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MIGRANT WORKERS LEAVE FAMILIES BEHIND



EDITORIAL

The Elections are Over— the Struggle Continues

The elections came and went but the fight against the constitutional fraud continues. There are two myths which need to be exploded about these elections. We are told that the people were apathetic because they were "terrorised" by those who boycotted elections. There are two problems here. Firstly it was the regime that terrorised the people and arrested their leaders. Secondly, the very fact that people did not vote was a sign that they were actively against elections. They were not apathetic. They consciously rejected the fraudulent constitution.

The second myth which is propagated by the South African and western news media (and also by Gatscha Buthelezi) is that people were against the constitution because it excluded the Africans. Nothing can be further from the truth. The new constitution does not exclude Africans, because it entrenches apartheid. How can this new constitution be said to be excluding Africans when influx control will be tightened, when Indian and Coloured youth will be recruited into the army to help oppress the majority, when the Africans will be forced — more than ever before — to go to the Bantustans?

Instead of facing this reality the racist regime signed the Nkomati Accord in the hope that this will destroy the ANC. Even the crackdown on the ANC by Swaziland has not affected the pace of the struggle. The *Guardian* of September 5th 1984 commented:

"But close(d) analysis of sabotage attacks since the signing of the March 16th Nkomati Accord points to an intensification of sabotage acts between then and September 3rd compared with the same period last year."

Excluding the petrol bomb attacks there were 19 sabotage attacks or attempted sabotage between the signing of the accord and the beginning of September. During the same period last year the figure was 15.

At the time of writing this editorial, bloody clashes are taking place in Vereeniging and the Vaal Triangle — the heavy industrial area about 30 miles outside Johannesburg. Police are using tear gas, rubber bullets and live rounds. The death toll is estimated at 31. These disturbances coincided with the day the tri-racial constitution came into force. The very fact that a powerful blast extensively damaged eight offices of the Department of Internal Affairs — which was in charge of the elections — testifies to the fact that these disturbances are connected with the elections.

Besides the constitution and the arrest of people's leaders without trial, there are also related issues such as rent increases, increases in bus fares, the high level of indirect taxation and anger among pupils over standards of education.

These and many other factors show that the elections are over, but not yet over ... the struggle continues!

COLOURED AND INDIANS REJECT RACIST ELECTION!

By Aziz Pahad

The Coloured and Indian communities have resoundingly rejected the regime's racially determined new constitutional proposals.

Despite a well-orchestrated campaign by the regime, large-scale violence, threats and intimidation by the state and employers, and a campaign by the media, a mere 18% of Coloured and 15.5% of Indian voters went to the polls.

In reality, the boycott was even more successful, because:

- a) In racist South Africa there are no proper census records for the oppressed, and very dubious methods were used to determine the voters' rolls. For instance, a University of Cape Town survey estimated that the figures of eligible Coloured voters had been underestimated by over 78 000.
- b) There was widespread abuse of the 'special votes' system (allowed voting prior to election days). People, especially the elderly, were duped into signing these forms, others were coerced by threats that they would lose their pensions, council flats, grants, places on the housing waiting lists, or that they would be fined R150 if they failed to vote. This reached such proportions that even an arch-collaborator like Poovalingam was forced to express "concern" at the leniency with which

special votes were being accepted, and by fact that "old, semi-literate people were told that they would lose their pensions if they did not sign their forms."

In the final count, a large percentage of Indian votes were 'special votes.'

c) There was a large discrepancy between urban and rural areas. In many urban areas the voting was below 10%. In the Cape Peninsula, where 60% of Coloured people live, the turn-out for voting and registration was low. For example, in the Cape Town Mountain constituency, Arendse (a former Labour Party leader) won with 118 votes, a 4.4% poll. The polls in other Cape constituencies were equally derisory: 4.7% in Wynberg; 8.37% in Ottery; 8.7% in Rondebosch; 7.8% in Silverton; 5.5% in Hanover Park; 8.7% in Liesbeeck; 8.7% in Mitchells Plain. The same was true in the Indian areas — Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Fordsburg — had similar low polls.

A shell-shocked Botha angrily reported

"These wreckers have nothing but confusion and violence to offer, and no action is taken against their ringleaders until they shout to high heaven."

He continued:

"A considerable percentage of Coloureds are not yet interested in exercising political rights."

The Indian elections undoubtedly angered him further. Racist Botha and his ilk refuse to accept the reality that the results clearly show that the Coloureds and Indians are not interested in "exercising political rights" in sham elections, but that they are committed to and will continue to fight for genuine political rights in a unitary, non-racial, democratic South Africa.

The regime attributed the results to "intimidation" and "apathy," a theme unfortunately repeated by most of the South African and Western media. Another widespread theme of "expert analysts" has been that the

protesters were objecting to the fact that the Africans were excluded from the new "dispensation."

Arrests and Intimidation

Let us examine these arguments.

