

AK2117/J4.5

Bev APE 10

DECEMBER 1982



SECHABU

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



The Spear lives on!

EDITORIAL

SEE HOW THEY RUN

The British Sunday Times (7.XI.82) reported:

"White farmers are abandoning the guerrilla-threatened northern areas of South Africa in such numbers that ministers of Pieter Botha's government are considering whether to bring in a law compelling owners to keep at least one white person on every farm bordering on Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique ...

"Hendrick Schoeman, a former agriculture minister recently startled MPs with a warning that because of the exodus of farmers 'a terrorist can walk from the Limpopo River right through to Pietersburg without having to set foot on a farm occupied by whites'....

"On the Botswana border 43 per cent of farms are lying idle, on the Zimbabwe border 39 per cent and on the Mozambique border 14 per cent."

As well as considering a law compelling at least one white person to be on each farm in these areas, the regime is also planning to spend money to attract more whites and industries to towns in border areas, eventually integrating them in a defensive network with the farms. Many abandoned farms have been taken over as weekend retreats by wealthy Johannesburg businessmen who hold weekend game shoots but leave the properties in the hands

of African caretakers during the week.

What has happened? Why this exodus? Why this panic?

We have always insisted that — to quote the Freedom Charter — our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.

This exodus is a reflection of the unfulfilled demands of the Freedom Charter. In any case Umkhonto we Sizwe had long anticipated this situation in their song: Siza Kubadubula ngembayi-mbayi: Baza Kubaleka Dubula, Ngembayi-mbayi (We shall shoot them with heavy weapons; And they are going to run away).

This dream of the founding fathers of Umkhonto we Sizwe is coming true; we are witnessing history in the making!



O.R. TAMBO:



**«The demand for
mobilisation stands
at its highest»**

Statement of the President of the African National Congress, Oliver R. Tambo, to the UN General Assembly on the Question of Apartheid New York, 9th November 1982.

Four days ago, in commemorating the 20th anniversary of its singularly important decision calling on all member-states to break cultural, diplomatic, economic and military relations with South Africa, this august body honoured certain personalities for their outstanding role in pursuit of the world campaign in support of the struggle for the eradication of Apartheid.

In paying the well-deserved tribute to certain governments, non-governmental organisations and individuals who have been in the forefront in the implementation of this decision and of the mobilisation of world public opinion in that direction, speakers eloquently recalled the reasons that led to what was an unprecedented development in the history of the United Nations.

The international community had come to the conclusion that the countless appeals repeatedly addressed to the South African racist regime since the inception of this world body had not only fallen on deaf ears but had also met with the persistent buttressing of the Apartheid system. This action oriented consensus involving the overwhelming majority of mankind was also predicated on the determination that Apartheid is a crime against humanity and a threat to world peace and international security. It was an historic decision welcomed by the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa as a response to the appeal made by their National Liberation Movement, the African National Congress, in 1958, and was seen by them as the first step toward comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

The conclusions arrived at by the Security Council Group of Experts in 1964 that sanctions against South Africa

were imperative and feasible, further heightened expectations for concerted international action. The total isolation of the Pretoria regime would certainly weaken it and complement the efforts of the struggling people in South Africa.

As we take the floor on behalf of the African National Congress and in the name of the majority in South Africa, we draw strength firstly, Mr. President, from the commitment of your country, Hungary, to the principles of freedom, justice and peace, as well as your own uncompromising opposition to the Apartheid system. We are confident that the deliberations of this august assembly in the 20th year of the issue of sanctions will serve to advance our common cause.

Secondly, we read in the Secretary-General's report—a timely warning that the future of the United Nations, to the strengthening of which the overwhelming majority of the member-states are committed, depends on the collective implementation of decisions democratically adopted by this world body.

Thirdly, we take the floor after a vehement condemnation of Apartheid and a scathing indictment of the Pretoria regime's collaborators by the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid, His Excellency, Ambassador Alhaji Yusuf Maitama-Sule. The statement he presented today enters the records of the General Assembly as one of the great landmarks of its 37th session.

We take this opportunity to renew our sincere appreciation and gratitude for the highly commendable work done by the Special Committee under his illustrious leadership. His country, Nigeria, and his government and people have been and continue to be a powerful source of strength in the struggle for the total liberation of Africa.

Mr. President, the situation prevailing in South Africa today continues to provoke world-wide revulsion and condemnation. As in previous years, the year 1982 has been

marked by a series of murders of patriots, numerous arrests, sadistic torture of thousands of opponents of the regime and countless other crimes committed by the regime against our people in a bid to stamp out the revolutionary movement fighting for the overthrow of the apartheid system.

