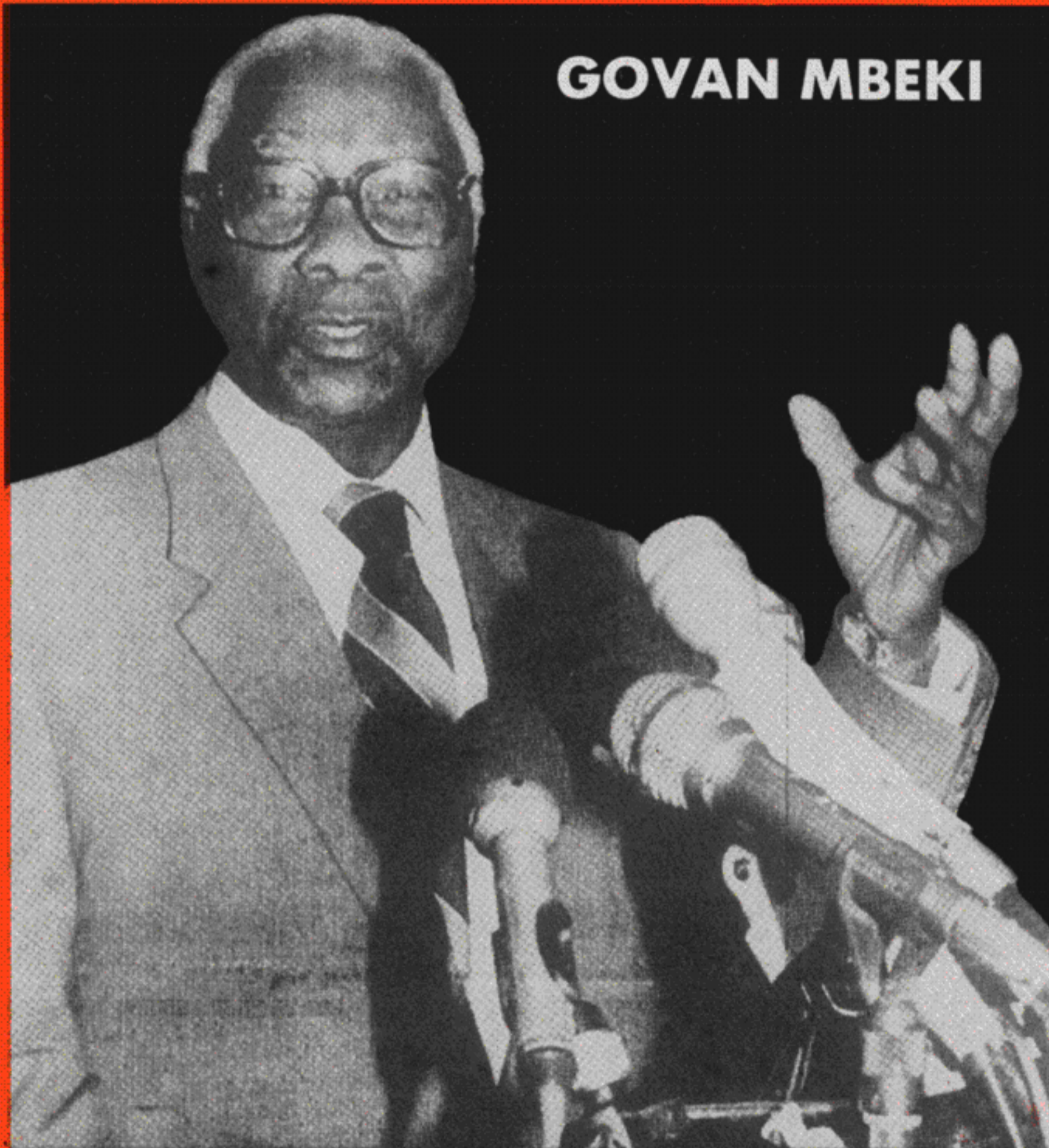


DECEMBER 1987



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



GOVAN MBEKI

RELEASED BUT NOT FREE!

SECHABA

DECEMBER 1987

CONTENTS:

EDITORIAL

Govan Mbeki — Released But Not Yet Free 1

ANC STATEMENT:

On Negotiations 3

Namibian People Fight under the Banner of SWAPO

By David Calder 6

ANC INTERNATIONAL 12

Swaziland Kidnappings 14

By Justitia

CENTRE PAGE 16

VIGILANTES 19

By J Mathebula

Letter To the Editor 30

OBITUARY

By Livingstone Mqotsi 31

New Rates! New Rates!

Owing to increased costs, the subscription rate for Sechaba, the monthly journal of the ANC, will be increased to:

\$30 for institutions; \$25 for individuals in

the USA and Canada, and

£12 for all other countries as from January 1988.

Send your subscriptions to:

Sechaba Publications

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

United Kingdom

Telephone: 01-837 2012

Telex: 29955ANCSAG Telegrams: Mayibuye

Donations welcome

EDITORIAL

GOVAN MBEKI

RELEASED BUT NOT YET FREE

On Friday June 12, 1964 eleven months to the day after the Rivonia arrests, our leaders Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi, Andrew Mlangeni and Dennis Goldberg, were sentenced to life imprisonment. Wilton Mkwayi, who was sentenced later in a different trial to life imprisonment was definitely one of them. These were simple men, mostly of working class origin with a peasant background, that is, born in rural areas, and throughout their lives knew only deprivation and police harrassment because of their political beliefs. These were members of the ANC — some belonged to the Communist Party.

An important aspect of the Rivonia Trial was the injustice of the racist court of law. All those accused spoke up in defence of their actions; in defence of the ANC; in defence of the aspirations of our people and gave explanations why they took the action of forming Umkhonto we Sizwe — the military wing of the ANC. Their inspiring words are remembered and will be remembered for centuries to come wherever and whenever men and women talk of freedom.

After a long, boring and tedious procedure which involved more than 173 prosecution witnesses — including Bruno Mtolo and Patrick Abel Mthembu who had inside knowledge of ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe — Mandela made his statement from the dock in Pretoria Supreme Court on April 20, 1964 at the opening of the defence case. The main content of his speech was to turn the trial from one of defending themselves on a capital charge to that of using the courtroom to indict the racist regime led by the then Prime Minister Verwoerd; to turn the court into an ANC political platform; to use the court to address our people and inform them about the policy of the ANC; and even on conviction by the court to maintain this position and refuse to plead for mercy from the oppressors' courts.

Sisulu, who was then the next as a defence witness, followed Mandela's keynote speech in that he refused to implicate others who were still not arrested. The Men of Rivonia broke new ground in

the South African courts, and certainly new as far as the political trials were concerned. Prior to this case, there had been a series of trials of people said to be members of the PAC or Poqo who attempted to exonerate themselves by naming or implicating dozens of others who had participated in their activities and so spreading the persecution even wider.

But the Rivonia accused were political people. They hoped thus to set a new standard which would be followed by others in future political trials in South Africa. In fact, the example they set there became a precedent, and in subsequent political trials many of the accused have followed it; many unwilling witnesses have refused to testify and have faced months and even years of imprisonment for this refusal. This is the calibre, courage and conviction of the Men of Rivonia — in the face of a death sentence.

In his reply to Botha in response to the conditional offer of freedom on their renunciation of armed struggle, Mandela told the people:

"Your freedom and mine cannot be separated. I will return."

The Men of Rivonia are returning. What does this entail? We must be prepared to receive them in a fitting way. What does this mean? To prepare accordingly we have to understand the enemy strategy. It is bankrupt and full of contradictions. The enemy is on the retreat at every level. When they arrested the Men of Rivonia

they boasted that there are "no political prisoners in South Africa, only criminals — men who have been sentenced by a court of law." 20 years later they had to change their tune. They wanted to release our leaders conditionally. That is after they had failed to 'entice' them with release to the bantustans. Now Comrade Mbeki is released unconditionally. After his release they say the release of Comrade Mandela and others will depend on how our people react to Comrade Govan's release — he has to police the people!

Die Beeld goes so far as to claim that this release has destroyed the 'Mbeki myth' and shown that he was a mere person who would have to obey the law:

"Mbeki must realise that he has played his role and that the choice before him now is either to withdraw from politics or exercise a moderating role in South Africa."

This release which is a result of an uncompromising stand taken by our leaders for over 24 years of incarceration reinforced by international solidarity, is a triumph for the forces of democracy and progress in our country. It shows that we do achieve success even under these difficult conditions.

We need to welcome our leaders in a fitting way. That means strengthening our organisational structures and political organisations and heightening our political consciousness.

We need to embark on an ideological offensive. Comrade Govan Mbeki has shown us the way. He has already spoken out against the divisiveness of Inkatha. He has already told the world that he is still committed to the ideals of the ANC and he still adheres to his Marxist ideas.

We should not be complacent. In releasing Comrade Mbeki the Botha regime has its own plans. Unfortunately for them we know their schemes. We know that this is a 'tactical retreat' on their part. They are preparing for a bigger offensive. But we are ready, we are vigilant.

Govan Mbeki has been involved in practically all spheres of political life in the ANC. The peasants in the Transkei know him well: the workers in the cities regard him as their leader; so do the intellectuals, the women, the youth and the cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe which he helped to

form and for whose activities he spent 24 years on Robben Island. The people of South Africa through the ANC — appreciated his contribution by awarding him Isitwalandwe/Seaparankwe. The International Organisation of Journalists (IOJ) awarded him the Julius Fucik medal for his journalistic work. He is a symbol of resistance and an embodiment of the spirit of 'no surrender!'

Govan Mbeki is being released at a time when the state of emergency is in full force; when the press is muzzled and thousands of people, including children, are being detained. UDF leaders are in hiding. Cosatu is being harrassed. Secret trials are taking place. ANC cadres are kidnapped in Swaziland. There are even threats of kidnapping ANC members from London.

But that is one side of the story. The Pretoria regime has completely failed to silence our people. Organisations are being formed during the state of emergency. Strikes by miners and other workers are taking place. New layers of leadership are carrying out the tasks of those detained and replacing those killed. Such is the reality of our situation. Govan Mbeki is not plunging into a political vacuum. The situation has changed dramatically since the days when he got arrested. If Govan Mbeki was one of the few Congress journalists when he was arrested, hundreds of journalists have emerged throughout South Africa. If Umkhonto we Sizwe was still a small clandestine organisation in 1964, it has now become a people's army.

Govan Mbeki was forced to leave behind bars his colleagues and comrades, notably Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu. It is our task in welcoming Comrade Govan to pressurise the Pretoria regime to release all political prisoners.

The demand for the release of political prisoners is a revolutionary task. It is a testing ground. The Botha regime would like to have our leaders behind bars. We want our leaders with us. In welcoming Govan Mbeki amongst us the National Executive Committee of the ANC said: "Comrade Mbeki emerged today after 23 years in the racist prison unbowed and unbroken, a living legend in the minds of our people. We salute Mbeki and all political prisoners who have struggled even from within prison walls for this victory".

ANC STATEMENT ON NEGOTIATIONS

October 9th, 1987

In the recent period, both the Pretoria regime and various Western powers have been raising the issue of a negotiated resolution of the South African question. Inspired by the deep-seated desire and unwavering commitment to end the apartheid system as soon as possible and with minimum loss of life and property, the National Executive Committee met and considered this matter with all due seriousness and attention.

We are convinced that the Botha regime has neither the desire nor the intention to engage in any meaningful negotiations. On the contrary, everything this regime does is directed at the destruction of the national liberation movement, the suppression of the democratic movement and the entrenchment and perpetuation of the apartheid system of White minority domination.

The racist regime has raised the issue of negotiations to achieve two major objectives. The first of these is **to defuse the struggle inside our country by holding out false hopes of a just political settlement which the Pretoria regime has every intention to block.** Secondly, this regime **hopes to defeat the continuing campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions** by sending out bogus signals that it is ready to talk seriously to the genuine representatives of our people.

