

AUGUST 1984



SECHABU

official organ of the African
national congress south africa



**LONG LIVE
AAPSO**

SECHABA

AUGUST ISSUE 1984



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Cover Captions

The picture on the front cover of this issue shows the platform at the Sixth Congress of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation, which was held in Algiers in May. In the picture, from left to right, are: Sherif Messaidy, Permanent Secretary of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, Nouri Abdel Razzak, Secretary-General of AAPSO, and Comrade Alfred Nzo, Vice-President of AAPSO and Secretary-General of the ANC.

The picture on the back cover is of Comrade Jeannette Schoon, born Curtis, who, with her child, was killed by a parcel bomb late in June (see obituary).



EDITORIAL

The Swaziland 'linkage'— a Double-Edged Sword

"The ANC Must Get Out," ran the headlines of the *Times* of Swaziland (16th April 1984) after the same paper had commented on 11th April:

"... the position of the ANC in Swaziland hangs in the balance as numerous discussions are held throughout Southern Africa to discuss the organisation's future."

The *Swazi Observer* (16th April 1984) was even more melodramatic:

"If you see a snake, even if it is not vicious, about to enter your house, you will not wait until the snake gets inside the house. You will immediately defend your family and protect them from being bitten by the snake, by crushing its head with a sledgehammer.

"In such circumstances one cannot get orders from neighbours to leave the snake alone just because it is not harmful. It is always the house owner who feels the pinch and should act swiftly

to avert the loss of human life in the house as a result of snake bite."

This "snake" is supposed to be the ANC, whose members are sometimes called in the Swazi press, "gun-slinging bandits."

These were remarks made after Swaziland had mobilised its entire police and armed forces to round up all members of the ANC, after a clash in April between the Swazi police and ANC guerrillas.

We shall refrain from commenting on the *casus belli*; let us deal with the *causa belli*.

Since the dismissal in March 1983 of former Prime Minister, Prince Mabandla Dlamini, an intensified power struggle within the Swazi ruling class has developed. The dismissal itself was a product of this power struggle between the two factions within the ruling class.

One faction has strong links to the **Tibiyo Taka Ngwane** Fund — a principal vehicle for capital accumulation by sections of the Swazi ruling royalist alliance. It is well represented in the 'traditional' institutions of the Swazi

monarchy, particularly the **Liqoqo** (Supreme Council of State), and favours the maintenance of a 'traditionalist' form of state, in which **Tibiyo** enjoys a high degree of official patronage without being subject to any significant control by government departments. **Tibiyo** holds shares in a number of South African firms operating in Swaziland, and the faction around **Tibiyo** maintains close links with South African capital and generally favours policies which maintain and even deepen such links.

The other faction – less coherently organised and based on class forces less closely linked to the **Tibiyo** – while favouring the maintenance of capitalism, advocates policies which would bring the **Tibiyo** under the control of government departments and eliminate some of the more blatant forms of corruption. It does not challenge the dominance of South African capital over the Swazi economy, but it does favour a foreign policy stance in which Swaziland would be less openly aligned with South Africa and marginally less dependent on South African capitalism. Even this is not acceptable to racist South Africa – hence the dismissal of Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini and Queen Regent Dzeliwa.

Swaziland is a contradiction-ridden country. These factional squabbles and contradictions dominate the political scene in Swaziland partly because of the absence of any effective and meaningful movement of the popular masses. But the collaborationist

stance towards South Africa is very unpopular and tends to draw into active political struggle various strata outside of the narrow ruling royalist circles.

But what has all this to do with conflicts between Swaziland and ANC?

The secret signing of the so-called non-aggression pact in 1982 between South Africa and Swaziland was not only meant to be "an example to be followed" by other countries in the region but also meant as a pretext for direct interference and intervention by the South African regime in the internal affairs and politics of Swaziland. The relative independence and sovereignty Swaziland had was sacrificed on the altar of "good neighbourly relations." Not only was Prime Minister Prince Mabandla Dlamini sacked, but also Queen Regent Dzeliwe was dismissed, students and teachers harassed – one noticed an erosion of democratic life in Swaziland. This was followed by another aspect of this 'linkage' – **THE ANC MUST GET OUT.**

We have always stated that the peoples of Southern Africa should be careful about the 'linkage' theories emanating from Washington and Pretoria. There is always more to it than the eye can discern. Sometimes they talk about the 'linkage' of the independence of Namibia to the presence of the internationalist Cuban forces in Angola – a totally separate issue – and in the same vein they talk about the 'linkage' between "good neighbourly relations" with South Africa and the

expulsion of the ANC in Southern Africa.

Swaziland, a signatory of the United Nations Charter on refugees, is expelling refugees. What then will be the task of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees? What about the United Nations broadcasts against apartheid?

This 'linkage' business has ominous effects on and repercussions for the tender and vulnerable democracies which are emerging in Southern Africa. The sovereignty of these countries is at stake. Racist South Africa wants to bully and rule them as if they were

bantustans, under the guise of "good neighbourly relations."

Let us hasten to overthrow apartheid, and liberate the region of Southern Africa. Let us hasten to overthrow apartheid, and save the sovereignty of newly independent states in our region. Let us hasten to overthrow apartheid, and lay the basis for good neighbourly relations between the truly independent peoples of Southern Africa. Let us hasten to overthrow apartheid, and build African unity, and save the OAU from the splitting tactics of Pretoria and Washington!



INTERVIEW WITH
COMRADE ALFRED NZO

THE ANC HAS A PLACE IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT

The Sixth Congress of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO) took place in Algiers from the 27th to the 30th May. This representative international forum, attended by more than 100 delegations from Africa and Asia, national liberation movements and a number of international organisations, summed up the results of AAPSO's activities during the 12 years since the Fifth Congress. It also discussed a strategy for the future. At the end of the Congress, Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC and leader of the ANC delegation to the Congress, spoke to Mavis Nhlapo, who interviewed him on behalf of 'Sechaba.'

Q. Comrade Nzo, what were your impressions of the political content of the Sixth AAPSO Congress?

A. AAPSO Congresses have been in the past, and continue to be, platforms where revolut-

ionaries not only from Africa and Asia but from other parts of the world come together to discuss problems that affect literally the rest of humanity. The Sixth Congress was therefore one such platform. Assembled in Algeria were not only the AAPSO National Committees from Africa and Asia, but their allies, the Afro-Asian Peoples' Organisation from the Socialist countries — that is, solidarity committees from the Socialist countries — solidarity committees in Western Europe, solidarity committees and peoples' revolutionary movements from Latin America and also from North America. Therefore there was an opportunity to discuss not only the problems of Southern Africa, Africa and Asia, but also problems that affect people in other parts of the world, especially problems that are brought about by the continuing imperialist aggression against the people in Western Europe, in Latin America and in the heart of the imperialist system — the United States it-

self. It was therefore appropriate that this meeting should concern itself also with problems of world peace.

The argument was that the activities of international imperialism, especially the Reagan Administration, that reflect themselves in the mad rush to rearm the imperialist countries with nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, is not the concern of the peoples of Europe alone, who are supposedly most threatened by nuclear rearmament. It has been variously stated that the nuclear stockpiles today in the world can destroy our planet fifteen times. This therefore means that Africa and Asia are not isolated from the one planet in which everybody lives. It was therefore necessary for the Congress to discuss this problem, and pledge to align the people of Africa and Asia in the general struggle for world peace and security.

The problems of the people of Palestine and imperialist aggression in their region were also considered. In this respect the aggression of Israel, with the support of the United States and other imperialist countries, against not only the Palestinian people but the people of Lebanon in particular, was considered. Naturally, the forces represented in the Sixth Congress pledged their support to the PLO and the people of Palestine in their struggle to win their right to self-determination (including their right to establish their own state), support for the progressive forces and people of Lebanon in their heroic stand against Israel and imperialist aggression, support for Syria and, in general, support for the Arab liberation movement.

It was also appropriate that the Congress concern itself with the position of the peoples of Southern Africa, particularly in the light of the aggressive offensive against these peoples, that is being launched now by the apartheid regime, assisted by imperialism, and that has found reflection in the so-called Accords which the regime has signed with some countries of Southern Africa. It was important for the blame for this offensive to be placed squarely at the doorstep of these aggressive forces that are using the South

African regime for carrying out their global strategy, directed at the progressive movement of the peoples throughout the world.

The forces of imperialism, which are today directing the activities of the South African regime, have been responsible for the centuries-old colonial aggression against these peoples, who, after attaining their victories, are faced with the disastrous colonial legacy of having to rebuild their countries. While they are at a stage of doing that, then the aggressive forces of the regime take advantage of their weakness and impose their own strategies on these countries, seeking to interrupt their independent development. The Congress thoroughly discussed the impact that this has, not only on the further progress of independent states, but also on the progress of the national revolutions of those peoples that are still engaged in struggle, like the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. Thus the people of Africa and Asia and their allies from other parts of the world pledged their continued support and solidarity with the forces of revolutionary change in South Africa as led by the ANC and Namibia as led by SWAPO.

The Congress also concerned itself with imperialist aggression, especially that of the Reagan Administration, against the peoples of Latin America, its attempts to put obstacles to the independent development of countries such as Nicaragua, its support for reactionary forces in countries such as El Salvador, its persistent threats against the Socialist Republic of Cuba and others. Once again here, the solidarity of the peoples of Africa and Asia for their allies in Latin America was underlined.

