

DECEMBER 1985



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



BARRICADES IN THE STREETS

SECHABA

DECEMBER ISSUE 1985

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*FRONT COVER: The picture shows a blazing barricade in Belgravia Road,
Cape Town, October 1985.*

EDITORIAL

SHOWING SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The state of emergency still continues and in fact things are becoming worse. Literally every day more and more lives are being lost. Blood flows in the streets of South Africa and the victims are the Blacks. Since September last year more than 800 people have been murdered. Youths in their teens, some not even yet at school, are mowed down. Black youths account for about a quarter of all arrests and detentions without charge. Police brutality and state violence are hidden from the cameras of the world by a media blackout — television crews were "staging riots" we were told. And after all this we are told to "stop violence." How cynical can they be!

The businessmen, worried about their security and their future, have been meeting the ANC — at their request. Some want to know why we want to "inherit a desert"! The problem is who is reducing that country to a desert. Some of these businessmen have made new discoveries: the ANC leadership are intelligent men; the ANC is moderate! At times one is not sure whether "intelligent" is synonymous with "moderate." They have totally misread the situation.

This brutality, these killings and these shootings have brought millions and millions of people throughout the world to our side. More than 100 000 British people marched in the streets of London on November 2nd, chanting "Sanctions now!" Some support us out of pity or sympathy, others in solidarity with us. We welcome this development. We embrace even more those who are in solidarity with us,

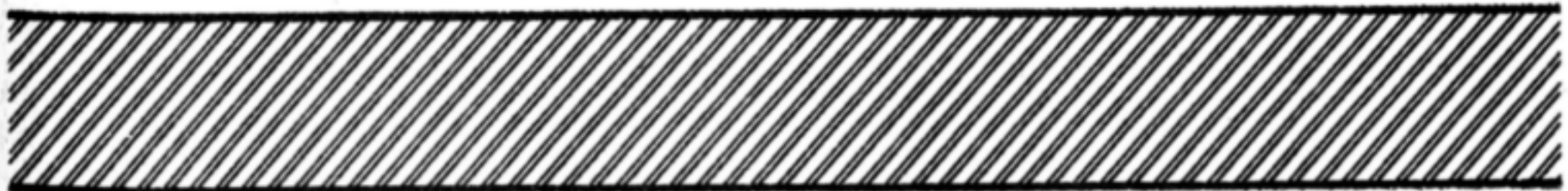
while not chasing away those who pity us. All we are saying is that solidarity is not pity, and pity is not actually what we want.

The western governments and businessmen are reluctant to apply sanctions because, they say, these will hurt Blacks most, and yet Blacks in South Africa are involved in a countrywide consumer boycott. We are here faced with the old story: Blacks do not know what is good for them; they are children; they are a danger to themselves.

We are far from suggesting that sanctions will bring the apartheid regime to its knees. We have to do that; we are doing that. All we are saying is that sanctions will weaken the apartheid regime and that will make our struggle all the lighter; that means we shall be fighting against a weaker enemy — there will be less bloodshed, fewer lives lost, and the lifespan of apartheid will be shortened and the possibility of inheriting a desert will be minimised. Sanctions against apartheid is a direct contribution to our struggle.

Writing in *The Observer* of November 10th, President O R Tambo said:

"The unprecedented anti-apartheid rally in London last weekend was more than ample demonstration that the British public has understood the vital importance of sanctions as a peaceful way of helping to bring about democratic change in South Africa. Hopefully, in the end the British Government will heed the views of the public and abandon the delusion that British jobs and property are best secured by a bloody civil war in South Africa."



TAKE THE STRUGGLE TO THE WHITE AREAS!

Make the whole of South Africa ungovernable! Paralyse apartheid!

THE BATTLE LINES ARE DRAWN:

- * Over the past year we have confronted the evil system of apartheid on a scale unheard of in the history of our struggle.
- * In resolute action we have made many parts of South Africa ungovernable and — smashed the apartheid system of government in the African ghettos and are evolving our own rudimentary organs of people's power — we have engaged in mass action around all issues affecting us despite enemy brutality.
- * We have created combat groups and mobile units to defend ourselves and our leaders by confronting the racist army, police, death squads, agents and stooges in our midst.
- * By using all forms of struggle we have thrown Botha and his clique into confusion.

OUR GOAL IS CLEAR: To destroy the system of apartheid colonialism and establish in its stead a democratic, non-racial system in which **The People Shall Govern!**

THE ENEMY IS DESPERATE:

- * Botha and his generals have resorted to martial law and full-scale repression against all anti-apartheid forces — mass murder, arrests, bannings and so on — in an attempt to cow us into submission.
- * At the same time the regime is doing all it can to confine our struggle to the Black areas and protect the comfort of Whites, which is a result of our oppression and super-exploitation.

The time has come to take the war to the White areas. White South Africa cannot be at peace while the Black townships are in flames.

TAKING THE WAR TO THE WHITE AREAS MEANS:

- * Strengthening our workers' organisations and engaging in united action in the factories, mines, farms and suburbs.
- * Spreading the consumer boycott to all areas of the country.
- * Organised and well-planned demonstrations in the White suburbs and central business districts.
- * Forming underground units and combat groups in our places of work and taking such actions as sabotage in the factories, mines, farms and suburbs, and disrupt the enemy's oil, energy, transport, communications and other vital systems.
- * Systematic attacks against the army and police and the so-called area defence units in the White areas.
- * Well-planned raids on the armouries and arms dumps of the army, police, farmers and so on to secure arms for our units.

In this work White democrats and all anti-apartheid Whites have a special role to play.

- * We have to participate in even larger numbers in mass action in the White areas hand-in-hand with the mass democratic movement.
- * We should spread the voice of democracy far and wide through our anti-apartheid organisations and win over as many Whites as possible to the side of freedom and non-racialism.
- * We must intensify our campaigns against conscription, repression, the tri-cameral system, racist education and the mass carnage by the army and police in the townships.
- * Those who serve in the apartheid parliament and claim to stand for democracy must abandon the illusion that apartheid can be changed from within — their place is in the democratic movement.
- * Within the army and police we must refuse to shoot our fellow countrymen, and turn our weapons against the sadists who order us to kill and to maim.
- * We must throw in our lot with the fighters for liberation by swelling the ranks of the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe underground.

The issue today is not whether or not freedom for the people will come. The question is on which side you should be — whether to perish with apartheid or to live with the forces of democracy and peace. Let us all Act in Unity against a system that has brought so much suffering to so many, and that continues to drown thousands in blood.

**WEAKEN THE ENEMY'S REAR! PARALYSE APARTHEID'S NERVE CENTRE!
MAKE THE WHOLE OF SOUTH AFRICA UNGOVERNABLE!**

THE EYES OF THE WORLD ARE FOCUSSED ON THIS CONFERENCE

PART 3 NEC Political Report

The forces of reaction are always busy trying to detach us from these countries, knowing very well that, were they to succeed, they would weaken our organisation and our struggle to such a degree that they could then defeat us. The conditions that US imperialism has arrogantly placed on the independence of Namibia aim specifically to achieve this objective, to deny the peoples of our region the enormous and disinterested support of the socialist countries and thus make us easy prey to continued imperialist domination.

To return to the internal, we must also report that throughout the period after the Morogoro Conference, we had been concerned about the organisation and activation of the masses of our people in the bantustans against the apartheid system as a whole, including its bantustan creations. Consequently we were of the view that, among other things, it was of vital importance that we should encourage the formation in the bantustans of mass democratic organisations where none existed, and urge that those which existed should be strengthened and activated. In pursuit of these aims we maintained contacts in such bantustans as the Transkei, Lebowa, Venda and Bophuthatswana. We are happy to welcome to this Conference one of the stalwarts who, for so long, held high the banner of genuine national liberation in one of these areas, an outstanding leader of our people, King Sabata Dalindyebo.

It was also in this context that we maintained regular contact with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of the KwaZulu bantustan. We sought that this former member of the ANC Youth League who had taken up his position in the KwaZulu

bantustan after consultations with our leadership, should use the legal opportunities provided by the bantustan programme to participate in the mass mobilisation of our people on the correct basis of the orientation of the masses to focus on the struggle for a united and non-racial South Africa. In the course of our discussions with him, we agreed that this would also necessitate the formation of a mass democratic organisation in the bantustan that he headed. Inkatha originated from this agreement.

Buthelezi's Personal Power Base

Unfortunately, we failed to mobilise our own people to take on the task of resurrecting Inkatha as the kind of organisation that we wanted, owing to the understandable antipathy of many of our comrades towards what they considered as working within the bantustan system. The task of reconstituting Inkatha therefore fell on Gatsha Buthelezi himself, who then built Inkatha as a personal power base far removed from the kind of organisation we had visualised, as an instrument for the mobilisation of our people in the countryside into an active and conscious force for revolutionary change. In the first instance, Gatsha dressed Inkatha in the clothes of the ANC, exactly because he knew that the masses to whom he was appealing were loyal to the ANC and had for six decades adhered to our movement as their representative and their leader. Later, when he thought he had sufficient of a base, he also used coercive methods against the people to force them to support Inkatha.

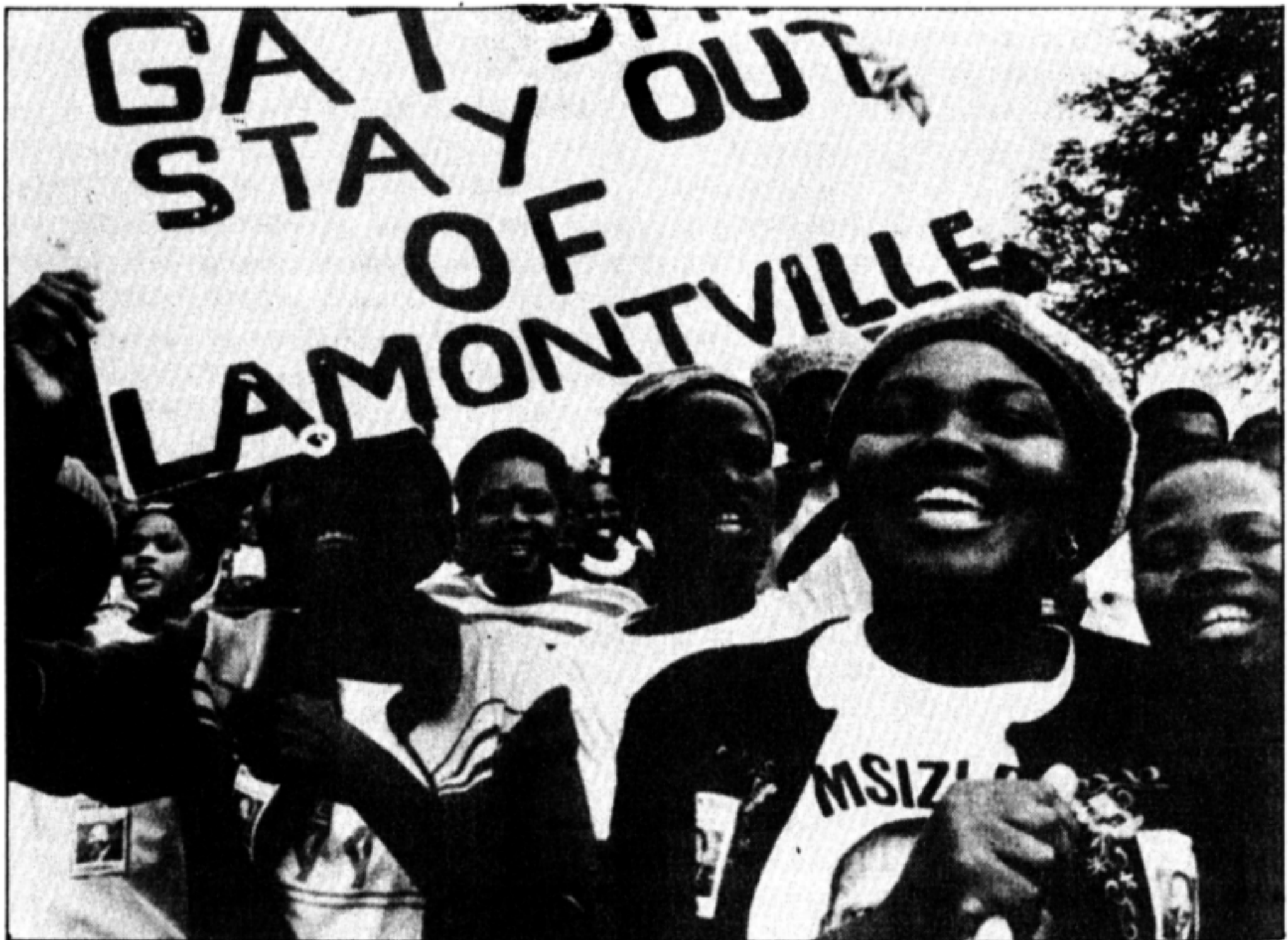
During 1979, in one of its sessions, our Na-

