoples and social progress, is to lead the masses of our people in defeating the Pretoria regime and taking power into their own hands.

Shift to People's Power

It is clear, Mr. Chairman, that for us to accomplish these objectives, our country's broad movement for national liberation has to build up enough popular strength within South Africa to shift the balance of power in favour of revolutionary change. We are happy to report to this Conference that elements of this shift, which is of decisive importance in our common efforts to win victory, have already appeared on the South African political scene.

The democratic forces of our country, with the ANC at their head, are emerging as the alternative power inside South Africa. We have moved radically from the situation where, only a few years ago, the apartheid regime was fondly proclaiming that it had smashed the ANC. Today the same regime is obliged by objective reality to admit that it is actually contending with the ANC for the allegiance of the people.

Let us illustrate this with one example. About a fortnight ago, the racist Minister of Internal Affairs, Chris Heunis, admitted in the all-white South African parliament that the African National Congress had defeated the attempts of the Pretoria regime to organise the Indian population of our country to support the puppet South African Indian Council.

As you will recall, the racists had called on the Indian people to participate in constituting this puppet Council by voting for its members. The ANC together with the rest of the progressive forces of our country, urged the people to boycott these elections, with the result that no less than 85 per cent of the electorate did in fact boycott these elections.

Today, the entire democratic movement of South Africa openly proclaims the Freedom Charter, the political programme of the ANC and its allies, as the only acceptable basis for the solution of the South African problem. The leaders of our movement imprisoned in Botha's jails and operating from outside South Africa are similarly openly recognised by the people as their leaders. Even the liberal-reformist Buthelezi Commission whose report was published in

March this year, found that the majority of the oppressed people support the political, strategic and tactical positions of the ANC including the option of armed struggle.

Defeating the Enemy's Strategy

If press reports are to be believed, the very fact that the racist Pretoria regime even so much as deigns to consider the release of Nelson Mandela and other political attests to the strength of the democratic, anti-racist movement inside and outside of South Africa. If the reports are true, they point not to a change of heart on the part of the oppressors, nor a newly found desire for progressive change as far as Botha-Malan regime is concerned but, rather, the inability of this regime to hold on to old positions in the face of the growing strength of the forces of genuine change.

By their efforts and supported by the rest of the progressive humanity, our people have defeated the enemy's strategy for survival in its entirety. Where the enemy sought to obliterate the ANC by banning it, the people have in defiant struggle, virtually lifted this ban. Where the enemy sought to weaken the people by dividing them into mutually exclusive ethnic and racial compartments, the people continue to assert their common nationhood and unbreakable resolve to bring into being a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The racists had hoped that they could terrorise the people into permanent submission by the use of maximum force such as resulted in the massacre at Sharpeville, Soweto and Matola, the judicial murders of Mini, Mahlangu and other patriots and the assassination of democrats such as Joseph Mdluli, Ahmed Timol, Steve Biko, Joe Gqabi, Griffiths Mxenge, Neil Aggett and others. Contrary to the enemy's intentions, the people have replied to this campaign of terror by swelling the ranks of our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and by strengthening their commitment to meet the racists' reactionary violence with the armed might of the democratic majority.

Our opponents, and among these we include the allies of the Pretoria regime, can

no longer delude themselves that the ANC represents a foreign element on the South African body politic, or that we represent a minority extremist tendency that is only of nuisance value. They will have to live with the fact that this ANC which they hate so much represents the future democratic South Africa which will inevitably rise out of the rubble of the apartheid system.

Those who are not dyed-in-the-wool racists will, sooner rather than later, be compelled to recognise the fact that the majority of the people of South Africa do not recognise the Pretoria regime as the legitimate government of our country. Those who elect to enter into various deals with this regime need to know that our people adjudge such activities as morally and politically indefensible and devoid of any legality.

Collaboration - a Political Act

For over 20 years now, we have sought to persuade especially the western world to cut its links with apartheid South Africa. At conference after conference and in many statements we have tried through reasoned argument to demonstrate that this contact with South Africa has only served to strengthen the apartheid regime. There is no need for us to restate these arguments today.

There is, however, need for us to alert the partners of the apartheid regime to the fact that their political, economic, military, diplomatic, cultural and other collaboration with this regime constitutes a political act, a voluntary choice to side with the racist minority against the democratic majority.

Since these two sides are at war, it must follow that those who continue to collaborate with the Pretoria regime, are willy-nilly putting themselves among the ranks of the enemy forces. Inevitably, therefore, they are placing themselves in the line of fire and will, furthermore, be caught in that fire. This will not be because we have chosen to declare war on them. It will be because they have sided with our oppressors and by so doing declared war on us.

Our people have repeatedly demonstrated their determination to hit back at their

oppressors both through mass political activity and through armed combat. In the period ahead of us we shall continue to hit at all those who by their actions define themselves as our enemies, as the enemies of liberation, peace and social progress in South Africa.

For indeed as our comrades-in-arms of SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army Namibia are demonstrating in the battlefield even as we meet here, the perspective that confronts the apartheid regime is one of a heightened political and military confrontation with the democratic forces of our country also. Nothing the enemy does can stop this inevitable process.

If we had not drawn the necessary conclusion from the continued collusion between the western countries and apartheid South Africa, the Reagan Administration has made it patently clear that it considers that United States interests and those of the west generally are best served by the continued survival of the Pretoria regime.

We must, therefore, expect that as the struggle intensifies and the South African racist regime finds it difficult to hold its positions, those like Reagan who count the racists as their allies will come to the aid of the racists. The question whether Canada will or will not follow the likes of Reagan down this disastrous path is a question that only you, the Canadian people can answer.

Our experience so far is that Canada has followed her western partners in continuing to maintain trade, investment and other economic links with South Africa, in acting, at the least, as a channel for the flow of arms to the apartheid regime, and in keeping intact her political and diplomatic relations with Pretoria.

Work to be Done

This gives a measure of the work that remains to be done. Our wish is that Canada should adopt an honourable and humane position with regard to the conflict now raging throughout Southern Africa.