Solidarity was also expressed with the peoples of the Korean peninsula in their struggle for the reunification of their country and against aggressive alliances such as the growing alliance between United States imperialism, Japan and South Korea, and the danger it poses to peace in the region. The strategic objective of this alliance is to interrupt the progress of the Socialist countries and roll 5

back the progress of the people in the entire region.

It was also important for AAPSO to look back at the further development of the newly independent states, that it has so valiantly assisted to attain their political independence, and see what can be done to consolidate that independence by assisting in the development programmes of these countries. This is because of the understanding that political independence cannot consolidate the country but that economic independence must be enhanced to defend the independence of the country. For this reason there was a Commission established by the Congress to deal with this issue. It is therefore hoped that in the coming period progressive forces will pay attention to this problem, because it is precisely this which makes imperialism take advantage to advance its strategy against these countries.

It should therefore be clear from the above that the political content of the Congress was certainly in the interests of the national liberation revolutions that are being waged by the peoples of the world, and in the interests of the preservation of the peace and security of the peoples of the world.

Q. Coming back to Southern Africa, how would you say the Congress assessed recent developments, particularly the apparent offensive launched by the Pretoria regime, aimed at blackmailing the countries of Southern Africa into entering so-called peace accords with the regime?

A. The Congress, naturally in solidarity with the newly independent peoples, placed the blame squarely on the aggressive forces, first and foremost the apartheid regime, which, in its offensive, is also all out to support the general imperialist aggressive strategy against the newly independent peoples. The important thing here was that the Congress recognised that it is absolutely essential that support be intensified for the Front Line States for them to be able to withstand the offensive by the regime. In the process, those of our brothers
6 who have already been browbeaten and black-

mailed into signing accords should recognise the fact that their place continues to belong with the rest of the progressive and democratic forces, and in support of the national and social liberation struggles of the peoples.

Q. The problems of the Middle East seem particularly complex at the present time. How did the Congress tackle these?

A. The problems of the Middle East, especially as they relate to the aggressive strategy that is being employed, rest squarely on the platform of what is usually called the Camp David Accords that were signed by Israel and Egypt. It was therefore only appropriate that in the discussion of this problem reference was continually made to the fact that the constant aggression against the peoples of that region, particularly the people of Lebanon, is an attempt to destroy the Palestinian revolution and the PLO, which is the leading force in that revolution. The most direct intervention on the side of Israel by imperialist forces is well shown in the knocking together of so-called peace-keeping forces. This meant the intervention of American, British and French imperialism against the people of Lebanon and against the peoples of the whole region.

In this respect, naturally, the valiant resistance of the peoples, led by the progressive forces in Lebanon and of the Palestinian revolution, put obstacles to the implementation of this aggressive strategy and led to the virtual drawing away of these imperialists from Lebanon. In considering this problem, therefore, the Congress pledged solidarity with the PLO and other progressive forces in the region. From that Congress the peoples of the area would rest assured that the solidarity of the peoples of Africa and Asia and that of the other progressive forces is assured. That, naturally, must be a source of inspiration for them to continue to valiantly resist imperialist aggression.

Q. Comrade Nzo, our critics have always accused us of being influenced by the Soviet

Union, of being "stooges and satellites of the Soviet Union." One of the examples they give to justify this claim is our active participation in the international democratic and peace movements. Can you, as one of the vice-presidents of AAPSO, give reasons for the participation of the ANC in these movements, particularly in AAPSO?

A. Our participation in these democratic movements of the peoples is a reflection of the consolidation of the policies that were laid down very strictly by the founding fathers of our movement in 1912. To remind the world about our participation: one of the most important slogans adopted by the ANC, and which has lived throughout the years, has been, "Africa! Mayibuye!"

The founding fathers of our organisation recognised the fact that it will be important for our people to realise that their struggle is intricately bound, as reflected in the slogan, to the struggle of the people in the rest of the continent. Carrying that forward logically, the struggle of the people of South Africa is clearly bound up with the struggles of the rest of humanity, both in Africa and abroad. Therefore, in implementing this behest of our founding fathers, the African National Congress has continued to be on all progressive platforms of the peoples of the world.

It is no accident, therefore, that the ANC is participating in peoples' forums such as the AAPSO. In fact, we participated in this movement even before the birth of AAPSO itself. The idea was mooted at the Bandung Conference, when we sent emissaries, unforgettable revolutionaries of the South African struggle such as Moses Kotane, to represent our people. The Bandung Conference mooted the idea of Afro-Asian solidarity, and led to the eventual establishment of AAPSO.

Similarly, as the world peace movement develops, the ANC has been actively participating in this movement. We have had the honour of being Vice-President both of AAPSO and the World Peace Council. This is a reflection of an understanding by the ANC that it is absolutely essential for our people to be

involved in the progressive movements, not only for selfish ends, which means we would be involved simply because we want solidarity with our own struggle, but because of the understanding that the enemy that faces mankind is one — and that is international imperialism and its variants. It is necessary, therefore, for the various contingents of forces confronting the enemy to work together and unite. The ANC irreversibly occupies a place in this whole anti-imperialist movement. That is why we are participating in it.

We have therefore rejected, with the contempt it deserves, the allegation that is made by the enemies of our people, that we are tools of the Soviet Union, tools of international Communism, that we are tools of forces that are supposed to be alien to our people. We reject this with contempt! Of course we recognise that these are attempts that the enemy is making to have our people isolated from the mainstream of the revolutionary movement of the peoples of the world, for the sole purpose of perpetuating their oppression. We refuse to be isolated. We recognise instead that the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries are our dependable allies, from whom no force is going to succeed in separating us. Therefore, being partisans to the peace movement of the peoples, we shall continuously play our role in this movement.

Q. How would you assess the final outcome of the Sixth Congress of AAPSO?

A. It should be clear from what we said before that the Sixth Congress of AAPSO has succeeded in consolidating the solidarity movement of the peoples of Africa and Asia behind the struggle of our people, and of course behind the struggle of the people of Namibia. The Sixth Congress has also given notice to the aggressive forces internationally that our peoples are not about to be isolated from their participation in the struggles of mankind as a whole against the threatening thermonuclear catastrophe.

LAW AND POLITICS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

By Kader Asmal – Part II

THE LEGAL STATUS OF NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT

This is the second part of a paper originally read at a conference in London in April 1984. We are publishing it in four parts.

The right to self-determination is therefore a recognition of the collective rights of a national entity which is accorded rights under the Charter and under international law. The recognition of the rights of a people is important as it presupposes that such rights will be or can be pursued or vindicated through the instrument of a public body known as a national liberation movement and that the struggle itself is thereby accorded a legal status in international law.

The consequences of this evolution of the law are far-reaching because "it represents an important movement away from the old view under which international law rights pertain only to States and Governments and not to groups of individuals." (11) Liberation movements recognised by the United Nations have, therefore, (especially where there is a regional organisation such as the OAU to espouse its claim) the capacity of existence at the level of international law, as they are the legally prescribed instruments for the vindication of the right to self-determination. Without such a recognition, the right to resistance, which is connected with a viable entity and accompanying political institutions, is devoid of meaning.

The creative development of international law in support of the rights of subject peoples fighting against the tyranny and violence of colonialism, racism and apartheid shows that international law adopts empirical tests as far as personality is concerned and the early statement of the Secretary-General of the UN that "Practice has abandoned the doctrine that States are the exclusive subjects of international rights and obligations," (12) has been upheld by subsequent practice concerning national liberation movements.

In jurisprudential terms, this development has had extraordinary effects. 'Colonial' issues, including the issue of apartheid and racism in South Africa, are removed from the restrictions of the domestic jurisdiction clause

of Article 2 (7) of the Charter; sovereignty vests in the people of the territory and not in the colonial power, and the liberation movement has interim personality, as the representative of the peoples of the territory in question.

The impetus for this development came from the struggles of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guine-Bissau in the sixties, and the formula used by the General Assembly and the Security Council to a lesser extent, was applied to other situations. At the twentieth session in 1965, the General Assembly for the first time recognised the "legitimacy of the struggles by the peoples under colonial rule to exercise their right to self-determination and independence" and at the same time it invited "all States to provide material and moral assistance to the national liberation movements in colonial territories." The following year, the General Assembly went one step further and stated that the preservation of colonialism and its manifestations, including racism and apartheid, were incompatible with the Charter and the Declaration of Decolonisation. It further declared that colonialism threatened international peace and security and that the practice of apartheid constituted a crime against humanity, a characterisation which was to have important legal repercussions in the years ahead.

The representative nature of liberation movements was first applied by the General Assembly to the movements fighting Portuguese colonialism in Africa. As far as extant movements are concerned, the South West African People's Organisation of Namibia, established in 1960 and which began the armed struggle following the disgraceful judgment of the International Court of Justice in 1966, was recognised by the General Assembly as the 'authentic representative of the Namibian people,' and the Assembly supported its efforts to strengthen national unity and requested an active commitment by all Governments, international organisations and national bodies to channel aid — financial,

material or otherwise — through SWAPO. (Resolution 3111 XXVIII)

However, three years later, the General Assembly recognised SWAPO as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people and supported its armed struggle for self-determination, freedom and national independence, and invited States to provide assistance for this struggle. Significantly, the Assembly invited SWAPO to participate as an observer in the work and sessions of the General Assembly and in all conferences convened under the auspices of the Assembly (later to include all UN bodies). In relation to the implementation of Resolution 385 of 1976, concerned with elections for a transfer of power in Namibia, whose initial impetus has been obscured by the intervention in 1977 of the five Western Contact States, the General Assembly, at the Ninth Special Session in 1978, insisted that independence talks between SWAPO and the representatives of the South African regime, under the auspices of the United Nations, must be for the sole purpose of discussing the modalities for the transfer of power to the people of Namibia, and rejected the pretensions of the South African-sponsored groups in Namibia whom South Africa was intending to put forward as an alternative to SWAPO.

