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STOP PRESS

The South African racist regime has committed another crime against the people of Lesotho and our people. Victor Matlou, a member of ANC, was abducted from flight QL 351 at Bloemfontein. This flight was forced to land for reasons still unknown to us whilst on its flight to Maseru. Comrade Matlou must be released to the Lesotho Government before his safe return to Tanzania, his country of refuge. We ask our friends to protest to the SA regime and take all possible action to secure his release.

S.A. INVOLVEMENT

For our Editorial this month we print the following extract from "Fire Force Exposed" (reviewed on page 31).

The illegal Rhodesian regime could never have survived the 14 years since UDI without the constant support and assistance of South Africa. The facts on this matter are incontrovertible and will not be reproduced here. Since March 1978, representatives of the "internal settlement" leadership have worked consistently to deepen Rhodesia's military, economic, political and diplomatic alliance with South Africa and made it clear through numerous statements that they are committed to a role as a client state of the apartheid regime. This of course includes deployment of South African troops on Rhodesian soil.

Since 1975, when a number of paramilitary South African police units were withdrawn from Rhodesia with considerable publicity, it has been extremely difficult to obtain details of South Africa's continuing military collaboration with the Smith regime. The first report of South African ground forces being redeployed in Rhodesia surfaced in the British press a few weeks after the signing of the "internal settlement" agreement. Quoting "reliable sources" in Salisbury, the London Guardian reported that South African combat police, indistinguishable from regular soldiers, were operating in the southern part of Rhodesia. These police units had been sent out from military bases in the northern Transvaal to work with the Rhodesian police and army and were said to have brought with them a detachment of South African military liaison officers, now based at regional headquarters in Fort Victoria. South African forces were also reported to be working closely with Rhodesian Air Force and patrol boat units on Lake Kariba (Guardian

19.4.78; see also Smiths Settlement, IDAF Fact Paper No. 6)

The "internal settlement" has created the political and diplomatic conditions for South African forces to intervene in Rhodesia in a much more overt and aggressive way — apparent during the Lancaster House talks in British press reports of belligerent threats by unidentified South African military spokesmen of open war against the Patriotic Front and the Zimbabwe people (Sunday Express 23.9.79 Daily Mail 22.9.79)

As far as air attacks are concerned, there seems no doubt that many if not all major Rhodesian attacks into the front line states have been jointly planned and coordinated with South African military intelligence, and that South African planes and pilots have been involved. In December 1977, for example, the Mozambican authorities reported that South African Mirage fighter jets, flying from bases inside South Africa, had taken part in Rhodesian bombing raids on refugee camps and other targets inside Mozambique, culminating on an attack on Chimoi at the end of November in which 200 people were killed. (Guardian 19.4.78) There have been several reports of a similar nature since that time. In February 1979, nearly 200 people were killed in what was described by the Rhodesian regime as a Rhodesian Air Force raid on Luena area of Angola, using Canberra bombers. Information available to the Patriotic Front and the Angolan Government however, suggested that South African Mirage jets and pilots had flown from a base in the Transvaal, via Wankie in north-western Rhodesia and had returned via the Caprivi Strip in Namibia (BBC Monitoring Service 28.2.79, 1.3.79)

During the April 1979 Rhodesian elections the South African government provided open "logistic" support to the regime. South

African Air Force Puma helicopters, Dakota aircraft and pilots, C130 transport aircraft, trucks, troop carriers and personnel were made available — officially to help transport foreign officials around the country. There is no doubt that the help provided was much more substantial than officially made known, and that much of it — with the probable exception of conspicuous items such as the Dakotas — was left behind for the regime's use. A letter written from inside Zimbabwe towards the end of May noted: "The amount of mobilization was extraordinary. The numbers of South Africans involved and their new army vehicles placed in the TTLs so that no outsider could notice was also interesting. The Rhodesian army had to work close to the polling stations. (Focus No.23, July-August 1979)

South African assistance continues to be given to Bishop Muzorewa's government. The President of ZANU (Patriotic Front), Robert Mugabe, stated in Maputo on 14 June 1979 that about 5,000 South African troops, hundreds of military trucks and substantial quantities of South African arms and other equipment were now deployed inside Rhodesia. (BBC Monitoring Service 18.6.79)

According to ZAPU (Patriotic Front), the numbers may be even higher than this. ZAPU's newspaper reported in May 1979 that over 7,500 South African soldiers were now permanently based inside Rhodesia and actively involved in counter-insurgency operations. Many South African experts were believed to play a crucial role in the regime's war planning and strategy units. Other South African forces were deployed in Rhodesia on a short term basis, meaning that at any one time, more than 10,000 troops were inside the country. (Zimbabwe People's Voice 12.5.79)

Many South Africans in Rhodesia are officers and in command of units. In general, the South Africans are integrated into the various divisions of the Rhodesian army and airforce, so that they are less conspicuous, and it is believed that various administrative arrangements have been worked out to allow South African regulars to complete part of their training in



Rhodesia or to spend periods on secondment there. Other South Africans go to Rhodesia as civilian "volunteers" or in other words, mercenaries.

ON WAR RESISTERS

Statement by the National Executive of the African National Congress on "The South African Defence Force "Deserters", 29th October, Year of the Spear.

An avalanche of political crisis is penetrating the whole system of the racist ruling minority regime in South Africa leading to an ever increasing chasm and isolation of the rulers from the ruled within the same country.

Our people on the other hand in their various walks of life, Black and White are demonstratively getting mobilised and openly confronting apartheid in all its manifestations, for the establishment of a people's power, for a non-racial system in our motherland and in our lifetime. Our weapons in this bitter struggle, but with a certainty of a victorious inevitability, are everything at our disposal — from political to diplomatic confrontation, from protest to strike, from stones and spears to arms.

For the past few months the enemy has been besieged with mounting militant Black opposition to its racist policies and practice. Despite brutal fascist repressions and so-called enemy liberal concessions a wave of black workers' strikes over the entire length and breadth of our country and involving thousands of workers is persistently going on, now temporarily off there, now on there.

The Coloured population under the leadership of their Labour Party have totally rejected apartheid and successfully frustrated the enemy policy and practice of divide and rule over their victims.

Even in remote rural areas, in the Bantustans themselves the people are up in direct challenge and total rejection of apartheid and its puppet institutions. They have created their own leadership. Clear

example of this positive direction is that of the mass support and popular following in the Transkei for the heroism of Chief Sabata Dalindyebo who is now courageously facing puppet Matanzima "treason" charges for standing up for the people's rights.

In the latest political dictionary of the racists and their puppets today, genuine opposition to the apartheid system means "communism" or "treason". Elsewhere, for their convictions and acts of opposition to apartheid twelve young revolutionaries are also facing the notorious charges of treason in a remote caged Pietermaritzburg dock like animals so that their piercing accusing defence voices should be completely muzzled from inspiring the people they are fighting with and for. This is the second biggest so-called Treason Trial since the early fifties.

Victorious popular Black resistance to enforced removals of our Black population to remote Bantustans has been met with increasing Black solidarity campaigns in other non-affected areas of the country under the banner of one South Africa one nation for all.

The spirit of our students' revolt against racism as exemplified by the June 16th 1976 Soweto, Gugulethu and other students' so-called disturbances lives on and is now pointing out to the ripe political consciousness of our brave youth, the high level of their battle-taught organisational level and their ever-readiness to sacrifice even more of their young lives if need be, for the liberation of their fatherland from racism.

The enemy has been forced to admit that this generalised mass political opposition and resistance to its rule is aggravated by frequent combat confrontations with well-trained, ever

victorious ubiquitous units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC.

As a result of the people's political and military onslaught the enemy is now so beleaguered that it is looking out for alternative ways to save its rule resulting in various forms of white political liberalism, theories of "a constellation of Southern African States" all in total opposition and rejection of the fundamental and priority question of the transference of political power to the black majority in our country.

Confronting the time and battle tested non-tribal, non-racist African National Congress and its historic democratic political programme as set out in the Freedom Charter are all-White political parties which differ from one another only on methods and forms of how best to rule the black population.

It is only under such an objective concrete political background analysis that changes in other spheres of the life of our country must be seen and not vice versa.

Since the victory of people's power in Vietnam, in Mozambique, Angola and in other former Portuguese colonies the racist regime in Pretoria has been agonised by not only political opposition from within its ranks but also military dissent within the racist army.

The force of political changes now engulfing the whole sub-region of Southern Africa, the people's courageous fight against racism despite fascist reprisals and sentences plus the effective stature and impact of our militants on the enemy and the growing disenchantment of a growing section from the White minority camp with the internationally condemned apartheid system of no future has deeply sapped the morale of the racist army to a new and now general phenomenon of desertions of various forms and enemy explanations but all pointing to the general crisis of the apartheid system.

As early as March 1976 the then only racist hawkish Defence Minister, P.W. Botha now also crowned Prime Minister of minority racist rule in our country complained in their all-white Cape Town parliament that his Defence Permanent Force was short of a whole 16% volunteers of the planned target for this life-time murder squad.

It is a stagnant to dwindling Permanent Force staff leaving few hands to push the buttons of the sophisticated, automated and excessively growing military machine. And, up to April 1977 that shortage had now become a "headache" at the Pretoria-based racist military Headquarters as the pro-government journal "To the Point" says. We quote it, "Botha is well aware that the career cadre of the Permanent Force is under strength....the problem lies in retaining their services (after National Service). The turnover is a headache. Botha says serious thought must be given to an incentive system to stabilise the strength".

Even the black-blood stained gold incentives have dismally failed to entice more volunteers for the consistent enforced mass murder raids on innocent Blacks inside the country and in neighbouring independent African states for the only "crime" of their love for Freedom and Independence as the following facts show.

The scarcity of Permanent Force volunteers and the phenomenon of military desertion in racist South Africa rooted in the vry rotten and vicious political background and practices of that country that are suffocating its citizens and eating up the very entrails and soul of its supposed agents. There can be no other explanation.

Monitored radio broadcasts of Western capitals, political allies of racist South Africa have now revealed that a growing number of White youth in the country refuse not only to join the Permanent Force but even National Service — 10% each year of the expected number of National Servicemen.

Practical evidence of this fact is the constant stream of the South African Defence Force "deserters" into Europe who have now opened up a growing Second Front of South African War Resisters. Their public reports on the political morale degeneration of the enemy form a whole chapter in the revelations of the rise and seeds of the fall of neo-fascism in South Africa. Their reports and freely rendered services are a great contribution towards the common cause of the liberation of our country from racism.