Yes, there was widespread intimidation and violence. This came from the police, the security branch, the employers and thugs and gangster elements. An undeclared state of emergency existed in the country. For months the defence force and the police issued several "warnings" that they would do everything in their power to protect the "privilege" of Coloureds and Indians to vote; heavily armed and equipped police were obtrusively present at every meeting; the specially created 'Reaction Police Squad' violently

Among those arrested before the elections were:

Archie Gumede	Co-President of the UDF; Chairman of the Natal Region of the Free Mandela Committee; treason trialist; first banned in 1963.
Patrick Lekota	Publicity secretary of the UDF; served sentence on Robben Island 1976-1982.
Aubrey Mokoena	National Executive member of the UDF; banned 1978-1983.
George Sewpersadh	President NIC; banned 1973-1978 and 1981-1983
M.J. Naidoo	Vice-President NIC; banned 1982-1983
Mewa Ramgobin	Treasurer UDF; banned 1971-1983
Essop Jassat	President TIC; banned 1980-1983
Curtis Nkondo	Release Mandela Committee; banned 1980-1983
Billy Nair	Treason trialist; served sentence on Robben Island, 1964-1984; UDF functionary.
Curnick Ndlovu	Served sentence on Robben Island, 1964-1983; UDF functionary.
Ram Saloojee	Vice-President TIC.
Prince Msuthu	Regional Secretariat UDF, Eastern Cape.
Bashir Hussein	Regional Secretariat UDF, Eastern Cape.

attacked people at several meetings, — for example, at Bishop Lavis Community Hall, Lenasia, and Potchefstroom. People were sjambokked and viciously beaten with rubber truncheons. Even the British *Daily Telegraph* described the police attacks in Lenasia as "brutal." The police indiscriminately used rubber bullets, and in several cases even live bullets were used. It is conservatively estimated that three African youths were shot dead. All indications are that the extent of police violence surpassed the already 'good record' of the South African police in this field.

Some UDF meetings were banned, and in many areas the UDF was refused the use of halls for meetings. UDF activists were harassed, and hundreds charged for minor offences, taken in for 'questioning' and threatened with banning orders. Educational and propaganda materials were banned, confiscated and destroyed. On the other hand, thousands of posters and leaflets purporting to come from the UDF and asking people to vote, were mysteriously distributed.

Other pressures included the threats to remove people from housing waiting lists unless they voted (as in Bonteheuwel) and businessmen were threatened with withdrawal of licences if they did not vote. Finally, as the campaign grew in strength, the regime, unable to achieve its objectives by subtle and less public repression, exposed its true nature and arrested over 50 top UDF leaders and activists in a nationwide sweep.

Le Grange stated that the arrests had been carried out because "a potentially revolutionary situation had been created in part of the country."

A six-month detention order has now been imposed on 17 leaders.

Nationally and internationally there was a massive outcry against the detentions. However, Stowman, the Natal Labour Party leader, welcomed the arrests and said that "some of these UDF backroom boys should have been picked up a long time ago."

A US spokesman could only comment
4 that he "hoped that the detentions did not

represent a change in the process of political evolution in South Africa," and after intense pressure from the Anti-Apartheid Movement, the British government was compelled to issue a statement that was noticeable for its mildness. These forces are quick to condemn the 'violence' of the oppressed, but remain silent even in the face of all the evidence that the apartheid regime has unleashed a systematic reign of terror.

Let us now turn to the second justification for the low percentage turnout. Those who argue that the success of the boycott was due to apathy are consciously or unconsciously distorting reality. Bristling with arrogant confidence after their international 'success' (having gained some appearance of legitimacy, especially after the Nkomati Accord and the Swazi Pact) the regime embarked on an unprecedented campaign internally and internationally to sell the idea that "gradual domestic changes" were being made. Clearly, the latter had to be accepted for the former to achieve greater success.

The South African mass media (those controlled by the regime and others), supported by all other sections of the state apparatus and advertising and public relations, spent millions of pounds to convince the Coloureds and Indians that a new dawn was breaking for them. Collaborators were given maximum coverage on TV and in the newspapers. Academics churned out treatises in support of the dispensations. "Objective" opinion polls showed that the "tide was turning against the boycotters;" for example, the Human Sciences Research Council survey found that a substantial majority of Indians favoured participation. The media produced distorted and exaggerated reports about the "rush to register." Huge coverage was given to the number of parties contesting the elections and to the large number of independent candidates who were standing. All this had the express purpose of creating an impression that the dispensation meant real changes, and that the Coloureds and Indians were accepting this. Undoubtedly it was intended to cause confusion and encourage people to participate.



Protests in Durban at the time of P W Botha's visit to the South African Indian Council

UDF supporters



The state-controlled TV even organised a television competition about the elections.

In the light of such unprecedented coverage to sell the new dispensations, it is surely absurd to talk of apathy. The fact is that the boycott campaign, spearheaded by the United Democratic Front, the Transvaal Indian Congress, the Natal Indian Congress and the Anti-President's Council was successful precisely because of the lack of apathy. The majority of our people boycotted the elections consciously and as an act of political defiance.

