

APRIL



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



YEAR OF THE SPEAR

SECHABA

April Issue 1979

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EDITORIAL:

The Year of the Spear

O.R. TAMBO:

January 8 Message

FRATERNAL GREETINGS:

SWAPO and MPLA

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

BOPHUTHATSWANA:

"Independence"

SOUTH AFRICA:

Defence Strategy

STATE CRIMINALITY

ANC IN EAST AFRICA

BOOK REVIEW

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32

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THE YEAR OF THE SPEAR

The African National Congress has declared 1979 "The Year of the Spear" in commemoration of the centenary of the great battle when amabutho ka Cetshwayo (Cetshwayo's regiments) won a great victory at the battle of Isandhlwana. We commemorate this event not because we like to glorify our past. On the contrary we draw serious lessons from our past; lessons which help us to take decisions for the execution of the struggle today; we assess and evaluate our past with the aim of mastering the present and planning the future.

This decision has serious implications for our movement as a whole and for us as individual members. Whilst basing ourselves on the positive traditions of our people we have to wage a bitter struggle against negative traditions and tendencies: laziness, complacency, "impatience", sectarianism and factionalism of any kind. This is the essence of the interconnection between revolution and tradition.

Isandhlwana taught us many lessons. One of them is the significance of unity, an ideal which is cherished by all our people and finds expression in our freedom songs: "Mzulu, Mxhosa, Msuthu hlanganani" (Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho unite). It is important to state that unity has a clear political content. When we talk of unity we mean the unity of the healthy forces of our society. We exclude those who collaborate with the racists or those who are working for international imperialism.

What about the military traditions of our people? They are still alive, especially among the rural population and are expressed in dances, folklore, drama, theatre and music. It is our noble task to invoke and develop these traditions to meet the demands of the new situation which has arisen since Isandhlwana.

The merger of the working class and intelligentsia towards the end of the last century signalled the emergence of new forces which were destined to play an important role in our struggle for national liberation, self-determination and social emancipation and this led to the formation of the African National Congress in 1912. This is a landmark in our long march to freedom. When Umkhonto we Sizwe was formed in 1961, the ANC laid a foundation for producing freedom fighters of a new type; men who are inspired by the deeds of their forefathers; the grandchildren of the warriors of Isandhlwana. In the Wankie operations of 1967/68 the soldiers of Umkhonto — the Spear — showed high qualities of courage and determination, high political convictions and moral standards. These qualities included physical fitness, high mobility and speed, iron discipline and fearlessness. Like Cetshwayo's soldiers they were confident in their own capability and making skillful use of the tactic of surprise attack — hit and run and drawing the enemy up all manner of blind alleys.

The soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe are sons and daughters of the toiling masses of the South African workers and peasants hence their closeness to the masses who confide in them and they in turn have confidence in them. Some of them have already contributed to the production of material wealth which they were not allowed to enjoy. They are entering the country to fight as urban and "bush" guerrillas. They have seized the traditional weapon of our people — the spear — they are building and strengthening their organisation the ANC; mobilising the people and in the tradition of the warriors of Isandhlwana they are thrusting the spear into the bosom of the enemy.

O.R. TAMBO: JANUARY 8 MESSAGE

New Year Message by Comrade President Oliver Tambo on the occasion of January 8, 1979, the 67th Anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Fellow countrymen — Militants of the African National Congress and of the struggle for liberation in our country — Cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe inside South Africa and outside — Comrades-in-Arms in different parts of the world — Friends, Allies, supporters and sympathisers. We greet you on this 67th birthday of the African National Congress.

January 8th, 1979 is a day on which we are recalling the first steps which were taken along a new road by our forefathers, a day which comes at a time when power in our region is visibly changing hands. As we mark and observe this anniversary of our liberation movement, the African National Congress, the air still resounds with the echo and whine of bullets of Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres who have during this past year been striking a series of telling blows against the enemy. This day also comes at a time when our fraternal liberation movements — SWAPO of Namibia and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe have reached the very threshold of power. In Zimbabwe, a generalised offensive is unfolding and the days of the racists and their stooges are strictly numbered.

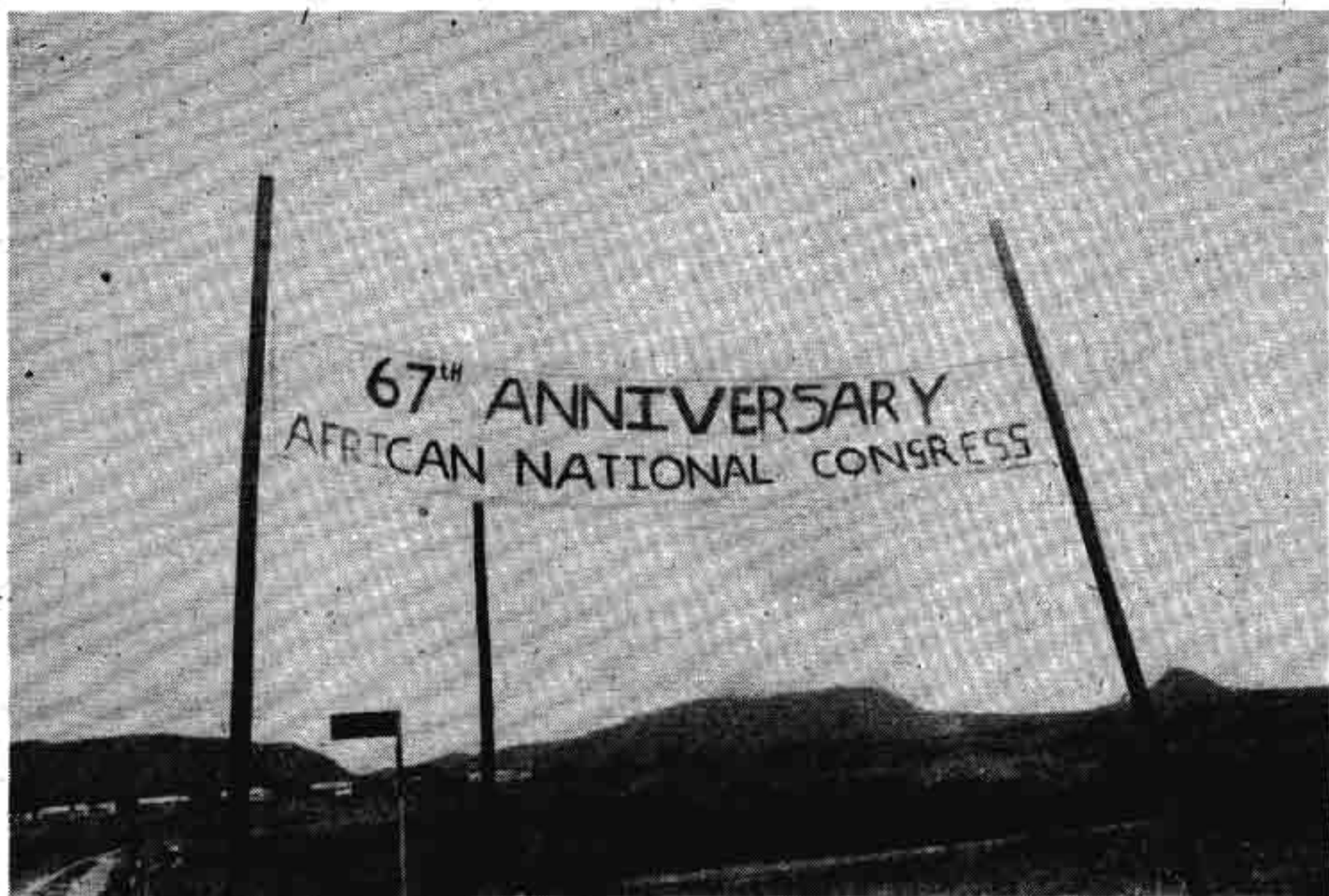
Today, sixty-seven years after the great inaugural conference in Bloemfontein, the tasks which our founding fathers set themselves — the overthrow of white minority domination and the creation of a democratic South Africa — are yet to be accomplished. But, indisputably, we are making significant progress towards the attainment of our cherished and historic goal of liberation in

our country. More than ever before, we are confident of victory.

Thanks to the international support and solidarity our movement has organised and mobilised over the years, the racist Vorster/Botha regime stands isolated in the international community today. World opinion has denounced and castigated the apartheid regime. Even its erstwhile supporters must publicly spurn it to avoid international opprobrium.

On the other hand, the justice and legitimacy of the struggle of the millions of oppressed in our country has won firm and widespread international recognition. Throughout this past year, as our people sustained the offensive against the repressive and violent system of racist oppression and exploitation, there were striking examples of the growing international acceptance of the African National Congress as the authentic leader of the liberation movement in South Africa, the representative of the real interests of all the people of South Africa. This recognition of the leading role of the African National Congress and its allies in the liberation struggle is itself a tribute to the indomitable spirit and indeflectable determination of all the oppressed and exploited, as well as all true democrats of our country, who have stayed in the field of struggle, growing from strength to strength over a period of many decades, the African National Congress being throughout this time the expression of their united strength, and the spearhead of their drive towards a new South Africa. In turn, we salute all the friendly peoples of the world with whom we share the common objective of a new world order.

The African National Congress, the mass of our people and the world progressive community, including the United Nations



The entrance to Mazimbu — January 8 1979

and the majority of its member countries, comprising the OAU, the Socialist countries, the non-aligned group of nations and countries and governments in Western Europe. We are all together involved as partners and allies in the noble task of removing from the face of the earth, an outrageous scourge, a social cancer in the form of the apartheid regime and the violent structure it has created to perpetuate itself. Today, this regime is sponsoring and spreading death and destruction and terror all over Southern Africa. But victory and the future belongs to the forces for progress and peace, not to racists, baaskapists, colonialists, and aggressors.

We warn the Western powers, that unless they forthwith discontinue their political, economic and military support for the Vorster-Botha-Smith regimes, white minority racist rule, with or without its puppets and stooges, will have ruined all the much-vaunted western interests in Southern Africa long before the oppressed and exploited masses destroy this white domination, which they will.

It is not without significance that the vicious campaigns of terror unleashed upon our people by the Vorster/Botha regime have only served to stoke the fires of revolution.

Our students and teachers have maintained a magnificent unity in the fight against Bantu Education and dare challenging many of the expressions of white racist arrogance. Our youth who have often spearheaded this militancy have kept alive the spirit of the 1976 uprisings.

The black working class has used its most powerful weapon, the withdrawal of its labour power, on numerous occasions to prevent the manoeuvres of the exploiters who have sought to make the working people pay for the crisis of their capitalist system. Our people in Crossroads, Clermont and other places that the racists had earmarked for demolition have by their vigilance and the support of the masses stayed the hand of the racist persecutor.

