

SOUND FAITH, LOVE AND ENDURANCE

ANC DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

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Bishop Manas Buthelezi.

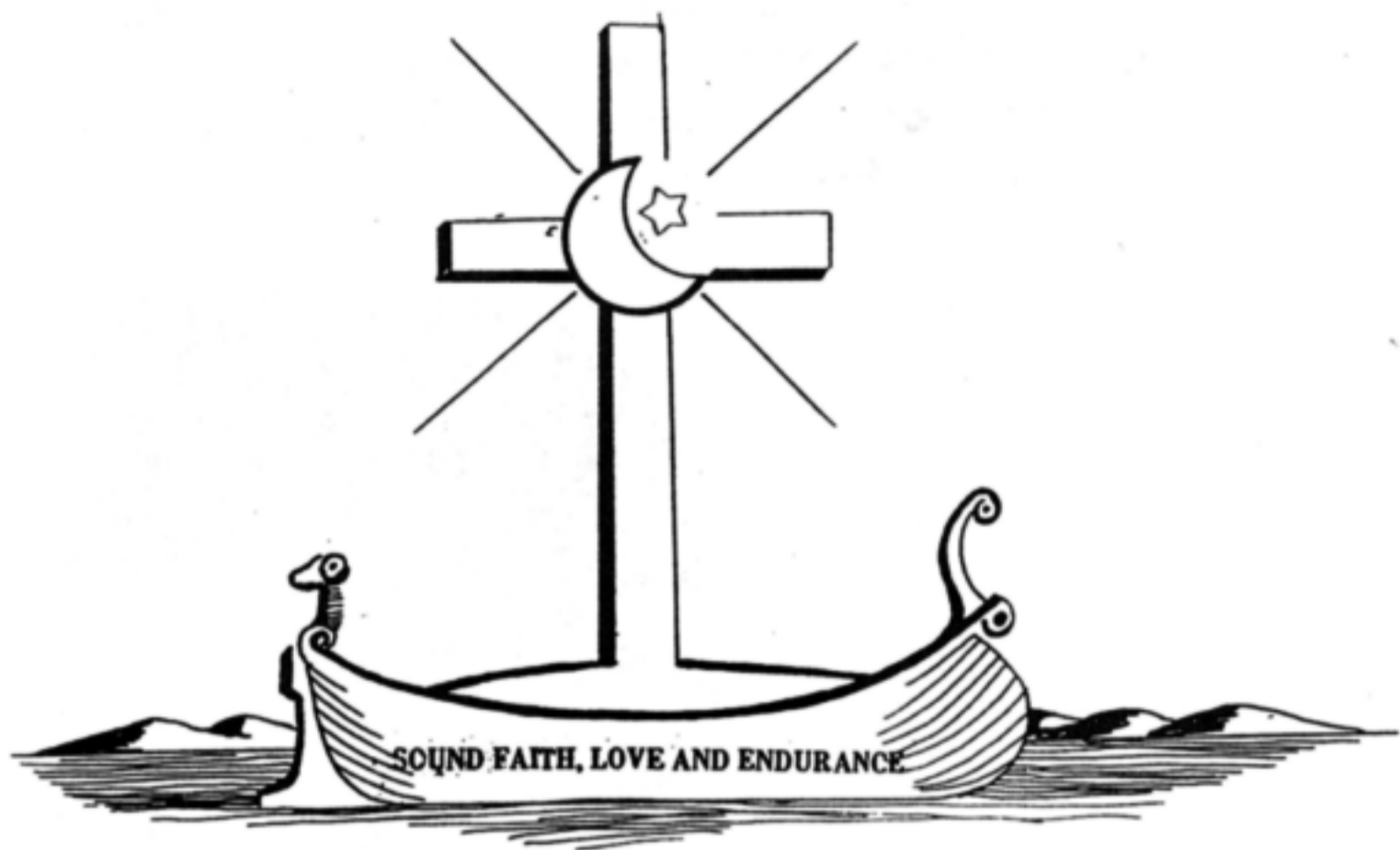
NELSON MANDELA

A symbol of courage and resistance of the South African oppressed people. 1987 marks 25 years of his imprisonment by the racist Pretoria regime.



Awarded the freedom of the CITY of SYDNEY and the GEORGI DIMITROV ORDER, the highest honour given by the People's Republic of Bulgaria to international freedom fighters, at celebrations commemorating the 75th Anniversary of the African National Congress.

**FIGHT FOR HIS RELEASE
AND THAT OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS**



FRONT COVER: Reverend Stofile sentenced to eleven years imprisonment.

Views and opinions presented do not necessarily express the official policies of the African National Congress, or the editorial collective of the Department of Religious Affairs. Articles are designed to raise issues, stimulate debate on current and topical issues in as well as matters of faith and theological concern.

Contributions, articles and letters are welcomed. They can be addressed to:

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ZAMBIA

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EDITORIAL

NOTHING underlines more clearly the importance of the creation of the department of Religious Affairs as the confrontation between the racist regime and the religious community. This development underpins the profound analysis made by prominent Church leaders in the *Evangelical Witness* and the *Kairos Document* which challenges the moral, political and religious legitimacy of the apartheid regime.

There can be no reconciliation between apartheid and the Church, the documents assert.

"This is tantamount to reconciling sin with righteousness, evil with good. It is trying to reconcile the Devil with God. Is this not a hypocritical form of reconciliation? No compromise with evil is possible in terms of our evangelical faith and thus we must work for real and genuine reconciliation in South Africa. . ." — *Evangelical Witness in South Africa*.

Apartheid is fundamentally unjust, ungodly and demonic. It is negation of the most basic Christian teachings; to love your neighbour as you love yourself; a denial that man is made in the image of God. There is no question of loving God, claiming allegiance to God when your first enemy is exactly His creation.

Anwar M. Sadat Barkati, in his introduction to the *Kairos* documents brilliantly describes the racist state, he writes:

"The state becomes God, demanding ultimate obedience through violence and oppression of defenceless people. In the name of law and order and fear of communism, the idolization of the state becomes an official ideology to be enforced by all means."

He concludes that the God of the South African state is not merely a false God, but the Devil disguised as Almighty God the anti-Christ. Thus the Church can not, but be part of this religious awakening unfolding in merely engaged in a lone battle for religious rights, but is essentially part of that divine battle — the people's divine war for a free democratic South Africa.

The awakening of the Religious community is of momentous significance in South Africa. It is the resurrection in Christ of that old age movement of revolutionary prophets who proclaimed liberty to captives and preached doom to oppressors. Just as the national awakening of the African people was inspired by prominent clergy of our times in the formations of the ANC in 1912, the ANC can not, but be part of this religious awakening unfolding in South Africa. The ANC Department of Religious Affairs is part of that religious witness which once more asserts the indisputable role that religion has and

will always play in the struggle of our people for freedom.

While we appraise this development within the religious front in South Africa, we are at the same time mindful that our opposition to apartheid, our rejection of the racist tyranny still lacks direction. Our theology still lacks the fundamental perspective of revolutionary transformation. A truly liberating theology must be developed and express the most basic and fundamental aspirations and demands of our people for freedom.

"You are the light for the whole world. A city built on a hill can not be hidden . . . In the same way your light must shine before people, so that they will see the good things you do and praise your father in heaven." Mat:5: 13.

A truly liberating perspective must contain a vision of a free democratic South Africa such as proclaimed in the Freedom Charter — It must be clear to the racist regime that the Church, or religious community is not just fighting to reform and adorn sin with the fragrance of roses — our people are not dying in their thousands for reconciliation with the devil. Apartheid must be destroyed — this is the prophetic message from the signs of our times. Advance to people's power!

WE MUST TAKE SIDES

EXTRACTS FROM THE STATEMENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE ANC, OLIVER TAMBO, AT THE WCC LIBERATION MOVEMENT DIALOGUE: LUSAKA, 4 -- 8 MAY, 1987.

Your Grace, Archbishop
Walter Makhulu,
Dame Nita Barrow,
General Secretary of the
World Council of Churches,
Dr Emilio Castro,

Distinguished Commis-
sioners of the Programme to
Combat Racism,

Bishops and Ministers,
Dear Delegates, comrades
and friends.

The peoples of Southern
Africa are confronted with
the daily reality of war.
War means the killing of
people, the deliberate act of
taking human lives. It
entails the planned and
intentional destruction of
the accumulated products
of human labour. In their
wake, all wars leave deso-
late landscape inhabited by
orphans, by widows and
widowers, by grief and
pain.

Go anywhere in
Southern Africa today and
if you have ears to hear,
you will not miss the
pitiful cries of the bereaved.
You will not fail to see the
motherless children nor the
mothers and fathers whose
offspring has ceased to be
mangled into a bloody pulp
by the merciless machine of
military conflict.

Everybody present in
this hall yesterday was
surely moved by the
memory of the Kassinga
Massacre. Equally, the refer-
ence to the more recent
crime that Pretoria commit-
ted in Livingstone, only a
few days ago, could not but
evoke anger against its
perpetrators and a feeling of
compassion for the relatives
of the deceased and the
people of Zambia as a
whole. We will all have
responded in these ways
because we all value life

consider it sacred and a gift
that should be nursed and
nurtured and not destroyed.

Beyond that, we are
united by the deep-seated
conviction that life should
be lived in its fullness and
not shackled, circumscribed
or blighted by hunger and
disease, poverty and ignor-
ance, by oppression, exploi-
tation and discrimination of
any kind.

We are very grateful to
the World Council of Chur-
ches and its Programme to
Combat Racism for bringing
us together at this moment
in the history of Southern
Africa. The peoples of our
region expect that through
the decisions we will adopt
here, we will help to shorten
their agony. They are
convinced that we could not
have met at this moment
of crisis merely to reiterate
our abhorrence of apartheid
and once more to denounce
this crime against humanity.