SWAPO has, as a result, enjoyed a special status representing its role as the organ for the self-determination for Namibia, reflecting special international status of the territory. It enjoys also a special relationship with the United Nations Council for Namibia in the implementation of various UN policy decisions.

The situation in South Africa, arising out of the official State policy of apartheid, has led to United Nations intervention since when the General Assembly was first seized of the issue. The systematic and violent imposition of the official policy of the state and large-scale extent of western involvement in the economic, military and diplomatic support for the system have made the apartheid issue one of the crucial legal problems of our time. More resolutions of the General Assembly, the Security Council and the associates

HAROLD



or subsidiary organs of the UN have been passed on the issue of apartheid than on any other international situation or dispute. Through these repeated resolutions which have assisted in legal developments, the international community has recognised that the apartheid system and the situation in South Africa are special cases, requiring exceptional

responses both from the world body and international law.

There has been a clear recognition that apartheid is more than a matter of human rights whereby amelioration of the plight of the twenty million blacks would lead to improvements in the situation there. The development of the law over the past three dec-

ades has followed the following pattern. The linking of racial equality with decolonisation and self-determination, the development of the norm of non-discrimination, the recognition of apartheid as a crime against humanity (now clearly reflected in the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid of 1973 which, like the Genocide Convention, imposes individual responsibility for such a crime) and the insistence of the General Assembly that the situation in South Africa is a threat to international peace and security (partially recognised by the Security Council by the taking of Chapter VII Charter action against a member state forbidding the export of arms and military materials to South Africa) culminated in a recognition that the South African regime is illegitimate.

This dramatic conclusion was reached by the General Assembly (13) when it declared that the "racist regime of South Africa is illegitimate and has no right to represent the people of South Africa." Associated with this was the reaffirmation of the "legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and their liberation movements, by all possible means, for the seizure of power by the people and the exercise of their inalienable rights to self-determination," and the further and important recognition of the national liberation movement of South Africa as the "authentic representative of the overwhelming majority of the South African people."

To reach this conclusion, the world community had first to evaluate the nature of the South African state. Although ostensibly meeting the criteria of statehood — permanent population, defined territory, a government and the capacity to enter into relations with other states — the South African regime represents not the classical features of salt-water colonialism (to which the decolonisation process and the right of self-determination automatically apply) but a colonialism of a special kind, where the colonisers and the colonised live in the same territory, and where the racial minority, in their laws and in the Con-

stitution itself, consider and treat the majority as rightless aliens in their own country. The Bantustan system, with its inner 'logic' of ultimately dividing South Africa into a number of territorial units with an alleged independent status granted by the colonial parliament, will remove citizenship rights for all 'citizens' of the Bantustans. The Bantustan policy, more sharply than any other manifestation of apartheid, shows the classical features of a colonial administration conferring 'independence' on what must be considered as a subject people. But since the 'people' as a whole have never been consulted about their fate, such attempts at partition must be seen as contrary to the right of self-determination, rather than simply as a part of the anti-human rights policy of apartheid.

In other words, two systems of law and government exist side by side in South Africa, one for the colonisers and the other for the colonised. The former enjoyed a transfer of legal authority from the imperial overlord, Britain, but since the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the essence of the colonial relationship has been continuously maintained. (14)

In any event, the rules of international law have developed to an extent where the apartheid system has been held to be in breach of the rule of non-discrimination recognised by the International Court of Justice and articulated by Judge Padilla Nervo:

"Racial discrimination as a matter of official Government policy is a violation of a norm or rule or standard of the international community." (15)

Secondly, the norm of racial equality has been associated with, or even assimilated to, the norm of self-determination (see Resolution 2106B (XX) General Assembly 1965), and racial discrimination as a "factor giving rise to a colonial situation has also been apparent apart from the case of Southern Rhodesia in the resolutions adopted in recent years on the apartheid policies followed by South Africa." (16)

Thirdly, apart from the 1973 Convention on Apartheid, customary international law and treaty law view apartheid as a crime under international law. This is illustrated by the ease with which the Geneva Conference on Humanitarian Law, when adopting Protocol I of 1977 additional to the Geneva Conventions of 1949, accepted the provision whereby apartheid and other inhuman and degrading practices involving outrages upon personal dignity, based on racial discrimination, shall be regarded as 'grave breaches of the Protocol' when 'committed wilfully and in violation of of the [Geneva] Conventions or the Protocol.' Under Section II of the Protocol, these acts have been added to the list of 'grave breaches.' Under Article 85, paragraph 5 of Protocol I, grave breaches of the Conventions and the Protocol are to be regarded as war crimes.

In the same vein, the International Law Commission, which has been reporting on international crimes in the context of State responsibility, has recently adopted at its 28th session a definition which has urgent and serious implications for international order:

"An international wrongful act which results from the breach by a State of an international obligation so essential for the community that its breach is recognised as a crime by that community as a whole, constitutes an international crime."

On the basis of the practice of the General Assembly and the development of rules that genocide and apartheid are examples of offences to be included in the category of the most serious internationally wrongful acts, the Commission adopted Article 19 which states that an international crime may result, among other examples, from "a serious breach on a widespread scale of an international obligation of essential importance for safeguarding the human being, such as those prohibiting slavery, genocide, apartheid."

In Namibia and South Africa, therefore,

system which has been incontestably recognised to be a crime against humanity cannot be doubted.

References:

11. R Higgins, *The Development of International Law by the Political Organs of the United Nations* (1963) 106.
12. Memo of Sec. Gen. UN, *Survey of International Law in Relation to Work of Certification of International Law Commission* A/cn. 4/1/Res. I, p 19 (1949).
13. By G.A. Res. 3411E(XXX) by a vote of 101 to 15, with 16 abstentions.
14. For a fuller discussion of the status of the South African regime in international law and the extent to which an entity is liable in a legal system, although its legal warrant is suspect, see the writer's article, *Law versus Apartheid*, *Review of Contemporary Law* (1979) p 57.
15. *Namibia Opinion* (1971) p 123. See also the *South West Africa Cases* on the norm of non-discrimination, Wellington Koo at p 234, Jessup at p 455, Padilla Nervo at p 464 and especially Tanaka at p 286.
16. Sureda *op. cit.*, p 243, where Sureda refers to the early resolutions showing this assimilation.





25 YEARS OF CAMPAIGNING — THE ANTI-APARTHEID MOVEMENT

The Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain was first formed in 1959 in response to an appeal made on behalf of the people of South Africa by Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress at that time. These were his words:

“I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to all organisations and institutions in every land and at every level to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our time.”

Throughout the years since then, the Anti-Apartheid Movement has worked to mobilise public opinion in Britain and the world, in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa.

In June, it marked its 25th anniversary at a Convention in London, where activists from all over Britain spent a week-end hearing speeches, watching films, reading and discussing information documents, reviewing the past and preparing strategies for the future.

Three objectives were defined:

- * to re-affirm support for Chief Luthuli's appeal
- * to strengthen the campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa
- * to provide practical ways in which British people can demonstrate that they are not prepared to tolerate apartheid domination in South Africa.

In his address to the Convention, the President of the AAM, **Archbishop Trevor Huddleston**, said:

“... today we can say with truth no government is in ignorance of the nature of apartheid: no government can doubt that it still constitutes a major threat to world peace: no government can dare to argue that its consequences are ... anything but wholly evil ...

“We know that the challenge to apartheid has to be renewed by this generation with as much energy and determination as it had when it was mounted 25 years ago.”

Fraternal Speeches and Messages

The Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid, **Ambassador Koroma**, praised the work of the AAM in a message, in which he said:

“By denouncing tirelessly and persistently the evils of the regime of apartheid, making known its repressive laws and practices, widely publicising the plight of the people who have fallen victims of its odious system of inhumanity, your movement has helped the public all over the world to realise what the apartheid system really is and to join the fight against one of the worst kinds of political repression known to mankind and the most complete systematic denial of human rights.”

Another message came from the President of Tanzania, **Julius Nyerere**, who emphasised the importance of international solidarity with

the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa:

“The front line of the struggle against apartheid is in South Africa, and the front line troops are the people of South Africa who are opposed to this inhuman system. But the effectiveness of good front line troops always depends in large part on the strength, first of the enemy, and secondly of the support which the two sides receive from the rear.

“The apartheid state is very strong economically and militarily: the system is strengthened by practical support through continued foreign investment and foreign trade. The people of South Africa are without wealth and have no arms, their struggle depends on their indomitable human spirit and the support they receive from states, organisations and individuals who recognise apartheid as an offence against humanity ... The Anti-Apartheid Movement is one of the organisations playing this vital external role.”

Neil Kinnock MP, leader of the British Labour Party and a founder member of the AAM, condemned the Conservative government of Britain for its links with apartheid, and the military help and co-operation it is giving the Pretoria regime. He promised that in the event of his becoming Prime Minister, he and his government would support the move to isolate apartheid South Africa.