Fundamental to the understanding of the apartheid regime's concept of negotiations is the notion that it must impose its will on those it is talking to and force them to accept its dictates. In practice, the Botha regime is conducting a determined campaign of repression against the ANC and the mass democratic movement. This includes the assassination of leaders, mass detentions, military occupation of townships and a programme of pacification carried out by the so-called Joint Management Centres (JMC's).

The racists are out to terrorise our people into submission, crush their democratic organisations and force us to surrender.

All these efforts will fail. Rather than create a climate conducive to genuine negotiations, they will only serve further to sharpen the confrontation within our country and bring to the fore the prospect of the bloodiest conflict that our continent has ever seen.

Our struggle will not end until South Africa is transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial country. This is the only solution which would enable all our people, both Black and White, to live as equals in conditions of peace and prosperity. The overwhelming majority of our people accept that the Freedom Charter provides a reasonable and viable framework for the construction of a new society.

We wish here to reiterate that the ANC has never been opposed to a negotiated settlement of the South African question. On various occasions in the past we have, in vain, called on the apartheid regime to talk to the genuine leaders of our people. Once more, we would like to reaffirm that the ANC and the masses of our people as a whole are ready and willing to enter into genuine negotiations provided they are aimed at the transformation of our country into a united and non-racial democracy. **This, and only this, should be the objective of any negotiating process.** Accordingly no meaningful negotiations can take place until all those concerned, and specifically the Pretoria regime, accept this perspective which we share with the whole of humanity.

We further wish to state again that the questions whether or not to negotiate, and on what conditions, should be put to our entire leadership, including those who are imprisoned and who should be released unconditionally. While considering these questions our leadership would have to be free to consult and discuss with the people without let or hindrance.

We reject unequivocally the cynical demand of the Pretoria regime that we should unilaterally abandon or suspend the armed struggle. The source of violence in our country is the apartheid system. It is that violence which must end. Any cessation of hostilities would have to be negotiated and entail agreed action by both sides as part of the process of the creation of a democratic South Africa.

Equally, we reject all efforts to dictate to us who our allies should or should not be, and how our membership should be composed. Specifically, we will not bow down to pressures intended to drive a wedge between the ANC and the South African Communist Party, a tried and tested ally in the struggle for a democratic South Africa. Neither shall we submit to attempts to divide and weaken our movement by carrying out a witch hunt against various members on the basis of their ideological beliefs.

The conflict in our country is between the forces of national liberation and democracy on the one hand and those of racism and reaction on the other. Any negotiations would have to be conducted by these two forces as represented by their various organisational formations.

We reject without qualification the proposed National Council (NC) which the Botha regime seeks to establish through legislation to be enacted by the apartheid parliament. This can never be a genuine and acceptable mechanism to negotiate a democratic constitution for our country.

In practice, the National Council can never be anything more than an advisory body which would put its views to the apartheid parliament and the regime itself, which retains the right to accept or reject those views. What the Botha regime proposes is a constitution-making forum — the National Council — is therefore nothing but a device intended to enmesh all who sit on

it in a bogus process of meaningless talk which has nothing to do with any genuine attempt to design a democratic constitution for our country.

In addition, this National Council seeks to entrench and legitimise the very structures of apartheid that our struggle, in all its forms, seeks to abolish. The unrepresentative organs of the apartheid structure of repression, such as the racist tri-cameral parliament and the bantustans, cannot be used as instruments for the liquidation of the very same system they have been established to maintain.

An essential part of the apartheid system is the definition and division of our people according to racial and ethnic groups, dominated by the White minority. To end apartheid means, among other things, to define and treat all our people as equal citizens of our country, without regard to race, colour or ethnicity. To guarantee this, the ANC accepts that a new constitution for South Africa could include an entrenched Bill of Rights to safeguard the rights of the individual. We are, however, opposed to any attempt to perpetuate the apartheid system by advancing the concept of so-called group and minority rights.

Our region is fully conversant with the treacherous and deceitful nature of the apartheid regime. There are more than enough examples of agreements which this regime has shamelessly dishonoured. Taking this experience into account, we insist that before any negotiations take place, the apartheid regime would have to demonstrate its seriousness by implementing various measures to create a climate conducive to such negotiations.

These would include the unconditional release of all political prisoners, detainees, all captured freedom fighters and prisoners of war as well as the cessation of all political trials. The state of emergency would have to be lifted, the army and the police withdrawn from the townships and confined to their barracks. Similarly, all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly, speech, the press and so on, would have to be repealed. Among these would be the Riotous Assemblies, the Native Administration, the General Laws Amendment, the Unlawful Organisations,

the Internal Security and similar Acts and regulations.

We take this opportunity once more to reaffirm that the African National Congress is opposed to any secret negotiations. We firmly believe that the people themselves must participate in shaping their destiny and would therefore have to be involved in any process of negotiations.

Being fully conscious of the way the Pretoria regime has, in the past, deliberately dragged out negotiations to buy time for itself, we maintain that any negotiations would have to take place within a definite time-frame to meet the urgent necessity to end the apartheid system and lift the yoke of tyranny from the masses of our people who have already suffered for too long.

There is, as yet, no prospect for genuine negotiations because the Botha regime continues to believe that it can maintain the apartheid system through force and terror. We therefore have no choice but to intensify the mass political and armed struggle for the overthrow of the illegal apartheid

regime and the transfer of power to the people.

We also call on all our people to reject and spurn Botha's so-called National Council and make certain that this apartheid council never sees the light of day.

We reiterate our appeal to the international community to join us in this noble struggle by imposing comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa to end the apartheid system and reduce the amount of blood that will otherwise have to be shed to achieve this goal.

Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the Organisation of African Unity which, at its last Summit, adopted a Declaration on Southern Africa pledging Africa's support for the positions contained in the statement. We commend that Declaration to the rest of the world community as an important document laying the basis for concerted international action to banish apartheid racism, colonialism and war once and for all.



NAMIBIAN PEOPLE FIGHT UNDER THE BANNER OF SWAPO

by David Calder



In October this year Namibians marked the 21st anniversary of the revocation by the UN General Assembly of South Africa's mandate to administer Namibia. Two months earlier, on 26th August, the 21st anniversary of the launch of the armed struggle was commemorated.

After more than two decades of armed struggle, SWAPO and the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) are stronger than ever before. Massive SWAPO rallies inside Namibia, unified popular struggle in support of independence, a resurgence of worker organisation, and a sustained military offensive have characterised the Namibian liberation movement over the past two years.

At the same time the South African regime remains entrenched in Namibia, determined to resist the implementation of the internationally agreed formula for a ceasefire, elections and independence contained in UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. It has intensified repression, detaining the SWAPO leadership inside Namibia, raiding worker compounds and trade union offices and escalating its bloody war against the Namibian people.

In a futile attempt to undermine support for SWAPO the regime continues to promote a puppet administration in Windhoek, the Multi-Party Conference (MPC). Split by disputes and largely powerless, this administration totters on in the face of fierce popular resistance.

Mass Struggle

Brutal repression in the late 1970s closed many of the avenues to popular protest and organisation inside Namibia. For several years SWAPO was unable to hold public meetings and trade unionism was driven underground. But a breakthrough in mass struggle took place in 1986 when community groups and the major churches came together with SWAPO to launch the Ai/Gams programme of action for national independence. Huge rallies were held throughout the country as the people demonstrated their contempt for the puppet MPC administration and demanded the implementation of Security Council Resolution 435.

A further breakthrough occurred in July last year when the Windhoek Supreme Court ruled on a technicality that SWAPO could 'legally' hold public meetings. A rally organised by SWAPO in Windhoek shortly after this, was attended by up to 15 000 people. Several massive gatherings have been held in various parts of the country since then. These have demonstrated mass popular support for the armed struggle, as tens of thousands of people have sung the praises of PLAN and cheered comrades demonstrating in uniform, 'armed' with imitation AKs.

Shocked at these massive demonstrations right under their noses, the occupation authorities have resorted to violence to suppress them. 'Vigilante' thugs — who have turned out to be members of army units in plain clothes — have been unleashed to attack rallies with pangas, bows and arrows and guns. Among their victims has been SWAPO stalwart, Immanuel Shifidi, a veteran of the armed struggle who was imprisoned on Robben Island for 16 years. He was brutally murdered by plainclothes members of the SADF's 101 Battalion at a rally in Katutura in November last year.

In a further attempt to crush popular mobilisation, in August this year six leading SWAPO members were detained under the Terrorism Act and held in corrugated-iron cages at the Osire torture centre for six weeks. Those detained included SWAPO Vice-President Hendrik Witbooi, Deputy Chairman, Dan Tjongarero and Foreign Affairs Secretary Nico Bessinger. Also arrested were trade unionists John Pandeni,

Ben Uulenge and Anton Lubowski. Another union leader, Asser Kapere, was detained earlier. Offices, schools and homes were searched and documents impounded, indicating a major crackdown on the liberation movement inside Namibia.

But the intimidation has not dampened the mood of resurgent popular struggle, which is strongest amongst the youth and workers. The SWAPO Youth League is very active and has held several public events over the past two years. In addition, students have organised themselves into the Namibian National Students Organisation (NANSO) which has been campaigning against South African colonial education. There have been repeated boycotts, demonstrations and protests in schools and colleges throughout Namibia. NANSO is now moving towards 'Education for Liberation', a process which is being assisted by the churches which have set up independent schools which do not teach the racist South African syllabus. In retaliation, the racist army destroyed 13 church schools at the beginning of this year.

Workers Surge Forward

Namibian workers have always played a vital role in the liberation struggle — SWAPO itself was founded by contract workers, while the massive general strike of 1971-2 transformed the whole liberation struggle and ushered in the current period of intensified armed struggle.

The National Union of Namibian Workers, which was established by SWAPO and successfully organised Namibian workers during the 1970s, was savagely repressed and forced to operate underground during the first half of this decade. It has now re-emerged as a potent union force to which three major unions are affiliated. These unions are:

● Namibian Food and Allied Workers Union (NAFAU):

Formed in September last year under the leadership of John Pandeni, an ex-Robben Island prisoner, this has organised over 6 000 workers in food processing plants, abattoirs, hotels and the fishing industry. It has already engaged in a number of strikes, using community support and worker solidarity to win its demands.

● **Metal and Allied Namibian Workers Union (MANWU):**

This is the latest union to be formed, aimed at organising up to 10,000 workers in the building and engineering industries and in workshops and garages.

● **Mineworkers Union of Namibia (MUN):**

Since its formation at the end of last year the MUN has organised over 7 000 workers at all the major mines in Namibia, including the Rossing uranium mine, TCL copper and base metal mines and Anglo-American's Consolidated Diamond Mines.

In July and August this year 4 000 TCL workers struck over low wages, racist discrimination, appalling safety conditions and lack of accommodation for families. They also demanded that the TCL management pressurise the South African regime to end its illegal occupation of Namibia and implement UN Resolution 435. Management responded in a way familiar to South African workers — bringing in the police, forcibly evicting workers from their residences, dismissing the entire workforce and refusing to negotiate. Although the strike was lost, the struggle at TCL and other mines continues. At the helm of the MUN is Ben Ulenga, another veteran of the armed struggle and ex-Robben Island political prisoner.

All three of these NUNW-affiliated unions organise around workers' grievances both at the workplace and in the broader social and political context. All are committed to independence under Resolution 435 and an end to the illegal apartheid occupation of their country. As well as organising unions, the NUNW has held political events such as May Day rallies.

