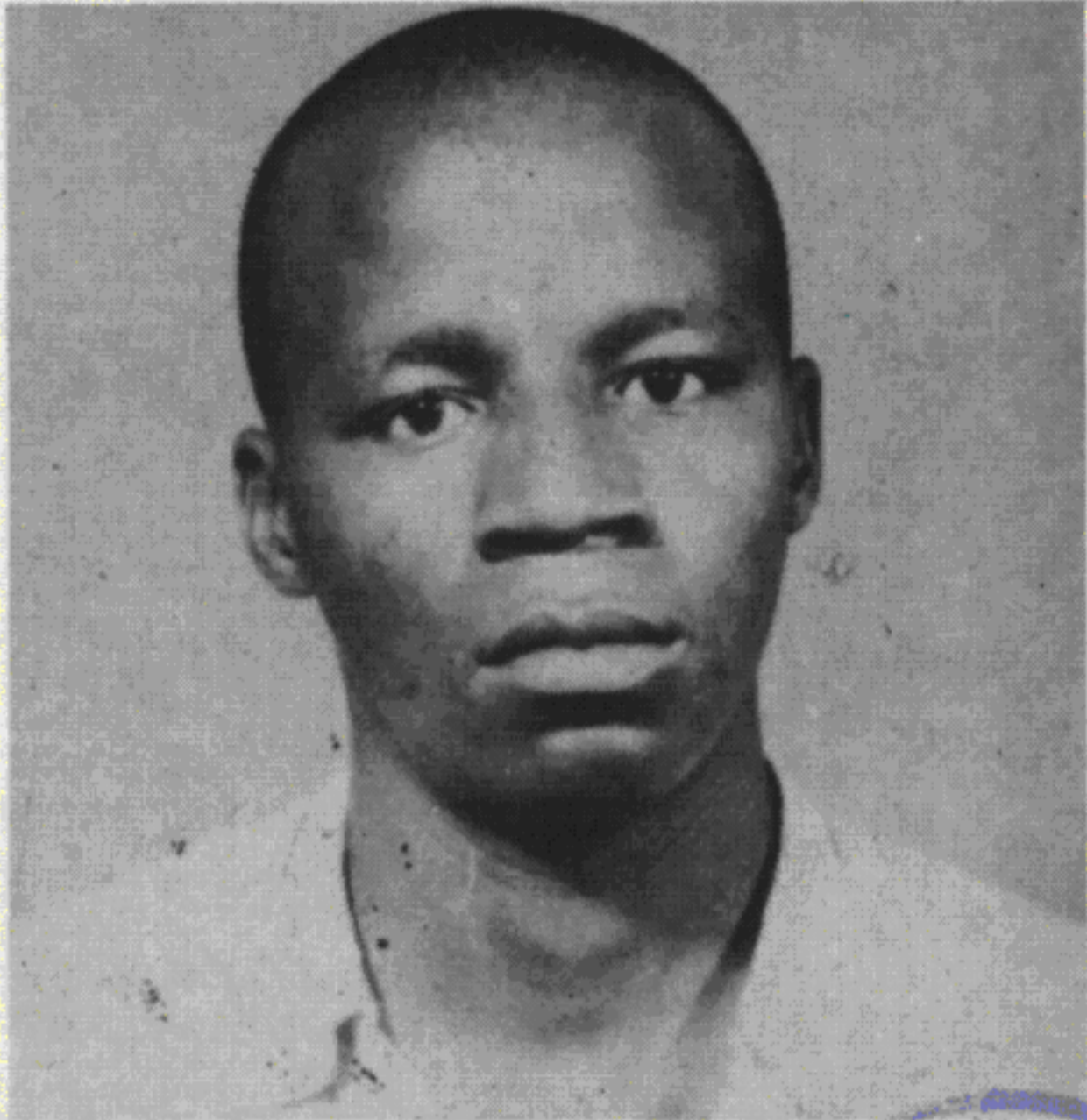


**JUNE**



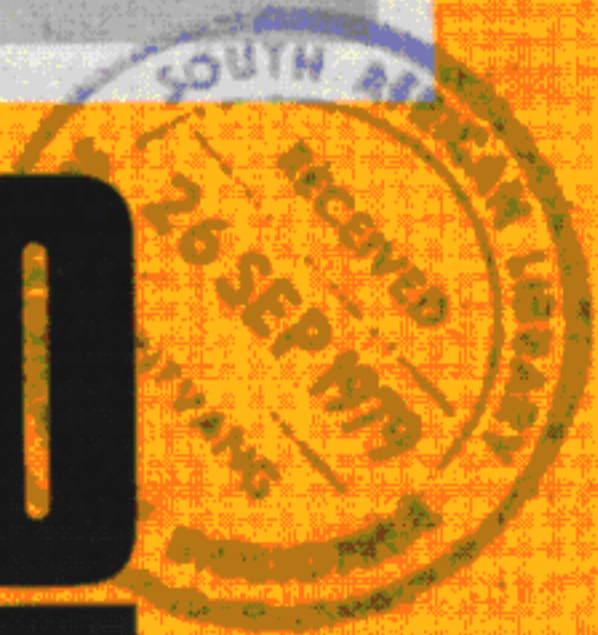
# SECHABHA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



# HERO

# OF THE REVOLUTION



# SECHABA

P.O. Box 38  
 28 Penton Street  
 London N1 9PR  
 Telegrams: Mayibuye  
 Telex: 299555ANCSAG  
 Telephone: 01-837-2012

<b>EDITORIAL:</b> Hamba Kahle Solomon Mahlangu	1
<b>INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA</b>	2
<b>HERO OF THE REVOLUTION</b>	9
<b>FREE MANDELA</b>	12
<b>STOP RACIST AGGRESSION</b>	14
<b>NO ARMS FOR APARTHEID:</b> The World Campaign	18
<b>YEAR AGAINST APARTHEID</b>	21
<b>THE ROLE OF ICOSA</b>	24
<b>OBITUARIES:</b> 'Mfundisi' and Vera Ponnen	28
<b>BOOK REVIEW</b>	30
<b>POEM</b>	32

Send your orders now to:

SECHABA Publications, P.O. Box 38,  
 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR, Uk.

All orders of 10 or more copies 50% discount.

Kindly include a donation with your order if possible.

Sample copies of Sechaba available on request if accompanied by postal order (or in the United Kingdom, with stamps) to defray postal costs.

**Annual Subscriptions**

USA and Canada (airmail only)	\$6.00
Elsewhere	£30 0
<b>Single Copies</b>	
USA and Canada (airmail only)	\$1.50
Elsewhere	£0.25

**LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM**

**Voice of the African National Congress and Umkhonto We Sizwe on:**

**Radio Tanzania —**

**External Service Dar es Salaam**

on 15435 KHz, 19 metre band shortwave  
 on 9680 KHz, 31 metre band shortwave  
 Mondays, Wednesdays, Fridays at 8.15 pm SA time

Tuesdays, Thursdays, Saturdays at 6.15 pm SA time

Sundays at 8.45 pm SA time

**Luanda Radio —**

40 and 30 metre bands on shortwave  
 27.6 metre band on medium wave  
 7.30 pm SA time

**Lusaka —**

31 and 49 metre bands on shortwave  
 6.10 pm SA time

If you wish to continue receiving Sechaba monthly please fill form below and return to Sechaba Publications:

Name.....

Individual /Organisation\*.....

Address.....

.....

Number of Copies.....

# HAMBA KAHLE SOLOMON MAHLANGU

On March 2, 1978 Solomon Kalushi Mahlangu was sentenced to death. He had pleaded 'not guilty' and as the death sentence was passed he raised his clenched fist and shouted the ANC slogan 'Amandla'.

Since then he has spent more than a year in a death cell at Pretoria Central Prison; he was not allowed visits other than from his family and a minister of religion appointed by the state; he was not allowed reading material from outside but was supplied with novels and a bible by the prison.

Even before the death sentence was passed Solomon did not have a fair trial. Since his arrest in June 1977 he was severely tortured and brutally assaulted in the prisons. He was not allowed to be seen by any member of the community including his lawyers. He did not even know that he was being legally represented and the attorneys first heard of his court appearance after reading a report about it in the press.

After months of torture his friend and comrade Mondy Motlounq was declared unfit to stand trial due to brain damage. Nobody knows about his fate and whereabouts!

On April 6, 1979 Solomon Mahlangu was executed. He went to the gallows courageously and confidently. He was aware that the black people of South Africa — whom he loved and served — were behind him and indeed the whole of progressive humanity supported him.

Solomon has been murdered but his spirit — like that of Mini, Khayinga, Mkhaba and others — is not dead. His blood will nourish the seeds of freedom which are germinating throughout the country. The ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has sworn that Solomon Mahlangu



shall be avenged and those who have taken his young life will one day have to answer for the innumerable crimes and irreparable damage they have caused. These crimes must stop!

During this Year of the Spear we pledge to sharpen our spears so that we can meet the enemy on equal terms.

# WILDERNESS OF SUFFERING

The African National Congress of South Africa has consistently opposed the Bantustan scheme because it is a fraud and an instrument to further entrench apartheid in our country. A study of Kwa Zulu proves this beyond doubt.

Kwa Zulu is the most territorially scattered of all the Bantustans. A South African newspaper report in August 1978 spoke of the Kwa Zulu Bantustan consisting of 48 principal blocks of land and 157 small areas. When the 'grand consolidation' of the Kwa Zulu Bantustan takes place, there will still be 10 separate pieces of land, 3,316 hectares, spread over different parts of Natal, from the extreme north and south and from the east to the west.

Perhaps the geographic features of Kwa Zulu demonstrate more clearly than any other Bantustan the fraudulent hypocrisy of the fascist regime's claim to be 'giving independence to the Bantus in the traditional homelands.'

Kwa Zulu patently represents the wretched left-overs of what Zululand was before the colonial conquest. Under the racist government's consolidation scheme, the best land will remain in the hands of white farmers; a number of poverty-stricken reserves will be joined together to be glorified with the title of 'independent homelands.'

If the final consolidation plan is ever achieved, Kwa Zulu will still have no access to any harbour. Despite repeated demands by the Kwa Zulu Government, the Vorster Botha regime has made it clear that Richard's Bay harbour will remain part of Natal. Neither Durban nor Richard's Bay will ever be part of Kwa Zulu. The other potential port on the Natal coast, Sordwana Bay, is also not to be incorporated in Kwa Zulu.

This deliberate act of virtually making Kwa Zulu landlocked, demonstrates once again that the racist government definitely does not want Kwa Zulu to attain any economic independence from it, but to be a vassal.

## Labour Reservoir

In fact the regime's Bantustan policy is aimed chiefly at preserving in perpetuity the economic and political domination of the African people, by dividing and weakening the people and by bolstering up archaic "tribal" structures. The Bantustans themselves in fact represent massive labour pools, where a reserve army of labour for industry is to be found. They are the dumping grounds for all the people who are unwanted by the white economy - women, children, the old, the infirm and the unemployed.

Through pass laws, forced removals and 'resettlement' the government is forcing more and more people into the already hopelessly overcrowded Bantustans. Vast rural slums are growing up in these areas.

It is estimated that the present Bantustans make up 11.93 per cent of the area of South Africa, and that when all the land has been bought up in terms of the 1936 Land Act this will be 12.4% of the country.