The need for a powerful international demand for the release of political prisoners and detainees is heightened with each passing year, as patriots like 73 year-old Oscar Mpetha, 70 year-old Walter Sisulu, Elias Motsoaledi, Dennis Goldberg, James Mange, Thandi Modise, Ahmed Kathrada and hundreds of others continue, with Nelson Mandela, to languish in jail. Six of them, Anthony Tsotsobe, Johannes Shabangu, David Moise, Jerry Mosololi, Marcus Motaung and Simon Mogoerane have been sentenced to death and their fate hangs on the weight of international opinion. We have even reached the extraordinary situation where the police have the power to prohibit public funerals, alternately to tell the bereaved what hymns to sing at the graveside, what sermons to read, what to include and what to exclude in a funeral oration.

Despite this enemy offensive even because of it, the struggle for the emancipation of our country is moving apace with irrepressible determination.

United in their action, clear in their definition of both the enemy and the objectives of their struggle, the workers, particularly the black workers, the youth, the women, the masses in the rural areas, students, professors and the religious community are engaged in actions not only to block the implementation of racial policies both in general and in the detail, but also to bring down the Apartheid system itself.

The role and participation of an increasing number of white patriots in the liberation struggle constitutes the foundations of the new non-racial democratic South Africa which is the objective of our struggle.

The heroic role of Umkhonto we Sizwe in contributing to the development of this powerful movement of the people of South Africa against an inhuman system, cannot be over-stated. Under the inspiration of the world solidarity movement and the increasing might of the international forces ranged against racism, Apartheid, fascism, colonialism and imperialism, our people and their army Umkhonto we Sizwe, are marching on single-mindedly towards the conquest of power and the liberation of our country.

The rejection by our people of the so-called reforms must be seen in this context. In this sense, any manoeuvres the Pretoria regime has resorted to, like its repressive measures and aggressive acts, serve only to deepen the determination of the people and heighten the intensity of the liberation struggle. At best the efforts of Botha and his friends in the outside world to present the regime as an agent of progressive reform are a cynical ploy to deceive the gullible. The most persistent feature of the present day South African political landscape is the steadily worsening crisis of the racist regime. Sandbagged police stations and military outposts, intermittent para-military roadblocks outside Black townships brutal and oppressive raids on Black people's homes and areas are all symptomatic of a regime in the grip of fear and engulfed by a sea of hostility from the citizens of its own country.

Mr President, the International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa is coming to an end. But the demand for mobilisation stands at its highest.

The African National Congress, together with the majority of the people of South Africa, deeply appreciate the efforts deployed by the United Nations Organisation and the international community to put maximum pressure on the Apartheid regime in support of our liberation struggle.

Certainly, Mr. President, the past

twenty years, has witnessed a growing isolation of the Apartheid regime. To that extent, the international community, through its consistent pursuit of the purposes clearly spelt out in the General Assembly's sanctions resolution of November 6th, 1962, has succeeded in weakening the Pretoria regime.

But we have to face up to the reality that over this period of the struggle for mandatory sanctions, the regime has succeeded in defying world opinion on a whole series of issues.

Faced with the determined resistance of the oppressed and exploited inside South Africa, the regime has externalised the conflict through a strategy of overt and covert aggression, including a campaign of destabilisation, against the neighbouring states. These crimes against African independent states have the direct and indirect encouragement from various quarters in the West. In this regard special mention must be made of the role of the incumbent U.S. administration, which has declared itself an ally of the racist regime. Emboldened by the assurance of the United States support, the racists aborted the Geneva Conference on Namibia, unleashed a wave of atrocities against the Namibian people, invaded the People's Republic of Angola and continue brazenly to occupy portions of its territory; they are openly training, equipping, financing and arming counter-revolutionary gangs to spread terror and mayhem in various countries in Southern Africa and they are still deeply enmeshed in conspiracies to stage a mercenary coup in the Seychelles. No country in Southern Africa is secure against the Pretoria regime's harassment and aggression. As a matter of stark reality, Pretoria has turned our whole region into a war zone.

There is another important dimension to the declared alliance between Washington and Apartheid Pretoria, Mr. President. We refer to the insistence by both on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from the People's Republic of Angola as a precondition

for the independence of Namibia. It is however heartening to note that this demand has been disowned by France and other members of the western Contact Group. But, Mr. President, the United Nations keeps silent on this issue at the risk of being seen to condone conduct which amounts to the Namibian people being held by Pretoria as hostages whose release to self-determination and independence is conditional upon the conclusion of a bilateral agreement between two sovereign states on terms dictated or approved by racist Pretoria and its ally.