Despite the difficulties and hazards involved, units of Umkhonto we Sizwe, 3

are spreading their armed presence in the country, and the enemy provokes them at its peril, as recent experience has demonstrated; for, to the armed attacks and brutal force the enemy uses against the people, the people have now to respond with armed force. What is more, the experience of our lifetime, including the experience of June 16, 1976 and after, teaches us that the issue of power and peace in our country, as elsewhere, will be resolved in our favour only by an effective combination of political and armed activity, activity, however, targetted, not on persons, but on the racist system — except when persons go out of their way to defend the system.

The churches have in the past encouraged and participated in the practice of violence against our people by urging and collaborating with apartheid, itself a brutally violent system which can have no future. Recently, however, to significant measure, church leaders are identifying themselves with the cause of justice, regardless of the consequences. Many among them, in South Africa and abroad, have come to realise that however much they abhor all violence, a violent system, defended and upheld with unrestrained use of armed force, does not lend itself to peaceful ways of dismantling it. On the contrary, it can only breed counter-violence — at the very least, as perfectly natural process. But what is more, systems of the South African racist type have outlived their time by decades. There is no place for them today, except perhaps as detonators of large-scale war.

The African National Congress is, demonstrably, a peace-loving people's movement because the majority of the people of South Africa whom it has led for decades love peace. We all recall the policy of non-violence which governed the militant struggles of the 50's, led by the African National Congress. It was the armed police who opened fire on unarmed people in Sharpsville and Ngquza Hill in 1960. It was the armed police, urged on by Vorster himself, who murdered, not just 300, but nearly 1,000 children in Soweto alone in 1976.

The people of Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana, Angola and Namibia have died

in their thousands, all killed by Ian Smith and the Vorster/Botha regimes who are attacking in close collaboration both in the planning and in the attack. Southern Africa, as a matter of stark reality, is at war.

We have all failed to reach our cherished goal of peace the soft way. It is clearly impossible to avoid the hard way to peace.

In our message to our people today, we call attention to the lesson of our own history, our own times; to the reality of our own situation: **NOTHING WILL CHANGE** except at the instance of the majority of our people of all races and social strata: **NOTHING WILL CHANGE** without enduring and sustained sacrifice on our part. **NOTHING — NO FORCE ON EARTH**, can deny us the victory of our just and united struggle. As we observe this anniversary of the formation of the African National Congress, the expression of the spirit of unity of the oppressed, we invite all our countrymen in their various organisational formations to seek and find ways of co-operation and collaboration in the quest for justice in our country, for liberation. The enemy of freedom for peoples has evolved a decisive structure which has found support among some of the victims of that structure.

The African National Congress calls upon all oponents of racial arrogance, domination and white supremacy to unleash this year, a determined assault on the artificial political, economic and racist barriers which go under the term apartheid or separate development. We invite all true patriots to join in this effort. It is our hope, it is our aim, that we should observe the 25th anniversary of the Freedom Charter on June 26 1980, under the banners of a people united in the declaration of the Freedom Charter, which says that "South Africa belongs to all who live in it", and that we can together re-affirm our commitment to the principle of "one country, one people, one government — a government of the people of South Africa". In this connection, the declaration of support for the African National Congress by the Labour Party is of great historic significance and will rank among the outstanding milestones in the march of the South African people towards a common nationhood, rich in its variety and experience, grounded on the strongest

foundations of human equality and non racialism.

This great initiative taken by the Labour Party, will surely be followed by all who believe we are fellow-countrymen, seeking a just future for ourselves and our children, a just future for mankind.

Let us in South Africa learn to stop being Bantus, Coloureds, Indians and Whites. Let us be what we are, Africans in Africa. Let those who are committed racists, who came to this continent determined to keep Africans in chains, to be perpetual white masters over Blacks — let them persist in their role as foreigners on African soil.

But the ANC, the majority of us in South Africa, supported by the world community, will, continue to convince them by our struggle that there is no longer any place in Africa for the enemies of Africa, and no longer any place in the world community for racists.

The ANC is launching a three year programme which will culminate in the observance of its 70th anniversary in January 1982. A programme which will reflect our struggle and activities in all fields, rising from strength to strength and reaching on that date a scale worthy of the heroes and martyrs of our struggle — worthy of the courage and dauntless determination of our youth, workers, peasants, women, intelligentsia and other social forces who represent the vast majority of our people.

It is our conviction and hope that 1982 will find the ANC with a membership representative of a cross section of our entire population, a membership which will include a substantial percentage of those South Africans now living under the doubtful privilege of being "White".

In looking forward to the challenging tasks of the next three years, we cannot overlook the year of the great Isandlwana.

One hundred years ago, King Cetshwayo's peoples army spoke to the invading enemy with their spears. At the battle of Isandlwana, it engaged and defeated the pride of the British colonial army — a feat which has gone down in history as one of the most glorious and spectacular achievements in the world struggles to resist foreign domination. Faced with the might of superior arms our heroic warriors knew no

fear. They shed rivers of blood to remain a free people in the land which was theirs.

In a war which was deliberately provoked by the enemy, the people's army gave clear notice that a time comes in the life of a people when there is only one way out — the way of challenging oppression by force and violence.

In doing so, they added a glorious page to the long history of our people's heroic resistance to the robbery of the land of their fore-fathers. Isandlwana has left us with a heritage whose spirit of no surrender, whose spirit of sacrifice and discipline, inspires and guides our whole nation in the battles to come, a heritage which is a challenge to all of us — the children of ISANDLWANA.

This great battle was one of many battles fought in the two hundred years during which, in different parts of the country, stretching from the Western Cape to the northern most reaches of the Transvaal, our people, spears in hand, fought war after war in defence of their land, our freedom and for peace. Isandlwana was the highest point in this protracted struggle. It was, for the spear of our people, a moment of glory!

Today, one hundred years later, let us salute this great weapon of our people and pay the highest tribute to the brave and gallant men who brought honour to the cause of justice and pride to all opponents of colonial plunder and national oppression.

Because of the central role played by the people's weapon, the spear, the African National Congress has decided to proclaim 1979 as THE YEAR OF THE SPEAR.

It is a year in which our people must, as never before, take up the challenge of the spirit of Isandlwana and other battles fought by our people, in every factory, farm, kraal and home. Let us make 1979 a year in which every man and woman, and all our youth and children will learn the true meaning of the great tradition of Isandlwana and other battles fought by our people in decades and centuries of resistance. Let us spread the message of defiance and resistance to all forms of racist rule. And let us popularise our cause — the cause of a new South Africa. Let us spread the spear, which is the symbol of

Isandlwana, to every corner of our land.

Finally, on this day we salute our leaders, our brothers and sisters in enemy jails. We salute Solomon Mahlangu. We salute the militants of the African National Congress, the various forces fighting exploitation and oppression in our country — in the cities and in the countryside. We wish you and all our friends a great year — **THE YEAR OF THE SPEAR!**

Let us all go forward in rising levels of intensity of struggle to the Year of the Spear, 1979, to the year of the Freedom Charter, 1980; to the year of the 70th anniversary of the African National Congress, 1982.

**AMANDLA! MAATLA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

*8th January 1979.
Luanda, People's Republic of Angola.*



Message from Agostinho Neto, President of the Peoples Republic of Angola.

Em Nome do Comité Central do MPLA — Partido Partido do Trabalho, do Governo da República Popular de Angola, do Povo Angolano e em meu nome pes soal, felicitamos com calor revolucionário oo 67. Aniversário da Fundacao do Congresso Nacional Africano (A.N.C.) da Africa do Sul.

Foi no dia 8 de Janeiro de 1912, que o povo oprimado de Africa do Sul fundou o seu Movimento de Vanguarda o A.N.C. instrumento fundamental no conducao do seu Povo na luta pela Independência, a Liberdade, o Progresso e o bem estar do Povo.

A Dura luta que travam contra o regime racista e de apartheid é apoiada sem reservas pelo nosso Partido, Governo e Povo e sejam quais forem as manobras dos racistas e seus lacaios, a vitória do povo explorado por vós conduzida será certa.

Reafirmamos através de si Camarada Presidente e solidariedade militante do MPLA - Partido do Trabalho, do Governo da República Popular de Angola e do povo angolano ao povo primido da África do Sul dirigido pela sua Vanguarda Revolucionária o Congresso Nacional Africano (A.N.C.) da Africa do Sul.

A Luta Continua!

A Vitória é Certa!

In the name of the Central Committee of the MPLA - Party of Labour, of the Government of the Peoples Republic of Angola, of the Angolan people and in my personal capacity, we offer warm revolutionary greetings on the occasion of the 67th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress of South Africa.

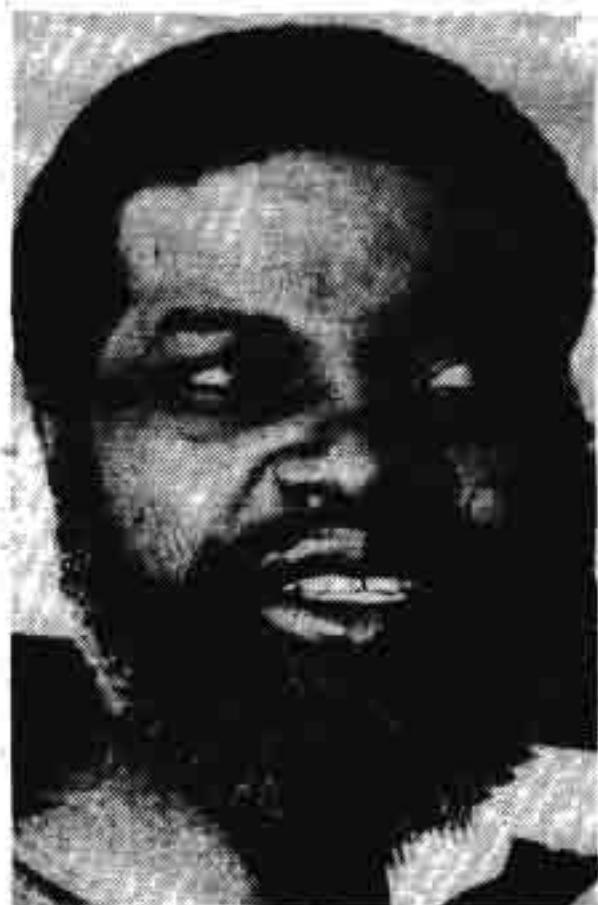
It was on 8 January 1912 that the oppressed people of South Africa founded their vanguard movement the ANC, fundamental instrument in the leadership of the people in the struggle for Independence, Freedom, Progress and the Welfare of the People.

The hard struggle which you conduct against the racist apartheid regime is supported unreservedly by our Party, Government and people, and whatever the

manoeuvres of the racists and their lackeys, the victory of the oppressed people led by yourselves is certain.

We reaffirm, through you, Comrade President, the militant solidarity of the MPLA - Party of Labour, of the Government of the Peoples Republic of Angola and the Angolan people, to the oppressed people of South Africa led by their revolutionary vanguard, the ANC of South Africa.