Despite some weaknesses and shortcomings, the boycott campaign was highly organised. The country was divided up into districts and task forces allocated to each. Canvassers went from house to house not only to distribute leaflets but to discuss the various issues relating to the dispensations. Meetings organised by the collaborators (the few that were held) were poorly attended, and more often than not the public was outnumbered by police and reporters. On the other hand, despite all the obstacles, UDF meetings were highly successful. Every meeting was packed, and reflected a high level of political consciousness and militancy. At a meeting in Lenasia (the largest meeting ever held in the area), over 3 000 people heard Albertina Sisulu, Allan Boesak, Ram Saloojee and other speakers condemn the elections, emphasise the questions of unity in action and indivisibility of freedom, and the fact that the dispensations were born out of the "resistance of the people." The speeches were punctuated by freedom songs. A UDF rally in Cape Town attracted over 5 000 people.

No Apathy among the Oppressed

Even sceptics were forced to concede that the UDF meetings reached new dimensions. Moreover the UDF involved not only Coloureds and Indians but thousands of Africans. In no uncertain terms the message was clear - the elections were not issues affecting the Coloureds and Indians only, but formed an integral part of the whole apartheid system.

The campaign was also supported by all the major independent trade unions. They

distributed thousands of leaflets, and trade unionists spoke at many major meetings.

The major church bodies also rejected the dispensations. Archbishop Hurley stated that the "new system was merely a consolidation of apartheid under a camouflage of participation." Diakonia (an ecumenical agency) called for a boycott, since "the constitution was totally unacceptable from a Christian point of view."

Over 7 000 Muslims gathered at the Primrose Park mosque in Cape Town, and the message that emerged was "Don't vote. It is Haraam." Sheik Gabier summed up the general feeling when he stated that "the point that when you go to vote for this supposed-to-be new deal ... you are denying millions of South Africans the right to be South Africans and automatically giving a yes to the unjust policy of homelands, as well as entrenching apartheid."

The youth and students once again responded in their hundreds of thousands. For over a week (the period covering the elections) hundreds of African, Coloured and Indian schools, colleges and universities were shut down by boycotts. It is conservatively estimated that well over half a million students were involved. The regime imposed a country-wide indefinite suspension of those students boycotting classes. Nevertheless, the protests continued. The police used extreme violence; hundreds have been injured and three students have been shot dead.

It is clear that the struggle against the constitution was concretely linked to the whole struggle against the apartheid system, especially the racist educational system, the General Sales Tax, the Bantustan policy, and mass removals.

The issue was not who to vote for but whether to vote at all. The people responded by actively boycotting the polls.

Seek apathy here. Seek it there, but you won't find it amongst the South African oppressed.

Conclusion

Despite the massive rejection, the regime has

announced that it will blindly forge ahead with its machinations. What are the implications for the future? Already we are being subjected to the spectacle of the collaborators claiming that if they don't manage to change things substantially within five years they will reconsider their decisions. These are the first shots to try to give the system some credibility.

We can expect that the regime will make some changes to try to achieve this. *The Citizen* newspaper gave an indication of things to come when it commented that it hoped that:

"as the benefits of the system become obvious, the Coloureds as a whole will show more interest and in future elections the turnout will be greater."

Similarly, Hendrickse, echoing his master's voice, stated that:

"once we are in power and begin to deliver the goods I see a great change in attitudes taking place."

It is therefore clear that some token changes will be made. It is likely that the Mixed Marriages Act and the Immorality Act will be removed from the statute book; some licences will be granted to Black businessmen to trade in certain white areas; concessions will be granted to Africans in the urban areas — such as greater powers for community councils and local administration, and some form of consulting mechanism involving the Bantustans. All this will be heralded as change. This will call for continuing all-round work to ensure that the workings of the tricameral parliament are continuously exposed, and all efforts must be made to render it unworkable. Internationally the anti-apartheid movements must expose these subterfuges so as to prevent their governments from using such changes for further identification with and support for the regime.

It is also necessary to counter the misconception that opposition to the new con-

stitution is based on the fact that the Africans were not included. Even if a fourth chamber is introduced for Africans, this will not be acceptable to the oppressed people. We are not seeking 'privileges' that will simply make us junior partners in our continued oppression and exploitation; we are demanding a genuine unitary, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

As the struggle intensifies the regime will increasingly take repressive action against its opponents. Bannings, harassment, intimidation and arrests will increase. Already the regime is laying the ground for the banning of the UDF. The enemy has gone to great lengths to distort and falsify information to try to show that the UDF is a front of the ANC. Many leading politicians, military and police spokesmen have made unfounded accusations to this effect. This farce went to ridiculous lengths when the Labour Party was "given permission" to circulate a pamphlet, supposedly produced by the ANC in London, which is supposed to have indicated support for the UDF. The claim is that this proves that the UDF is a front for the ANC.