The close relation between the workers struggle and the struggle against apartheid colonialism was explained by Ben Ulenga recently:

"It is impossible to divide the worker's problems from the colonial oppression that we are experiencing in the country. You find that the colonial authorities make laws and most of these are regarding workers and the workers have no say in these laws because nobody in the country has any say. So what applies to the workers in particular, applies to the Namibian people in general ...

The workers do not want to separate the NUNW very much from SWAPO. They feel that you go from political interests to economic interests — you can't really separate them too much. The workers find that these are very, very much linked. That's how they see the link between SWAPO and the NUNW. And of course they are confident that SWAPO, like it started, had its roots amongst the workers, will continue to be an organisation that will champion the rights of the worker." (*Action on Namibia*, London, Summer 1987, pp 10-14)

Armed Struggle

As well as mobilising the Namibian people for trade union, educational, and political struggle, SWAPO has intensified the armed struggle and spread it throughout the country, including in Windhoek itself. The South African regime, which occupies the territory with an estimated 100 000 troops, has issued annual claims to have 'broken the back of PLAN, forced a 'downturn' in the war, or even defeated SWAPO. This propaganda has sunk to new depths over the past few years, with racist generals parading patently false statistics to the international media and claiming to have 'won the war'.

The SADF's claims about the war are facilitated by a blackout of news. The war zones are prohibited 'Security Districts' and no information on the conflict may be reported except from official sources, which consist mainly of statistics claiming to reflect ever greater numbers of PLAN combatants who have been killed.

In reality, PLAN has intensified its campaigns over the past two years. Supported by the people, combatants carry out daily attacks on the SADF its Namibian wing the South West Africa Territory Force (SWATF). These range from sabotage actions against strategic targets to shooting down aircraft, ambushes on military patrols and attacks with rockets or mortars on SADF bases.

Most actions occur in the north, where the majority of Namibia's people live, but attacks occur throughout the country. For example, Windhoek was rocked by a massive bomb blast in July, which destroyed a car park near the South African military headquarters.



Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo

In contrast to the SADF, PLAN issues periodic, detailed reports of armed actions, listing places, dates and the names of enemy dead when these are known. For example, a detailed list of clashes which took place in August and September was issued on 16th October, documenting the deaths of more than 30 occupation troops, attacks on five bases and the destruction in ambushes of 12 Casspir armoured vehicles.

In a statement on the 21st anniversary of the armed struggle this year PLAN said that it had killed more than 500 racist troops and police between January and June 1987.

In their efforts to stem the advance of SWAPO, the occupation forces have turned to increasingly brutal repressive methods. Troops in the war zones are under orders to 'shoot anything that moves' when the dusk-to-dawn curfew is in force, and the torture, intimidation, beating and shooting of civilians is routine. Troops are also responsible for widespread rape and

robbery, and there are countless reports of soldiers going on looting, raping or shooting sprees. Even children and old people are not exempt from the terror of the troops — recent victims of torture by 'roasting' over fires include a 67-year-old man and a 14-year-old schoolboy. Namibian bishops recently described the effects of the South African occupation as 'calamitous'.

The racist regime has also resorted to dirty tricks to try and discredit SWAPO, which enjoys almost total support in the war zones. In September they blew up a Catholic church, blaming it on SWAPO guerillas. Earlier in the year the SADF tried to blame SWAPO for the destruction of church-run schools. Previously, troops disguised as PLAN combatants have carried out massacres, such as the one at Oshikuku in 1982 which left at least 11 people dead. But local people are not fooled — they know PLAN and they provide food and shelter to the combatants.

President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO recently summed up the military situation in these words:

"The war in Namibia has become one of the debilitating factors that are propelling the inevitable collapse of the apartheid state. That war is costing South Africa more than one and a half million US dollars a day. It has resulted in the death of many South African soldiers and devastated the Namibian colonial economy. It has generated growing divisions, uncertainty and pessimism among the Whites in Namibia. At the same time the heroism and martyrdom of PLAN combatants have captured the imagination of the Namibian people.

Today, Namibia is Pretoria's quagmire. As long as Pretoria is refusing to allow the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence, Pretoria will be forced to continue to pay heavily in terms of both men and materials. Its defence perimeter will remain over-extended. Young White South Africans will continue to die in Namibia in their hundreds and in their thousands".

(Press Statement, London 23.10.87)

Apartheid's Puppets

The apartheid regime is under considerable pressure, both politically and militarily, inside Namibia. In addition, it faces worldwide condemnation and isolation for its violations of international law and its refusal to implement UN Resolution 435, which it accepted in principle nearly ten years ago.

However, the regime has powerful allies in the form of Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl, who have vetoed UN sanctions and continue to protect Pretoria from meaningful international pressure over Namibia.

The Reagan administration in particular has aided the racist occupation of Namibia by promoting the idea of a 'linkage' between Namibian independence and the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Although this idea has been firmly rejected throughout the world — except by Thatcher — the US persists in its policy, which has been readily taken up by Pretoria as a convenient delaying tactic. Moreover, the US has put its money where its mouth is by arming UNITA, apartheid's instrument of destabilisation in Angola.

Protected by its western allies, Pretoria has been using the time it has gained by try-

ing to water down UN Resolution 435 and to promote puppet alternatives to SWAPO, in the hope that it will be able to keep the liberation movement from power when it is forced to withdraw from the territory. Furthermore, it has systematically pillaged Namibia's natural resources and allowed the economy to decline, and it, has annexed the only viable port Walvis Bay. The racists are laying the conditions for future destabilisation of an independent Namibia, not least by establishing the SWATF, which is the MNR or UNITA of the future.

In June 1985 the racist regime installed delegates from seven small and unrepresentative political groupings as the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) 'transitional government' in Windhoek.

These puppets, bribed with large salaries and official perks, were given some administrative powers and charged with drawing up a 'constitution' for a pseudo-independent Namibia, much along the lines of one of the regime's bantustans in South Africa.

Unfortunately for Pretoria, the puppet show has been a disaster; the MPC delegates have spent most of their time arguing amongst themselves and taking each other to court.

After more than two years, and tens of thousands of rands, they finally came up with a constitution in June, only to have it rejected by Botha as well as two of the MPC's constituent parties.

Botha, supported by the SWA National Party (which forms part of the MPC) felt that the constitution paid insufficient attention to White domination and segregation or, as it is euphemistically put these days, 'group rights'.

The regime is now concentrating on strengthening the bantustan or 'second tier' administrations it has set up in parallel to the Windhoek administration, and is planning to hold bogus elections at this level.

Pretoria has also stepped up its regional campaign of destabilisation, hoping to weaken the liberation movement as a whole in Southern Africa and restore its regional hegemony.

In particular, in September and October it launched a major invasion of Angola from its Namibian bases, largely to prevent the

Angolan government from wiping out UNITA. However, the SADF has lost air superiority over Angola and on the ground the Angolan forces FAPLA can inflict heavy casualties on the racists.

It is clear that the crisis facing the apartheid regime is as acute in Namibia as it is anywhere in the region. In many ways the situation in Namibia, with the mass mobilisation of the last two years, coupled with escalating armed struggle, parallels the intensified struggle inside South Africa, where our people have sustained unprecedented levels of political and military struggle over the past three years.

The struggle of SWAPO and the people of Namibia is the struggle of the ANC, the people of South Africa and the world anti-apartheid and democratic movement.

As President Nujoma has said:

"Namibia is one of the weakest links in the apartheid chain that we are all trying to break. After all, a chain is only as strong as its weakest link. We, in SWAPO are fighting, arms in hand, and shedding our blood every day, not only to liberate Namibia, but also to contribute to the destruction of the apartheid crime against humanity".

(Press Conference, London, 23.10.87)

20 000 people at a Swapo rally in Windhoek, July 1986



ANC INTERNATIONAL

To: Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress of South Africa.

From: Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO of Namibia, congratulating President Tambo.

On behalf of Swapo, I wish to extend to you our best wishes on this occasion of your 70th birthday. Your life has been seventy years of courageous struggle and inspired leadership to the oppressed but struggling people of Southern Africa in general and of South Africa in particular.

We join the ANC in celebrating your 70th birthday and hope you will enjoy continued good health to take you through the remaining years of struggle against the racist apartheid regime to enjoy the fruits of victory.

**Long live the Friendship between ANC and SWAPO!
The Struggle Continues!
Victory is Certain!**

OR TAMBO HONOURED

On the occasion of the 70th birthday anniversary of OR Tambo, the German Democratic Republic Head of State sent a message of congratulation to Headquarters on the proposal of the Politburo of the CC of SED and the Presidium of the Council of State. The GDR Head of State awarded the President of the African National Congress the Order "Orden Grosser Stern der Volkerfreundschaft" — The Order of the Great Star of People's Friendship. There were scores of messages which were

received by our Headquarters in Lusaka which — because of space — we cannot reproduce here.

SOLIDARITY IN BELGIUM

On Saturday, September 26th, a highly successful solidarity concert took place in Antwerp. It was organised by the Boycott Outspan Aktie, a group based in Flanders. The event was intended as an act of solidarity with the ANC in the 75th year of its struggle against the unjust system of apartheid in South Africa. Although what caught the eye in the posters, etc, to advertise the event was "Liesbeth List sings Against Apartheid" — this well-known Dutch singer was not the sole attraction of the evening. The hundreds of people who poured into the Arenbergschouwburg hall in Antwerp were presented with an evening of wonderful music from both Liesbeth List and the group, Bhula Sangoma, interspersed by short speeches which were also very well-received.

The atmosphere was set for this special evening of solidarity by a huge cloth banner with the familiar ANC spear-in-hand, advance to people's power symbol on it and the ANC flag centre stage with all lightening focused upon them. Liesbeth List spoke briefly, but with passion and visible rage about how the sight of the 50 or so protesting fascists, who had been shouting anti-ANC slogans, making fascist salutes and all the rest outside for some hours had upset her. She asked how it could be that people could behave in such a hateful way. Thankfully the police were out in force that day to prevent the agitation of these small fascist groups from disrupting an excellent evening.

Liesbeth List sang a moving selection of songs, which she dedicated to Nelson Mandela; the songs were based on poems written about the resistance struggle during the 2nd World War and the Nazi concentration camps and put to music by Theodorakis, the famous Greek composer.

Bhula Sangoma's performance was also very good. The group which consists of one Flemish musician and six African musicians, takes its name from a Zulu expression. The audience was most appreciative of the exciting rhythms and blend of musical instruments presented by this talented group.

The speeches which divided up the musical input were given by Frank Velge of BOA, Mr Daar of the Organisation for African Unity, Klaas de Jonge — the Dutchman who was recently freed in a prisoner swap with Pretoria, and of course the ANC Chief Representative in the Benelux countries, Godfrey Motsepe.

Frank Velge presented a symbolic cheque for 750 000BF to Comrade Motsepe, saying that it was the aim of the Boycott Outspan Aktie to raise 10 000BF for every year of the ANC's existence; he hoped that they would have raised this sum by the end of the year. BOA will continue to encourage people to add to the sum raised through selling concert tickets, programs and programme space, by the symbolic buying of "Shares against Apartheid". The organisers of this fundraising exercise want to contribute the money to various ANC projects.

Klaas de Jonge spoke with rousing passion about the so-called 'justice' being dished out to prisoners such as Helen Pastoors in South Africa. He appealed to the Belgian government to put pressure on the South African regime for the release of Pastoors, who holds dual citizenship (Belgian + Dutch), as they had not acted on her behalf to date.

It was a great satisfaction to see what a cross-section of Belgian society attended the event — young and old, parliamentarians, trade unionists, solidarity group activists and Ambassadors ... It was also most heartening to see the wide variety of groups and individuals who took space in the large concert program to extend solidarity wishes to the ANC.

THATCHER ANGERS BRITISH PEOPLE

The performance of Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister, at Vancouver and the remarks about the ANC being a terrorist organisation shocked and angered many people.