Signed by Agostinho Neto,



Message from the Second Annual Meeting of the SWAPO Central Committee.

The Central Committee of SWAPO, meeting from January 4-7, 1979, at Gabela in the Peoples Republic of Angola; aware of the ever growing ties of friendship and solidarity which exists between the ANC, the vanguard of the South African revolution, and SWAPO of Namibia, in the common struggle against the insolent, fascist and racist regime based in Pretoria and against imperialism, colonialism, oppression and exploitation; further aware of the tremendous and far-reaching victories scored by the people of South Africa, under the leadership of ANC, in their protracted struggle against the reactionary forces of the unrepresentative clique led by P.W. Botha; and aware of the ANC's determination to continue to lead the oppressed South African people to final victory over these inhuman forces of death

and plunder, sends its revolutionary salutations and congratulations to you, Comrade President, the Central Committee of the ANC and the entire South African people on the occasion of ANC's sixty-seventh anniversary and for the conspicuous successes achieved since its inception in 1912.

The Central Committee of SWAPO would like to reassure the Central Committee of ANC of SWAPO's support and solidarity and its resolve to not only continue but also intensify the armed, political and diplomatic struggle till Namibia is totally liberated and genuinely independent.

SWAPO Central Committee further pledges to destroy the present social system based on racist oppression and exploitation and to build a non-exploitative, non-racial, classless and just society which will assure the restoration of social ownership, control and management of Namibia's natural resources and for a construction of a socialist society in Namibia.

Long Live The Friendship between ANC and SWAPO!

**Long Live Forces of National Liberation!
Long Live the South African and Namibian Peoples!**

Signed on behalf of the Central Committee of SWAPO by Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO.



APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

BOPHUTHATSWANA-SLAVE LABOUR

While the racists in Pretoria continue to try and convince the world that Bantustan 'independence' fulfills the aspirations of our people, life in the 'homelands' explodes this myth and exposes Apartheid's grand design. In Bophuthatswana our people are struggling to survive under a puppet administration which upholds Botha's 'law and order'.

Hundreds of workers at Babelegi industries in Bophuthatswana are being paid R5 and R6 a week by factories partially owned by Mangope's 'government'. Mr Martin Silver, a director of Tiger Clothing, one of 4 firms exposed, told newspaper reporters: "We are doing a kind service by giving jobs to poor black people coming from far and who have never worked before."

Workers at these factories took a different attitude and in January of this year, over a hundred went out on strike over these starvation wages. Their employers, 'National Tents and Sales' admitted that their workers earned a wage of R5 a week but claimed that this was only paid for a period of two months to people who had never worked in a factory. But investigations proved that workers are earning this sum after years of employment. Probing into conditions at Babelegi drew a commonplace response from the Bantustan authorities — police detained three of the reporters on the story.

This is the reality of Bophuthatswana citizenship which is being forced on our people. These are the conditions which will

ensure that the Bantustans remain a cheap labour reservoir for 'white areas' while our people are denied all rights in South Africa, their country. But the racists measures are not weakening our determination to smash the system. The ANC's voice is being heard in Bophuthatswana.

Onslaught Against Existing Order

On January 29, Wilford Marwane was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment under the Terrorism Act by the Supreme Court of Bophuthatswana.

Twenty-year old Marwane was captured in the Bantustan last August during the Rustenburg clash between Umkhonto guerrillas and South African and Bophuthatswana police. In sentencing him the Bophuthatswana Chief Justice, Mr Justice Victor Hiemstra (notorious among South Africa's racist judiciary) described the incursion as 'one of the first feelers in the onslaught from outside against the existing order' of Bophuthatswana and South Africa. We can assure these men of 'justice' that armed struggle and mass political action will increase but the threat to Apartheid does not come from 'outside' but from the people of South Africa who are determined to win their freedom.

Bantustan Elections

Figures recently released of our peoples participation in Bantustan elections starkly

reveal their reaction to Apartheid's divide and rule tactics. The figures relate to 'homeland politics' and cover a period of 15 years — from 1963 when the first election was held in a Bantustan — to 1978 when 5 such elections were held.

In the Transkei, the first Bantustan to be given so called independence, the number of Blacks who voted declined from about 606,320 in 1963 to 360,085 in 1976, a drop of about 40%. In Bophuthatswana the decrease was even more dramatic — the numbers of voters declined from about 425,000 in 1972 to less than 164,150 in 1977, a drop of more than 60%. At the same time votes of Tswana-speaking people living in 'white areas' dropped by more than 75%.

This trend is also reflected in those Bantustans which have not yet had "independence" foisted on them by the racist state. In Lebowa the drop in round figures was from 190,420 in 1973 to 148,890 last year. Out of a de jure population of more than 5 million in KwaZulu Bantustan, only 116,058 voted in its first election in February 1978.

It is clear that our people have no interest in 'homeland politics' and the whole Bantustan fraud. Let us intensify the struggle for unity, for a non-racial democratic South Africa!

FIGHT THE BILL

The new Education Bill is meeting stiff resistance from black teachers, students and parents. As reported in the last issue of Sechaba, the draft Bill aims to give Bantu Education a new label and provides for stiff penalties for those who do not send their children to get compulsory, costly and inferior education.

The regime is making an all out effort to get students back to school. At the end of 1978, it was estimated that more than 17,000 students were still upholding the boycott. It is clear that our people are determined never to accept this education

designed to perpetuate their oppression.

Teachers were shocked to hear that the Bill will mean that all teachers in community schools, irrespective of their length of service or their rank, will be put on probation for a year. Those previously employed by school boards will be re-employed by the Minister of Education and Training when the Bill becomes law. The racists are attempting to organise the strictest surveillance over black teachers. They are out to break the alliance between teachers and students which has become a tried and tested bond especially since the June 1976 uprisings.

The Soweto Teachers Action Committee is making preparations for a national conference along with other organisations and individuals to draw up a blueprint for one national education department for black and white children. Organised action against Apartheid education will be intensified during 1979, the Year of the Child.

CHILD MURDERERS

South African racists heralded the Year of the Child by shooting down a sixteen year old orphan. Victor Sibiya was shot dead by police in Soweto in the first weekend of January 1979. Police alleged that the boy had stolen R14 and was "an escaping suspected robber".

A local shopkeeper, Mr Alfred Radebe, described how Victor met his death. Mr Radebe was at home when an armed policeman wearing camouflage uniform entered the house. The policeman found Victor lying under a car in the yard. "The cop fired two shots at Sibiya while he was lying under my car....Sibiya crawled out from under it. He died a few minutes later..."

The Soweto Students League organised a hero's funeral for the former pupil of Ipatheleng Higher Primary School. But the police were not content to have murdered the child — at the funeral they unleashed

brutal terror. One young boy who had been overcome by teargas at the graveside was unconscious for over four hours. Mourners were dragged out of cars and beaten up while the funeral procession entered the graveyard. Those who managed to enter, were forced to use their bare hands to cover the grave because the spades were in cars barred from entering by the police.

The murder, arrests, detention and torture of our youth and children continues unabated. On January 23, a 15 year old school boy stated in the Johannesburg Regional Court, that while under Security Police detention 'he was blind folded and held by his legs out of a fourth floor window of a building'. The Year of the Child holds no significance for the racists. But for the oppressed people of South Africa, the Year symbolises re-dedication in the struggle for a South Africa in which our children will enjoy to the full the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child.

ALARMING APARTHEID EXECUTIONS

South Africa's execution rate has reached an all time high of more than one hanging every three days. The Apartheid laws have earned South Africa one of the highest execution rates in the world.

Executions rose sharply for the second successive year in 1978 to reach the figure of 132. This is an increase of 46.6 per cent on the 1977 figure of 90 hangings. Of the 132 people executed in 1978, 105 were Africans, 26 Coloureds and one was a white man. This latest testimony to the crime of the Apartheid system should bring home to the world the urgent need to totally isolate the regime and give support to the ANC in its freedom struggle.

MAHLANGU-ACTION INCREASES

After the latest appeal for a re-trial by Mahlangu's lawyers was refused, the international campaign to stop his execution is gaining momentum. The United Nations has called on all Governments and public organisations to take urgent steps to save the life 'of the South African freedom fighter'.

Many organisations have written letters of support to Mrs Martha Mahlangu, Solomon's mother. In a message to her, the British Communist Party states: "Your son Solomon's only 'crime' was to dedicate himself to the just struggle to end the foul system of Apartheid in South Africa and win liberation for his people. In this he has our full solidarity and support."

From the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Sri Lanka, the following message was sent: "Solomon the great freedom fighter of your country is a son not only to you; he enjoys the position of being a son to all the progressive forces of liberation in Africa."

Nearer home, the Lesotho Students Representative Council issued a statement in an effort to petition State President Vorster for mercy. In it they describe Mahlangu as a "dedicated patriot who should be treated as a prisoner of war". Inside the country, too, concern is mounting over the impending execution. The Pretoria Black Housewives League are to petition Vorster and canvas the community for signatures. A representative of the League said it was hoped that other organisations would follow suit.