Increasingly, the collaborators will be used to do their masters' dirty work. In the Bantustans all opposition is violently suppressed by stooges and thugs of the regime. Already, the Coloured and Indian collaborators have ominously warned that after the elections they will deal with the boycotters. Botha recently stated that:

"responsible leaders would have the task under the new dispensations to groom their people for the use of their democratic rights and the extent of their responsibilities as citizens."

Experience has shown what this means. From this we can assume that the new racist Coloured "representatives" and Indian "delegates" earning R48 000 a year will be willing instruments for enforcing apartheid, with all its concomitant repression.

In this respect, the role of Buthelezi is also a cause for great concern. Already, Inkat-

ha has been instrumental in breaking up several UDF meetings, and many activists have been assaulted. No activities genuinely opposed to the regime are tolerated in KwaZulu.

Buthelezi's inflammatory speeches have given rise to great tensions. Inkatha is being used against the democratic forces and not against the regime. The unprovoked murder and maiming of students at Ngoye University, the killing of several people in Lamontville, the attempts to forcibly incorporate Lamontville into KwaZulu, the bussing of about 3 000 armed Inkatha supporters into Lamontville on September 3rd, to a meeting addressed by Buthelezi — all these objectively place Buthelezi in the camp of the oppressor.

The slogan, "Vote today, border tomorrow," highlights another important aspect of the 'Vietnamisation' process in South Africa. As the struggle intensifies, the regime will in-

creasingly use Blacks as cannon fodder for its military machinery. While conscription for the Coloureds and Indians is not immediately on the agenda, there is little doubt that it is being seriously considered by the regime. This must be resisted at all levels.

The struggle to destroy apartheid is growing in scope and intensity every day. This involves all forms of struggle — legal, semi-legal and illegal, both political and military. The political and military aspects of our struggle are dialectically linked. For the successful development of a genuine People's War, the political organisation and mobilisation of the oppressed is an urgent task.

The masses have displayed a high level of political consciousness and organisation. This must be consolidated and raised to new heights until final victory is achieved.

ON THE MARCH TO FREEDOM:

SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN'S DAY

Unity in action is the hallmark of the women's struggle in South Africa, and this has never been more strikingly manifested than in the marking of August 9th — National Women's Day — this year, falling as it has in the very month when Botha is pressing ahead with his plans to impose his 'new style, old content' apartheid constitution on our people. Hence, National Women's Day has been integrated into the nationwide cam-

paign to reject and resist the fraudulent constitution under the theme, "Women Unite Against Botha's Deal." The focus has been the particular way women's oppression will be intensified through the entrenchment of apartheid by means of the constitution. n

The Federation of South African Women (Fedsaw), which organised the magnificent 1956 march of 20 000 women to the Union Buildings to protest against the imposition of

passes on women, issued a press statement focusing on the issues central to the marking of August 9th this year:

"This is an occasion to pay tribute to the strength of these women, to their sacrifice, unity, and to the rich tradition of organisation and mobilisation of women. It is important to remember that women are and have always been the backbone of the nation in the struggle to fight for our rights and the rights of all our people. The voices of women have also been heard in the factories, the schools, the resettlement camps and the communities. Here, women have stood shoulder to shoulder with their men in a common struggle to eradicate injustice, oppression and poverty wherever it exists. Now, 20 years later, the burdens that people face have not only remained, but have increased, with women bearing the brunt of Botha's 'New Deal.' This 'New Deal' will mean:

- * Increased taxes in the form of General Sales Tax;
- * Township 'autonomy,' which means higher rents and less money for creches and playgrounds;
- * Higher food prices;
- * Increased influx control;
- * More enforced removals;
- * The government is attempting to divide the people and force brother to fight against brother, with Indian and Coloured youth now being forced to go to war against the children of Soweto on the borders of this country;
- * Living with children in the barren areas of the homelands; and
- * Lower wages and harsher working conditions."

The United Women's Organisation (UWO) organised a focus week on forced removals and the 'New Deal.' Mama Dorothy Zihlangu of the UWO, who took part in the 1956 march, recalled how Prime Minister Strijdom refused to meet the women's leaders and receive the anti-pass petitions. She said;

"We were angry, very, very angry. He was

expecting us. But he was not there. Earlier, a helicopter arrived at the back of the Union Buildings. We think he fled from us on that." She laughed softly. "He had so much power, but he was scared of us, and all we had done was to come peacefully and tell him that we, the women of South Africa, said "No" to passes. We opposed passes because it meant that homes would be broken up and mothers separated from children when women were arrested under pass laws; that women and young girls would be exposed to humiliation and degradation at the hands of pass-searching policemen; and that women would lose their right to move freely from one place to another. We have seen all this come true, and it continues to happen. Look at KTC and Crossroads. Every day the Black people suffer because of passes. Khayelitsha is a word which has come to mean pain for Black people. We don't want to be uprooted from our homes — not again. It is now time for all of us, fathers, mothers, daughters and sons, White and Black, to unite and work hard together for equal rights for this country's people."