The Dutch world service English broadcast monitored on 26th October and relayed



Meting out the brutality of the fascist state

from Tananarive now says that there is mounting open resentment and shock by the South African public in the latest racist government's appeal and recruitment drive for the training of spies and security agents ("James Bond") to assist the fatigued and understaffed notorious BOSS (Bureau of State Security). This racist government

appeal for more Boss agents appeared in the Sunday 21st October South African newspaper.

Public resentment to enemy overtures for spy recruits led to two significant and coincidental events of a reported immediate march-out of 300 army trainees of the 8 South African Infantry Battalion based in

Upington, North Western Command which is under Commandant P.J. Bokkes as Officer Commanding. The second event was an unofficially announced racist nuclear bomb explosion on the southern shores of our country -- a desperate and potentially dangerous show of force of the South African Defence Force.

This demonstration of force closer home also coincided with the invasion, occupation and terrorism of parts of Southern and Western Provinces of the Republic of Zambia by 600 South African troops who were officially reported by Radio Zambia to have shot to kill every Zambian male on sight and raped scores of black Zambian women. They came into the country under the pretext of hot pursuit and search for "terrorists".

With such a background therefore the phenomenon of the co-existence or change from political to military desertion in our land cannot be otherwise. The South African Defence Force and the White Youth which is its backbone live in a new situation of the Vietnamese and Angolan revolutions and their experiences which forcefully demonstrated to the whole world that racism and military brass then and now are not the lasting might but the people are. Whatever the reasons adduced for their escape for military call-ups one thing remains certain and that is that they see no just cause worth dying for in their defence of racism. They see no future in apartheid. Above all, in their confrontation with the forces of liberation in Southern Africa they have learnt and understood the bitter lesson that in order to live, let live. They see the end of apartheid written on every wall of South Africa.

The African National Congress salutes the brave white democrats that are deserting the sinking boat of the fascist rule of Botha. They have a role to play in our widening national liberation drive. Their solidarity gesture to the struggles of our people must be stepped up and doubled to speed the approaching rout of the racist scourge in our country and dawn of the era of happiness for all her people.

At the same time the African National Congress once more warns the international community to step up all forms of pressure

towards making an end to racist terrorism and rule in South Africa before they unleash a desperate last ditch madman's nuclear adventure now not directed to the Indian or Atlantic Ocean but to the South African people itself and north of our country. These madmen must be stopped and disarmed before it is too late to say stop it.

The vanguard political leadership of the direct sufferers under apartheid, the African National Congress calls on all peoples of the world who cherish peace, progress and life to stop all forms of political, diplomatic, economic and military collaboration with the racist regime of South Africa. In solidarity with our just struggle all economic sanctions against that regime must be practically and fully implemented.

The continued detention and life sentence on our political leaders on Robben Island and elsewhere in our country poses a great and direct challenge to the conscience and sincerity of the Carter Administration and its friends who pose as champions of human rights including political dissent. It also directly questions the continuing political, diplomatic, economic and military ties between the USA government and the racist South African government when they are taking steps to sever friendly ties with Czechoslovakia for her alleged persecution of political dissidents.

The ANC calls for immediate steps to be taken to release all political and military victims in South Africa including the granting of political asylum to all war resisters from that country.

Above all our fighting people are calling out for all possible forms of international practical support so that they can destroy the apartheid monster in time.

The racist regime and its armies are living on borrowed time. The ANC solemnly pledges to shorten that time and to usher in peace and happiness for all to all corners of our suffering land.

Freedom in our lifetime!

Amandla!

Matla!

Power to the People!

BLACK SASH

Below we print the contents of a document written by The Black Sash Johannesburg Advice Office in November 1979.

On the 8th November the Prime Minister said that a reckless or careless Government could turn South Africa into a powder keg within a matter of days.

In the Advice Office we are now watching the fuse to that powder keg burn shorter by the day.

Never in the sixteen years since this office was opened have we experienced such anger expressed by Black people or such a sense of impending catastrophe. Never have we felt more urgently the need to try to communicate to white South Africans the realities of what is happening.

The pass laws have always been one of the main causes of Black alienation but if historians who in the future write of our times are able to isolate the final straw which precipitated disaster it may well prove to be this year's legislation introducing the fine of R500 which can now be imposed on the employer of an unregistered worker.

The significance of this legislation has been obscured by the three month moratorium and by the general delusion that the Riekert report was to be welcomed as a tremendous step forward. The fine is a direct result of Dr. Riekert's recommendations and goes hand in hand with the implementation of another of his recommendations that "Labour Bureaux should exercise strict control over the admission of contract workers..."

Up to now the only saving factor for the people controlled by the pass laws has been the total inefficiency of the system. All the vast, ponderous and expensive structure of influx control and efflux enforcement

has not been able to prevent people from moving to places where they could find work. They have been impelled by the necessity of earning a living for themselves and for the survival of their children, and illegal jobs have been readily available.

The Financial Mail of 12th October, 1979 published a table prepared by Dr. Jan Lange of UNISA showing how workers benefit from urban work even if they have to go to prison as a consequence. There is a 702,7% improvement in living standards for a worker from Ciskei who works illegally in Pietermaritzburg for nine months and spends three months in prison, a 170% improvement for someone from Lebowa who works six months in Johannesburg and spends six months in prison, and a 28,5% improvement for a person from Bophuthatswana who works only three months in Pretoria and spends nine months in prison. Someone from Ciskei who works illegally in Pietermaritzburg for three months and spends nine months in prison improves his living standards by 234,2%.

As far as we know Pietermaritzburg has never been shown to be a city where employers pay exceptionally high wages. Such vast percentage increases in living standards, won at such high cost, can only mean that living standards in the Ciskei are standards of such abysmal poverty that "living" is probably the wrong word to use about them. The Ciskei seems to be the most poverty stricken of all the homelands because of the extent of the dumping of "superfluous" Black people from so-called White South Africa which has taken place there but the other homelands are not far behind in the poverty stakes in all those many areas where large scale resettlement has taken place.

The new fine means that there will now be no more illegal work available. Approximately 50,000 people have been registered on one year contracts in terms of the moratorium. Many of them will probably not be in the same job at the end of the contract period and so will probably not be in the same job at the end of the contract period and so will not be able to register again. Some of them have already lost their jobs and have been endorsed out. Thousands did not fulfill the necessary conditions or did not find a job or lawful accommodation in time to be registered. To these must be added the thousands of new homeland job seekers who will be precipitated into the labour movement at the end of this school year. There will also be the many labour tenants who are currently being removed from land in Natal where they where they have been able to grow crops and keep cattle into closer settlements where they only have a suburban sized garden with no readily available water and where no livestock is allowed. They are thus being rendered entirely dependent on jobs which they are not allowed to take. They will swell the great army of jobless, hopeless, poverty stricken people in rural areas.

Over and over again during the last few weeks men and women have said to us: "But my children have no food". "My children are hungry". "What will my children eat?" Poverty, hunger and the disease of malnutrition have been a way of life for thousands of South African families for many years. Workseekers in the homelands are not allowed to move to the cities to seek for work and, if they do so, are not allowed to register in jobs they have found. The only way in which they can obtain legal employment is if they are recruited or requisitioned from the labour bureau in their home area. Such recruitment is now being strictly controlled and cut back.

Until this year people have been able to find illegal work and so have survived. Now, for the first time in all our experience,

we have no hope and no comfort to offer to the unregistered and the endorsed out. Always before we did, and they have known that they would be able to go on somehow even if it meant arrest and imprisonment from time to time. All hope has now been removed and when you take hope away all that is left is rage and anger, bitterness and hatred.

This anger is not going to be confined to the homelands. People are not going to go and sit to watch their sons and daughters die of hunger. They will remain in town and, as they are hounded from their places of illegal accommodation, (another of Dr. Riekert's recommendations) their rage will be fuelled to fuel again the rage of those who are legally in town and to whom so many promises have been made but not fulfilled.

Dr Koornof has said that Dr Riekert's recommendation that Section 10 qualified urban people can move from one town to another provided they have a job and accommodation is already in operation. The West Rand Board is endorsing them out. (Does this bureaucracy deliberately misinterpret or obstruct ministerial promises?)

Dr Koornhof has said that if a man buys a house his wife can come to town to live with him. Neither the East Rand nor the West Rand Administration Board has initiated any schemes for low cost housing. WRAB's cheapest house for purchase costs R6,6000. We have been told that ERAB tells people who apply to buy that the cheapest house requires an immediate deposit of R1,600. Neither Board will accept a man on to the waiting list to rent a house unless his wife has a permit to be in the area and she cannot get that permit until he has a house. In any event the waiting list for a rented house in Soweto is nine years long. People who have been on the list since 1970 are told that they will never get a house unless they buy one and most do not earn enough to make that even a remote possibility. They are presently watching with bitter-

ness the wealthy who can afford to buy jumping the queue.

Only the few who can afford to pay for their privileges or who work for very large companies are experiencing any benefits from the changes which have been so much talked about.

Apart from all questions of justice and morality could anything be more dangerous? The present visible alliance between Government and big business in the "total strategy" which is seen to be causing immediate personal disaster to thousands of individuals can only result in the Black/White political conflict becoming irrevocably identified with the Marxist/Capitalist economic conflict. Any so-called free enterprise system which totally denies all freedom to the majority of the people cannot possibly survive. Those who believe that the benefits of capitalism and free enterprise can be spread through the whole population and can bring about justice must prove it and must do so now. Tomorrow will be too late.

The following cases are not just a few horror stories selected for their shock value from months of work. They all presented themselves during the last 10 days. They are all typical of many others. They are all people who are suffering, entirely hopeless, and very, very angry.

Mr. Z — was endorsed out on 8th November. He has a wife and three children at Nqutu where he lives in a closer settlement. He used to have 3 cows and the use of land to grow crops but was resettled in 1972 and forced to sell the cattle. Now he has nothing. His last contract expired in October 1978 and he has remained working illegally in Johannesburg since because he has no alternative. Now he can no longer find illegal work and is refused registration in his present job.

Mrs. S. — is a widow. She came to Johannesburg from Groblersdal in 1965 and was previously registered in employment to 20th March 1978. She then worked illegally

but on 1st October 1979 began working for a new employer who tried to register her. She was endorsed out — ordered to leave Johannesburg within 72 hours — on 6th November. She did not comply with the terms of the Moratorium because she had been registered for some of the time during the previous three years and it is only applied to those who had been illegally employed. Her employer tried to register her too late but it would have made no difference had they been in time. She has one child, two others have died, a blind father and two blind siblings to support.