The parallels between the Middle East and Southern Africa are as clear as they are sinister. The onslaught on the Lebanon, the massive massacre of Lebanese and Palestinians, the attempt to liquidate the PLO and the Palestinian people, all of which were enacted with impunity by Israel have been followed minutely and with unconcealed interest and glee by the Pretoria racist regime which has designs for perpetrating the same kind of crime in Southern Africa in the expectation that, like Israel, it will be enabled by its allies to get away with murder.

It would seem obvious, Mr. President, that we must make a more determined and united effort to persuade and compel those countries who continue in their support encouragement and defence of the Apartheid system to terminate their ignoble relations with the Apartheid regime.

In the first instance we must give maximum encouragement to the Anti-Apartheid Movements in these countries as well as to other organisations and groups that have joined in the struggle to rid the world of racism.

Secondly, this movement of solidarity within these countries should be encouraged and, where possible, assisted to expand their activities to reach out to the broad masses of the people who, through their organisations and in the greatest possible numbers, can themselves begin to impose sanctions against South Africa.

Many important initiatives have already been taken in this regard, including consumer boycotts, the withdrawal of investments and accounts from companies and banks that have dealings with South Africa. The heroic resistance of the people of New Zealand to the racist rugby tour of their country earlier this year gave a powerful impetus to the struggle for the sporting and cultural isolation of the Apartheid regime. In Australia, workers have refused to handle South African imports and exports, ships or aircraft. The expansion and intensification of these forms of popular pressure will force reluctant and collaborationist governments to act in accordance with the resolutions of the General Assembly.

The overwhelming majority of oil-producing countries have imposed an oil embargo against Apartheid South Africa, and yet, thanks to the activities of the oil companies, this commodity continues to reach South Africa. We cannot overemphasize the need for effective measures to ensure that UN member-states, committed to the struggle to end apartheid, do not continue to oil the machinery of Apartheid.

Thanks to the support of western countries, racist South Africa continues to enjoy membership of various international bodies and specialised agencies, among them the International Monetary Fund. Accordingly, South Africa still benefits from such membership, as the recent case of the IMF loan demonstrates. The decision by the IMF to grant Pretoria a loan of 1.07 billion dollars, in defiance of a resolution of the General Assembly, sharpens the need for the expulsion of the racist regime from the IMF.

In our struggle, Mr. President, we seek to liberate not only ourselves but we are also thereby contributing to the worldwide struggle for independence, democracy, social progress and peace. In the coming period we shall require even more support from this Organisation, from its member-states and from the millions of people

throughout the world who are an important second front in our continuing offensive.

We cannot close, Mr. President, without addressing a special word of support and solidarity to SWAPO and the people of Namibia, the PLO and the Palestinian people, the Polisario Front and the people of the Sahraoui Arab Democratic Republic, to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the people of El Salvador, and to FRETILIN and the people of East Timor, as well as all other peoples struggling for their national liberation. We affirm our solidarity with the Frontline and other independent states in Southern Africa.

Our common experience with these sister peoples and our common commitment to the cause of liberation, independence, social progress and peace must inevitably mean that we suffer together. But equally a victory on one front reinforces the struggle and ensures victory on other fronts. Nothing can break the solidarity that unites us.

During this coming period, perhaps more than ever in the past, we shall, Mr. President, depend on your support and encouragement, as well as the support and encouragement of His Excellency, the Secretary-General; His Excellency, the Chairman of the Special Committee Against Apartheid and all the other officials of this Organisation.

Together we have the ability to defeat those who subvert the United Nations, its Charter and its decisions. The Apartheid regime stands out among such subversive forces. We have a joint responsibility to work for its eradication.

Our common victory is certain.

Thank you Mr. President.

December 16th: Our Heroes Day

On December 16, we remember our heroes, those on Robben Island and other prisons, those who are fighting and struggling under the most difficult conditions inside the country engaging the enemy on all fronts and those who have fallen in the course of struggle against the fascist and racist regime. The young generation – the generation of Soweto, Langa, Gugulethu needs special recognition. They have in the real sense of the word taken the bull by its horns. We cannot mention them all but some of the most outstanding need to be remembered. They are:

Wilfred Nzamela Madela

Born on May 13, 1954 in Johannesburg Nzamela worked as a clerk for Barclays Bank in 1975 – his father had passed away and his mother was a primary school teacher. In 1977 he worked as a clerk at Baragwanath Hospital until he left the country.