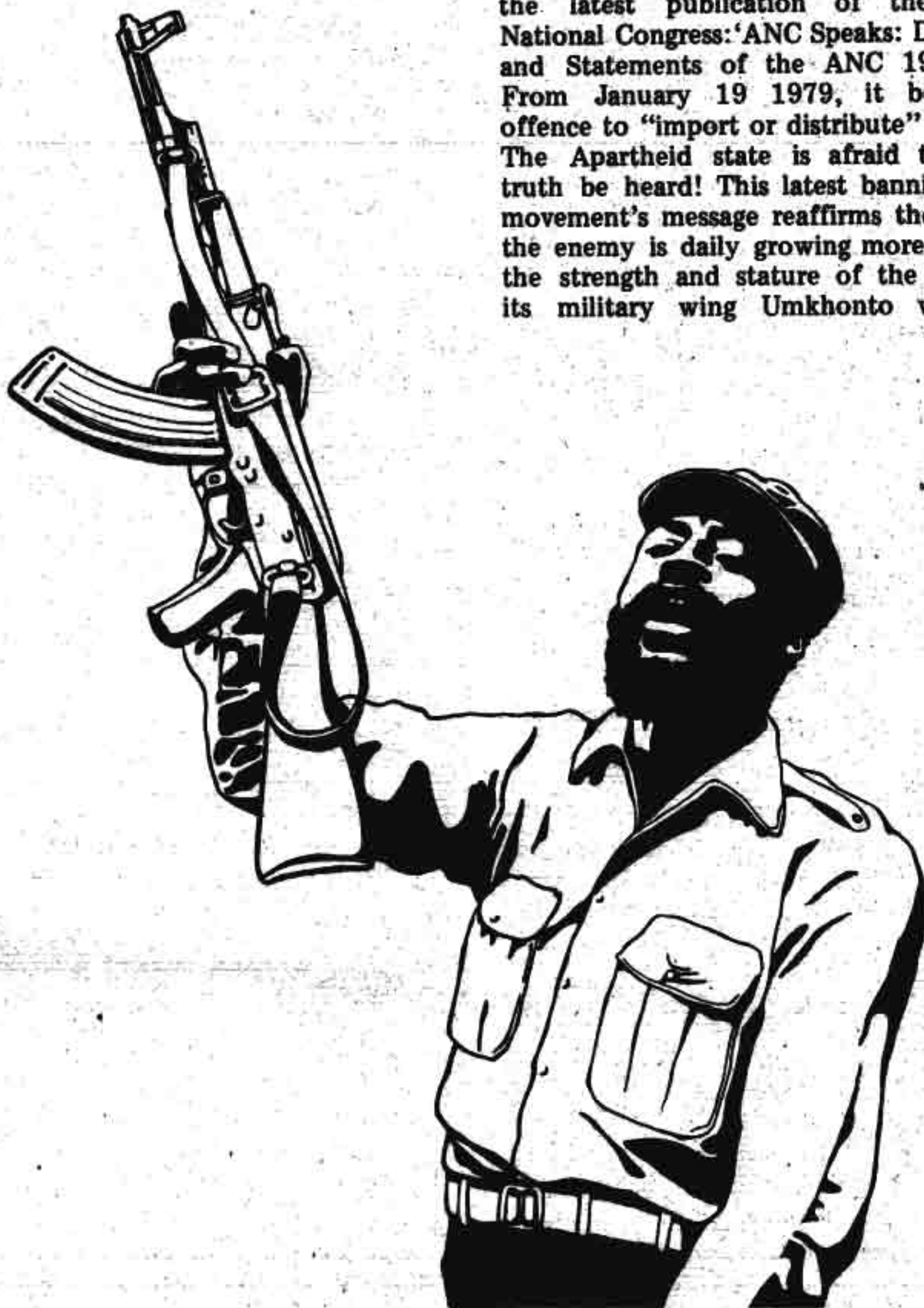
The United Nations declared February 7 1979 as a day of International Action for Solomon Mahlangu. Organisations worldwide were involved in protests to demonstrate their support and solidarity with ANC freedom fighter Solomon Mahlangu and to call for a stop of execution. The campaign is reaching its most crucial stage

and the ANC calls on all Governments, organisations and individuals to sustain and strengthen the pressure on the Apartheid regime.

Write to Mrs Martha Mahlangu at: 2445 Section H, Mamelodi West, Pretoria, South Africa.

'ANC SPEAKS' BANNED

The racists have wasted no time in banning the latest publication of the African National Congress: 'ANC Speaks: Documents and Statements of the ANC 1953-1976'. From January 19 1979, it became an offence to "import or distribute" the book. The Apartheid state is afraid to let the truth be heard! This latest banning of our movement's message reaffirms the fact that the enemy is daily growing more fearful of the strength and stature of the ANC and its military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.



BOPHUTHATSWANA "INDEPENDENCE"

On the 6th of December 1977, seven pieces of scattered land became a "country" known as Bophuthatswana, a supposedly "independent state". Under the so-called Status of Bophuthatswana Act, 1977, over two million Africans lost their South African citizenship and were declared a "nation" with their own "state" and "government". Has this criminal act changed the lives of the Tswana speaking people?

Government

This so-called state is headed by Lucas Mangope as President, appointed by the "legislative assembly". This is composed of 99 members of which 48 are designated (not elected) by regional authorities, 48 are "elected" in a general election and three (3) members designated by the President.

The "cabinet" composed of nine ministers is appointed by the president. "Local Government" is made up of 76 tribal and six community authorities represented in 12 regional authorities, one for each magisterial district.

The Bophuthatswana "parliament", which consists of the President and the "national assembly" has the "legislative powers". So far, all existing laws of the racist South African regime remain in force until they are repealed by the "parliament". It is clear therefore, that all the hated apartheid laws are still applied to suppress the population. The fact that 48 members of the assembly are designated by the regional authorities headed by chiefs who have been on the racist's pay-roll and three others appointed by Mangope is a guarantee towards the preservation of Apartheid's foothold. That is why no laws have been repealed so far, but instead, they have been intensified and rigidly applied by this so called "autonomous state".

Hence "political power" rests mainly in the hands of a few chiefs who are in favour

of the status quo. Those who are against have been pushed into oblivion. The local and regional authorities have the power to even prohibit meetings and sentence people in accordance with decadent tribal institutions and even levy taxes. The people have no role to play whatsoever in matters affecting their daily lives. The so called parliament cannot even be overruled by any court of law in their decisions, a typical inheritance from the fascist structures of the racists, of which Bophuthatswana is a product.

To ensure constant influence and direction of Bophuthatswana, by 1976 there were still 242 posts filled by white South Africans who were formerly designated by the racist regime as advisors. After the so called independence the situation has not changed and they are still the experts to guide Bophuthatswana in accordance with Pretoria's strategies.

Judiciary

Judicial power is vested in the Supreme Court, which consists of the Chief Justice, (the notorious Hiemstra who has sent many Blacks in South Africa to the gallows and long-term imprisonment); and other judges who make regulations relating to the conduct of the proceedings in the supreme court. These are done with the sanction of the "State President". The administration of justice is ironically under what they call the minister of law and order. But, by agreement with the racist regime, the South African appellate division has been given jurisdiction to hear and determine appeals against any decision of the supreme court of Bophuthatswana.

Defence, Law and Order

There is a 250 man "national guard", trained, armed and commanded by the



A white soldier trains our people to defend their own oppression.

white officers from the South African Defence Force. This is said to be a first step towards a national call-up system. The role of this national guard has been clearly shown in recent clashes between the armed units of our movement and this puppet 'army'. Under its "Commander-in-Chief", Lucas Mangope, who has always been on the side of the regime against the liberation movement, it is clear that many of our people in this guard are going to be used as Kalanishkov or Scorpion fodder in defence of their own oppression, by the racists. This is proof of what our movement has been saying, that the Bantustans constitute part of the racist regime's military strategy. (See Sechaba fourth quarter, Vol. 12, 1978 pp. 13-14 - Rustenburg Report).

Police

The Bophuthatswana police force is trained at a training college in Temba, near Pretoria. In accordance with agreements between Bophuthatswana and racist South Africa,

the college continues to function as a training centre for Bophuthatswana and the South African police forces. Many Tswanas who were formerly members of the S.A.P. have now joined the Bophuthatswana police force. After independence a further 10 police stations and district Headquarters were established. The role of the South African police has been exposed many a time, and there is no doubt that the indoctrination process they go through during their training turns them into little savages and blood-thirsty, trigger-happy thugs. This role they will still continue to play and all the terror tactics they learn will be a dominant feature of the "maintenance of law and order in Bophuthatswana". This role they have already played in mass removals engineered by this so called new "government".

Racist Ideology and Terror Continues

Since its "independence" this "government" has followed mass removal schemes started by the racists. The so called non-Tswanas

in areas like Winterveldt, Stinkwater, Majaneng and Klipgat have been issued with eviction orders and forcefully moved from those areas. They are now homeless and developed new squatters, which are still under constant police raids and harassment. Many people arrested and sentenced by Bophuthatswana courts are now languishing in South African prisons. By whipping a false "national consciousness" this tiny new puppet "state" has embarked on a dangerous scheme to promote hostilities among the people inhabiting this territory. People who are not Tswana have been threatened by loss of jobs in the Babelegi industrial area if they don't renounce their origin and take up Tswana citizenship. South Africa's dirty job is now carried on by Mangope and his clique.

Housing and Health

Presently the South African regime is building elaborate houses for Mangopé and his entourage: Cabinet Ministers and white "advisors" seconded by the South African racist regime. Also under construction is a parliament for Mangopé — a red and yellow structure of glass and steel gliders. Beyond this glamour is Mafikeng location. It is the usual mess of home-made mud huts, or municipal "match boxes" of brick and concrete; unmade roads; junked cars; naked black infants; older children fetching water in paraffin tins and crowds of people walking through the dusty roads to and from the town of Mafikeng.

Tuberculosis is the most widespread disease followed by gastro-enteritis, typhoid, pneumonia and bronchitis. Malnutritional diseases such as Kwashiorkor and pellegra have already destroyed hundreds of children. Yet R3 million has been spent to build for white South African tourists, a hotel with a disco, casino and 250 beds; Mangopé has bought a car which cost R47,000 and has bullet-proof tyres and a bullet-proof passenger cabin. The agency for the German company where the car was bought said that this is one of the most expensive cars made by the firm. Why does he need such an expensive bullet-proof car? Why does he have to protect himself against his people

if his filthy "government" is accepted by the people? The answer will be clear later.

Education

The number of children in school has been estimated to be 387,800 in 1977, approximately 31% of the total population and the number of teachers is 7,226. The education system is still the same as the old hated Bantu Education.

Media

The mass media is controlled entirely by racist South Africa. Newspapers, magazines and journals are all printed and published in South Africa. Racist propaganda is still the most influential and dominant. A radio service, beamed through the old Radio Bantu channel, is still whipping up racist propaganda, particularly on the so-called terrorist threat. The South African regime is planning to "hand-over" the Tswana station to Bophuthatswana and hopes that this will be beamed across to independent Botswana to sell racist policies.

Economy

Mineral Resources

The territory is very rich and has deposits of platinum, chrome, asbestos, calcium, iron-ore and manganese. There are 37 mines, employing 63,000 workers in 1977, and the platinum mines are the largest in the West. The mining sectors value of production was R299,9 million in 1976.

Agricultural crops are mainly maize, wheat and legumes and the gross value marketed was R4,7 m. in 1975/76 — mainly cattle.

Industrial production in the area was estimated at R13 million in 1974/75.

Who owns these riches? Mining is mainly undertaken by South African based companies, who have been paying taxes to the racist regime. The main companies involved in mining are : Impala Platinum Union Corporation, one of the largest platinum producers in the world. The General Mining and Finance Corporation

owns asbestos mines, and the Bantu Mining Corporation, is also prospecting for diamonds in Bophuthatswana.

Agriculture has been the pursuit of the Bantu Investment Corporation (B.I.C.), a South African government creation, which after "independence" came to be known as the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation. The B.I.C. has initiated large projects in the territory, most of which were successful. The projects included enlarged agricultural rights for individuals within the tribal context involving planning, fencing and boreholes. Fees were paid for cultivation rights in some cases, this being aimed at introducing the concepts of rent and profit; and large commercial projects undertaken by the then Bantu Investment Corporation. All these schemes still continue under South African supervision but under the guise of the participation of the so called new "Republic".