tional Executive Committee considered the very serious question of how to respond to a request by Gatsha Buthelezi for him to lead a delegation of Inkatha to meet the leadership of the ANC. By this time, divergences were becoming evident on such questions as armed struggle and disinvestment. After due consideration, the NEC decided that it was correct to meet the Inkatha delegation, once more to explain the position of our movement, and ensure unity of approach to the main strategic requirements of the struggle. An express and agreed condition for holding the meeting was that it would be secret and its deliberations confidential. However, Gatsha announced that we had met and explained the purpose, the contents and the results of the meeting to suit his own objectives, much to the delight of the commercial press of South Africa and other forces in the world that had, in fact, concluded that Buthelezi was possibly 'the Muzorewa' of the people of South Africa.

We have dealt with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi at some length because, although his efforts are doomed to fail, in a way he is our fault. We have not done and are not doing sufficient political work among the millions of our people who have been condemned to the bantustans. The artificial boundaries purporting to fence them off from the rest of our country do not make them any less a vital and integral part of the popular masses fighting for national liberation and social emancipation in our country.

A Need to Organise the Countryside

Certain advances have been made with regard to the creation of a mass democratic movement in the bantustans, especially in the last twelve months. At the same time, it is true that, in the main, we have not succeeded to build this movement to the level of strength that is possible and necessary. We have not even succeeded to utilise fully the considerable ex-



People of Lamontville demonstrate against incorporation into the KwaZulu bantustan.

periences of such elders in our midst as Comrade Elijah Mampuru.

We have to build a mass democratic movement in the countryside and in this process, separate any existing mass organisations from their diehard counter-revolutionary leaders, redirect them to the only correct path of revolutionary action by the people themselves and, for this purpose, solve the actual political problems posed by this population in terms of their organisation and activation.

Bound as we are historically to work for the greatest possible unity of the oppressed masses, and without forgetting that these masses are our reliable base, we have to deal with any personalities within these bantustans who display a democratic consciousness, however limited.

ANC: The People's Own Organisation

The storm that erupted as a result of our meeting with the Inkatha delegation in 1979 demonstrated the absolute need for a clear and common understanding and an acceptance of the basic strategic and tactical positions of our movement by the membership of the ANC as a whole, our allies, the broad democratic movement of our country and the masses of our people. It also became clear that, once more, whatever the ANC did was seen by the millions of our people as a matter of vital importance to their future and one over which they had a right and duty to intervene, to express an opinion, to influence. We had defeated the attempt of the apartheid regime to isolate us from our people and reasserted our position as the representative of these masses, recognised by them as such.

This showed that in the period up to 1979, we had succeeded to vanquish the efforts of schools of political thought, different from our own, to resurrect the idea of a 'Third Force.'

This idea was pursued with the greatest vigour in the period following the Soweto Uprising. Our opponents sought to use the enormous contribution that our youth and students had made to the struggle, to ascribe the role to the students of a vanguard force in our struggle. On the basis of this wrong thesis, desperate attempts were made by elements in

the USA, independent Africa and Western Europe, to form some youth political organisation specifically as a counterweight to our movement, taking advantage of the political immaturity of some of the young people who had battled the apartheid regime with such daring and courage. It was out of these manoeuvres that the so-called South African Youth Revolutionary Council was born.

Attempts were even made to form an anti-ANC coalition composed of this SAYRCO, remnants of the BCM, the PAC, the Unity Movement and the Group of Eight, which we had expelled in 1975 when it adopted public positions which were completely at variance with the policy of our movement.

Unity of Liberation Forces

Through struggle, in which we put to the fore our policy, strategy and tactics, while continuing to engage in action against the apartheid regime, at home and abroad, we defeated this attempt to create a 'Third Force.' The majority of the youth who had left the country had, in any case, come into the ranks of the ANC as had the majority of the activists of the BCM.

In this context, we should also say that as part of the process of consolidation and further advance, acting together with our youth inside the country, we had encouraged the establishment of a number of mass democratic organisations of the youth.

It is also important to recall that many leading activists of the democratic movement were arrested and detained in 1977, following the banning of nearly a score of organisations. Since they were held together, these leaders had the opportunity to discuss the perspectives of our struggle. Thanks to the position taken by many of these, including leaders of the now-banned SASO, a majority view had emerged clearly in favour of the ANC as the authentic representative of our people.

Thus by 1979, the end of the period we are discussing, the ANC enjoyed maximum political and organisational unity. Inside our country its prestige was high. There was no serious formation which could pose itself as an alternative, both politically and militarily. Its capacity inside the country to act, both

politically and militarily, had increased.

It was in this context that we declared 1979, the centenary of the Battle of Isandlwana, the Year of the Spear. In the light of the armed actions which we had resumed in 1977 which were having the political impact we desired, it seemed clear to us that we could and should take advantage of this centenary to popularise the armed struggle using political means. This would serve the purpose of further mobilising the masses of our people for increased involvement in the armed struggle and, by evoking the heroism of our forebears, help further to inspire our people to make the sacrifices that armed struggle necessarily entails.

Culture: a Weapon in the Struggle

It is worth noting here that on this occasion, activists inside the country used the weapon of culture to popularise the ideas of the Year of the Spear. This drew our attention to the importance of this medium of communication and to its value in the formation of our people and new men and women. Unfortunately, up to now, our leadership in particular has not paid sufficient attention to this question, to give it the importance it deserves. Among its tasks, Conference will have to attend to this issue.

We also wanted to make certain that we oppose the enemy's view of Isandlwana, and therefore our resistance to colonialism, with our own revolutionary view. Thus we would engage this enemy in political struggle, interpreting the centenary in the context of our national struggle and not that of tribalism and the bantustans, which is what the apartheid regime was bound to do.

This initiative was also important in the further development of our struggle in that it signified that we were beginning to pass over from the defensive to the offensive. We were beginning to determine what the political agenda of the day should be rather than merely reacting to what the enemy was doing. This is a frame of mind that we still need to inculcate throughout the ranks of our organisation and the democratic movement as a whole. It is, after all, in the attack that we shall gain victory.

The period 1975-1979, which was so important in laying the basis for the rapid develop-

ment of our struggle to date, was also one during which the crisis of the apartheid regime further deepened, resulting in the enemy having to adopt extraordinary measures to defend itself.

Apart from the developments at home marked by the resurgence of our movement and of the mass political and the armed struggle, the balance of forces had shifted further against the apartheid system internationally.

The International Front

As we have said, already by 1975 we had defeated Vorster's 'detente' offensive. At the beginning of 1976 he was forced to withdraw his defeated army from the People's Republic of Angola. His puppet forces in Mozambique and Angola were not making much headway. Despite such atrocities as the Kassinga Massacre of 1978, the struggle in Namibia continued to escalate, SWAPO's position having been greatly strengthened by the birth of independent Angola. The offensive of the Patriotic Front also intensified, underpinned as it was by the popular victory in Mozambique.

Further afield, the Vietnamese liberation movement had finally won victory in 1975 with the collapse of the Thieu regime and the humiliating flight of the Americans remaining in South Vietnam. The Shah of Iran, originally placed on his throne by the CIA and since armed and developed by US imperialism as one of its counter-revolutionary strongmen in the Persian Gulf, was swept out of power by the popular masses in 1979. As an act of solidarity with our struggle, the new government of Iran, which was visited by an ANC delegation led by our Secretary General, imposed an oil embargo against apartheid South Africa. Up to this time, Iran had provided 90% of South Africa's oil imports.

In the same year, the democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution in Afghanistan had been saved, with the support of the Soviet Union.

In the Western Hemisphere, progressive changes took place in Nicaragua and Grenada with the victories of the Sandanista and the New Jewel Movement. The US took the first



SWAPO freedom fighters in the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

tentative steps to normalise its relations with socialist Cuba. The democratic forces had won in Spain, bringing to an end an era which had been imposed on the Spanish people by resurgent European fascism in 1939. The Soviet Union and the United States had concluded the second SALT Treaty.

Imperialism in Retreat

All these events are important not just as a matter of historical record. We recall them because they marked a further shift in the balance of forces against imperialism and also reflected the extent of its weakness at that point in time. One outstanding result of this situation that accrued to the peoples of Southern Africa was that US imperialism was unable to intervene more extensively in Angola in support of the

South African invasion of 1975-76.

In 1977, taking advantage of the adverse international situation for the Pretoria regime created by the murder of Steve Biko and the wholesale banning of popular organisations, but also bearing in mind that international imperialism was on the retreat, the progressive world pushed for and got the Security Council to impose a mandatory arms embargo against apartheid South Africa. This was the first such action to be adopted by the United Nations, despite the fact that the question of apartheid had stayed regularly on its agenda for thirty years up to that point.

Earlier in the same year, 1977, international imperialism had had to consider the issue of sanctions against racist South Africa, but this time over the issue of Namibia. The United

States, in particular, felt that its political positions were too weak to allow it to use its veto to block these sanctions. It managed to have this proposal postponed by establishing the so-called Contact Group and, in 1978, getting the Security Council to adopt Resolution 435 as the operational plan for the implementation of the earlier Resolution 385 which called for:

"free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations ... for the whole of Namibia as one political entity."

We should also bear in mind that already in 1974, under the Presidency of Algeria, the General Assembly of the United Nations had refused to accept the credentials of the Pretoria regime. The Western allies of this regime failed to stop this outcome and have, since, failed to reverse it. This was an important victory for our diplomacy, which was further reinforced by the recognition of the South African liberation movement by the UN as a legitimate representative of the people of South Africa. From this came the decision to accord us the status of official observer to the United Nations. In 1976, for the first time ever, we addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations, accepted fully as a representative of our people and entitled to be heard by the representatives of all nations of our globe.