Let me state some funda-
mental position of the ANC
clearly and unequivocally.
We are committed to the
struggle to overthrow the
racist Pretoria regime, the
transfer of power to all the
people under a system of
one person one vote in a
unitary South African state,
the use of that popular
power to abolish the
apartheid system in its
entirety and the rebuilding
of our country on the
basis of the non-racial and
democratic perspectives
spelt out in the Freedom
Charter.

We have absolutely no
doubt that what we have
said represents and co-
incides with the views of the
majority of the oppressed
people of our country and
an increasing number of our
white compatriots. To our
countrymen and women
coming directly from South
Africa and to our friends
from the rest of the world,
I would like to say that
this is the reality that we
all have to deal with,
regardless of our likes and
dislikes. What it demands
of us is that we must
take sides. It does not
permit of equivocation.

It is perfectly clear that
the source of violence
throughout our region is the
apartheid regime. To end
that violence, we have to
bring the apartheid system
to an end. We have been
forced to wage armed
struggle precisely to achieve
this objective. To terminate
that struggle would have
one effect, and one effect
only — the further perpetu-
ation of the apartheid
system. This is a result
which surely none of us
desires.

We would also like to
make the point here that to
the best of our knowledge
the Christian church has
never been pacifist. We
understand very well the
determination of the
Church continuously to
seek a peaceful resolution of
the conflicts in South Africa
Namibia and in Southern
African as a whole.



However, it can not be correct that the concept of a just war should be applied selectively and that the reaction of the oppressed to the violence of the apartheid state should be equated to the deliberate state terrorism of the Pretoria regime.

As our struggle has intensified and the crisis of the apartheid system deepened, we have been confronted with a growing deluge of questions about ourselves. Sometimes it has felt as though we were being subjected to the intense scrutiny of an examination room. We appreciate that this is because of the general realisation that victory is in sight, and that therefore there is a genuine desire to know what the future holds in store, a future in which the ANC will necessarily play an important part.

But we should honestly say that sometimes some of this probing is used as a reason or an excuse to avoid taking action against the apartheid system. The probing requires of us to give a number of assurances about various matters to encourage people to oppose the apartheid system. Of course we do not accept this line of reasoning and shall continuously urge everybody to join in the struggle and thereby to place themselves in a position to help determine both the course of the struggle and its outcome.

One of the questions that is raised with considerable persistence is the one of our relations with the South African Communist Party and the Socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union.



What we are asking you to support is a future with which you should find no problem. We are appealing to you to support us in the struggle to turn South Africa into a democratic country.

From the outset we must state it clearly that we consider all these forces as firm and reliable allies in the common struggle for the liberation of our country and people.

Instead of being criticised and denounced for involving themselves in the struggle against apartheid, they should rather be congratulated as should people of other political persuasions, such as social-democrats and liberals who have also joined in the fight against white minority domination.

Ours is a national liberation movement which contains within it different philosophical tendencies but all of which adhere to a common resolve to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa on the basis of the Freedom Charter. The absolute imperative for the greatest possible unity of all our people in the struggle for liberation demands that we defend and advance this character of our movement.

As in the past, we shall resist all attempts to inject any anti-religious notions into our midst. Indeed,

proceeding on the basis of old traditions within our movement, we are in the process of establishing an inter-faith chaplaincy within the movement to ensure that all members of all faiths have ready access to such religious counselling and assistance as they may require.

As for the South African Communist Party, this is an independent political formation with which the ANC maintains the best of relations on the basis of a common commitment to act as allies in the struggle against apartheid. We see nothing wrong or sinister about that as we saw nothing wrong or sinister about the alliance formed by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union to wage a common struggle against Nazism.

The African National Congress is very interested to see the Soviet Union and the United States act together to help bring a speedy end to the system of apartheid. We are not in the least interested that elements of the East-West conflict should be introduced into our situation.

It would therefore help a great deal if the same spirit that inspired both East and West in the struggle against Hitler Germany should once more prevail, enabling the great powers to act in concert with the common objective of seeing South Africa transformed into a non-racial, non-aligned and peaceful entity.

It is however, also obvious that for all this to happen, the US Administration would have to abandon its policy of constructive engagement, cease supporting such bandit formations as UNITA and firmly and squarely take the side of those who fight for democracy in our country and not those who are committing atrocities daily to maintain the racist system of white minority rule.

We are certain that those of our friends who come from the United States who are present here will help us to effect this turn about in US policy, hard though it may be. We extend the same appeal also to those delegates that come from the other major western countries.

What we are asking you to support is a future with which you should find no problem. We are appealing to you to support us in the struggle to turn South Africa into a democratic country, wherein all will have the right to vote and to be elected to all organs of government and wherein all individual rights to speech, assembly, religion, culture, the press, the inviolability of the family and so on, will be guaranteed.

We are asking you to help us reach the moment quickly when it will be possible for our people to attend to the question of the people raising their standards of living through their own labours and with your assistance, in conditions of freedom and peace. This demands action against apartheid now.

The perspective ahead of us within South Africa is one of a political and military struggle that will continue to intensify. The state of emergency imposed in June last year not only failed to break the will of the people, it also did not succeed to destroy the organised structures of the democratic movement of our country.

Neither the armed occupation of the townships, the establishment of the so-called Joint Management Centres nor the sponsoring of vigilante groups; neither the continuing murder of our people nor external aggression could turn back the tide of liberation which has engulfed the apartheid system.

The white elections due to be held tomorrow will solve nothing. To reaffirm the continuation of white minority rule at this stage, by holding those racist elections, is to throw a challenge to the voteless majority to take all necessary action to ensure that these elections are the last of their kind.

This electoral process lacks all legitimacy and its results are entirely of no consequence to the central question of South African politics; that of the transfer of power to the people. White South Africa must,

in increasing numbers also act in favour of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa and reject unequivocally the so-called tri-cameral parliament and all institutions and "resolutions" based on the system of apartheid in all its elements.

The African National Congress has a long history of association with the Church. Our founders were churchmen and women. Throughout our 75 years that link has never been broken. As we enter the final stages of our struggle we believe that you too have a responsibility to contribute to the maximum to remove a regime which offends the very principles on which the church itself was founded.

Our brothers and sisters from home in particular, must know that we shall continue to knock on the door of the church to ask for the fullest involvement of the church in all aspects of the struggle. The millions of our people who are making such enormous sacrifices can expect no less from a church which is made up in the main of the poor and the oppressed and which should identify itself with these down-trodden masses.

The struggle demands sacrifice from all of us. To end the apartheid crime against humanity we must move together in unity. Let this meeting serve as an important milestone as we strive to achieve this objective.

**OUR COMMON VICTORY
IS CERTAIN!**

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!



PCR CONFERENCE



O.R. Tambo meeting with Bishop Manas Buthelezi.



O.R. Tambo meeting. Beyers Naude, with the Most Reverend: Walter Makhulu — WCC President looking on.

SANCTIONS NOW!

The people of South Africa believe that they will liberate themselves but they also feel that disinvestment and the application of economic sanctions would help to weaken and to isolate the South African government. In a Sunday Times opinion poll *in 1986*, black South Africans overwhelmingly supported international sanctions against South Africa. Against the tense atmosphere of unrest in which close to a thousand people had been killed, 77% oppressed blacks voted for economic boycott and sanctions against South Africa.

S. Bhengu

Extract from a paper presented to the International YMCA Conference in
Zimbabwe 1986

THE link between the racist apartheid policies of South Africa and the capitalist economies of the West has become even more apparent as we seek ways of dismantling apartheid. The countries of the West, the USA, West Germany and Britain have become the strongest opponents to the imposition of economic sanctions as a peaceful way of forcing the Afrikaners to abandon apartheid. For years the representatives of foreign business in South Africa have argued that they were in South Africa for purely business purposes — to develop the country and not to support apartheid. We now have evidence that foreign investments and loans have been used to support prevailing patterns of power and privilege in South Africa.

Over and above the usual business gains resulting from cheap labour which is secured by government policy, foreign companies pay a special defence tax which supports the South African army.

You will recall that this is the same army which terrorises freedom seekers in South Africa and Namibia. It is the same army that raids frontline states like Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho and Botswana under the pretext of defending South Africa.

The provision of separate facilities for the different ethnic groups with budgets for nine homeland governments instead of having just one government and one budget, the segregated school and university facilities, the training and maintenance of a large army and the military raids of the frontline states, all make apartheid an expensive policy which cannot be run with a weak economy.

The financial crisis is evidence of the political impact economic sanctions have. The drastic fall in the value of the rand is an indicator that economic pressure would be successful in South Africa. Even before mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions are

imposed the threat of sanctions alone had begun to show some results.

In seeking to hide their own vested interests, some of the individuals, institutions, including churches, and governments, argue that it is the black people who will lose most if foreign companies were to disinvest from South Africa.

There is, of course, no logic in this argument since it is that segment of society that gains most through investments and cheap labour that would lose most in the event of a pull out by foreign companies.

No scientific studies have been conducted to support this false argument. For all we know the business sector — foreign or South African — has not shown any serious interest to address the problem of structural unemployment in black communities.





TO NATIONAL CHURCH ORGANISATIONS

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

On behalf of the oppressed people of our country we wish to inform you that the 8th of January 1987, marks the 75th anniversary of the ANC. The anniversary marks decades of a relentless struggle against the evil system of apartheid, whose moral and theological justification has been declared a heresy by the world religious community.

The ANC has always viewed the religious community in our country as an important component of our struggling people. This is testified to by the very fact that among the founding fathers and early leaders are outstanding Christians such as the Rev. John Dube the first President of the ANC; S. M. Makgatho (a lay preacher) the second President of the ANC; Rev. Z.R. Mahabane third President of the ANC; The Rev. W.B. Rubusane, one of the first vice-Presidents of the ANC. These early Christians in our country laid the foundations of struggle on which the present confessing churches and religious communities are based.

Today, the churches and religious communities continue to regard it justifiable to speak against injustices practised by the apartheid regime. In a vain effort to extricate itself from the crisis it now faces the colonial Pretoria regime has resorted to more and more naked repression against the mass democratic movement in our country, not excluding the religious community. The churches response to this situation was made in the KAIROS DOCUMENT in which they expounded the need to remove this ungodly regime by all means.