Manufacturing is undertaken in border areas, where industries have grown up around Pretoria, Brits, Rustenburg, Mafikeng, Lichtenburg and Bloemfontein. These were established in accordance with the South African government's industrial decentralisation scheme to avoid capital flow into the Bantustans.

b) Labour

In 1976 an estimated 144,800 people were commuting from the townships to the (border) industries referred to which are nearest to these areas.

Rural employment on white farms in South Africa was estimated to be 10,100 of total employed who commute daily from adjacent rural areas.

Migrant labourers were estimated to be 48,900 in 1976. By the end of 1977 there were 12 district labour bureaux and 87 "tribal" labour bureaux. All recruited 130,204 men and 36,771 women for factories, mines, households and construction firms in the 12 months to June 1976.

The only mining organisation allowed to recruit labour is the Employment Bureau of Africa, formerly the Mine Labour organisation of the South African Chamber of Mines. It has a dozen offices in and around Bophuthatswana and recruited 33,161 mine

labourers in 1976, mainly around Rustenburg and Western Transvaal.

It is clear therefore that this territory called the "Republic of Bophuthatswana" is nothing but an appendage of the racist South African regime and is politically, economically and socially controlled and completely dependent on South Africa.

Besides this regime, (and particularly Mangope) has never been popular with the masses. It was forged amidst protests and demonstrations against his acceptance of independence and has been completely rejected by the people. Mangope has been pelted with stones and even had his dummy parliament and "official" cars burnt down in the June 1976 uprisings. Among the demonstrators who burnt down his parliament was his own son.

No matter how much propaganda the racists may try to make about this "still-born-baby" Bophuthatswana will never be independent. We will fight to gain every inch of our country and destabilise such racist political gimmicks. This attempt to sow confusion in the international community must be exposed and therefore the intensification of the campaign against the recognition of the Bantustans and the isolation of the racist regime must be stepped up. Down with the Bantustans!



S.A.'s "DEFENCE" STRATEGY

Since the 1967/68 historic military confrontation between ANC/ZAPU guerrillas and the forces of racism in Zimbabwe and South Africa — events which were followed by the liberation of Mozambique and Angola — and the development of armed struggle in Zimbabwe and Namibia; the heroic uprisings begun by the youth of Soweto, Gugulethu and other places and the uncheckable growth and advance of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC, the racist regime of South Africa has rapidly built up its military force.

From the time the liberation movement was banned in 1960 until 1978, state expenditure on defence has multiplied 35 times from R44 million to over R1500 million. In the same period the total number of troops available to the regime has been increased from 60,000 in 1960 to 560,000 in 1978. Successive 'Defence White Papers' of the last ten years exhibit the growing hysteria and escalating panic of the regime.

The 'Defence White Paper' of 1969 speaks glibly of the "ever increasing threat from the outside". Four years later, in the 'White Paper' of 1973, P.W. Botha, Minister of Defence, confesses: "I do not wish to spread alarm, but I must state that for a long time already we have been engaged in a war of low intensity and that this situation will probably continue for some considerable time to come.". And he threatens: "We are fully aware of the fact that passive defence alone is inadequate and we are therefore obliged to maintain a significant retaliatory and interdictory capacity".

In 1975, with Mozambique and Angola on the brink of independence, the regime's defence department became more specific about the military threat, which it described as finding expression "in the existence of armed elements of banned political

organisations accommodated in neighbouring states. They attempt to infiltrate the R.S.A. for the purposes of terrorism, sabotage and subversion with a view to overthrowing the existing order."

In the most recent 'White Paper' of 1977, with the racist army kicked out of Angola a year earlier, the regime admitted that: "The occurrences in Africa and elsewhere have led to an increase in the tempo of developments and this has brought the threats nearer in time."

The coming in power of P.W. Botha, now Prime Minister and Minister of Defence, is the coming into force of his policy — total strategy. 'Total strategy' says the 1977 'White Paper' involves "interdependent and co-ordinated action in all fields — military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, technological, diplomatic, ideological, cultural." In other words, the gearing of the whole of the South African state and social machinery towards the armed repression of the aspirations of the vast majority of the South African people.

Once again — as they did over a century ago when facing the heroic resistance of our people to encroaching colonialism — the racists have built themselves into a laager. This time the laager is being protected, not only with military might, but with propaganda, legislation, indoctrination, economic coercion and brutal repression. All arms of state are being used to put this 'total military strategy' into action — parliament, the media, the schools, the churches, provincial and local authorities, the Bantustans, the intelligence services, the police, security police, navy, army, airforce, commandos, civil defence units etc.

In recent years the white parliament has passed act after act giving more and more power to the state to crush armed resistance. The Defence Amendment Act of 1976 redefined South Africa as 'Africa south of the Equator' giving the racists

the self-claimed right to attack neighbouring states with impunity.

The Defence Amendment Act of 1977 extended compulsory military service for white male South Africans from one to two years, provided for military censorship of media, and for the commandeering of goods and equipment. In that year, in order to counter the United Nations arms embargo, the government issued a proclamation under the National Supplies Procurement Act of 1970, enabling the Minister of Economic Affairs to order the manufacture and delivery of any goods and to take over any supplier which refuses to comply. The Armaments Development and Production Amendment Act of 1977 transfers responsibility for the procurement of arms from the Armaments Board to Armscor, thus streamlining the production and acquirement of arms and military material.

The Civil Protection Act of 1977 gives provincial authorities the power to enact ordinances for civil protection and gives the Minister of Defence the power to declare an immediate three-month state of emergency without prior recourse to parliament.

In addition, there are a number of other 'tightening up' measures which the regime has taken, like the Explosives Amendment Act of 1977 and the Civil Aviation Offences Act of 1978, which, in turn, attempt to curb bomb threats and hoaxes and to improve aircraft and airport security.

Racist Propaganda

But it is not enough for the regime to prepare an armoury of legislation to close up all conceivable loopholes in its system of repression. It must also prepare the minds of white society for the coming conflict. So, from the time white children are at school they are taught so-called 'Youth Preparedness' courses — courses which do no more than prepare them for the violent adulthood of white supremacy. More and more white schoolchildren are being involved in cadet training — basic military preparation for their post school years.

Once in the Defence Force itself, young

soldiers will be subjected to intensive propaganda. As the 'Defence White Paper' of 1975 puts it: "The ideal is to motivate every young person in uniform...and to promote a positive approach to citizenship. Knowledge of subjects such as modern ideological tendencies and world trends, a deeper insight into the problem of Africa, and the part R.S.A. can play in it, has become vital to every citizen of the state."

In addition, newspapers, magazines, radio, television, the cinemas, commercial advertisers are frantically glorifying the military and its soldiers, and justifying their role as the 'defenders of western civilisation in Africa'. At the same time, civilians are being increasingly drawn into the militarisation process. Over 700 civil defence units have been established throughout the country to "maintain the community's essential services in times of emergency", and more than 750,000 Whites have been issued with licences to carry civilian arms. White women are being encouraged to join the Defence Force and many are doing so.



In accordance with the apartheid tactic of divide and rule by drawing Blacks into its repressive apparatus, unemployed African, Indian and Coloured youths are being recruited into special units — like the 21 Battalion based at Lenz — and some of these black units are being sent into the front line against SWAPO in Namibia. Also, South African trained and equipped Bantustan armies are being pushed into battle against Mk, as in the recent Rustenburg clash.

So, through this policy of 'total strategy', all the resources of the regime are being channelled into the suppression of the people's armed struggle. While some people might back away from the seemingly unshakeable power that the racists are building up, what in reality we are witnessing is the final desperate attempts of a doomed regime to halt the inevitable march of history.

In spite of all its attempts to stand in the path of history, the regime is finding history to be more resourceful than it bargained for. For instance, one of the problems that the racist military faces is that not all white South Africans are willing to give their lives in defence of apartheid. In 1976, of the 63,104 men called up for military service, 37,518 (60%) applied for exemption or desertion, 36,448 successfully. In the same year 3,566 men failed to report for training, an offence which carries a stiff penalty. This means that in 1976, 17% of the men obliged to report for military service failed to do so.

The number of men failing to report for duty has been increasing every year. In 1975 it was 3,314 men. It grew to 3,566 in 1976 and 3,814 in 1977. Whatever the reasons for this growing unwillingness to fight for the regime, whether political opposition to apartheid or plain self-preservation, the racist regime is faced with a problem of demoralisation, a problem that will grow as the struggle develops.

The importance of this factor in weakening the military might of the racists is expressed in their own words: "Although we may possess the most modern and sophisticated weapons and equipment, we would still not be proof against attack or internal disintegration if the men and women who have to handle and maintain

the weapons and equipment did not possess the right inspiration, dedication...." (Defence White Paper 1973)

In addition to this problem the military machine of fascism in South Africa has other flaws and weaknesses. The recent events in Iran have threatened South Africa's largest source of oil. 95% of South Africa's oil came from Iran. All South Africa's airplanes, tanks, ships and armoured cars are useless without fuel to run them. The massive international campaigns to end links with South Africa, especially in the economic and military spheres, means that the regime has to spend valuable time, effort and resources on trying to create alternative sources of fuel, arms, equipment and finance. The involvement of so many of the country's economically active white population in the military puts a huge strain on the economy.

These and many more, are some of the weaknesses faced by a repressive regime seeking to protect itself against the march of history by military might.

But, above all, the fact that the armed struggle led by the ANC is the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa as a whole; a struggle in which the population "increasingly sides with and shields the guerrilla while at the same time opposing and exposing the enemy" means that the militarisation of the racist state will ultimately be in vain. History shows that no military machine can in the long run suppress the popular struggle of an armed, organised and determined people.

STATE CRIMINALITY

Paper prepared by Albie Sachs for the International Commission of Inquiry into the crimes of the Racist and Apartheid regimes in Southern Africa; February 79'

Massacre and violence are not new in South Africa. The gunning down by the police of hundreds of unarmed people in the streets of Sharpeville and Soweto is a direct continuation of shootings into crowds at Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, Pretoria, on the gold mines and in Namibia, over the decades since the Union of South Africa was created in 1910. (See list at end). The Union itself was preceded by a bloodbath in Natal when thousands of Africans resisting the imposition of new taxes and controls were killed by canon and machine gun fire and hundreds more publically flogged till their backs were torn. In fact the racial supremacist state in South Africa was and continues to be the product of violence — the violent conquest of the indigenous peoples, the violent destruction of their societies and usurpation of their land, the violent incorporation of the mass of the population into a fiercely exploitative economic system, and, finally, the violent suppression of campaigns by the people to liberate themselves from overlordship.