Officially Kwa Zulu's population was estimated at 2,701,400 in 1976. The racist government believes that all Zulu-speaking Africans belong to Kwa Zulu and estimated the total Zulu-speaking population in South Africa for 1976 at 5,029,000.

## Landlessness

The Bantustans as a whole had a population on average of 119 people per square mile

at the time of the 1970 census. This compared with a figure of 35 per square mile for the rest of South Africa. Kwa Zulu has an average population of 173 people per square mile, the highest of any Bantustan. However this is an average figure and the overcrowding is much higher in certain areas of Kwa Zulu. Three Kwa Zulu districts have population densities per square mile of arable land of more than 3,000 people.

What this overcrowding means in terms of human suffering can be seen by looking at the Nqutu district of Kwa Zulu.

The infamous government-appointed Tomlinson Commission estimated in 1954 that the Nqutu district if "fully developed agriculturally" could adequately support only 13,000 people. However, the population of Nqutu has risen phenomenally without any significant agricultural development since 1954. In 1974 there were an estimated 80,000 people in the Nqutu district and, apart from agriculture, there were only 1,050 job opportunities in the area, almost half of them with the local hospital.

Available census figures for Nqutu show how this growth took place:

	1951	1960	1970
Whites	237	160	408
Coloured	4	17	0
African	30,307	45,759	79,690

In their book 'Women without men — a study of 150 families in the Nqutu district of Kwa Zulu', Clarke and Ngobese estimated that 120,000 people would be living in Nqutu by 1980. However a newspaper report in February 1979 said that doctors at the local Charles Johnson Memorial Hospital estimated the population of Nqutu at 200,000. This indicates how quickly the government is speeding up its forced removal programmes.

In the same newspaper report the doctors said that 80 per cent of all children admitted to the hospital were malnourished.

Kwashiorkor, Marasmus, pellegra and tuberculosis are widespread in the area, as they are in all the Bantustans. In some Bantustan areas, the infant mortality rate is as high as 50 per cent. (Study in Sekukuniland in the 1960's).

In Nqutu, Clarke and Ngobese's study of 150 families revealed that in 1974 the average income per family was R14.87, made up as follows:

Commitments from migrant worker	R9.60
Earnings from home industries & income in kind from livestock & agriculture	R2.37
Incomes from pensions & disabilities grants	R2.60
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>R14.87</b>

These figures illustrate very clearly that in this area, as in Kwa Zulu generally, peasants are far below subsistence level and that the bulk of the income coming to families is from migrants away from home. Without this remittance from (in most cases) the father, families become completely destitute. The sum of R14.87 is far below any calculation for a 'minimum' or 'bread-line' level. Clarke and Ngobese estimate that at least R103.99 per month was required in 1974 to enable a family in Nqutu to live "in human poverty, and to alleviate their present inhuman existence."

Another study of health in the Nqutu district warns that poverty and malnutrition are so rife that the people's physique is changing, and that the people in the area are becoming small, stunted and mentally enfeebled.

### Forced Removals

And yet the forced removals continue and more and more people are being forced into the already overcrowded and poverty-stricken reserves of Kwa Zulu. These removals take the form of 'endorsements-out' of the unwanted from the urban areas, of removal of communities from so-called

“black spots’, of increasing removal of labour tenants from white farms in Natal and of ‘resettlement’ in terms of consolidation plans.

These removals are part of a massive and systematic scheme on the part of the fascist government to deprive the African people of their land, and to turn the family heads into docile labour units who will leave their families in the Bantustans and come to work for the white boss for eleven months of the year in the so-called ‘white’ cities.

The Black Sash has estimated that between 1960 and 1977 over 2 million people were subjected to forced removals in terms of apartheid laws, excluding influx control evictions. Estimates indicate that a further 1,725,000 Africans are still to be moved in terms of apartheid laws.

The Kwa Zulu consolidation plans involve the removal of between 133,000 and 400,000 people, and these removals are being carried out. One example was provided in March 1979 when it was reported that the government planned to move 20,000 Africans living and farming at Groutville, near Stanger, which was home and the last place of banishment of Chief Albert Lutuli. The government plans to move the residents to the lower Tugela district, but the residents had already formed a ‘Save Groutville committee.’

A report of the same period of another district in Kwa Zulu gives another indication of the problems caused by the forcing of more and more people onto overcrowded land. This district — Msinga — lost 260 people in 1978 through ‘faction fighting’. Here 20,000 people have been crammed by government resettlement schemes into half-acre plots on a strip of land five to six miles long and barely a quarter of a mile wide. Eight years ago, when they were forced to move, the people were stripped of their land and their cattle and they had to depend instead on the money from migrant labourers. A local training project officer observed that ‘two years ago the bottom fell out of the migrant labour market’, and that unemployed men had been streaming home to their miserable plots of land and their starving families.

## No Industries

Economically there is very little industry in Kwa Zulu — the only industrial plant is at Isithebe, which is planned as Kwa Zulu’s major growth point.

In 1975 it was estimated that there were 843,000 economically active people in Kwa Zulu; 29.9 per cent of the total population. Nearly 60 per cent of these were involved in agriculture.

At the same time 43 per cent of Kwa Zulu’s total labour force in 1975 was working outside Kwa Zulu. A recent special three volume preliminary development plan for Kwa Zulu, commissioned by the Kwa Zulu government, concluded that this percentage would ‘probably’ increase gradually.

In 1974 the net national income of Kwa Zulu was R527.4 million while the Gross Domestic Product was R131.4 million. Thus the net national income was approximately four times greater, mainly because of the large number of Kwa Zulu residents who live outside the Bantustan.

About 60 per cent of the earnings of Kwa Zulu residents is spent outside Kwa Zulu. The income of migrants from Kwa Zulu accounts for nearly one half of the total net national income. These figures illustrate how dependent the economy and the people of Kwa Zulu are on migrant labour. The report quoted here bears this out. There is no hope of Kwa Zulu ever being much more than a giant rural slum which exports human labour.

The labour working in ‘white areas’ is not always migrant: some 310,800 people commute daily from the main urban centres in Kwa Zulu to major ‘white’ centres nearby; of this total 199,900 people commute from Umlazi/Kwa Makuta environs and the Kwa Mashu/Ntuzuma environs to the Durban/Prospecton/Pinetown areas.

These figures illustrate that the government and private business see the development of ‘border industries’ as their priority, not the establishing of industry in the Bantustans.

Most of the economically active population (nearly 60 per cent) of Kwa Zulu are engaged in agriculture as the following

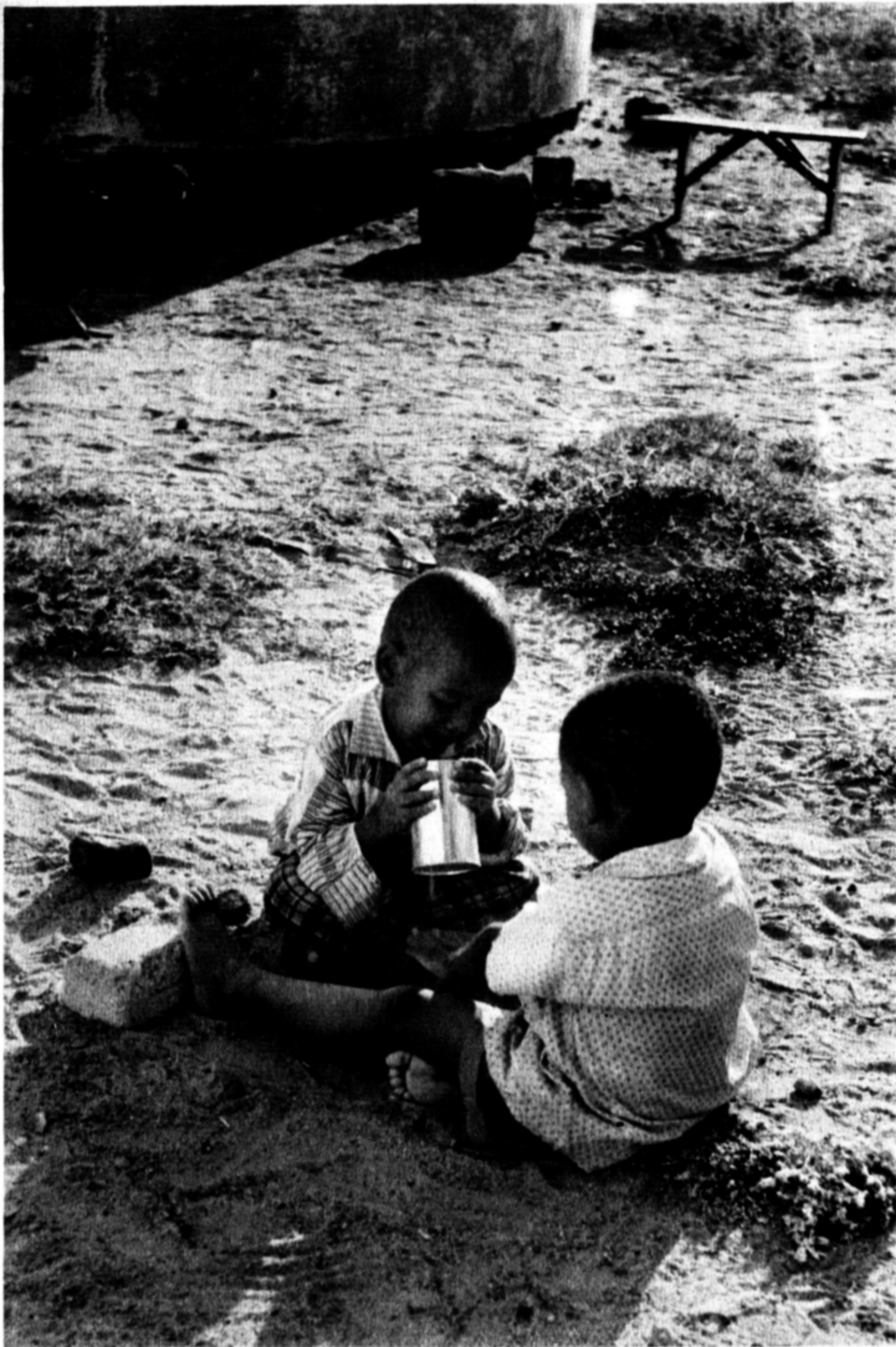


table shows:

**Economically active population of Kwa Zulu by type of activity 1970 (estimates related to 1975 consolidation boundaries) —:**

SECTOR	No. (00)	%
Agriculture	406.2	57.7
Mining	11.2	.2
Manufacturing	58.6	8.3
Electricity	2.3	.3
Construction	29.4	4.2
Commerce	28.7	4.1
Transport	12.8	1.8
Finance	1.6	.2
Services	71.2	10.1
Unsec. and unemployed	92.0	13.0
	704.0	100.00

**'Self-governing territory'**

As has been seen, much of this agriculture is far below subsistence. Where cash crops are grown, the main crop is sugar. However much of Kwa Zulu is unsuitable for agriculture — 58 per cent is mountainous, and as much as 70 per cent unsuited to crops.