Addressing the Convention on behalf of SWAPO, Comrade **Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo** said:

“The British state and its close relationship with the South African regime is a major obstacle to genuine independence for Namibia. The enemy of the British people at home, which manifests itself through unemployment, cuts in social services, attacks on Black people and women, is the same enemy which is supporting racist war against our people.

Your solidarity with our struggle will be a major contribution to your own battle against racism and injustice in your own country.”

Comrade **Seretse Choabi** of the ANC read a message from President **O R Tambo**, which looked first at the past and then at the future:

“The Anti-Apartheid Movement can with justifiable pride look back at a record of great achievements ... Its ideas are today deeply implanted in the social consciousness of the British people ...

“It is an historical fact that over the centuries of contact between British and South African people, the best elements of British society have always shared with us a common tradition of opposition to racism and national oppression.”

The message mentioned the magnificent demonstrations early in June, which had shown that large numbers of the British people objected to the visit of P W Botha, and ended:

“ ... as the struggle inside South Africa grows more intense and bitter we shall have occasion to call on you again and again for the moral and material support that has helped to sustain us over the last 25 years.”



INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY WITH SOMAFCO

A delegation from the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee visited the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in May, led by Giabadulla Murzagaliev, editor-in-chief of *Za Rudedgon*, who later returned, accompanied by the Tass representative in Dar Es

Salaam, to take interviews for an article in his journal.

Other guests in May included two representatives from the youth organisation of the Centre Party of Finland, which is providing the funds for the library at the Mazimbu complex. They also investigated new projects at the Dakawa Development Centre.

Campaigners in the Federal Republic of Germany are asking people to donate five marks each for seedlings to start an orchard at Dakawa. From London it is reported that Tottenham Hotspurs, one of the top British football teams, has donated a ball autographed by all the players, which will be sold to raise funds for sports equipment for Somafco.

ANC/Netherlands Solidarity Hospital

It was a great occasion for all at Somafco

when, on May Day, the plaque at the site of the new hospital was unveiled, together with the base of a statue of a mother and her child. The ceremony was carried out by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, and Henk Odink, President of the Medisch Committee Angola in Holland, which is providing the funds to build the hospital.

Previously, a meeting was held at the Lilian Ngoyi School Hall, where speeches and messages were delivered by Comrades Nzo and Odink and by representatives of SWAPO and the OAU Liberation Committee, among others. Comrade Thabo Mbeki, Director of the Department of Information and Publicity of the ANC, was also present, as was Truus Menger, the Dutch sculptor, who was a resistance fighter during the Nazi occupation of the Netherlands, and who has donated her statue.



Henk Odink, President of the Netherlands Medical Committee for Angola, presenting a photograph of MPLA in the bush (1974) to Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, who received it on behalf of President Tambo.



SOLIDARITY WITH ANC AND SWAPO IN THE HEARTLAND OF IMPERIALISM

Over 1 000 people came out in **Harlem, New York** to hear leaders of the Southern African liberation movements speak, and to show their support.

Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, said:

“The struggle can be won. The same imperialists that are oppressing you here are oppressing us in Africa. The liberation struggle will not end until racism, colonialism and imperialism are eliminated from the African continent.”

Comrade Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer-General of the ANC, referred to the uprising of 1976, and said:

“Those children who used sticks and stones eight years ago are now not throwing stones but are using AK-47s and bazookas to fight the white minority regime.”

Abdul Minty, Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, also addressed the meeting.

In **Seattle, Washington**, over 200 people marched to the federal court house calling for victory to the liberation struggle in Southern Africa and Central America. Meryl Douglas of the People's Anti-War Mobilisation stressed the solidarity of the gathering with the African National Congress and the oppressed who:

“... arms in hand are fighting national oppression the world over.”

A South African flag was burned before the court house.



GUYANAN SOLIDARITY WITH ANC AND SWAPO

On the 24th May, the People's Progressive Party, the opposition party in the Caribbean country of Guyana, issued a statement to mark African Liberation Day. The statement declared that:

“... the People's Progressive Party fully supports the view that the central and immediate question in South African politics is the overthrow of the white minority regime.”

It also stated that Pretoria is using its military, economic, political and diplomatic muscle to gain supremacy on the African continent; that its intention is to liquidate the armed struggle for liberation, led by the ANC and SWAPO, and to transform the Front Line States into client states of the racist regime; that the question of independence in Namibia had to do with the “colonialist and occupationist policy of Pretoria” and nothing to do with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola; and that in its ambitions Pretoria was being assisted by the Reagan Administration through its policy of ‘constructive engagement.’ The PPP ended by saying:

“The PPP takes the opportunity to reaffirm its whole-hearted support to the struggles of the ANC and SWAPO. The Party pays homage to all African freedom

fighters who have either died in battle or are still languishing in the gaols of the racist regime. The PPP pledges to do all it can to help realise the just aspirations to which the people of Africa aspire. Victory is certain!



**EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL
AFRO-ASIAN FILM FESTIVAL
TASHKENT 1984**

Cinema, as one of the most important forms of art, has great potential force and capacity to contribute to the development of progressive societies. "Peace, social progress and freedom of peoples" was the noble motto of the prestigious and representative film festival held at the capital of Soviet Uzbekistan (writes Timmy Zakhele, who attended the festival on behalf of *Sechaba*).

The main topics of the young cinema in colonial and former colonial countries are directly linked with politics and economy and with the struggle of people for their independence. At the festival, the *Sechaba* correspondent saw vivid films born in the flames of the national liberation movements of Algeria, Cuba, Angola, Guine-Bissau, Mozambique and Angola; also films on the Aborigines in Australia, on Namibians struggling for their independence against racist colonisation and on racist and colonial oppression in South Africa.

"Children of Atomic War," by Kaneto Sindo, the Japanese film director, aroused tremendous interest because it expressed the tragedies caused by atomic weapons, and above all because it reflected the fundamental and important things of life.

At one time, the African cinema was represented only by documentaries. This year, some African countries screened their feature films at the festival.



THE ANC IN THE PACIFIC

Comrade Eddie Funde, Chief Representative of the ANC in Australasia and the Pacific, spent the first half of May in New Zealand, where he addressed the conference of the New Zealand Federation of Labour, and a number of public meetings.

Back in Australia, later in the month, he commenced a speaking and organising tour of all the capital cities. In South Australia, two of the three parties represented in parliament arranged discussions with him.

The Annual Convention of the South Australian branch of the Australian Labour Party passed a resolution in support of the economic, cultural and sporting boycott of South Africa.

ISRAEL IS SOUTH AFRICA'S BEST FRIEND

INTERVIEW WITH
AN OLD COMRADE

Comrade 'S' has been in exile in Israel for the last twenty years. Before leaving South Africa he was active in the Congress Alliance, and, together with many others, he was detained during the State of Emergency after Sharpeville. He was also the recipient of many banning orders during the hectic political activity of the fifties. 'Sechaba' was therefore very pleased to renew an old acquaintance with this comrade.

Q. Comrade S, could you tell us briefly what has happened to you over the past two decades, and also give us some impressions of Israel?

A. My health would not allow me to stay in the cold climate of Europe, and this factor, together with a personal family one, influenced my decision to work on a kibbutz in Israel, where, over many years, I have kept in reasonably close touch with the local progressive organisations there.

fully aligned with the western world and is, of course, South Africa's best friend. I would say very categorically that the USA and the apartheid regime are most warmly regarded by the Israeli government, and have been so for all the time I have been there.

Q. Can you give a few examples to substantiate what you say about the relationship between Israel and South Africa?

A. Yes. For example, when Rabin was Prime Minister, he invited Vorster to visit Israel officially. As a result of this visit, a special economic and cultural relationship was forged between the two states. Another example is the fact that Israeli officers are often called upon to lecture to their counterparts in the South African racist forces about the latest military developments, which they have gained through connections with the USA, and of course about their own experiences in actual conditions of war.

There are several senior South African

officers now being taught Hebrew in Israel, as well as the production and manufacture of weapons at which the Israelis are experts.

South Africa, which cannot sell its commercial goods directly to the Common Market, does so through Israel, which has a special status with the E.E.C.

These examples, and many others, should give you an idea of what I mean when I speak about the close relationship between the two states.

Q. You spoke about Vorster's visit to Israel. I believe he visited the memorial to the six million Jews murdered by Hitler. Can you say what the reaction of the Israeli people was to this, and whether they were aware that Vorster had been detained by Smuts during the Second World War for his pro-Hitler activities?

A. Information about the Nazi sympathies of Vorster was drastically curtailed. He was portrayed as an anti-British patriot who had been interned for this reason. There were a few protest letters about his visit, but never any possibility of a strong campaign against it at that time.

Q. What, if anything, is Israel's attitude towards the forced removal of hundreds of thousands of Africans to the bantustans, bearing in mind the fact that the same fate befell many Jews during Hitler's occupation of Europe?

A. It is ironical, but seemingly true in some instances, that the persecuted learn best from their persecutors how to persecute others! This certainly applies to the successive Israeli governments, right up to the present time.

But to get back to your question — officially, the Israeli Government has no contact with the bantustans. Unofficially, however, several Israeli firms are investing in the Ciskei for instance. In addition, at least twenty pilots are being 'privately' trained in Israel for the intended Ciskeian Air Force. At least three of the bantustan 'governments' have offices

in Israel. Sebe has visited Israel on several occasions, but on his last visit, there were demonstrations in Tel Aviv against such visits.

And, by the way, the Israelis have already paired off the town of Ashkelon with a twin city in South Africa, but the attempt by Rehovot to do likewise had to be abandoned because of strong protests against it.