These developments had an important bearing on the central questions of our political posture on the illegitimacy of the apartheid regime and our own character as the alternative to the Pretoria regime.

The importance of these positions is confirmed by the fact that in the aftermath of the conclusion of the Nkomati Accord, the offensive against our movement among other things, aimed to challenge these theses.

But as we have said earlier, the position is that a large part of the international community views the ANC as the genuine representative of our people. Thus we enjoy observer status both within the OAU and the UN, as against the Pretoria regime whose status with regard to these two important international organisations the delegates are familiar with. We enjoy a similar status with regard to the Non-

Aligned Movement and participate fully in its activities.

Apartheid Crisis Deepens

During the period we are discussing, the situation internally and externally was therefore developing against the Pretoria regime. As we have said, this deepened the crisis of the apartheid regime and brought it out into the open.

in 1978, the once mighty John Balthazar Vorster lost his premiership of apartheid South Africa to his colleague of long standing, PW Botha. He was kicked upstairs and made State President. The following year, in 1979, he left the Presidency in even worse disgrace than the year before and died in obscurity, despised by many of his erstwhile friends as a fascist leader who had failed.

In 1977, responding to the changed balance of forces and wishing to assert his leadership and the constancy of his policies, Vorster had called a snap White general election. His party won with majorities which were the largest in its entire history. The fact that Vorster could tumble in a period of two years from the most popular White Prime Minister to a retired and discredited politician reflected the seriousness of the crisis confronting the apartheid regime, the speed with which this crisis was developing and the intensity of the conflicts that these developments were generating with the ruling group.

Vorster had in fact taken a series of measures to protect his regime and the criminal system he sought to perpetuate. One of these, which served as the catalyst in his downfall, was the secret political and information offensive through which the Pretoria regime tried to buy itself international acceptance. When this was exposed, the leading groups among the fascist party feared that the prestige of this party among the White population would suffer permanent damage and thus further worsen the crisis of the apartheid system. Scapegoats had to be found and sacrificed. Therefore Vorster and other leading fascists such as General van den Bergh and Connie Mulder were sacrificed.

Pretoria Overrules Bantustan Leaders

But, in fact, PW Botha inherited and continued

the policies of his predecessor, carrying to their conclusion initiatives that Vorster had taken. One of these concerned the bantustans. When Angola and Mozambique attained their independence, the Pretoria regime decided to accelerate its plans with regard to the bantustans. In a so-called Summit Meeting in November 1973, the bantustan leaders had agreed that they would not accept 'independence.' Three years later, in October 1976, Pretoria proclaimed the Transkei an independent state. Clearly, the paymaster had the power to change the minds of his employees as he wished. The Transkei was followed by Bophuthatswana in 1977.

The Pretoria regime presented this process as one of decolonisation, and wanted the world to accept that the African majority was regaining its right to national self-determination. For our part, it was vitally necessary that we ensure that the international community should reject these bantustans as the mere extension of the apartheid system that they are.

During its 'detente' offensive, the Pretoria regime had used some of the bantustan leaders to try to open the doors for itself internationally. When he led a delegation of the South African regime to the United Nations two or three years earlier, Pik Botha had included Kaiser Matanzima. In those years, we successfully fought against the acceptance of these bantustan leaders as representatives of our people and got the international community to reject the entire 'separate development' programme. Similarly, we succeeded to ensure the rejection by the whole world of the so-called independent bantustans when Pretoria proclaimed them as such.

This was a serious blow to the Pretoria regime. And yet Botha, who had ousted Vorster because of the 'failures' of the latter, continued with this policy, pushing Venda into so-called independence in 1979 as well as the Ciskei in 1981. After all, PW Botha had no other options.

Workers and 'Influx Control'

Vorster had also appointed the Wiehahn and Riekert Commissions to consider labour questions, including job reservation, influx control,

trade union rights and so on. Both these commissions reported to the new racist Prime Minister who proceeded to accept recommendations for relaxation of job reservation to meet the requirements of the capitalist economy and for even tighter influx control. This was despite the fact that since 1978 Crossroads had become a national and international symbol of the policy of influx control and forced removals and a focus of the struggle to resist this policy. To this day, despite Vorster and despite Botha, Crossroads continues to stand firm, having served to inspire the whole effort for the formation of mass democratic community organisations.

Further, having been forced to recognise the right of African workers to belong to trade unions, the Botha regime nonetheless legislated to impose further controls on the trade union movement to ensure that this movement does not emerge as an independent, democratic formation.

It was also Vorster who, in 1977, announced the project to amend the racist constitution and to try to co-opt sections of the Black people through the creation of a tri-cameral parliament. In the same year, as Defence Minister under Vorster, PW Botha announced in public the so-called total strategy for the defence of the apartheid system.

Perhaps more than anything else, the pronouncement of this posture, the admission that the apartheid regime needed to mobilise all available resources for the defence of White minority rule, signified the extent to which the racists felt that the initiative was slipping out of their hands.

Responding to this situation, increasingly the focus of state policy centred on so-called 'national security,' leading to the elaboration of measures for the management of the crisis in which the apartheid system was immersed.

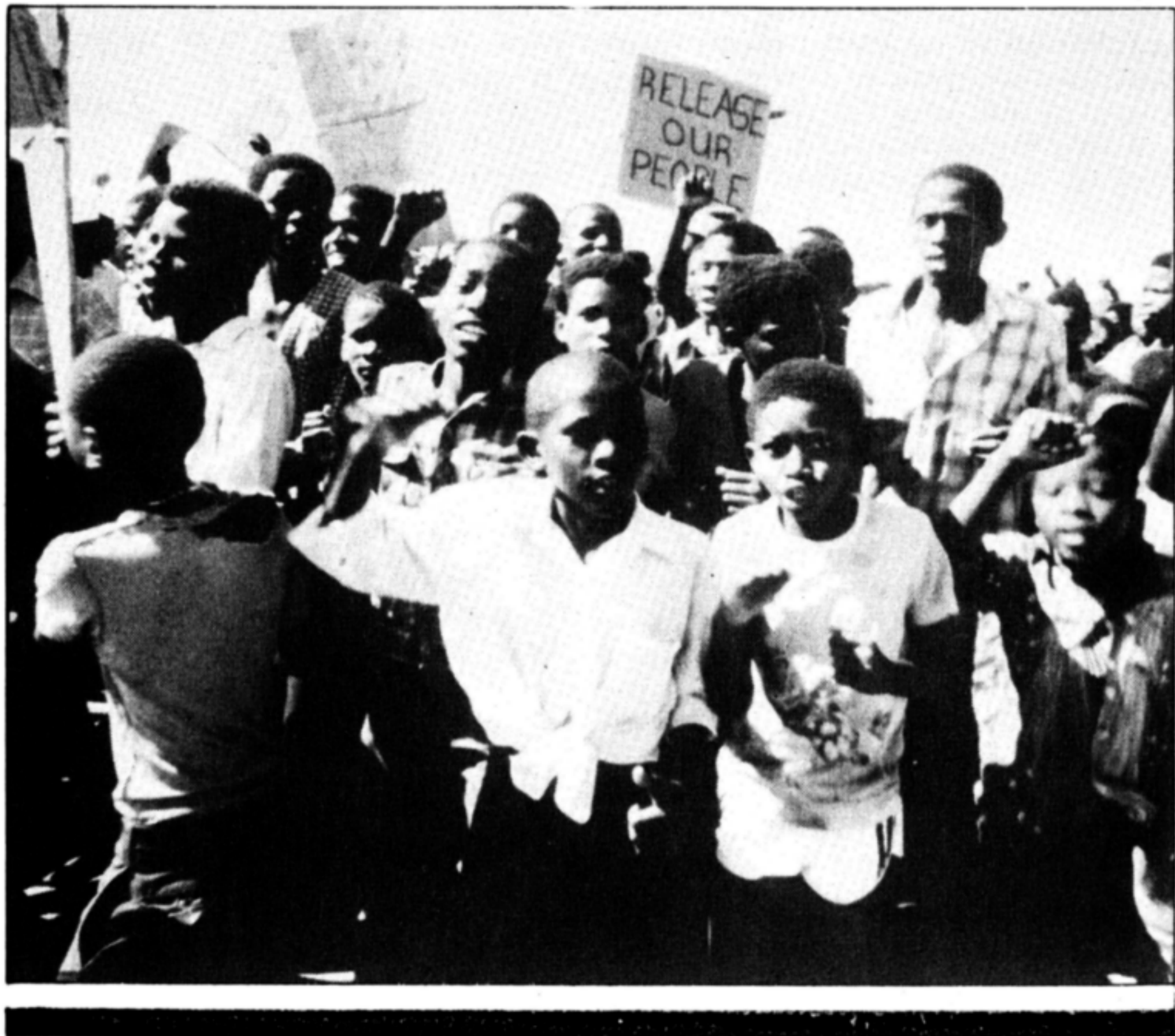
Pretoria Regime Alone in Africa

The extent of that crisis was made patently clear to the Botha regime when the component parties of the Patriotic Front won the elections in Zimbabwe in 1980, taking almost all the African seats. The desperate efforts of the Pretoria regime to keep the Smith regime in

power had come to nothing. Equally, the last-ditch attempts to avoid complete defeat by sponsoring a puppet regime, failed miserably. Five years after Frelimo and the MPLA had assumed power in their respective countries, events in our region had, once again, confirmed the inevitability of our own victory. The Pretoria regime remained the only one of its kind on the African continent. Botha was therefore not wrong when he proclaimed that the independence of Zimbabwe and the assumption of power by a Patriotic Front government had changed the strategic position of apartheid South Africa. So frightened was he that he even announced that he would call a national conference representative of all the people of South Africa, both black and White, to consider the future of our country.

The masses of our people responded to this announcement by demanding the release of Nelson Mandela and the rest of our leaders, stating unequivocally that if Botha wanted to discuss the solution of the problems of our country, then it was with these leaders that he should negotiate. The leadership of our movement, for its part, called on the people not to attend Botha's conference. That was the last that anybody heard of this bold initiative, exactly because the racists knew that were they to proceed with it, they would have nobody to confer with.

Thus we can say that when the period we have described as one of Consolidation and Further Advance came to an end, ten years after the Morogoro Conference, nobody could doubt the ascendancy of our struggle.



VIOLENCE & INTIMIDATION

SOME TESTIMONY

We have received copies of some sworn statements made before commissioners of oaths in South Africa. They describe the kind of violence and intimidation that has been used against the people by police and soldiers of the Pretoria regime, before and during the state of emergency. These are extracts:

Mrs Willel Zinto of KwaNobuhle made a statement in February about events that had taken place on 29th January:

"My son, Thulani, was about to go to the shop to buy some cool-aid. I was standing at the kitchen door. I heard a bus coming. I could see Thulani at the gate of the back yard. Suddenly I heard screams and noise. I believe this was from a group of children when they realised that there were police inside the bus. This was followed by shooting. My neighbour came screaming and crying, saying, "Thulani — Thulani has been shot." I crossed to her yard and found him lying inside her yard.