South Africa is of course not unique in having been founded in violence, but whereas in other states the founders have attempted to create a common nationality and a common citizenship, in South Africa they elevated concepts of conquest and legal inferiority into constitutional principles given explicit governmental form. The Act of Union of 1910 accorded almost exclusive sovereignty to a racial minority and organised the institutions of power around the principle that there existed in the land a superior people endowed by God and history with the right to control the destinies of their fellow countrymen and

countrywomen. Since that time there have been shifts in the name given to this policy — called variously segregation, trusteeship, apartheid, separate development and separate nationhood — but changes in the rationalisation have not reflected changes in the colonialist essence. The pervasive, structured and enduring quality of the system of race domination in South Africa needs to be stressed, since from it flows three important consequences, each of which will be discussed in turn:

1. State violence against the people is a permanent and necessary outcome of the system of racial exploitation;
2. This violence necessarily extends over the borders and threatens the peace of Africa and of the world;
3. The solution can only be found in a radical restructuring of South African society which totally eliminates all the institutions of racial oppression and builds a new society.

Violence — a permanent and "necessary" feature of Apartheid.

In South Africa the state system — the machinery of the law, police and prisons — is used simultaneously to force the whole population into a single, highly exploitative economy, and then to exclude eighty per cent of the population from control of the land and its resources. This is done by formally reserving political, trade union and social rights to the minority — where government does not even claim to proceed by participation and consent, it must necessarily rule by coercion. In the face of the just claims of the people for self-determination and a share in the wealth of the country, the state of necessity resorts

to violence to protect the privileges of the minority. An unjust system cannot be administered in a just way. Nor does it contain within it, the institutions for a just resolution of conflicts. Massacre, torture and the 'wholesale and systematic destruction of communities, the deprecation of peoples and their history and culture, are predictable, necessary and chronic. The exact timing and locality of a Sharpsville or a Soweto may depend on the operation of chance factors, but there is a "necessity" lurking behind the accidental, an inherent oppressiveness that dictates the repeated recurrence of these cruel disasters.

In South Africa it is the state itself which regularly and inevitably kills defenceless people in the streets and in the fields, the state that robs citizens of land and cattle, that bulldozers peoples' homes, that forcibly evicts huge populations from their birthplaces, and that utilises its police force as an army of occupation, complete with curfews and documentary controls. Half a million people are received into the state prisons each year, hundreds are flogged by judicial order, and between fifty and a hundred executed by hanging. (The figure for executions in 1978 is given as 132 -- ED.) Apart from those killed when police fire into crowds, about a hundred people lose their lives annually to police bullets as "fleeing suspects". State officials, including magistrates and judges, acting in the name of state policy and legislation, deport families from one part of the country to another, forcing husbands and wives apart, and turning children into orphans while their parents live. The educational system is totally segregated, and children are taught to despise the history and culture of the majority -- a history and culture which the state first depreciates and annihilates and then resurrects in a parodied form.

So, there is no lack of law in South Africa, but the law that exists is a law that protects the racist state in its violence against the people. The law expressly denies fundamental rights and freedoms. It reserves 87 per cent of the surface area of the country for the permanent ownership of the dominant racial minority, it forces the rest of the population to live in reserves, locations, compounds and ghettos, it

allocates each individual to a particular racial group with differential rights and duties, it controls the movement and residence of workers, and denies to the voteless and dispossessed majority the right even to campaign for basic rights. South Africa demonstrates that there can be crime and injustice through the law, and does so in two ways: first, various official enactments 'legalise' the implementation of the cruel apartheid programme, authorising officials of state to dispossess and humiliate citizens on a massive scale, as well as to use force to repress those who resist; second, when state officials act outside even the wide authority given them, and indulge in massacre and torture, laws are passed to grant blanket indemnity to those responsible.

Thus, after the killings of unarmed people, including scores of young children, in the streets of Sharpsville and Soweto, it was not those responsible for the massacre who were brought before the courts, but the survivors, the main evidence against them being that they had bullet wounds. Similarly, there are more than fifty known cases of political detainees who have died while in the hands of the security police, with most of the bodies showing terrible injuries on medical examination, yet not a single policeman has been punished for these deaths, and many have been promoted. In fact, torture of political suspects has become so systematic and widespread, with torture squads flying from police headquarters to all parts of the country, that there can be no doubt that it is a part of officially sanctioned policy. What is involved is more than a mere cover-up, or wilful ignorance, it is the deliberate instigation of torture from the government itself (as is proved by the close working relationship until last year between B.J. Vorster first as Minister of Justice and then as Prime Minister, with H.J. van den Bergh, head of the Security Police).

The violence of the racist state necessarily extends beyond its borders.

Colonialist-type violence is no respecter of frontiers. In the period of conquest it justified itself in the name of advancing

civilisation. Today, it justifies itself on the grounds of defence against barbarism. What begins as small-scale incursions by police into neighbouring countries extends itself into kidnapping, assassination, bombing and massacre. On the pretext of fighting for survival, it commits atrocity after atrocity.

The world community, through the United Nations, has recognised the international dimension of the system of racial repression in South Africa and condemned apartheid as a crime against humanity. It has firmly rejected the contention that apartheid is a purely domestic matter, on the grounds both that apartheid is so abhorrent to mankind, so inconsistent with fundamental norms recognised by all humanity, that it needs to be legally stigmatised in the same way as piracy, slavery and genocide have been in the past, and that apartheid necessarily threatens peace, not only in Southern Africa, but in the whole continent and the world. Resolutions of the United Nations have repeatedly drawn attention to the inherently aggressive nature of apartheid. It is a tribute both to peripatetic of that body, and to its limitations, that what it condemned as far ago as the 1940's and 1950's as a potential threat to peace has in the 1960's and 1970's transformed itself into visible and extensive violation of the peace. These are some of the differing manifestations in recent years:

Lesotho: Kidnapping raids, the threat of economic strangulation if Lesotho does not recognise the Transkei as an independent state.

Botswana: Infiltration, harassment of refugees, kidnapping of refugees and parcel bombs.

Swaziland: Infiltration, Kidnapping of refugees, and physical attacks. Last year a parcel bomb blew off the arm of an ANC refugee, and a car carrying ANC members was ambushed and riddled with bullets — one occupant was gravely wounded another disappeared.

Zambia: Extensive infiltration, parcel bombs, bombing of border villages.

Mozambique: Acting as host to the former members of the fascist colonial Portuguese secret police, still dreaming of a restoration

of their power; providing petrol, war material and moral support to the Smith regime for its murderous attacks against the newly independent Republic.

Zimbabwe: (the colony of Southern Rhodesia): Open intervention by troops in the period 1967-72, and extensive covert intervention in the past year. Consistent violation of U.N. sanctions to become the mainstay of the illegal Smith regime. Training of soldiers for some of the participants of the so-called Internal Settlement, and laying the basis for large-scale military intervention against the Patriotic Front.

Namibia: Continual occupation of the country, with the killing and torturing of Namibia patriots in the ranks of SWAPO, recognised by the U.N. as the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

Angola: Invading on the eve of independence, penetrating close to Luanda before being expelled. More recently, landing troops by air to perpetrate one of the worst massacres in modern times at the refugee camp of Kassinga. Constantly threatening new invasions.

In the past decade the army of the racist regime has been transformed into a striking force prepared to attack countries as far north as the equator. A giant military air-base has been constructed in the North Eastern Transvaal, and staging post facilities organised in Malawi a thousand miles to the north. It is no accident that the person chosen to succeed B.J. Vorster should have been the Minister of Defence, P.J. Botha, personally responsible for organising the invasion of Angola, and the Kassinga massacre, as well as for the build up of racist troops in Namibia,

What has emerged is a dual strategy for the defence of apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa, and with it a dual threat to peace: in the first place, direct physical aggression against opponents of the apartheid regime, whether inside or outside South Africa's borders, whether "refugees", freedom fighters, neighbouring civilians, or neighbouring governments; and in the

second place, the creation by corruption and intimidation of collaborationist regimes dependent for their survival on racist South African arms and money, and committed to indefinite repression of people's civil war. The attempts, with foreign aid, to equip the racist forces with nuclear weapons, adds a particularly grave dimension to these trends.

The Violence and aggression by the racist regime both internally and externally can only be eliminated by the total dismantling of the apartheid system and its replacement by a new, non-racial democratic society.

What is at stake in Southern Africa is not whether this or that individual is Prime Minister or whether park benches are segregated, but the whole character of the society: is it to be based on a continuation of racism, privilege and exploitation, or is it to be based on the principle of power belonging to the people? Only a correct characterisation of the nature of the racist regimes can lead to a correct solution, without which the massacres, tortures and indignities will continue, whatever constitutional description may be given to new political arrangements. Just as none today would argue that slavery should have been ameliorated rather than abolished, or colonialism should have been democratised rather than dismantled, so none should contend that apartheid, an inherently cruel and oppressive system, should be liberalised.

In that sense, the basic struggle in Southern Africa is not for civil rights (though it includes this), it is a struggle to reconstitute society on totally new principles, to eliminate completely the existing systems of exploitation and privilege, to eradicate once and for all racist domination in any form. And in that sense, too, the international community has not only the legal right but the legal duty to support the attempts being made to overthrow apartheid and replace it with a non-racial democratic society. What is involved is not the absorption of a small elite into the existing system of exploitation or even a form of power sharing between different racial groups, but the abolition of race as a constitutional and political

principle. What needs to be guaranteed is not rights for minority or majority groups, but rights for citizens. Cultural diversity can remain, even be encouraged, but only in the context of equality of political rights. True equality presupposes that the whole system of racially reserved land-ownership and economic control be abolished; and along with it the systems of locations, pass laws and migrant labour. The massive and institutionalised inequalities in health, learning, accommodation, sports and access to leisure will also have to be ended. It is not just racism that needs to be abolished, but privilege. Society must be reorganised, sovereignty must belong to the whole people, both in form and in fact.

Without these drastic measures, there will always be violence in Southern Africa. Massacres in the streets and over the borders grow out of racism, and racism grows out of national and economic exploitation. Only by ending the legal and economic structures of exploitation can racist violence be eliminated.

This imposes a special duty on the international community. If it wishes to see an end to the bloodshed and aggression, if it wishes to help eradicate apartheid and colonialism in Southern Africa, it must do more than condemn apartheid in abstract. It must ensure that all military, economic and diplomatic aid to the racist regimes is ended. And just as apartheid is not an abstract thing, so the struggle against it is not an abstraction. The battle to liberate South Africa from apartheid and all forms of violence and exploitation is an old one, dating back to the first invasion. In modern times, this struggle has been led by the African National Congress and it is to the ANC that the international community must give its unequivocal support. The ANC does not merely claim this support, it earned it: It has an unbroken record since its foundation in 1912 as the voice of the oppressed majority; It has developed the structures both inside and outside the country designed to isolate the racists and bring the liberation struggle to victory; It has a coherent and principled programme, based on the Freedom Charter, which declares that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and to

INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CRIMES OF THE RACIST AND APARTHEID REGIMES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

**I am prepared
to pay the
penalty even
though I know
how bitter and
desperate is the
situation of an
African in the
prisons of this
country. I have
been in these
prisons and I
know how gross
is the discrimin-
ation even behind
prison walls**

**NELSON MANDELA
1962**



**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
south africa**

which it has adhered in spite of all forms of repression and all types of demagogic alternative. It has a strategy of struggle consistent with its definition of the enemy as a system not a people. It is building the embryo of the new South African nation in its own ranks, by means of a practice and style of work that emphasises comradeship and shared loyalty rather than racial, tribal or regional origin.