The Kwa Zulu government is heavily dependent on the South African government for its revenue drawing over 80 per cent of its fiscal budget from South Africa, illustrating clearly its absolute dependence on the South African government.

On February 1, 1977 Kwa Zulu was declared a 'self-governing territory' within the Republic of South Africa in terms of the Bantu Homelands Constitution Act of 1971, thus entering the 'second phase of self-government' provided for in the Act.

In February 1978, the first Kwa Zulu 'elections' were held. About one-third of the more than 2 million Zulu-speaking Africans due to vote registered. Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement won all the elected seats, on a relatively low poll of 37.7 per cent.



*Migratory labour separates families*





### *Agony of the unemployed*

Chief Buthelezi has repeatedly pledged that he will not lead Kwa Zulu to 'independence' Transkei-style, and thus deprive the 5 million 'citizens' of Kwa Zulu of their South African citizenship. Early in 1979, Inkatha distributed thousands of leaflets in different parts of South Africa urging all Africans to register as citizens of Kwa Zulu and thereby avoid losing their South African citizenship. Inkatha's pamphlets were promptly banned by the South African government.

But whether Kwa Zulu ever formally becomes 'independent' or not, it will forever

be dependent on South Africa.

The Bantustans are a fraud, they can never offer any solution to the problems of our people, and they must be resolutely condemned and exposed for what they are. Our task is to frustrate the enemy plans to make Kwa Zulu another 'independent' Bantustan and judging by the participation of the people in Bantustan politics they are not interested.

## CENSORSHIP

One of the tactics used by the racist South African regime to remain in power, is to keep the people in ignorance of their surroundings and international affairs. Various methods are employed to achieve this: lies, keeping silent, distortion of information or simply banning the literature.

In 1978 1,349 publications 'possibly endangering state security and/or of a communistic nature' were submitted to the censors. This was more than a 100 per cent increase compared with the previous year's publications.

These publications are submitted by customs officers, the police publishers, members of the public and the Directorate of Publications to various 'committees of experts' i.e. 'highly specialised persons functioning on a weekly basis' who examine these publications which include light reading matter, magazines, newspapers, posters, calendars and records.

The racist clique in South Africa is afraid of the truth and is determined to do everything to suppress it.

## IMMIGRATION

Racist South Africa is eagerly receiving a flood of white Rhodesians escaping from the advance of the Patriotic Front. According to figures issued recently, almost half the Whites who left Rhodesia last year settled in South Africa — a total of 8,650 on an average of 721 a month.

But despite this influx, immigration figures are reflecting the growing isolation of the apartheid regime. A marked drop in the number of immigrants has been recorded — from over 50,000 in 1975 to 18,669 in 1978 — a third down on the 1977 figure.

Last year, the flow of immigrants fell

to its lowest level since 1961. British immigrants accounted for the sharpest decline — only 4,500 entered South Africa last year, against 7,000 in 1977 and 20,500 in 1976. Australian and West German immigrants dropped by 59% and 42% respectively.

As well as winning fewer immigrants to bolster white rule, the racists are losing many of their professional and technical personnel. Loss of people in this category nearly doubled in 1978. The regime will do all in its power to reverse this process — a process which reflects the world's growing condemnation of their barbarous rule. On our side, we must ensure that the isolation of the apartheid state is strengthened and completed at every level.



# HERO OF THE REVOLUTION

On Friday April 6, 1979, an outraged world learnt that the racist regime had murdered ANC freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu. Despite an international campaign to stop the execution, the Botha/Vorster regime continued to disregard the demands of the overwhelming majority of mankind with callous impunity.

Special Branch police informed the Mahlangu family that Solomon was to die, only days before the execution. Within hours the apartheid regime was swamped with protests. At the same time, messages of support and solidarity inundated the Pretoria home of Mrs Mahlangu and her family.

On April 5, an emergency meeting called by the African Group, was held by the United Nations Security Council. A 'solemn call' was issued demanding that the racists halt the execution. Dr Kurt Waldheim, UN Secretary General and Mr Ole Algard, Security Council President also registered their protest.

Governments world-wide appealed to the Pretoria authorities. These included Britain, Holland, India, France, Belgium, West Germany, the USA, German Democratic Republic and the USSR. These demands were supported by trade unionists, churchmen, student bodies and democratic lawyers internationally.

The response by western governments had been won through the tireless efforts of the international solidarity movement, who, heeding the ANC call, have campaigned for Mahlangu for over a year. News of the impending execution was met with demonstrations and pickets by anti-apartheid groups all over Europe. In Holland there were demonstrations in eleven different cities, while in London over 300 people picketed the South African embassy,

remaining there until the morning of the execution.

## People's Anger

Inside South Africa, our people's anger mounted. Six thousand signatures calling for a stop of execution were collected in the black townships in one night alone. Several hundred people mounted a vigil outside the Mahlangu home and church services were held to protest against the apartheid murder. Calls to halt the execution were made by Bishop Desmond Tutu, Secretary General of the South African Council of Churches, Dr Nthato Motlana, Chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten; Mr Hermant Wagmarae, executive member of AZAPO and by the Secretary of the Teachers Action Committee, Mr Fanyana Mazibuko.

The racist authorities felt the full impact of international and national protest. In a statement issued by Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, the regime hit out at western states for joining the world-wide condemnation. The regime's mouthpiece, the Citizen, warned other papers that 'emotive' coverage of Mahlangu's execution was dangerous 'bearing in mind the tensions that lie below the surface in the townships'. In order to protect the 'white laager', the enemy press as a whole refused to print the fact that Mrs Kassner, wife of one of those killed in Goch Street in 1977, had sent a telegram calling for a reprieve for Mahlangu.

## Barbarous Tactics

The news that the racists had executed Mahlangu was met with a storm of protests and calls for sanctions against South Africa. But the racists pursued their barbarous



*Martha Mahlangu before the racist murder of her son Solomon*

tactics undeterred. While thousands of mourners waited for Solomon's body at the Mamelodi cemetery, the police buried him secretly, away from his family and his people.

Prison authorities even denied that they had received a R5 fee from Mrs Martha Mahlangu for the burial. She went to find her son's grave the day after the execution: "we went to the cemetery and found two freshly covered graves. But I am not sure which of the two is Solomon's," she said, "I was told that we would be given the number of the grave...but up to now we have not received it..."

Over 2,000 people packed the St Francis of Assisi Church in Rockville, to honour Mahlangu as a hero of the struggle. Freedom songs filled the air interrupted by shouts of 'Amandla' as people gave the ANC salute. The service was organised by the Soweto Students' League and speakers included Dr Motlana and the Chairman of the Teachers Action Committee, Mr Curtis

Nkondo. After this show of determination to continue the struggle, five members of the Soweto Students' League were arrested for having planned the memorial meeting.

### Follow in his Footsteps

At the same time, the racists did their utmost to convince the world that Solomon was a 'criminal' 'used' by the ANC to commit violent acts against them. Martha Mahlangu dismissed as 'rubbish' claims that Solomon's involvement in the liberation of his people was the work of 'agitators'. "I firmly believe that my son left home one day and decided he should do something to help free his people from suffering," she said sobbing. Our people know that it is Vorster, Botha and their ilk who are the criminals, and we are determined that they shall answer for their crimes.

The racist prison psychiatrist also lent himself to the enemy propaganda effort, stating that Solomon was 'scared' of death. Mrs Mahlangu retorted: "I see the report as mere propaganda designed to instill fear into those youths who may follow in his footsteps."

### A Luta Continua!

Throughout his ordeal, Mahlangu showed

fearlessness, courage and dedication to the people's cause. He symbolised the spirit of Soweto and the fighting traditions of our people. Solomon Mahlangu will be a shining example of a revolutionary patriot to all future generations of black South Africans.

What strengthened our resolve and inspired our supporters internationally, was the way in which Solomon faced his murderers and the quality of his last message to his people. The day before execution Mahlangu told his family:

*"Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle. My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. A Luta Continua!"*

Reverend Nyathi who administered Solomon's last rites said that Solomon had given the ANC salute, stood upright, and smiling, walked tall to the gallows.

### He Shall be Avenged!

The ANC, the whole liberation movement including members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, mourn the death of Solomon Mahlangu. But we pledge that the criminals will not go unpunished — Mahlangu and all our fallen heroes shall be avenged! We call on the international solidarity movement and all progressive and democratic forces to heed Mahlangu's words and continue the struggle. Let us intensify the all-round isolation of the racist regime and strengthen the call for recognition of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war.

The force and effect of the Mahlangu Campaign has proved once again the vital need for solidarity in the struggle. We must re-double our efforts on all fronts, until we have won the free, democratic and non-racial South Africa that Solomon Mahlangu fought and died for.



*Angry crowds line the street in Mamelodi waiting for the body of Solomon Mahlangu; the racist police patrol is greeted with the clenched fist salute*

# FREE MANDELA

*Text of a message sent to His Excellency Dr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, by Didier Ratsiraka, President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar; March 21, 1979.*



*President Ratsiraka*

Mr. Secretary General,  
On the occasion of the International Day against Apartheid, when the United Nations' peoples and all progressive and justice loving people are commemorating the anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre, my thoughts and reflections tend inexorably towards the liberation struggle waged by the South African people.

Before the full glare of the international community, human beings are subjected in that part of the world to the vilest debasement, the most ignominious treatment. The elementary human rights are systematically violated by a regime whose very existence should be unthinkable.

Likewise, South Africa's neighbouring countries, such as Madagascar, are constantly

subjected to pressures and provocations in violation of their sovereignty, when they are not the target of open military aggressions committed in violation of international law and of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter as Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, because our government and theirs are striving to achieve progress and prosperity for our peoples or simply because we want to put into effect the relevant United Nations' resolutions on the elimination of colonialism, racism and apartheid.

Thus in Madagascar, to mention only the most blatant cases, foreigners (Yugoslavs, Americans, South Africans etc...) have entered our national territory to commit offences and crimes, to prepare coups de mains and 'destabilise' the government which our people have chosen to fight for progress, against imperialism and all forms of exploitation of man by man.

The revolutionary vigilance of our people has allowed us to prevent these criminals' harmful actions. They are now detained in compliance with the laws of the Democratic Republic Madagascar.

Mr. Secretary General, these mercenaries, members of the heterogenous army of justice are now screaming for mercy and freedom through personalities and organisations such as the International Human Rights Federation. But, through their senseless actions against the progressive people in general and the Malagasy people in particular, they have shown no mercy, worst still no respect, for the peoples' right to free themselves and to determine their future. Their protestations, whatever wide publicity some wish to give them, cannot hide from our eyes the sufferings of thousands of anti-apartheid militants tortured in the South African jails and rotting in their concentration camps.

On this day of remembrance, we think particularly of the gallant Nelson Mandela and his comrades in arms. Thus as a homage to their heroism and for the triumph of their cause, I would agree to free these foreign mercenaries justifiably detained in Madagascar provided such action would be preceded by the release of fifty one political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela, who are doomed to infamy and death in South Africa.

Mr. Secretary General, I am convinced that this initiative will get a deserved reponse from your Excellency, as it is a gesture of good will through which we want to show that the Malagasy people not only have considerable respect for human rights and national rights but also cherish this liberation of their South African brothers. From these principle derives our revolution's legitimacy and safeguards.