"I was very distressed. Another person put my son in a car and took him to Dr Maqhagi, who has his surgery in our street. As soon as I reached the surgery, I was taken to see my son, who was unconscious. While we waited for the ambulance to arrive for the three children, my son and two others, there came the police van. The policemen came into the surgery and asked for the children. These policemen were all White and wore blue uniforms. They came in three vans. The police made chaos in the surgery, asking various people there, "Are you the one who has been shot?"



One of many today who bear the marks of sjamboks.

"... The youngest child was about eight years of age and had been shot in the arm. He was crying. Nobody from his family was with him. The other child, I think she is about 12, was lying unconscious. She too was alone ...

"The police did not have stretchers. The doctor's nurses carried the children outside to the police van. I realised that my son was no longer unconscious by this time, as I could hear his screams ...

"To my knowledge there were no mattresses in the back of the van ...

"I sent my younger son to check if the police had taken Thulani to the KwaNobuhle day hospital. He returned, saying they were not there.

"I hired a car and went to Provincial Hospital, where I was told that they had been transferred to Livingstone. It was about 7 p.m.

"I hired another car to Livingstone. I was shown where Thulani was. My husband was with me and signed consent papers for an operation. The nurses showed us X-rays which showed birdshot above the eyes, both arms, neck and chest and both thighs ... Thulani was fully conscious and he told me that when he had been taken from the surgery and put in the police van the police had placed their spare wheel on top of him. I did not question exactly how this was placed, as he was crying."

Mrs Maria Qomoyi, aged 59, of Graaff Reinet, made a statement in August, describing a police raid in July:

"On Tuesday, 30th July, at 7 a.m. I was in bed. I had 'flu ... My ten-year-old granddaughter called out that the police were coming (I found out afterwards that the police had used loud-hailers to call the people outside to clean the streets. I did not hear the call).

"A White policeman unknown to me entered the room. He said to me, "Why didn't you come outside when called?" I said, "Who called me?" He said, "You ask," and hit me with a long sjambok across the back and then across the face.

"I jumped up and grabbed the whip. We struggled. Another group of policemen came up, threw me on the floor and kicked me on the head and arms. They walked away ..."

Her pregnant daughter, 24-year-old **Marina Qomoyi**, took up the story in a statement made the same day as her mother's:

"... I was at home in my bedroom when suddenly I heard some children screaming. I got out of my room to investigate, and found that some White policemen, about four in the bedroom, were assaulting my mother. The police were in their ordinary blue uniform. They were beating my mother with black sjamboks and they were also kicking her. My mother was sprawled on the floor at the time ... I then intervened and asked why they were beating my mother. After I intervened they turned on me and beat me in the same way ... At this point they dragged my mother along

the ground towards the back door, all the time beating her. First of all, the police sjambokked me across my back — I still have the marks.

"I followed them dragging my mother, and once I was outside the house they continued to beat me — this time on my abdomen. I am pregnant and I have been told that I can expect to give birth to my child any day now.

"... I went to my mother and talked to her as she wanted to proceed immediately to the police station to lay a charge ... I ... went inside to attend to my little cousin ... who is three months old. I had seen the police trample on this baby when they entered the room. I believe this was done accidentally. The baby was unconscious for several hours after this happened."

Lena Rasmen of Lingelihle described in August her encounter with some soldiers earlier in the same month:

"In the late evening I walked to a relative's home. I was alone. A Hippo drove up behind me and stopped. Two White soldiers jumped out. One said: "Hier loop 'n bitch, alleen in die nag, seker 'n man soek. Ons sal haar help" (Here walks a bitch alone in the night, she must be looking for a man. We'll help her). One soldier lifted me by my shoulders and another by my ankles. I struggled, and said, "Where are you taking me?" The same soldier said, "You'll see."

"... The Hippo drove to the National Road and went towards Port Elizabeth ... A few kilometres away the Hippo stopped. The one soldier jumped out and the other pushed me out. The two soldiers lifted me over the fence, and climbed over."

She then described how she had been raped by both soldiers, who afterwards drove off in the Hippo, while she set off on foot.

"... I ... went to my brother's house and told him ... It was 9 p.m. ... My brother gave me coffee and put me to bed with hot water bottles. I was in pain and still bleeding."

When she made her statement a week later, Lena Rasmen was still in pain.

ANC INTERNATIONAL

INTERNATIONAL HONOURS FOR THE LATE COMRADE ALEX LA GUMA

A few weeks before the death of Comrade Alex La Guma, the Republic of France conferred upon him the title of Officer of the Order of Arts and Letters.

In a letter to Comrade La Guma, the French Ambassador in Pretoria said that the award was made:

"... at this moment of support for the Black communities of South Africa, who are victims of apartheid."

In reply, Comrade La Guma said:

"Your appreciation of my efforts is accepted with deepest warmth and at the same time pride that the life and struggle of my people could inspire my work and earn me such distinguished recognition."

Recently, Comrade La Guma was also awarded the Sasou Nguesso Presidential Prize for African Literature by the Congo People's Republic.

ANOTHER BRITISH CITY HONOURS COMRADE MANDELA

In September, the city of Huddersfield in West Yorkshire renamed its speakers' corner Nelson Mandela Corner. This name has been carved into the stonework of the public library, and Comrade Francis Meli, a member of the NEC of the ANC, addressed the gathering at the unveiling ceremony.



Young people in Sverdlovsk help load goods for SOMAFSCO.

SOVIET YOUTH SHOW SOLIDARITY WITH YOUTH OF SOMAFSCO

Students and working youth in the Soviet city of Sverdlovsk responded with particular enthusiasm to the call to collect goods for SOMAFSCO in Mazimbu. Thousands of people contributed goods, in a special effort to make the life of children at SOMAFSCO more comfortable and happy. The solidarity cargo of about 20 tons of goods was given special green-light treatment by everybody involved, including railmen, harbour workers and ship's crew on its way from Sverdlovsk to Dar es Salaam.

INTERNATIONAL CONTINUED:

PRESIDENT TAMBO VISITS BRITAIN

The visit of President Tambo to Britain in October proved to be of tremendous importance in the campaign for sanctions against the South African regime. It came soon after the Nassau Conference, where the British Government had persuaded the Commonwealth to adopt only limited sanctions.

During a debate in the House of Commons, Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, refused a demand from Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour opposition, that the British Government talk to the ANC. He said:

"We do not engage in contact with organisations of this kind which are actually engaging in violence at the moment."

Comrade Tambo was, however, invited to address an all-party Foreign Affairs select committee at the House of Commons on October 29th. The committee, in the words of its chairman, Sir Anthony Kershaw, wanted to ask him:

"The key question is violence and why does he think it is necessary."

At the meeting, Comrade Tambo replied to this question clearly and forcefully. Unfortunately, we cannot at this stage quote what he said, as the proceedings of the meeting are the property of the British Government, and have not yet been made public.

Call for People's Sanctions

Two days later, in an interview with the London *Morning Star*, Comrade Tambo called on the British people to impose sanctions themselves. He said:

"Clearly Mrs Thatcher is not interested in imposing sanctions. But they can be imposed by mass popular action."

Unlike the British Government, many of the people of Britain welcomed and honoured our President. He made several appearances on television, and his visit was widely covered in the British press. One letter to the *Guardian*

asked why the British Government refused to talk to the ANC but did not refuse to talk to the Pretoria regime, which everyone knows to be violent.

At the invitation of the Greater London Council (GLC), he unveiled an eight-foot-high bust of Nelson Mandela, which now stands in the cultural centre on the South Bank, near the Royal Festival Hall. An inscription engraved on the pedestal of the statue reads:

**"The Struggle is My Life
Nelson Mandela**

Gaoled 5th August 1962. Sentenced to life imprisonment 12th June, 1964 for his actions against apartheid."

The ceremony was attended by a number of guests, including representatives of the GLC and from many African countries. Nelson Mandela's daughter, Princess Zenani Dlamini, was also present. In his speech, Ken Livingstone, the Leader of the GLC, said of Nelson Mandela:

"His message and life-long commitment to the struggle for freedom of the majority of South Africans is shared and supported by this council."

Comrade Tambo met the Secretary of the British Trades Union Congress, Norman Willis, and other representatives of the TUC. He was also invited to visit the City of Sheffield as a guest of the City Council.

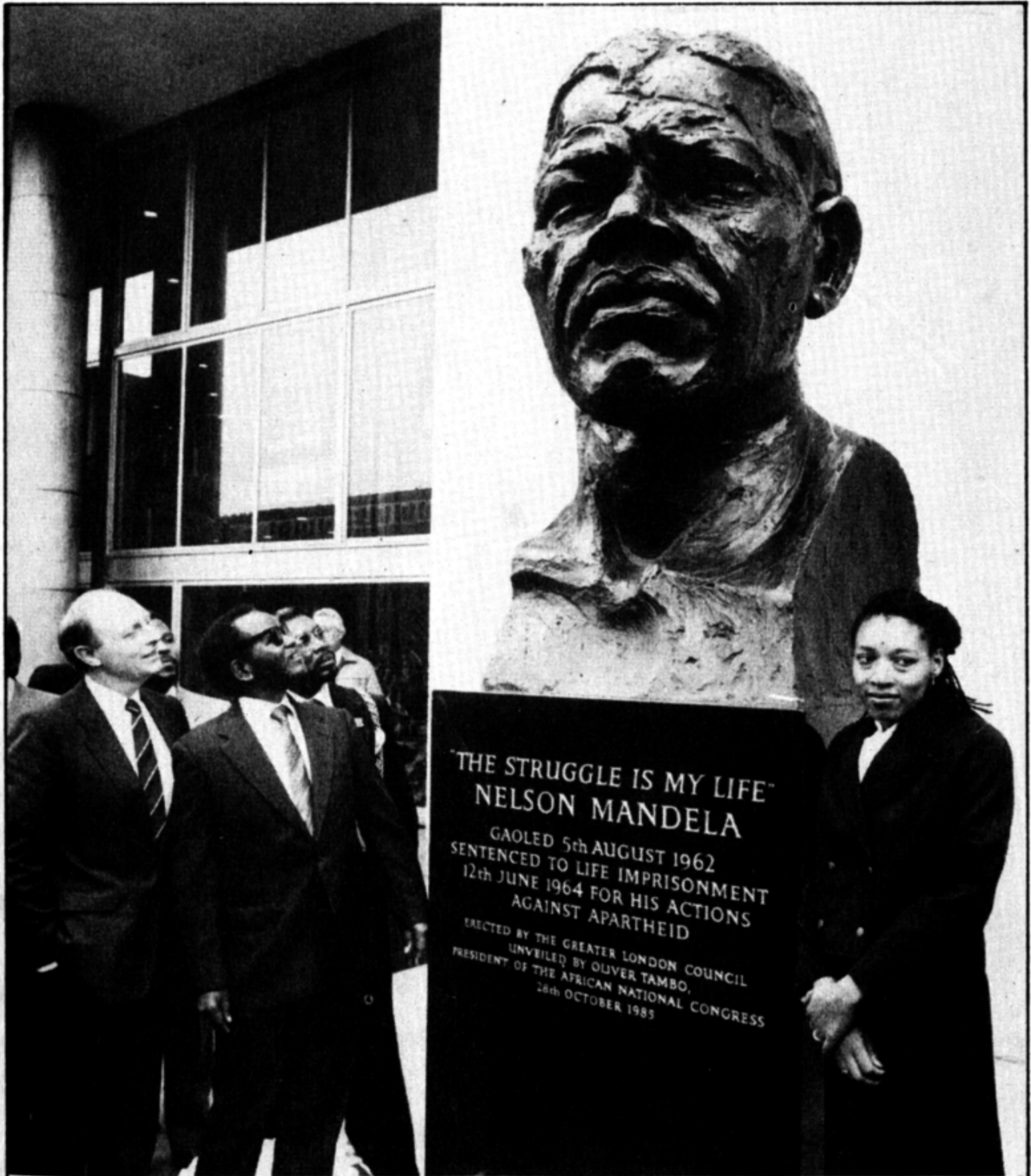
He also addressed a Conference on Oil Supplies to South Africa, at the invitation of the Seafarers' and Dockers' Trade Unions, which co-sponsored the conference with the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid. At this international conference of maritime unions, an important decision was taken to bring an end to oil supplies reaching South Africa.