"I have been sickened and disgusted by Mrs Thatcher's performance at the Commonwealth Conference and the final insult of calling the ANC a terrorist organisation leaves me speechless"

writes Mary Stacey in her letter of 19.10.87. Mary only hopes by revealing herself in her true colours good will come of it and that peoples sanctions will continue to grow in strength. Sue Wastall writes 23.10.87:

"An all too small token to counter her remarks in Vancouver. I hope you can gain justice without being forced to repeat our unforgivable violence"

and Mrs Frances Krish says 20.10.87:

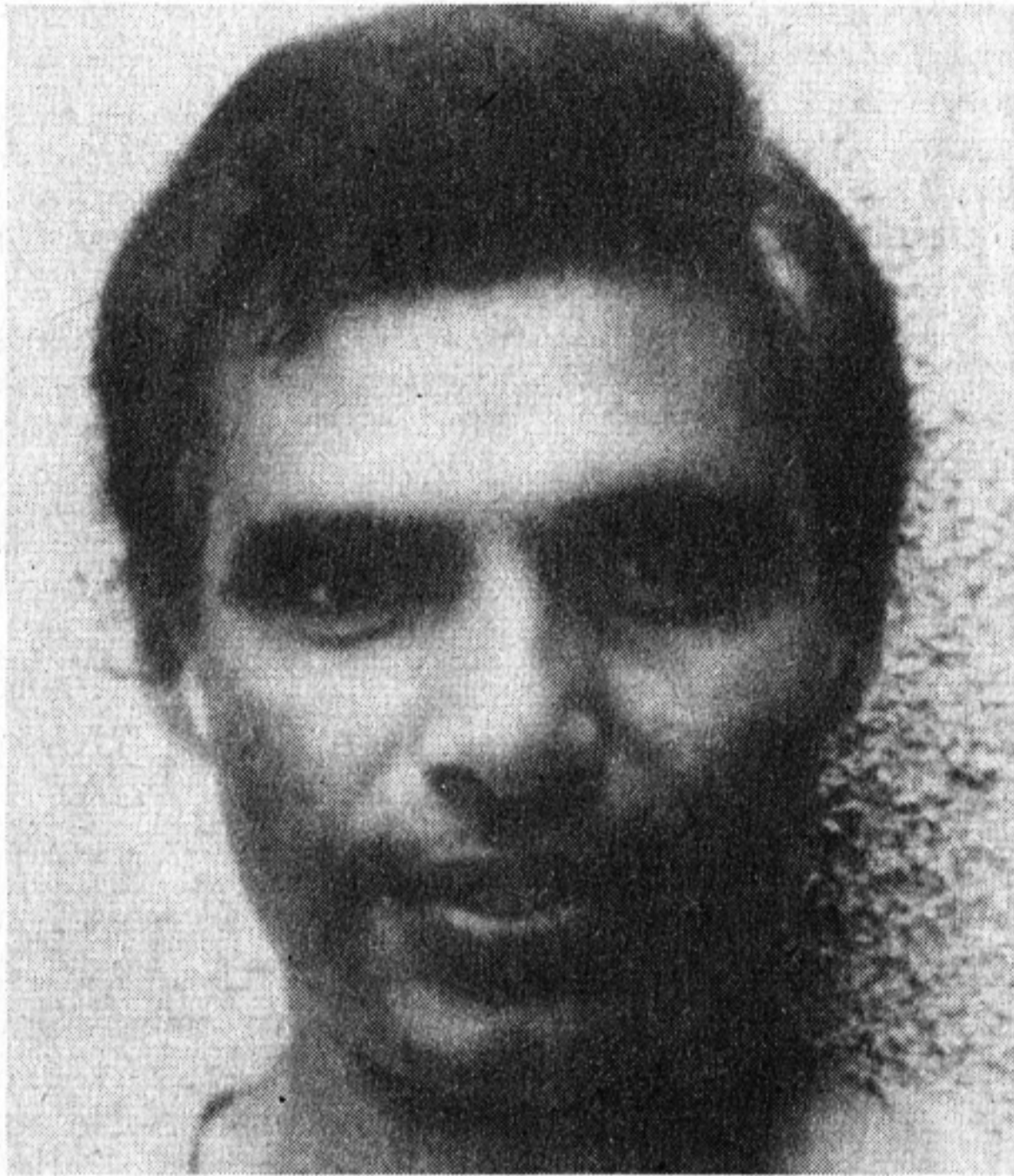
"I'm sending this small donation to counter any depression you may feel at Madam Thatcher's behaviour at the summit, and remarks re-ANC."

There have been many such messages of support and solidarity. But because of the lack of space we shall quote one more from Paul Toynton 19.10.87. He says:

"I was ashamed to see the headlines in the paper today quoting our Prime Minister as likening the ANC to the IRA. I wish to dissociate myself from this view and find it quite amazing that she can make this remark. It seems obvious to most people that the ANC is representing a people who have no say in the government of their country and it is difficult to see how they can put pressure for change on the present South African government. I am spurred by Mrs Thatcher to contribute to the funds of the ANC and enclose a cheque ..."

It is obvious that Mrs Thatcher's remarks resulted in the opposite of what they were intended to achieve, especially when one considers the row they caused in Parliament; a row which coincided with and was partly caused by the release and acquittal of the men who were arrested in connection with the attempted kidnap of ANC members in London.

SWAZILAND KIDNAPPINGS



By Justitia

The Case of Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim

South Africa's judges are happy to try people kidnapped from other countries. And magistrates don't consider it their job to investigate when people report to them that they have been assaulted or tortured in police custody. This licence for kidnapers and torturers was clearly stated in a court in the Eastern Transvaal during a treason trial arising out of our armed struggle.

A massive international campaign of protest is essential if the apartheid regime's outrageous disregard for the rights of individuals and the sovereignty of other countries is to be curbed. Opponents of the regime throughout Southern Africa are more vulnerable than ever. Even as far as London plots to kidnap ANC members have been unmasked.

Swaziland Under Attack

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim is one of three ANC members facing charges in a Piet Retief court arising out of a series of landmine explosions in white farming areas last year. **He was abducted from Swaziland in December last year by South African agents.**

There are reports that up to another ten people kidnapped from Swaziland are being held by the South African police and may appear in other trials soon. The judge's ruling in the Ebrahim case has opened the way for them to be tried. Swaziland has always been particularly vulnerable to apartheid assassins and kidnapers. The last of recent attacks by agents of the

regime makes sinister reading. The Swazi Prime Minister condemned the raids as 'brutal, aggressive and illegal'.

In March this year the Commonwealth Secretary-General, on a visit to Swaziland, spoke out against the abductions of December and against South African aggression generally. 'Apartheid,' he said 'remains the root cause of the most grievous problems facing the countries of this region. It is a crime of immense proportions compounded by Pretoria's arrogance — arrogance well displayed in its recent abductions here in Swaziland, one of whose victims, Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, is even now in the appropriately named torture chambers of John Vorster Square — an outrage against the man himself and against the sovereignty of this country.'

From Mbabane to 'Police Museum'

The security police headquarters in Pretoria is a building called the police museum. Ebrahim's forced journey from his home in Swaziland led straight to this building, through a military roadblock and with short pauses for changes of captors. On 15 December last year two men came to his home near Mbabane, asking for help with their car. Then at gun-point they blindfolded and gagged him and forced him into their car after searching his house and removing items and documents. Near the border post he was taken from the car and taken across the border by foot.

On the other side he was handed over after a few hours to men armed with rifles. One of them put leg-irons on Ebrahim and replaced the ropes tying his hands with handcuffs. They took him in a car, escorted by another, to Pretoria, interrogating him on the way. They passed unhindered through a military road-block. In Pretoria his captors established radio communication from their car with someone else and waited, and parked in the street, for five minutes until another car came and fetched Ebrahim. Still in leg-irons and handcuffs he was taken to the 'Police Museum' building. There he was told he was being detained under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

After five months in solitary confinement and a long battle by his lawyers, Ebrahim was released from detention — only to be charged immediately with treason and 'other offences under the Internal Security Act,' and kept in custody as an awaiting-trial prisoner. The trial began in August, in the Piet Retief Circuit Court. With Ebrahim in the dock were two other men Acton Mandla Maseko and Magwaza Simon Dladla who had been charged in February.

The trial began with an attempt by Ebrahim's lawyer to argue that the court had no jurisdiction to try him because he had been abducted from another country by agents of the South African State, in violation of international law. The Security Police of course denied that members of SAP were involved. They said that they had been informed that Ebrahim was in Pretoria, and had asked their informants to bring him to the police headquarters where he had been 'lawfully arrested'.

The court accepted the police story, but then made a ruling which implied that the question of the State's involvement or complicity in abductions was quite irrelevant. Judge Daniels told the court that even if Ebrahim 'had been captured in violation of international law and the seizure was by the South African State or with its connivance, that would not impair the jurisdiction of the South African court' to try him.

Blind Eye To Torture

The freedom of apartheid's police to torture people behind closed doors and without fear of judicial interference is central to the process of political trials. The extraction of statements from detainees is used to produce 'evidence' to allow the courts to go through the form of a legal procedure. The courts are reluctant to challenge the pretence that the statements are freely given and true.

A magistrate told the Piet Retief Court that although Maseko and Dladla had both complained of violence against them by the police during their interrogation, he did not consider it his job to probe the reports or get them investigated.

The magistrate said that the men had 'hinted at maltreatment by the police,' but

WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Thousands of political prisoners
and detainees,
including children,
are languishing
in South African jails.



WE DEMAND THE RELEASE OF ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS

Thousands of political prisoners
and detainees,
including children,
are languishing
in South African jails.



he had not asked additional questions to clarify the matter. They had shown him injuries, told him they were assaulted at Sandton police station during interrogation. He simply passed the statement on to the police as he always did, he said.

In fact, as evidence in the trial during September and October showed, both men were stripped and assaulted in separate interrogation sessions. **A mask was placed over their faces, making it difficult to breathe and electric shock treatment was applied to their genitals.**

High Security for Trial

The trial is being held under conditions of high security. The police have claimed that Ebrahim is 'chairman of the Regional Military and Political Council of the ANC'.

Maseko and Dladla are alleged to be trained combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe. The series of landmine explosions which the three are accused of being responsible for, had a major impact in the region.

For a time, in the face of strong objections from the mens' lawyer's they had to hobble in leg-irons from the police van to the court.

The fact that the case is being heard in Piet Retief, four or five hours by train or car from Johannesburg and Pretoria, means that few people can be present, either to express their solidarity with the accused or to see what is happening to them. The apartheid authorities are doing all they can to ensure that the case and what lies behind it are being kept as far as possible from the public in South Africa and the international community.

ABDUCTIONS AND ASSASSINATIONS

- June 1986 two ANC members assassinated by SA death squad. ANC Member Sidney Msibi kidnapped from Mbabane — he was detained first as an emergency detainee and then under the Internal Security Act. He was released in November after his lawyers threatened to act.

- August 1986 16 armed men attack a police station to take Glory Sedibe and two others being held by the Swaziland police. Sidebe, who may appear as a state witness in several forthcoming trials, was described by the ANC as an informer who had infiltrated the organisation. Ten heavily armed men cross border at Oshoek to raid refugee aid centre, wounding two Swazi citizens and burning down two houses. Records concerning South African refugees were taken.

- December 1986 South Africa raiding party kills two people — one a 13-year-old-boy — abducted at least five others and raided six houses. One of those abducted — ANC

member Shadrack Mzeni Maphumulo — died of gunshot wounds and the South African authorities tried to bury him without his family being present. One of those abducted was a Swazi citizen (the father of the boy who was killed) and was released shortly after the raid. Two were Swiss nationals who were released after protests by the Swiss government. Another, Grace Cele, was released two months later.