At the National Women's Day meeting at Wits University, Cape UDF secretary, Cheryl Carolus, said:

"Women are the first to be endorsed out of cities and deported to homelands, because the work that most of them do is not regarded as economically productive. The people who bear the brunt of the bantustan system are women. 73 per cent of the people at Crossroads are women. It is women who face the police there, who fight against the tear gas and the dogs. It is the women who struggle to feed and clothe the next generation in the poverty-stricken bantustans: The women reproduce the working class and experience the greatest economic exploitation. Relegated to the homelands, virtually their only avenue of wage employment is the decentralised border industries — where wages are lowest.

"It is a mistake to say the new constitution ignores Black South Africans. The basis of the 'New Deal' is tighter pass law control as provided in the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (which has

now been dropped and is to be replaced by an Urbanisation Bill) and partly enacted in the recent Aliens Act. If they are going to sophisticate the pass laws, it means women will be hardest hit. The people have rejected the constitution because it is undemocratic and anti-working class. 120 000 signatures have already been collected in the Western Cape for the UDF Million Signatures Campaign in opposition to the constitution. The support for the campaign shows that this constitution will be stillborn. We are confident that the government has already lost the August election campaign. But we must look beyond the elections. We must be committed to laying the foundation for the new society we want."

At the National Women's Day rally in the Central Methodist Church Hall in Johannesburg, Fedsaw and UDF president, Albertina Sisulu, said:

"Now is the time for women to say, 'We will hold hands together and change the country.' White women otherwise will be shamed by their grandchildren at some future date when they ask, 'Is it true that Black children were sprayed with bullets in 1976? Were you there - and did you really have a heart to keep quiet when the children of this country were dying like flies?'"

"The new constitution is apartheid alive because it has three chambers." She appealed to Coloured and Indian women not to make their children "tools of a government which doesn't know what to do now that people are on the march. GST was raised from seven per cent to ten per cent to finance apartheid. GST is used to buy guns to kill our children," Mrs Sisulu said to cheers from the packed audience.

Mrs Priscilla Jana, a lawyer, told the rally that the new constitution would seal the fate of the black worker "as more and more will become aliens in the country of their birth. Labour needs in the 'white' cities will be filled by contract workers, who will be separated from their families as migrants, and who will not dare demand their rights for fear of their contracts being cancelled. Anybody

10 who participates in the new constitution will

be as guilty as the perpetrators of this crime against the people. Participation is betrayal of the children of 1956. He who participates is a traitor. He must be branded as a sell-out and treated as a leper."

Active Fedsaw member and community leader, Mrs Vesta Smith, chaired the rally and urged the two women candidates in the August 22nd elections to unite with the women of South Africa on this issue and fight for the rights of all women in the country.

"We are sad about the fact that this bait of over R40 000 plus perks is what is drawing those who see themselves as future MPs. They must instead look at themselves and think about the millions of people they are selling down the drain. The dummy parliament is already loaded against them. An added issue is the fact that sons, husbands, etc, will be conscripted into the army - to fight whom? The white man has made enemies for himself because of his apartheid policies, and after treading on all of us for all these years, he now wants us to join him and fight his battle."

One of the founders of Fedsaw and a patron of the UDF, Mrs Frances Baard, drew a storm of applause when she declared: "We are on the march to freedom. If anyone stands in front of us, we are going to crush them."

Another woman on the platform at the rally was Mrs Sarah Mosololi, who is the courageous mother of the ANC freedom fighter, Jerry Mosololi, illegally executed by Pretoria on June 9th last year. During the meeting the audience stamped and clapped as they sang freedom songs and chanted the praises of ANC president, Oliver Tambo.

TAMBO SPEECH

WE ARE A FORCE

This speech was made by President Tambo at the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College at Mazimbu in May, 1984.

Comrade Chezi, Representative of the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania, Comrade Director and members of the Directorate, Comrade National Commissar, Comrade Regional Commissar, Comrade Principal, staff, comrades members of the community, leaders of this community, young comrades and comrades who are here representing the international community and our friends abroad, comrades, I should like to be as brief in what I have to say as is my visit to Tanzania and to this district in particular, to this region.

I would like to thank the leadership of this institution, this school, this home for our people, for the reception that I and my colleagues have received since coming. We spent the morning in Dakawa and we were thrilled by the general mood and morale of the comrades, that seemed to us to be their determination to make the best of everything, exactly to the discharge of their assignments — some of these assignments emanated from the very nature of our struggle. They are in Dakawa

and many of us are here because we are the people in struggle, and we do not always have the privilege to choose where we shall be the following day of the following week, or where we shall spend several nights, whether moving about in freedom or imprisoned in some cells somewhere in Africa. It doesn't rest with us. I'm struck here by the numbers of this vast population of young people who came here from South Africa at different times, some of them from other parts of Africa, and they have gathered here in large numbers, each of them with a purpose, a purpose related to our future, the future of our people.

