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# EDITORIAL

As he spends his 1bth ymuy and his 60th birthday on barren, inhospitable Robben Island, the oppressed people of South Africa, and indeed, people the world over, send Nelson Mandela their warm greetings. Tribute has been paid to Nelson in the highest corridors of power - the United Nations, the OrganisaLion of African Unity, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the White House, the British and other Western Parliahments, many other governments and practically every African State. Many Heads of State have sent personal birthday cards to im. Nelson is indeed a Leader of world stature and his organisation, the African National Congress, is universally recognised as the legitimate representative. organ of the people.

Even the racist press has had to admit to the overwhelming wave of warm feeling for Nelson. Thousands of local and foreign letters and postcards were piling up in Post Offices everywhere. And throughout the length and breadth of South Africa the Black masses - Africans, Indians and Coloureds - paid their tribute in song,- slogan or a silent resolve to free Nelson and others languishing in racist prisons. Among the principles Nelson holds are

opposition to racism, sectarianism and elitism. At his trial in 1962 he said:

" I am not a racialist and do not support racialism of any kind, because to me racialism is a barbaric thLJg whether it comes from a black man or a white man".

As we congratulate Nelson, Jana Shakti sadly pays tribute to another great leader of the South African people - Moses Kotane, who died on May 19. He was profoundly dedicated to the Black masses and gave 50 years of loyal service to the ANC, in which he was on the NEC, and to the Cummunist Party, in which he waw the Secretary General. Jana Shakti dips its rcxholutionary banner to this outstanding Jon of Africa.

With the continued implementation of the Group Areas Act our people must continue to oppose its draconian measures. It is only by militant action that victory will be won. There is a need for greater vigilance against the stooges in the South African Indian Council and in sport. Their attempts to divide us will not succeed, as can be witnessed by the rejection of Varachia's opportunism and deceit. The International Cricket Council has refused to re-admit white South Africa into the world cricket arena.

Our fight against the Group Areas Act and racialist sport must be seen as part of the overall struggle against white supremacy. People in all walks of life - workers, students, traders - must UNITE IN ACTION AND FORGE GREATER LINKS WITH THE REST OF THE BLACK MASSES!

"I Am Prepared  
To Die"

" I will still be moved by my dislike of the race discrimination against my people when I come out from serving my sentence. to take up again; as best I can, the struggle for the removal of those injustices until they are finally abolished once and for all! "

This defiant challenge by Mandela to the white racist court epitomises his militancy and courage, and indeed of all South African revolutionaries.

This, the 16th year of Mandela's imprisonment, marks his 60th birthday. On this occasion millions of people in South African prisons, in our ghettos and in many countries of the world paid tribute to a man who has become a living symbol of our struggle for a non-racial democratic society.

He is a brilliant thinker. writer and lawyer, but above all he is an outstanding revolutionary. Like many, he has a hatred for racism. but the enemy fear and hate him, because he combined this hatred with a deep theoretical understanding of the link between racism and economic exploitation.

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Fighting was his element and he fought with a passion, tenacity and total commitment that few can rival. His political involvement started at the age of 17 when he was a student at Fort Hare. Since then he experienced constant police intimidation, arrests and detention. He was first banned in 1952, but undaunted he defied the restrictions placed upon him and continued to organise and mobilise our people for the strategic objective of Power to the People.

Mandela's life reflects some of the most stirring and brilliant chapters of our struggle. Since he joined the ANC in 1944, he played a leading role in many of the major campaigns and policy decisions of the Congress Movement. In the early 1940s with other militants like Tambo, Sisulu, Lemhede he was instrumental in formulating the Programme of Action. This significantly influenced the rejection of old methods of verbal protest and petitions, and with them helped to transform the ANC into a militant organisation with deep roots among the masses.

He fought tirelessly to forge a UNITY IN ACTION of all the oppressed sections of our people. His deeply-felt conviction that African, Indian, Coloured and White revolutionaries must be organised and united in a common struggle was given concrete expression in the various campaigns of the movement.