Anti-Apartheid Activity

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement was very active during this period. In support of the sanctions campaign, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the AAM, presented a memorandum to the Foreign Office on Oc-

tober 29th. On Saturday, 2nd November, a huge anti-apartheid march — said by some to be the largest anti-apartheid demonstration London has ever seen — was led by the ANC

and SWAPO contingents, and President Tambo addressed the rally when the march reached Trafalgar Square. The rally was also addressed by the Reverend Jesse Jackson.



From left to right: Neil Kinnock, President O R Tambo and Princess Zenani Dlamini.

PEOPLE OF BRITAIN DEM



PHOTOGRAPHS: Morning Star

MANDA SANCTIONS

On 2nd November 1985 over 100 000 people marched through London in solidarity with the people of South Africa in their struggle.



The platform at Trafalgar Square, a few yards from the South African embassy. Seated, from left to right: Lambeth Councillor Irma Critchlow; Sue Slipman of the Social Democratic Party; Ken Gill, Chair of the TUC; Trevor Huddleston, President of the AAM; Bob Hughes MP, Chair of AAM (speaking); President Tambo; the Reverend Jesse Jackson; GLC leader Ken Livingstone; Comrade John Nkadimeng, General Secretary of SACTU (behind Ken Livingstone); Glenys Kinnock of the Labour Party, and Shapua Kaukungua, SWAPO representative in the UK and Western Europe.

REFUSING APARTHEID CONSCRIPTION

By A War Resister

On October 7th 1984, units of the South African Defence Force (SADF) were first sent into the townships of South Africa in an effort to suppress the current wave of popular resistance. Exactly one year later, four thousand people gathered at a rally in Cape Town to demand 'Troops out of the Townships.' All over the country, mass meetings and protests have been held, often in open defiance of the State of Emergency regulations, to demand an end to occupation of the townships and the terrorism of the South African army and police, which has left over 800 dead in the past year. The interesting aspect of the Cape Town rally was that it was attended mainly by Whites, many of them youth who themselves faced military call-ups for deployment in Black areas.

The October 7th rally was the culmination of a three-week 'Troops out of the Townships' campaign, during which a number of conscientious objectors fasted, and which included a mass 24-hour fast supported by hundreds of people. The events were organised by the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), an alliance of over 40 organisations, many of which are also affiliated to the UDF. The ECC demands an end to military call-up as the first step towards ending the apartheid regime's war against the people of South Africa, Namibia and neighbouring countries.

Umbrella Organisation

The ECC, which was launched as a national campaign in October 1984, has local committees in the Eastern Cape, Durban, Cape Town



Deployed in the townships: a SADF soldier stands guard at a Daveyton funeral, 1985.

and Johannesburg. It includes NUSAS and a number of church groups, and incorporates organisations as diverse as COSAS — now banned — and Women for Peace, all of which subscribe to a 'Declaration Against Conscription.' This states that:

"We live in an unjust society where basic human rights are denied to the majority of our people;

We live in an unequal society where the land and wealth are owned by the minority;

We live in a society in a state of civil war, where brother is called upon to fight brother ...

Young men are conscripted to maintain the illegal occupation of Namibia, and to wage war against neighbouring countries;

Young men are conscripted to assist in the implementation and defence of apartheid policies;

Young men who refuse to serve are faced with the choice of a life in exile or a possible six years in prison."

The local ECC committees have co-ordinated a number of protests against conscription and South African Defence Force actions. They have handed out leaflets, printed T-shirts and posters and organised cultural events, rock concerts, public meetings, vigils and demonstrations. While their activities have been concentrated amongst the White youth, many of whom face conscription, they have also gained support in Black communities who are facing the onslaught of the apartheid armed forces. Because the ECC is willing to initiate activities which young people find attractive — musical events and the like — and because it is able to produce a wide range of publications — including comics, booklets and newsletters — its message has spread beyond the White English-language campuses, and into the broader community, where it has struck a chord with a growing number of young people.

In the space of little over a year since its national launch, the campaign against conscription has experienced a phenomenal growth, and is now one of the major national issues, especially in the White sector. The ECC's broad support was seen at a 'Peace Festival' held in Johannesburg in July, which was attended by over 2 000 people. The ECC has ef-

fectively broken the silent complicity in the Botha regime's war policies, which for so long was a feature of White politics, even amongst those groups which claimed to be against apartheid.

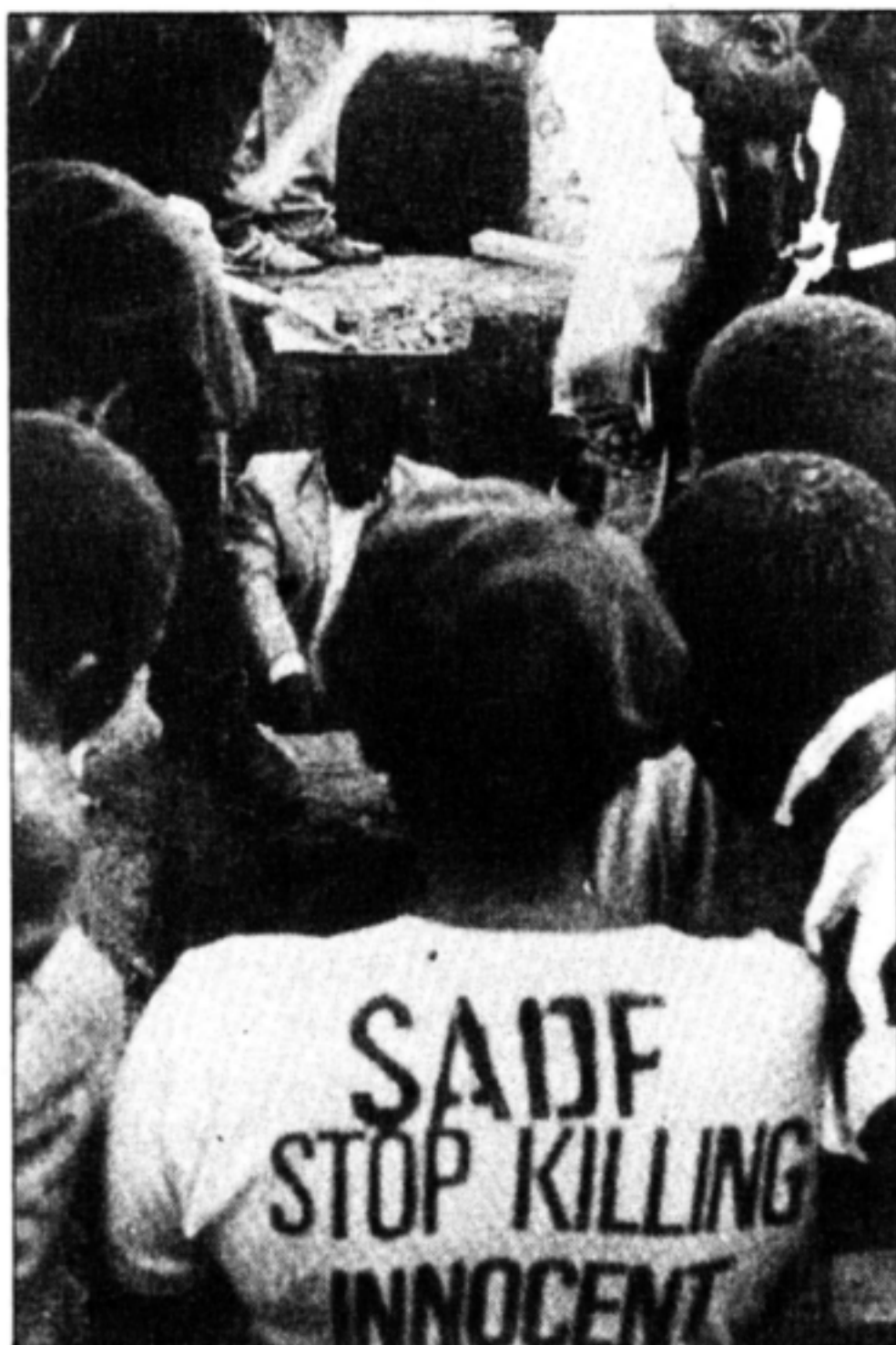
Whites Divided

The chief villain in this regard is the Progressive Federal Party, which for years lent uncritical support to the aggressive actions of the SADF on the grounds that the military and police forces were a 'shield' behind which 'peaceful reforms' could take place. Not surprisingly, this was a view identical to that advanced by Botha and his henchmen.

However, such is the extent of anti-conscription feeling amongst the youth, that the PFP leadership has now been forced to make at least a token commitment to ending conscription, and has finally spoken out against some of the more blatantly aggressive actions of the SADF, such as the Gaborone and Cabinda raids. Despite the forced resignation of Harry Schwarz, the right-wing spokesman on defence, there are still many in the PFP who view any criticism of the racist armed forces — however mild — as an act of treason, and the issue of conscription has almost brought about a split in the party.

Conscription is proving such a divisive factor in the ranks of the White group that the Deputy Minister of Law and Order and Defence has been obliged to label the ECC as an "ANC plot," designed to further what he calls "the evil goals" of the national liberation movement. Far from being an "ANC plot," the growing movement against conscription is a response to the war policies pursued by the Botha regime as it attempts to maintain apartheid rule by force of arms.

While the majority of Whites remain supportive of the regime's attacks on neighbouring independent countries, back the continued illegal occupation of Namibia, and view with satisfaction the murderous attacks by the police and army on the oppressed population of South Africa, there are a growing number of Whites who view apartheid as a death-trap, and the regime's military policies as a senseless commitment to fighting a war that it cannot possibly



*The graveside at a mass funeral,
Duncan Village, September 1985*

win. There is growing concern at the cost of the war in Namibia, both in economic and human terms, and at the fact that the only response the Botha regime is able to make to the rising demand for freedom in South Africa is to attempt to crush all democratic and progressive organisations by force of arms. There is also concern at Pretoria's crude destabilisation tactics against neighbouring states, which threaten to plunge the whole of Southern Africa into war.