Such a position would result in Canada:

- ★ Joining the overwhelming majority of the world's nations in isolating apartheid South Africa;
- ★ Demanding and working for the expeditious implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 on Namibia;
- ★ Denouncing the unceasing aggression of the South African regime against Angola and the other independent states of Southern Africa including Seychelles and Madagascar and this regime's efforts otherwise to destabilise the region;
- ★ Demanding the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela, Toiva JaToiva and all other political prisoners. The reprieve and release of freedom fighters sentenced to death and more urgently, the three whose death sentences were recently confirmed in South Africa;
- ★ Rendering political and material assistance to SWAPO and the ANC;
- ★ Supporting the independent states of the region in their efforts to defend themselves and to work toward greater economic independence of apartheid South Africa.

We believe firmly that it is possible so to arouse the democratic and anti-racist sentiments of the Canadian public as to make it impossible for the dominant political circles of this country to treat such a set of objectives with contempt. Accordingly we are convinced that, from this unprecedented Conference will emerge a concrete and realistic programme of action which will result in the actual mobilisation of political parties and groups, trade unionists, women, youth and students, the religious community the Indian people and other popular forces to ensure the existence of a powerful and effective national anti-apartheid coalition. The fact that this is the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions against South Africa should itself spur us to succeed in this objective.

Forces United in a Just Cause

We cannot conclude, Mr Chairman, without saluting our sister movement, SWAPO, the great and heroic representative of the people of Namibia. We would also like to

take advantage of this opportunity to salute also the PLO, the Polisario Front, Fretelin and the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front FDR, as well as our firm rear-base, the Frontline States and the rest of Southern Africa and Africa.

In our endeavours here today we should draw strength from the fact that we are joined together in one common struggle with millions of people drawn from the socialist countries, Asia, Latin America and the countries of the west. It is not possible that such a force which pursues an eminently just cause cannot gain victory.

For our part, and in the name of the heroic people of our country, we pledge here that we shall not betray the trust you have placed in us as the African National Congress to spearhead the offensive for the overthrow of the criminal apartheid regime and to remove for all time this intolerable plight on human society.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

*Address by Comrade Hidipo Hamutenya,
Member of the Political Bureau of the
Central Committee of SWAPO and Secretary
for Information and Publicity*

Allow me to extend to you all warm greetings from the Central Committee, the cadres and rank and file of our movement.

Comrade Chairperson, Comrades and friends, this solidarity conference is taking place at a critical time when clouds of large scale military confrontation are darkening the sky of Southern Africa. It is being held at a time when the oppressed peoples of South Africa and Namibia, led by ANC and SWAPO respectively, are intensifying the struggle to overthrow apartheid colonialism; and at a time which the intensification of the struggle against apartheid fascism is compelling the enemy of our people to resort to

more and more extreme measures of repression and reckless military adventures.

Stimulated and encouraged by the reactionary Reagan administration's efforts to renew the aggressive policies and brinkmanship of the cold war era, racist South Africa is embarked on a counter-revolutionary drive to perpetuate and entrench white minority rule in South Africa, to deny the Namibian people of their right to self-determination and to intimidate the neighbouring independent countries.

In particular, the apartheid regime is engaged in continuous military aggression and intensification of destructive attacks on the Peoples Republic of Angola, in an attempt to force the Government of the Peoples Republic of Angola to abandon their solidarity with and support for the struggling peoples of Namibia and South Africa. These repeated military attacks are accompanied by training, arming and deploying of puppet groups, and mercenaries against Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Under Occupation

Moreover in the face of the determined resistance of our people, led by SWAPO, the apartheid state has been forced to rely more and more on massive military presence in Namibia. Namibia is today a country under a massive military occupation whereby the ratio is nearly one South African soldier to every 12 adult members of the Namibian population. This ratio represents one of the most intense concentrations of military in the world today. More than 80% of our population is living under de facto martial law.

South Africa's military build-up in Namibia has been accompanied by increasingly harsh repression in the form of frequent killing of innocent civilians, arbitrary arrests, detention, torture, burning down of peasant houses and destruction of property, all in a vain attempt to stop the forward march of our people's liberation struggle.

In carrying out its fascist repression against the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and in conducting its military

adventures against the Frontline states, racist South Africa continues to boast about its so-called strategic importance to the West: and its claim is now being echoed in Washington.

Moreover, instead of condemning and honestly opposing Pretoria's military repression in Namibia and destructive military attacks against the Frontline states, the so-called Western Contact Group tries to use these racist military adventures and mass repression as necessary pressure or levers by which they can extract diplomatic concessions from SWAPO and the Front Line States.

Deceptive Manoeuvres

The representatives of the Five Western powers never fail to remind SWAPO and the Frontline states how important it is to find a quick negotiated solution to the Namibian problem in order to avert further bloodshed and destruction of life and property in Namibia.

We do not disagree with them on this point because we, more than anyone else, know the ruthless nature of the enemy which we are faced with. We do also not underestimate the strength of apartheid South Africa. But we are also not prepared to go down on our knees making unreasonable concessions in order to allow Pretoria to dictate a solution of its own liking in Namibia.

An examination of the long drawn out negotiations with the South African regime about self determination and independence for Namibia reveals two consistent elements:

- 1) *The apartheid regime has been using deceptive manoeuvres resulting in each set of agreed proposals being finally rejected at the point of implementation.*
- 2) *The rejection of each set of proposals was never followed by any penalty, but rather by the granting of further concessions in order to take greater account of Pretoria's objections.*

It can be recalled, for instance that after agreeing to Resolution 435 in April 1978 South Africa came full circle to reject the implementation of the UN plan in August of the same year. In so doing, the apartheid

regime argued that the United Nations is biased in favour of SWAPO; and, as such it cannot supervise free and fair elections in Namibia. In making this argument, South Africa did not tell the world that it was only the UN which was going to manage the proposed transitional process to Namibia's independence. Pretoria could not let the world know that the actual administration of the entire transitional process will be in the hands of the South African civil servants in Namibia and that law and order would be a responsibility of the racist South African police force in Namibia.

Therefore, South Africa has a bigger responsibility to demonstrate impartiality than the United Nations whose team will go to Namibia only to supervise a South African administered electoral process. Because SWAPO is interested in finding a quick negotiated settlement for the Namibia problem, we did not want to waste time asking South Africa to be impartial towards our movement.