On June 25 1952 the ANC and the SA Indian Congress launched the historic DEFIANCE CAMPAIGN. Over 8,500 volunteers, with Mandela as volunteer-in-chief, defied apartheid laws and were imprisoned. He commented: "Action has become the language of the day; the ties between the working people and the Congress have been greatly strengthened." Congress had embarked on the road of mass militant actions and the leading role of the Black Working Class was established. The Congress Movement, under the leadership of Mandela, Sisulu, Kotane, Marks, Tambo, Mbeki, Dadoo, Naicker and Kathrada grew from strength to strength.

On June 26 1955, after intensive organisation and preparations, over 3,500 delegates from every part of South Africa met at the historic Congress of the People. The adoption of the Freedom Charter, enshrining the aspirations of our people and settling our objectives for a future non-racial South Africa free of exploitation, was a testimony to Mandela's life-long struggle.

He commented: "...for the first time in the history of our country the democratic forces,

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irrespective of race, ideological conviction, party affiliation or religious belief have renounced and discarded racialism in all its ramifications, clearly defined their aims and objectives. and united in a common programme of action....The rise of the Congress Movement and the powerful impact it exerts on the political scene...is due precisely to the fact that it has consistently followed and acted on a vital policy of democratic unity. If this United Front is strengthened and developed, the Freedom Charter will become transformed into a dynamic and living instrument, and we shall vanquish all opposition and win the South Africa of our dreams in our lifetime! "

This, then, is what the ANC and its allies are fighting for, and today, more than at any other time in our history, it has become increasingly urgent for all sections of the oppressed - Africans, Indians and Coloureds - to consolidate and develop our unity in action. Indian workers, students, professionals and traders must strengthen our historically determined fighting links with our oppressed African and Coloured brothers and sisters.

The government's response was to charge Mandela and 155 other Congress leaders of all national groups with High Treason. At the end of the trial, lasting almost 3 years, all the accused were discharged. However, many were banned, house-arrested or banished and could no longer continue to be active in the "legal way".

The battle lines were being drawn. All opposition was being ruthlessly suppressed. In 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre, the ANC was banned. Rather than submit, the ANC continued the struggle from underground. Once again Mandela's leadership and guidance proved invaluable.

In March 1961 Mandela played a leading role in the Maritzburg All-African Conference, called to reject the regime's plan to set up an all-white republic without the mandate of the majority of the people. The Conference demanded a national convention to plan for a future South Africa, failing which a 3-day General Strike was to be called from 31st May 1961.

Mandela, who was elected secretary of the Action Council, went underground. A warrant was issued for his arrest. Refusing to give himself up. he stated "I have chosen this course which is more difficult and which entails more risk and hardship....Only through hardship.

sacrifice and militant action can freedom be won. The struggle is my life. I will continue to fight for freedom till the end of my days."

The country was placed on a war footing to smash the strike. Nevertheless, Black workers throughout the country responded to the call for a 3-day stay-at-home. However, the intransigence of the racist regime demanded a change in tactics. In November 1961 mmmmo HE SIZWE (MK), the armed wing of the liberation struggle, was formed and Mandela became Commander-in-Chief. On December 16 1961 MK carried out sabotage acts in all major cities. In 1962 Mandela travelled overseas to arrange military and other facilities. On completing his mission and having received military training he returned to South Africa to continue the struggle. Working underground, he travelled throughout the country organising and mobilising units of MK.

One of the biggest manhunts was launched to capture him and a deadly blow was struck when he was arrested while on a mission to Durban. He had worked underground for almost 17 months, a remarkable testimony to his resilience, courage, total commitment and sacrifice, and to our movement's high level of organisation. He was sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. While serving this sentence<sup>9</sup> the liberation struggle experienced one of its greatest setbacks when our underground leadership was arrested in Rivonia.

Once again Mandela was brought to trial and in June 196h he and the other Rivonia trialists - Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Motsoaledi, Mlangeni, Mhlaba and Goldberg- were sentenced to life imprisonment.