But a community growing where to? What for? To achieve what? And how much have we grown since we started this institution here? What have we produced? What is coming this year? What will it be like next year?

In a way, it is a great inspiration to come back to Mazimbu, come back to SOMAFSCO, to see the buildings, this great establishment, a large village built with dedication and skill, a monument to the peoples of the world and to this country, who are supporting our struggle. It is good to be back and to find our children here, of varying ages, our friends, 11

our brothers and sisters. So I'm happy, and I would like to thank you for the opportunity of the meeting.

To the Battlefield for Liberation

At this time we are compelled to reflect daily on the future of our struggle. At this time, because at this time the enemy, that is responsible for your leaving your homes in the first instance, has been terrorising Southern Africa, as you all know very well. And he has registered a breakthrough, let us admit that much. The enemy has won a point, has gained a very important position, a position none of us thought the enemy would get quite so easily.

After all, were we not born in Southern Africa? Do we not belong there by the demand of nature and history? Have we not been there for countless centuries? Have we not been engaged in the same struggle with all the peoples of that region? Are they not our brothers by blood and our brothers and comrades in arms? Have we not even died together on the battlefield? Are not the remains of some of our gallant youth interred in the soil of Zimbabwe? Were not Tiro massacred, well, assassinated, in Botswana? Has the blood of our people not been spilt in Swaziland? Was the Maseru massacre not in our region? Yes, we fought in Zimbabwe, we were ready to fight everywhere else. That is why we fought in Zimbabwe; we had one enemy.

It is our region, and yet a regime that is hated by everyone except itself and its stooges can stand up and order our comrades, our brothers, our people, to drive us out from a region that is ours, and they do it. And so scores of our people have left the southern part of Southern Africa and gone somewhere else, because the Pretoria fascists had ordered that it should be so. And it has been so.

And who is the ANC? What is this body which is being told to leave Southern Africa? It is the body which started politics on the continent: I think we were formed even before the Nationalist Party of Botha. They got the idea of forming a party from us, even. We

are the beginning of the political struggle which has brought independence to the countries of Southern Africa, and these fascists say that we must leave Southern Africa.

Well, comrades, history does not work that way. We are more surprised by what has happened than demoralised by it. We think this is a way of guarding us on to the battlefield, to the battlefield for liberation. We think what has happened is thoroughly unnatural, politically and historically, and cannot survive the forces of justice, national liberation and emancipation. We think a people who have been in the struggle for as long as we have are not going to be deterred because some of them have been arrested in that country, some of them have been ordered out of that country. Some, because those who have left Swaziland are a drop in the ocean in relation to the masses that are involved in our liberation struggle. Those who flew out in virtually a day's notice from Maputo are a drop in the ocean in relation to the vast masses that have been involved in our struggle.

And we have suffered more than leaving the country. We have suffered the Soweto massacres. We have suffered shooting all over the country. We have suffered torture countless times for many years. We have suffered hangings. We have known what it is to be a Solomon Mahlangu. We have known what it is to be Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni, Aggett, Kathrada and various others. Dorothy, Thandi, Jerry Mosololi, we have known all that. So it is nothing to get on a plane and fly from Maputo to Dar es Salaam, is it? A flight from Maputo to Dar es Salaam, no problem. No problem. Detained in Swaziland, maybe, for a few months. But we know what it is to be detained for 22 years. A little inconvenience. And so the struggle goes on. And we hope that our people everywhere have become more determined as a result of these things.

A Great Challenge

Determined to be the best in struggle, It is a great challenge and in a way gives us an opportunity to demonstrate our calibre. Well, here



in Mazimbu, we have no reason to think you have been disturbed in any way by these developments. We would hope that they have fired your imagination and your resolve. We would hope that these developments will help our efforts to produce young men and women of great worth, and that you will understand that to be here is to be on a mission. To be here is to respond to the support of the many good people who have enabled us to put up these buildings and set up these institutions. We hope that everybody demonstrates our worthiness for this support.

Comrade Director said I will tell you about the general situation in the country. Quite frankly, I can't in a few minutes. I can give you certain assurances, warn you against certain things.

The assurances are that the people inside South Africa have recognised that victory will come as a result of their struggle, their own efforts; as a result of their reliance on themselves. What they see across their borders tells them this: that victory, of course, is unescapable; that it is not going to be done by Mozambicans. Even if the Mozambicans had allowed us to stay there, it would be wrong to think that they are going to liberate us. Even

if the people of Swaziland (the government of Swaziland – I don't think the people mind) the government of Swaziland had defied Pretoria and said, "These are our people; they are going to stay here whether you like it or not," even if the government had said that, the fact would remain that our liberation is our responsibility, not the responsibility of Swaziland.