Mr. M. — was endorsed out on 2nd November. He belongs nowhere at all having been born on the farms at Heilbron, worked in Vereeniging from 1940 to 1963 and in Johannesburg since then, sometimes registered and sometimes not. His wife is a Johannesburg person who has been living legally in the emergency family accommodation provided by WRAB in the Meadowlands Hostel since the Kliptown floods of 1977. For this sordid accommodation she has to pay R.45.60 a month because the family occupies eight so-called beds. They have four minor children and also support two minor children of her deceased mother. The moratorium could not help Mr. M. because his three years previous employment was legal.

Mrs. H. — was endorsed out on 6th November. She has been in her present job which she must now leave, for over 15 months but her employer didn't bother to try to register until it was too late, in spite of the impassioned appeals of Mrs H's husband who is a qualified Johannesburg person. They have two small children.

Mr. M. — was ordered to leave on 6th November. His last contract expired in December 1976 but he remained unregistered with the same employer until 30th September 1979. He found a new job and on 31st October went to register. He

was given a temporary permit to 31st January 1980 and was told to report back with proof of accomodation. He reported with proof that he is the legal occupant of a bed in Diepkloof hostel and was promptly endorsed out -- presumably because six months of the previous 3 years employment had been legal.

Mr. N. -- is a married man with seven children, the eldest of whom is 17 years old. He comes from the Graytown district where he has a small piece of ground on a hillside. He says it is too steep to grow anything and there is no water. He has no cattle. He has a job in Johannesburg but was refused registration in terms of the moratorium, because he had been unemployed for the previous two years. He was discharged from the job because he could not register. He began working in Johannesburg in 1952 but has not been registered since the one year contract system was introduced in 1968.

Mr. S. -- is in his early twenties. He first came to Johannesburg from the Escourt district last year to look for his first job. He has been working for a firm since September 1978. When they tried to register him WRAB demanded payment of back registration fees amounting to R36.45 and when it had been paid, endorsed him out. He did not comply with the moratorium because his employment with this company did not amount to one full year prior to 31st July. He has been discharged because he could not register.

Mr. M. -- comes from Tsolo in Transkei. He was working on contract in Alberton but the last contract was not renewed and he was retrenched. He has a job and accomodation in Johannesburg. He has been refused registration and told to go back to Tsolo. His wife is legally resident in Johannesburg and their two children aged 3 years and 6 months respectively were born here. His chances of recruitment

from Tsolo are remote. His choice is to go there as is legally required of him and accept total separation from his family (if his wife goes with him they will all be hungry whereas she can at least work in Johannesburg if she stays) Or he can remain "illegal" and unemployed in Johannesburg looking after the babies while his wife works. He left the office threatening to "make big noises".

Three Women -- one of them very young and in tears, who were registered as domestic workers in terms of the moratorium came to complain that as soon as they were registered, their employers reduced their wages and began deducting from the reduced pay the registration fees charged by WRAB for the previous periods of illegal employment. One of them found a new job immediately and applied to be allowed to work out the period of her contract with the new employer. She was endorsed out. These employers evidently took the attitude that, as the registration was only valid as long as the woman remained in their employ, they could unmercifully exploit them.

Miss. K. -- is eighteen years old. She was orphaned and came to Johannesburg in 1976 when she was fifteen to live with her uncle who is her only male guardian. He owns his house in Soweto. She found a job and went to register on 30th October. Endorsed out.

Mr. N. -- comes from Mapumulo where he has a wife and two children. He lives with another woman in Johannesburg by whom he has one child. (A frequent consequence of the migrant labour system). He has been working legally in Johannesburg since 1963 but was prevented from aquiring urban rights by the introduction of the one year contract in 1968. His last contract ended on 20th June and was not renewed because his employer replaced all men with women workers. He found a new job and

has lawful accomodation in a hostel. Endorsed out on 26th September 1979. He has no land at home — just a small garden.

Mr. N. — is on contract to WRAB to 20th January 1980. He has been told that his contract is not to be renewed and says that he was told they don't want to employ contract workers anymore. He will have to return to Mount Frere and wait hopelessly for a new recruitment. His wife and five children, all under seven years of age are legal qualified residents of Johannesburg.

Mrs. T.N. — also comes from the Transkei. She was endorsed out of the East Rand last year. Her husband qualifies in terms of Section 10 (1) (b) and was told she could have a permit if he bought a house. He was told he would have to pay a deposit of R1,600. He earns R136.45 p.m as a telephone operator for one of the East Rand municipalities.

Mr. P.M. — qualifies in Port Elizabeth as 10(1)(b) and this was stamped in his Reference Book in September this year. He has a job with a big company in Johannesburg and accomodation in his cousin's home. Endorsed out.

Mr. S.M. — comes from Tseki near Witsieshoek in Qua Qua. He has a wife and two children aged 8 and 6 years. He has a garden about the size of two Johannesburg northern suburbs drawing rooms but nothing grows in it because there is no water. Every pailful has to be carried a considerable distance. He has trained as a carpenter and never once in the last three years since he completed his training has he been offered any kind of job at all through the tribal labour bureau. He has seen houses being built at Witsieshoek and has tried many times to get work there but there are never any vacancies. He has been working at piece jobs illegally in Johannesburg since last year. Found regular employment. Endorsed out. Lost the job.

Mrs. C.M. — comes from Mokokong near Potgietersrus. She began working in Johannesburg in 1963 but has never been registered and went back to Mokokong last year for some months. She had a job and was endorsed out on 18th October. Her husband has been in his present job for 16 years but cannot obtain any Section 10 rights because his employers did not register him until 1971. He will qualify as 10(1)(b) in 1981 if he stays in the job. If he loses it he will be refused new registration and will fall under the one year contract system losing all hope of ever qualifying in the future. They have 2 children. Her husband was furiously angry when we explained to him that the law does not permit his wife to live with him. He gathered up his seemingly meaningless marriage certificate and all the other documents and marched his wife out of the office. She came back 2 hours later to confront us. She said white people were always talking about black people getting an education and what was the point of her having studied for her matric when she is not allowed to work. She said: "Why don't you Whites do something about this. You make these laws and is there nothing for us?"

NEVER ON OUR KNEES

On November 15, 1979, a trial which became unique in the liberation struggle, ended in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. It closed with a death sentence for 24 year old ANC combatant, James Mncedisi Mange. The World's anti-apartheid forces are now working all-out to stop the apartheid murder.

James Mange had stood trial with his eleven comrades (sentenced to terms ranging

from 14-19 years) in what has become known as the ANC Treason Trial. The Twelve had faced charges of "High Treason" and 43 alternate counts under the Terrorism Act (see Sechaba November 1979). After a ruling that state witness evidence be heard in camera, the 12 dismissed their defence and charged the courts with being "part of the apparatus of the government". The trial continued with each accused in turn being "kidnapped" from their cells to hear the evidence against them. All were sentenced for contempt of court by the end of the 'trial'.

On the last day of the proceedings, the Treason Trialists held up three placards they had smuggled into the bullet-proof glass dock. Their message inspired our people and the world. The placards read: "APARTHEID IS A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY". "APARTHEID IS HIGH TREASON", and "NEVER ON OUR KNEES".

On hearing that the death sentence had been passed Mange remained calm, gave the ANC salute and shouted AMANDLA POWER! Before giving sentence Justice Heffer had warned accused no 12, James Mange, calling him a "ring leader" of the freedom songs that resounded from the dock throughout the trial. Mange was accused of reconnoitring a police station complex in Whittlesea, Cape Province, and recruiting other cadres with the intention of causing damage to it. What seemed to anger the racists most was his ability, when forced by the security police, to reassemble a faulty weapon in a fraction of the time taken by experienced South African Defence Force personnel.

The reaction to the death sentence was sharp — both nationally and internationally. In South Africa, an immediate statement by the Council of Churches stated that the tragedy of this sentence had been brought about "by the disasterous policies which have been pursued in this country for many years". The Soweto Committee of Ten reacted in protest stating that "these young men laid their lives on the line for liberation. They must have been powerfully motivated to act as they did". Dean Simon Nkoane of the Anglican Church expressed strong

feelings on the case saying that "the evil of apartheid is universally condemned and it is quite clear that one day South Africans will regard the ideology of apartheid as a blot on their history — lives such as those of Mange's must be saved". A statement from the Teachers' Action Committee said of Mange "He was driven by ideals which have a noble quality in them. Seeking liberation is a noble pursuit...". The most impassioned appeal came from Mange's 20 year old fiancée, Dipuo Pauline Moerane, who herself had just been released from nearly a year in detention, when she told the press: "Oh God, please let Mncedisi live for our three-year-old son's sake".

The death sentence brought worldwide condemnation from all opponents of apartheid. Vigorous campaigns are underway in the United Kingdom, France, FRG, Holland, Scandanavia and elsewhere to stop the execution. The World Peace Council declared December 16, 1979, South African Heroes Day, as a day of solidarity action with comrade Mange. In London a 12 hour fast, led by former South African political prisoners, was held to mark the occasion.

The African National Congress has called for no efforts to be spared in this campaign, demanding that prisoner of war status be accorded to Mange and his eleven comrades. The Treason Trialist's indictment of the apartheid 'legal' system, their courage, political strength and committment has put fear into the hearts of the racists. By putting them on trial the racists sought to intimidate our people and prove they were dealing with the force of liberation. But their plans hopelessly backfired. Our cadres' strength comes from the oppressed people of South Africa — the working masses whom they represent.

STOP THE APARTHEID MURDER OF JAMES MANGE!

IOJ MEETING

L'ORGANISATION INTERNATIONALE DES JOURNALISTES

décerne

à *SOUTH AFRICAN JOURNALISTS CIRCLE*



MÉDAILLE D'HONNEUR
JULIUS FUČÍK DE L'O. I. J.

pour les mérites extraordinaires dans le domaine du développement
de la paix, de la coopération internationale et de la compréhension
entre les peuples

Karel Vandierck
Président

PRAGUE.

Jm Kutse
Secrétaire général

In November 1979, the 19th Session of the Executive Committee of the International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) took place.

The IOJ is the largest international journalist organisation in the world with more than 150,000 members all over the world — 120 countries — including the liberation movement of South Africa. Its headquarters are in Prague. Its leadership

organs as well as its membership are international and also its outlook; it has an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist stand. It supports materially, politically and morally the liberation movements of Africa and all those who fight against imperialism and colonialism.

At this session 98 journalists from all over the world — socialist countries, Western

Europe, Middle East, Asia, Canada, Africa and Latin America — met to discuss problems connected with strengthening the IOJ; problems facing journalists in their countries; questions of regional cooperation; in short they spoke the language of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racism.