Comrade Nzamela was exemplary and very well disciplined; his morale was always very high and he was a very humorous person. He was chosen for special tasks which needed men of his calibre and discipline. His conduct record was remarkable.

He was a commander of the group which was to operate in the Pretoria area until circumstances forced them into the memorable SILVERTON BANK SIEGE where they died as heroes.

Humphrey Thamsanqa Makhubo

Born on October 11, 1954 in Johannesburg Humphrey was a son of a businessman who owns a laundry and tents for hire – his mother is an assistant in the business. He and Nzamela Madela were inseparable friends having attended the same school. Comrade Thamsanqa was part of the Madela group, underwent the same training and brought to the front together.

Comrade Makhubo was highly disciplined and hard working. Mateu, as he was called in our ranks, will be remembered fondly for his unfledging morale. He had a wonderful voice and loved to sing. There was never a moment for brooding when he was around.

Zindile Ramokoa (alias Stephen Mafoko)

He was born in Johannesburg on April 27, 1954. His mother was unemployed. He learnt of the ANC from a friend and he used to listen to Radio Freedom whilst still in the country. He was arrested in



Wilfred Nzamela Madela



Comrade Leon Tume



Comrade Petros Linda Jabane

1977 for incitement and released without charge.

Zindile left home with four other comrades-most of whom have rendered invaluable service to the movement. Basically a quiet man, Zindile was forced into the armed struggle by what he saw around him during the Soweto uprisings and after.

He received a hero's funeral in Soweto after having been involved in the SILVERTON BANK SIEGE.

Robert Mokwena (alias George Sello)

Mokwena was born on April 4, 1952. He trained and worked as a mechanic until September, 1976. At the end of 1975 he met his relative and discussed with him the political situation at home. From school he was dissatisfied with the situation. He left towards the end of 1976.

Already during training he showed remarkable leadership qualities. Because of his outstanding qualities as a gallant combatant, popular and respected leader in his group he was made a unit commander.

On several occasions he led his unit into action displaying the determination and calm of a seasoned fighter in out-manoeuving the enemy. It was after such a daring mission in the Eastern Transvaal that the comrade was spotted by a police-

man, who called for reinforcements to capture him alive. Left with only a hand grenade after heavy fighting Comrade Robert decided that he would rather die than offer himself to the butchers.

Patiently and calmly he allowed the police to come nearer to him. Then he undid his hand grenade which killed him and a policeman and injured several others. Indeed only a soldier of the calibre of Robert Mokwena could do that. That was on May 10, 1981.

For us Comrade Robert will be remembered fondly for his undying spirit of NO-SURRENDER.

Petrus Linda Jabane (alias Gordon Dineko)

Born on January 6, 1957 in Johannesburg his father was a working pensioner and his mother unemployed. He was active during the June 16 uprisings. He took part in the burning down of Hlubi's house - Hlubi was the arch-policeman/informer who was later killed by the people. Jabane left home on June 6, 1977 with others.

Comrade Jabane was a hard-working, disciplined and intelligent young man. He was small almost inconspicuous. He was consequently chosen for a task which needed such a man. He disliked that. He insisted he wanted to join an urban assault unit. He acquitted himself well in several



Humphrey Thamsanqa Makhubo



Comrade Robert Mokwena

operations and rose to be commissar of the unit during his work with it inside the country.

He died in Chiawelo from his own hand grenade when he would not surrender to the battalion of policemen who surrounded his hide out. He had run out of ammunition which he used to keep the fascist hordes at bay.

Leon Tume (alias Norman Nkosi)

Born in Kimberly on April 10, 1957 Leon came from a working class family - his mother was employed in a garment factory. After deserting from his job as a Railway Policeman he went to Johannesburg around October 1976. Later he and his comrades joined the ANC.

Comrade Leon was one of the most remarkable young men from the June 16 crop. Tall, quiet and unassuming, he earned the respect of all comrades who knew and worked with him. After his specialised training he became one of the most loved commanding officers at the camp. He was an asset everywhere and it was with reluctance that he was relieved of his duty at the camp for the front.

Within his brief spell with his unit (of which Jabane was part) he had already established himself as a tireless and dedicated comrade. He earned himself the

name "Likomanisi" - he is a communist - in the unit through his zealous, unselfish and first-to-volunteer attitude towards work.