Persons concerned not only to criticise but to eliminate apartheid, are thus presented with clear alternatives: on the one hand, support for a regime based on racism and exploitation, inevitably and chronically involved in crimes both against its own people and against neighbouring countries: on the other, support for the ANC, representative of all the people of South

Africa, dedicated to the elimination of racism as a principle of public life and to the creation of a just social order free from exploitation of man by man.

This Tribunal is accordingly urged not only to publicise and condemn the crimes of the racist regimes as well as to investigate appropriate means for their punishment, but also to lend its distinguished voice to the creation of a non-racial democratic South Africa by acknowledging the ANC as the authentic representative of the South African people and as the nucleus of a new sovereignty. It is only when the ANC programme contained in the Freedom Charter is implemented that the state in South Africa will become an instrument to guarantee the rights of the people and cease to be an instrument of crime.



SOME OF THE CIVILIANS KILLED BY GUNFIRE IN CLASHES WITH SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE OR MILITARY FROM 1910—1960.

Year	Number Killed	Place	Background
1917	2	Grahamstown	<i>Panic over location demonstrations.</i>
1917*	38	Ovamboland	<i>'Show of force' to peasants.</i>
1920	8	Rand	<i>African mineworkers strike.</i>
1920	24	Port Elizabeth	<i>Protest over arrest of Trade Union leader.</i>
1921	163	Queenstown (Bulhoek)	<i>Religious sect refusing to move.</i>
1923*	62	S.W.A. (Bondelswarts)	<i>Refusal to pay dog tax.</i>
1925	5	Bloemfontein	<i>Punitive action in location.</i>
1929	5	Durban	<i>Trade Union office attacked.</i>
1930	4	Durban	<i>Pass-burning demonstration.</i>
1930	5	Worcester	<i>'Show of strength' after ANC meeting.</i>
1933	1	Germiston	<i>Protest meeting over permit raids.</i>
1942	16	Pretoria	<i>Soldiers and police fire at municipal workers wage protest.</i>
1946	9	Johannesburg	<i>African mineworkers strike.</i>
1949	6	Rand	<i>Pass and beer raids.</i>
1950	16	Witzieshoek	<i>Peasant protest.</i>
1950	18	Rand	<i>May Day political protests.</i>
1952	9	Port Elizabeth	<i>Crowd revolt after police shot suspect.</i>
1952	3	Johannesburg	<i>Crowd revolt.</i>
1952	8	East London	<i>Crowd revolt after police charged prayer meeting.</i>
1952	14	Kimberley	<i>Crowd revolt in location.</i>
1959	1	Paarl	<i>Protest over banishment of leader.</i>
1959	3	Durban	<i>Beerhall demonstrations.</i>
1959*	11	Windhoek	<i>Protest against location removal.</i>
1960	69	Sharpeville	<i>Anti-pass protest.</i>
1960	2	Langa	<i>Anti-pass protest.</i>
1960	3	Durban	<i>Protest after Sharpeville shootings.</i>
1960	11	Ngquza Hill	<i>Protest meeting of peasants.</i>

*South African troops and police in Namibia

ANC IN EAST AFRICA

A Unique Celebration

The Eighth of January 1979 — sixty-seventh anniversary of the African National Congress. The East African Regional Political Committee of the ANC decided that this day should be marked in a novel way. Reverting back to old tradition, as ancient as our people, the R.P.C. issued a call for LETSEMA (ILIMA). Traditionally this is a method of collective, voluntary labour for the good of the community, a tradition fully in keeping with the spirit which prompted our founding fathers, when they formed the African National Congress in 1912.

The call was for volunteers to give a day's voluntary labour for our great project at Mazimbu, Morogoro — the building of a school and training centre for one thousand children. The Government of the United Republic of Tanzania in keeping with its reputation and generosity towards liberation movements has given us a huge tract of land in a fertile valley, for us to develop it and to make full use of it. And it is there that our new school will arise.

Already detailed plans are maturing. The project has fired the imagination of our friends and offers of help and support are forthcoming from every part of the world. But the foremost ranks of builders are the members of the African National Congress. On January 8th 1979 they came forth in their hundreds to give freely of the sweat and blood for Mother ANC! Over four hundred members assembled at Morogoro — not for speech-making — but in tangible and concrete manner to give expression to their dedication.

A large contingent arrived early in the morning from Dar es Salaam in a fleet of cars, Kombis, Land Rovers and Trucks. They were enthusiastically welcomed with freedom songs by the entire ANC population of Morogoro and Mazimbu. At the

entrance to Mazimbu a huge banner proclaimed the sixty-seventh anniversary of the ANC. A colourful display of banners, posters and slogans decorated the vehicles and the area symbolic of the great national holiday.

Comrade Reddy Mazimba Chief Representative in East Africa, opened the proceedings. Rarely has the National Anthem been sung with such elan and devotion as on this memorable morning. In his opening remarks Comrade Reddy reminded the audience that in South Africa our people are born, grow up and die without ever knowing the meaning of the word "freedom". Although conditions are today far more favourable for us than in the past, the struggle ahead of us would still be long, hard and would call for sacrifice and suffering. Freedom will not be given to us as a gift — we will have to fight for it and work for it.

According to plan the opening ceremony took less than 10 minutes and after some freedom songs Comrade Oswald Dennis, Head of the Project, began to assemble the various work brigades. Each brigade had its own banner. They were issued with the necessary tools and off they marched to the tune of our fighting songs.

It was a source of great joy to our comrades, that many local Tanzanian citizens joined in to celebrate the day and gave their labour as eagerly as any of our own members. Some of our comrades from ZAPU Patriotic Front were also there to give of their best.

The Government Party, Chama Cha Mapinduzi, sent one of its top Executive Members, Ambassador Ndugu Paul Moro, who was given a warm welcome and expressed his appreciation for the dedication and self sacrifice of our cadres.

For many hours the brigades toiled at their appointed places in the broiling sun, but each brigade successfully accomplished



its allotted tasks. Concrete was mixed, foundations were dug, hundreds of wheelbarrows trundled up and down in a steady flow. In one area "brick specialists" were busy and soon the area was stacked far and wide with the materials for the walls of our school. Women and children cleared huge areas of grass. Other women with babies in their tharies on the back planted an entire grove of banana trees. Here a vegetable garden was laid out and there timber was being carted ready for the purposes of the construction.

Comforts were not forgotten. Water was available for the workers and the "Neto Brigade" prepared a luncheon for the multitude, fit for kings!

At the end of the day's work everybody could look back to exciting achievements and to an experience which prompted many to exclaim: "We must do this more often!".

Comrade Oswald Denis said that the result of the day's work was far beyond his expectations.

After the meal was served, the young student residents of Mazimbu put on an inspiring cultural programme, of traditional songs, dances, izinbongo and dithothokiso! Our young artists really proved that they carry forward our ancient cultural traditions, filling the old bottles with the new wine, the glowing spirit of the African National Congress. They truly showed that the ANC can weld the multicoloured cultures of South Africa into one united culture — a great tribute to the founders of the ANC and their ideals of a united people.

Thus we celebrated the 67th Anniversary.



Luthuli, Mandela and Sisulu Brigades ready to contribute to the building of our school

BONN-PRETORIA

AXIS

The Nuclear Axis; Zdenek Cervenka and Barbara Rogers; Julian Friedman Books Ltd. 1978.

This book appears three years after the ANC first exposed West Germany's leading role in South Africa's attempt to develop a nuclear strike capability. On the 25th of September 1975, the ANC produced top secret documents from the South African Embassy in Bonn, which, clearly showed that not only did the West German Government have first hand knowledge of a nuclear conspiracy with South Africa, but that the Government itself, had initiated and played a central role in this collaboration. From these initial disclosures, Barbara Rogers and Zdenek Cervenka investigate in depth the historical background that finally led to West Germany becoming a nuclear power and its subsequent nuclear collaboration with South Africa. What gives this book great depth is the linking up of West German-South African collaboration with the policy objectives and resulting role of the NATO powers, particularly America, Britain and France, who have shown themselves willing to assist in the South African Nuclear Program.

West Germany's rise as a nuclear power was both speedy and dramatic. In 1945 Nazi Germany stood defeated by the Allied Forces (Soviet Union, U.S.A., Britain and France). In May of the same year the Allied Summit at Potsdam agreed on a policy of disarmament and demilitarisation of Germany. However, by the 23 August 1950 John Mc Cloy, the U.S. High Commissioner for West Germany declared that: "the defence arrangements for Western Europe must include German participation" (p.14) Thus within five years, the denazification and demilitarisation process in West Germany had given way to West

Germany being considered as a potential ally of NATO, against the Socialist Countries led by the Soviet Union. The FRG nuclear intentions were first made known in the Bundestag, on the 15th December 1954 when Chancellor Adenauer declared, "one of the important gains made by the FRG by joining the Western Alliance was that Germany became free to engage in civil atomic research and to exploit atomic energy for peaceful purposes". (p.30)

On the 8th of May 1955 FRG became a fully fledged member of NATO. West Germany's rehabilitation into NATO was very much in keeping with the anti-communism of the time, epitomised by the rise of McCarthyism in America.

Nuclear co-operation between South Africa and West Germany originated, rather ironically, at the first International Conference for the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, held in Geneva in August 1955. Just three months after the FRG was admitted into NATO. Since 1955 West Germany has developed especially close economic, military and political ties with South Africa. Rogers and Cervenka have brought together some interesting facts, that show the extent of FRG's involvement in the South African economy. In response to Egon Bahr, manager of the SPD, statement that West German investment in South Africa had fallen to practically nil by July 1977, the South African Embassy in Bonn made the following disclosures:

- 1) Private investment had risen by DM 38.5 million over the last 12 months;
- 2) Six thousand West German firms had direct or indirect contact with South Africa;
- 3) Three hundred West German firms had subsidiaries in South Africa and
- 4) West German financial involvement in South Africa amounted to DM 12 billion.



Delegates at the Conference against Nuclear Collaboration, Bonn, November 1978

From secret documents, the anti-apartheid, Information Services on Southern Africa further revealed that — German credit guarantees for exports to South Africa had quadrupled between 1975 and March 1977 — to the staggering sum of DM 2775.13 millions.