---

*The following is the text of a telegram sent by ANC President O.R. Tambo to President Didier Ratsiraka of the Democratic Republic of Malagasy:*

H. E. President Didier Ratsiraka of the Democratic Republic of Malagasy..

Have received with great inspiration copy your message to UN Secretary General Kurt Waldheim on occasion International Day of Struggle against Racism and Apartheid. We are particularly moved by your offer to release the three mercenaries justly imprisoned in Madagascar in exchange for release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and other leaders of our people held in Robben Island and other fascist dungeons of South Africa. Your offer demonstrates once more the loyalty to the victory of our cause that we know characterises the outlook and practice of the President Government Popular Parties and people of Madagascar. We are certain your unprecedented offer will be received by our comrades in prison and our people as a whole with great joy in the unfailing sense of close comradeship and solidarity existing between our peoples and Parties. On behalf of the African National Congress as a whole our leadership inside and outside prison our armed combatants and in my own name



*ANC President O.R. Tambo*

---

we salute your extremely important initiative which moves us to even greater efforts to secure the release of the millions of our people locked into the vast concentration camp that is Apartheid South Africa. Victory is certain. All power to the people.

OLIVER TAMBO  
PRESIDENT: AFRICAN NATIONAL  
CONGRESS  
24th March 1979

---

*Text of a letter written to Comrade Nelson Mandela on February 16, 1979, from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Venezuela.*

Dear Comrade,  
Receive in your cell — where you have just reached your sixtieth year of life and sixteenth of imprisonment — a salute of solidarity from the Venezuelan communists who see in you, in Walter Sisulu and other noble combatants condemned to life imprisonment by the apartheid regime, the most illustrious symbols of the struggles of the people of South Africa against racist oppression, for the achievement of human dignity, against that imperialism which props up the minority government in open defiance of world public opinion.

Be certain that the progressive forces of Venezuela — with the Communist Party at their head — shall not falter in the struggle to achieve your freedom and the freedom of your imprisoned comrades.

# STOP RACIST AGGRESSION

*As part of its internationalist duty the ANC is actively interested in the victorious defence of the Angolan revolution which international imperialism, using fascist South Africa as its spearhead is trying to undermine.*

*The ANC here below publishes the latest statement by the PRA Embassy in Zambia for the information of our members, and further to strengthen the bonds of solidarity between the ANC and the MPLA Workers Party.*

The racist South African forces continue to violate our territorial integrity as well as our air space. But this time the Angolan people and their armed wing FAPLA taught the cowardly enemy a harsh lesson. FAPLA has been preparing its defensive positions against the aggression and the permanent violations by the South African enemy. Our forces have been improving progressively in means, personnel, organisation and combative capacity.

This was demonstrated on the 13th and 14th March, 1979, in which six (6) enemy planes were shot down. This surprised the enemy aircraft formations who took our attitude of precaution and preparation of positions, during the previous violations and aggressions as fear or incapacity.

For a better understanding of how our action was carried out against the enemy air raids we give a quick review of the developments.

The racist South African army considers as the main target our territory along the line Lubango, Kahama, Changongo, Ngive, where they claim the SWAPO camps are situated. In their dastardly raids against our territory the racists have used the British made Canberras B or T4 and the Mirage F-1A/IIICZ/IIIBZ/IIIRZ/FI CZ.

The racists are fully aware of the strength and preparedness of our forces to defend our air space; consequently the enemy squads always look for means of avoiding contact with our forces but will always throw their deadly charge on defenceless masses in the scattered areas. They try to deceive our vigilant forces by carrying out flights deep into the interior and bombing the rear of our positions.

So, on the 13th March, at about 12.30 hours an enemy mirage was shot and destroyed by an infantry unit of the FAPLA near the city of Ngive. The aircraft fell to the south of our frontier post, in Namibian territory. This was confirmed by the propaganda services of racist South Africa.

On the 14th March, at about 12.35 hours our entrenched forces shot down a Canberra B Bomber in the Kahama area which came down in fragments in the desert of Techipo about 60 km from the village. The two murder pilots were charred.

Out of the second squad which was coming to attack the same area at the same time, a Canberra B bomber was shot at and it fell about 60 km from Kahama in the Luindejo desert.

Still at the same time another enemy squad was flying over kalueke area. Here other three planes were shot down by our anti-air artillery. The first plane shot at fell in the Lufelante desert about 10 km from Kalueke, and the second, a mirage III fell in the Macaculo desert 15 km from Cangongo.

The same raiding force was forced into action thus resulting in the downing of another racist bomber that fell on Namibian territory, to the south of our post of Culueke.

The following is the summary of the military activity during the period between



6/3/79 and 15/3/79 in the South of our country.

Total number of enemy flights — 70 (44 bomber flights and 26 reconnaissance flights.)

Bombed areas: 13

Quantity of bombs: 132 tons

Regions reconnoissanced: 6

Routes: 26

Helicopters: 18

Casualties on our side: dead — 12, injured — 30

Casualties on the enemy's side: Planes shot down — 6, dead — 12, captured documents.

The Angolan people under their Party, led by their leader Dr. Antonio Agostinho Neto, President of MPLA — Party of Labour

and of the Peoples' Republic of Angola, and Commander-in-Chief of FAPLA reaffirm once again their readiness to defend their territorial integrity, national airspace and their total support for the liberation movements until the whole of Southern Africa is free.

We warn the racist regimes of the south that today it is no longer possible to attack our Republic with impunity.

Very soon the remains of the enemy planes as well as documents and other materials captured will in due course be displayed for the public to see. Some left overs of the charred bodies of the crews of the shot planes have been located.

**A LUTA CONTINUA  
A VITORIA E CERTA**



*Press statement by Comrade Peter Nanyemba, Member of the Executive Committee and Central Committee of SWAPO and Secretary for Defence.*

Ladies and gentlemen; Comrades; May I thank you for responding to our call to attend this press conference.

As you are aware, we are at a very crucial stage of our struggle and while I am here

talking to you, a SWAPO delegation led by our Vice-President, together with representatives of the Frontline countries and the 'Gang of Five' are once again holding talks to try and achieve a negotiated settlement to the Namibian issue.

We have called this press conference at a time when the forces of imperialism, through their agent South Africa, have launched unprecedented acts of aggression

against the Frontline countries. The Western countries have repeatedly told us that South Africa would like to co-operate with the Frontline countries in implementing a so-called plan for peaceful solution to the Namibian problem, yet they are attacking the same countries with which they are supposed to co-operate. What is clear is the deviousness and hypocrisy of the South Africans.

It is therefore against this background of treachery and deceit that I would like to brief you on the actual war situation that is prevailing in Namibia.

Firstly, I would like to reiterate one point. We in SWAPO did not arrive at a decision to take up arms easily. The decision was taken after we had exhausted all peaceful means and finally came to the conclusion that this was the only way in which we would win our independence.

We would therefore like to reaffirm to the members of SWAPO who are here and to our friends who continue to support us in our just struggle that this principle still stands and that we will wage the armed struggle until genuine independence is won for Namibia. There is no time limit in this. We will wage a protracted armed struggle as long as there is oppression and South Africa and its imperialist allies continue to plunder our economy.

After the enemy launched the barbarous attack against our camp in Cassinga, they stated that SWAPO's backbone was broken but since this was a refugee camp our gallant comrades in PLAN were untouched and the armed struggle has been elevated to a higher level. That is why the enemy has now started to commit its aggression on a daily basis.

First and foremost, it should be made clear that our military activities are strictly confined to our enemy in Namibia. That enemy is the South African illegal regime in our country. Thus our bases are in Namibia and it is from these bases that we launch our attacks against the enemy.

The enemy has admitted that SWAPO forces are waging the war as far as Windhoek, Keetmanshoop, etc. There is therefore no need for the racist South African forces to violate the sovereignty of Angola and Zambia.

In the past few days you must have been aware of media reports on South Africa's attack against so-called SWAPO bases in neighbouring countries, which attacks are nothing less than naked aggression against neighbouring sovereign states. These attacks have been supported by the imperialist countries. It is ironic that it is the same imperialist countries, namely USA, France, West Germany, Britain, and Canada who have supplied this destructive war equipment to South Africa, and who on the other hand are paying lip-service to a peaceful settlement. What a contradiction!

The latest aggression on the Angolan side started on 4 March 1979 and lasted until 14 March 1979. Twenty-four mirage fighter bombers with two brigades of ground support forces, one in the South Eastern region and the other in the South Western region, took part in this wanton attack. Three Angolan villages, which the enemy mistook for SWAPO bases, were brutally bombarded, resulting in six Angolan civilians being killed and others wounded.

SWAPO's anti-air defence shot down three planes during the attack even though South Africa has only admitted to having lost one. We, on the other hand, suffered no casualties from this barbaric enemy attack.

On the Zambian side, the bombings started on 6 March to 12 March 1979. During the attack one SWAPO member was injured who has been hospitalised and is doing well now. Five mirages, fighter bombers and seven helicopters with ground support forces took part in this aggression. Out of the five mirages, SWAPO shot down one.

The South African racist forces landed on Zambian soil, manning road blocks and searching for SWAPO troops. They intimidated and manhandled Zambian citizens in their own country and stole chickens and eggs from Zambian villagers.

From both attacks they lost four planes and suffered many casualties. On our part, the reason why we have only suffered one casualty was because our intelligence gathering enabled us to deploy superior strategy and tactics against the enemy.

The South African forces in desperation bombed indiscriminately and at random any

roads or bushes where they thought SWAPO troops were.

What I have said before shows the insincerity of South Africa, who is supposed to have agreed to a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem and in order to bring about this peaceful solution requires the co-operation of both Zambia and Angola, but is violating their territorial integrity. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that South Africa does not want a peaceful solution to the Namibian problem.

During the bombings a number of posters and leaflets, some of them forgeries of our own posters, were dropped. What South Africa has failed to grasp is that our people are highly politicised and that this type of infantile ruse will not sway them.

One poster refers to twelve years of sustained struggle that the enemy is desperate and resorts to these unwarranted attacks. What they are concerned about is that it is twelve years since we have been recognised by the OAU and the UN. We are proud and appreciative that both the UN and the OAU have recognised the struggle waged by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO. This recognition is in fact a recognition of the sufferings, sacrifices and the total commitment of the Namibian people for complete independence of their motherland.

As far as Namibia being free, this is absolute rubbish. Even the imperialist powers who are the allies of South Africa know that this is not so. We do not want freedom where capitalism is still rampant and where our people are still enslaved. We are fighting for genuine independence and not to be led by Mudge, the former colonial administrator, or Du Plessis who was a member of the South African government.

A people who have a choice between oppression and freedom will never choose oppression over freedom. Other imperialists have tried the same tactics and with the exception of a few stooges, the masses have always opted for freedom.

South Africa has stated that the 60-hour bombardment of SWAPO camps in Angola and Zambia has caused the complete collapse of our infrastructure. It seems as if they have convinced themselves of their

own lies. SWAPO is stronger than ever and will continue the fight until victory.

These acts merely prove that the enemy is desperate and that the time is drawing near for our victory.

I would like, on behalf of the Central Committee of SWAPO, to pay tribute to the gallant fighters of PLAN for the successes scored over the enemy, and would like to assure them that the entire leadership of SWAPO and the people of Namibia are behind them. Furthermore, I would like to urge the Namibian people to persevere in their resistance to racism, colonialism, imperialism and puppetism and to stand firmly behind their national movement, SWAPO.