The years that followed were years of regrouping and re-organisation. Today we view the future with realistic optimism, because the balance of forces have been irreversibly transformed in favour of our struggle. Angola and Mozambique are independent and creating new societies free of discrimination and exploitation. The Patriotic Front and Swapo are making further advances and will free them sooner than later.

The fighting alliance between FRELIMO, MPLA, SWAPO, the PATRIOTIC FRONT and the ANC, developed over years of sacrifice and hardship, is being consolidated and we are assured of their internationalist support. We are also assured of the

support of the socialist and non-aligned countries, and democratic forces in the imperialist countries.

Attempts to divide us from our natural allies will not succeed. As Mandela stated " The people of Asia and Africa have seen through the slanderous campaigns conducted by the USA against the socialist countries. They know that their independence is threatened not by any of the countries in the socialist camp but by the USA. The communist bogey is an American stunt to distract the attention of the people of Africa from the real issues facing them, namely American imperialism."

In South Africa the new situation is reflected by the growing confrontation between the oppressed people and the regime. All the indications are that the liberation movement, led by the ANC, is not only able to withstand the enemy's attacks but is showing an increasing capacity to hit back. Never before has the apartheid regime been faced with such a crisis.

At the Rivonia Trial Mandela declared "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die." Inspired by this, and in saluting Mandela on his 60th Birthday, we call upon the Indian people to rally to the call of the Liberation Movement, led by the ANC, and to intensify our activities at all levels.

#### Unity In Struggle

In January this year a new Alliance between the Inkatha Movement of Chief Buthelezi, the Coloured Labour Party led by Sonny Leon, and the Indian Reform Party led by Y S Chinsamy, was announced.

The purpose of the Alliance, according to Chief Buthelezi, was to prepare the ground for the calling of a multi-racial national convention which would in turn "map out a non-racial community and a new constitution for South Africa?

Conference-March 1 61.

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Thd.c l for such a convention has been a long- anding demand of the people. It was the main iSSue of the 1961 Maritzburg All-African Peoples' Conference, convened by Mandela and with the full backing of the Congress Alliance led by the ANC. That Conference. coming as it did a year after the Sharpoville massacre, demanded a National Convention of elected representatives of all adult South Africans, without regard to race, colour or creed, to draw up a Constitution for a non-raclal and democratic South Africa. That Conference urged all Coloureds, Indians and democratic whites to strengthen their solidarity w-Lh the African people, to resist and oppose the all-white republic which was to be proclaimed on the 31st May, or any form of government " which rests on force to perpetuate the tyranny of a minority". t warned the Verwoerd regime that unless the Convention was convened by May 31, organised mass resistance would intensify, commencing with a General National Strike on that day. The regime rejected the call and placed South Africa on a war footing to smash the strike and the Congress Alliance. In the face of massive repression the strike succeeded with countrywide support from all sections of the oppressed people.

The 1961 call was the last bid by the national liberation movement for a peaceful solution to the problems of our country. It's rejection by the white supremacist state and violence unleashed by it led to the abandonment of non-violence as the sole means of struggle by the liberation movement. Henceforth all means - legal, semi-legal and illegal, including armed revolutionary struggle - were to be used to crush white unhination.

On December 16, 1961 UMKHONTO WE SIZWE, the armed wingof the liberation movement led by the ANC, launched the armed struggle through a series of sabotage actions throughout the country.

Which wax forward today?

Whet then are the chances today for a new Convention to map out a non-racial community and a new Constitution? For this to succeed the nature of white supremacy rule must have been so transformed that Vorater will be prepared to dismantle the apartheid system and with it the profits, power and priVileges which accrue to the white minority racists.

Even according to some leaders of the new Alliance, this call for such a Coalition like numerous others, is likely to be rejected out of hand by the Vorster regime. Nor do the oppressed and exploited black majority harbour any such illusions. If anything, the Soweto massacre and the escalating violence by the racist-fascist state to crush the countrywide mass movement of resistance, defiance and confrontation which followed the massacre, has demonstrated to the people themselves that there is only one way out of the poverty, want and bloodshed of white domination - the revolutionary way out. And increasingly students, youth and workers from among the African, Coloured and Indian oppressed? joined by a growing number of revolutionary whites, are turning to the ANC for leadership, organisation and training to smash white minority rule.