We know that to do so is to indulge in an illusion of hope. Pretoria can never be impartial to SWAPO.

Back-Trackings and Concessions

From the claim of UN lack of impartiality, racist South Africa cooked up another excuse that the proposed 7,500 UN troops to supervise the transitional process in Namibia was astronomically too high and, therefore, totally unacceptable.

Next, Pretoria rejected a provision in the UN plan that SWAPO guerilla forces inside Namibia at the time of the ceasefire should be given assembly points inside Namibia. All these back-trackings were conceded to by the five Western powers who did not hesitate to turn to SWAPO and the Frontline states for fresh concessions.

By 1979, Pretoria had succeeded to turn the negotiations around by making the five think that the threat to the implementation of Resolution 435 is that SWAPO will continue, even after the ceasefire has been signed, to infiltrate armed guerrillas into Namibia.

Hence, in order to accommodate Pretoria's Blackmail, the Frontline States

put forward a proposal for a demilitarized zone whereby a large number of UN military personnel will be deployed along the Namibia/Angola and Namibia/Zambia border so as to ensure that there were no armed infiltration into Namibia from Angola or Zambia. Again, Pretoria simply made nonsense out of the whole proposal by demanding that it wanted 20 bases within demilitarized zone.

After rejecting the proposal for a ceasefire at the General Conference in January 1981 Pretoria came up with yet a new set of demands, namely, guarantees from SWAPO and the Frontline States, for the protection of the so-called white minority rights, guarantees for the protection of private property of the white minority settlers and multi-national corporations and commitments from SWAPO that the proposed constituent assembly would only adopt a constitution for independent Namibia and agree on independence date by a two-third majority of the members of the constituent assembly.

SWAPO and the Frontline States were prevailed upon by the Five Western powers to make all these unfair concessions.

However, after yielding to the pressure exerted on us by the Five, South Africa, again, has come up with a new demand that elections must either be on Bantustan principles or on electoral double standards of one man two votes or one man one vote, one vote two counts.

Again, the Five Western Powers, instead of telling Pretoria to be reasonable, are now busy pressurizing and arm-twisting us to make still more, fresh concessions; and when we say that we have now reached the limit of our capacity to make concessions, they are going around telling the world that SWAPO and the Frontline States are the obstacle to a negotiated settlement in Namibia.

Such is the problem we are facing with the Western mediated negotiations. The Five are reluctant to make the necessary efforts to convince South Africa to be serious regarding the negotiations or to let South

Africa face mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

Pretoria, on the other hand, has used the endless negotiations to implement its own internal settlement and to further expand its military strength in the region—all aimed at destroying the nationwide support enjoyed by SWAPO and at subverting the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people.

Fear of SWAPO Victory

The Five know that it is precisely because Pretoria is afraid of overwhelming SWAPO victory at the polls that it is denying the Namibian people a free and fair election.

Pretoria believes that it can continue to use the Five to continue to extract concessions from SWAPO and the Frontline States until Resolution 435 is sufficiently diluted so as to allow South Africa and her Western allies instead of the UN supervised elections, and ultimately impose its own puppets on the Namibian people.

For us, it is clear that negotiations are now only about concessions to South Africa and nothing else.

In this connection, I would like to explain the catch behind the proposed combination of two different electoral systems. The choice of the combined electoral system is not as innocent as the Five Western Powers would like the world to believe. Otherwise there would be no need for South Africa and the Five to insist on it so unyieldingly.

South Africa has realised that SWAPO is popular and that its electoral strength cannot be undermined by conventional electoral procedures. Therefore, the combination electoral system is intended to serve as a double-edged sword intended to cut SWAPO's strength from two angles. The two elements to be used in this combination are racism and tribalism. First, there are the whites who are a minority and scattered throughout Namibia. These white settlers are expected to vote against SWAPO in defence of their own privileges.

As minorities in every community, white candidates have little or no chance to win any seats under single member constituency

system. But they can pick up some seats under proportional representation when all the white votes will be pooled as a block vote. However, this will not be enough to reduce SWAPO's electoral strength.

The single member constituency would, therefore, be necessary to make it relatively easy for the black tribal puppets to hopefully win some seats within narrowly demarcated constituencies centred around small tribal communities. In other words, under single member constituency system, South Africa aims at using tribal factors against SWAPO. While under proportional representation the racial factors will be brought into full play. The combination of advantages which Pretoria hopes to gain from the use of electoral double standards is hoped to result in a situation where SWAPO will have no working majority and whereby the puppets can be used to engage in endless debate aimed at frustrating the adopting of a constitution and proclaiming the independence of Namibia.

In rejecting the electoral double standards, we are saying that every party must agree to live with the consequences of only one electoral system, that is, either proportional representatives or single member constituency system.

Besides the problem of electoral double standards, SWAPO is also disenchanted with phase by phase approach to the negotiations. We are convinced that this method leaves too much room to South Africa's delaying tactics.

We have, therefore, proposed that all outstanding issues be discussed and resolved as a package through direct negotiations.

Finally we wish to state that SWAPO is ready to positively consider any constructive suggestion by the Five. We are equally ready to continue and intensify the political and military struggle in order to ensure that the price of occupation by far surpasses its profits.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

MANDELA - Man of the Resistance

by R.B.

July 1982 marks the 20th anniversary of the capture of Comrade Nelson Mandela. As the campaign to secure his release mounts in South Africa and internationally, a SECHABA journalist looks at the man, who after twenty years behind bars remains the most vital symbol of our people's struggle for freedom and human dignity.

Consider a man in prison for twenty years, on an island where there is nothing other than the prison, cut off from the world by sea, enclosed in silence, visited only at long intervals by a few permitted relatives. Consider that at the end of those twenty years—with uncounted more years there stretching out before him—that he has become the most talked about and quoted, the most respected and popular figure in his country. How is one to explain such a phenomenon? How to explain that thousands of young people who have never seen or heard the man acknowledge him as their guide and their leader; for no one under the age of twenty five can possibly remember hearing or seeing him, except in the frozen lifelessness of pictures in the press.

How to explain the phenomenon of Nelson Mandela? What can account for the fact that now, at the end of twenty years, still in prison, he stands at the peak of public popularity, its most important national and international political figure?