In conclusion, I would like to seize this opportunity to read one of the messages of condolences sent to the Governments of the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Angola.

"Comrade Secretary-General of UNIP, please accept our heartfelt condolences for the loss of lives of innocent citizens of Zambia, who were victims of South Africa's naked and barbaric aggression against the peace-loving Republic of Zambia.

We feel very deeply with you on this occasion, since a loss to Zambia is a loss to Namibia.

However, the enemy's desperate acts of aggression will never shake the existing bonds of comradeship and solidarity between UNIP and SWAPO and the people of Zambia and the people of Namibia. On the contrary, this will grow from strength to strength."

A similar message was sent to the Republic of Angola.

# NO ARMS FOR APARTHEID

On March 28, 1979 the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa was launched at the Zambian High Commission in London. Chairing the press conference was Mr Robert Hughes, Labour MP for Aberdeen North, and Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement. It was addressed by Her Excellency Miss L P Chibesakunda, High Commissioner of the Republic of Zambia; Mr Kwado F. Nyamekye, Ghanaian Representative on the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid and Abdul S. Minty, Honourary Secretary of the British Anti-

Apartheid Movement and Director of the World Campaign.

Patrons of the World Campaign include Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania; Sir Seretse Khama, President of Botswana and Dr Agostinho Neto, President of Angola. Among its sponsors are Olaf Palme and Coretta Scott King.

Below we print statements reflecting the importance of the World Campaign in the overall struggle to isolate the Botha/Vorster regime and an explanation of its aims and objectives by its Director, Abdul Minty.

## ANC President O.R. Tambo

█ In the early sixties the African National Congress, supported by the majority of the United Nations member states, insisted that the South African regime was a threat to international peace and security. This position was rejected by the big western powers who, defying United Nations Resolutions and world public opinion, proceeded to expand their economic and military collaboration with South Africa. This collaboration has since grown to embrace the development of nuclear weapons, and today with the increasing scope and intensity of armed expeditions and provocations by the South African regime against independent African states, there can be no denying that this racist regime is a threat to international peace and security.

But equally, no-one can deny that the staggering degree of Western support for Apartheid South Africa has ensured the racist regimes present economic, military and nuclear capacity. In the result, the policy of the western powers in Southern Africa constitutes a serious and immediate

threat to world peace and security. It has become urgent that the sinister role of these powers should be systematically monitored and constantly exposed in all detail to the world public.

The African National Congress accordingly welcomes the launching of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa as an important and timely contribution to the struggle for peace in Southern Africa, in Africa and internationally. █

Her Excellency, The High Commissioner for Zambia, Miss L.P. Chibesakunda

█ Zambia as one of the Front Line countries, has all along supported the struggle in Southern Africa. The launching of the World Campaign against western military and nuclear collaboration with South Africa is another aspect of the struggle against racist regimes in Southern Africa — that is why Zambia does support it.

South Africa has been recognised as one of the most powerful nations in

Africa due to the cooperation she has received from western countries. South Africa has been armed to the teeth at the expense of her neighbouring countries. As you know, South Africa helps in



*Miss L.P. Chibesakunda*

carrying out raids against these countries: There have been a number of violations of neighbouring states sovereignty, for instance recently in Angola to cite one example.

Zambia in particular, has suffered a number of these raids even before the independence of Angola and Mozambique. There is no doubt that South Africa poses a threat to peace in our region and also to international peace.

I think it is indulging in self-deception to arm South Africa and encourage it in its nuclear development because this is actually causing instability and bringing about a threat to international peace. The international community should refrain from any kind of collaboration with the racist regime be it economic or military.

**Commonwealth Secretary General,  
Shridath Ramphal**

■ In offering this message of support at the launching of the World Campaign against Military and Nuclear Collaboration with South Africa I am conscious of the overwhelming importance of this issue to the

success of the wider international campaign against apartheid.

The fact that South Africa is able to draw succour from other countries in the military and nuclear fields is a matter of deepest concern, because it vastly magnifies the danger to peace and security in the region with incalculable global repercussions. It is an outrage that it should be permitted to continue in flagrant defiance of the expressed will of the international community.

Much of the trade in armaments and the cooperation in nuclear technology between South Africa and the outside world is conducted clandestinely. A global campaign aimed at exposing the unpalatable realities of this collaboration is thus to be warmly welcomed as a service to humanity, to world peace, and to the countless victims of apartheid. The determination of the Commonwealth to play its part in eliminating the scourge of apartheid remains unshakeable and the World Campaign may be assured of the fullest Commonwealth support in its endeavours. ]

## **ABDUL MINTY:**

■ Broadly, the objectives of the World Campaign are to promote the widest awareness by world public opinion of the grave and increasing threat to international peace and security created by the system of Apartheid, and to campaign for an end to all forms of military, nuclear and security collaboration with the racist regime in South Africa.

South Africa is increasing its military budget annually, and seems to have very little difficulty in obtaining arms and equipment as well as other supplies for its military forces. In addition it is able to supply the Rhodesian forces with all the military hardware that they require. It is also clear that the South African regime has decided to embark on a major war in Southern Africa — both Salisbury and Pretoria are attacking African states with impunity.

Whilst we have a United Nations mandatory arms embargo, adopted in

November 1977, that embargo is extremely weak as is the national legislation passed by various countries such as Britain, West Germany and the US.

Basically the problem is that the UN resolution does not define arms and military equipment so that individual countries are free to interpret that section. In addition, it does not prohibit the supply of military patents and licences for internal arms production inside South Africa: It merely asks governments to look at them with a view to terminating those licences. Thirdly, on the question of nuclear collaboration, it does not forbid it at all but only refers to the fact that no country should help South Africa develop nuclear weapons as such. Of course no western power will admit to assisting South Africa in the nuclear field — exclusively to develop its military capability.

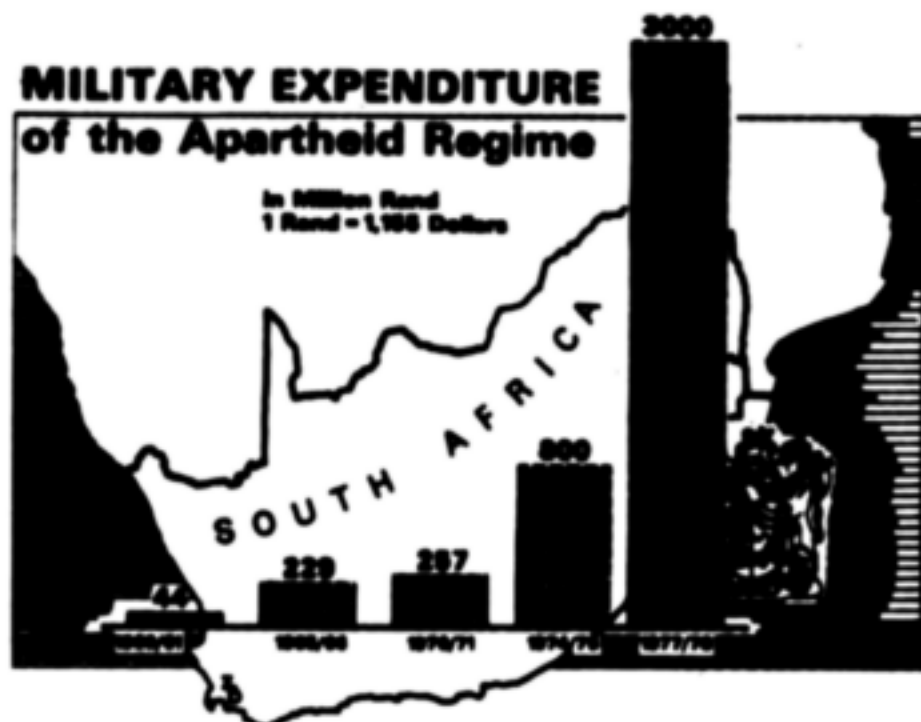
Although the anti-apartheid and solidarity movements are doing excellent work in this area at national level, there is a gap between this activity and what goes on at the United Nations. Very often, when African states take up the question of western arm supplies to South Africa, the western countries respond by giving them lengthy explanations about the way in which they interpret the embargo. In practice many African countries do not have enough background information on technical questions and are therefore at a certain disadvantage on these subjects.

We felt it would be useful to organise a World Campaign which would make representations to governments where appropriate in order to persuade them not to deal with South Africa in armaments or in any other supplies which help the apartheid military industry or military establishment; secondly, to provide this kind of information to the United Nations and particularly to its Security Council Committee which is concerned with implementing the embargo; that we should work for stricter enforcement of that embargo and that its terms should also be increased and made more comprehensive. In addition the Campaign would take up particular cases with governments, and where we do not get a satisfactory result, to expose those governments internationally.

As a result of the attacks against neighbouring countries, South Africa is committing regular breaches of the peace. Under Chapter Seven, the UN Charter provides for mandatory action by the United Nations against any member state which presents a threat to world peace, which commits acts of aggression or is involved in breaches of the peace. In the case of South Africa, it is guilty on all three counts. Therefore there is no absence of a case for taking action against South Africa.

We feel we may be useful to the Front Line States because they have pointed out to us that as a result of the attacks by the racist regimes, they have captured a great deal of military hardware from Rhodesia and South Africa. When they provide us with the details about this equipment, we can then make direct representations to the countries from which this equipment was supplied and thereby press them to implement a more effective arms embargo.

We will also be working on the question of mercenaries. There has been pressure by various anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations in those countries from which mercenaries have gone to Rhodesia and South Africa. But we have not been able to move the western powers on this question. One of the ideas we are working on, is to try and get a joint initiative by the Nordic and African countries of the UN so that they could put forward a UN Convention against mercenaries in the context of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa. We feel that the prospects for this Convention becoming a reality



are fairly good, provided that the governments at the UN take the appropriate initiatives in good time.

In practice the World Campaign will not have a very large organisation — it will aim to work through anti-apartheid movements, through the United Nations and through African and other sympathetic governments.

The World Campaign can never be a substitute for national mass mobilisation and mass pressure within individual

countries. Its role will simply be to stimulate and encourage action but the responsibility for organising mass campaigns within the collaborating countries remains with the anti-apartheid movements. I would say, that in the light of the growing war situation in Southern Africa, this responsibility has greatly increased.

## YEAR AGAINST APARTHEID

*Statement of the African National Congress on 21st March 1979 — End of the International Year Against Apartheid.*

Today, March 21st, the occasion of the International Day against Racism and Racial Discrimination and the 19th Anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre, marks the end of the United Nations International Year Against Apartheid.

As the Year against Apartheid began, President Oliver Tambo of the African National Congress of South Africa, speaking at the headquarters of the United Nations reminded the international community that "National oppression and fascist tyranny should draw up a balance-sheet to assess how the peoples throughout the world, of whom we are a part, have in fact contributed to making the Year Against Apartheid meaningful."

The Year began and ends with the racist regime of Botha and Vorster continuing to behave with arrogant disregard of the aspirations of the masses of our people and in open defiance of the international community which demands an end to apartheid and the transfer of power to the hands of all the people of South Africa.