Comrade Knox - as he was sometimes called in the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe - while he and Jabane were on reconnaissance duty were spotted by two white mine security guards in a van. Leon was armed with a pistol and Jabane with a defensive hand grenade which he could not use given the situation. Leon neutralised the first white man immediately and in the ensuing gun battle with the other he was hit three times before the man sped off himself with multiple gun wounds.

Jabane helped carry the staggering Leon to a house in a nearby village and asked the people to help him while he went to seek for help. By this time Leon was losing blood profusely from the wounds sustained in battle. He went out of his hiding place and by then the area was teeming with policemen who were alerted by the escaped security guard. He fought a determined battle with the scores of policemen before he was killed in this spirit of NO-SURRENDER. He died a soldier at his post on 13 June 1980.

To them all and many more we say your lives have not been sacrificed in vain.

OUTSTANDING PEOPLE'S LEADERS:



PART 2 NELSON MANDELA

An equally great impact on the development of public thinking in South Africa has been made by another prominent politician, Nelson Mandela, whose influence on the minds of his compatriots remains just as strong today, although the South African authorities have sentenced him to life imprisonment. In 1980, on the 18th year of his imprisonment which should have fully isolated him from the South African public according to his jailers' designs, the Johannesburg-based Sunday Post reported: "One of the realities which we have to face is that Nelson Mandela enjoys an incredibly high prestige". (25)

The fact that the Africans, who rightfully see Mandela as a national hero and leader, demand his release can hardly evoke any surprise. What is important is that many Whites regard him as a serious political figure, too. An opinion survey carried out in March 1980 showed that 54 per cent of the white residents of Johannesburg deemed it necessary to release Mandela. So, there is no exaggeration in the words of one of his associates, S.R. 'Mac' Maharaj: "The name of Nelson Mandela lives on in the hearts and minds of his people and of all democrats throughout the world ... Within his lifetime Nelson has become a living legend" (26).

The Path of a Fighter

Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela was born in 1918 in the town of Umtata (Transkei) in the family of a chief of the Tembu. He received his primary education in a Methodist mission school. Fate seemed to have guaranteed him a trouble-free life among the traditional tribal elite. But he broke off with this environment to which he belonged by origin and chose the path of a fighter against the racist regime.

Mandela's initiation to political activities happened during his university years. Participation in a student strike led to his dismissal from Fort-Hare College. He had to continue his studies by correspondence at the University of the Witwaters-

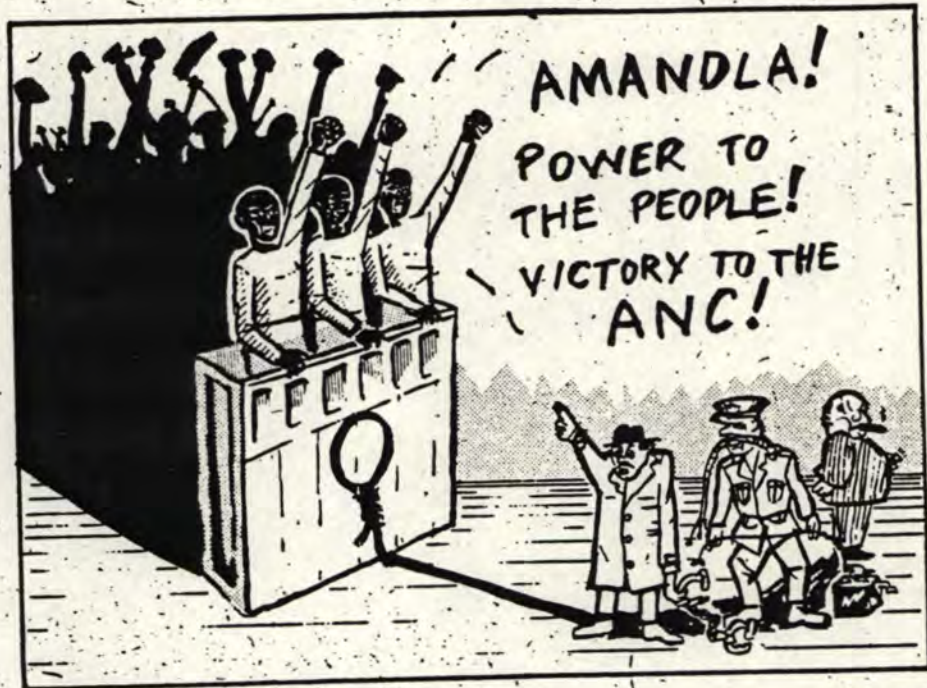
rand, and yet he managed to get a degree of a Bachelor of Arts and of a Bachelor of Law as well.