The very fact that this session was held in Hanoi, the capital of heroic and unified Vietnam — the Socialist Republic of Vietnam — was of great significance and an inspiration to all those who participated. The Journalists had also the opportunity to visit Ho-Chi-Minh-City and Phnom Penh, to visit factories and to discuss with their Vietnamese and Kampuchean colleagues, workers and party functionaries about the struggle of the Indo-Chinese people and the anti-imperialist struggle which in Indo-China has a distinct feature in that China is a real threat to the revolutionary gains of the Indo-Chinese people.

At this session revolutionary journalists were awarded prizes for their commitment to the anti-imperialist cause and their contribution to the development of progressive, democratic journalism in their countries. Also our South African Journalists' Circle — member of the IOJ — the core of revolutionary journalists fighting for national liberation in South Africa under the banner and leadership of the African National Congress was awarded the Julius Fucik medal, the highest award of the IOJ.

This we regard as a recognition of our modest contribution and what is more as direct expression of solidarity with our people.

HO—CHI—MINH CITY APPEAL

One of the moving scenes of the session was the adoption of an appeal in Ho-Chi-Minh-City:

1) From the heroic city named after President Ho Chi Minh which stood in the forefront of the struggle against the French colonialists and the US interventionists, a place where a historic campaign successfully ended the Vietnamese people's war and now has to confront Peking's treacherous sabotaging manoeuvres.

We, representing various press organisations and groups and journalists from various countries in Europe, Asia, America and Africa, who came here to attend the 19th plenary session of the Executive Committee of the IOJ, the largest international press organisation in the world with over 150,000 members from 120 countries, express our admiration for and profound sentiment towards the Vietnamese people for their great victories in their staunch struggle over the past half century for independence, freedom and national sovereignty, for the legitimate right to live and for human dignity.

Having totally foiled two big imperialist powers' policies of aggression, completely liberated the South and reunified their countries, the Vietnamese people have no other earnest aspiration than to concentrate their efforts on healing the wounds of 30 Years of war, overcoming the serious consequences left by imperialism, stabilizing their material and spiritual life, and carrying out a foreign policy of peace, friendship and cooperation with other countries. But the Vietnamese people have to, once again, face with new plots and acts of aggression by the expansionists and hegemonists in the Peking ruling circles.

What is most striking in the present situation is that the reactionary clique within the Peking leadership have become a big threat to peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. The Peking reactionary clique, in collusion with the warmongers in the United States, Japan and some western countries, launched a war of aggression against Viet Nam and the other Indochinese countries, carrying out armed provocations along their common borders with many neighbouring countries, encouraging the arms race and agitating for world war.

To serve their dark designs mentioned above, Peking's and other international reactionaries' mass media are conducting a campaign of frame-ups and slanders in an attempt to divert public opinion from their own policy of sabotaging peace and cooperation between nations. Consequently the situation in Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos is very tense at present. Peace and stability in South East Asia and the world

over are seriously threatened.

Once again the IOJ affirms its fraternal solidarity with and total support for the Vietnamese people who are resolutely struggling to safeguard peace, national sovereignty and territorial integrity, against aggression by Peking expansionists and hegemonists.

We call on the progressive public opinion the world over to give strong support to the Vietnamese people as they did in the latter's struggle against imperialist aggression over the past half century.

The whole progressive mankind will shout in chorus: "HANDS OFF VIETNAM!".

We warmly welcome the Kampuchean people who, after having freed themselves from the genocidal regime, are reviving and, under the leadership of the National United Front for National Salvation and the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea, striving to overcome all difficulties and build a new peaceful, happy life. We cannot be in agreement with the resolution recently adopted at the United Nations General Assembly, a resolution totally out of conformity with the reality in Kampuchea, where the Pol Pot - Ieng Sary regime, Peking's tool, has been eliminated and where the People's Revolutionary Council of Kampuchea is the sole legitimate administration. Whichever action aimed at intervening in Kampuchea's internal affairs is erroneous and cannot reverse the situation.

We totally support the Lao people who are struggling against the Peking expansionists' scheme of sabotage, subversion and aggression and are striving to build a peaceful, independent, unified, democratic, prosperous and socialist Laos.

2) From this well known city on the Indochinese peninsula, faced with war threats by Chinese expansionism and hegemonism, we solemnly declare that:

* We hail the signing of SALT 11 by the Soviet Union and the United States, and consider it as an important step forward in the struggle to defend peace, to ease world tension, and proceed to complete disarmament : at the same time, we sternly condemn imperialism for its arms-race and

war preparations which threaten world peace.

* We fully support the Soviet Union's new peace initiatives and consider them as an important step in disarmament and detente and in maintaining world peace.

* We resolutely condemn the imperialists' dark schemes to install US nuclear weapons in Western Europe.

* We welcome the Sixth Non-Aligned Summit Conference held recently in Havana and express our satisfaction that the Non-Aligned Movement is a mighty force full of vitality and will and developing its struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and all other forms of oppression, for the complete political and economic independence of nations.

* We hail the correct proposals by Viet Nam, Laos, Kampuchea and people of good will for building South East Asia into a region of peace, independence, stability, neutrality and prosperity.

* We hail the glorious victory of the heroic Nicaraguan people who have overthrown the Somoza dictatorial regime and are vigorously marching forward in the way of building a new life and making active contributions to the common struggle for freedom of the peoples in Latin America and other continents.

* We support the vigorous progress made along the revolutionary path by the people of Grenada, the actions of the patriots of Chile, Salvador, Argentina, Uruguay, Guatemala, Haiti, and Paraguay as well as the struggle of other Latin American peoples against the various dictatorial and fascist regimes.

* We support the struggle of the Puerto Rican people for their independence, self-determination and sovereignty, and we support the ceaseless struggle of the people of Panama for the complete recovery of their territory.

* We denounce the menaces of the reactionary Guatemalan regime that undermines the independence of Belize.

* We support the Palestinian people's just cause as well as the Arab people's struggle for recovery of all their territories still occupied by the Israeli aggressors; and condemn the US imperialists and Israel for their separate treaty and machinations

against the sacred interests of the Palestinian and other Arab peoples.

* We support the Afghan and Ethiopian peoples' staunch struggles for the defence of their sovereignty, independence and revolutionary gains, and affirm our solidarity with the Angola and Mozambique peoples who have been subjected to frequent aggressive attacks by colonialist and racist administrations.

* We support the struggle of the peoples in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa and other peoples in Africa against the barbarity of colonialism and apartheid and oppose the South African administration's attempt to possess nuclear weapons, which constitute a fatal danger for other peoples.

* We support the struggle of the Western Saharan people for their independence and sovereignty, and condemn, the US imperialists for their attempt to maintain their armed forces in South Korea, thus obstructing the Korean people's national reunification.

* We support the struggle to turn the Indian Ocean into a region of peace, and demand the abolition of US military bases, especially that on Diego Garcia.

* We support the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

From this city, bearing the name of a great revolutionary journalist, comrade Ho Chi Minh, we appeal to all progressive and democratic journalists to use, in the present international situation, their professional means for a still more effective struggle for:

* Peace, national independence, democracy and social progress, against imperialism, old and new colonialism, apartheid, zionism and other international reactionary forces;

* for the basic lawful rights of a man: to live in an independent and free country, to be a real master of it, to enjoy fully the economic, political, cultural and social rights as well as duties, to stand up firmly against racism, pauperisation, obscurantism and all forms of oppression and exploitation;

* for a new international economic order, which would be just and rational, established on equality and mutual advantage and would ensure for all peoples of the world the right

to be proprietors of their own natural resources and would enable them to develop the economy of their countries which would open to the nations the perspective of a happy life in peace;

* for the democratic and progressive press, for the new international information order, serving the truth and justice, peace and friendship among nations, against disinformation, lies and calumnies, aimed at provoking disputes and hatred among nations and prepare in that way the war; for the implementation of the UNESCO's statement on the fundamental principles of all information media to contribute to consolidating peace and mutual understanding, to promote human rights and to struggle against racism, apartheid and war.

Being aware of the responsibility of the press towards the public and of our noble professional ethics, let us unite our efforts in a common struggle for common aims, let us reflect truly the events and the substance of our epoch, the basic situation in the world, the truth of the nations struggling for independence and freedom, let us take up a leading position and declare an offensive on the front of the public opinion against the shameless plots and propaganda campaigns initiated by imperialism and forces of international reaction.

Defending the truth and justice, let us condemn, at the right moment, the slanderous and false propaganda campaigns, harming independence, sovereignty and honour of the peoples.

Fulfilling these noble tasks, we — the journalists — serve in dignity the peoples and progressive mankind in their grandiose struggle for a happy tomorrow and a new life without war or the arms race.

Participants of the 19th meeting of the IOJ Executive Committee in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, November 1979.

VISIT TO IRAN

A delegation of the African National Congress of South Africa led by its Secretary General, Comrade Alfred Nzo, had a working visit in Iran from 15th to 20th November 1979, the Year of the Spear. During the course of its stay, our delegation had very fruitful and friendly discussions with the Head of the Political Department of the Islamic Republic Party, Dr. Hassan Ayat, and with the Foreign Minister, Mr. Benisadr.

In the course of the wide-ranged discussions, the ANC delegation on behalf of its entire membership and fighting masses of our embattled motherland also took the opportunity to express its profound gratitude over the revolutionary action

taken by the people and the Government of Iran shortly after the victory of their revolution early this year, when they cut all bilateral, political, economic and diplomatic relations with the racist minority regime in South Africa, in solidarity with the just cause of our people.

A desire was expressed by both sides that everything should be done to further build and strengthen existing solidarity relations between the Iranian people and our people. For that purpose it is hoped that a high-powered delegation of the ANC led by its President, Comrade Oliver Tambo, will visit Iran shortly. Similar sentiments were expressed when our delegation visited Sheik Mohammed Montazeri.

AWARD FOR MANDELA

Comrade Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela has been awarded Jawaharlal Nehru Award for 1979. This was announced by the Indian Vice-President Mohammed Hidayatullah. The Nehru Award was given to comrade Nelson for his contribution to the "African liberation struggles".

The Nehru Award, worth about r10,200, was begun by the Indian Government in 1965 to honour people who have made outstanding contributions to the promotion of international understanding.

The earlier recipients include Mother Teresa, this year's Nobel Prize winner, Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere, Yugoslav President Josip Broz Tito, Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, polio vaccine pioneer Dr. Jonas Salk of the USA and US civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King,

who got the award posthumously.