Young Whites Resist Being Brutalised

Above all, there are thousands of young Whites who do not relish the prospect of spending a large part of their lives in military uniform, fighting in an army which brutalises and oppresses even its own conscripts, and exemplifies the fascist character of apartheid militarism. Students at the English-language universities are especially strongly opposed to

fighting for apartheid. Surveys carried out at the four main campuses — Durban, Cape Town, Rhodes and the Witwatersrand — have shown that about two-thirds of students on each of the campuses oppose military service, and a similar proportion regard the occupation of Namibia as unwarranted.

While the NUSAS campuses have been the principal focus for anti-conscription activity, the movement has been spreading to other areas. Women's organisations have played a prominent role in organising against conscription — the call for an end to conscription was in fact first raised by the mainly White women's organisation, the Black Sash. School students are also being drawn into the campaign. A campaign against school cadets is under way, with some parents refusing to allow their sons to take part in the cadet programmes, and leaflets being distributed at schools pointing out to pupils the possibilities for resisting cadets and military service.

Position of the Churches

The issue of conscription and the question of what position to take on the SADF has long been a source of questioning and conflict within the churches. In 1974, when the South African Council of Churches for the first time issued a call to Christians to conscientiously object to military service in the light of the injustice of the SADF cause, the call was rejected by many of the mainstream churches. During the late 1970s and the early 1980s, however, the complacency of the churches was challenged from within their own ranks by a number of conscientious objectors who were prepared to go to gaol rather than fight for apartheid, and by growing pressure from Black Christians for the churches to decide whether they supported the liberation struggle or would go down fighting with the racist regime. The Anglican, Catholic and Presbyterian churches have all come out in support of the right to conscientious objection, but, as a result of pressure from White congregations, they are only now beginning to rule on the injustice of the war being waged by the SADF, and to offer meaningful support, spiritually or otherwise, to the struggle for freedom of the majority of the

South African and Namibian people.

Recently, the Anglican synod adopted a motion calling for the 'demilitarisation' of chaplains serving in the SADF, so that they will not be expected to wear uniform or carry weapons. But it failed to endorse a motion calling for chaplains to be withdrawn from the war zones of Namibia, and did not discuss a resolution calling on members of the church to refuse to serve in the illegal and brutal occupation of Namibia, because it ran out of time! Nor would the church give full support to the anti-conscription campaign — it offered only "general support" to the ECC. On the other hand, the Catholic Bishops have gone further, by formally calling for an end to conscription, and this call has also recently been made by the Methodist Church. But in general the South African churches have failed to rule unequivocally against the SADF and in support of the liberation struggle.

Alternative Army Service for Objectors

Some of the churches also continue to maintain a presence on the Board for Religious Objection. The Board was set up by the regime in 1984, to administer a new system of Alternative National Service for religious pacifist objectors. But by limiting recognition to religious pacifists only, the regime hopes to isolate anti-apartheid objectors, who would be sent to prison for six years if they refused to serve in the SADF.

The churches rejected the Alternative Service scheme as discriminatory in singling out only pacifists and ignoring the most important reason for refusing to fight — apartheid, a crime against humanity. Furthermore, it was pointed out that Alternative Service was itself punitive, as it is six years in duration, instead of the initial two years of military service — and those taking part in it face various restrictions.

The Botha regime clearly hoped that by making these so-called concessions for religious pacifists they would be able to co-opt the churches and undercut support for anti-apartheid objectors. While the churches have seen through the ulterior motives of the regime and rejected the scheme, they have nevertheless

tolerated the presence of their representatives on the Board for Religious Objection. Steps are now being taken to have these representatives removed, but the churches have already assisted the board in gaining some credibility, in that growing numbers of young conscientious objectors are applying for — and usually receiving — postings in the Alternative Service scheme.

Alternative Service Serves the Regime

Objectors participating in the Alternative Service Scheme ignore the fact that, like military service, it is service for the apartheid regime. They are allowing themselves to be co-opted by the state, and their participation does little to undermine the regime's war effort or to spread the movement of resistance. Objectors taking part in this scheme usually serve in one government department or another, and fall under the control of the Department of Manpower. They are therefore closely linked with the apartheid system, particularly as they are often deployed in roles which are tied to the bantustan authorities.

The SADF likes to refer to Alternative Service as "community service," but in a situation where anyone working for the regime is identified as an enemy of the people, Alternative Service is as unacceptable as military service to individuals whose allegiance genuinely lies with the struggle for freedom.

Nevertheless, it is a sign of the growing disaffection with the SADF that the Board for Religious Objection has been inundated with hundreds of applications for alternative service.

Objectors applying to the Board for Religious Objection form only a small proportion of those resisting. It is estimated that every year since the 1976 uprisings, between 3 000 and 4 000 young White men have failed to turn up for service in the SADF. Hundreds of them — mostly Jehovah's Witnesses and other religious pacifists, but including some anti-apartheid objectors — have been imprisoned. Thousands more have left the country, applying for political asylum or refugee status in Britain, Holland, the USA and various European countries, or in Southern African countries.

Since the deployment of large numbers of troops in the townships towards the end of 1984, the number of young men resisting army call-ups has increased dramatically. In January this year, the regime admitted that over 7 000 had failed to turn up for the call-up — which is about one-third of the total number of people mobilised. Subsequently, when this statistic became widely used as an indication of growing support for the anti-conscription campaign, the regime argued that almost all of those seven thousand were students who would have qualified for deferment in any case. But this ignores the fact that the figure is still much higher than in previous years, and leaves unanswered the question as to whether all these 'students' will eventually obey their conscription orders.

At least some seven thousand have gone 'on the run' inside South Africa, keeping one step ahead of the military police by changing addresses, registering for university courses which offer temporary deferment from the army, or using other tactics to keep out of the clutches of the SADF. There are also hundreds of young conscripts who have refused call-ups for township deployments under the State of Emergency — many of these people 'on the run.' A few have been court-martialled. Other conscripts are known to have mutilated themselves — deliberately breaking their ankles, for example — rather than be called up for township duties.

Mobilising the Politically Committed

While many resisters are not politically committed, or explicitly motivated to resist military call-ups out of anti-apartheid convictions, they constitute a relatively large group of people who are alienated from the regime, who are obliged to take on a semi-underground lifestyle and who can be mobilised into the liberation struggle. The challenge facing the liberation movement is to find means of translating protest actions into broader political commitments. New structures and new methods of mobilising this constituency are required, especially as the struggle intensifies and the regime responds with ever more brutal methods of repression.

Many war resisters who have taken the road into exile have in fact joined up with the liberation movement, and in many ways they have shown the way forward and helped establish war resistance as an essential aspect of the struggle for freedom. But this process needs to take root inside South Africa as well as in exile if resisters are to play their full and rightful part in the struggle to liberate our country.

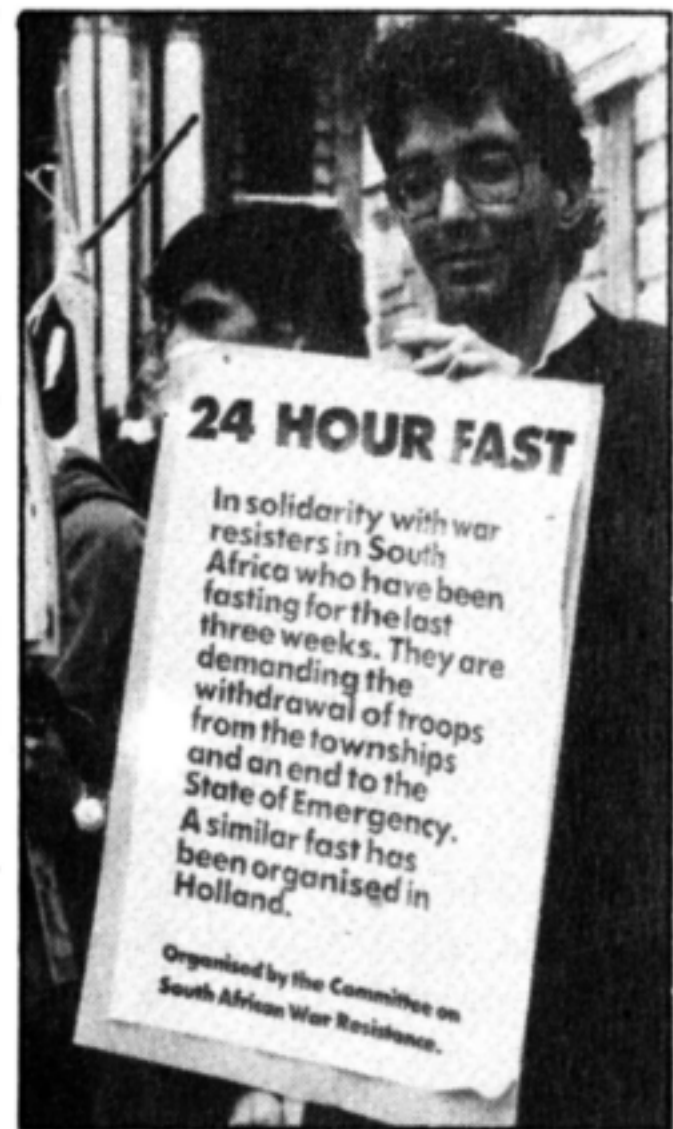
As part of its activities in protest against the military mobilisation which took place in July 1985, the Committee of South African War Resisters (COSAWR), the war resisters' organisation established in London and Amsterdam, held a series of workshops and discussions in which resisters:

"... concluded that the liberation struggle required more than refusal, it required a positive and active commitment to ending the apartheid regime."

The resisters in COSAWR have followed this commitment in recent months by organising a number of activities in support of the wider liberation struggle. These include raising money to purchase goods to send to ANC cadres in Southern Africa, and participating in anti-apartheid demonstrations and protests, as well as organising activities in support of those resisting the apartheid war; for example, by holding a 24-hour fast in support of the initiative of the End Conscription Campaign in Southern Africa.

Resistance Within the Apartheid Army

While resistance to military service itself is the most urgent aspect of the campaign to end the apartheid war, it is clear that, as the struggle escalates, more and more conscripts actually in the apartheid army will be drawn into acts of defiance and resistance. Already there have been growing numbers of deserters from the SADF, some of whom have subsequently joined up with the liberation movement, and there have been press reports of several mutinies, mass walk-outs and other protest actions inside the SADF. In 1984, a young national serviceman, Roland Hunter, was sentenced to five years' imprisonment for exposing secret infor-



(Left) Harold Winkler of the ECC on 6th October 1985, the day before he completed his 30-day fast in protest against conscription and the deployment of troops in the townships. (Right) COSAWR organised a fast in solidarity, outside the South African embassy in London.

mation about SADF training and deployment of the MNR bandits operating in Mozambique.

Minutes of a secret meeting of South African military intelligence officers held in Namibia in May last year, which were obtained by SWAPO, have revealed the extent of demoralisation and disaffection in the SADF. The intelligence officers expressed concern at "poor discipline", "immorality" and "the increasing use of dagga and drugs, particularly amongst national servicemen." They noted that:

"what is particularly unsettling is the damaging of military equipment by military personnel, which can be regarded as sabotage, especially if the negative attitudes of certain national servicemen is taken into account."

According to the officers:

"negativity amongst national servicemen can have various origins, but political convictions will play a role."