Mandela's interest in law was not accidental. In Johannesburg, he came to witness the rightless existence of urban Africans continuously harassed and persecuted by the racist authorities. "Nelson with his emotional and sensitive character could not stand humiliation and a patronising attitude, this evoked a sense of bitterness in him and a desire to retaliate for the offence" (27). It was probably these circumstances that prompted Mandela to master the method of legal defence. He was also advised by his newly acquired friend, Walter Sisulu, who advised him to study law.

Shortly afterwards, a dilapidated building opposite the city court came to sport a brass plaque reading "Mandela and Tambo". Here, the two like-minded young men who were to become close associates in the future struggle worked as practising lawyers for several years, acting as defence counsels for their black compatriots.

In 1944 Mandela plunged into political activities body and soul. He joined the African National Congress and founded the ANC Youth League in cooperation with W. Sisulu, O. Tambo and A. Lembede, whose emergence on the political scene marked the beginning of a new stage in the liberation struggle in South Africa. The main thing that distinguished the Youth League and which later became the principal aspect about all ANC activities was the urge to invigorate the liberation struggle and to impart a more militant and resolute nature to it.

The Youth League Manifesto (1944) and the document of its Executive called the Basic Policy Document (1948), both of which were drawn up with Nelson Mandela's active participation, outlined the fundamental goals of this group of African nationalists who represented the revolutionary youth. In the main, the Manifesto set forth an ideological and political platform on which African



Nationalism developed in the subsequent years in South Africa. Four years later, in 1948, the ANC Youth League outlined the basic principles of Nationalism as the ideology of the South African patriots fighting for national liberation. "African Nationalism is a dynamic National liberatory creed of the oppressed African people. Its fundamental aim is: —

- (1) the creation of a united nation out of the heterogeneous tribes;
- (2) the freeing of Africa from foreign domination and foreign leadership;
- (3) the creation of conditions which can enable Africa to make her own contribution to human progress and happiness" (28).

Careful study of the Basic Policy Document enables one to repudiate the claims of the narrow nationalist organisation — Pan

Africanist Congress (PAC) that PAC and nobody else is the real successor to the ideology of African Nationalism in the shape it was formulated by the ANC Youth League. Section 5 of that document reads: "it must be noted that there are two streams of African Nationalism. One centres round Marcus Garvey's slogan — "Africa for the Africans". It is based on the "Quit Africa" slogan and on the cry "Hurl the White man into the sea". This brand of African Nationalism is extreme and ultra-revolutionary. There is another stream of African Nationalism which is moderate, and which the Congress Youth League professes". (29)

It is noted further in the Document that the "Youth League takes account of the concrete situation in South Africa and realizes that the various racial population groups living in the country have come to stay". That is why it is essential to strive for interracial peace and progress through

the abandonment of White domination. "Our goal is the winning of National freedom for African people, and the inauguration of a people's free society where racial oppression and persecution will be outlawed". (30)

These provisions were fully in harmony with Mandela's political convictions and he never abandoned them, which is reflected in his speech at the Rivonia trial in 1964. "The ideological creed of the ANC is, and always has been, the creed of African Nationalism", he said. "It is not the concept of African Nationalism expressed in the cry, 'Drive the White man into the sea'. The African Nationalism for which the ANC stands is the concept of freedom and fulfilment for the African people in their own land". (31)

The role of Mandela in shaping and developing social conscience is not confined to the fact that he is an outstanding thinker, far-sighted politician and true patriot of his own people. The main point is that he is a vigorous fighter for the implementation of his ideals and convictions. The Africans in South Africa see him as a man who not only expresses their ideas and aspirations, but who fights for their consummation, too. Nelson Mandela's outlooks are distinguished by a combination of implacable anti-racialism and revolutionary nationalism. This combination is logical since Mandela's anti-racialism is the negation of racialism altogether. "I am no racialist", he wrote, "and I detest racialism, because I regard it as a barbaric thing, whether it comes from a black man or from a white man". (32) The essence of the African Nationalism professed by the ANC was exactly the recunciation of black racialism.