It is not enough to look to the man himself. For all his charisma and all his leadership qualities, who now remembers him clearly after all the years? For all his speeches and his writings, who now is able to read them after all the years of censorship and repression?

There must be something more to this phenomenon to make Mandela the central figure he is. Mandela, I am certain, is remem-

bered better for what he has done, than for what he said.

There are three episodes in his life the importance of which stamped their mark on South African history.

First, May 1961—his disappearance 'underground' to carry on the public campaign against the declaration of a republic by the white state. It was a time—like so many that our people have faced in the past, when everywhere leaders and activists were being



arrested, banned, banished—harassed into silence and ineffectiveness by an omnipresent police apparatus. If the harassment could not be beaten, the campaign would collapse. Mandela found the way to defeat the harassment—by going underground. From the underground he emerged unexpectedly, now here, now there, to address campaign meetings and disappear; to issue press statements and give radio and newsreel interviews. He became the most wanted—and yet the most fully publicised leader of the campaign.

It was something new; a new way to fight

back, a new way to resist, a new way to outflank the security police and the powers of the state. That new way inspired others. The struggle from the underground, illegal resistance, law-breaking fight-back had begun. Mandela had pioneered it. That is the first thing for which he is remembered, and for which he is respected amongst the people. Since then there have been others—Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, striking back from underground. But Nelson was the pioneer; and the new resistance has become one with the man.

Second, his fight-back from the courtroom, in 1962. Again at a time overlaid with fear and pessimism, the liberation movement under heavy attack with widespread bans, banishments and house arrests—all without trial. Umkhonto's early acts of sabotage diminished under the onslaught of the Sabotage Act and 90 day detention without trial, the press had been cowed into silence, the new illegal resistance went unreported, almost unseen amongst the people. Mandela was captured at a road block near Durban, and charged with the technical—almost 'non-political' offence of leaving the country without a passport. Trials on such a technical charge could well pass almost unnoticed in a country where half-a-million a year are convicted of technical offences. Mandela, who had pioneered the new resistance, seized the opportunity to carry it further.

Instead of a plea, he launched a counter-attack. It was a white court, appointed by a white state, staffed by white police, prosecutor and judge. It was, by its very nature, incapable of dispensing justice to a Black, because it had been established only to maintain the power of whites. He demanded the resignation of the judge, and a trial by his peers.

It was not a demand which could possibly succeed; it had never been intended to succeed. It had been intended, rather, to strip the mask of hypocrisy from the white judicial process, and reveal its naked face of power. When the court nevertheless decided to proceed with his trial, he proclaimed a refusal to co-operate in the exercise of white supremacy. Thus the lawyer who had spent

his life in the labyrinths of court, now used the court to proclaim yet again a new form of resistance—no co-operation with the white state! Another new way to fight back from outside the law had been pioneered. For this too, Mandela is remembered and honoured, even if his words in court have been forgotten. The new resistance was branching out into new areas of life, spreading.

Third, the Rivonia Trial of 1963, at which nine leaders of various segments of the liberation movement were charged with having launched a campaign of nationwide sabotage, and with preparing to overthrow the state by armed uprising and guerrilla warfare. Mandela, who had been in jail for a year, was brought from Robben Island to become No. 1 Accused. Alongside him sat the other pioneers of the new underground—Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada and others. It was a time of high drama; the state was claiming that the so-called 'National High Command' had been captured, Umkhonto's plans and materials seized, guerrilla warfare preparations disrupted.

But how were people to understand all this? What underground was this, with its unheard of 'National High Command'? What, for that matter, was Umkhonto, known more through vague rumour than by any hard information? Umkhonto and its acts of sabotage had been almost blacked out by press censorship, and by policemen tearing down posters and proclamations before the glue could dry. What was Umkhonto up to? And what was the ANC role in all of this? Whose guerrilla force was being assembled? And to what end? Was this trial in truth the end of the new underground fight back?

It was expected by the state that the accused, facing a death sentence, would deny the allegations and try to prove they were 'not guilty.' It was with that expectation in mind that the prosecution entered the court. But they had not yet begun to understand the new spirit of resistance, or the people who were campaigning for it and living it. Each of the accused stated simply: *'I am not guilty. It is the state which is guilty.'* Even then the prosecution did not under-



*Comrade Nelson Mandela in Addis Ababa
1962*

stand. There was a massive recital of state evidence of sabotage, of men sent abroad for military training, of formation of embryo guerrilla units; and then it was time for the defence and for Accused No. One, Nelson Mandela.

Again, in full presence of the world's press and radio, he returned to the challenge.

From the dock of the court, he announced: *'I did it. I helped form Umkhonto. I went abroad and arranged for military training for our volunteers. I did it. I am proud and glad I did it. If I had my time over I would do it again. I have lived for liberation,'* he told the court, *'and if need be I am willing to die for it.'* The challenge of the new resistance was

complete. The challenge of armed struggle to overthrow the state was in the open, acknowledged and endorsed by the leadership of the ANC. The new era of violent struggle, illegal struggle, was truly and publicly launched.

And as in so many steps leading to it, Mandela had been the public spokesman, the pioneer—leading not by word alone but by example. It is that example which has made him truly the man of the South African resistance movement, the symbol and the spearhead of the freedom struggle.

It is twenty years since Mandela's arrest and 19 since the arrests at Rivonia. It would be appropriate at this time to review the whole affair, the whole trial and its significance. That is not the purpose of this article. But to leave the record merely as it is summarised above is not enough. There are many other aspects that need to be considered.

Why, it is sometimes asked, did Mandela make his statement from the dock, where he could not be cross-examined, rather than face it out from the witness box? Was he trying to avoid cross-examination? Yes, he was. Not to conceal the facts or to deny his part in the acts charged. All this was admitted and explained, defended on grounds of politics and morality—not of law. But neither for him, nor for his fellow accused, was the chief issue the court's decision on their guilt or their innocence, their conviction or discharge. The real issue was that the new resistance of Umkhonto, the new challenging struggle with illegal use of arms should be explained to the people, broadcast, defended. The trial must become an indictment of the state, and a manifesto of the resistance struggle; it must be a call to the people to rise and fight back!