Steve Tshwete Secretary of the 75th Anniversary Committee.

The ANC, as the leader of the oppressed people of South Africa, takes this opportunity to express our profound appreciation to you, the church and the religious community and institutions in S.A. and abroad for their steadfast positions against apartheid and the support you continue to render to our struggle for freedom, justice and peace.

As we celebrate the 75th anniversary of our Movement we join you to participate in our campaigns and activities for 1987. We

call upon you to highlight the just struggle of the peoples of South Africa through prayer in the week of January the 8th and to initiate other activities and campaigns in observance of this auspicious occasion.

We are looking forward to your close co-operation and collaboration.

Yours in the struggle,

STEVE TSHWETE
Secretary — 75th Anniversary Committee.

SERMON BY THE ANC DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS
AFFAIRS ON THE OCCASION OF THE 75TH ANNIVER-
SARY OF THE ANC — PRESENTED BY REV. COMRADE
NCUTSHE GQIBA : JANUARY 25 1987

Your Excellency, Comrade the Rt.Hon. Kebby Musokotwane;

The Honourable members of the government of the Republic of Zambia;

Dr. Ishmael Noko from the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva;

The Leadership of the ANC and SWAPO;

Fellow Christians comrades and friends gathered here today

Allow me to read from the Good News's bible the basis for our message, a passage from the book of Amos 5: 10-13; 16-24, Verse 10 - 13.

'You people hate anyone who challenges injustice and speaks the whole truth in court. You have oppressed the poor and robbed them of their grain. And so you will not live in the fine stone houses you build or drink wine from the beautiful vineyards you plant.

I know how terrible your sins are, and how many crimes you have committed. You persecute good men, take bribes, and prevent the poor from getting justice in the courts. And so, keeping quiet in such evil times is the best thing to do!

Verse 16 - 14

"And so the sovereign Lord Almighty says, 'There will be wailing and cries of sorrow in the city streets. Even farmers will be called upon to mourn the dead along with those who are paid to mourn. There will be wailing in all the vineyards. All this will take place because I am coming to punish you,' The Lord has spoken.

How terrible it will be for you who long for the day of the Lord! What good will that day do you? For it will be a day of darkness and not light. It will be like a man who runs from a lion and meets a bear!

"Or like a man who comes home and put his hands on the wall — only to be bitten by a snake! The day of the Lord will bring darkness and not light; it will be a day of gloom, without any brightness.

The Lord says I hate your religious festivals; I can not stand them; I will not accept the animals you have fattened to bring me as offerings. Stop your noisy songs; I do not want to listen to your harps. Instead let justice flow like a stream and righteousness like a river that never goes dry."

Almost all the old testament scholars agree that Amos lived and prophesied in the 8th century B.C. This is about 760 B.C. This is the time when the Jewish kingdom was divided into two: the southern kingdom, also known as Judah ruled by king Uzziah I, and the northern part also known as Israel ruled by King Jeroboam II.

Although Amos originated from the south his ministry was in the north in the kingdom of Israel which was militarily stronger and economically more prosperous. When local markets became exhausted, new unexploited ones had to be established. In order to realise this goal, the ruling elite adopted a new aggressive foreign policy based on military expansionism.

Barbaric military operations were carried out by

Israel against her neighbouring kingdoms. Many innocent people — young and old, were brutally murdered by the Israelites. She became a destabilising force in the region. "Yet, according to the court of heaven, crimes against humanity, are a direct challenge to the unique nature of God."

Israel borders were enlarged at the expense of her neighbours. She took control of all trade routes by annexation. Consequently, a very rich merchant class developed, sharing the nations prosperity with the nobility and building for itself precious stone houses and drinking fine sweet wine from beautiful vineyards.

But, this new prosperity was founded upon the blood of the innocent; the victims of Israel military aggression against her neighbours. This surely was not willed by God. It is equally evident that Israel internal policy was as satanic as her foreign policy. It was ordained by a few — the ruling elite — for the protection of their political and economic interests.

Although they lived in precious stone houses and drank fine sweet wine, they felt politically threatened. They knew that the very comfortable life they were enjoying was not willed by Yahweh; and thus shortlived. It was the fruit of cheap labour, it was achieved in the blood of the poor; the have nots, the down-trodden.

The poor and economically exploited class found life unbearable. They found themselves completely rejected by God; Yahweh became abstract. He was perceived as the property of the rich and the protec-



tor of this ruthless, barbaric minority ruling class.

Here the prophet depicts a society that is torn apart; a stratified society based on the exploitation of man by man; where a brother sells a brother, where there is no respect for human life.

During all this blasphemy they were confident that Yahweh — the God of history would protect them. They thought that God was their sole property which could be manipulated at any given time. And this was an assault upon God's unique nature. God would not only withdraw his protection from them, but will see to it that the entire system was destroyed. In Israel, honesty was sacrificed to profit, the poor turned into pawns of the commercial racket.

It was during these 'happy and prosperous' days among the 'haves' that Yahweh raised within the Jewish community his own earthy divine instrument, Amos — to declare His judgement upon this greedy capitalist — inclined class.

"Enough is enough: thus says the Lord." Amos warned Israel about God's imminent divine judgement. He charged her with crime against humanity, brutal war policies, slave trading and pitilessness. Israel was charged with rejecting God's law and for silencing God's prophets. Thus, her expansionist militarist policies brought God's wrath upon her.

It was during these revelation that Amos was branded a revolutionary agitator. His divine message became a threat to the status quo. Consequently, he was silenced, banned from preaching the God's Gospel in Israel. But, Amos never compromised his principles, and the divine judgement could not be reversed. Israel was doomed.

Comrades and friends, considering the strength of forces of darkness, as represented by the inhuman apartheid system in our country — South Africa, the hour in our region is dark, and it might get darker.

We are called upon to persuade the entire international community to get out of this racist white babylon, because she is about to fall. Her violent and unholy days are numbered. She has to be completely isolated.

are still courting her; enjoying her bloody fine wine. May the divine fires of freedom consume them too. As God's chosen people we declare God's judgement upon them too.

The unbearable wickedness of that regime has reached the ears of Yahweh, it has reached the holy of holies — the God of history; the God of our fore-fathers — The God of Tshaka, Sekukuni, Moshoeshoe, Hintsa, Makana; the God who always intervenes on behalf of the underdog, the down-trodden — is intervening in person.

Let us tell the racist rulers of the white Babylon that the precious stone houses they are having; the fine sweet wine they are drinking are all short-lived.

If God is the God of history; if Yahweh is the God of our fore-fathers; If God is the God who always sides with the weak, the outcast; it thus stands to reason that God in South Africa is on our side. Yahweh is on the side of the ANC and the Frontline States. We walk with God.

If God is on our side, Who can defeat us? Neither natural ability, military equipment nor outstanding courage of the racist white Babylon will stand on our divine march, We are the

past, the present and the future.

No genuine democratic minded people will mourn the fall of the Pretoria regime. The lamentation over her is and will be uttered only by the imperialists, the blood suckers, the agents and the forces of darkness. They are the brutal people who are reaping dividends from the racist system. The children of God have to rejoice over this judgement.

As we mark the 75th Anniversary, as members of this glorious movement with the democratic minded people of the international community — we are commissioned to turn racist South Africa up side down proclaiming God's divine judgement upon the white Babylon.

We have been endowed with the holy spirit. God has rightly chosen us to "bring good news to the poor, to heal the broken hearted, to announce the release of captives and freedom to all political prisoners. He has sent us to comfort all who mourn; to give joy and peace instead of grief."

We take this opportunity to pay homage to the people of Zambia and the nations' able leader for their solidarity and truly Christian and unwavering contribution to the struggle of S.A. and Namibia. Without your dedication, the political mood in this region could not be what it is today.

We salute the international community for its positive contribution. We thank the front-line states, the OAU, the UNO, the World Council of Churches, the Zambia Council of Churches, and the Lutheran World Federation and many other progressive organisations.

MY CALL TO MINISTRY

I grew up within the oppressed community, as part of that community where I fully discovered Yahweh's call to be one of his divine earthly instruments. I realised the Church ill-preparedness and reluctance to take up this prophetic witness, to identify with the oppressed, the down-trodden. It was not prepared and ready to be Christ-like, it was not prepared to proclaim the Good News of the Kingdom of God.

In 1980 I registered as a theological student at St. Bedes College in Umtata. What shocked me was how the structural sin of apartheid had already pervaded our college, which reflected how much the Church has, unfortunately also lived as part and in support of this sin. These are some of the examples:

- a) Spying by students for the staff. Most students involved had academic problems and this proved to be their hope for ordination.
- b) Theological courses were abstract — The courses were not contextualised and they failed to relate to our rich historical culture of religious worship and the obtaining political situation in the country. Jesus ceased to be the advocate and liberator of the oppressed, but the protector of the oppressor, and this was a distortion of the Gospel.
- c) Some students spied for the Trankeian Security — The entire college was monitored and our prayers were reported to the security.

The ANC Chaplain, Reverend Fumanekile Ncutshe Gqiba relates his call to Church ministry, his subsequent political involvement and joining the ANC in exile.



It was within these socio-political factors that I decided to challenge the status-quo. And this work started right at the college, which in the name of Christ had to be turned upside down.

Although very few black students secretly supported and encouraged this religious witness, but the majority including all white students branded this trend as political agitation and marxist. In one of our hottest meetings, one white student stood up and accused me of being a political prophet of doom, asking how I reconciled marxist tendencies with church ministry.

The holy struggle was tough and painful, but God was on our side, Subsequently, the entire staff and student body began to see the light, and find meaning in liberating message of the Gospel.

The Gospel started assuming its meaning by among others the commemoration of historical political events. However, this led to a confrontation between the message of the true Gospel and the 'state' and 'Church' theology which sought to justify the sinful and corrupt system of apartheid. A political crisis was inevitable.