The ANC regards this award as a recognition of the sacrifices made by comrades Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg and many others of our leaders and rank and file who are languishing on Robben Island and other prisons in South Africa. This prize is a further confirmation of the anti-colonial and anti-racist commitment which has characterised the history of the Indian liberation struggle and in turn became a bridge which unites the Indian people and South African people since the early day of Gandhi.

We are firmly committed to the anti-colonial struggle and the Non-aligned movement whose recent conference in Havana showed beyond any doubt that our friends all over the world are with us.

INTERVIEW WITH NJOBE

Recently Sechaba had the wonderful opportunity of meeting Comrade Njobe, Principal of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, in Mazimbu, near Morogoro, Tanzania. Sechaba interviewed Comrade Njobe on the tasks of the school, its programme, problems and also the successes they have made in this regard. Comrade Njobe had this to say:

“Problems there are of course because we are a revolutionary movement and so we expect them. The problems are varied. The building of this College is one of the first projects of this nature for the African National Congress, a project for the people of South Africa. Therefore, naturally, lacking the wide experience in this type of work, we should expect to get these types of problems, But they are just teething problems. I think we are getting over them and making very wonderful strides. In fact I am convinced that the College is born and it will never die.

Now this is a college of particular significance to us, to the ANC, to the people of South Africa. You can see from the name that has been chosen for this college — Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. The late Comrade Solomon Mahlangu, sacrificed by the fascists on April 6, 1979, was a cadre who typified the calibre expected of our youth at the present stage of our revolution. He symbolises the type of revolutionary we expect to develop out of the College.

The whole College its nature is dedicated primarily to the youth of our country so that through it they must be able to equip themselves for liberating our country. In this way it is a college of a particular significance to the whole of our people because it offers an education for liberation: To liberate us now, to give the students the right political orientation, to be able to face the problems of reconstruction after

independence. In the process of transforming the South African society into a new liberated society we hope that the ideas and traditions which are going to be developed at the College are the ones which will guide that type of work.

The College aims at really giving a comprehensive education to our students. We are thinking of educating to take over a country which is highly developed and therefore in our curriculum we stretch over from ordinary academic subjects, including all sciences and humanities, to skills in the vocational and technical fields — commercial skills, secretarial skills, and all skills along these lines. As you know, in the fascist education in South Africa, these are called skills for the white people. We are not educating for a special group of people here, we are educating our cadres to cover the whole spectrum of activity in our country so that we can be liberated politically and economically as well as mentally.

We are trying to build a new personality in the College — a liberated personality. You know the effects of colonial oppression was to obscure the personality of our people — to depress the black man in such a way that he does not see himself as being worth anything. At the College, we also aim at building a new personality — a revolutionary personality in our youth which will be able to face the many problems of our struggle.

The school has grown in an unprecedented way which is very encouraging. At the basis of the whole concept of putting up a school here, we are trying to concretise a protest, a protest against all that Apartheid stands for. The rapid advances and gains which the concretisation of this process is making, makes us feel very much inspired that in fact it is a thermometer which indicates the pace at which our revolution is



Students on the site at Mazimbu

advancing towards our total liberation, under the leadership of the African National Congress. For instance, when we started, the number of students was about 50, but now this number has increased by more than 300%. The staff itself has increased more than 500% since then. Within the space of about 6 months, we are able to say now that in all we have got a staff role of between 20 and 30 and of these 70% are teaching staff and there are many more in the pipeline. On both the numbers of students and staff what really is limited at the present time is the problem of accommodation. We tell them to wait a bit until we are ready to accommodate them.

You can see that that kind of rapid development, the arrivals of most students and staff, in the rapid work which is going on in construction, very admirable and very challenging work is going on there. It's something which all South Africans everywhere can be proud of — even those who have not seen the College. When you talk about Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College, please have your head up because it means you are talking about a college of the

people of South Africa. Those people who are working on the site are very conscious of this and we are doing our best to make a really good job. I think this is not just optimism.

Recently we had a visiting team from various United Nations organisations including representatives from UNESCO, WHO, ILO, UNICEF and so on. A number of them were taken through the classrooms and the construction work. They ended saying that they were really surprised at the amount of work that had been done without any expertise from anywhere else — using ANC expertise, our comrades who were building — there were no contractors there. We were using our own bricklayers, our own architects — they are doing it as part of service to the revolution. Therefore I think we can say that the atmosphere at the College is one of enthusiasm, determination and more than that it is one of very comradely spirit which will characterise the society of a free South Africa.

Of course as I said the problems are plentiful — we need money, we haven't got money, our money is used by the

fascists. We have a concrete thing here where we want to demonstrate to the world our ability to do things for ourselves. The type of school we are building here is not the type of school which the fascists could ever build. We want to demonstrate this but we have no funds because our country is not free. So we would like the international community, our supporters to realise this. We appreciate their support. We would like them to give more liberally to the work of the school because we want to buy equipment: books, office equipment, stationery, teaching aids, sporting equipment. We have hardly anything for sport — no track suits, football boots, no shorts, shirts etc. We are short of a number of things which we are hoping to be able to realise through international support. Of course the whole College has come into concrete existence through the help of the international community and therefore we would like our friends and supporters to realise we need more aid and we need it in really substantial amounts so that we will be able to construct this monument of protest against Apartheid and all that it stands for.

Presently, our main financiers have consisted of SIDA, the Swedish organisation. They have given us a lot of aid which made it possible for us to start. Of course we have had very substantial support from Dutch organisations, support groups including the Anti-Apartheid Movement and many others who have been very active. We are just beginning to mobilise the international agencies, particularly those of the United Nations. We have made contacts now with UNESCO, ILO, UNICEF, WHO, FAO, we are trying to contact almost all of them. The reason for this is that we did not want to bring them in at the beginning, the ANC preferred to show first of all the way — that is to make our own effort in starting the building and work of the school.

In November we were locked in discussions with these representatives of these organisations. They have constituted themselves into a multi-component constituency. The meetings which we had with them which included an actual visit on the site on the 6th of November. At the end of that

many of them confessed that they had never had an experience of this nature before where they are invited to a programme which has already started. I remember an architect amongst them who was so impressed with the actual neatness and accuracy of the construction work and the good planning that has been put into it, that I heard him say: "I think some of the training centres must send their artisans here to come and see how to get walls straight". After the discussions we had with them, they are to produce a project document.

We are looking forward as you can see with brighter hopes than ever because the whole project is beginning to roll on and we are sure that when these UN organisations come in they will do so remembering the commitment of the UN against the heinous crimes of Apartheid in our country. We hope that we shall be able to demonstrate through the monument of this college, the international abhorrence of Apartheid and all its crimes. This is what the international community should bear in mind. We are fighting fascism here, the world must be united against it. Some people say they don't want to buy bullets and so on, well we have an education programme now. We would like the fascists in particular, to be left in no doubt whatsoever about the feeling of the world about this. This must be demonstrated by the success of Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College.

Our students have definitely demonstrated a political maturity of being able to see education for slavery, education that is not theirs — designed from outside by people who are designing it for their own interests and this is the type of education they were being offered in South Africa. They rejected it — they burned the schools correctly. They must burn the schools and continue to burn them. But here now we are different, the students see this now. This is their own school, it is not the kind of school they would ever think of burning. In fact they like it and are trying to build it. It's a school in which they participate, which is giving them education for liberation not for slavery."

In our day-to-day programme, we involve

HAROLD



AND SERGEANT, CAN YOU KILL IDEAS WITH IT ?

them at all levels. In the administrative structure of the College you find that students are represented. They come in for discussions. I think the difference now is that here we have got a school which is a school for liberation and which is seen as such by the students. They show enthusiasm by initiating and making suggestions on a number of things which they would like to see in their school. We begin to see more and more of this. For instance take the whole sphere of culture here, this is really engineered by the students themselves — they are bringing up new ideas, they have composed new poems and songs which we are going to include into our curriculum of teaching.

There is a difference therefore here. We are in the whole curriculum against apartheid. We are teaching to destroy all tendencies towards stratification of societies into exploiting classes. We would like to create a school of comradeship. That is why the staff come nearer to the students. Of course the authority of the staff is not

undermined by that but they come here to discuss the problems of the students. When the students have got problems we do not just mete out punishment or bring guns like the fascists. No, when they have got problems we go into a meeting and discuss the problems. Invariably the students have gone into this frame of mind of thinking how to solve their problems from a political approach and understanding and we are getting every cooperation from them — to the extent that half the time we do not have the usual school problems of too much discipline. Most of the time they run their own affairs. Anyone of them that does anything wrong has got to face the others in order to account for his action. We are trying to develop along these lines because this is what we want to see in our future South African society. ”

OUR BISHOP

On Monday December 10, 1979 — a day which coincided with the 31st anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights — the British Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a meeting to celebrate the 80th birthday of Dr Ambrose Reeves.

Messages from all over the world — from organisations of a diverse nature — were read Comrade Oliver Tambo, the President of the African National Congress, delivered the main speech. He reviewed the life and activities of Dr Ambrose Reeves, a man who believes with a concentrated passion in the justice of the struggle against oppression and inhumanity; a man so sensitive and perceptive; a man who dedicated all his energy, with a great measure of sacrifice, to the cause of our people. Dr Ambrose Reeves personifies the principles of the United Nations.

Who is Dr Ambrose Reeves?

Ambrose Reeves, "our Bishop", as many Africans called him, was Bishop of Johannesburg for eleven years, until the South African Government deported him in September 1960. As a visitor to South Africa during those years remarked, "No good cause, no suffering individual, no frightened victim of some government policy hesitated to seek help from this man, whose great energy and wisdom sparked and guided and challenged. Were there mass arrests, the Bishop would find money to defend the accused; were there students protesting the closing of their universities to non-whites, the Bishop would be there to inspire. Was there a great threat of mass evictions — see the Bishop, he would know what to do — he would get money, or speak out, or soothe clashing points of view."

On December 6 the Bishop was eighty. He was born in 1899 in Norwich, a provincial town in England. His father, a chemist, died when he was a child and as the family

was far from prosperous, Ambrose's education came mainly from scholarships which he won more through determination than brilliance. Small, wiry and bespectacled, he was a thoughtful youth and his imagination was kindled by Dostoevsky's novels — a world of suffering and joy, conflict and peace, that reminded him of his common humanity with rogues as well as with saints.

During the first World War, aged seventeen, he joined up; poor eyesight prevented him from being sent to the front, but his experience of serving alongside soldiers who were often illiterate drew him to ideas of working for social reconstruction based on Christian teaching. After studying history at Cambridge, where he took an increasing interest in matters of immediate social concern as well as international affairs, he decided to become a priest in the Anglican Church.