Such a manifesto, they all believed, could only be obscured, distorted and its message lost if it was to be dragged out piecemeal through the halting, fumbling, impromptu question-and-answer of the witness box. The manifesto had to be delivered clearly, without incoherences and unclarities. It must then be delivered uninterrupted from the dock. And the man to deliver was, as always, this pioneer of the new phase of history, Nelson Mandela—first among equals.

Mandela proclaimed Umkhonto's manifesto from the dock. But by agreement Sisulu and Mbeki sought the frontal confrontation with the state from the witness box. Sisulu's was a classic confrontation between a white prosecutor representing the white police state and a black ANC activist for the majority of the people. On the prosecution side, a string of university degrees; on the people's side a man badly schooled, mainly self educated, carrying a sense of purpose and conviction, of dedication to a just cause. It was a battle of character and of principles; and after more than a week in the witness box, Sisulu's moral triumph was complete. Day by day the prosecution and the spectre of the state behind it seemed to shrink and diminish; Sisulu, Umkhonto and the ANC to grow and grow. The new resistance had come of age, and the Rivonia Trial was the forum of the public recognition of that fact.

From that time there has been no going back. The people had been made aware of what was being done by the ANC and Umkhonto and why; their support has grown from year to year; today no-one dare doubt that the new resistance led by the ANC, backed by its armed units of Umkhonto is truly the people's shield and spearhead. The challenge to white supremacy is now out in the streets, everywhere amongst the people. We are fighting back! Not only in the public arena, but from underground. Not just in the ways legally permitted by the state, but by illegal means; not just peacefully, but in arms. That is a message which the people of our country hear now, loud and clear.

And when they hear it, old men and young will recall that it was Mandela and his colleagues who pioneered it, and laid their lives on the line to do so. This is why, when they now urge 'Amandla!' 'Power! in our lifetime' they remember and pay tribute to Nelson Mandela—the inspiration, the symbol and the power.

'The spectre of large-scale conventional attacks against independent Africa is a development of the most grave concern'

A *Sechaba* correspondent looks at the racist regime's build-up of a conventional military strike force

Ever since its inception the apartheid state has attempted to rationalise its actions through the argument that the primary threat facing its existence has nothing to do with the political, economic and social conditions in South Africa but comes from an external source — foreign aggression in the form of 'international communism'. The aim of this argument is twofold. Firstly it supposedly legitimises the actions of the most brutal and oppressive regime currently in existence. Secondly it attempts, in the most simplistic form, to reduce every issue into a global east-west context. Statements to the effect that the apartheid state is the world's bastion of 'christian civilisation' are common and are reflected in the regime's recently published 1982 White Paper on Defence: "The establishment of Angola, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique as Marxist satellites has completed the link between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans and this leaves the Republic of South Africa as the last stronghold of the West in Africa."

Frontline States and the White Republic

This argument is now being taken a step further. According to numerous statements now being made by Minister of Defence General Malan and the chiefs of the armed forces, the independent states of Southern Africa today pose a conventional military threat to the white Republic. In the preface

to the 1982 White Paper, Malan states that it is "alarming that more and more sophisticated armaments are pouring into neighbouring countries" and that "serious consideration should now be given to the possibility of conventional warfare". What the military establishment is suggesting is that the front line states are preparing for a large scale invasion of South Africa.

That the independent states of southern Africa are in the process of building and strengthening their armed forces is obvious. A huge area of southern Angola is presently under South African military occupation and aggressive raids deep into the territory are a daily occurrence. Mozambique is presently fighting a war against South African trained, armed, supplied and led bandits. The governments of Zimbabwe, Zambia and Lesotho are aware of large numbers of their nationals currently being trained by the apartheid armed forces. The apartheid regime is waging an advanced unconventional war against these states and they are being forced to divert resources badly needed for economic development into their defence against racist aggression.

A clear example of the real situation surfaced in August last year in the days leading up to the South African Defence Force's (SADF) largest ever single attack on Angola. In its efforts to halt daily South African Air Force raids deep into Angola, the Angolan armed forces installed

sophisticated surface-to-air missiles in their towns of Mocamedes and Lubango. These weapon systems had no possible role other than defending the air space in the vicinity of these towns. To the SADF, however, the introduction of these installations represented a major escalation in aggression against South Africa. When releasing news of this latest 'threat', General Malan stated that it was imperative "that we intensify our defence in South West Africa so as not to be caught unawares, should the situation escalate through direct aggressive intervention by Angolan forces or Cubans". Two weeks later over 10,000 South African troops invaded Angola.