Q. As you know, there are several anti-apartheid movements throughout the world. Is there one in Israel?

A. No, there is not.

Q. Why not?

A. This is due partly, I think, to the inertia of the progressive elements among the thirty-two thousand ex-South Africans now living in Israel, but due more so to what is termed the ethnocentricity of the Israeli people, which means that they are so bound up with their own 'survival' that they don't appear to be moved significantly by anything else.

Q. Well, this of course must lead me to ask you what your opinion is about the role which Israel has played in the Middle East during your stay there.

A. To answer this properly, we would have to go back to the day of 1948, when Shorett was the foreign minister in the Ben-Gurion government at the time of independence. Shorett officially stated in most categorical terms that Israel was aligned with the West. This has never been denied or altered by all the succeeding governments.

It has meant, therefore, that Israel has acted as a protector of the imperialist interests in this region for all these years. For example, the connivement with the French and British in the 1956 attack on Egypt — all the ensuing wars against the Arab states bear this out in full, culminating, as they have done, in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Q. Obviously this attitude fits in with the Israeli attitude towards the Palestinian Arabs. Can you comment on this?

A. The alignment with the west is the other side of the coin to Israel's refusal to recognise the fact that there is a Palestinian Arab people struggling for nationhood and independence in the former territory of Palestine. At no stage has any Israeli leader accepted this fact.

One could say that the current aggression against Lebanon is tied up with this concept.

Begin, Shamir and Sharon boasted that they had now destroyed the infrastructure of the PLO. What they, in fact, had done was to destroy the homes, schools, hospitals and factories in the Palestinian camps, and killed many innocent people. But to destroy the PLO, all the Palestinians themselves would have to be destroyed. Events have shown that this is impossible. Nothing can destroy a people fighting for a just cause.

Q. Comrade S, it appears from all this that you are quite sure that the Palestinian people will ultimately gain their independence.

Can you tell us whether you have ever detected any form of racism while this struggle has taken place in the Middle East – racism from the allies of the apartheid regime, of course?

A. As I have implied, there can be no doubt at all that the just war of the Palestinian people will end in victory for them. There is a realisation from a growing number of Israelis that an independent Palestinian State alongside that of the Israeli State is the best guarantee for peace and security in the Middle East.

But over the last eight or nine months a vicious racism has surfaced. There have been calls to expel the Arabs who at present live in Israel – and these run into many, many thousands. There have also been calls by certain sections of the Rabbinate for apartheid to be introduced between Jews and Arabs in Israel itself. As a result many progressive Jews

and local Arabs have formed committees to oppose this new manifestation of racism, and have effectively rallied large parts of the population against such policies. Hopefully, this initial ground-swell of resistance will put paid to such manoeuvres by these reactionaries.

Q. Would it be correct to say that the apartheid regime plays the same sinister role in Southern Africa as does the Tel Aviv regime in the Middle East? – and that both serve the same master on the international level?

A. There is no shadow of doubt about the twin roles that these regimes play. Nor is there any doubt that they exchange views about their respective murderous acts of aggression against the liberation struggles everywhere.

Q. From your observation point in Israel, and from all that you have experienced in that area together with your earlier experiences in South Africa, what would your message be to all your old comrades, as well as the new ones, now fighting against the apartheid regime both inside and outside our country?

A. As you can see from the latest events in the Lebanon, the brute force of the USA and its Israeli bully-boys have not succeeded in imposing their will on those fighting against oppression. Though they can cause tremendous damage and suffering, they are in fact sowing the seeds of their own defeat.

The same can be said about the apartheid aggression in Southern Africa.

The peace, prosperity and happiness of the people of South Africa is dependent on the liberation movement – on the release of Mandela, Sisulu, Kathrada and all the others still imprisoned, and on the return of Oliver Tambo and his comrades to their rightful place as leaders of a South Africa based upon the Freedom Charter.

Amandla!
Power to the people!
Victory is certain!

South African Sport

BEHIND THE SMOKE SCREEN THINGS ARE GETTING WORSE

By Sam Ramsamy

In South Africa today the sport situation is difficult and complex even for the comprehension of a well-informed South African. The whole sport set-up is fraught with contradiction, justification, innuendo and cold-blooded lies. One thing is absolutely clear and unambiguously certain — sport in South Africa is inextricably interwoven with the political situation in the country and can definitely not be divorced from it in any way.

In order to begin to understand the sporting situation in South Africa it is absolutely necessary to understand the meaning of terms used in the country, which have a totally different connotation in other countries. All over the world the word 'multi-national' applies to an event such as the Olympic Games, the European Games or the World Cup soccer, which are international events and which of necessity involve teams from different nations. In South Africa a multi-national event is an event consisting purely of South Africans defined in their various racial or ethnic groups according to the race classification of the Population Registration Act.

A 'multi-national' event in South Africa, therefore, can consist of teams or players made up of White South Africans, African South Africans, Coloured South Africans or Indian South Africans. In the case of Coloured, Indian or African South Africans, they are people born and bred in South Africa whose parentage determines their specific

race or ethnic classification. White South Africans are determined by their skin colour — it matters not whether their parents are resident in, or originally from, England, Spain, Portugal, Germany, Holland or Japan. The White immigrant who signs naturalising papers on arrival in South Africa becomes part of the establishment immediately, and qualifies for a South African passport. Such an immigrant has the right and privilege of voting and being voted for in the highest of South African policy-making forums. This right and privilege is specifically denied to any South African who is not White and who does not know any other country of origin.

It is an historical fact that no White South African can claim to have a lineage which indicates that his or her roots originated in South Africa. This country was originally inhabited by Black South Africans, that is, the Khoi-Khoi and the San peoples only. In terms of historical fact, therefore, it is really the Whites of South Africa who are the foreigners, and not the Blacks, who have been made foreigners by political manoeuvring.

The 'Multi-National' Rationalisation

The multi-national concept in South African sport was conceived initially to accommodate so-called international rapport for White South Africans who were being isolated from international sport. It was being rationalised at parliamentary level that the 'independent Black homelands' are in fact 'sovereign independent states,' and that therefore when

sports contact took place between 'White South Africa' and these 'homeland states,' then such competition would amount to bona fide 'international sports contact.'

The one big problem confronting this particular political manoeuvre was the fact that the majority of able-bodied Blacks of the 'homeland states' work in so-called 'White South Africa' as contract labourers. This problem was overcome by creating so-called 'umbrella' sports bodies such as the Football Council of South Africa, of which George Thabe is president. This 'umbrella' Sports Council has as its members the Black South African National Football Association (SANFA), the White Football Association of South Africa (FASA), the Coloured South African Coloured Football Union (SACFU) and the Indian South African Indian Football Union (SAIFU). The Coloured and Indian Unions at present exist only in name.

The multi-national rugby situation is a bit more complex. The 'umbrella' body is known as the South African Rugby Board, which is in fact the White board, under the presidency of Dr Danie Craven. The Coloured South African Rugby Federation (SARF) under Cuthbert Loriston and the African South African Rugby Association under Curnick Mdyesha have associate membership of the South African Rugby Board, and have been given the voting power of an ordinary White provincial unit to the national body.

Both Loriston and Mdyesha have nominated positions on the SARB selection committee, which has been increased to seven to accommodate one Coloured and one African member, who have 'protected nominated' positions. These two are also not democratically elected on the merit of their knowledge and ability as judges of the game and its players. The inference must now be tragically clear, exactly as it is meant to be, that Black and Coloured opportunists and collaborators are used by the multi-national sports bodies to give them an air of respectability, international acceptability and credibility. On their own sporting merit and ability, these

'Non-Whites' do not deserve to hold the positions they have been given, but, since they were the only ones willing to take the positions offered, well ...

'Multi-National' Confusion

The position outlined above at administrative level underscores the tragedy of multi-national sport at playing level. The Coloured Rugby Federation is an autonomous Coloured rugby-playing unit with its own club competition and inter-unit competition, and, as a 'Coloured national unit,' it even plays inter-provincial affiliates of the South African Rugby Board. This exact position also prevails with the African South African Rugby Association.

The Coloured South African Rugby Federation is concentrated in country district areas of the Western Cape, and is nowhere near 'national' in character or make-up. In order to give the Federation a bit of body and self-respect, some of the so-called provincial units have been included in the special 'Town Challenge' competition of the White Western Province Rugby Union. This is also a special concession to so-called 'provincial units' to play in a lesser White club competition. The anomaly which confuses most people, especially foreigners, is that, while Coloured rugby players play in their own Coloured competition at club, provincial and national levels, any of their players can be called up by the White provincial units in whose areas they live or play. Two such players — Avril Williams and Wilfred Cupido — have in fact been called up by Western Province this season. It is worthy of note that the best-known Black player, Errol Tobias, has not been called up by any White provincial unit either this season or last season. He is used virtually exclusively for 'international exhibition' matches. It is for this reason that most people in South Africa believe that his selection is definitely not on merit, but rather for the fact that his Blackness is unmistakable, and so with him the 'multi-national' character of the team is beyond dispute.

This is precisely the tragedy of the multi-national or multi-racial sports system. In or-

der to gain credibility internationally, and in order to appease its Coloured and African satellites, the White South African Rugby Board has to pick at least one Coloured or African player, irrespective of his individual merit as player or players in the position or positions, at the direct expense of numerous White players, who might merit selection purely on ability in these positions.