And our people are now assuming, they are proceeding on the assumption, that what the regime can get out of Mozambique it can get out of everybody else. Therefore, in theory we can be told to leave Zimbabwe, to leave Botswana, to leave all sorts of countries. We can, in the extreme case, even be told to leave Angola and Zambia. It's a matter of a brute who has power and it uses it indiscriminately, confronting any country with a simple choice to be destroyed or to carry out the orders of Pretoria. That is what has beaten us. So now we must proceed on the assumption that what has happened in Mozambique can happen everywhere else. In that case, what happens to our struggle? *Our struggle continues.*

This is the realisation that has come home to the minds of our people. And I think it is a very, very positive development, because we can do it. In fact, we have tended to think that Umkhonto we Sizwe will do it all and Mozambique will help us do it. In fact, we can do it, and that is what is coming for Botha. This might not be the best audience. Look at who you have, young men here, not quite the best audience, talking as if I was addressing a political meeting. But you might as well know what is happening. You have a rather different assignment by way of specialisation. But the success of those at home depends also on the success that you make of your own assignments. So, within the country, the mood is that of fighting or resisting.

The main issue at the moment, of course, is the elections that have been fixed for so-called Coloureds and for the Indian community. We are not just trying to frustrate elections. We are going beyond elections. We are challenging the regime itself. It is illegitimate. 13

It derives no mandate from the people. It deserves to be overthrown, and the system it operates destroyed. And the elections are simply a lever which we use to mobilise the people into this central struggle, for this central objective.

The ANC is a Force

It has been thought that our capacity to continue the struggle has been limited by the removal of facilities which have been available to us in some of the countries. No, the struggle has not been frustrated. The struggle progresses on all fronts, politically, the labour front, the armed fronts, the international front. And on all those we are making headway. I think on the academic front as well, a very important front. That is why, at home, schools are getting closed, students are going on strike. They are fighting on the academic front against one of the manifestations of the apartheid system, Bantu education. So in a way nothing has changed; the struggle continues.

In the meantime, we would like our people to know that there are attempts to bring the ANC into discussions with the Pretoria racists. The ANC must talk to Botha and Botha must talk to the ANC. That campaign is building up all over. Some genuinely think that that is the natural thing to do. If Botha is travelling around talking to everybody in Southern Africa, to leaders, why does he think that there are no leaders in South Africa? How genuine are his talks with Mozambique and everybody else? And therefore his *bona fides*, his honesty, is being questioned. And so he is answering, "Well, we have no objections in talking to the ANC, but the ANC must throw away its weapons first, and surrender. Then we can talk to them." That is the effect of their language.

But they are under pressure to talk to us. They are under pressure. We are under pressure to talk to them. What do you say? What do you say? You say "No."? Okay, right. Next time we are approached by somebody about talking to Botha, some of our friends,

14 we will tell them, "You know, if we are talk-

ing to Botha we are talking about the future. Even if it's next year, it's still the future. And the future belongs to our youth. Before we start talking we will have to go and get their permission." Is that all right? (Cries of "Yes!") So we will come back. Is that all right? ("Yes!") We will come back and find out what you say.

Anyway, the fact that they want to talk to us, and say so publicly, means that they are accepting what the rest of the world has long accepted: mainly that the ANC is a force to be reckoned with in Southern Africa, and anyone who wants peace must reckon with the ANC and its struggle. You cannot ignore the ANC.

Our friends are here. They represent organisations and countries who have accepted this position. The ANC is a force. Botha has known that. That is why he has been attacking the independent countries of Africa. The ANC is a force. But it is even such a force that he can't make headway by talking to Mozambique, to Swaziland, to Botswana, to Lesotho, to Zambia, about the future of Southern Africa and not talking to the ANC. That's important - why are we a force? Because of you. Because of you. People have come here, seen the school, seen you, and they have been impressed by what the ANC is trying to achieve. This is your contribution.

We are a force because everywhere we are honest. We are a force because we are fighting the world's biggest criminals, a regime guilty of crime against humanity, a powerful regime which has failed to destroy us, because we are a force. But I say we are a force because of you, because of Mazimbu, because of SOMAFCO, because of what you represent here, because of the community that you have set up here, a community that we can display to the world. I hope we can. I think we can. Can we? (Cries of "Yes! Yes!") Can I bring a newspaperman here? ("Yes!") Can we ask a South African journalist to come here? ("Yes!") And see for himself? ("Yes!") And go and publish the story in South African papers? ("Yes!") Are you sure? ("Yes!") All right, he will come. He will come. He will be

coming to find out what sort of community is this; what sort of secondary school; what sort of primary school; what sort of creche; what sort of members of staff; what sort of young people. What sort of young men; what sort of young girls. Who is here. What they like. What they are like.

We Are in Struggle

I said I would give you an assurance and a certain warning. The warning is simply this: that we are in struggle. We are a threat to a regime that is fighting for its survival. It has not surrendered. It's not even about to surrender. It's continuing. And we must remain resolved to continue the struggle as long as that regime is there. And we must realise the regime is dangerous — it can be desperate. And before we reach our objectives we will have inflicted a lot of damage on the regime and what it represents. They will have inflicted a lot of damage on us. That is the story of Mozambique. It's the story of Zimbabwe. It's the story of Angola. It's the story of every country that has gone through a tough, difficult struggle. But let us never allow one moment's doubt of the fact that, after it all, victory shall be ours, because history is on our side.