When it finally exploded I was a student at the University of Transkei and I was fetched from there for interrogation about events at St. Bedes. I was asked about my visits to St. Bedes. my past political activities there, about 'political' prayers and my involvement with the SRC at UNITRA.

The looming political crisis reached its peak with the introduction of a new unqualified and reactionary principal at St. Bedes in



1982. He was a karate expert from Port Elizabeth. He was anti-liberation theology and tried to suppress the democratic church movement sweeping St. Bedes. I was singled out for manipulating the college (the staff and students) for my own political ends. The political crisis deepened, St. Bedes was in turmoil. The new principal was opposed by the staff, the majority of the student body including the white students.

He wrote to Bishops in South Africa distorting the events and truth about what was happening at St. Bedes. In one of his letters, he asked the then Arch-Bishop of Cape town Phillip Russel to withdraw me from the college because he as the principal was convinced that I was not called by God to ministry.

In his evidence, he alleged that, I used the college as a transit base for the ANC. His request was rejected. The political turmoil at St. Bedes was worrying the Anglican church, as a result delegations and individuals were sent to investigate the cause of the problems. The student body asked for the removal of the principal and he was replaced by a progressive and much more enlightened principal.

In 1982 I finished my theological studies at St. Bedes and I moved to the University of Transkei (UNITRA) in 1983. In

I felt very frustrated and angry, perhaps I was too much impatient. At the same time threats from racist security police were mounting, hence I decided to leave South Africa to do research at Lesotho University.

UNITRA we were confronted by a very corrupt pro-Matanzima Students Representative Council. After relentless political spade work at UNITRA, the SRC was replaced by a progressive one in which I became a publicity secretary.

When I left UNITRA in 1983, there was a completely democratic SRC accepted by other universities in South Africa. UNITRA had also among other academic institutions become a bastion of political activity. I was ordained in late 1983 and became a curate at St. John's Church in Crawford, Cape Town.

In 1984 both UNITRA and St. Bedes were once again in the lime light of political turmoil. St. Bedes was closed and all non Transkeian students and lecturers deported. UNITRA also experience the same fate with many students detained. Once again I was implicated, although no more at the university. The then minister of education in the Transkei, Bhubhu linked the upheavals to an educational

tour that the SRC organised to Maseru in 1983.

Bathandwa Nondo, an intimate friend that I was with in the UNITRA SRC was brutally murdered by the Transkeian police in 1985, while Zamkhaya (Slender) Mbalu a UNITRA SRC president in 1984 has since disappeared without any trace. In Cape town I became a victim of constant police harassment and intimidation, however, this did not deter me from my revolutionary duties as a priest. I found little political support from my fellow priests whose main pre-occupation had become petty squabbles about positions in the church.

I felt very frustrated and angry, perhaps I was too much impatient. At the same time threats from racist security police were mounting, hence I decided to leave South Africa to do research at Lesotho university. I was finally impounded by Lesotho security police on the allegations of running ANC cells in the country. I went through gruelling torture, where I was forced to strip naked. The humiliation of being beaten up in bare nakedness, brutal methods of interrogation will always remind me how despicable apartheid is, where the pride of an independent African states can even be relegated to being a police force of the hateful apartheid regime.

THE CALL OF ISLAM

BACKGROUND TO ISLAM

We as Muslims in South Africa find ourselves in a unique situation in that our society is one dominated by apartheid, i.e. the division and economic exploitation of the people on the basis of race and colour. This is the one reality that is most pervading in our country amongst the majority of the population.

Of course, to us in The Call of Islam, this is totally against the concept of tauhid and against the Quran and Sunnah. It has become apparent to us that for Islam to make any impact amongst the population of South Africa — which is overwhelmingly non-Muslim — then the preaching/teaching of Allah's tauhid will have to address this basic form of evil. This is a definite challenge we face.

The Muslim community makes up only 1, 3% of the South African population. Since the first arrival of muslims 333 years ago, Islam has been preserved through the dedication of illustrious personalities. Over the last few decades, however, the adherence of Muslims to the Deen of Islam has waned with the more concerted Westernisation of South Africa. This is the second challenge that we face in South Africa.

But we have seen in 1985 that muslims have found new meaning in Islam (particularly in Cape Town) with the assertion of Islam by The Call of Islam and others as a definite force politically, as well as in all other spheres of life. A basic understanding of Islam

"The unity of the oppressed which is vital can only be achieved by engaging the enemy in all possible ways — where true Moslems, true Christians and all progressive organisations stand

shoulder to shoulder to break down the granite wall of apartheid and open the doors of freedom to each and every soul in this country".

(Iman Hassan Solomon)



THE CALL OF ISLAM

The Call of Islam was formed in 1984. It was formed to fulfil our tasks as outlined in the first part. To summarise:—

- To spread an understanding of Islam amongst non-Muslim especially as it relates to the way in which the tauhid of Allah is violated in South Africa.
- To bring Muslim back on to the path of Allah by making them conscious of their duties, especially in so far as it concerns the establishment of a just society.

The Call of Islam was formed by prominent members of the community, including members of the ulama in Cape Town. From Cape Town The Call of Islam spread to other parts of South Africa. The way in which we organise is to form halaqat in different

towns and suburbs. These halaqat are at the same time the basic unit of Islamic Education and training as well as the working units in the community. To co-ordinate the work of The Call of Islam in a region, we have a regional shura, with a national co-ordinator facilitating national contact.

Alhamdulillah, in the short lifespan of The Call of Islam, we have been able to achieve much of our objectives. The challenge we now face is to build on this and to deepen our work so that ultimately Islam may triumph in this part of the world.

We see ourselves taking on these challenges, Insha-Allah.



Go forth lightly prepared and well-equipped. And strive in the path of Allah with your wealth and your selves.

(Quran)



LETTER TO ISLAMIC COMMUNITY

Shaik Gabier

Dear Brother/Sister,
Assalaamu alaykum wa rahmatullahi wa barakatuh!

I pray that this letter reaches you whilst you are in the best of health and imbued with the determination to work for Islam, Insha Allah.

I am writing this letter to you from Lusaka, the Headquarters of the African National Congress, the vanguard of our struggle for justice and for the liberation of our country. You may find it strange that an alim should be writing to you from the HQ of the ANC. This is because so many of us are victims of a deliberate campaign of distortion against the ANC. We are tired of being warned against imaginary communists threats whilst our children are being killed on the streets of South Africa.

The Muslims inside South Africa are, Alhamdulillah, increasingly becoming active combatants in the struggle for justice and have in greater numbers identified with the ANC. We have done so because of the ANC track record, and because the Freedom Charter to which the ANC is committed, provides the surest guarantee of the preservation of our Din and culture in a liberated South Africa.

Above all, we have done so because the masses of South Africa recognises the ANC as the custodian of their aspirations and there is no way that Islam is going to survive in South Africa if does not identify with the oppressed. It is only through being united with the 'mustadafin fil ard' i.e. the oppressed on the earth, that we will be able to bring about the downfall of the white racist regime. In their destruction lies the hope of our people and the future of Islam.

We enclose a copy of the Freedom Charter to which the ANC and all of us are committed, and it has met with acceptance by a number of senior ulema inside South Africa. We appeal to you to support our struggle as commanded by Allah in the Quran:

O' You who believe! stand up firmly
as witness bearers for Allah in
Justice, though this may be against
yourselves . . .

We assure you of our commitment to bring about a solution where justice and the noblest of our Islamic traditions shall prevail. Please write to us for further information and offers of support.

We pray for the Guidance from Allah at all times for indeed 'the only true guidance is the Guidance of Allah.'

Wassalaam.
Your Brother in Islam.
Shaikh Abdul Hamid Gabier
(Former Chairman, Muslim Judicial Council)



APARTHEID IS

- A CRIME AGAINST

Extracts from churches' declarations

CHURCH MATTERS

It is a dangerous thing to preach and work towards the Christian ideals of brotherly love and peace in apartheid SA. Under the third state of emergency the church suffered under a state crackdown which has no precedent in SA. In its April 1987 report, the Detainees' Parents' Support Committee (DPSC) estimated that 1,3 percent of 1986 emergency detainees had been clergymen or church workers. According to DPSC figures, this works out to about 240 detainees. About 60 people closely associated with the church ministry are currently in detention, according to figures supplied by the SA Council of Churches (SACC) and the SA Catholic Bishops' Conference (SACBC). State harassment has also included the deportation of foreign churches, the searching of homes (in one case, the home of the Catholic Bishop of Oudtshoorn, Edward Adams) and the seizure of confidential documents. In one well-publicised case, the general secretary of the SACBC, Fr Smangalis Mkhathshwa, alleged in papers before the Pretoria Supreme Court that he had been tortured and humiliated for 30 hours while in detention.

New Nation 17.6.87

THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 1968.

FROM: A MESSAGE TO THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA'

"If the Church fails to witness for the true Gospel of Jesus Christ it will find itself witnessing for a false Gospel. If we seek to reconcile Christianity with the so called South African way of life (or any other way), we shall find that we have allowed an idol to take the place of Christ. Where the Church thus abandons its obedience to Christ, it ceases to be the Church; it breaks the links between itself and the Kingdom of God. We confess, therefore that we are under an obligation to live in accordance with the Christian understanding of man and of community, even if this be contrary to some of the customs and laws of this country."

"We believe that we are under an obligation to state that our country and the Church are under God's judgement and that Christ is inevitably a threat to much that is called 'the South African way of life.'"

METHODIST CHURCH OF SOUTHERN AFRICA, 1982.

Resolution on apartheid.

"Conference affirms that Apartheid is a negation of:—

"1. The dignity with which God has endowed man in creating him in his own image

"2. the work of Jesus Christ through his coming into the world to live, die and rise for mankind, thus freeing it from bondage for fullness of life,

"3. The reconciliation effected by Christ between man and God, and man and man.

"Apartheid is not simply a socio-political policy, but a sinful contradiction of the Gospel which can not be justified on biblical or theological grounds and is, therefore, an ideology which the Methodist Church rejects as heresy."