During the 1920's, whether working in parishes or for the Student Christian Movement, he went to the heart of problems — social, cultural and political. Whenever he moved into a new situation he methodically studied the facts then reflected or agonised until he could see what action to take, and then went right ahead and acted, with boundless energy. His international involvements were widening — in 1926 he studied at the General Theological Seminary in New York, in the early 'thirties his work took him through Poland, Denmark, Bulgaria then, in Geneva, he was liaison officer for the World Student Christian Federation. He was keenly interested both in the ecumenical movement and the Christian/Marxist dialogue.

In 1937 he became a rector of a city parish in Liverpool — it was a time of widespread unemployment, then of war, when the city was heavily bombed. With his wife, Margaret van Ryssen, who had been a fellow-

worker in the Student Christian Movement, and their 4 children he made a home there and set about the work of reconstruction, both material and spiritual, in Liverpool. As he wrote then: "The Church has to bear the burden of the slums which are the product of industrial civilisation with all the degradation and vice that they cause ... The Church has to share the shame and the trickery and dishonesty which pass for good business; The Church has to know the anguish of the ruthlessness of Civil War and the futility of international war." It was in the crisis of a dock strike in 1945 that Reeves's understanding of the strikers' case and his ability to work with them helped him succeed in bringing the conflicting sides together. His reputation had by now spread far beyond Liverpool, beyond England, in 1948 he was a delegate to the founding Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Amsterdam, where he was elected to the Central Committee and Executive Council; in the following year, 1949, he was elected Bishop by the diocese of Johannesburg.

It was a crucial time in South Africa; the Afrikaner Nationalists had recently come to power with their policy of apartheid. The world knew little about South Africa's racial policy, though Alan Paton's novel, "Cry, the Beloved Country", and the Reverend Michael Scott's testimonies to the United Nations were, in their different ways, putting that country on the map of international concern.

Reeves, as always, took time to study the background and facts — for instance, the attitudes of the Dutch Reformed Church; indeed, after a year, he considered that the burning issue was not the subject of race, but the "pattern which an industrialised society like ours is to take..." But as law after law was passed to extend apartheid and to silence the protestors, he came repeatedly to challenge the authorities, always basing action on a study of the facts. And he challenged white complacency, especially in his diocese.

The first major confrontation with the Government was over Bantu Education between 1953 and 1955. Missions and Churches had a long history of providing education for Africans, and the Government

intended to eradicate what it saw as their subversive influence. Anglican schools included St Peter's in Johannesburg where many black leaders — among them Oliver Tambo — were educated. Reeves denounced Bantu Education — a system aimed at the intellectual crippling of a whole nation. He declared "Whatever the cost, we must make it plain to the Government, the members of our Church and all the African people that we disagree so profoundly with the policy ... that we cannot be a party to it in any shape or form." Rather than sell the schools to the Government, as the law demanded, he led his diocese in closing them down and refusing to sell. Father Trevor Huddleston CR, (later to be Bishop of Masasi, then of Mauritius and now also Archbishop of the Province of the Indian Ocean), who also played a leading part in opposing the Government, said: "I believe history will vindicate the Bishop's courageous and lonely stand ... the hardest thing, perhaps in the world, is to stand by the principle to the end ... It is much harder when one is caught up into the deep and bitter suffering of the people one loves most dearly."

It was indeed a lonely stand for these men — in the Anglican community it was the Diocese of Johannesburg alone that resisted. And the Bishop toured the United States and Britain, addressing mass meetings on what was being done in South Africa. "His stand against Bantu Education, his refusal to collaborate in any way with the Government," says a present-day leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, "was most remarkable and has earned the respect of young blacks today." It was against the policy of Bantu Education that black students rose in protest in 1976.

Simultaneously, the Bishop was leading the Citizens' Housing League in protests against enforced removals under the Group Areas Act. He protested against the death penalty and its terrible toll of black victims.

And all the time the work of the diocese went ahead. During his years there 70 new churches were opened. Yet he was never too busy to attend to an individual in real need — many of them old and the sick in black townships. Meanwhile his home was a centre not only for diverse local committees but for visitors wanting to learn about South

Africa; the realities, not Government — or business-organised tours.

Early one morning in December 1956, 155 men and women of all races were arrested in a country-wide sweep, and charged with High Treason. On the same day the Bishop agreed to become Chairman of a Defence Fund and obtained money to secure the services of some of South Africa's finest advocates and to guarantee the large sum necessary to enable the accused to be released on bail. This prompt action, and the Fund's subsequent support of dependents of the accused must have been a shocking setback to the State. Committees in other parts of South Africa and abroad substantially supported the Treason Trial Defence Fund but it was the Johannesburg Committee that bore the brunt. Comprised of an academic, an architect, a housewife, a stockbroker, a child psychiatrist and other such diverse people, under the Bishop's bluntly practical chairmanship, the Committee worked hard, meeting each week to take immediate decisions — not only organising year after year the raising of funds but the welfare work involved in the distribution. The Bishop liaised between a Committee of the accused and the Defence team. As one of the accused said: "The Bishop was the moving spirit in rallying many freedom-loving South Africans of all colours, creeds and shades of opinion. This five years of our lives was made bearable by their support."

All the accused were eventually found "Not Guilty".

In the early days of the trial, when a huge crowd of Africans, protesting outside the court at the arrest of their leaders, was confronted by trigger-happy young white policemen who had already fired shots, the Bishop, accompanied by another member of his committee, intervened to avert what could have been an ugly and tragic situation.

Only those who have worked with the Bishop in the thick of the struggle can fully appreciate how the strength, determination and devotion of this small wiry, intensely human man, inspired others. His dry sense of humour was always stimulating.

During the Treason Trial, Africans in Alexandra township, on the outskirts of Johannesburg, began a boycott of buses; too poor to pay a small rise in fare they walked, each morning and evening, the eighteen miles to and from work. Police raids, arrests and other forms of intimidation failed to break their determination. As in Liverpool, the Bishop became intimately involved in the crisis, going between African leaders in the trial and the Boycott Committee, visiting the townships to see for himself, then helping to negotiate with members of the Bus Company and Chamber of Commerce. The strike was satisfactorily settled: the Africans continued to pay the old fare.

Chief Lutuli, late President General of the African National Congress (who was later to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace) wrote: "In every time of crisis for my people, the Bishop was at hand to advise and assist them in their difficulty."

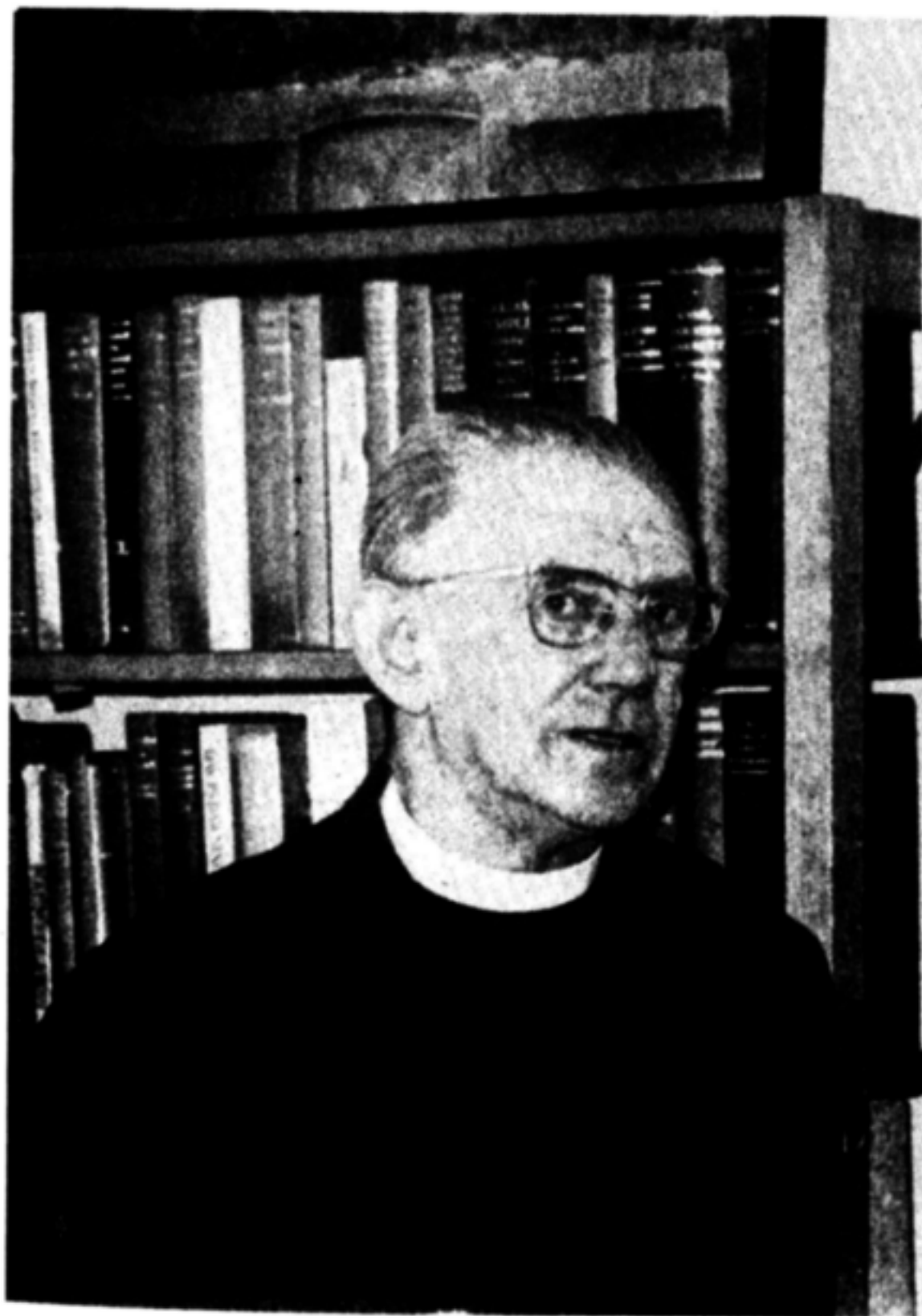
Towards the end of the 1950's Africans intensified their protests against the most-hated of all the oppressive laws — the Pass Laws. In support of the ANC plans, which also included demands for the raising of African wages and abolition of Bantustans, the Bishop brought together a Committee of 14 Organisations ranging from moderate liberals to the far left — an unusual achievement in South Africa. One of the liberals said: "Ambrose Reeves is a superb chairman — not because he is impartial, he isn't, but because he has the ability to drive a meeting on to conclusions... he is relentless in cutting through irrelevancies until a consensus — and it really is a consensus — is reached". While a Marxist remarked: "He was able to stimulate the positive and suppress the negative traits in those he worked with. He was able to stop arguments about philosophical differences and focus attention on burning issues."