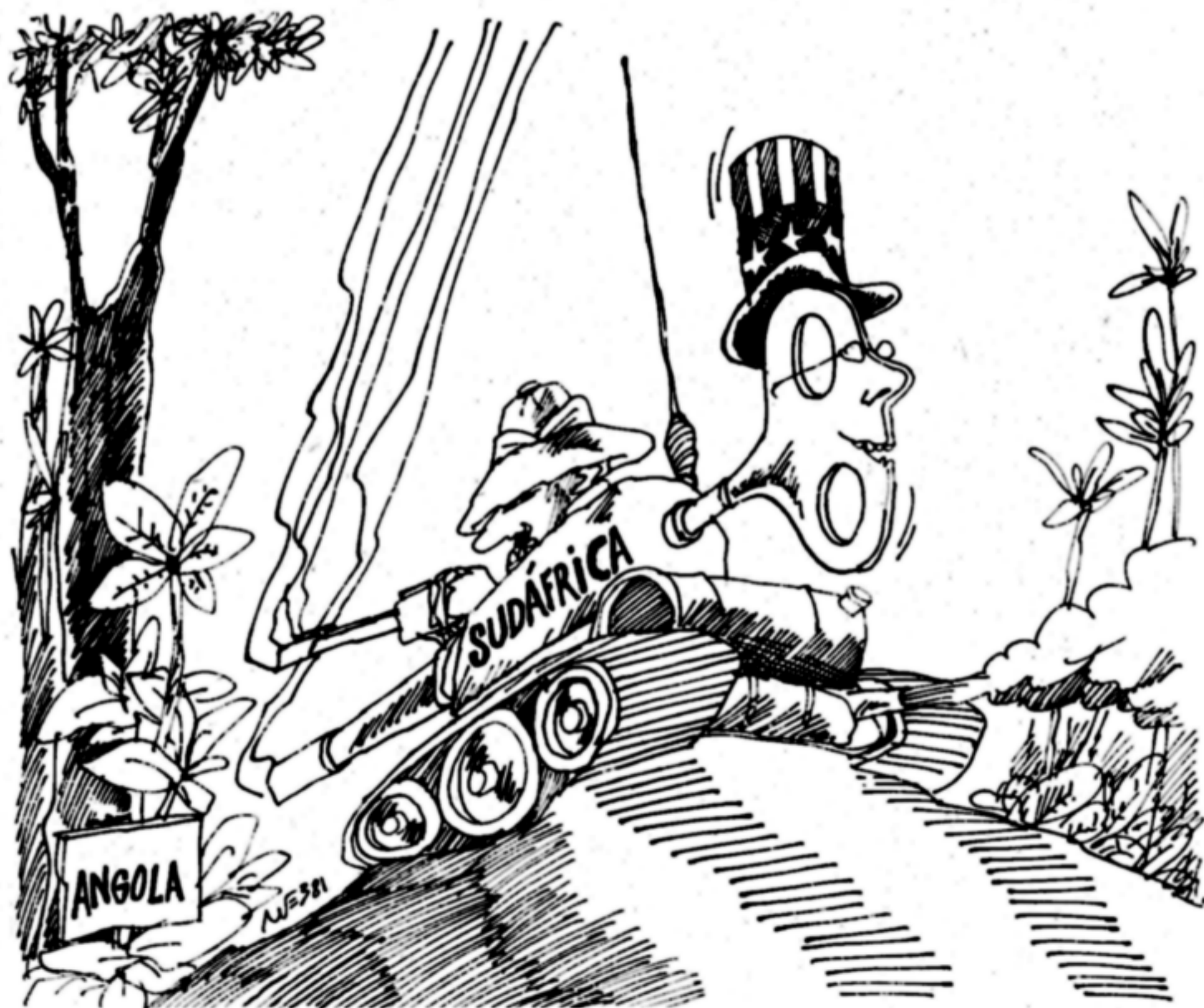
Racist call for escalated aggression

The apartheid regime's aggressive actions and intentions in Southern Africa are a matter of fact. What is also on record is

that the regime's propaganda surrounding its actions reflects the exact opposite of the actual situation. The chilling reality is that the current rhetoric about the conventional military threat facing South Africa is in fact a rallying call for escalated aggression against the front line states on an unprecedented level. The evidence that is coming to light is alarming.

The majority of the apartheid armed forces, both military and police, are trained, organised and deployed for unconventional warfare. The maintenance of 'internal security' and counter-insurgency operations against mass-based political and armed struggle are, and will always be, the necessities for the maintenance of minority rule in both Namibia and South Africa. Since 1974, however, the SADF has been building up a conventional military force.

What does the SADF mean by



conventional war? The only published definition, given by the officer commanding the South African Defence College, is enlightening. He defines conventional war as "war in which large organised bodies of men equipped with artillery, armoured vehicles and heavy infantry weapons and supported by air and naval forces operate in the fashion of the Six-Day and Yom Kippur Wars." (The apartheid generals' public admiration for Zionist expansionism and aggression is a reflection of the real military ties that exist between the two regimes.)

The rationale for the build-up of conventional forces was coyly spelt out in the 1977 White Paper on Defence: "As a counter to the possibility of an attack against the RSA by conventional forces it is considered that a credible deterrent is the best means of discouraging such intention on the part of any potential aggressor." The 'credible deterrent' is defined in SADF doctrine as the ability to carry out pre-emptive action. Commenting on the above 1977 quote, the SA Defence College commander elaborated as follows: "There are some shortcomings in the SADF which could affect the ability of the RSA to carry out pre-emptive action. If the SADF is compared to possible aggressors these shortcomings are, however, more of a theoretical nature than actual. The SADF has in the African context a very decided offensive capability."

Apartheid's conventional war machine

This offensive capability is currently primarily carried out by the South African Air Force and relatively small but highly trained army special-force units. It is clear, however, that this role is soon to be taken over by the apartheid armed forces' conventional war machine.

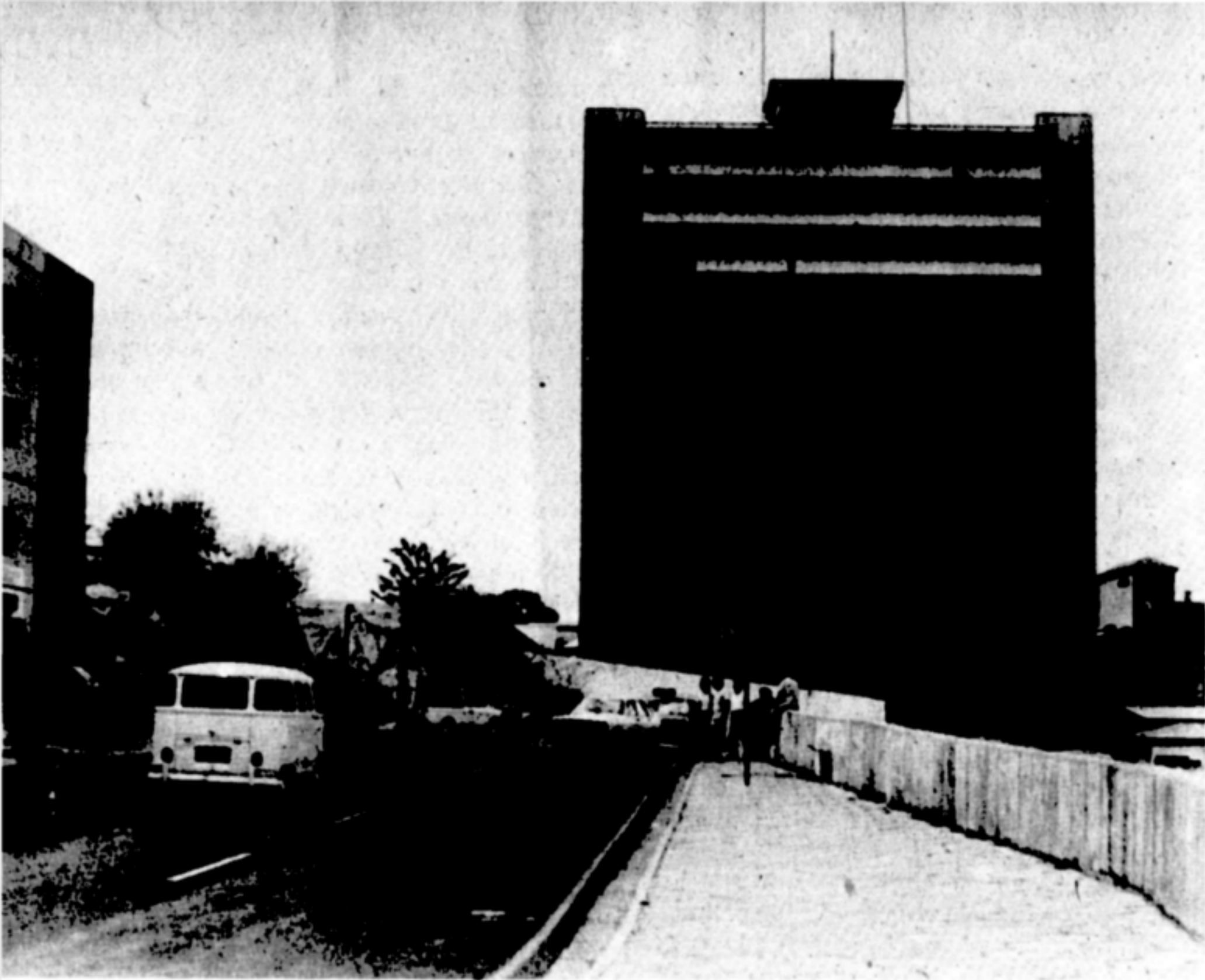
1 SA Corps is the SADF's conventional formation. It consists of the 7th Infantry Division and the 8th Armoured Division. Each division comprises three brigades, approximately 7,000 troops in each brigade. Of the six brigades, one is armoured, one mechanised and four motorised. The