PRETORIA OUTLAW'S CALLS FOR RELEASE OF DETAINEES

... Regulations published in a special Government Gazette on Friday were described as draconian and a desperate attempt by the Government to stamp out peaceful protest for the release of detainees. The Commissioner of Police, General Johan Coetzee, issued an order which makes it illegal to:

- Incite or encourage anyone to support a call for the release of detainees. This includes making a statement, written or oral or by telegram.
- To encourage others to sign or support a petition in which a government member is called on to free detainees.
- To fill in coupons to be used in support of a call on the Government to release detainees.
- To attend or advertise a gathering which would honour detainees or protest their detention.
- To perform any act as a symbolic token of solidarity with or in honour of detainees. Newspapers may not publish reports or advertisements inviting people to attend meetings for detainees.

Star 13.4.87

LUTHERAN WORLD FEDERATION - 1977 - The 6th Assembly in Dar-es-Salaam.

"Under normal circumstances Christians may have different opinions in political questions. However political and social systems, may become so perverted and oppressive that it is consistent with the confession to reject them and to work for changes. We especially appeal to our white member Churches in Southern Africa to recognize that the situation in southern African constitute a status confessionis. This means that, on the basis of faith and in order to manifest the unity of the Church, Churches would publicly and unequivocally reject the existing apartheid system."



A HERESY

INST HUMANITY

aration on the sin of apartheid.

A member of the Soweto Students' Congress (Sosco) was shot and killed by three gunmen in full view of his teachers and fellow pupils at Senaoane Junior Secondary School in Soweto early on Friday morning. Mr Nkosinathi Solomon Shabangu (20) of Dlamini 2, who also served on the Student Representative Council (SRC) was killed in what is widely believed to be a continuation of violence between two warring political organisations ... three men, one wearing a balaclava, entered the school premises and fired shots at Mr Shabangu, who was at that stage discussing the half-yearly examinations with some teachers.

An eye-witness, who refused to be identified, said Mr Shabangu collapsed and died after he was struck by a bullet in the back. 'As he was lying on the ground and foaming at the mouth, another shot rang out. One of the men fired another shot at close range in his ear apparently to make sure he was dead. It was terrifying.' The three escaped in a bakery van which appeared on the scene shortly after the shooting.

Sowetan 8.6.87

WORLD ALLIANCE OF REFORMED CHURCHES, 1982.

Racism and South Africa — Statement adopted by the General council in Ottawa on 25 August 1982.

"The Gospel confronts racism, which is in its very essence a form of idolatry. Racism fosters a false sense of supremacy, it denies the common humanity of believers, and it denies Christ reconciling, humanising work. It systematizes oppression, domination and injustice. As such the struggle against racism, where it is found, in covert and overt forms, is a responsibility laid upon the Church by the Gospel of Jesus Christ in every country and society.

"We feel duty bound by the Gospel to raise our voice and stand by the oppressed 'None of the brethren can be injured, despised, rejected, abused or in any way offended by us,

without at the same time injuring, despising, and abusing Christ by the wrongs we do . . . We can not love Christ without loving him in the brethren.' — Calvin.

"Therefore, the General Council declares that this situation constitute a status confessions for our churches, which means that we regard this an an issue on which it is not possible to differ without jeopardizing the integrity of our common confession as Reformed Churches.

"We declare with Black Reformed Christians of South Africa that apartheid ('seperate development') is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it a travesty of the Gospel and, in its persistent disobedience to the Word of God, a theological heresy."

STATE OF EMERGENCY Pretoria's Death Squads

Imbali residents claim 10 children were killed and seven injured in the township last weekend after the funeral of Mr Mbongeni Maiola. The police have confirmed two deaths. According to residents, about 10 youths, aged between 15 and 20, were shot and stabbed to death by six men. Residents said two bodies were later found on a road and two more under a bridge ... A witness to the killings said he saw a group of youths chanting and singing at about 2 pm. He said they were unarmed and on their way home. 'Suddenly about six men moved towards the children. A white car and a white kombi approached by the two vehicles at the sides and the men in front and behind. The men started shooting at random. The youths fled in all directions as the men continued shooting and stabbing those who had fallen,' he said. The superintendent of Edendale Hospital, Dr Peter Evans, said seven youths were admitted with gunshot and stab wounds.

Daily Dispatch 3.6.87

A 16-year-old Uitenhage UDF member, who emerged from hiding a few days before he and two friends were gunned down by an unknown assailant, was buried last Saturday. Tembinkosi Bheda went into hiding after the declaration of the second state of emergency, according to his sister, Winnie. She said their family has been constantly harassed by a vigilante gang who demanded that the family produce Tembinkosi or face the destruction of their home. She said that according to eyewitnesses on the night of Thursday May 21, a number of gunmen suspected to be vigilantes — emerged from a blue Volkswagen Golf vehicle and fired shots at Tembinkosi and his friends. 'We were told that three of them had been hit, while two others managed to escape,' she said. A Uitenhage police spokesman confirmed the incident.

New Nation 4.6.87

THE ALLIANCE OF BLACK REFORMED CHRISTIANS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA 'ABRESCA CHARTER' 1981.

"(b) Christ is Lord of all life even in those situations where his Lordship is not readily recognized. It is our task in life not only to recognize the Lordship of Christ but also to proclaim it."

1.2 Declaration

"We, as members of ABRESCA, unequivocally declare that apartheid is a sin, and that the moral and theological justification of it is a travesty of the Gospel, a betrayal of the Reformed tradition, and a heresy."

THE FREEDOM CHARTER

We, the People of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter.

And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by law against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the Banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No-one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No-one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people;

Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province, and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND OF CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people;

Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no-one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalisation shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, crèches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished, and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation — not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

**'THESE FREEDOMS WE WILL FIGHT FOR, SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES,
UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY.'**



WE ARE THE CHURCH



N. Gqiba

THERE is a tendency to regard the church as buildings of religious worship or church prominent figures, this interpretation denies the essence of the church as the movement of people, the worshipping assembly called forth by God, the ultimate authority in human life and the ultimate refuge amid all perils of historical existence. It is the prophetic faith of God's people which is a direct response to God's calling in Isaiah 6 verse 8 "whom shall I send? Who will be our messenger?"

The ultimate mission of the church centres around the Kingdom of God. It is the ultimate boat from where the liberating Gospel shall be rightly proclaimed.

Revolutionary disciples are drawn together, united in, and, by the holy spirit, God — the Alpha and the Omega — commands them to challenge the evils of this world and turn it upside down. He commands them to stand up now in his majesty and Glory and crush the wicked where they stand. He strongly rebukes Job who in his passivity and pessimism accuses him of the wrongs of this world and of being an unjust God. (Job 40. 7-14).

Then if we (you and I) as the church God's chosen people; people set apart by God for God are to become a true witness to his Kingdom, then apartheid, like Nazism in the 1930's has become a challenge to our faith, an insult to the liberating words of the Gospel. Apartheid has become a threat to God's divine earthly instrument in their hundreds, are being depleted. That divine

march of all people of faith has become not so much a bed of roses — it means suffering, pains and death. This grim reality has put the church at the crossroads of truth and evil.

Kairos theologians, in their persistent work had also come to this crossroad — which side to choose? This moment of truth in the wavering of the church in its faith has even found varying interpretation like, which side to support? Which is a safe and comfortable way of claiming faith and shunning the hazards of its witness. The real questions facing us are: are we to spare ourselves, are we to shun away from that responsibility of riding our country of that evil system? No, our faith, our conscience demands of us more than that.

We are the church, the recipients of God's message to proclaim the good news of liberation. We are the light of the world which cannot be hidden, our prophetic witness must therefore shine before people, so that in our actions they may see the good things which the church does and praise our Father in heaven.

In the conflict in South Africa we cannot be indifferent, the church cannot be neutral. We are commissioned to go out into the world and sincerely challenge and destroy all that is not of God. There is no middle road. If it means to pay the highest price — death — so it should be. We are indebted to suffer in this hostile world in the name of our


Lord whom the prophet Isaiah announces "it was the will of the Lord that his servant should grow like a plant taking root in dry ground. He had no dignity or beauty . . . we despised him and rejected him; he endured suffering and pain . . ." (Isaiah 53: 1FF.

Therefore, proclaiming God's word, we are healed in His suffering. We endure the punishment that He suffered; we are made whole by the blows that He received. This is surely the ultimate price of salvation.

However from a christian point of view war is not of God's making. It distorts and destroys what "God saw as Good", Man, His supreme creation. Nevertheless christians are human beings who live within given societies. The church is not found in a vacuum or a desolate island, it is ministering within this hostile world, at a given time of human history. Therefore, the church cannot be immune, or above historical events.

The World Council of Churches' meeting about two decades ago, in 1968, made this call to the people of South Africa. "We believe that the word of God is not bound, and that it will move with power in these days, whether men hear or whether they refuse to hear. And so we wish to put to every christian person in this country what we ourselves are bound to face each day, to whom or what, are you truly giving your first loyalty, your primary commitment?"

Continued on page 24



A CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH

WHAT CHARACTERISES THE STATE CHURCH CONFRONTATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?

In the first place the church state confrontation deals with the whole theological approach to apartheid. The SACC, its member churches and the Catholic Bishops Conference have over the years decried apartheid as unchristian, immoral and inhuman. Whereas, the state has always claimed to be a christian government representing a christian people and operating on christian norms. The conflict starts exactly at this point. The churches decries the whole basis of apartheid as wrong and that it can not be supported.

The second level of the conflict is with regard to the support rendered to the victims of apartheid. The SACC and the Catholic Bishops Conference have repeatedly stated that it is part of their christian duty to support the victims of a system of oppression by all legitimate means, while on the otherhand, the state is in fundamental disagreement with this position and has constantly taken measures to make that support as difficult as possible.