In March 1960 the Sharpville massacre took place. At Sharpville location, in the diocese of Johannesburg, a massive crowd of men, women and children gathered peaceably outside the police station. The massacre that followed outraged the world. The moment the Bishop heard the terrible news he went to Baragwanath Hospital

to visit the wounded; urgently he arranged for lawyers to take affidavits so that they could claim for damages against the Minister of Justice and the police, and he organised contact with the families of those killed and wounded to help with their problems and welfare needs. Undeterred by police obstructiveness he went on to feed the press with the facts, and to appeal for funds for the families afflicted. (He had, only a few months earlier, helped to arrange for a lawyer to represent Chief Hosea Kutako and the Heroes after a similar shooting by police in Windhoek location in Namibia).

At a time when the Government was rounding up thousands of all races, had declared a State of Emergency and was about to outlaw ANC, the Bishop left for Swaziland - immediately to escape being

silenced by the police and then, when he went on to England, where he had been due to spend long leave, to speak out. His departure caused much controversy — it is significant that those most bitterly critical were white members of his diocese and of the clergy who had most disapproved of him, or resented autocratic treatment, while African and left-wing comment was sympathetic. He returned to South Africa in September; two days later Security Police — without charge or trial — deported him after tricking his lawyer and diocesan staff so that they were unable to reach him. At rallies thousands protested. The Rand Daily Mail commented: "The Deportation is an event of immense and horrifying significance... Bishop Reeves is a forthright man of God... Quite rightly he sees no borderline between "politics" and "religion".". The



Bishop Ambrose Reeves

newspaper pointed out that he had "committed the crime of meddling in politics on the wrong side." It went on: "If he had decided that, in the name of Christianity the Africans should be pushed back into their Bantustans, he would have been tolerated or even acclaimed. But he spoke up for Africans living under apartheid, he enjoyed the confidence of African leaders, he helped end the bus boycott without shooting, he thought the police acted wrongly at Sharpsville and said so, and to crown it all, he saw that his views were well known overseas. So he had to be eliminated." (13 September 1960).

Back in England, far from the Church celebrating and supporting this great Christian, it found him an embarrassment. He was eventually offered minor posts that were manifestly unsuitable yet he remained loyal and never spoke publicly about his increasingly difficult position. He kept busy, writing books, travelling widely and lecturing. For a time he worked as General Secretary of the Students Christian Movement, touring universities and trying to push new life into its activity. At the age of 66 he reverted to being a parish priest in Sussex, which gave him time for his many activities: he was President of the British Committee of the Christian Peace Conference, of a local Fabian group and he maintained close links with International Defence and Aid. In 1966 he went on a mission to Vietnam with others who had been active in the struggle for peace and justice, a fact-finding mission into whether or not Hanoi had been bombed by the American air force, and to explore possibilities for ending the conflict. The mission was able to see some American prisoners and bring back letters from them to their families. As always when coming from an area of conflict, Reeves saw members of the British Government and Parliament and, in America, of the Administration and Congress, to convey to them what he had witnessed.

In 1970 he was elected President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and he immediately applied his characteristic dedication to this work. He had earlier, in 1963, visited the United Nations, and has continued to work closely with the United Nations

Special Committee against Apartheid. He has travelled widely in Britain, Europe and Africa to promote the work of the Anti Apartheid Movement.

In 1972 he retired and with his wife is living in a small town on the south coast of England. Since his time in South Africa there has been no comparable leader of the Church of whom Africans could say, he is "our Bishop".

On this 80th birthday of Bishop Ambrose Reeves the ANC wishes him many happy returns of the day and we are certain that the young generation of South Africans fighting against Bantu Education and Apartheid will always be inspired by his actions which reflect the spirit of honest anti-apartheid British citizens.

**STOP
THE
APART
HEID
MURDER
OF
JAMES
MANGE**

QWAQWA

Qwaqwa is a very small territory in the north eastern corner of the Orange Free State, bordering on Natal and the Kingdom of Lesotho. At present Qwaqwa covers an area of 48,234 ha of which only 7,400 ha is fertile agricultural land — while 30% comprises mountainous ground which is unsuitable for cultivation. The additional 13,766 ha of land which is still to be purchased is, however, less mountainous — negotiations are already underway to purchase such land from the so-called Bophuthatswana and the Transkei, by the South African Bantu Trust funded by the racist regime. This territory has been designated by the apartheid regime as the so-called homeland of the 1,439,000 Sotho speaking people of our country.

Structure and Administration

Various South African Acts and Proclamations imposed administrative structures and "powers" on various territories which provided a framework within which the racist Bantustan programme could be realised.

On November 1, 1974, after going through various stages, the territory was accorded the second phase of "self-government" in terms of the Constitution Proclamation R203 of 1974. This gave Qwaqwa the "right" to make "laws" as a so-called self-governing area under the provision of Chapter 11 of the Homelands Constitution Act (Act 21 of 1971). This also provided for a partly-elected "legislative assembly" and a "cabinet". The cabinet, in which executive powers are supposed to be vested, consists of a "Chief-Minister" and another six "ministers" and must include the two tribal chiefs of the area. The other five members are elected by secret ballot from the ranks of the so-

called Legislative Assembly which is composed of 60 members.

Legislative Assembly

This is made up as follows:

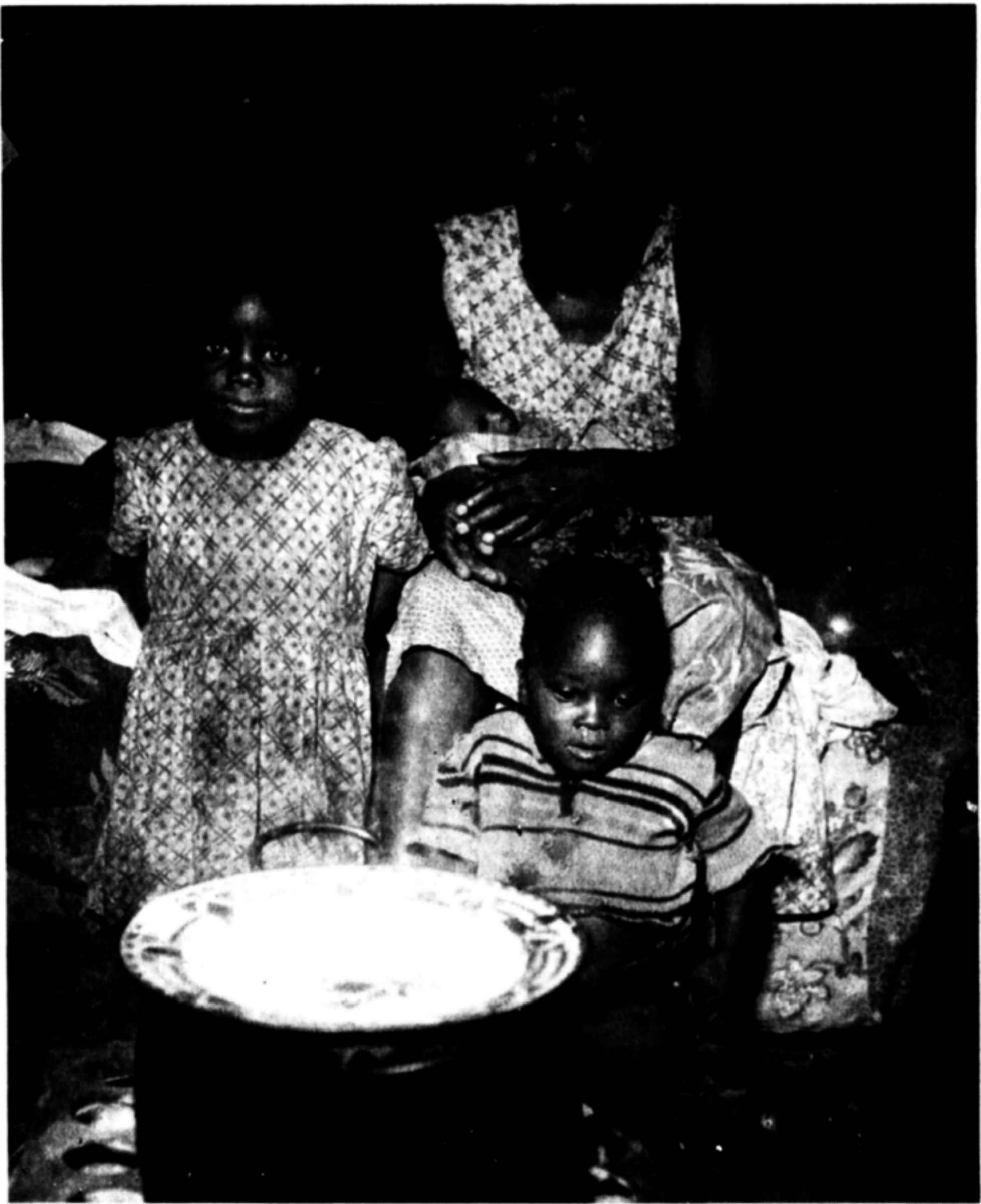
- * 40 members designated by the two tribal authorities; 26 Councillors of the Kwena tribal authority, including the tribal chief; and 14 Councillors of the Tlokwa tribal authority, including the tribal chief
- * 20 members "elected" by the so-called enfranchised (sic!) citizens of Qwaqwa

Responsibilities of the "Government"

- * the administration and control of the established departments
- * education and welfare services
- * construction, maintenance, management and control of clinics and hospitals
- * planning, construction, control and management of business undertakings
- * all aspects of agriculture
- * public works and undertakings
- * control and administration of lower courts
- * labour bureaux
- * direct taxation
- * intoxicating liquor
- * personnel for the "government" service
- * protection of life, property and persons
- * maintenance of law and order
- * administration of estates
- * immigration control
- * births, deaths and marriages
- * immigration control

In terms of Section 4 of the Act, the Qwaqwa "Government" does not yet have control over the following:

- * defence, manufacture of weapons, ammunition etc
- * the appointment, accrediting and recog-



A struggle for survival in their "homeland"

dition of diplomatic and consular officials
and the conclusion of international
conventions, treaties and agreements

* police, posts, radio and television services

* railways, customs and excise and
currency

* the amendment, repeal or substitution
of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act



Economy

The gross "national" income is the income earned by the permanent inhabitants (including migrant workers who are temporarily absent) by their economic activities both inside Qwaqwa and outside Qwaqwa. This increased from R3,2 million in 1970/71 to R14,1 million in 1974/75. Migrant worker income (R8,9m) constituted by far the largest part of the latter amount and since 1970/71 it has shown the biggest increase. Altogether 70.9 per cent of the total was earned in industries outside the area, which once again points to the inability of Qwaqwa to set economic development in motion inside the area; and to the major role that the South African economy plays in the economic life of the inhabitants of Qwaqwa.