And anyone amongst us who fosters the ideas of non-violent change serves only the interests of the oppressor and disarms the people. Any such illusions are decidedly counter-revolutionary.

The Political Basis of our Unity.

The Ulundi meeting where the Alliance was created reaffirmed a number of key ideals which lie at the centre of our liberation drive. Chief Buthelezi emphasised that South Africa was one country to be shared by all South Africans, no matter what their cultural affiliations. For Sonny Leon the main purpose of the meeting was to bring about a consolidation of all South Africans, irrespective of colour, to live as a free people in a free country.

These are the ideals for which generations of our people have struggled and given their lives. They remain the cornerstone of ANC policy. The Freedom Charter, adopted by all democratic and non-racist peoples in our country - African, Coloured, Indian and White - states quite simply and sharply that: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, And that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people.

Only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour. race, sex or belief. "

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And the Chartex points a clear way to achieve the ideal of a democratic and non-racial South Africa:

and therefore we, the people of South Africa, . . . pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won."

The emphasis in the Charter and of the Liberation Movement is on UNITY and STRUGGLE. Unity of Purpose and Unity in Action by all anti-racist and democratic peoples for the overthrow of white domination and the creation of a non-racial and democratic country continues today to be the key to the policy, strategy and tactics of the ANC, the head of the Liberation Alliance. For our freedom struggle therefore, the question of unity must have a political content from which flows the question of organisational forms, leadership, strategy and tactics. Unity for Freedom.

At a time when the Vorster regime is intensifying its Divide and Rule policy by granting bogus independence to Bantustans; when it is attempting to impose the fraudulent 3-tier 'Parliamentary' system in the face of our peoples' rejection so as to divide Coloured and Indians from the African people; when it is creating a black collaborationist element among all sections of the black people, the need to strengthen and broaden our Unity for Action to free ourselves is fundamental.

For the Indian people, no less than for our African and Coloured compatriots, there is no solution short of the armed seizure of state power. There are no separate freedoms for any section; no question of neutrality. All possibilities for mass struggle must be explored and pursued to organise and mobilise against the Bantustans, the Indian Council, Bantu Education, Group Area removals and for basic demands such as free, full trade union rights for black workers. The crucial issue is ACTION! STRUGGLE:

In the words of O R Tambo, President of the ANC " Now let us talk of FREEDOM Everywhere in the world today the oppressed and exploited masses of people are up in arms. They are fighting against the forces of imperialism and colonialism. They are making great sacrifices to redeem their human dignity and fundamental liberties from the shackles of bondage. They are revolting against oppression, against aggression; against the usurpation of their land; against human degradation. They stand for peace and justice. They yearn for the birth of the new order. And to uphold their convictions they are prepared to die."

REJEFT ALL DUMMY INSTITUTIONS AND  
STOOGEEI

' CAMPA rm; FOR THE RELEASE OF MANDELA  
AND ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS  
AND DETAINEES!

FIGHT FOR NON-RACIAL TRADE UNIONS!  
' BUILD UNBREAKABLE LINKS WITH OUR  
AFRICAN AND COLOURED CONRADES-IN-ARMS!  
MAKE OUR GHETTOS, WORK PLACES, SCHOOLS  
AND UNIVERSITIES AREAS OF STRUGGLE AND  
CONFRONTATION!

RALLY ROUND THE BANNER OF THE ANC  
AND JOIN THE UNDERGROUND MOVEMENT!

SAY A RESOUNDING 32 TO THE FRAUD-  
ULENT THREE-TIER CONSTITUTIONAL PLAN!

FIGHT VARACHIA AND OTHER STOOGES IN  
SPORT!

LISTEN TO THE  
VOICE OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
AND

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