Dissident national servicemen were reported to be responsible for 'espionage' and 'subversion', while war resisters and deserters were accused of 'providing the enemy with in-

formation.' A fire which destroyed a section of the Walvis Bay military base and was publicly described as 'accidental' was revealed to have been an act of sabotage carried out by:

"White and other population group national servicemen from South Africa and South West Africa, incited by a White ANC-inclined national serviceman."

How many incidents like this have gone unreported is unknown, as it is rare that a document of this sort is obtained to provide an insight into the reality behind the SADF propaganda claims to be "the finest army in Africa."

Black Units in the SADF

In Black units, the SADF faces even greater problems. The press has reported a number of cases of Black troops deserting, selling their weapons, or refusing to carry out orders. These incidents — which have occurred in both the SADF and the South West Africa Territory Force in Namibia — are merely the tip of an iceberg, as most Black soldiers sign up only because of chronic unemployment.

Some of the Black troops who have deserted from the SADF have joined the ranks of the

ANC. A recent issue of *Dawn*, the journal of Umkhonto We Sizwe, contained an article by a deserter from the 21st Battalion of the SADF, who is now fighting in MK. He described the low morale, racial harassment, discrimination and crude ideological indoctrination in the unit.

As the struggle in South Africa intensifies, and the people make it clear that there is no place in their communities for collaborators and servants of the regime, more and more defections from Black military units can be expected. The National Executive Committee of the ANC has called on:

"the unemployed Blacks now sitting in uniforms to stop shooting their brothers and sisters in defence of White rule. They must organise secretly to turn their guns on their masters."

The statement pointed out that:

"there is no place in our communities for those who wear the uniforms of apartheid and who carry out orders to kill, maim and torture their brothers and sisters ..."

In Namibia, too, the oppressed population is resisting SADF service. Conscription was introduced for selected Black Namibian men at the end of 1980, and since then there has been tremendous resistance to the call-ups. Thousands of people have refused to fight for the occupation army, many of them joining SWAPO instead. One young man who has been conscripted, Eric Binga, has taken the SADF to court, challenging its right to call him up on the grounds of the illegality of the apartheid occupation. Although his appeal was predictably rejected by the Windhoek Supreme Court, he has taken his case to the Appeal Court.

The Regime Backtracks

Because of the strong resistance encountered to its conscription drive in Namibia, and the massive rejection last year of the tricameral parliament, the regime has backtracked on its plans to introduce conscription for Coloured and Indian men. Before the successful boycott of the tricameral elections in August 1984, Botha and his cohorts made it clear that they would extend conscription to these com-

munities on the grounds that they had been granted political rights in the apartheid system, and therefore had a duty to defend it. This threat was one of the major issues in the campaigns by the UDF and other groups to mobilise against the tricameral system. In the climate of resistance that has swept the country since then, it is clear that the regime would be adding fuel to the fire if it attempted to extend conscription, and would face a massive campaign of resistance.

However, as the ANC pointed out in a recent pamphlet distributed inside the country, an extension of conscription to sections of the oppressed population:

"remains a threat, as Botha wants our sons and brothers for cannon fodder."

The pamphlet says:

"The casualty rate amongst White conscripts is growing, and White parents are beginning to refuse to send their children to war. The strain of years of military service on young Whites is also telling ... The government makes no secret of the fact that it needs more troops to help the police attack us."

The leaflet points out that since the early 1960s the regime has targeted the Coloured and Indian communities for incorporation into its fascist army, establishing the Cape Corps and the Indian Naval Unit, attempting to introduce cadets into schools, setting up a paramilitary training scheme in the Western Cape in the late 1960s (which was abandoned only after thousands of youths defied orders to register and hundreds escaped from the camp), and recently attempting to 'win the hearts and minds' of the communities by running 'adventure' camps for the youth.

The ANC pamphlet concludes:

"Botha wants us to become part of his murderous army directed against the people. But we belong to the people and must therefore swell the ranks of the people's army, the fighting forces of MK. Umkhonto is everywhere confronting the enemy, fighting for the realisation of the South Africa of the Freedom Charter. MK does not need conscription. Thousands of young South Africans.

men and women, have flocked to its ranks, realising that the future of our country lies in the forces of liberation. MK cadres do not have to be forced to fight. They do not have to be square-bashed, brainwashed and brutalised. They know they are fighting for freedom, for the liberation of our country, for an end to racism and exploitation. These young people, our brothers and sisters, are the guarantors of our liberation ..."

A similar message needs to be carried into the heart of the White group. Even amongst people who for years have been psychologically, socially and physically prepared to maintain apartheid and fascism, who are indoctrinated in family and schools and by the media with the belief that they are born to rule, that their destiny is to fight for the preservation of apartheid and minority rule, that they face a total onslaught by their enemy, 'godless communism' — even amongst this group there are those who draw the line at killing children, raping young girls and old women, torturing, maiming and murdering in the streets of our towns and villages. There are those who can

see that the only future that apartheid promises is one of war and bloodshed, that to fight for apartheid is to fight for a doomed, brutal, senseless system. There are those who can see that a new future of the South Africa of the Freedom Charter is in the making, a South Africa in which peace will at last be possible with the abolition of racism and exploitation.

The message from the ANC to the Whites of South Africa, as set out in the NEC statement released earlier this year, is:

"We call on those in the White community who have been conscripted into the army to refuse, in their own interests and those of their children, to be used as instruments of massacres and military domination over their Black fellow citizens and over the people of Namibia, Angola and other parts of Southern Africa."

The NEC has made it clear to Whites faced with the prospect of military conscription that:

"You have it within your grasp to choose between dying in defence of apartheid or joining the noble cause of national liberation."



Athlone in the Cape, October 1985.



FOR 40 YEARS AN ACTIVIST

INTERVIEW WITH ZOLA ZEMBE

This year we commemorated the 30th anniversary of the founding of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. On this occasion, Sechaba interviewed Comrade Zola Zembe, forty years an activist in the trade union and national liberation movements, one of the founders of SACTU, and now SACTU Co-ordinator in Western Europe.

Comrade Zola, what was the situation when SACTU was founded?

SACTU was formed reluctantly in 1955, in March, and I say 'reluctantly' because the policy of SACTU is that there should be one trade union centre in one country, and therefore when we form another centre we're contradicting the policies of the movement. It was because the White workers, at the pressure of the government that was elected in 1948, decided to expel African workers from the Trades and Labour Council. And then, of course, immediately, we decided to have an organisation, and we called it the South African Congress of Trade Unions. And, lucky enough, some of the White workers, Coloured workers, Indian workers, resigned from the Trades and Labour Council to join SACTU. And then, of course, it was a break from the token window-dressing of the Trades and Labour Council, the pretence that it organised African workers.

From the beginning, SACTU said that it would organise all workers, irrespective of race, colour or creed, but particularly the unorganised, meaning the Africans. And of course we must know that that was the first time that workers had said openly that they would organise workers irrespective of race, colour or creed. That was in defiance of the government of South Africa. And SACTU continued that line, and of course we were harassed.

Comrade, tell us how you came into the trade union movement.

I was born in the Eastern Cape, in a small town called Alice, and I joined the migratory workers that were going to the Western Cape — some Transvaal mines, but I went to the Western Cape. When I arrived there, I already knew about the African National Congress, because it was after the Defiance Campaign, and then, of course, the African National Congress was all over South Africa.

And then we arrived at the hostels, and I was illegal in Cape Town. I had no permit to be there, I had no pass at all, and I was looked after by my home people, who were migratory themselves.

And then I went to the Labour Bureau, where they give you a pass, give you a job, and so on. And I wasn't the only one; there were thousands of people who had got no passes. And while we were there, trucks came, and we were called to line up.

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When we were working at the green-grocer's, we started work at about three o'clock in the morning. We'd go to the market, come back at about seven o'clock, and load the vans, because we were supposed to drive to sell the greens at Sea Point, Wynberg and so on. And we'd come back at about five o'clock, and then, at five o'clock, we cleaned the bananas, we cleaned the old cabbages and so on, for the following day, so that they must look fresh all the time. And we stopped work at about ten o'clock. Ten o'clock. And we couldn't go anywhere, because we were there illegally, and that was the purpose of the whole thing, and we couldn't go to the trade union movement, we couldn't go to the police, and say that we were being exploited, because we were completely illegal, and the employer, too.

Our food was potatoes, with bread, in a big pot; it was like the mine food, *inyula*.

How much was he paying you?

The money was two pounds a week — then it was pounds. Two pounds a week. Of course we ate there too, you know, these potatoes and bread.

And we worked there for twelve months. Then, after twelve months, we threatened, "Look, if you don't go to the labour department so that we get our passes, then we go to the police."

So now he was in a trap. So he took us in a truck, immediately, to Langa, to the pass office, and without any problems we were issued with passes. For the first time, we were legal.

And immediately, when we got those passes, I said, "I'm going away. Can you discharge me?" Look, I was free, I mean I wasn't going to work there. And I had money. I think I had a little bit of money because I wasn't doing anything — we lived there, we didn't go anywhere, were just locked in. Besides, we wouldn't go out — we'd be arrested for passes; besides we were young, also we were rural, we'd get lost.

Then I went out to look for a job. It was my first time in Cape Town, you know, where there were people. Then I was employed in the

railways. It meant staying at the hostels in Langa, and now I was involved with the township people.

Did you become an activist while you were working for the railways?

The railways is one of the worst employers that you can come across. You know, the White workers are very corrupt there. In the morning you lined up, because each of the White foremen was allocated perhaps a hundred people, or two hundred, and then every morning he had a roll call, and then divided you accordingly. And then he would say, "You and you will go to Muizenberg, to my house, and the madam will tell you what you're going to do. You come back at four o'clock." This means you go to his house, one is going to work on the garden, another one is going to work inside, cleaning the house and doing some small things. In the meantime, we're employed by the railways, which is a nationalised organisation and taxpayers are paying for that. And you can't question this, because if you question it you are in for it.

Then, of course, we organised, and then — I had a little bit of Standard Six, you see — we discovered the way of lodging our complaints. You know, in the railways at that time there was a form on which you lodged your complaint, and then you signed, or put your thumb print, and then quietly put it in. And the foreman discovered that there was somebody there who was creating problems, because every week he was called to the office. Some matters were rectified, and some people did receive a lot of back pay. When he came back from the office, he'd ask, "Who has lodged a complaint here?" until he discovered it was me, and when he discovered that, I was discharged. I didn't last very long on the railways; I think I worked for seven to eight months before I was chucked out.

Did you join the union then? How did you eventually become a full-time trade union functionary?

That was the beginning of my change. I accidentally hit against the Food and Canning

Workers' Union. You see, I was going and knocking on doors and saying, "I want work." It was Plein Street, and at the top, at the end of Plein Street, they had an office there, at Stal Plein. And there, when I knocked at the door, Oscar Mpetha appeared. Then I said, "I want work," and he said, "Come in and sit down." I sat down, and he said, "This is a trade union."

I didn't know anything about trade unions at all. He said, "We don't give jobs here, we organise workers, we are the organisation of the workers." And then he said, "Listen, we do get jobs for people, not here, at the factories, because at lunch time we go and address meetings. And sometimes we discover, while we're there, that they need somebody. If you like," — it was about half past eleven — "you can stay on, and you go up with us, and see what's going on." And I agreed.