Given that, we must repeat what I never omit to say: that the burden for our progress rests on each one of you. Comrades who left South Africa at the beginning of the 60s, who have been battling through all these years, comrades who left only this year, comrades who have been in Lesotho for many years, in Swaziland for many years, in Maputo for many years. You are here. Let not any one of us doubt this. Doubt will be dangerous and unjustified.

Now, there are suggestions that there are splits in the ANC. Division suggestions come from the enemy. So you know how to assess their value in the first instance. But let's tell the truth to ourselves, even if the truth coincides with what the enemy is saying. Let us tell the truth. Are there divisions and splits in the ANC? I think you will say no, because there are no divisions and splits here. If I knew

there were I would say yes. Are there splits and divisions anywhere? Let us tell the truth even if the truth coincides with the enemy's accusations. Are there any? (Cries of "No.") None? Well, you don't know because you are here. I know because I am everywhere. No, no, the answer is no. There are no splits in the ANC. There are no divisions. There are people who are dissatisfied from time to time about one thing or another. Sometimes the dissatisfaction is justified. Sometimes the dissatisfaction arises because somebody has been careless. So, we are not perfect. But these are not splits that the enemy can talk about. They are not divisions. ANC is united. That's the truth. If you listen to RSA broadcasting their commentaries, when they finish saying the nonsense that they are saying, tell them to go there. (Cries of "To hell.") Right, right. Tell them to go there.

A Very Sad Occasion

In April, comrades, I and the S.G. of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo, were in Arusha on a very sad occasion, the occasion of the funeral of the late Prime Minister of Tanzania. Even if he had died from a heart attack, it was very sad. We knew him, we adored him immensely. We followed his work, and he was one of the greatest men this country has known. It was a very sad thing. But it became unbearable, certainly for me, when I got the details of how he lost his life, how Tanzania had lost him. And I was in Arusha already when I got those details. That incident is not quite history yet, because few people in country, and I think few of us, have been able to forget it. The ANC was involved. In other words, although accidents occur, if we were not on the road that day, there would have been no accident. The Prime Minister would still be alive. But we happened to be on the road, and that determined the end of his life.

Before that, we had come to Tanzania again with the Secretary General, after we got to know that we had to leave Mozambique. And we were shocked and stunned by that decision. We could see South Africa sailing across Southern Africa. We could feel there



was a state of disarray in the region. And we came to Tanzania and met President Nyerere. And he gave us strength. He was so cool. He was so correct in what he said. He was so much with us. He understood the situation so clearly. And we went back strengthened and inspired and confident. Then there was a state visit from the President of Mali. President Nyerere made a statement, or released a statement, which featured the ANC, a remarkable statement, at the time when South Africa was screaming at countries to throw the ANC out. And it appeared they were getting away with it. Here was this pillar of strength defending the ANC, and summoning the OAU and the people of the world to rally. Here was this pillar of strength.

Then came the tragedy in the country that was supporting us so firmly at this time, when we needed support, I think, more than at any time in the past 24 years. We had never been in this situation. President Nyerere and his people stood up to be counted on our side. Then at that moment came this worst of all tragedies. The Tanzanian leadership didn't jump up to blame the ANC. They kept quiet about the ANC very deliberately. Although they had lost so much, they were still protecting the ANC, I would like you to understand this level of support, this depth of

support. Then, comrades, I would now like to read you this letter which Mwalimu wrote to me, that is, to the ANC, after the funeral. Knowing all he knew. Knowing our involvement, he wrote me this letter. May I read it, comrades?

State House
Dar es Salaam
Tanzania
24.4.1984

President O R Tambo ANC (SA)
President's Office
Lusaka
Zambia

Dear Oliver,

On behalf of the people, the party and the government of the United Republic of Tanzania, and on my own behalf, I wish to thank you for the messages of condolence and sympathy on the tragic death of our Prime Minister and comrade, the late Edward Mwaringo Sokoine, which you conveyed to us on behalf of the ANC. At the same time, I would like to say how much we appreciate your action in coming personally to represent the ANC at the funeral ceremonies at Monduli. This demonstration of solidarity and shared grief encourages us as we struggle to adjust to our great loss and reorganise ourselves for the many tasks involved in overcoming the present economic difficulties in developing our country.

Yours sincerely
Julius K Nyerere.

Shall we rise for a minutes' tribute to the late Prime Minister Edward Sokoine? Thank you.

Then the Secretary General came here after the funeral. He discussed this incident with the Directorate, and the effect of his message was: never should any of our people be found guilty of a traffic offence. Least of all, negligent driving, reckless driving, which can only endanger the lives of Tanzanians. They are the ones who are in the streets.

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