Non-racial sport has no such hang-ups. In the administration, organisation and playing of non-racial sport from the lowest to the highest level, merit and ability are the only considerations. Race, colour, ethnicity or religious beliefs are of no consequence in the selection of teams or positions. This is precisely what the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) stands for, and promotes throughout the length and breadth of South Africa. And this is exactly why SACOS is so relentlessly hounded by the 'recognised' South African sports bodies, and by spokesmen and agencies of the Nationalist Government.

Department of Prisons Decree

It has recently been decreed by the Commissioner of Police in the Prisons Department that all prison personnel, that is, warders, must play sport in 'recognised' sports bodies. Prisons Department teams that have been affiliated to the non-racial South African Rugby Union (SARU) were forced to resign and join up with the Coloured Rugby Federation — and, impossible as it may seem, this embarrassed even Cuthbert Loriston.

As long ago as 1976, police and soldiers' teams were 'recognised' sports bodies. Members of these 'recognised' multi-national bodies in the government service are given special concessions to train, practise and play their sport while on full pay. Members of non-racial sports bodies are specifically discriminated against — they are not allowed opportunities for practice and training. It is also a fact that non-racial sports persons are specifically compromised by the authorities in the Services by being forced to take part in so-called 'multi-national' or 'normal' sports events as representatives of Service teams.

Refusal to take part in these events is considered as being refusal to do 'duty,' and renders the dissident liable to dismissal. This is part of the more overt harassment of non-racial sportsmen in South Africa.

Harassment

Besides the hideous harassment of Services personnel in non-racial sport, there is also the more subtle and covert harassment that is going on all over the country and even in the so-called 'independent homeland states.'

In the Cape Town Municipality, which controls most of the 'open' sports facilities in the Cape Peninsula and its vicinity, there has been a report by the City Engineer, Jan Brand, to the Executive Committee that the facilities of the City Council should be refused to the members and affiliates of the non-racial SACOS. This report came as a reaction to direct statements in the same vein by the Pretoria Minister of Constitutional Development, Chris Heunis, and the Administrator of the Cape Province, Eugene Louw.

The institution of direct discrimination against non-racial sportsmen and organisations is nothing new. As long ago as the early sixties, when Dave Marais, the former president of the White FASA and former United Party member of Parliament, was Mayor of Johannesburg, facilities all over the West Rand were denied to non-racial sportsmen in various codes. Stringent political barriers have been created for non-racial sport with consistent regularity.

Sport is, after all, the one means in which people of different political views can find a common ground and affinity. The need for sport, and its influence, can also be the basis by which persons of differing views can find unanimity, and this apparently spells danger to the powers that be in South Africa.

Tremendous artificial barriers and physical barriers have been created by the Nationalist Government and its satellites to prevent non-racial sport with consistent regularity from having its concept of "total equality in a united democratic South Africa" being accepted in all grassroots organisations of the

people. It is for this reason that the totally unacceptable permit system was instituted especially to enter urban Black townships within so-called White South Africa.

The applicant for a permit tacitly admits that he does not belong in a Black township by virtue of his own racial background and ethnicity. He therefore admits to his own racial difference and agrees that he is allowed into the Black township as a concession by the grace and goodness of the authorities. This is totally and unequivocally unacceptable to all non-racial sports persons at any level of consciousness. This is the basis of the case against Frank van der Horst, the President of SACOS, who is shortly to appear in the Port Elizabeth Magistrates' Court, charged with illegal entrance in a Black township.

The non-racial sportsmen in the so-called 'independent Black state' of the Ciskei have been experiencing a particularly harrowing time. They are being denied sports facilities, and are ordered to stop matches against so-called 'non-Blacks' from outside the Ciskei; are denied fund-raising facilities and amenities in the Ciskei, and those top sports administrators who have defied the authorities by carrying on with their non-racial sports activities have been detained in police barracks and deported from the Ciskei; and yet others have been suspended and dismissed from the jobs that they have worked at all their working lives. Until recently, the author of this repression was Major-General Charles Sebe, brother of Lennox Sebe, the President of the Ciskei. Major-General Sebe received his training from the South African security police.

School Sport Funds

A most significant statistic was revealed during the current session of the South African Parliament. It concerns the amount of money spent on the promotion of sport at school, and was significantly revealed by the Minister of Education with the responsibility for sport — Dr Gerrit Viljoen. We have always been of the considered opinion that as long as there is discrimination in education along racial

lines, there can never be non-racial sport in South Africa.

If children cannot be allowed to grow up naturally, accepting all other children as equals in the classroom and in the playground, they can never be expected to accept each other as equals in later life. Prejudice and resentment are inculcated in children in their formative years, at schools in the racially separate education system which is a non-negotiable cornerstone of the apartheid policy of the South African regime.

Any fair and right-thinking educationist anywhere in the world must admit that in South Africa the education system leaves the bulk of South African school children with minds that are slightly crippled and definitely demented to the extent that they are consciously prevented from appreciating the equality of man irrespective of race, colour or creed.

A recent thesis for Master of Education, researched by a White Pretoria housewife, revealed, in fact, that racial prejudice with special reference to the superiority of the White Afrikaner and the virtually animal-like inferiority of Blacks, is being inculcated in South African school children through text books, especially in history.

Against this background, Dr Gerrit Viljoen revealed in Parliament the amount of money being spent annually on White school children and Black school children. Members of the Opposition in Parliament broke this down to mean that the amount of money spent on each White school child in South Africa for sport is R9.93, and for each Black child it amounts to R0.32, that is, less than one-third of one per cent of that spent on the White child.

Under such circumstances how can sport in South Africa be normal?

And while we are about it, maybe we should ask British Conservative MP, John Carlisle, and those other British apologists and defenders of South African sport, Lord Chalfont and Tommy Campbell: "Do these figures amount to change in South African sport?" We feel sure that Lord Chalfont and

Tommy Campbell would have worked out a reply to this obvious question and the many others raised here, when they answer to the mammoth international press conference in August this year, which they are to chair and organise respectively.

Sponsorship

As we have said initially, it is difficult — maybe it is impossible — to make an analysis of the political situation.

Sports missions to South Africa over the past few years have attempted to justify the South African situation by pointing out what they see as the completely 'non-racial' character of the professional soccer scene as organised by the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) under the 'distinguished' chairmanship of George Thabe. Besides having already shown Thabe's role as president of the umbrella body, we would also like to make the very pertinent point that the NPSL runs a first division of about 20 teams which can at the most accommodate about 300 professional soccer players, which amount to about one ten thousandth of one per cent of the total population of 30 million people. Is such a percentage any justification?

Conversely, what is the position of thousands, maybe millions, of amateur soccer players in the country? Have the international sports missions ever investigated the conditions and facilities of amateur soccer players in South Africa? Have they investigated the grassroots sports organisations in all codes of sport, their administration and playing facilities? The evidence in all this sport would be shatteringly revealing! The most revealing factor of all would be the amount of sponsorship available from business houses for the 'recognised' NPSL as against the closed shop policy adopted against the non-racial Federation Professional League.

Investigators would be totally bewildered by the detailed information available from non-racial sports organisations on appeals to business houses for sponsorship and the type of excuses made as to why no sponsorship is

available, only for the same business houses to announce some months later some fantastic sponsorship for racist multi-national sports bodies in one code or another.

It is because of such sponsorship and support by business houses that the 'multi-national' South African Cricket Union (SACU) of Joe Pamensky has managed to cock a snoot at the international sports boycott of South Africa. SACU is primarily responsible for organising the visits to South Africa of cricketers from other countries. Even cricketers of the calibre of Geoff Boycott and Graham Gooch will admit to the financial lure rather than a love for South African cricket or the apartheid system.

The financial lure for the Black cricketers from Sri Lanka and the West Indies is even more irresistible. The money is used to buy international sports credibility for the South African regime — it does not indicate social and political change in South Africa. Black sportsmen coming to South Africa are accorded 'honorary white' status, and are not treated like the local Blacks.

If South Africa can really afford the millions offered to international sportsmen to visit the country, then how do we explain the proven and scientifically researched fact that at least four South African children — that is, Black children — die of malnutrition or related diseases every hour of every day of every week of every month throughout the year? Nothing has changed in South Africa. More smokescreens have been created, but behind those smoke-screens the positions and conditions are the same, if not worse than ever.

The much publicised constitutional changes which are being discussed do not indicate an improvement in conditions for people in South Africa. They do not indicate any improvement in the conditions of sports men and women. The present situation in South African society is being maintained and consolidated. If anything, the situation is worse; it is definitely not better. Black South Africans remain outsiders and foreigners in the land of their birth.



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor,

Recently there has been some debate on the use of the term 'so-called Coloured.' In response to the letter in *Sechaba* of June, I would like to express my feelings as part of the debate.

The mass of young people, after and during the 1976 national youth uprising, more and more questioned apartheid terminology, not as ethnologists or professors of anthropology, but rather as hurt and confused human beings sick to death of manipulation by those who had set themselves up as their White masters. In the Western Cape, I can remember the discussion we used to have about the term Coloured, when we met as groups of the Comrades Movement. These were loosely organised groups of youth brought together in action and study through the uprising of 1976, and who were largely pro-ANC. The term, 'so-called Coloured,' was commonly used amongst the youth in popular expression of rejection of apartheid terminology.