Being of the opinion that there are quite a few honest democrats among the white population of South Africa, who maintain a courageous stand for equality and for the eradication of racialism, and working for the formation of a united multiracial front against the apartheid regime, Nelson Mandela has always had a

realistic view of the state of affairs in South Africa. Racial oppression by the white minority is a sad fact of South African life, so most Africans have always had and maintain a fairly definite attitude towards the white man. But this is not black racialism, because it is not caused by hatred towards the white man motivated by the fact that he belongs to a certain race. This is a natural feeling of the oppressed towards the oppressor. "All the good things of life are reserved for the white folk and we Blacks are expected to be content to nourish our bodies with such pieces of food as drop from the tables of men with white skins. Whatever he himself (the White man - V.G.) may say in his defence, the white man's moral standards in this country must be judged by the extent to which he has condemned the vast majority of its inhabitants to serfdom and inferiority. Through bitter experience, we have learnt to regard the white man as a harsh and merciless type of human being whose contempt for our rights, and whose utter indifference to the promotion of our welfare, makes his assurances to us absolutely meaningless and hypocritical". (33)

Into the Arena of Mass Struggle

After the reshuffles in its leadership in 1949 consisting in the inclusion of the most prominent Youth League leaders with Nelson Mandela among them, the ANC turned into a genuine vanguard of the liberation struggle in South Africa. In the 50's, this struggle acquired a particular fierce character and wide scope. The South African patriots staged a series of powerful political campaigns against the racist regime with the participation of the broadest masses of people. The campaign culminated in the holding of the Congress of the People in 1955 which adopted the Freedom Charter - a policy document of the revolutionary forces engaged in the liberation struggle. The Charter reflected many aspects of Mandela's philosophic and political outlooks

and, particularly, his anti-racialism and his aspiration for a democratic non-racial society in South Africa. The Charter's opening words "South Africa belongs to all who live in it" express its main underlying principle.

The problems of the national liberation movement and of the struggle against racism and apartheid as well as the problems of interracial relations and of the formation of, first, a united front of struggle and, then, a democratic society of free people were all the focus of Nelson Mandela's attention. He assigned them primary importance in his articles and speeches. The social issues featured less prominently in his work. However, some of Mandela's ideas characterize his attitude towards social problems and, notably, to the problems of a class society. He often spoke in favour of a classless society. "I think", he said in 1960, "many troubles stem from the existence of classes where one class exploits another" (34). In another speech in 1962 he made a more detailed interpretation of his viewpoint: "The structure and organisation of early African societies in this country fascinated me very much and greatly influenced the evolution of my political outlook. The land, then the main means of production, belonged to the whole tribe, and there was no individual ownership whatsoever. There were no classes, no rich or poor and no exploitation of man by man. All men were free and equal and this was the foundation of government ... There was much in such a society that was primitive and insecure and it certainly could never measure up to the demands of the present epoch. But in such a society are contained the seeds of revolutionary democracy in which none will be held in slavery or servitude, and in which poverty, want, and insecurity shall be no more. This is the inspiration which, even today, inspires me and my colleagues in our political struggle." (35) This reference to the past and to the traditional African society can be explained mostly by his rejection of capitalist society

with its exploitation and class oppression. "I cannot associate myself with any other system but socialism", said Mandela at the Rivonia trial. (36)

Mandela also spoke of the influence which the Marxist ideas had on him and of the benefits he derived from his knowledge of Marxist literature. (37) In his final statement at the Rivonia trial where the Counsel for the prosecution insisted on a death sentence, Nelson Mandela clearly and unequivocally defined his attitude to Communists and to the South African Communist Party. "For many decades", he said, "Communists were the only political group in South Africa who were prepared to treat Africans as human beings and their equals; who were prepared to eat with us; talk with us, live with us, and work with us. They were the only political group which was prepared to work with the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this, there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with communism". (38)

Nelson Mandela highly valued the experience of cooperation between Communists and non-Communists in the national liberation movement of South Africa, stressing that this cooperation was based on the common aspiration to eradicate race discrimination and to win democratic rights on the basis of the principles sealed in the Freedom Charter.

The State versus Mandela

Starting from 1944, when Mandela joined the ANC, to 1962, when he was arrested and given a five-year prison term which was changed to life imprisonment after the Rivonia trial, he was in the forefront of political and organisational activities in the South African national liberation movement. Those 18 years of his political activities were extremely hard: police persecution and repressions never stopped for a moment, from 1956 to 1960 he and more than 100 other patriots were on trial under charges of "high treason"; in 1960 he was arrested

once again during a state of emergency in South Africa; in 1961-1962, right until his last arrest, he worked underground; the same years were marked by intensive and complicated work involving the establishment and commanding of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) - the military organisation of the ANC. It was practically impossible to work on theoretical concepts in a calm and unhurried manner under the circumstances.