Therefore our people have experienced a further all-round entrenchment of domination and persistent brutal repression of the patriotic forces of our country, with banning orders, long prison sentences, deaths in detention and solitary confinement continu-

ing as the order of the day.

In the same spirit, the regime has intensified its attempts to turn the independent African States of Southern Africa into its vassals, relying principally on naked military force to terrorise those countries into submission. The racist regime has repeatedly demonstrated in action that in its calculations the sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of the borders of those countries all count for nothing. Angola, Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia have continued to bear the brunt of this criminal and aggressive policy, which is carried out jointly with the forces of the regime with many lives lost and much property destroyed. This terror campaign is now being extended to Lesotho and Swaziland, particularly Lesotho which has lost many citizens killed in cold blood by agents of the Vorster-Botha regime.

Similarly the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe both inside their countries and in their refugee camps have suffered from repeated and man-hating aerial bombardment and ground attacks, in many cases carried out by the joint forces of Pretoria and Salisbury. Our own refugees have also not escaped these murderous attacks.

Yet all these criminal measures carried out inside South Africa and throughout our region are evidence of the desperation of the fascist regime in the face of the growing onslaught of the liberation forces and not a sign of strength as the racists would like to pretend.

Indeed the very capacity of the Pretoria regime to carry out its inhuman purposes would, during the Year Against Apartheid, have been limited except for the fact that exactly during this year, the major Western powers including the United States, Britain, France, West Germany and Japan increased their collaboration with apartheid South Africa.

These countries and their junior partners such as Israel, Chile, Taiwan and other countries continue to count on the colonial regime in South Africa as the guarantor of their interests in our country and one of their principal instruments for the reimposition and perpetuation of imperialist domination of Southern Africa and Africa.

The United Nations Year Against Apartheid had been a fitting occasion for the just solution of the problems of Namibia and Zimbabwe with power transferring into the hands of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, the sole and authentic representatives of the peoples of these countries.

Yet the imperialist countries worked to make certain that in fact this result was not achieved, essentially because they are not motivated by any desire to secure such just solutions. Rather they seek such an outcome as would perpetuate white minority rule in South Africa.

Hence the frantic attempts to set up puppet regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe coupled with the encouragement of and assistance to the Pretoria regime to commit aggression throughout Southern Africa. As the Year Against Apartheid ends, the imperialist powers continue to accord the South African regime the power of veto over all fundamental decisions affecting the lives and future of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

Hence the frantic attempts to set up puppet regimes in Namibia and Zimbabwe coupled with the encouragement of and assistance to the Pretoria regime

This policy is fraught with grave consequences not merely for our people and those of Southern Africa. In the pursuit of their selfish and anti-popular interests, the imperialist powers are actively contributing and participating in the sharpening of the threat to international peace and security that emanates from Pretoria.

Yet it has been the intensification of the struggle for the victory of the people's cause and the immense and growing international support for the ANC and our struggling people which resulted in the growing unpopularity, isolation and hence the aggressiveness and desperation of the apartheid regime and its allies.

For the Year Against Apartheid was characterised by these features. Feeling the sharpening of the onslaught by our liberation forces, the enemy has been forced to admit openly that our struggle, as led by the ANC, is bound to intensify regardless of what the enemy does.

In November last year Lennox Sebe, head of the Ciskei Bantustan, felt compelled to warn Botha that "immediately the Rhodesian and South West African problems are settled the ANC will begin a determined onslaught on South Africa, both externally and internally". He went on to say: "Events of the past have shown that should the ANC be determined enough in their efforts, they have a very good chance of success".

All the manoeuvres that the enemy has tried to stem this eventuality which frightens Chief Sebe have failed. Instead the stature and authority of our vanguard movement, the African National Congress has grown immensely among our heroic people. This is thanks to the fact that, in fulfilment of its historic mission, the ANC has continued to strengthen its links with the people and to lead them in daily struggle against fascist tyranny, its members demonstrating continuously their readiness to sacrifice their lives in the struggle to free the masses of our people. In defiance of the terrible battery of laws aimed at punishing any allegiance to the ANC, the Labour Party, representing 3 million Coloured people of our country spoke out openly at its conference in support of the aims and objectives of the ANC, reflecting the broad acceptance of these positions by the black people of our country as a whole.

The ever-growing commitment of the international community to the destruction of the apartheid regime was further reinforced during the Year Against Apartheid.



Important international representative gatherings took place in such diverse cities as Maputo, New Delhi, Addis Ababa, Geneva, Brussels, Bonn, Dublin, Reggio Emilia and Atlanta. As a result of all these and the great number of meetings at national levels the world anti-apartheid movement, constituted by governments, solidarity groups, national political parties and other popular organisations, the trade union movement, international organisations and prominent personalities, the solidarity movement has grown greatly in strength, in its cohesion and its power to secure the effective isolation of the Botha-Vorster regime.

Similarly, the relations between the African National Congress and this movement of solidarity with our people have also grown significantly and deepened during this year.

This development is exemplified by the open recognition of the ANC as the representative of our people by the governments and peoples of Finland and Ireland, joining countries of Western Europe such as Sweden, Norway and Holland with which the ANC has maintained relations for some time. It was also shown by the gracious audience granted to a joint delegation of SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and the ANC, by Pope John Paul II.

It is exemplified also by the opening of ANC missions in Cuba and the GDR with ambassadorial status, during this year, as a demonstration of the unequivocal commitment of the socialist countries, including embattled Vietnam to the total liberation of our country and our continent.

In Africa the relations of mutual solidarity in the first instance with SWAPO, the Patriotic Front and Polisario and all the independent countries of Southern Africa and Africa as a whole have continued to strengthen in step with our common heightened offensive against the regimes of reaction.

In Asia and Latin America, the Year Against Apartheid brought their similar gains marked by such great strides as the strengthening of our relations with the PLO, the all-round break in relations between Iran and Apartheid South Africa

and a historic visit of President Oliver Tambo to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The occasion of the 60th birthday of Nelson Mandela and the national and international campaign to save the young hero, Solomon Mahlangu from the fascist gallows have also demonstrated the heightened level of commitment of both our people and the international community to the liberation of our country sooner rather than later.

The ANC takes this solemn occasion to salute our comrades and friends wherever they may be for their immense courage and contribution during the passing International Year Against Apartheid which has seen the deepening of the crisis of Botha's racist regime and the rise of the authority of the People's movement in South Africa and abroad.

However this is no time for complacency. Further advances towards total victory have to be achieved. The enemy still holds power in South Africa and we have a duty to ourselves and to mankind as a whole to defeat this remaining fountainhead of fascism and racism in Africa.

The ANC has declared the year 1979 "Year of the Spear" the year in which we intensify all aspects of our struggle. To bring the enemy to his knees, our intensification of the struggle inside South Africa must be linked up with mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa, the full implementation of the arms embargo and material and political support for the ANC and our struggling people.

For these purposes the ANC supports the call of the World Peace Council issued in consultation with the United Nations to declare 1979-1980 the Year of International Mobilisation against Apartheid and for the liberation of Southern Africa.

South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe must be free!!

# THE ROLE OF ICOSA

Lisbon June 1977, was the venue for the World Conference Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa. This conference was historic not only because it was held in Portugal, which had so recently emerged from facism, but also, because it had the support and participation of the recently liberated Portuguese colonies: Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe. The conference was also significant because it brought together the four presidents of the Liberation Movements for the first time outside of Africa: President Oliver Tambo of the ANC (SA), President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO Namibia and the co-presidents Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe of the Patriotic Front Zimbabwe.

The Conference represented a new level of solidarity at an international level with the Liberation Movements of Southern Africa. It united together political parties, trade unions, students, youth, church and other non-governmental organisations with international and national anti-apartheid and solidarity forces, alongside inter-governmental and governmental bodies in the struggle against apartheid, racism and colonialism in Southern Africa. 336 participants representing 74 countries were in attendance. Messages of support were received from all over the world, and the conference was honoured by such distinguished patrons as: President Agostinho Neto — Angola; President Mwalimu Julius Nyerere—Tanzania; President Samora Machel—Mozambique and Sir Seretse Khama — Botswana.

The United Nations was represented by the personal delegate of its General Secretary, Dr. Kurt Waldheim, as well as by representatives of its various committees and agencies, such as the UN Special Committee, the UN Centre against Apartheid and

UNESCO.

In general terms the object of the Conference was to alert world public opinion and mobilise political, moral and material support to the cause of the liberation of the people of Southern Africa. The Conference clearly fulfilled this task. However as President Nkomo said in his speech to delegates: "I do not come here today to make a speech. This is no occasion for speeches. We have come here to talk about business. We have not come here to make declarations about apartheid. We have had enough. We have come here to agree on what to do to bury apartheid..."

The Conference therefore prepared and adopted a detailed "Programme of Action", one of the points of which was: *To establish a committee to follow up the conference decisions, and to mandate the Secretary General of the Conference to initiate consultations for the setting up of this body.*

Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, President of the Socialist Party of Cyprus, as Secretary General of the World Conference in response to this mandate and following a direct request from the three Liberation Movements called an inaugural meeting of this 'Follow-up/ Continuation Committee'. This was held in London, March, 1978, and was attended by delegations from the ANC (SA), SWAPO (Namibia) and the Patriotic Front (Zimbabwe), along with the officers and Praesidium members of the World Conference (or their representatives) Also in attendance were representatives of the Organisation of African Unity Liberation Committee, the World Peace Council, the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation, and invited national anti-apartheid and solidarity groups. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement very kindly acted as hosts for the meeting.

This meeting reaffirmed the sentiments



*From l to r, J. Jele, Vassos Lysserides, President Neto, Silas Cerqueira, Robert Hughes Fancine Bangoura*

of President Nkomo, unanimously agreeing the need for an international committee to follow the decisions of the World Conference with concrete actions. The meeting therefore took certain practical decisions.

- \* To create a secretariat composed of the ANC(SA), SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, the Secretary General and Executive Secretary of the World Conference together with an Administrative Secretary. The secretariat to meet on a bi-monthly basis.
- \* To open a London office and employ on a full time basis a representative of each of the three liberation movements as political secretaries, the administrative secretary and a technical secretary.
- \* To send a delegation to the Front Line States to meet with the Heads of State and the leaders of the Liberation Movements to directly obtain a current evaluation of the situation and the material problems being faced. Secondly, to discuss with these same leaders their role within the Continuation Committee and their political and material support for its activities.

The delegation consisted of Dr. Vassos Lyssarides, Dr. Silas Cerqueira (Executive

Secretary of the World Conference), Mr. Robert Hughes (Praesidium member of the World Conference, Labour Member of Parliament and Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement), Mr. Josiah Jele (National Executive Member, Director of International Dept of ANC (SA)) and H.E. Ambassador Fancine Bangoura (Guinea-Conakry).



This delegation met with great success. The committee is proud that both Presidents Neto and Machel graciously agreed to honour the committee with their patronage. Financial and active political support was forthcoming from the MPLA and FRELIMO, and the United Independent Party of Zambia (UNIP) promised to consider how it could help.

The second meeting of the Continuation Committee was held in the French Senate, Paris, December 13-14th. Seventy-one foreign delegates from twenty-nine countries, and representatives from twelve French national organisations attended this meeting. It was opened by M. Phillippe Machefer from the Socialist Group of Senators, and closed by M. Serge Boucheny from the Communist Group of Senators.