The third is in the sphere of the churches right to protest in public as recently shown by the state decree prohibiting people from campaigning for the release of detainees. Well, church leaders and in particular, Bishop Desmond Tutu have been equivocal that they shall not obey such a decree, but will

INTERVIEW WITH BEYERS NAUDE'

continue to call for the release of detainees inside and outside worship service.

Another sphere of confrontation is at the level of emergency regulations. A number of ministers and priests, including the laity have been detained without trial, and a considerable number is still in detention among them, Father Smangaliso Mkhatswa the Secretary General of the SACBC; Sister Bernard Ncube of the Catholic Church, Reverend Maja, of the Northern Transvaal Council of Churches.

WHAT HAS BEEN THE IMPACT OF THIS CONFRONTATION TO THE CHURCH?

I think it forces the churches to rethink the relevance of its message, the meaningfulness of its solidarity with the oppressed; and to ask itself, to what degree has the church neglected its duty? to what degree must the church contribute much more than it has done up to now? So, it has become a soul searching process for the churches, to ask themselves whether they are relevant, whether they are sincere and honest in their verbal pronouncements and whether they are willing to bear the cross for the sake of the liberation of the people.

HAS THIS SOUL SEARCHING TAKEN THE CHURCH A STEP FURTHER TOWARDS A TRUE RELIGIOUS WITNESS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

Only a part of the church has been taken a step further. There are many ministers, priests and congregations who have not yet taken that step. One must at the same time not forget that there many churches that have not taken a clear public stand towards apartheid. I refer here to the Epentecostal Churches, Baptist Churches some of the charismatic groups and the Apostolic Faith Mission. These churches have never expressed any public criticism of apartheid.

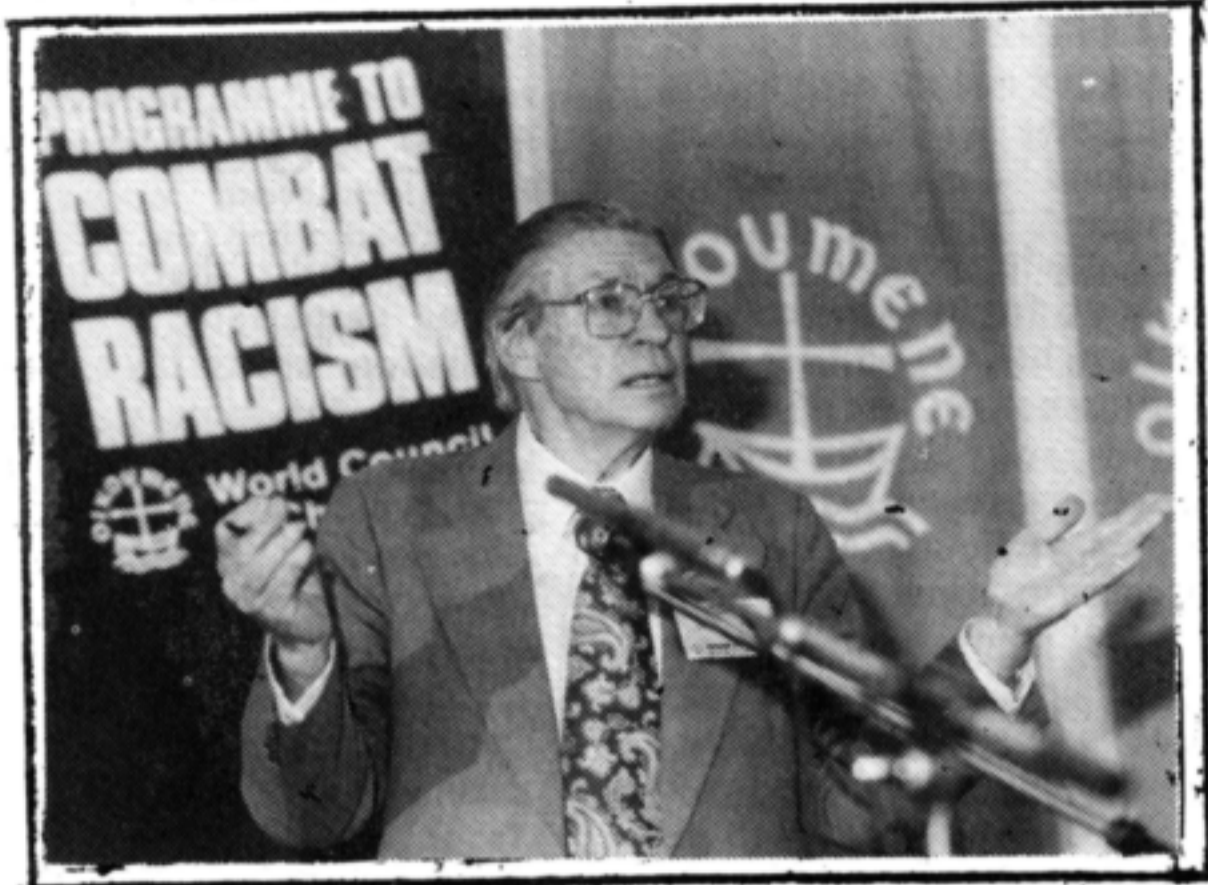
I do not think these churches will be challenged by these resolutions because they are not members of the SACC and not active members of any world Christian body, so they quietly keep themselves apart. In addition there are the three white DRC' churches who are also not members of the SACC. So a large segment of the christian churches in South Africa is either not involved or not supporting the liberation struggle. And this must always be taken into account.



IS IT NOT THE TASK OF THOSE WHO ARE INVOLVED TO MOBILISE THESE OTHER SECTORS OF THE RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY?

Naturally, one is grateful for every sign of growth, of willingness by any religious organisation to become more relevant and to sacrifice for the cause of justice. There is a small growth which we must be grateful for, but on the other hand, one must not raise false expectations. The institutional church in South Africa is simply too much divided, there are too many denominations, and within these denominations we have different political and ideological views. So, I think one must be careful not to expect the churches themselves to make a decisive contribution in the struggle for liberation.

At the same time, one must be grateful for the individual church leaders, who are speaking on behalf of the church and, on behalf of the oppressed community, like Bishop Desmond Tutu, Dr. Allan Boesak, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and Francois Bill who was in detention for forty weeks. There is a number of other church leaders like Arch Bishop Dennis Hurley — who have been willing to give support, who have clearly shown their conviction to the struggle for liberation. They are the signs of hope in the church and that sector of the church which is neglecting its duty.



Beyers Naude — Ex Secretary General of the SACC .

So, in all I am saying we should not place too much hope on the church as an institution that it will be able to bring about meaningful liberation on its own, they will definitely not. But, individual church leaders, and groups of christians within these churches are absolutely deeply involved in the struggle for liberation.

IN YOUR OWN VIEW, HOW DO YOU SEE THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE CHURCH IN THE STRUGGLE?

I believe the church must become more deeply involved in the struggle of the workers for the recognition of their rights. The church must become more actively involved in supporting and guiding the youth who are in the fore front of the struggle and of the quest for liberation. The

church must be willing to take many more actions in defiance of unjust laws and if necessary breaking those laws.

With regard to the issue of violence, and the armed struggle of the people, the church as a body which is seeking peace can not support violence in principle, but in the situation of an already existing violence as is the case in South Africa, the church must clearly state where it stands. It must take up a stand in principle on the side of those who defend themselves against the violence of the government, because their cause is just. And, this is where I think the church must give a much more clearer witness than it has done up to now. Although the church can never glorify armed struggle, but in a situation of armed conflict, where it has become a bitter and painful reality, the church must take the side of the oppressed.



PCR CONFERENCE — WCC

THE YOUTH SPEAK OUT

Mr Moderator, it is an honour for me to exercise our right to address this conference on behalf of the youth of South Africa. Much has been said about events in South Africa and because of time constraints I shall move on to talk about issues that confront the church and which we find deeply disturbing.

We call upon the church to take sides in the struggle for liberation. This call may come across as strange to many of us who believe that the church had in fact already taken sides. This, Mr moderator is a myth. The church continues to merely identify with the oppressed, to make a preferential option for the poor, to support the poor.

But, for the church to become a credible institution it has to become part of the oppressed, it has to become the poor in its involvement in the struggle. It must take the sides in the conflict with the oppressed and move beyond the arrogance of refereeing the morality of the means that the oppressed have adopted to secure their liberation.

For how long can the church hide behind what it calls 'prophetic distance?' For how long is it going to be the fire-fighters that pour water over the anger of our people? For how long is it going to hide their own cowardice and inability to get involved behind flowery phrases such as reconciliation? As if the rapist can be reconciled with the

raped, whilst that crime is being perpetrated! Reconciliation starts from one side, in the same way that bridges don't get built from the centre. One starts at a side and the Church must now decide which side it is going to start.

Today we challenge the church to abandon the claims that it is in the forefront of the struggle for freedom. The truth is that, the vast majority of our resisting people are Christians but they do not take to the streets because they are Christians, or because the church has asked them to do so. They are resisting because they are tired of being oppressed and because they are organized by the secular forces under the leadership of patriotic and democratic forces. Indeed, if the Church could have its way, then the street battles would probably come to end because they disturb the comfort of ordinary parish life.

The church also claims a deep commitment to the struggle by virtue of its statements, declarations and the involvement of church leaders such as Beyers Naude, Allan Boesak and Desmond Tutu. The truth is that these people are not the church and neither are the masses of Christians within the obtaining structures the church.

The church is a powerful far too powerful bureaucracy with its moderamen, synodical councils and bishops conferences who

have to be dragged along with the people so that they may not be co-opted by the other side. The church cannot continue to hide its own darkness behind the lamps of the Naudes, the Boesaks and the Tutus. This is what we mean when we say that the church must take sides.

The church conveniently talks about liberation movements when the people of our country have long since decided that there is only one liberation movement the ANC. For as long as the church sees two instead of one it can continue in its prophetic distance of irrelevant neutrality. They can draw courage from the supposed divisions and continue standing on the side lines for the fear of antagonizing the other side.