motorised brigades have recently been upgraded to 'semi-mechanised' status. (The distinction between types of brigades lies in their relative strength of heavy armour and artillery). These formations are composed of Citizen Force (part-time) units under Permanent Force leadership. Each brigade is currently mobilised at least once a year for training at battalion, brigade and division level. Their training takes place in the North Westwen Cape at one of the SADF's largest bases which has been specifically built for their exclusive use. Large-scale field exercises regularly take place in an adjacent training area of almost 3,000 square kilometers.

When 1 SA Corps was established in 1974, units that fell under its command, while officially redesignated as conventional units, continued to be deployed in counter-insurgency (unconventional) operations. Operational conditions meant that these troops were indispensable and couldn't be withdrawn from the battle field. Today, however, when the SADF's manpower requirements are even more desperate, these troops have been withdrawn from counter-insurgency operations. What this means is that despite the SADF's current operational shortages, 40,000 troops are being maintained in a permanent state of semi-mobilisation for conventional operations alone. As explained above the SADF has no need whatsoever for conventional formations either in its military occupation of Namibia, or in its escalating operations in South Africa itself. 1 SA Corps has become the standard bearer of the apartheid regime's 'credible deterrent', the SADF's external strike force.

The Military-Industrial Complex

A further insight into the conventional build-up can be gained from a brief inspection of the regime's military-industrial complex. Over the past two decades the apartheid state has built from scratch the largest armaments industry in the southern hemisphere. Armscor, the state-owned section of this military-industrial complex, with assets of over R1 200 million is now



SA army headquarters in Windhoek, Namibia

rated second only to Barlow Rand (itself a major arms producer) among the country's industrial giants. With over R1 000 million being spent on armaments annually in recent years, Armscor has reached the stage of being self-sufficient in counter-insurgency weapons requirements as well as having completed its programme of intensive capital development to provide all the plants required for armaments manufacture.

It could thus be expected that weapons spending would now no longer require the massive annual boost in budget increases. In theory the industry needs only to 'tick over' to supply the armed forces with their basic requirements. This however, is not the case. Even greater amounts are being churned into the industry. According to the generals this continued increase is required for the development and manu-

facture of more sophisticated conventional weapons. An unconfirmed report from within Armscor claims that the arms industry is presently engaged in a five-year plan, culminating in about 1986, geared specifically to the requirements of maintaining a large conventional force in an extended operation.

Poised to attack

To date the apartheid generals have never admitted the deployment of any section of 1 SA Corps. Certain facts, however, can be pieced together. In February 1980 a deserter from the SADF revealed that 81 Armoured Brigade, the most heavily armed of 1 SA Corp's formations (including two tank battalions), had been put on top security standby in the days leading up to the

historic elections in Zimbabwe. The evidence clearly indicated that the SADF was prepared for a possible military intervention in the event of 'favourable international conditions' which never materialised.

In August 1981 two brigades, including 81 Brigade, were involved in Operation Protea striking deep into Angola in the largest military operation that has ever been conducted on southern African soil (twice the size of the 1975/6 invasion into Angola). Only one third of the SADF's conventional capacity was deployed in this blitzkrieg.

It has taken 7 years for 1 SA Corps to be built up to full operational strength and readiness. It is now an army in itself, standing poised to strike out at the African

sub-continent. Its intended role has further been coloured by recent unconfirmed reports that senior military officers in the apartheid war machine are currently receiving advanced training in the military administration of conventionally occupied territory.

The apartheid armed forces currently deployed throughout Southern Africa themselves represent a serious threat to world peace. The spectre of large scale conventional attacks against independent states that now looms on the horizon is a development of the most grave concern. A necessary condition for peace in southern African is the total destruction of the fascist war machine.

Building solidarity with the women of Namibia and South Africa

by ANC delegate

Mobilised by the suffering created by apartheid policies and aggression in Southern Africa, and inspired by the courageous and determined resistance of the women of South Africa and Namibia, delegations from many countries met in Brussels from May 17-19 1982, to promote world wide assistance for the women and children of Southern Africa.

Governments, international agencies, non governmental organisations, trade Unions, church groups, and solidarity movements met with the liberation movements in the European Parliament at the International Conference on Women and Apartheid sponsored by the UN Special Committee against Apartheid in co-operat-

ion with the International Committee of Solidarity with the Struggle of Women of South Africa and Namibia.