I am in full agreement with what was said in the *Sechaba* review of Richard Rive's *Writing Black*, but would add that while, as you say, "It is not enough to say the 'so-called Coloureds' or to put the word Col-

oureds in inverted commas," it would be equally wrong to accept the term, 'Coloured.' I say this especially in the light of the fact that most people are rejecting the term 'Coloured.' Congress people, UDF people, those in civic groups, church groups and trade unions, leaders popular with the people, speak of 'so-called Coloured' without they, or the people they are speaking to, feeling like humanoids. In fact the use of the term 'Coloured' is cited as making people feel artificial. Coloured is a term which cries of lack of identity.

The term 'Coloured' did not evolve out of a distinctive group, but was rather a label pinned on to a person whom the Population Registration Act of 1950 defines as: "who in appearance is obviously not White or Indian and who is not a member of an aboriginal race or African tribe." A definition based on exclusion – that is, the isn't people. One researcher put it this way: "Die sê wat de Kleurling nie is nie ... As hy nie iewers anders tuishoort nie, dan is hy 'n Kleurling." (This says what a Coloured person is not ... If he doesn't belong in any other category, then he's a Coloured). The term 'Coloured' was given to what the racists viewed as the marginal people. The term 'Coloured' was fundamental to the racist myth of the pure white Afrikaner. To accept the term 'Coloured' is to allow the myth to carry on.

Take the case where families are divided, where some are classified White and others classified Coloured, or yet again African. For them to accept the term 'Coloured' would mean to accept their family being split up. In my own family such a split is the case, totally not of our own making, and resulting in the family living in a Coloured group area, a White group area, a mixed race zone and also overseas. The normal situation of the happy family, made up of different races over 330 years, changed when the rigid system of race classification was introduced in 1950. The immediate situation was assessed and the 'obviously Coloured' sector was sliced off.

The whole nature of our family changed, regardless of the fact that most of the family

continued to communicate. Socially, culturally, educationally and economically, most of the family, regardless of classification, are at the same level and are a reflection of the poor districts they live in. However, those who are light would never be able to 'pass for Coloured' by the criteria of the regime, nor those who are classified Coloured find it easy to 'pass for White,' as happens sometimes. For those who are classified White there are state duties to fulfil, such as military service, and legalities such as national education, which puts a stamp of difference on them other than pigment. They are in a sense forced to disown their 'Coloured' family even when they do not want to. They can't say to the authorities, "I want to be Coloured." They would be told, "Don't be daft, take a look at yourself in the mirror, and, anyway, we make these decisions."

The community labelled 'Coloured' and driven into separate group areas, likewise, would look at my side of the family as 'poor Whites' and not 'Coloured.' I would have to accept all that the regime has done if I accept either of these terms. We are dominated by the framework of the regime. In accepting the term 'Coloured' for part of my family and some of the people of our neighbourhood, I deny part of myself and agree to embrace only that which is obvious in my pigment. In the position of neither 'White' nor 'Coloured,' what is there left but to fight for a common identity not based on race identities of White, African, Coloured or Indian? The alternatives for me would mean denial of the many faces in my childhood, the experiences of growing up, my history and part of my family and friends. It would mean the acceptance of the systematic destroying of the identity of the areas I grew up in and the acceptance of a wholly apartheid White identity. Scrawled on a wall near to where my cousin lives are the words: "Die Groep moer ons" (which can be politely translated as, "The Group Areas Act crushes us"), in popular judgment of classification and group areas.

My story is not uncommon in Cape Town. In many cases, unfortunately, people

have not fought back. They commit suicide or they learn to live with their decreed identity. This process has gone on for years. From this personal position I find it difficult to accept the term 'Coloured' and prefix it with 'so-called.'

Today, people are saying, "We reject the racists' framework, we reject their terminology," and are beginning to build the NEW in defiance of the old, right in the midst of the enemy. The term 'Coloured-Kleurling,' like 'half-caste,' 'Bruine Afrikaner' and South Africa's step-children,' has been handed down by the racists. Instead of some of us getting offended or taken aback by adopting a very narrow interpretation of this usage, we should see the prefix 'so-called' as the first step in coming towards a solution of something which has been a scourge for years.

We have got to move on from the term 'so-called Coloured' in a positive way. People are now saying that we have the choice of what we will be called, and most, in the spirit of the nation in the making, opt for 'South African.' The debate can take many forms, but not a reverting to acceptance of the Baasskap term. If one really needs a sub-identity to that of being a South African, maybe through popular debate the question could be sorted out.

As an example — the people through mass debate may adopt a geographic name, or adopt the name of an early hero of slave resistance, or again maybe resurrect the name of one of the many southern tribes which were annihilated.

In conclusion, I would like to point out:

1. That, while the term 'Capie' may sound nice, there are certain connotations (not very different from 'Hottie') connected to South African Defence Force slang and the Cape Coloured Corps, which may cause more than a few people to raise their eyebrows. People do not go around calling themselves Capies. The nearest to people doing this is when White people from the Cape are amongst South Africans from other parts and they call themselves 'Kaapenaars.' In fact, the Oxford

Dictionary of South African English makes the link-up between Kaapenaar and Capie. The usage cited for the term is from Athol Fugard defining Capie as "one who is a little Black and a little White," and from Steenkamp, a reporter who specialises in SADF matters, who defines 'Capie' as "Capetonians of all races." In the SADF the term 'Capie' is used for those in the Cape Coloured Corps and the Cape Auxiliary Corps. National Servicemen took up the term and used it more widely to describe 'Coloured' people. Furthermore, it became used simultaneously in jest towards white servicemen from Cape Town by Transvalers for instance — "Al julle Capies." Most often it was used in a racist way. "Just let that blerry hotnot Capie get White with me, then you'll see." Other than Cape Coloured Corps people, I have never heard anyone in the 'so-called Coloured' community using this word. It is clearly a White term used in a racist way. Like the 'Argie' cartoon in the *Argus* newspaper.

There is a more early usage of the word, and because of its geographic nature it may have cropped up elsewhere. Its earliest roots are probably in the term 'Cape-boys' originating in the 1890s. 'Cape-boys' are described as "the bastard class of Malbarries, St Helenans, Bushmen, Hottentots and Mocambiques, generally classed as Cape half-breeds." What I can't get out of my mind when hearing this term is the young White soldiers shouting

from the troop train to the youngsters on the side of the tracks, "Hey, jou klein Capie, waar's jou suster? Ek wil 'n meid naai!" ("Hey, you little Capie, where's your sister? I want to fuck a girl!") I have never heard it used any other way except later reading a magazine with liberal leanings, which made reference to: "Capeys of all races ... whose hearts are in the right place."

2. In the ANC, MK and the underground resistance there are all races, not as representatives of their ethnic groups but as militant cadres, struggling for victory of one nation and the crushing of the vicious and degrading system of apartheid. We have marched forward. Our struggle includes the destruction of the schizophrenia caused by race classification.

3. It must finally be once again stressed that it is not correct to think that this questioning of 'Coloured' and the use of the term, 'so-called' is just a Unity Movement or Black Consciousness Movement question. One cannot ignore developments at home, or march marking time by judging this question on old criteria. 'So-called,' agreed, is not good enough, but neither is 'Coloured.'

Yours in the struggle,

P.G.

Mayibuye i Afrika!



Obituaries

ANDREW KGOTI MOLOTSANE

Andrew Kgoti Molotsane, trade union activist and member of the ANC, died on June 16th on the way to hospital after a car crash in Botswana. He was in his early thirties.

Andrew grew up in Orlando, near Johannesburg. A friend of his family recalls Andrew's friendship with the Sisulu family, and his eagerness, while still at school in the late sixties, to discuss politics, to improve his understanding of the struggle and his contribution to it.

The son of a trade unionist, Andrew was a founder member of the Black Allied Workers' Union (later to become the South African Allied Workers' Union) in the early seventies, and was a member of its first executive. At the same time, he was involved in the work of the South African student movement, and was so active in the political mobilisation of the youth that he was eventually detained. One of the tortures he was subjected to during interrogation was being thrown into a

bath of water while trussed up in a strait-jacket.

In 1975, he and six others were charged in what came to be known as the first trial of the South African Students' Organisation. The prosecution alleged that the accused had conspired with 46 others to form underground cells to gather and study information on certain strategic buildings and installations, and also to study the South African economy and the role Black workers could play in crippling it. Five witnesses for the prosecution refused to give evidence, and the charges did not stick.

On his acquittal and release, Andrew went into hiding because of police harassment, and worked underground. He then left the country, and finally, in Lusaka, he started work for the South African Congress of Trade Unions, of whose National Executive Committee he was a member at the time of his death.

His contribution to the external solidarity work of our movement was considerable. On behalf of SACTU, he did a three-month speaking tour of New Zealand in 1981, before the tour of the racist Springbok rugby team. In October of the same year he went to New York, to address the United Nations Special Committee against Apartheid on the occasion of the International Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners on October 11th. He then toured the United Kingdom and Ireland.

When the news of his death became known, SACTU received a number of letters from Australia, where Andrew was remembered because of his speaking tour in August and September 1983, as a guest of the Australian Union of Students and the (then newly-formed) ANC Support Group in Melbourne.

Hamba kahle, Andrew Molotsane.

Robala ka kgotso, Kgoti.

You and your work will be greatly missed.

The struggle continues!

JEANETTE AND KATRYN SCHOON



*Six-year-old Katryn Schoon,
killed by a parcel bomb*

The terrorist regime of South Africa has once again murdered a member of the African National Congress and the South African Congress of Trade Unions. On the 28th June, in Lubango, Angola, Jeanette Schoon, aged 36, was killed by a parcel bomb, together with her six-year-old daughter, Katryn.