On the nuclear front FRG provided South Africa with the equipment and technical expertise to manufacture fissionable material. A fundamental requirement in the production of a nuclear bomb is enriched uranium. Specifically, the concentration of uranium 235 in uranium must be increased to 40% or more. Enriched uranium for reactor fuel only requires a 4% concentration. By 1976 West Germany had supplied South Africa with Prof. Becker's jet nozzle enrichment system. The West German Government justified its actions on the following grounds, "The German separation nozzle process for

uranium enrichment is not suitable for the manufacture of material usable for weapons. It does not involve any risk of proliferation". (p.47)

The authors of the Nuclear Axis, conclusively disprove West Germany's claim by quoting nuclear experts in the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, who have categorically stated that: "weapons grade uranium could be produced in a plant built for the production of reactor fuel by re-cycling the uranium gas many times." (p.xiv) In fact, not only is the German jet nozzle process suitable for producing weapons grade uranium, it is also technologically more advanced than the enrichment process employed by other reactors.

South Africa has a missile industry, and an air force capable of carrying the nuclear bomb. As the authors point out, South Africa has 95 French Mirage 3 fighter/

bombers, each capable of carrying four nuclear bombs. French involvement in South Africa's nuclear programme has been substantial. Its most recent contribution has been the Mirage F-1 fighter, 48 of which are to be supplied to the South African Airforce. The French built Mirage F-1 all weather aircraft, has provided South Africa with one of the world's "most sophisticated airborne delivery systems" currently available (p.230). It is also very interesting to note, that a French consortium was awarded the contract to build the first two of South Africa's 'commercial' nuclear reactors, Koeberg A and Koeberg B, in May 1976. The granting of a licence by Dassault, the French aircraft company, to the South African government's Atlas Aircraft company, to assemble 100 Mirage F-1's, was part of the nuclear reactor construction deal.

The evidence in existence on West Germany's nuclear collaboration with South Africa is over-whelming. But to a stunned audience at the World Conference on Action Against Apartheid, held in August 1977 in Lagos, Dr. Klaus von Dohnanye, head of the West German delegation and Minister of State in the Foreign Office stated: "To defeat apartheid by peaceful means, the Federal Republic has observed along the lines of its general policy of extremely limited arms sales to other countries, absolute rigid arms sale embargo against the Republic of South Africa for decades (sic). And contrary to unfounded, uninformed and unfortunately sometimes malicious allegations, there is no cooperation between the Federal Republic of Germany and South Africa in the military or nuclear field." He then continued: "We are grateful to anybody who seriously points out to us where our strict anti-apartheid policies are not adhered to."

This declaration of innocence by the West German government is absurd and is reminiscent of post-war Germany, where many Germans pleaded ignorance of the fact that, they were responsible for the execution of six million Jews.

South Africa was first launched onto the nuclear road by Britain and America. In their race to stockpile nuclear weapons in the post-war era, aimed at their wartime ally,

the Soviet Union, America and Britain with the consent of the Smuts government set about developing South Africa's uranium industry. Between 1951-57 R140 million was invested in a special plant for uranium extraction and processing. At Pelindaba in 1965, America built South Africa's first research reactor, SAFARI-1 and undertook to supply the plant with enriched uranium. But as Barbara Rogers and Zdenek Cervenla remark, "Perhaps even more important than the hardware and special nuclear materials, however, is the training and continued program of technical assistance which the U.S.A. has provided for the South Africans and without which the Republic of South Africa would have no nuclear capability at all." (p.249)

The question that arises here is : What motivates the NATO powers, America, Britain, France and West Germany, into covertly supporting South Africa's nuclear programme? In answer to this question, the authors quote from an American report (July 1977) which cites State Department officials as saying that there was a widely held view that, "...to isolate South Africa when it is a major exporter of uranium is very short-sighted and that.....the non proliferation concept gets nowhere when you isolate the country with 10-20% of the world's uranium reserves". (p.260)

The implication of this attitude is that, support for non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, is limited by the NATO powers uranium requirements.

The building of nuclear reactors and uranium enrichment plants requires vast sums of money. In the last few years, South Africa has been in the grips of an economic recession, which effectively should have drastically slowed down her nuclear programme. But secret documents shown to the authors show how, "the Americans took steps to raise the price of gold in order to provide a discreet but vitally important subsidy to the South Africans." (p.261)

An example as to how this was achieved, was the proviso that, international business contracts, governed by U.S. regulations, could for the first time include a clause allowing for valuation in gold in case of sudden devaluation of the dollar. As the authors point out, this was, "the first step

in remonetising gold after years of American policy aimed at removing its monetary value." (p.262)

Another important set of decisions taken in 1976-77, involved the International Monetary Fund (IMF) providing South

Africa with a massive loan which now totals 464 million dollars. This is twice the total amount loaned to all the African countries by the IMF. America holds an important position in the IMF, and had itself, provided 107 million dollars, of the amount loaned to the South African fascist state.

The Nuclear Axis is very well researched and makes an invaluable contribution to the struggle for nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament. With the advances in nuclear science and technology, no more can a distinction be drawn between nuclear reactors for commercial and military use. All reactors produce spent fuel which contains plutonium, the basic requirement in the production of a hydrogen bomb. And certainly, there can be no doubt that, the racist regime in South Africa has a nuclear bomb making capacity. The responsibility for giving this barbaric regime this capability, lies squarely on the shoulders of America, France, West Germany and Britain. The African National Congress, of South Africa put into focus the whole question of fascist South Africa being in possession of the nuclear bomb, in an unfolding revolutionary situation within the country when we concluded that: "Driven to despair, the regime will not hesitate to launch mass murder on the African Continent." To prevent this from happening, it is now imperative that South Africa's nuclear potential is severely curtailed. With the extensive capital requirement to construct nuclear reactors and enrichment plants, the key to curtailment is the implementation of economic and military sanctions against South Africa.

P.N.

POEM

This praise poem written in Zulu is about Dingane.

IZINBONGO ZENKOS' UGINGANE

Uvez' Unonyanda
Umgabadelì
Owagabadel' inkundla ka Bulawayo
Odenswe Ngezintab' ezimakhelekethe
Uvezi wakaSimanganyowo
UMBombosh' emnyama
UVemvane lukaphunga NoMageba
Ngibe ngiyaluthinta lwahaqabala
LunjengoPhunga waseBulawini
LunjengoVuma Kubangoma
Ophuz' amanz' eMbozame andukuwela
Amanz' eMbesam' esal' e babaza
Owel' imbezam' umtakaJama
Wawel' iMbemzamo kwashiziziba
Isizib' esinzonzo sizonzobele
Siminzis' umunt' eth' uyageza

Waze washona nangesicoco
Ngobucoco yena ngimbonile
Upbephuma lapha kwaSobandlela

Izibuko likaNdaba
Elimadwal' abushelelezi
Lashelalis' uPiti nendodana
Umkhonto ewadum' ekusen' emaBhunwini
Wadl' uPiti wamtshobotshela
Wadl' uJanomude kumaBhunu
Wadl' OSisini kumabhunu
Wamfamfatha wakhafula
Wathi bayababa kunenyongo

Gijimani ngazozonk' izindlela
Niyobikel' uNsimbini noMahlekeza
Uthuth' abazi yini ukuthi
Uvezi yisizwa kubi
UNomashikizela
Umashiyimpi yakhe

Wena kaNdaba!! Wen' omkhulu kakhulu!
BAYEDE BAYEDE UYIZULU!!!

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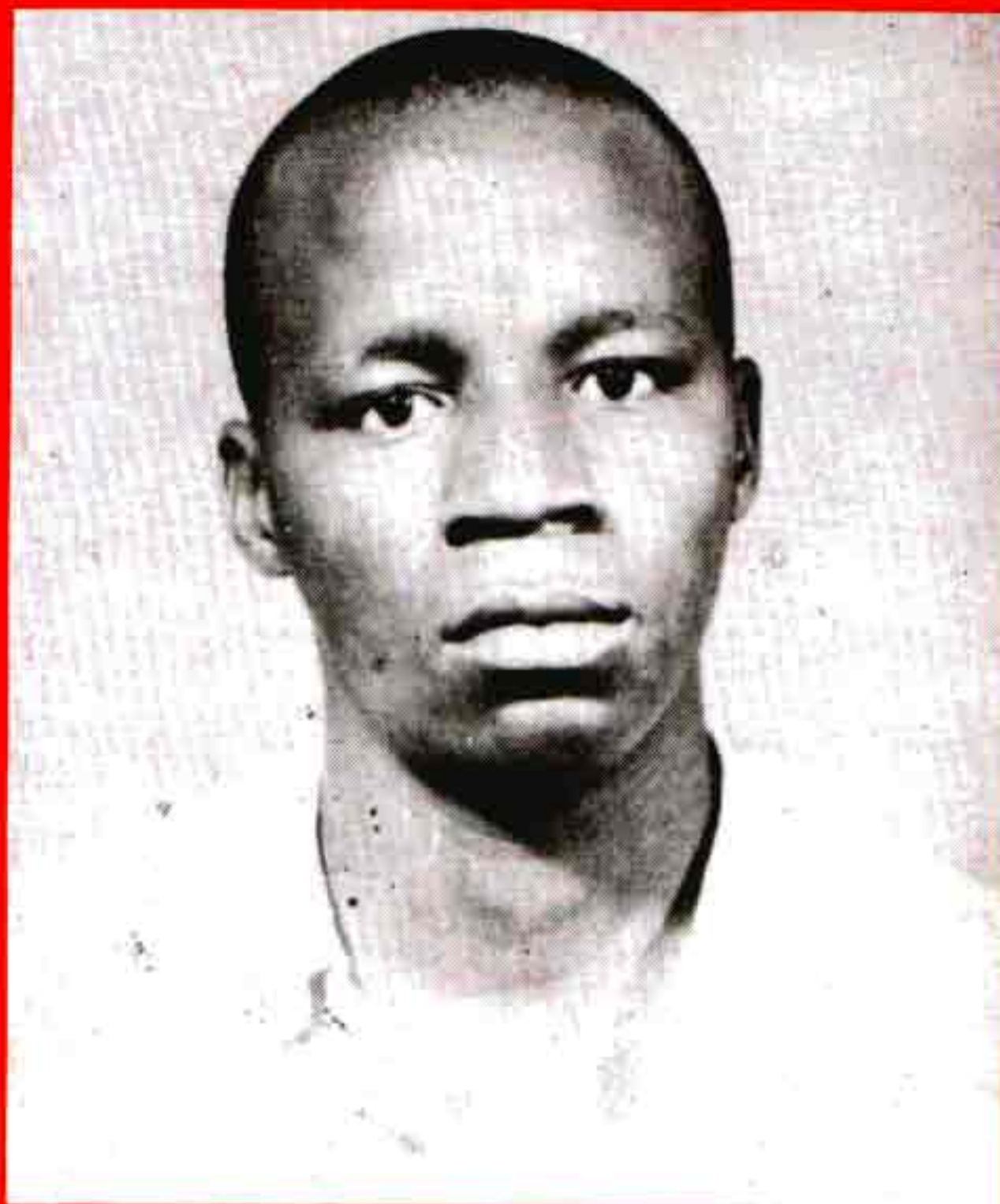
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