Why is this so? Although the area has favourable climatic conditions for agriculture, unfortunately these are largely negated by the topography of the region. Furthermore, Qwaqwa is very mountainous and this limits the area that can even be used for agricultural purposes. The agricultural potential of land suitable for cultivation varies and the high population density of about 400 people per square km also poses serious problems. A soil survey showed that 7,400ha is land with a high agricultural potential. Of this area about 2,400ha has already been taken up by settlements which are a result of the intensified mass removals' scheme of the racists. A further 1,500ha

with a gradient of 30 degrees or more is unsuitable for agriculture. At present only 83,0 per cent of this arable land is being utilized while 59ha of land suitable for irrigation is not being used at all.

Grazing and forestry land amount to 81,7 and 0,7 per cent respectively of all the land. This makes the grazing potential of Qwaqwa to be very low.

The population pressure illustrates the necessity of reserving available land for agriculture, although the agricultural sector even under the most intensive cultivation is still not likely to be able to satisfy the total demand for food products by the population. This explains the rate of infant mortality arising out of malnutrition of both the parents and infants. With more mass removals of people into this area, the results are an increase in diseases, deaths and poverty.

Conclusion

In taking a close look at what the Qwaqwa administration is responsible for and what the racist regime has authority over, it becomes clear that what is called the "Government" in this territory is purely a managerial office without any power at all. The function of this assembly therefore clearly means that theirs is meant to appease the racists and append their signatures to documents which are a dangerous plot against the people they claim to represent. It becomes an important task of the parties concerned to realise the dangerous roles assigned to them by the regime and to refuse to carry further the racists designs by opposing any moves towards accepting the imposition of so-called independence. That is why it becomes necessary to understand that the rush towards land consolidation by the Botha-Malan military regime is an incentive and a weapon to disarm any party in opposition to "independence".

TO KNOW DIGNITY

Working

to drink full
of the deep sweet
sub-terra streams

Swiftly flowing

through the rock womb
with the gold, the coal
and the iron of the soil.

Waiting

with unspoiled purity
the purity of the shores —
to give life,
abundant life,
to reward
with green breadth of foliage
for all the world to see.

Whispering

for the seed to blow
with the winds,
and
in multitudes
to conquer the deserts
with fragrance and colour
for the hearts of lovers
and children to rejoice.

Working

to force the head
of the piercing root
tempered
hot in will to survive

Working

to dip in the life-giving stream
and my people
eternally

to know
dignity.

Duncan

DEFENCE OF WHITE SUPREMACY

Fire Force Exposed : the Rhodesian Security Forces and their role in defending white supremacy — an Anti Apartheid Movement Publication on Rhodesia, London 1979.

It is over three months now that the Lancaster House talks have been going on. The bitter irony about these "peace talks" is that the Salisbury regime has stepped up its savage attacks and raids on Zambia and Mozambique. On the other hand the British Government has become intransigent, stubborn, arrogant and impatient. Surely, the British Government is in total agreement with the illegal regime of Smith-Muzorewa and is prepared to do everything in its power to see to it that the Patriotic Front forces do not come to power. This is not something new: it is consistent with the policies of the various British Governments that have come to power.

Anyone who doubts this should read the new British Anti-Apartheid Movement's book on Rhodesian armed forces "Fire Force Exposed". "Fire Force" is the term used by the illegal regime in Rhodesia to describe the use of combined air and ground troops against supporters of the Zimbabwe liberation struggle. The book states:

"From the earliest days of white conquest, Rhodesia enjoyed a significantly different status from that of Britain's other African colonies, in that the white settlers were able to build up and control their own police, army and air force... the security forces have always been the guarantee of white power and privilege... they have been responsible for enforcing a mass of racist and exploitative laws and practices, and for suppressing African

opposition to colonial rule...." (p.1)

After the "internal settlement" agreement of March 3, 1978 and the April 1979 "elections" there was an apparent change of the situation:

"Bishop Muzorewa, having appointed himself as Minister of Defence and Combined Operations as well as Prime Minister, claims to be in ultimate control of the war. In reality, the situation is very different." (p.2)

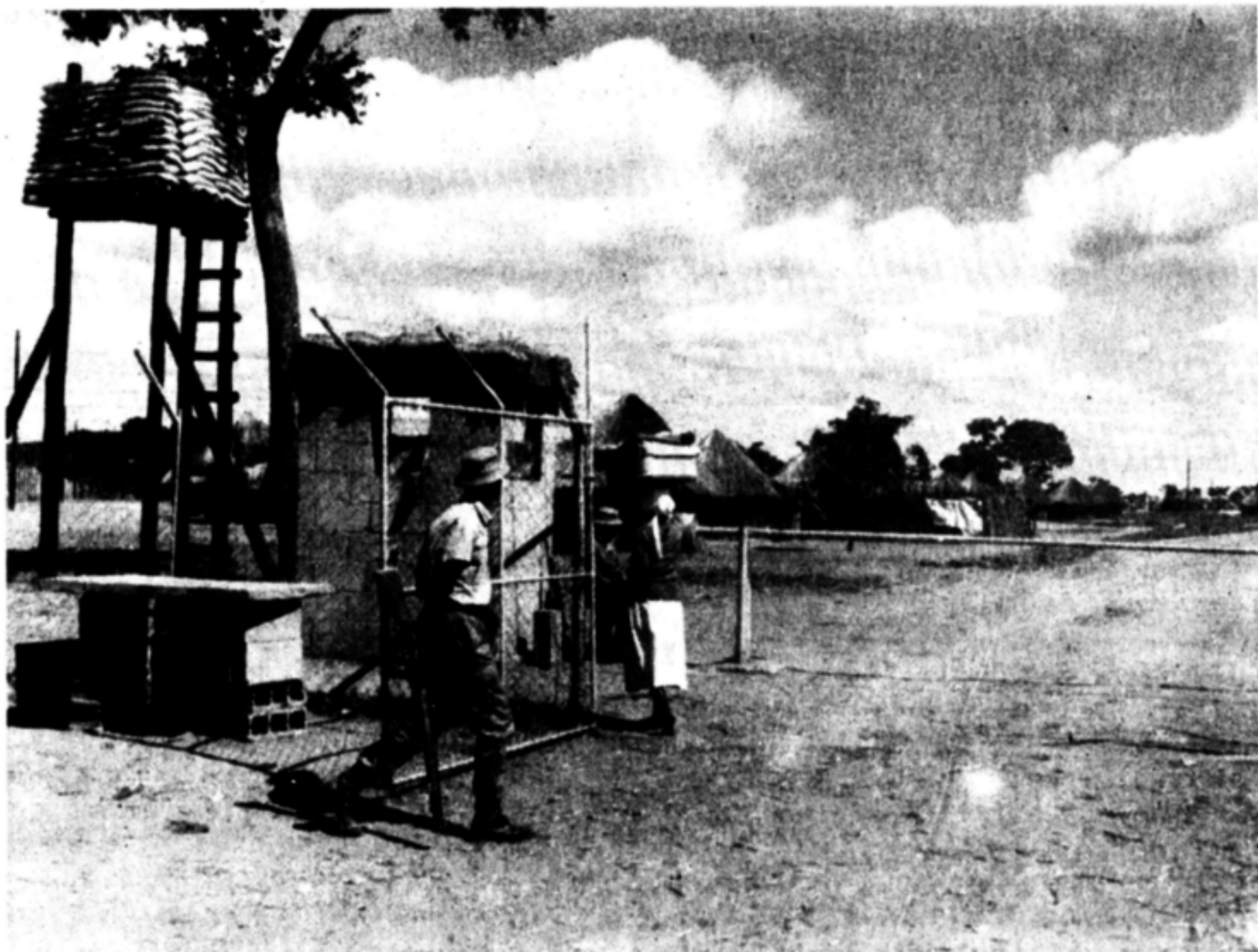
"...Bishop Muzorewa and his colleagues were effectively excluded from having any say in military decision making. Ian Smith on the other hand, who over the years had developed close personal links with the various security force commanders, was clearly well placed to continue to influence events behind the scenes." (p.3)

"...In reality it is much more accurate to describe the country as being essentially run by a military regime over which there is no political control. In fact, the Muzorewa administration is a subservient part of the white power structure which persists in Rhodesia and which is dominated by armed forces"

"...it is the elite white military commanders who effectively run the country". (p.45)

These and many other revelations help not only to explain the behaviour of the "muzorewa delegation" at the Lancaster House talks but also the "bold" and crude remarks of Botha about racist South Africa's military involvement in Rhodesia.

In Rhodesia Blacks outnumber whites by 22 to one (p.5) and the guerrilla struggle is at an advanced stage: hence the massive recruitment of mercenaries from South Africa, Britain, America, France, Israel, Portugal and West Germany — an estimated



So-called "protected village" in Zimbabwe

11,2000 (p.32); conscription; establishment of "protected villages" and mass massacre of villagers and refugees.

The authors of the book conclude by stating that the Salisbury regime would never have survived until 1979 had it not been for the guarantee of continuing sanctions-busting supply of arms, ammunition, military hardware, spare parts, fuel and so forth from South Africa and the West (p.45). The lifting of economic sanctions and the international recognition of the Muzorewa-Smith regime, the book says means:

- * mass flow of sophisticated armaments and military equipment to the illegal regime's security forces;
- * the Muzorewa-Smith regime will not raise the living standard of the Africans but will increase its capacity for military aggression;
- * further legitimisation of the South African military intervention in Rhodesia;

this will further open up new channels for supplying arms and military hardware to the apartheid regime in South Africa itself and this will mean wholesale flouting of UN mandatory arms embargo against racist South Africa.

The book ends by emphasising that lifting of sanctions "is the first step towards declaring war on the rest of independent Africa and would indeed have repercussions far beyond the continent". (p.45)

With this book the Anti-Apartheid Movement is expressing the views and the voice of "the other Britain"; the Britain of anti-imperialist, anti-colonial and anti-racist forces — a Britain with which we have been having and developing comradesly and fraternal ties of friendship and brotherhood based on our mutual commitment.

This book is recommended to all the friends of the liberation movements in Africa, especially Zimbabwe.

F.M.

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