H. E. Madame Jeanne-Martin Cisse, Guinea Minister of Social Affairs presided over a distinguished gathering which in addition to the members of the International Committee included UN Assistant Secretary General Leticia Shahani; HE Lise Ostergaard president of the World Conference of the UN Decade for Women. H.E. Gisele Rabesahala, Minister of Culture and Revolutionary Arts of Madagascar; H.E. Yvette Roudy French Minister of Woman's Rights; Marie Eugemia Neto of Angola; and Mrs N.K. Asinobi, Nigerian Minister of State.



Solidarity meeting at the conference, from l to r; Cmdes P. Appolus, Deputy secretary general of the Pan-African Women's Organisation; Gloria Mtungwa, ANC delegate and Gertrude Shope, head of the Women's Secretariat of the ANC.

The ANC delegation of six members was led by Comrade Gertrude Shope, member of the NEC and Head of the Women's Secretariat. The delegation presented a number of papers on the conditions of women in urban and rural areas, on the present situation in South Africa and the participation of women in the liberation struggle, and the effects of militarisation and nuclearisation of racist South Africa. Four members of the delegation: Comrades Joyce Boom, Joyce Dipale, Gloria Mtungwa and Violet Weinberg gave testimony on their experiences in the struggle and torture in prison.

In addressing the plenary session, Comrade Gertrude Shope drew attention to the conditions of war that now prevailed in Southern Africa, and said that the condition of women and children, and their

needs must be examined in this context. In its report the Conference agreed with the ANC assessment, that the suffering of women of Southern Africa is caused by apartheid and Pretoria's aggression and terrorism and concluded:

'This suffering cannot be ended without the independence of Namibia, the total elimination of apartheid, and the establishment of a democratic non-racial South Africa. So long as apartheid persists, the violence and conflict in Southern Africa will continue to escalate.'

The conference had before it the report of a Mission, headed by Madame Jeanne-Martin Cisse, which had visited the Frontline states for consultations with governments and liberation movements and to assess the needs of the women and children.

In Angola the Mission was able to see at first hand the magnitude of the problems created by the constant and continuous acts of aggression by the racist regime. The latest invasion and occupation of parts of the southern region of Angola bordering on Namibia had resulted in an influx of dis-



ANC delegation in the foreground of the Conference.

placed persons from the southern provinces towards the north. These displaced persons, many of whom are women, children and elderly required emergency relief in terms of food, clothing, shelter and general medical assistance. The Mission was told that the flood of refugees from the south has had a great impact on the social and economic life of the inhabitants of the area, thus aggravating the already critical situation created by the influx of refugees from Namibia.

The Angolan Minister for External Relations, Comrade Paulo Jorge told the Mission that the damage and destruction caused by the racist aggression in the period 1975-80 was estimated at US 7 billion dollars. To this figure must be added all the social and human losses which could not be measured in monetary terms. These include the forced displacement of people in affected areas, the interruption of education, unemployment caused by the destruction of means of production, inevitable deficiencies in social services in affected areas,

unfinished projects and other social and economic programmes in these areas with the consequent repercussions on the national economy as a whole. The Minister added, that the escalation of aggression had forced the Government to allocate more resources to the defence of its borders and sovereignty to the detriment of the country's economic development.

In Lusaka the Mission met with the leaders of the ANC Womens Secretariat. Comrade Florence Mophosho explained the heavy responsibility the ANC had shouldered in looking after the growing number of people who had taken refuge in the Front-line states as a result of the increasingly barbarous repression in South Africa. To meet these problems, the ANC had begun self reliance projects in the various centres where these people had taken shelter.

The Mission visited the ANC farm project outside Lusaka, and in Tanzania they visited the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College and the Charlotte Maxeke creche and children's centre. The Missions report states that it 'was impressed by the organisational efficiency, discipline and the ex-

tent of self sufficiency in various fields (carpentry, architectural unit, teachers training department and agricultural projects) at these centres.'

Among the projects which the ANC is currently seeking support are establishment of bakeries, a garment factory, a weaving shop and craft training centres as well as club houses for the Masupatsela (Pioneers), and educational, vocational and technical training for women.

Having considered the various proposals for assistance and support the Conference stressed the importance of mobilising support not only from governments but from popular mass organisations: Trade Unions have a special concern and responsibility as the struggle in South Africa and Namibia is mainly a struggle of working people. The Womens section of trade union, in particular, should do their utmost to publicise the dispossession and humiliation of working women in South Africa and Namibia, and the inhuman persecution of women trade unionists. All non-governmental organisations should not only promote public action in solidarity with the oppressed women of Southern Africa, but should exert maximum influence on the governments to act.

Throughout the conference reference was made to the necessity of mobilising womens organisations to provide material assistance and solidarity. It was considered that such assistance would not only 'alleviate in a concrete way the suffering of women and children and provide moral support, but would lead women to a better understanding of the situation and to a greater involvement in the struggle against apartheid.'

The failure of the mass media particularly in some western countries to give publicity to the shocking crimes against

women and children committed by the apartheid regime and to the heroic resistance of the women was deplored. Several specific proposals designed to promote publicity and knowledge of the situation were put forward. These include a request to the UN, UNESCO and other organisations to prepare educational materials for schools, the production of films, exhibitions and other audio and visual material, and the organisation of national and international essay competitions. Assistance to the liberation movements in their own propaganda was also recommended.

Whilst concerned primarily to consider the promotion of assistance to the women and children in Southern Africa the Conference did not ignore the political reality. The conclusion was unambiguous:

The international community can most effectively contribute to the struggle for liberation of South Africa and Namibia by imposing comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, including a cessation of military and nuclear collaboration an oil embargo and an end to trade and investments in South Africa.

The governments which have not implemented the UN resolutions should be pressed to do so, and to end all collaboration with apartheid.

Governments which are unwilling to take action in the absence of mandatory decisions by the UN Security Council which continue to be blocked by vetoes of Western Powers should be persuaded to take unilateral action.

Organisations committed to freedom can and should take active measures.

In this respect they should, in particular, mobilize public opinion and publish the votes and records of their government.

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