Then they went to Salt River to address workers there, and I was there and I listened. And then, after two o'clock, we went back to the office, and he said to me, "If you like, you can come here Saturday. We have got classes here, and we will pay your fare." Of course, I was impressed — you see it linked up with what I was doing on the railways, and I said, "I'll come."

And I came. And the first thing he said was, "We start the classes at about eleven, but until then can I give you something?" He gave me a book where you enter the names of the people who've paid subs, and a shop steward's book, where you enter what people have paid according to month. And also I was listening, you see; workers came in and they put their complaints while I was listening, and Oscar and others would take the telephone and phone to the employers. And this impressed me more.

Eventually, Oscar and other comrades decided that I should work there. And I liked it.

Comrade Zola, will you tell us about some of your experiences as a union organiser in Cape Town?

We organised the metal industries — not the engineers, not the skilled workers, but the labourers, who were Africans, you see. And that made us be arrested almost every week-

end. And we organised the Woodworkers' Union; we were organising the big sawmills, that were making planks.

Another time, we organised zip factories, and we went to a factory of about 200 Coloured workers, women only. And we organised them into joining the union — a hundred per cent, they were a hundred per cent — and we applied for a Conciliation Board. Coloured workers had the right to have Conciliation Boards. And then, after 30 days, they had the right to go on strike. Somehow the Labour Department either misplaced the letter, or something, but 30 days elapsed, then we went to the factory at lunch time, and we said to them, "You've got the right to strike. Now."

The Coloured workers, the women, were very militant, and they said, "We're not going back to work." I said, "Well, should you not plan first?" They said, "No. We're not going to work, now." And there, round the factory, there was open veld, with 200 sitting there. At two o'clock the bell went; then I decided not to go anywhere, but to sit with them, beside these women, in a circle.

At about five past two, the employer came out and shouted at these women, and they just ignored him. Thirty minutes, and the police were there, and they went straight inside the crowd — it opened up — and said, "Where's your pass?" to me. That was the first thing, they didn't even ask what had happened. I said, "Here it is," and they said, "We are arresting you."

And then the Coloured women said, "Listen, we will not go to work until Zola Zembe is here." (They did not call me Zola Zembe; I was not Zola Zembe then.) They were ignored, and I was chucked into the van and taken to Maitland Police Station. It was hardly an hour before I was driven back. Those Coloured women were still there.

You know, to me, it was a great thing indeed, because South Africa is organised in a segmented form, and people find it difficult to follow people of other racial groups, but in the trade union movement these Coloured women were prepared to follow an African person.

At that time, were you a member of the ANC as well, Comrade Zola?

Every Sunday in the townships, either there was a meeting of the African National Congress outside in the squares, or there was a meeting of the civic associations, or a protest meeting of some kind. And I, of course, I enjoyed the meetings. I went to those meetings. That introduced me to the African National Congress.

You know, Oscar Mpetha was not only African Food and Canning Secretary, he was also the leader, at the township, of the African National Congress. Some of the problems from work continue into the townships, and the people who were active in the trade union movement were those people who were in the African National Congress, politically conscious people.

And therefore I became involved with the African National Congress and the trade union movement. It became a twenty-four-hour job. I worked the whole day in the trade union movement, and from there I continued in the townships and organised trade unions plus the African National Congress, going door to door and taking up complaints.

The paper *New Age* helped us in organising in that area. It was printed there, you see. And selling *New Age*, that was another battle, because whenever you were discovered selling *New Age*, you were just arrested.

My life got enmeshed, you know, enmeshed with the African National Congress. I was local secretary of SACTU. Also, at that time, I was a regional committee member, and eventually a member of the provincial executive, of the African National Congress. And that ended me up in the Treason Trial, in Johannesburg.

You were among the 156 people arrested for treason in December, 1956, Comrade Zola. What can you tell us about your experiences at the time of your arrest, and in the trial that followed?

When we were arrested, they flew us to Johannesburg. And what is important about that is a joke, really. We were flying in an aeroplane

for the first time in our lives. That was interesting. And also, when we were in the aeroplane, we all vomited, including the police who were supposed to be arresting us — they were flying in an aeroplane for the first time too, you see.

And that trial brought about another transformation of my politics, because South Africa is a big country; sometimes you know people by name, and the trial presented an opportunity of sitting with people like Chief Luthuli and Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu and all the leaders, you see, and seeing them and discussing political problems. It was very, very educative, that Treason Trial itself, inside there, because the place was turned into a university. It was enjoyable. In fact — that's another thing — I was given a curry for the first time in my life; I'd never eaten a curry until 1956.

There was a State of Emergency in South Africa in 1960, and many, many people were arrested. Were you in gaol at that time, Comrade Zola, or were you outside?

The State of Emergency, when everyone was arrested — let me explain what happened to me. I was in the township; the township was surrounded by soldiers, and inside, the police were going door to door. We organised a hiding place, and when they knocked at the door, I went there; I lived there for as long as the State of Emergency lasted.

Once I had to go to Worcester. I collected a leaflet, and someone organised transport, someone with a car to drive me. I went to Worcester sitting in the back of the car. He drove past the township at Worcester, and then I got off. I said, "You drive for 15 minutes, straight down, as if you're going to Mossel Bay, and when you come back I will be here again." He didn't know what I was carrying, he was just driving; he didn't even know, really, whether I was going to that township, because he drove past before I said, "Stop there."

Later, the police were hunting for that man, for the car that had passed there and dropped a man; they didn't know who was the man.



And they eventually traced the car, and the owner told them that the car had been borrowed. By this time, I was already 'collected' for the State of Emergency; for the last three weeks of the State of Emergency, I was 'collected.' They brought the driver to the prison, and he did identify me. Now, the police wanted to know from me who gave me the leaflet. I said, "I don't make statements," — at that time, they didn't torture you, you see — "you can get my statement in court, with my lawyer. You can take my address, and that's it." As a result of that, they couldn't connect.

Comrade Zola, this year, 1985, is the year of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the South African Congress of Trade Unions. It is also the year of another State of Emergency, which the regime declared in July. What message have you now for the people at home in South Africa?

My message is that of SACTU.

One. At home, we want one trade union centre. It is very important to have one centre.

Two. We want national unions. One union for one industry; it is **very** important. We must all work towards that.

Three. These unions are the organisations of the workers, and the workers themselves must control them. When we talk about democratic trade unions, we are talking about unions controlled by the workers themselves, and by nobody else.

Four. We are fighting to liberate our country. Every trade unionist has got a part to play there. If they see one of our brave MK people, then they must play their part by hiding them, helping them, if they need helping. It is very, very important; for there can be no trade union work, even for those unions that are recognised and registered and so on, if we've got no political rights.

Five. And of course solidarity with other workers is vital to our whole struggle.

Six. Our people must stand fast. The enemy is desperate. We are on the move, and nobody can stop us.

///////PART OF MY SOUL////////

Winnie Mandela: *Part of My Soul*, "The moving personal story of courage and dignity, and a powerful indictment of apartheid." Penguin Books, London, 1985, £2.95.

Necessarily an autobiography of Winnie Mandela, whether it be conventional or unconventional, is bound to attract attention. First and foremost because of the role she and her family is occupying in the national liberation struggle of the Black people. Secondly because Winnie herself, Winnie the person, has been in the thick of it, giving part of her soul no less than anyone else. Lastly, she is the first Black woman to have broken the neck of a policeman singlehanded.

The book is basically about Winnie as she lives the life of an 'adult Bantu female' as the government documents say. It is made up of interviews with Anne Benjamin — who edited the manuscript — the letters from Nelson Mandela to Winnie, the tributes from Winnie's friends, such as Dr Marius Buthlezi, Dr Motlana, Rita Ndzanga and others in the struggle.

The first interview is about her forcible eviction from her home in Orlando in Soweto to Brandfort, a small town in the Orange Free State, where apparently the Boer population has yet to realise that we are in the 20th century and that Paul Kruger has long died. The police did their job first before dumping her there with the hope that she'd be forgotten. They told the Blacks there that the 'Communist' they were dumping at their doorstep should not be greeted nor talked to, let alone have children go to her house. The exact opposite happened. It did not take long for the Blacks to know who she was, what she was all about. They helped her, took part in the schemes she organised to combat malnutrition, and, to crown it all, reported to Winnie what the police

were paying those of them who were forced to inform on her.

This, and much more, is vividly explained in the book.

She also speaks about her childhood, the circumstances of her nine-member family which quickly, like so many Black families, becomes a single parent family, the things she learned, heard and observed. The way she talks about this life is genuine and real.

"I became aware at an early stage that the Whites felt superior to us. And could see how shabby my father looked in comparison to the White teachers. That hurts your pride when you are a child ..."

The life itself is ordinary. Her all-round development, finding herself in the ANC and getting married to the nation as she is, is told with true to life passion. Here too the story is ordinary and typical. Ordinary because millions of Black women daily live that same life of police harassment, separation, humiliation under apartheid which Winnie so ably talks about.

"Detention means that midnight knock when all about you is quiet. It means those blinding torches shone simultaneously through every window of your house before the door is kicked open. It means the exclusive right the Security Branch have to read each and every letter in the house. It means paging through each and every book on your shelves, lifting carpets, looking under beds, lifting sleeping children from mattresses and looking under the sheets. It means tasting your sugar, your mealie-meal and every spice on your kitchen shelf. Unpacking all your clothing and going through each pocket. Ultimately it means your seizure at dawn, dragged away from little children screaming and clinging to your skirt, imploring the White man dragging Mummy away to leave her alone." (Page 98)

And yet Winnie Mandela's book must be read by all Black women precisely for having nothing out of the ordinary about it. For being a typical life of Black women under apartheid. The South African Black woman, whether she is fighting with the police in their mass removal campaign, whether she is protecting her right to sell Magwinya (fat cakes) at the street corner, fighting the so-called madams in their kitchens or their husbands in their factories or their relatives in the farms, in the Bantustans the Black woman is forced, like Winnie, to fight back. Winnie's description of how she grew politically fits lots of women who are daily resisting the dirty little Boers who strip them and try to poke their little fingers into their genitals. In this way the book merely articulates the experiences of Black women. The book is bound to inspire even more Winnie Mandelas to come forward.

What is out of the ordinary about the book is the extent to which Comrade Nelson Mandela is dedicated to the struggle of the African people. Winnie writes fondly of him, and rightly points out that they have never had a married life together. Like so many Blacks widowed by the hangman, the bullet of the police or the soldier, influx control and the prisons, she knows who is responsible. Reading the letters by Comrade Mandela to Winnie, his children and those for the nation, in comparison, I venture to say the passion, the feeling and bond of affection is the same. He is our man, the man of the nation.

Finally, if this is not a powerful indictment against apartheid, nothing will be.

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CONDEMN APARTHEID EXECUTIONS



*"I am proud to give my life,
my one solitary life."*



*"I am very proud. I never
thought that one day I would
have a warrior in my arms."*

Mamike Moloise

BENJAMIN MOLOISE, EXECUTED 18 OCTOBER, 1985



SAVE THE LIVES OF PAYI AND XULU