Mr. H. Kaluenja, Organising Secretary SWAPO, Mr S. Nkomo, Secretary for Manpower Patriotic Front (Zapu) and Mr. A. Nzo, Secretary General ANC(SA) addressed the meeting on behalf of their respective organisations. The meeting was also greatly assisted in its understanding of the crucial situation in Southern Africa by the contributions made by: H.E. Panguene — Central Committee FRELIMO, Mozambican Ambassador to Portugal; Mr. P. Msekwa — National Executive Secretary of Chama Cha Mapinduzi of Tanzania; H.E. J.F. Martino — MPLA, Angolan Ambassador to Yugoslavia; H.E. I. Manda — UNIP, Zambian Ambassador to France.

The meeting was also honoured by the presence of H.E. K. Damantang, President of the Legislative Assembly, Member of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

It was attended by twenty-nine anti-apartheid and solidarity movements and the following international organisations: UN Special Committee against Apartheid; UNESCO; Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation; World Peace Council; World Federation of Trade Unions; International Defence and Aid Fund; Christian Conference for Peace; Pan African Youth Movement; International University Exchange Fund; Womens International Democratic Federation; Organisation of Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The meeting was significant in the

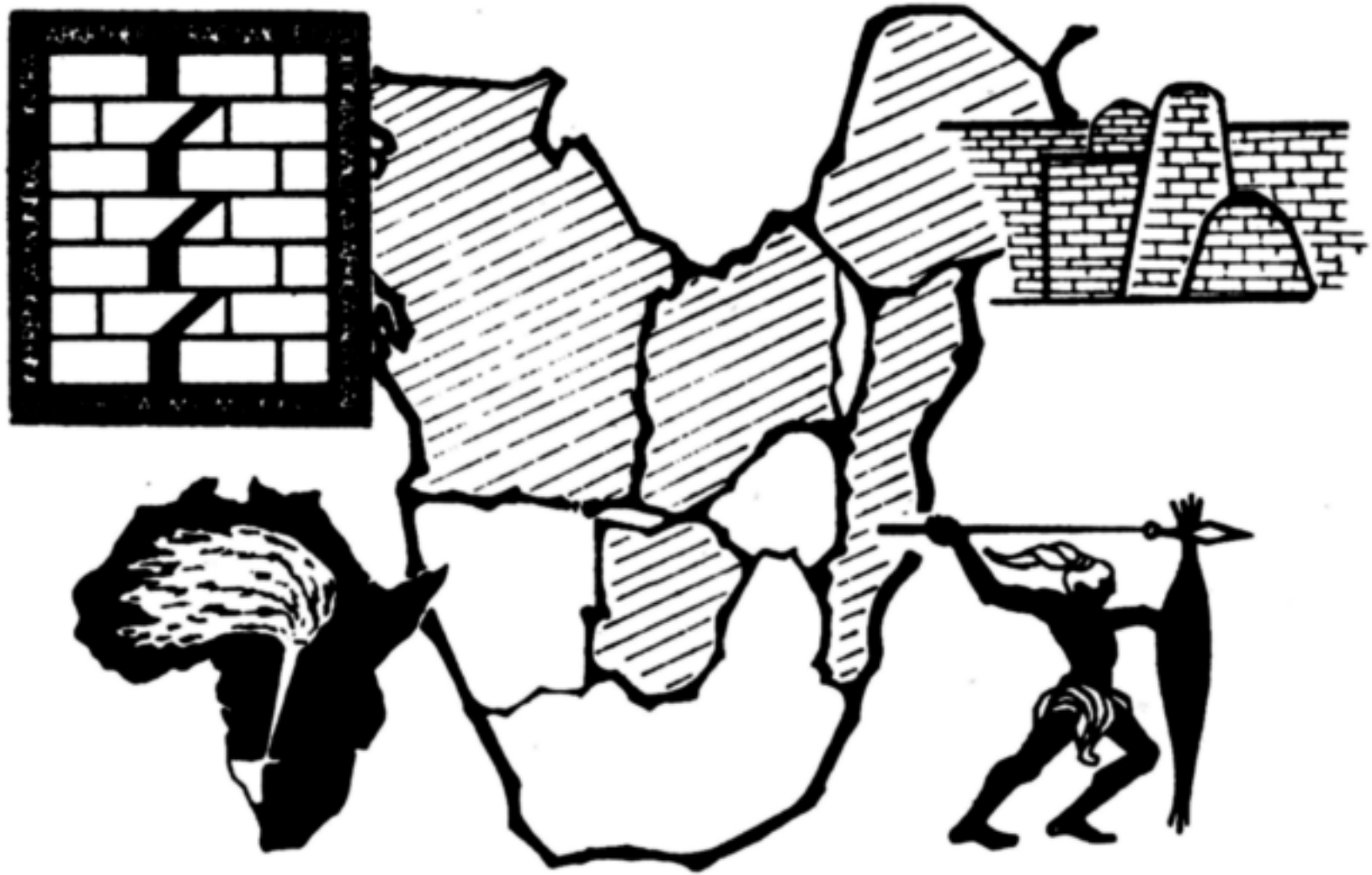
development of the committee since it clarified its nature and role, its area of work and its responsibilities. At the initiative of the Liberation Movements, the committee took on a new and broader role than simply to follow up the decisions of the World Conference. Because of this shift in character, the committee also changed its name from the 'Continuation Committee' to the 'International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa' (ICSA).

### Role and Perspective of ICSA

The permanent representatives of the three Liberation Movements jointly compose the political leadership of ICSA, and as such this secretariat represents the policy and perspectives of the Liberation Movements. It is not meant to substitute or interfere with the Liberation Movements' individual bi-lateral relations with the international solidarity forces, but rather to enhance and re-inforce them. The three political secretaries, based in London, are collectively representing the Liberation Movements. ICSA only exists because the Liberation Movements want it to exist, and in many ways it is their creation.

In practical terms ICSA has the following functions:

1. To promote internationally the aims and objectives of the ANC(SA), SWAPO and the Patriotic Front;
2. To campaign for the implementation of the 'Programme of Action' adopted in Lisbon, 1977. Clearly this document needs to be continually modified and updated as the struggle develops, therefore it only serves as a guideline for action.
3. To maintain and develop the high degree of unity achieved at the World Conference amongst all anti-racist and democratic movements and organisations;
4. To promote the development of solidarity organisations in countries where they are either weak or non-existent, especially of countries of key concern to Southern Africa;
5. To promote co-operation internationally between the solidarity and anti-apartheid



forces, and where necessary to serve as an information centre and coordinating body. As such, ICSA needs to directly involve and serve the interests of the solidarity groups as well as those of the Liberation Movements;

6. To initiate international campaigns in response to developments within Southern Africa;
7. To produce on a regular basis a bulletin and from time to time other publications that will provide a vehicle for the Liberation Movements to rapidly communicate with the international community. To report on the activities of the various national and international organisations and to assist in the coordination of these activities.

To summarise, ICSA is a working committee composed of the three Liberation Movements in unity with the forces internationally which identify with the real and effective liberation of Southern Africa. Its mandate is to give political, moral and material support to the Liberation Movements, to ensure the effective isolation of the racist regimes of Pretoria and Salisbury and to assist the national and international solidarity forces.

#### Structure

ICSA has a four tier structure:

1. Patrons: ICSA is honoured to have the

high patronage of several African heads of State.

2. Praesidium: Initially the Praesidium, which is composed of individual personalities was established on the basis of the officers and praesidium of the World Conference. However, it is open to additions by ICSA following consultation with the Liberation Movements.
3. Representation: Ordinary members of ICSA are representatives of international and national organisations which support the aims and objectives of ICSA.
4. Secretariat: As previously mentioned the Secretariat is composed of the three Liberation Movements, Dr. Vassos Lysserides, Dr. Silas Cerqueira and an administrative secretary.

The remarks made above are not at all meant to give a comprehensive appraisal of the tasks and scope of ICSA. They are meant to introduce this international body to its owners, the revolutionary forces of our time. As the struggle against apartheid intensifies so will the tasks and responsibilities of ICSA expand. We appeal to progressive forces to support the work of the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa.

# OBITUARY:

## MFUNDISI

The National Executive Committee and the entire membership of the African National Congress dip the revolutionary banner of our heroic struggle for national and social liberation, in memory of Comrade Maurice Mavuso, who was affectionately known by his numerous comrades and his close associates as 'Mfundisi'. He met his untimely death on 26th March 1979.

Comrade Mfundisi's record of service as a dedicated and loyal member of the African National Congress, an ardent patriot and true son of his people has left an indelible imprint in the annals of the revolutionary struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and indeed of the whole Southern African region.

From his early youth to the last moments of his rich revolutionary life, his young heart was fired with the unquenchable determination of fully dedicating his boundless energies to the all-round intensification of the revolutionary struggle for the national and social liberation of his people. He allowed nothing whatsoever to divert him from the execution of his many and varied tasks which he carried out with unsurpassed devotion.

Comrade Mfundisi is a foundation member of Umkhonto we Sizwe whose over-riding pledge binds each individual member of this military wing of the African National Congress to carry through the revolutionary struggle, holding firmly the Spear of the Nation until victory or death. Like many of his compatriots who have already fallen at their duty posts, Mfundisi remained true to this pledge to his last breath. When he met his tragic death he was on duty. The nature of our struggle involves tasks which because of their complexity and delicacy must needs fall on the shoulders of tried and tested cadres in whom our revolutionary movement has

trust and faith. He was such a cadre.

Comrade Mfundisi met his death while still in the prime of his youth. He still had his whole life ahead of him. He had already won the friendship, comradely affection and respect of all those who had come into contact with him inside and outside our revolutionary movement. He was an embodiment of the militant traditions which have created unbreakable bonds of revolutionary solidarity and friendship uniting our movement with the vanguard organisations of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe and indeed the progressive forces of the whole world.

Comrade Mfundisi has departed from our ranks at a time when our enemies are clearly engaged in a last ditch back-to-the-wall struggle for survival. The revolutionary forces in the whole region are demolishing, one after another the barriers which are separating our people from attaining their cherished goal of national independence and social regeneration.

The besieged enemy in its desperation is hoping to postpone its destruction by intensifying its reactionary reprisals against the oppressed peoples and their revolutionary organisations. It is in pursuit of this survival strategy that at this time when the whole revolutionary movement in Southern Africa is mourning the untimely death of Comrade Mfundisi, yet another hero of our struggle, Comrade Solomon Mahlangu is meeting his death on the gallows of the fascist Botha/Vorster regime. The regime is perpetrating this heinous crime in total disregard of a crescendo of protests, both inside and outside South Africa, demanding the release of Solomon.

In lasting memory of Comrade Mfundisi, Solomon Mahlangu and all other martyrs

of our struggle, we pledge to pursue the revolutionary cause for which they lived

and dedicated themselves until final victory.  
**HAMBA KAHLE MFUNDISI!**

" Man's dearest possession is life. Since it is given to him to live but once, he should live so as to feel no torturing regrets.... So live that dying he can say: All my life, and all my strength were given for the finest cause in the world; the liberation of mankind"

N. Ovstrovsky.

## **VERA PONNEN**

*Extracts from a statement by the ANC in Canada, on the occasion of a memorial service held to mark the death of Comrade Vera Ponnén, on Sunday, March 11, 1979.*

Vera came to South Africa in 1938, getting a job as a governess to some children who were bound for South Africa. The next year she went to Johannesburg and while there she met members of the Communist Party and later joined the Party and carried out its activities.