Jeanette Curtis began active opposition to the injustice of apartheid in 1966, when, 18 years old and in her final year of school in Johannesburg, she took part in a campaign against the Sabotage Act.

From 1967 to 1970 she was a student at the University of the Witwatersrand, where she played an active role in the National Union of South African Students, holding key positions in the organisation, and the office of vice-president in 1971. During these years she took part in many political campaigns, such as that against forced resettlement of African people, against segregation in education, and for the rights of political prisoners.

From 1971 to 1975 she played an im-

portant part in the movement to build Black trade unions, and helped establish *Isisebenzi*, a trade union newspaper.

In 1974 her passport was confiscated. In 1975 she was detained for three months under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act, and shortly after her release was banned, together with a large number of fellow trade unionists.

In 1977 she married Marius Schoon, a recently-released political prisoner. The day after their marriage, which was illegal since both were banned and not allowed to meet, they skipped the border into Botswana. Their daughter, Katryn, was born in 1978 and their son, Fritz, in 1981. When Katryn was born, Marius was ill in hospital, and a false message was sent to Jeanette's family saying that he was dead. This was one of a series of hoaxes and death threats with which the Schoons were harassed in Botswana.

In July 1983, as a consequence of this harassment, the Schoon family reluctantly left their work for the International Volunteer Service in Botswana, and moved to Zambia.

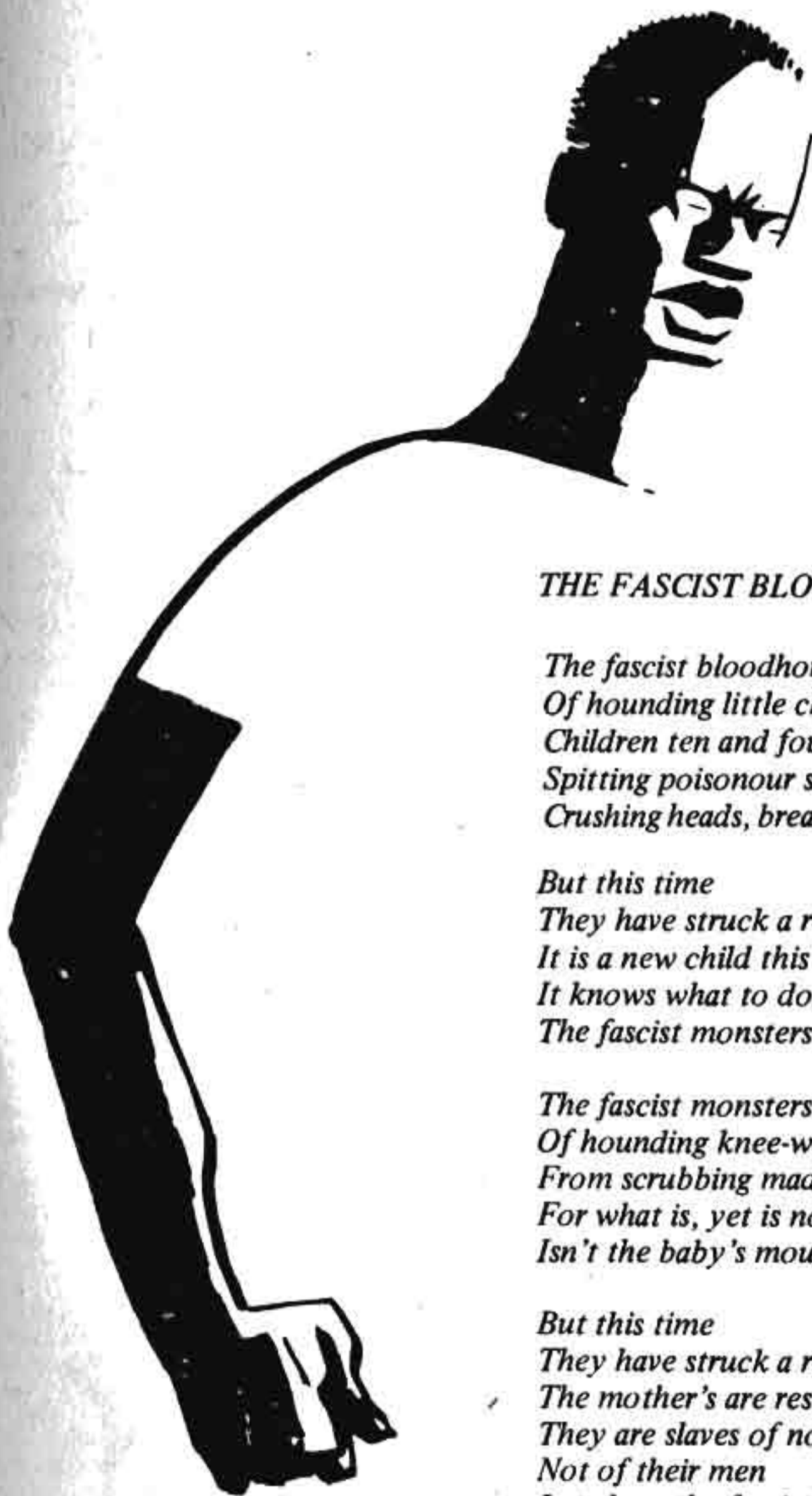
It was then that Jeanette is reported to have said:

"All political activists, whether they are inside or outside South Africa ... have a real fear of assassination. Danger is nothing new. Wherever you are you have to face danger."

After three months in Zambia, Jeanette took up a teaching post at Lubango University in Angola.

Acts of terrorism such as the brutal killing of Jeanette and Katryn are part of the strategy of the Pretoria regime to physically liquidate freedom fighters in the ranks of the South African liberation movement. The ANC dips its banner in honour of this heroine of the revolution and her child.

**Hambani kahle, Jeanette and Katryn.
Your deaths will not be in vain.**



THE FASCIST BLOODHOUNDS

*The fascist bloodhounds never tire
Of hounding little children
Children ten and four years young
Spitting poisonour saliva into their eyes
Crushing heads, breaking bones, spilling blood*

*But this time
They have struck a rock
It is a new child this
It knows what to do
The fascist monsters must go*

*The fascist monsters never tire
Of hounding knee-wobbly mothers
From scrubbing madam's stoep
For what is, yet is not
Isn't the baby's mouth always open?*

*But this time
They have struck a rock
The mother's are resolved
They are slaves of nobody
Not of their men
Let alone the fascist bloodhounds.*

*The fascist bloodhounds never tire
Of hounding blood-sapped workers
The backs are bent
The fittest only survive
It is existence but bare
A life which is mere*

*But this time
They have struck a rock
The workers have heeded a voice
Hundred and more years old
But is the voice really old?
If it says united they are everything*

*The fascist bloodhounds never tire
Of hounding shack society
Harrying them from pillar to post
Banishing them to sun-scorched lands
Running roughshod over scrap of tin*

*But this time
They have struck a rock
It is their land this
They won't move from Nyanga
Not under pain of death
Nor threat of imprisonment*

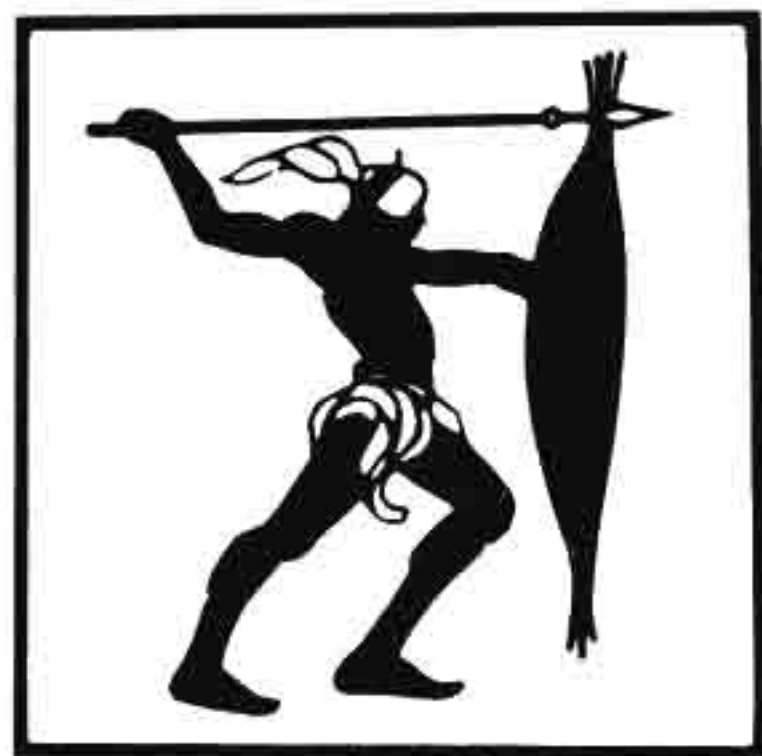
*The fascist bloodhounds never tire
Of blowing their mouths off
'At breakfast I can be at the equator,'
Lunch time I am in Cairo and it's over
But something did snap shut the trap
In a far-off land called Angola*

*And this time they have struck a rock
So hard that forward and backward
Is unfathomable
See how they are reeling and spinning
Under the hammer blows of MK
And the anvil of the masses*

- Mbongi Koki



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ZAMBIA
PO Box 31791
Lusaka.

Jeanette Schoon



**Murdered
by the enemy**