The referee doesn't have to get dirty and he can still make 'chommies' with whoever turns out to be the winner at the end of the game. Mr moderator, an outsider can say that the absence of certain groups from the terrain of struggle is the result of a conspiracy by the liberal or bourgeois press, but the church inside South Africa cannot.

The truth is that our people recognize the African National Congress as the source of their hope for a new South Africa and the inspiration to continue the struggle to attain a non racial, non sexist and democratic South Africa. The term 'liberation movements' is alien to our people, and if the Church is truly of



the people then the term must become alien to it as well.

A good few questions were raised about the future of the church in a liberated South Africa. We challenge the Church to stop asking for guarantees, and to work for liberation because people are suffering out there, because they are being hanged out there, because they are being dehumanized out there. The church must know that what happens to the body of Christ in a liberated South Africa will be determined by what the body of Christ did in an enslaved South Africa. The future is being shaped today in our factories, in our streets, at our graveyards, and in their prisons. If the body of Christ is a part of this present, then, and only then, will it be a part of that future.

The church must commit itself to the struggle for liberation, but it must do so

in a humble manner. We cannot dictate the responses of our people or of the liberation movement, but can, if we truly become a church of the people then become a decision maker alongside with the other progressive forces. The church must understand that Christianity, however distorted, may have had a monopoly over the problems in our country but there is no way through which it can monopolize the solutions as well.

The Church has repented for its silence and even for the theological support that it has afforded apartheid over years. That is all very well. What it needs to understand, nevertheless, throughout those dark years, secular elements gave their lives for our country and its freedom. Communists languished and died in the prisons of our country

or in exile. We cannot afford to walk too haughtily in our religious arrogance.

There are Muslims, Hindus, Atheists, Jews and African traditionalists in South Africa and the christian faith can not pretend that these religions are not there. We are tired of the church wanting to Christianize everything. We are tired because the blood of our children, of people of all faith and religions have flown in the struggle to create a new South Africa. Therefore, they are in South Africa to stay, and indifference to their existence can less contribute to the building of a future free democratic and non racial South Africa.

FROM THE YOUTH

PCR CONFERENCE



Beyers Naude addressing the Conference

at the ANC creche during excursion.

Continued from page 17

Is it to a subjection of mankind, an ethnic group, a human tradition a political idea; or to Christ? it is bleeding and is torn apart

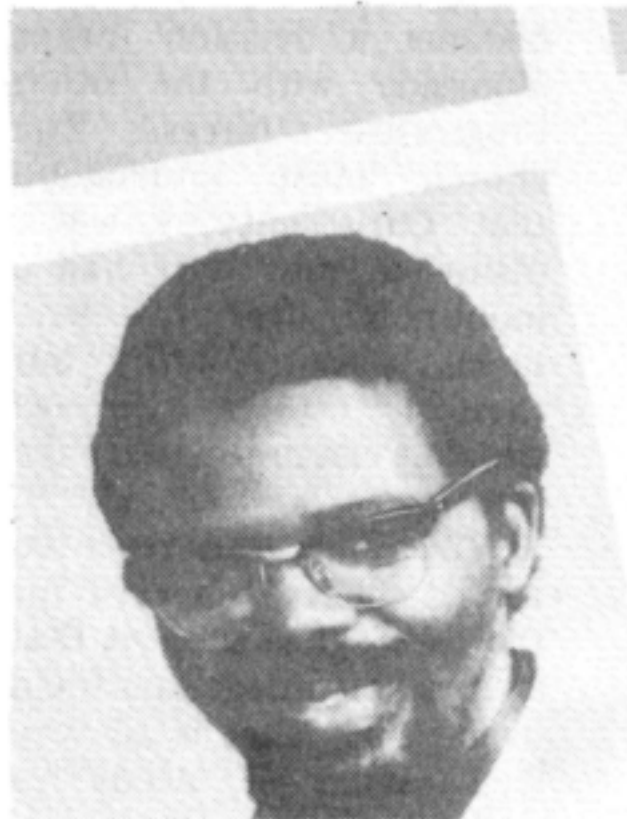
Challenges facing all people of faith today have deepened. They have become more urgent and grave, characterised by a tidal wave of violence. The solution may seem too distant and yet so near. South Africa is at war; it is bleeding and is torn apart. One of the central questions confronting christians on the question of violence and armed struggle is: when are they expected to take up arms to destroy the power of satan and to bring about what is of God? The just war theory takes into account the earthly nature of the church.

In coming to a convincingly just and christian decision the following questions be looked into:

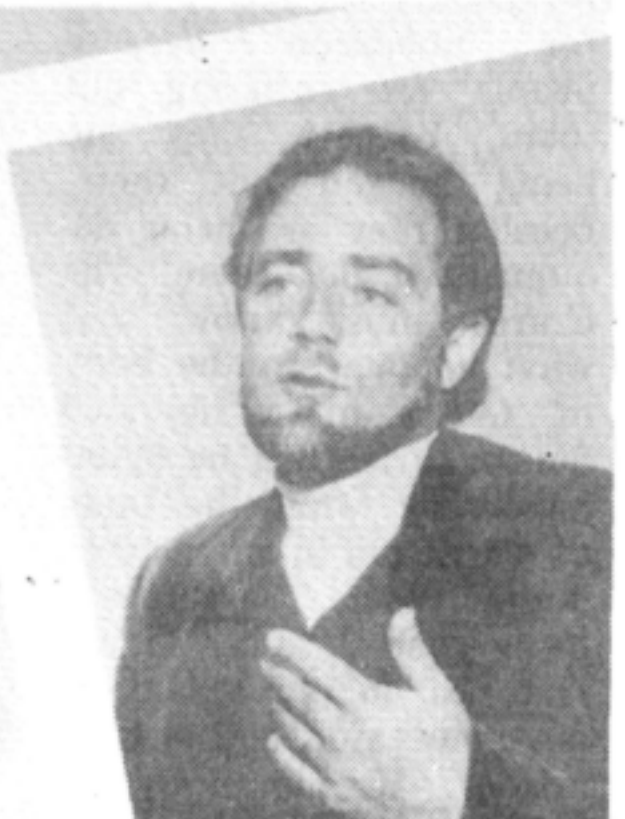
1. Have all possible peaceful channels of negotiation been exhausted?
2. Will such a war ensure a minimum lost of human life comparatively speaking?
3. Will the war benefit the intended justified cause?
4. Will it be short and successful?
5. Does it enjoy the overwhelming support and participation of people including the international community?

The history of the ANC from 1912 to 1960 signifies the patients of people pushed beyond limits. Comrade President O.R. Tambo highlights this point in a meeting with the delegation of the Roman Catholic Church, when he said:

Challenges facing all people of faith today have deepened. They have become more urgent and grave, characterised by a tidal wave of violence. The solution may seem too distant and yet so near. South Africa is at war; it is bleeding and is torn apart.



Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa out on Bail.



Rev. Francois Bill released from detention and banned.

“The ANC persued a policy of non violence even when we were being attacked by the regime — it was unnatural! Even when we started experiencing nazism we struggled to be non-violent.”

The barbaric treatment, countless murders endured by our people with each days lifespan of the racist minority stands more than just a moral, political, Christian, and most human obligation to resort to violence by our people, it at the same time impells the urgency to destroy apartheid. The United Nations Organisation, the Organisation of African Unity, and other international organisations, similarly moved by the human degradation of apartheid decried this system a crime against humanity.

Thus, the Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe elaborating the hard and difficult choice of resorting to armed struggle emphasised that the ANC has consistently followed a policy of non-violence . . .

“They have conducted themselves peacefully at all times, regardless of government attacks and persecution against them, and despite all government inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war,. But the people’s patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices: submit or fight.

Continued on page 26



**PCR CONFERENCE
COMRADES
IN STRUGGLE
TOGETHER
IN CHRIST**



L. to R. — Dr Emilio Castro, Gen. Sec. WCC; O.R. Tambo President of ANC; Dr. N. Koshiy WCC and James Mutambirwa, PCR, WCC.



From page 24

That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

We of Umkhonto we Sizwe have always sought — as the liberation movement has sought — to achieve liberation, without bloodshed and civil clash. We do so still. We hope — even at this late hour — that our first actions will awaken everyone to a realisation of the disastrous situation to which the nationalist policy is leading.

In these actions, we are working in the best interests of all people of this country — black, brown and white — whose future happiness and well-being can not be attained without the overthrow of the Nationalist government, the abolition

of white supremacy and the winning of liberty, democracy and full national rights and equality of all people of this country.

We appeal for the support and encouragement of all those South Africans who seek the happiness and freedom of the people of this country.”

The stand taken by various religious and Christian international organisations to declare apartheid a heresy and a crime against God's creation, simply emphasises and signified that our's is a just and holy war, designed to destroy what is not of God. It is through us, in destroying the barbaric racist regime that God's divine power in action will be realised.

The power of the just and truly religious witness

in South Africa lies in our hands to proclaim the Lord's favourable year for the poor. It is in partnership with the poor, the down-trodden, the exploited and the underdog that our divine witness will find its true religious and christian expression. The church is called upon to judge and challenge the racist regime.

This is the message of our Lord:

- Proclaim God's judgement.
- Tell it that its satanic rule is short-lived.
- Educate all people about its idolatry.
- Isolate it.



WE MUST TAKE SIDES

COMRADE

CASSIUS MAKE

LAID

TO REST



Comrade Make was a member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. He was murdered by racist agents in Swaziland.

The full story in the next issue.



ANC DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

BEYERS NAUDE'

It is a clear message that the ANC recognises the value of the church and of religion; and of all people of faith to a make struggle for liberation in South Africa."

REV. MASHABA

I think that this is a very important step; as a Christian and as a minister of religion, I am only happy that this department has been established. I also had an opportunity to meet the minister who is responsible for the department. I hope they are going to work more for this idea even to the extent, I hope, of allowing some of us to come out to be chaplains in the movement.

I have realised that the ANC is not against christianity, it is not against religion — actually they grew up in Christianity. However, I understand that the struggle in South Africa needs that they be broad based. I am very excited about this idea as a minister of religion.