One can judge Mandela's political and philosophic views by his articles in the progressive press, and by his statements and speeches at ANC rallies and congresses. His statements at the 1962 and 1964 trials are of particular interest. The first of these was published under the title "Black Man in a White Court", and the second - "I am prepared to Die". These were not so much statements in his own defence as political and policy statements. The defendant used the trial to bring the ANC programme to the public knowledge in South Africa and elsewhere, to spell out the objectives, methods and instruments of national liberation struggle, and to set forth his own views and convictions. These statements, and particularly that at the Rivonia trial, gained widespread international acclaim.

The role and prestige of Nelson Mandela in the public and political life of the South African people grow with every passing year, and people are increasingly pegging their hopes on the racist state's convict no. 1. As noted by the prominent public figure, the Chairman of the South African Council of Churches Bishop Desmond Tutu in the course of a large-scale campaign for the release of Mandela in 1980, "It is my well-considered opinion that we are going to have a Black Prime Minister in South Africa within the next 5 to 10 years. We need Nelson Mandela because he is exactly the person who will almost certainly be the first Black Prime Minister". (39)

Nelson Mandela and Albert Lutuli are outstanding public figures and politicians, leaders of the ANC and of the

whole South African national liberation movement, true patriots of their land and dedicated fighters against racism and apartheid. There is much in common between their outlooks and socio-political stands and between their fates and roads in life. Both came from the privileged traditional elite. However, the traditionalism which had dominated at the start of their life did not lead them to tribalism or narrow nationalism. Both advanced in the direction of revolutionary nationalism, non-racial cooperation and genuine patriotism. Both received an adequate education and had good opportunities to win a high position in contemporary capitalist society even under the terms of white supremacy. Nevertheless, both chose the path of self-sacrifice and struggle waged by up-to-date means and methods.

The evolution of the philosophic and political outlooks of Albert Lutuli and Nelson Mandela happened under the impact of the liberation struggle and under the influence of its inner logic. In both cases this evolution was directed towards progressive views and more resolute forms of struggle, which was fully in line with the development of the revolutionary process in South Africa.

25. Sunday Post (Johannesburg), 9/3/80

26. Mandela, *The Struggle is My Life*. London, 1978, p.180

27. Mandela, *No Easy Walk to Freedom*, p. 30

28. Mandela, *Op.Cit.*, p. 20-21

29. *Ibid.*, p.26

30. *Ibid.*, p.26

31. *Ibid.*, p.167

32. *Ibid.*, p.125

33. *Ibid.*, p.130

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, p.141

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.* p.169

39- The Sunday Tribune, 4/5/80

SHEFFIELD— City of political & civic courage

A United Nations Symposium on the role of Transnational Corporations (TNC's) in South Africa and Namibia was organised in cooperation with the Sheffield City Council on the theme Sheffield and Southern Africa on November 1-2, 1982.

Speaking at this symposium in the British Midlands, Emeka Anyaoku, Deputy Commonwealth Secretary-General, reminded the audience about the history of Sheffield:

"In 1792, the citizens of Sheffield sent a petition to the Government demanding the abolition of the African slave trade. Two years later, they followed this up with a second petition. For us today, looking back on these events from the vantage position of the twentieth century, they may appear trivial. At the time they were not. As you will remember, the two year period between 1792 and 1794 was the height of the Jacobin scare in England. So deep-seated was this obsession with Jacobinism (the 18th century equivalent of our Red scare today) that a Bill for the prevention of cruelty to animals was considered an

unwarranted interference by the State with the liberty of the individual and was denounced in the House of Commons by Coleridge as the "strongest instance of legislative Jacobinism".

"... the anti-slavery campaign which had only just begun to make an impact, suffered a major reverse and the slave trade obtained a new lease on life, all in the name of liberty! But the city of Sheffield, to its eternal credit, had taken its stand, a stand once humanitarian and internationalist and requiring at the time unusual civic and political courage ...

"We are told by the standard history of Sheffield that in November 1792 the inhabitants of the city celebrated with jubilation the victories of the French revolutionary armies even though those same victories had robbed Sheffield, depending then as now on its steel exports for a living, 'of one market after another' on the continent of Europe. What was at stake was a principle greater than material self-interest and the citizens of Sheffield elected to

Collection Number: AK2117

DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989

PUBLISHER:

Publisher: **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

Location: **Johannesburg**

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