- January 1987 four people believed to be ANC members were found murdered in a house near Mbabane.

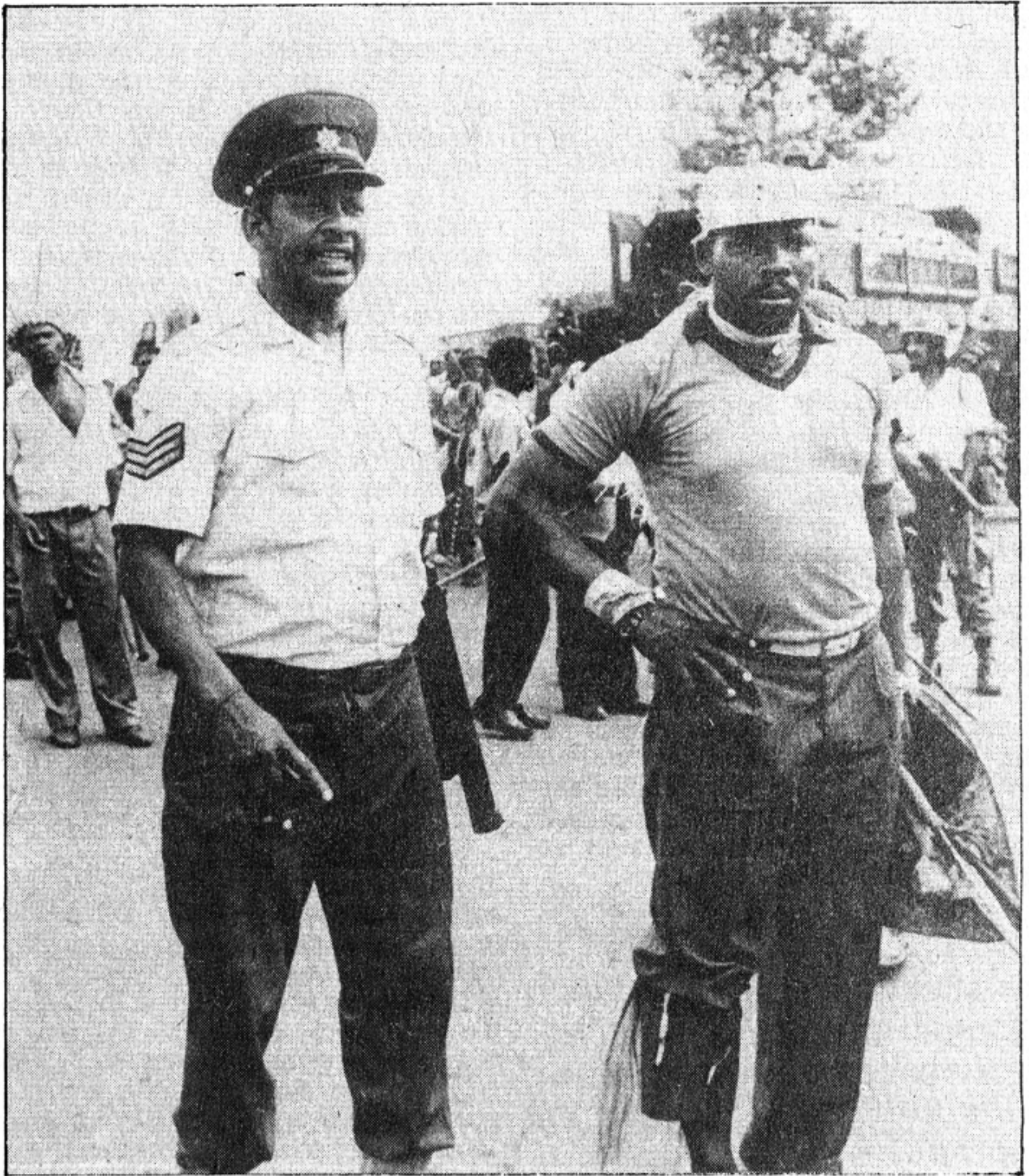
- May 1987 three people, including someone said to be an ANC member, shot in a suburb of Mbabane when their car was ambushed. Sheila Nyanda abducted from her home in Mbabane.

- July 1987 assassination by South African agents of ANC members Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi and a Mozambican national, Augustus Tsinini. Their taxi was forced off the road near Mbabane and they were shot.

VIGILANTES

AN ARM OF STATE TERRORISM

by J. Mathebula



Pretoria's record of state terrorism against the countries of Southern Africa, as the most recent acts of naked aggression against Botswana, Zambia, Zimbabwe and Angola in May and June 1986 show, is a well-known case in international forums. But what is perhaps less known and understood is the apartheid regime's acts of state terrorism in the form of vigilantes and secret death squads against the popular and democratic movement inside South Africa.

As the state lost control of one Black township after another to the popular and democratic movement in the major urban areas of the Transvaal and the Eastern Cape during 1985, and this process seemed set to continue and spread to the other provinces and small towns and villages in South Africa's rural areas, the apartheid regime decided to breed and introduce a new and most frightening element into the South African political arena in order to change the balance of power between the pro and anti-apartheid forces. The illegal South African racist minority regime has decided to do this particularly in those places which had been transformed into semi-liberated zones by the residents and virtually become no-go areas for the apartheid security forces.

Vigilantes and the Apartheid State

This new element makes its appearance in the form of mainly Black but also White vigilantes and secret death squads. To the outside world, the emergence of vigilantes and secret death squads in South Africa may, as the illegal South African racist minority regime and some sections of the South African mass media have indeed tried to portray them, appear as little more than a "faction fight" or, as it has misleadingly come to be known lately, as a case of "Black on Black conflict".

The attempt by the apartheid regime to present the murderous activities of the vigilantes and secret death squads as simply a case of "Black on Black conflict," for which the supposedly impartial intervention of the racist security forces and administration board officials becomes necessary is evidently designed to hide the relation-

ship between these groups and the apartheid state apparatus.

The above therefore calls in the need to expose the true identity and role of this hidden hand of state terrorism in South Africa. Most importantly, it calls upon the liberation movement and entire democratic and progressive movement both inside and outside the country to establish the proper relationship between these groups and the apartheid state and the latter's interest in breeding and encouraging them to unleash a campaign of terror against the opponents of the racist regime in various parts of South Africa.

Though not entirely new nor unexpected, the emergence of this disturbing feature on the South African political scene has caused serious concern, if not alarm, on the part of the liberation movement and its foes and supporters outside South Africa because of its magnitude and the number of victims claimed. As Yussuf Saloojee, the ANC Chief Representative to Canada recently pointed out:

"There seems to be a great deal of concern today about Blacks attacking Blacks in South Africa and, most recently, about vigilante attacks being carried out in the townships. It's important this issue of vigilantes be placed in its proper context".

The devastation wrought by the vigilantes against the people of the Crossroads squatter camps since the end of April 1986 makes this task even more urgent.

A recently published book by Nicholas Haysom which draws mostly upon affidavits from townships residents provides much and irrefutable evidence that the apartheid state, in the form of its administration board officials, urban community councillors, bantustan authorities, security forces and in some cases directly through its cabinet ministers and other high government officials has played a key role in laying down the conditions for the emergence, encouragement, support and protection of the vigilantes and secret death squads in their campaign of terror against the popular and democratic move-

ment in various parts of South Africa.

In most parts of the country, the vigilantes emerged as a state response to the breakdown of its structures of authority, particularly the urban community councils in the townships since the UDF launched a nation-wide campaign of opposition against the racist Constitution in 1984.

Amongst the excluded majority, opposition to the new Constitution, which provides for a tri-cameral parliament ostensibly representing the interests of the White, Coloured and Indian populations, was sparked off not only by its racist nature but also by the tabling of the so-called Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (OMSB) in the South African Parliament.

The OMSB, also known as the Koornhof Bill and dubbed the Genocide Bill by the liberation movement, apart from restructuring the apartheid institutions and driving a wedge between the rural and urban Black population sought to bolster the strength and image of the discredited urban community councils by providing them with more power and means of collecting rents and other levies. This goes to explain why the struggle against high rents, bus fares, forced removals and incorporation into the bantustans has become the focal point of resistance against apartheid in most of the areas affected by the vigilantes' reign of terror.

Social Composition of the Vigilantes

Though they have the popular and democratic movement as a whole and its individual leaders as their common target, the social and racial composition of the vigilantes and secret death squads differ.

In general, vigilantes tend to be composed of Black hired killers of the apartheid system and operate mainly in the Black areas.

This, of course, is with the exception of places bordering on Black areas such as the White suburb of Dan Pienaarville near the Black township of Munsieville in Krugersdorp.

There, the White residents, with the active help and direct participation of the police and a small number of Blacks who have been identified as police have decided to form a vigilante group or what they term a 'Home Guard' and secret death squads whose task is not to defend property and family life in Krugersdorp and its White suburbs. On the contrary, their main objective is to terrorise the residents of Munsieville, who have been staying there since 1940, in preparation for their forced removal to Kagiso as petitioned by the 10 000 residents of Dan Pienaarville which was established only in 1983. The vigilante group and secret death squads, who at times have been seen wearing police uniforms and using police vehicles, armoured cars and weapons have even decided to extend and import their criminal activities against Blacks into the town of Krugersdorp and the Black township of Kagiso. Their criminal activities have claimed the lives of several people and caused serious injuries to many others, including the brutal murder of Stephen Matshogo in February 1986 by a gang of White men wearing balaclavas.

On the other hand, the social composition of the secret death squads tends to consist mostly of White lawyers, teachers, church ministers, farmers and businessmen who are all

leading members of the White community as well as actual or former members of the SADF and the Security Police.

The fact that members of the SADF are by law not allowed to belong to the AWB — the organisation which is spearheading most of the White rightwing terrorist activities against mainly White democrats and liberals, has not and never been seriously intended to stop the secret death squads from making use of the army facilities.

Secret Death Squads

It is well-known that the murderous activities of the secret death squads, who are in actual fact the storm troops of the AWB and other White ultra-right organisations and parties, are not only led by actual or former members of the SADF and Security Forces but also have access to SADF weapons and other facilities. Because of the access which they enjoy to SADF weapons and other facilities, plus the large amounts of money made available to them by both the security services and White individual businessmen and farmers the secret death squads pose a serious danger to the advance of the liberation struggle in South Africa. Although initially they were composed mostly of former and actual members of the SADF and Security Forces as their shock troops and selected prominent Whites holding either a liberal or radical position against apartheid as their target, they have of late taken to recruiting a small number of Blacks into their ranks and have also included prominent Black leaders and professionals sympathetic to the liberation struggle as their target.

This new development is illustrated most starkly by the creation of a secret death squad called the Society of Young Africa composed of about 30

members on the Reef in June 1985.

Though this secret death squad has been created by a group of Whites, it has Meshack Mabogoane, a former Black journalist as its fictitious leader. The only other known members of the hit squad are two White men simply called Westhuizen and Pieterse.

Immediately after its formation it sent out a hit list of more than ten people who were to be eliminated or kidnapped during the days leading up to the commemoration of June 16. Among the names, those of Bishop Desmond Tutu, Rev. Leboming Sebidi, Rev. Frank Chikane, UDF Secretary, Patrick Lekota, UDF Publicity Secretary, Piroshaw Camay, General Secretary of CUSA, Amanda Kwadi, executive member of the Federation of S.A. Women and Percy Qoboza, editor of the *City Press* topped the list. On this occasion, Meshack Mabogoane publicly admitted his plans without getting into any trouble with the police. The most recent development in this direction is the revelation made by Mrs Helen Suzman, spokesperson of the loyal opposition party on law and order, in May 1986 on the existence of an apparently well-organised secret death squad predominantly composed of White English-speaking South Africans called the Anti-Communist Anti-Terrorist Resistance Movement (Act-Rem).