Vera worked for the Housewives League, the South African Federation of Democratic Women and was one of the founders of the Non-European Soldiers' Dependents League during the Second World War. She was an Executive Member of the Congress of Democrats.

Vera was involved in many strikes of black workers fighting for better wages and conditions and against unjust laws. She was secretary of the Brewery and Mineral Workers Union composed of African, Indian and Coloured workers.

She was the first woman to be banned in the Province of Natal under the Suppression of Communism Act. Vera was banned

for five years and placed under house arrest for another five.

George Ponnén, her husband, was the first man to be banned for five years in Natal in 1950. He was thus removed from his position as Secretary/Organiser of a number of trade unions. His means of livelihood was completely cut off. He started dressmaking and Vera helped him in this to make a living and continued to carry out political work underground.

In 1967 Vera followed her husband to Zambia, leaving South Africa on an exit permit. During nearly 10 years in Zambia Vera continued her work for the ANC.

Vera has been ill for a long time. She was hospitalized in Edmonton, Canada and breathed her last on the 1st of March, 1979, at the age of 64.

Comrade Vera was a kind and courageous person, a great internationalist. She was a brave fighter for freedom and a great mother.

**Hambe Kahle Vera!**

# IMPERIALISM REVISITED

*Africa South; Imperialist Plots and Miscalculations* by Nicolai Turkatenko, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow 1979.

Appearing at a time of mounting aggression by the apartheid regime and its allies, and upsurge of the national liberation movements, this pamphlet is a timely reminder of the need for vigilance and a clear appraisal of imperialist manoeuvres in Southern Africa. Turkatenko analyses western strategy in the African sub-continent and exposes its changing tactics in the face of the rising tide of national liberation.

Characterising South Africa as an 'imperialist local centre of power', the author underlines the vital importance of our country to the west. In covering the extent of investment in Apartheid, he points to the basis for US interest in the area. Figures quoted reveal that monopolies operating from Southern Africa export 98% of US needs in cobalt, 99% of its manganese, 91% of the uranium and 80% of US consumption of platinum. (p.23)

The politics behind military collaboration with the racist regime are sharply dealt with. 'Saving Africa for the West' involves the all-round strengthening of South Africa's military capability. Turkatenko equates Pretoria's role with that of Zionist Israel in the Middle East. This 'local centre of military power' can be utilized to safeguard imperialist interests in the sub-continent without necessitating direct military intervention by the west.

He warns that progress is being made in making South Africa a component part of imperialism's military machine. This is evidenced by reports on the setting up of a South Atlantic military bloc under the aegis of the US and NATO and in alliance

with reactionary forces in Latin America.

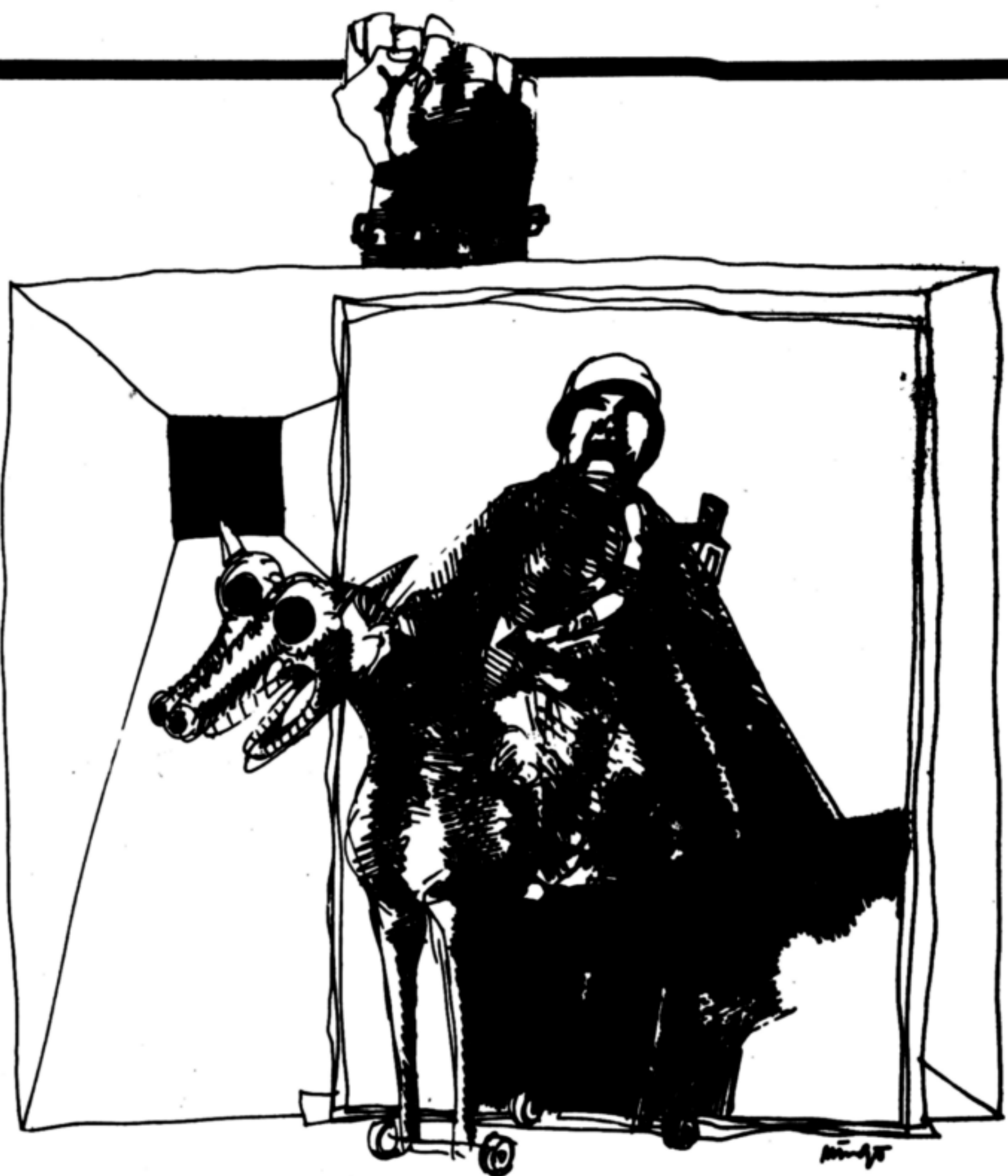
The imperialists are employing a wealth of tactics in their bid to strengthen South African 'sub imperialism'. US policy on Africa during the last decade, has been anchored to the notorious Memorandum 39 based on "consolidating the role of southern African sub-imperialism for securing and advancing the political, economic, and strategic interests of imperialism as a whole." (p.49)

But with the victories of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique, and the upsurge of the liberation movement as a whole, the US had to undergo an 'agonising reappraisal' of the *methods* employed in their Southern African policy.

The flurry of diplomatic activity and shuttle diplomacy by the west, heralded the new era of the so-called 'peaceful settlement' in Southern Africa. The Americans set out to court 'black Africa', maintaining a precarious balancing act as they simultaneously declared their intention of working with the apartheid regime to 'eliminate the threat to peace in the southern part of the African continent'.

It was against this background that the concept of 'internal settlements' began to be pushed as a solution to our problems. The unprecedented violence of the apartheid regime both inside and outside its borders, has made it more and more difficult for the west to openly support the racists. Thus the need for a swift solution in Zimbabwe on the west's terms. As Turkatenko says: "Behind the sameness of the provisions of the 1976 American plan and those of the 'internal settlement' agreement of 1978 can be seen the identity of interests of the imperialist forces and the racist regimes...It is this, too, that determines





the tactics of the western powers in this region." (p.63)

The pamphlet also deals with the strength of the national liberation movements, the progressive countries of Africa, and with the role of international solidarity played by the Socialist countries. Turkatenko demolishes the myth of the 'Soviet threat' to Africa. Nothing he says, can prevent the world's progressive forces "from helping the African peoples to complete the process of the full and final liquidation of the shameful system of colonialism and racism in their land." (p.71)

Our guarantee for victory lies in unity, solidarity and vigilance. The author warns that the imperialists will use still more

subtle methods aimed at 'dividing states and splitting the ranks of the liberation movement'. It is the strength of this work, short as it is, that through it we better understand the nature of our enemy — his strengths and weaknesses. It is essential reading for all those who wish to be equipped to defend and extend the gains of the revolution in Southern Africa.

*H.R.*

---

# AFRIKA MAYIBUYE

Mayibuye —

The sons and daughters of Africa remained hopeful  
one day  
some day  
our mother will be returned to us

Yesterday  
armed with stones  
and determination  
the voices of freedom  
echoed from  
Soweto to the Cape Flats  
Gelvandale to Kwa Mashu  
as Vorsters henchmen  
murdered man and child

Today  
the sons and daughters of Africa  
embrace the weapons of our struggle  
with guns and truth we swear  
that our mother shall be returned to us

*Ilva Mackay*



**SECHABA  
and other  
ANC Publications  
are obtainable  
from the following  
Addresses:**

---

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
P. O. Box 1791  
**LUSAKA**  
Zambia

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
P. O. Box 2239  
**DAR ES SALAAM**  
Tanzania

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
P. O. Box 3523  
**LUANDA**  
People's Republic of Angola

The Representative  
African National Congress  
of South Africa  
Federal Government Special  
Guest House  
Victoria Island  
**LAGOS**  
Nigeria

The Representative  
African National Congress  
of South Africa  
26 Avenue Albert Sarraut  
**DAKAR**  
Senegal

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
P. O. Box 680  
**MOROGORO**  
Tanzania

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi  
**ALGIERS**  
Algeria

The Representative  
African National Congress –  
South Africa  
5 Ahmad Hishmat Street  
**ZAMALEK Cairo**  
Arab Republic of Egypt

The Representative  
African National Congress  
of South Africa  
310 East 44th Street,  
**NEW YORK, N. Y.**  
NYC 10074 – USA.

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
Box 302  
Adelaide Postal Station,  
**TORONTO – Ontario M5C-2J4**  
Canada

African National Congress –  
South Africa  
Flat 68 – Bhagat Singh Market  
**NEW DELHI – 1**  
India

The Representative  
African National Congress  
of South Africa  
P. O. Box 2073  
**S-103 12 STOCKHOLM 2**  
Sweden

The Representative  
African National Congress  
of South Africa  
Via Capo d'Africa 47  
**00184 ROME**  
Italy

SECHABA Publications  
28 Penton Str.,  
**LONDON N1 9 PR**  
England

**DDR-1106 BERLIN**  
Angerweg 2  
Wilhelmsruh



SOLDIER  
MAHLANGU  
FIGHTER  
AGAINST  
APARTHEID

SOLOMO  
HLANG  
S NO  
WHITE  
CRI

SOUTH AFRICAN

MEMBER OF  
MAHLANGU

MEMBER OF