According to a number of documents which the PFP member of parliament has handed over to Gen. Johann Coetzee, the Commissioner of the SAP, the right-wing terrorist group had issued a hit list of 66 names, complete with photographs and particulars of the targeted victims to be kidnapped and/or eliminated and has called for recruits with a background of military experience.

As for their social composition and links with the state apparatus the vigilantes, while their leaders and sponsors consist mostly of administration board officials, bantustan authorities, policemen, urban community councillors and a small number of business men who see their interest best served by the continued existence of the

apartheid system.

The rank and file membership is heavily drawn from declassified elements ranging from the rural unemployed through the urban unemployed to the lumpen-proletariat.

And in some cases, the police have not hesitated to recruit hardened criminals serving long term prison sentences in exchange for their freedom into the ranks of the vigilantes.

In an address to a rally held in Cape Town in August 1985 Trevor Manuel, the UDF Western Cape secretary charged that the clash which erupted between the UDF and AZAPO supporters in the Eastern Cape in April the same year, and which has also been portrayed as a so-called Black on Black conflict was in fact the work of unemployed labourers who had been recruited by the police and administration board officials as vigilantes outside the government labour bureaux, supplied with T-shirts and sent on a path of destruction against the Front. This type of counter-revolutionary activity has been accompanied by an extensive and insidious campaign of disinformation aimed at exacerbating the differences between the UDF and AZAPO and driving them into a self-destructive conflict.

The charge by Trevor Manuel was confirmed when the leadership of both organisations issued statements denying that they were responsible for the attacks on each other and initiated a discussion which ended in the issue being resolved peacefully. However, this was not done before the national leadership of AZAPO discovered that the self-styled Rev. Ebenezer Maqina, the organisation's local leader in Port Elizabeth was working hand in hand with the police to attack UDF members. Because of this, the AZAPO national leadership took the commendable step of expelling Ebenezer Maqina from its ranks and both organisations pledged to be

on guard against the apartheid regime's manoeuvres to set them on a collision course. After his expulsion from AZAPO, Maqina went on to play an important role in the formation of an obscure group known as the Ama-Afrika or the African Persons' Concerned Committee (APCC). The latter is a political organisation which if one is to believe Maqina is dedicated to the principle of Pan-Africanism and unbelievably claims a membership of 12 000 in Port Elizabeth and 60 000 throughout the country. Since the beginning of 1987, this right-wing vigilante group has been responsible for the death of 9 UDF members in the Eastern Cape townships. As an organisation which purports to be fighting the apartheid system, it is queer that as Maqina himself admits, it does not regard Black policemen, councillors and Bantustan leaders as collaborators or "part of the problem."

Informers and Vigilantes

The suspicion that the Security and Secret Intelligence Services of the apartheid regime were taking advantage of the unfortunate situation of some people among the unemployed and convicted prisoners in order to recruit them as vigilantes against the popular and democratic movement was recently confirmed by the confession of Abraham Zwane, a 19-year-old unemployed youth from Katlehong in the East Rand who, after being convicted on a charge of smoking marijuana, was released from prison in exchange for working as a police informer and was later recruited as a vigilante. Zwane, who was captured after participating with the police and a group of 13 other vigilantes in fire-bombing the homes of seven political activists in Thokoza and Katlehong, was presented to a press conference by the UDF at the beginning of June 1986.

According to his own confessions, he took part in all the attacks against the seven activists and was instructed by the Security Police to eliminate Satch Chawe, a Katlehong Youth League activist. In two of the attacks on an innocent woman, Margaret Komane Ogoloda was burnt to death and a three-month-old baby was also killed. He was paid R120 for his services

and promised a further R500 for the elimination of Satch Chawe. However, much of our movement understands the unfortunate circumstances which some people find themselves in, unemployment, blackmail and even ignorance cannot be offered nor be accepted as a justification for agreeing to work as paid agents and counter-revolutionaries for the apartheid regime against the interests of our embattled people. As the ANC, the vanguard organisation of our liberation movement pointed out in its call to the nation following the apartheid regime's cowardly attacks against Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe on May 19 last year:

"Those who continue to carry out its orders and who work with and for the enemy are shunned by the communities and can find little rest living among the people."

Because of their marginal status within the Black communities, which are mostly working class in origin, such elements inevitably and increasingly tend to develop an incomparably strong feeling of social insecurity and isolation, of not being wanted by the community and ultimately of one's inferiority and uselessness to the society. As a result thereof they end up developing a sense of bitterness and aggressiveness towards those they perceive as their rivals or competitors. Because of their marginal status, which in the final analysis is a direct consequence of the apartheid system and which they share with migrant labourers who, as people who have just joined the ranks of the proletariat are employed either on short contract or on a seasonal basis, are also characterised by strong emotional instability, these elements are more prone to manipulation by the apartheid authorities to commit anti-social activities against established communities.

This goes to explain why in some cases

the rank and file membership of the vigilante groups is not only composed of the unemployed and lumpen-proletariat but also of migrant workers.

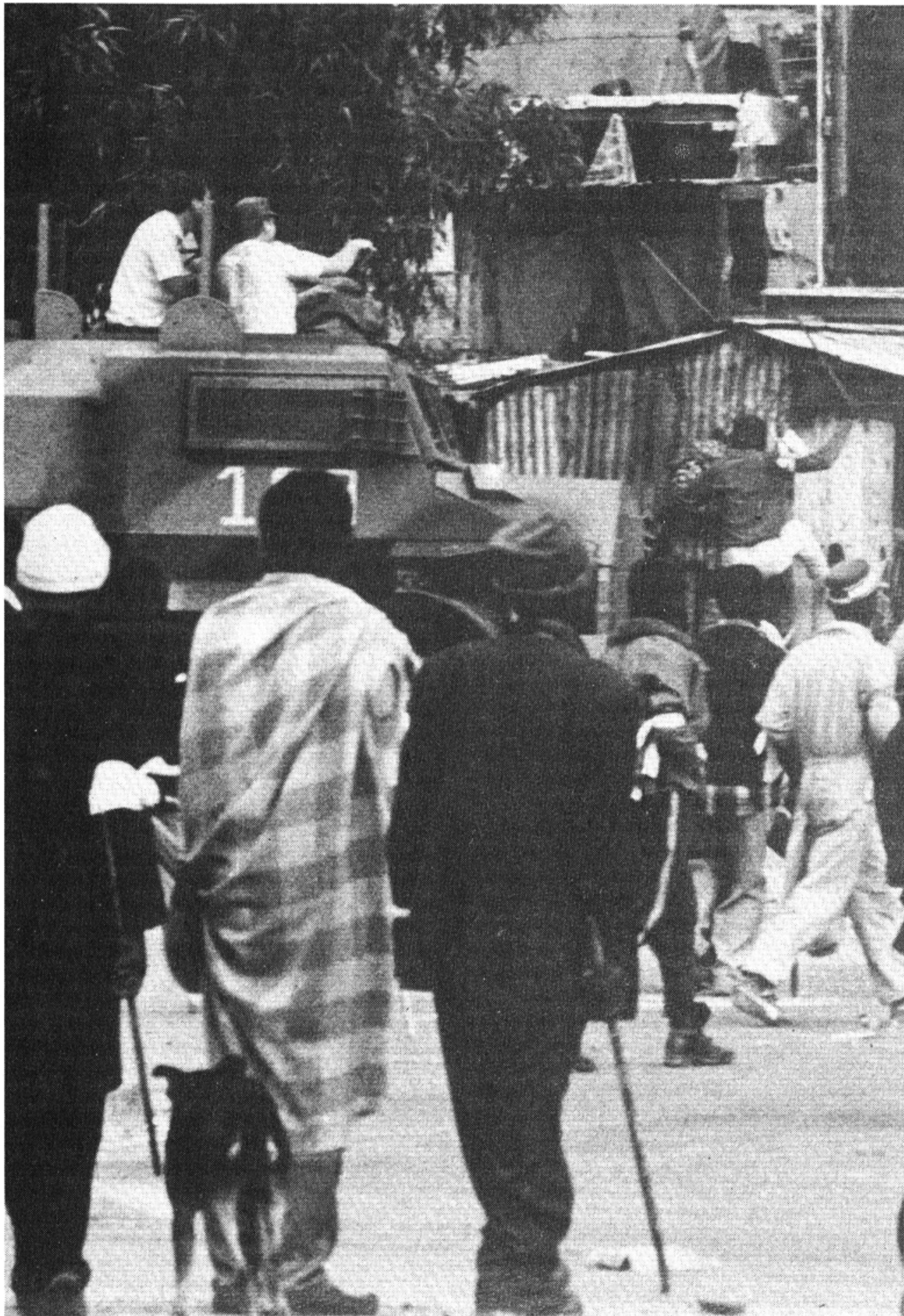
Given the fact that the bulk of migrant workers is drawn from the huge army of the rural unemployed both inside and outside South Africa, and their confinement to single sex hostels while working in the urban areas with all the negative consequences which this situation entails, it is not surprising that the apartheid authorities have found migrant workers to be fertile ground for the recruitment of not only vigilantes but also of strike-breakers in other cases.

The dehumanisation process which the migrant labour system entails and which the apartheid regime is today taking advantage of to disrupt established Black communities is one of the dangers inherent in the system against which the liberation movement has been warning over the years.

The emergence of vigilantes and secret death squads and their use by the apartheid authorities as police auxiliaries on the South African political scene is something not entirely new nor unexpected.

Vigilantes and secret death squads have been operating with or without the approval of the police and sometimes alongside them against delinquents as well as progressive and democratic figures as long ago as the late 1970s.

What is new about them today is that their emergence and operations unlike in the previous period, are not spontaneous or have not been left to the initiative of some unknown or obscure individuals. What is more, their emergence and operations are on a far larger scale, systematic and well-organised and clearly directed by the councillors, the SADF and the SA Police.



Crossroads removals — the ugliest mass removals in South African history.

Right-wing Terror

For instance, by August 1978 more than 600 incidents of right-wing terror, which included the firing of shots, arson, death threats by telephone calls and smear campaigns against prominent liberal and radical Whites were recorded in a period of less than 13 years. The targets included Colin Eglin, Chairman of the PFP loyal opposition, Rev. Beyers Naude, then director of the banned Christian Institute and later Helen Joseph, a veteran anti-apartheid activist and now Hon. Patron of the UDF. The campaign reached a culmination point when it claimed the life of Richard Turner, a young political scientist and promising academic from the University of Natal in Durban. More than seven years after the cold-blooded murder of Richard Turner, his killers are still at large.

Ironically enough, one of the victims of this campaign of terror by right-wing terrorists during this period was none other than Prof. Floors Van Jaarsveld, a leading Afrikaner and racist academic and historian with unimpeachable Nationalist credentials. On this occasion, Prof. F. Van Jaarsveld was publicly tarred and feathered by members of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (Afrikaner Resistance Movement) while addressing an audience at the University of South Africa for suggesting that Afrikaners should not celebrate their Day of the Covenant — the day marking the Boer victory over the Zulus at Blood River in 1838 and commemorated by the oppressed majority as Heroes Day — as a religious day because it gave offence to other racial and religious groups in South Africa.

Between January and the middle of March 1984, 36 acts of White right-wing terror against mainly, but not only, liberal and radical Whites staying or working in Johannesburg were recorded.

Since then, such acts have been on the increase. Perhaps the most dramatic and embarrassing act of White right-wing terrorism for those who rejoice in talking

about a so-called Black on Black conflict in South Africa is the extremely violent disruption of several Nationalist Party gatherings by members of the AWB during the first months of 1986, the most publicised of which was in April and May in Brits and Pietersburg respectively. Yet, no one refers to the many White right-wing terrorists activities of the AWB and secret death squads against mainly but not only White liberals and radicals as a White on White conflict.

A common feature of the police response to the above incidents of right-wing terrorism in the late 1970s and the reign of terror unleashed by the vigilantes and secret death squads since 1985 is that except in a handful of isolated cases, no one has been arrested and brought to court for the crimes. Given the swiftness with which the security forces can and do trace and apprehend ANC cadres and other opponents of the illegal South African racist minority regime, this is most astonishing indeed.

In various parts of the world, particularly in Latin America, the undemocratic and fascist regimes have unceasingly made futile attempts to deny the connection between themselves and the emergence and activities of right-wing terrorist groups. However, the experience of and close similarity with their counterparts in many countries under military dictatorship, particularly in Latin America, teaches us that it is precisely when the rule of such reactionary regimes is threatened by an unprecedented pressure of mass mobilisation and armed struggle reinforced by a deep-going economic decline and crisis, and their attempts to convince world public opinion that they are "moving towards democracy and reform" (albeit in a controlled way) are failing, that they find it necessary to resort to the breeding of right-wing terrorist groups with the ultimate aim of using them in the assassination, intimidation and kidnap of leaders and suppression of the entire popular and democratic movement.

It is not surprising that Murphy Morobe, UDF Acting Publicity Secretary, described the

emergence of vigilantes as being "no different from the death squads of Latin America."

And if it is true (and I believe it is) that the emergence of vigilantes in South Africa is no different from the death squads of Latin America, then this cannot but lead us directly to the Pentagon, particularly Fort Bragg, the US Army's 'Special' warfare school near Fayetteville in North Carolina, where the notorious Green Berets are trained and other US special military schools, including the School of the Americas in the Panama Canal Zone. Given the fact that from the first days of its inception in 1969 the now defunct SA Bureau of State Security (BOSS) was modelled on the CIA, the pervasive influence of US state terrorist organisation par excellence on the SA Security and Secret Intelligence Services is not surprising at all. This is more so if it was to be recalled that the CIA chief for counter-intelligence at the time played a direct role in the formation of Boss and General Hendrik Van Den Bergh and a few of his lieutenants had to travel to the US to get some advise and technology.

Counter-insurgency and US

General Magnus Malan, the present South African Minister of Defence, is a graduate of the US Army Command and General Staff College, the institution which plays the leading role in formulating counter-insurgency warfare methods and tactics for the US Army. A comparison of the so-called 'low-intensity war' doctrine followed today by the Reagan Administration mostly in Central America and other parts of the world and the 'total strategy' against 'total war' concept practiced by the apartheid regime against the liberation and entire democratic movement inside South Africa and the neighbouring countries will also reveal a strong US imprint on South African military strategy. As long ago as 1954 the United States decided to launch a campaign of state terrorism against the independence and national sovereignty of those countries regarded as hostile to the

interests of US imperialism.

On that occasion, the US National Security Council (NSC) adopted an extensive and very elaborate plan of subversion and sabotage for the CIA, according to which:

"Overt foreign activities of the US Government should be supplemented by covert operations ... If uncovered the United States can plausibly disclaim any responsibility for them. Specifically, such operations shall include ... propaganda, political action, economic warfare, preventative direct action, including sabotage, anti-sabotage, demolition ... subversion against hostile states or groups ... deception plans and operations"

Soon after adopting the NSC Memorandum 5412, the then US Government used the methods suggested therein to overthrow the constitutionally elected government of Jacobo Arbenz in Guatemala (1954), launched an undeclared war against Cuba (1961) and finally sent out the US Marines to carry out the most brazen and shameless military intervention in the Dominican Republic (1965). In our times, the US Government has continued to use the same methods to topple the popular government of Salvador Allende in Chile through a military coup led by Gen. Pinochet (1973) and carried out yet another brazen and most shameless military intervention using the Marines against the people of tiny Grenada in 1983. In addition, an undeclared war using the same methods is being waged by the Reagan Administration and the apartheid regime against the people of Nicaragua and Angola respectively.

It is as much surprising as disgusting to hear President Reagan, in an attempt to justify the US military aggression against Libya and at the same time brand legitimate national liberation movements such as the PLO and ANC as terrorist organisations claiming that "state terrorism is something new in the world." President Reagan makes this mind-boggling claim in spite of the long and endless record of state terrorism practiced by successive US Administrations against the people of Latin America, Asia and Africa.

For its part, the Reagan Administration has taken over the policy of state terrorism adopted as NCS Memorandum 5412 in 1954

and 'enriched' it with new post-Vietnam forms and methods of counter-insurgency warfare. These were formulated by the Pentagon military strategists under the Administration of the late President J F Kennedy in the early 60s in order to use them against revolutionary governments and liberation movements under situations of a 'low intensity conflict'.

Talking of such a conflict President J F Kennedy, after declaring that the Southern half of the globe that is Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East-constitute the main "battle-ground for the defence and the expansion of freedom (read capitalism)," went on to point out that:

"This is a struggle of will and determination as much as one of force and violence. It is a battle for the conquest of the minds and souls as much as for the conquest of lives and territory"

Not that President J F Kennedy was the first to recognise the need to "win friends and influence people" as an essential element of counter-insurgency warfare in a situation of "low-intensity conflict". Many observers regard the notorious Special Air Services (SAS) Regiment as the first to have recognised the importance of this tactic and applied it successfully since about June 1952 when General Sir Gerald Templar, the British Military High Commissioner, in reply to a question on whether he had sufficient troops to combat the guerrilla forces in Malaya stated that "the answer lies not in pouring more soldiers into the jungle, but rests in the hearts and minds of Malayan people."

This postulate goes on to state that in order to be successful, propaganda must be total and the propagandist, who most often than not is a trained soldier must be prepared to use all the technical means available to him. In addition he must be willing to serve as a doctor, teacher, sociologist, tax collector etc. Closely related to this "battle for the hearts and minds" of the people is yet another essen-

tial tactic employed by the SAS in Malaya — that of gathering intelligence information and shaping the perception of the local population as a form of psychological warfare in preparation for or insupport of military intervention/action.

What is to the credit of the Kennedy Administration and its military strategists is to have succeeded in integrating and systematising the various elements of counter-insurgency warfare practiced by the British SAS in Malaya and other former British colonies. These methods of counter-insurgency were later to be put to the test first in Latin America following the crushing defeat of the CIA-sponsored mercenary invasion of Cuba in April 1961. After Latin America the United States chose South Vietnam as a testing ground for its counter-insurgency warfare in a situation of "low-intensity conflict" as from 1963.

"Total War" at Grassroots Level

Although the Pentagon military strategists and Heritage Foundation scholars have not as yet finalised its framework and mechanisms, the US Army has proposed the following as a working definition for a 'low — intensity conflict':

"The limited use of power for political purposes ... to coerce, control or defend a population ... It includes military operations by or against irregular forces, peace keeping operations, terrorism, counter-terrorism, rescue operations and military assistance under conditions of armed conflict. This form of conflict does not include protracted engagements of opposing regular forces".

The above constitutes a clear and most concise definition of 'low-intensity conflict' as given by the Pentagon military strategists and will undoubtedly enable us to examine the characteristics of this counter-revolutionary method of warfare as explained by its other proponents. A common line which runs through the explanations given by each of the best-known advocates of 'low-intensity conflict' is the emphasis they put on the need for commitment to the concept of 'total war'. For instance Sam Sarkejian, one of its premier postulators writes

that:

"The fusion of economic, political and military information is vital. It's the foundation for virtually all other actions in a situation of a 'low-intensity conflict! He goes on to observe that in such a situation, body counts, real estate and prisoners taken are not true indicators of success or progress ... Political and psychological factors are more important indicators, but they cannot be measured by conventional means."

Perhaps Colonel John Waghelstein, who since 1982 served as chief of US military 'adviser' in El Salvador for over two years put it in a more easily understandable form for the purpose of our work when he described such a situation in the May 1985 issue of *Military Review* as 'total war at the grassroots level', in which the counter-insurgency forces "use all of the weapons of war, including political, economic and psychological warfare, with the military aspect being a distant fourth in many cases." This technique of "total war at the

grassroots level" was practised by the US troops in Vietnam as from 1967 with the launching of Operation Phoenix as a means of neutralising popular support for the National Liberation Front through the use of 'counter-terrorism'. This was followed by the establishment of the so-called National Democratic Organisation (ORDEN) in El Salvador by the CIA in 1968 as a paramilitary rural vigilante organisation to persecute and harass revolutionary leaders and militants.

While it is true that a "Vietnam syndrome" — in which many young Whites play out scenes from *The Deer Hunter*, baiting and setting up Black kids for killing and thereafter sitting down in the evening to count how many kills they have made — is developing in South Africa, the military top brass in the State Security Council (SSC) has long since 1977 made the conclusion that the war is "80 per cent political and 20 per cent military."

Vigilantes on the rampage in Crossroads



LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor,

How moving it was indeed to read the profile you have written about our great President, comrade Oliver Tambo, dedicated to his 70th birthday. Surely by the time this letter goes for printing, comrade O.R. as he is popularly known in our liberation movement shall be counting more than 70 years. But nevertheless the issue shall still be topical.

In paying tribute to comrade President, I wish to thank you for the profile you wrote. By that you showed what respect O.R. Tambo enjoys amongst the struggling people of our country as led by their trusted and tested vanguard, the ANC, under his dynamic and intelligent leadership.

In saying "happy birthday" to comrade President, I would like to thank you comrade editor for the accurate analysis of the profound contribution which O.R. and his generation made to our struggle. It comes out clearly in your article that the political development of our president is interlinked with the political maturity of the ANC, with the maturity of our revolution for national liberation in its totality. That is why in your article you correctly did not emphasize the "shortcomings" which the generation of Tambo showed in the early 40s as if those shortcomings were dominating the positive contribution. In any case comrade editor no matter how many mistakes were made by our leaders (even by the pre-Xuma leadership), such as the unco-operative attitude towards the members of the CPSA and to the non-

African nationalities — their contribution cannot be viewed in isolation from the revolutionary situation prevailing inside the country today. If there is anything that demonstrates the honesty and the leadership qualities of comrade President and his close colleagues those days, it is the ability to recognize the mistakes and to learn from those mistakes. This made it possible for them to adopt new approaches. W.I. Lenin once remarked in his work "Leftwing Communism — An Infantile Disorder" that the one who does not make mistakes is not intelligent, actually he does not exist and will never exist, but the one who makes mistakes and corrects them is the one who is intelligent. Guided by this principle our President developed to be an internationally accepted leader of the South African people. I am sure there is only one way in which he would like his birthday to be celebrated and that is by intensifying on all fronts the struggle for the national liberation of the Black oppressed people of South Africa. His dream is a democratic South Africa along the lines enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Let us on this occasion vow that we shall make his dream a reality. In our endeavours for the realisation of that task, let us once again appeal to the peoples of the world to intensify the struggle for the total isolation of the apartheid regime and for the all-out material and moral support of our struggle.

Forward ever — backward never!
Amandla Ngawethu!
By an ANC Student in Dresden, GDR.

OBITUARY EDNA NOMAKHOSI MGABAZA 1922—1987



A MODEL OF EXCELLENCE

I am thankful to the editor of *Sechaba* for inviting me to pay a tribute to the memory of a great daughter of Africa. It is an honour I accept with humility and great joy.

Born in Somerset East in 1922, Edna Nomakhosi studied at Lovedale.

This remarkable woman, whose example is worthy of emulation, was a member of a very close family in Port Elizabeth and a salubrious environment for the growth and flowering of a vibrant personality whose humanity was later to straddle across the borders of our continent, a jewel that remained entirely unscarred by the ravages of location life in South Africa.

As a teacher in the 'forties Edna was an active member of the Cape African Teachers' Association. She was loved and respected by her colleagues and became the darling of the young ones who came under her care and maternal protection.

When she later left for Johannesburg to train as a nurse at the Non-European Hospital, she found the atmosphere there particularly congenial. She was thrown together with such outstanding women as the late Florence Nxumalo, Winnie Malao and Nontsikelelo Albertina Sisulu — a climate in which her own natural talents were bound to flourish.

The Medical School of the University of the Witwatersrand trained both White and

a small percentage of Black students. Attached to it was the Johannesburg General Training Hospital for White medical students and White nurses.

In apartheid South Africa the Non-European Hospital was almost exclusively a teaching hospital for Black medical students and Black student-nurses. This hospital was situated on the hill ominously overlooking the Johannesburg Fort Prison commonly known as "Number 4". Edna was part of this medical brickwork, which she must have found suffocating.

After the 1948 Whites-only general election, the new apartheid masters declared the N.E.H. a "black spot" and decreed that the Baragwanath Military Hospital, an eerie complex built like an army camp, was to be converted into a Black training hospital for medical students and student-nurses.

Edna was to play an important role as one of the people in charge of arrangements for the transfer of patients and staff to the new premises. Her administrative skills came into full play and, as always, she displayed unswerving loyalty to her people and a single-minded resolve to serve them to the best of her ability at all times and in all situations. Apart from the buildings, Baragwanath was in content transformed almost overnight and became the centre of excellence in the training and practice of medical personnel at all levels.

Having made her mark in Johannesburg, Edna decided to return to Port Elizabeth. She joined the staff of the Provincial Hospital. At that time Livingstone Hospital was under construction. On completion, it was Edna, among others, who was asked to go and prepare the ground for both patients and staff to be transferred to the new hospital. She executed these arrangements with consummate skill and efficiency. It was she, therefore, who laid the human foundation for the now famous Livingstone Hospital, a recognition she will truly deserve in a free South Africa.

Edna was also a professional political operator. She was, in a quiet, unobtrusive but effective way, dedicated to the liberation struggle. This was the motivating force behind her actions and what she said and her methods. Watching her in operation in this field was like witnessing the transfer, in an artistic way, of all the essential

pedagogical and medical skills she had learnt elsewhere on to the political arena with masterly expertise.

Among those who worked closely with her during this turbulent period were such well known figures as Govan Mbeki, Raymond Mhlaba and Samson Ntunja (Ngcaphephe). Colleagues in the nursing profession included Nothemba Mpendu, Nomsa Siwisa and Nobambo Socenywa. I myself was privileged to meet her in the company of some of these audacious freedom-fighters during the latter half of the 'fifties. We exchanged ideas about the threat from the police state to bantuisse the nursing profession itself in an attempt to tighten the stranglehold over the minds of our people. Edna was among the nurses' who spearheaded the fight against the extension of this diabolical system of schooling to the medical field.

The political temperature of the times and the political consciousness of the nurses at Livingstone Hospital in particular can be gauged by the way they initiated a successful boycott of Kaiser Matanzima and his entourage when the latter visited Port Elizabeth in order to spread their voodoo politics to the cities. In the face of widespread opposition these purveyors of collaboration and tribalism were forced to leave Port Elizabeth unceremoniously and go back to their disreputable funk-holes.

This was a significant milestone in the struggles of our people against the Bantustans and Bantustan agents and for a democratic South Africa. A great deal of credit for this event must go to Edna and her colleagues at Livingstone Hospital.

Edna's continental vision made her look beyond the borders of South Africa. She was inspired by the struggles enshrined in the names of people like Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta, etc. Indeed, her Port Elizabeth home was also the home of these illustrious sons of Africa. Their pictures, their books and their speeches were visible everywhere.

It is no wonder that she was amongst the first batch of twenty nurses who, under the aegis of the African National Congress, left their country, to go and lend their skills to the newly independent Republic of Tanzania (then Tanganyika). That moment must

have come to her as the realisation of a dream, the dream of participating in the consolidation of a liberated area of Africa.

Here Edna gave of her best for years until she was transferred to Zambia where her services and skills were badly needed. In both countries she won the respect, admiration and confidence of those with whom she worked; she also made many friends who will always remember her and her inimitable smile, and her warmth.

It was in Zambia also that after many years of separation from her family she was reunited with her ageing mother. For me it was like a wheel turned full circle. For I had seen that mother-child relationship at an earlier age. The sands of time had done nothing to erode it. It remained essentially the same — a thing of beauty and a joy forever.

A deep sense of social responsibility was the hallmark of Edna's character. As a leader in her field of work she always put the welfare of others above all else and would never do anything that might jeopardise their position in any way. She regarded her duty as being both to lead and to protect. But her integrity and her probity always compelled her to seek to correct what she believed to be shortcomings or weaknesses in those whose well-being she was seeking to promote.

At work she was a perfectionist and demanded the same of others. She taught more by example than by precept. One had to pay total attention to the job in hand and in her professional ethic what mattered most was the people who had to be helped. In her book, only the best was good enough for her people.

Viewed from every angle, Edna was a shining example, a model of excellence. She will be sadly missed by those who knew her. But her name will go down in the annals of our history as one of the legitimate mothers of the burgeoning nation of South Africa.

She was a worthy daughter of Africa born of worthy parents. Edna died on the 17th of October 1987 in Harare and was buried there on the 24th.

HAMBA KAHLE NOMAKHOSI!
Livingstone Mqotsi

**SECHABA and other ANC
publications are obtainable
from the following
ANC addresses:**

ALGERIA

5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
Algiers.

ANGOLA

PO Box 3523
Luanda.

AUSTRALIA

Box 49 Trades Hall (Room 23)
4 Goulburn Street
Sydney NSW 2000.

BELGIUM

25 Rue du Conseil
1050 Brussels.

CANADA

PO Box 302
Adelaide Postal Station
Toronto
Ontario M5C-2J4.

CUBA

Calle 21a
NR 20617
Esquina 214 Atabey
Havana.

DENMARK

Landgreven 7/3
1301 Copenhagen K

EGYPT

5 Ahmad Ishmat Street
Zamalek
Cairo.

ETHIOPIA

PO Box 7483
Addis Ababa.

FRANCE

28 Rue des Petites Ecuries
75010 Paris

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Angerweg 2
Wilhelmsruh
Berlin 1106.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

Postfach 190140
5300 Bonn 1.

MADAGASCAR

PO Box 80
Antananarivo

ITALY

Via S. Prisca 15a
00153 Rome.

INDIA

Apt 350 KP Thacker Block, Asian Games Village
Siri Fort Road
New Delhi 110040

NIGERIA

Federal Government
Special Guest House
Victoria Island
Lagos.

SENEGAL

26 Avenue Albert Sarraut
PO Box 3420, Dakar

SWEDEN

Box 6183
S-102 33

Stockholm

TANZANIA

PO Box 2239 Dar es Salaam.
PO Box 680 Morogoro.

UNITED KINGDOM

PO Box 38
28 Penton Street
London N1 9PR

UNITED STATES

801 Second Avenue Apt 405
New York NYC 10017

ZAMBIA

PO Box 31791
Lusaka.

LISTEN TO:

Radio Freedom

**Voice of the African National Congress
and Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army.**

Radio Luanda

short wave: 30 & 40 m. bands
medium wave: 27.6 m. band
7.30 p.m. daily.

Radio Lusaka

short wave: 31 m. band, 9580 KHz
7.15-8.00 p.m. Monday to Friday
10.05-10.35 p.m. Wednesday
10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday
7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

Radio Madagascar

short wave: 49 m. band, 6135 KHz
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

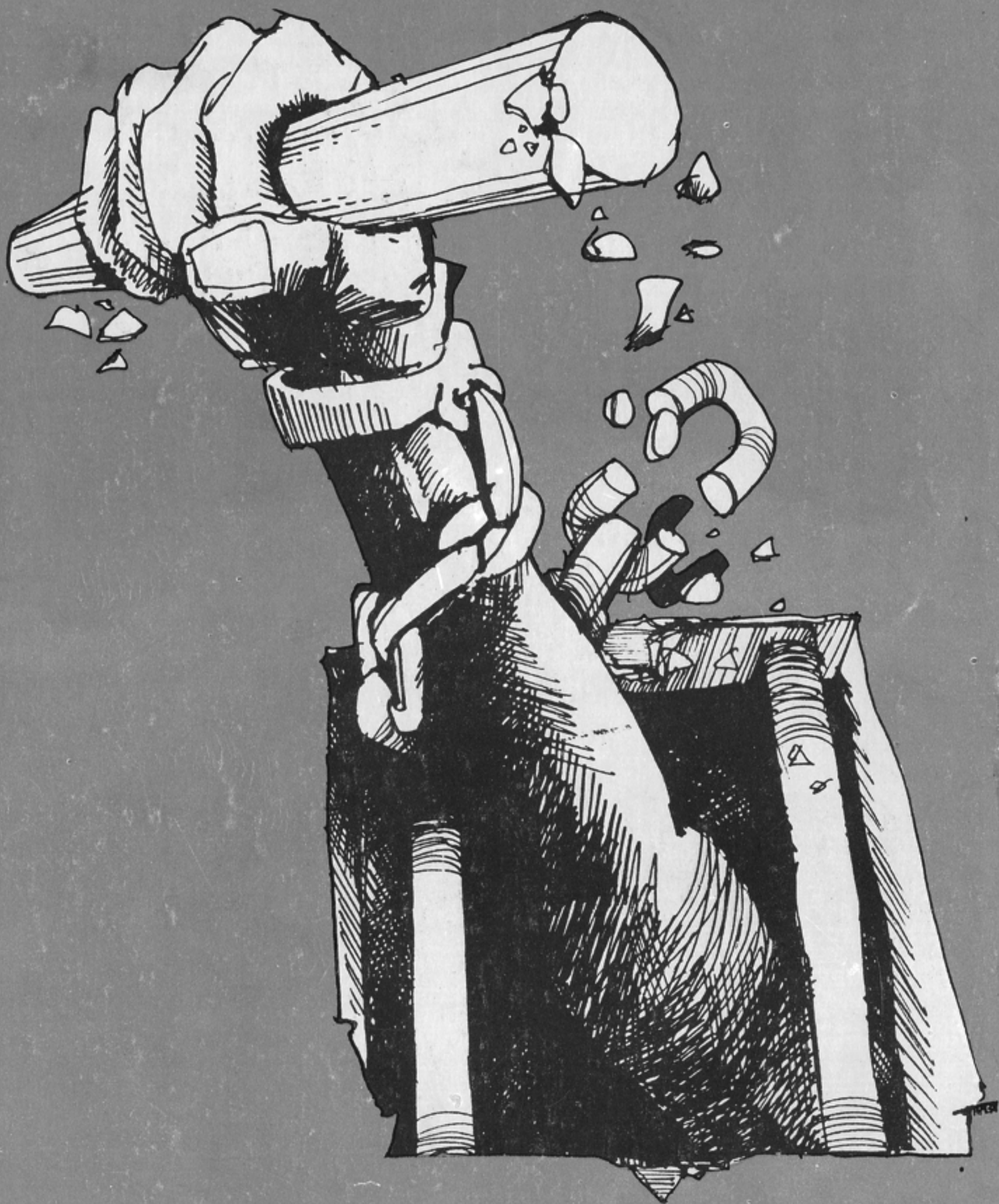
Radio Ethiopia

short wave: 31 m. band, 9545 KHz
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

Radio Tanzania

Short wave: 19 m. band, 15435 KHz
Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday,
8.15 p.m.
31 m. band,
Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday,
6.15 a.m.

**Published by the
African National Congress of South Africa
P.O. Box 31791, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA
Printed by the Druckerei 'Erich Weinert',
2000 Neubrandenburg, G.D.R.**



**WE DEMAND THE RELEASE
OF ALL
POLITICAL PRISONERS**