REV. F.F. GQIBA (ANC DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS)

"The formation of the Department of Religious Affairs is a historic event for us and all the fighting democratic forces in South Africa. It really projects the deep thinking and far sightedness of our leadership. I am convinced that the appointment of Reverend J.L. Dube, the first president of the ANC, its third President, Reverend Z.R. Mahabane and J.T. Gumede as the fourth was no accident of history."

"The ANC was in its formation inspired by the presence of religious people in its fold, and it still enjoys their support and active participation in the struggle for freedom. The communist accusations by the racist enemy against the ANC to divide and weaken the democratic movement will always be frustrated. The enemy's hatred of the religious community has been convincingly exposed, and its accusations have become empty slogans of no substance. The democratic minded people of South Africa will never be enslaved to racism, least the religious community. The liberating message of the Gospel can never be enslaved."

O.R. TAMBO ON CONSULTATIONS

"SOUTH AFRICA is a Christian society, and our people are drawn to the church by among others, that they believe the church understands the system and their sufferings. We place faith in the credibility of the church, in its concern for our people — the hungry. The Catholic Bishop's Conference has been an effective force over the years, and the Roman Catholic church, under the leadership of his Grace has contributed and continues to contribute to the democratic effort. This meeting is also a continuation of others, for example the one in 1984. It is one of the meetings we intend to hold with religious leaders, and we include the Moslem community.

"The primary purpose is to seek common understanding. The ANC never reaches the end of its analysis, and we always learn from such meetings. We hope it will be a different type of meeting, perhaps a turning point in the history of the struggle. There will perhaps be divergence of opinions, but there would be no reason for meeting if we agreed on everything. The point is to thin down areas of disagreement."



MODERATOR OF THE
METHODIST CHURCH IN
SOUTH AFRICA

REV. MASHABA

"I would definitely deny that because of the ANC/SACP Alliance, the ANC should be seen as a threat by the religious community. From the meeting we had with the ANC group, the individuals I have met and discussed with made me realise that they are very much in the Christian fold. And, in relation to the Communist Party I think it is everybody's right to relate to whoever he wants to. For instance, even some western countries do have relations with communist and socialist countries, and they do modify certain marxist ideas to fit their own conditions, so that I would see that kind of relationship as mutually reinforcing. It does not necessarily mean that the ANC is a communist organisation.

"The President, Mr O.R. Tambo made it very clear that the communist party is an independent body from the ANC. He did not say that they are communists. Also, President Kaunda in his opening speech in the conference admitted that he does not even know communism. These were tremendous speeches which threw light to this question."

"I have also read a bit of communist literature that I have come across, but that does not necessarily mean that I am following communism. I certainly believe that there are marxist ideas that can be used. I do not think there is anybody who can say that Marx said nothing which can be useful to people, but following him and practising marxism is another thing."

ON

THE

ANC



SACP

ALLIANCE

PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO

Beyers Naude

"The ANC has lived side by side with the Communist Party for decades. At the point the party was formed, some members of the ANC joined the communist party, and this happened throughout the years, membership has overlapped. The two organisations exist as separate bodies, each with its own programme and objectives.

"Our relations have not been without problems. In the Youth League, mid and late 40's some members were suing for the expulsion of the communist party members and I was one of them. We were defeated by the majority in the ANC. We had been wrong.

"But, how we see the communist party as the ANC; how I see it as a Christian; and I would speak as such anywhere. I have as president of the ANC enjoyed unquestionable loyalty of communists and non communists. I do not know who are members of the communist party in the ANC — they are all loyal ANC members. Even the 19/12 or whatever number the regime gives of what it says are communist party members in the National Executive Committee; this does not matter, they are ANC and they do what is expected of them as ANC members."

"We must never forget that in all the years that the ANC existed as a perfectly legal political organisation, nobody came forward to give support to the ANC except the SACP, and therefore, if the ANC says that they are not breaking their ties with SACP for the sake of expediency or to gain popularity, that should be clearly understood and accepted."

"I personally do not think that the alliance of the ANC with the SACP makes basically any difference to the support of the ANC among the oppressed in South Africa. In principle it makes no difference at all, because the ANC represents the vast aspirations of all democratic and patriotic forces in South Africa. And this is how the ANC is seen even by those who on ideological grounds will support another line. There is a recognition among a vast majority of the people that the ANC represents the major force to bring about a non-racial democratic rule in South Africa."

WHAT THEY SAID

PCR CONFERENCE — WCC

"Life has become so cheap"

"The killings, rapes and abductions of innocent people have become a tragic daily occurrence in Namibia. Life has become so cheap for the South African troops that are occupying Namibia. Sadism is today one of the main principles governing the behaviour of the occupation army. Hundreds of civilian victims killed in cold-blood by the racist troops that are reported as SWAPO guerilla casualties. The desecration of dead human bodies has become a favourite hobby for the racist soldiers in our country.

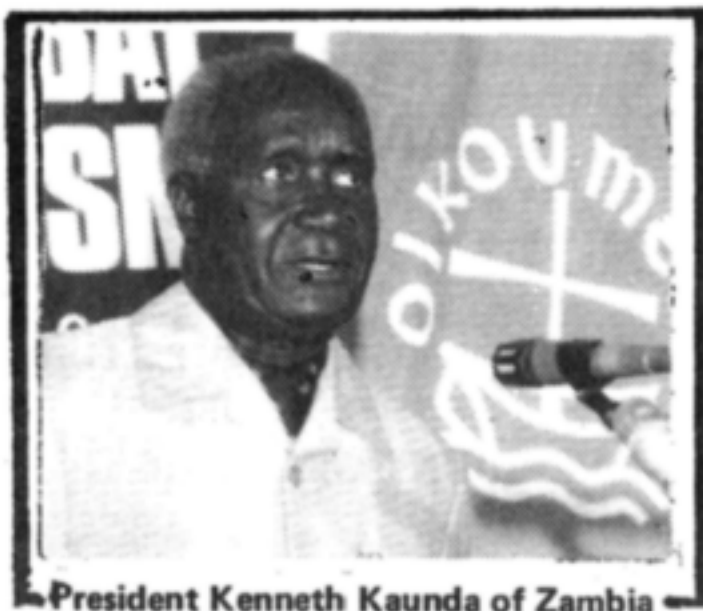
"Such bodies are often draped around the wheels of moving South African military vehicles or suspended underneath flying South African military helicopters and displayed to the public like objects of entertainment."— PRESIDENT

SAM NOJUMA

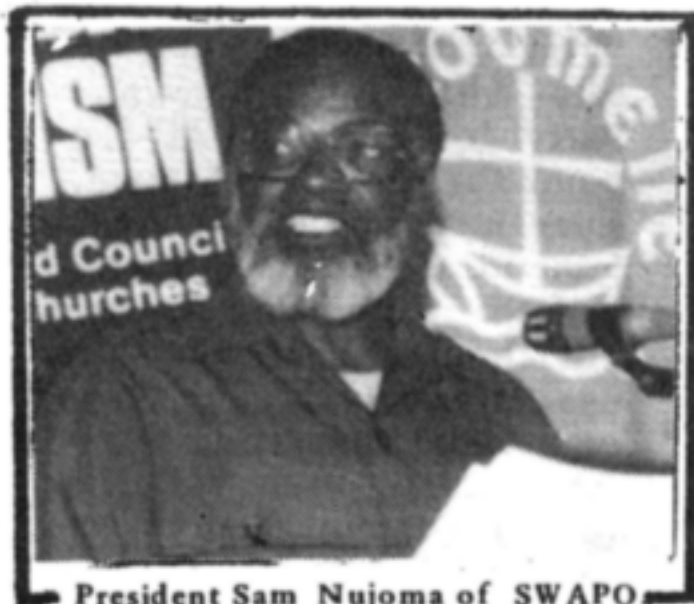
"God requires that of you"

"I challenge you to take seriously what the Harare Declaration said. Surely you will want to review how well your Churches have fulfilled what they committed themselves to in Harare. But you gathered here in Lusaka will want to go beyond the Harare Declaration. God requires that of you. Your own Christian faith requires that of you. The suffering people of Namibia and South Africa require that of you. I implore you not to slacken in the struggle against apartheid.

—PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA



President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia



President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO

"Love, truth and Social Justice"

"We in Zambia firmly believe that if Church work relates to the eternal verities of Love, Truth, Social Justice and Fair Play, it is here on this earth that they need to be practised. The Church, the world-over should therefore work for an atmosphere on earth that will make people know that God lives and that He loves them all. Unfortunately such an atmosphere does not exist in Namibia and South Africa.

PRESIDENT
KENNETH KAUNDA

"A crime to desire freedom"

"I do not need to recite to a distinguished group of international persons like you the atrocities which the apartheid regime in South

Africa continue to commit against innocent people. I do not need to remind you that in Namibia and South Africa it is a crime to desire freedom and justice and make the slightest effort to secure such basic legitimate rights."

—PRESIDENT KENNETH KAUNDA

"Legitimate targets"

"Frustrated by the fact that the broad majority of the Namibian people have rejected Pretoria's puppet show in Windhoek, the South African army of occupation operates on the assumption that every African who is not working for the apartheid regime is either a member or a supporter of SWAPO and, therefore, a legitimate target of its colonial repression.

In this connection, abductions, detentions, cold-blooded assassinations and wanton destruction of the people's property are the order of the day. Thus with every week that passes, there are reports of a fresh campaign of intimidation against the Namibian people, especially in the northern Namibia. In the course of the last two weeks alone, the occupation army has bombed and set on fire at least 14 local schools in northern Namibia. Schools, churches, hospitals, printing facilities, and other property serving the African population, are also considered by the racist army as legitimate targets of destruction. They are, therefore, being continuously sabotaged and destroyed."

—PRESIDENT
SAM NOJUMA



PRAYER FOR DELIVERANCE

God of history; God of our forefathers; God who always side with the oppressed, the underdog, the down trodden and the outcast. .

God who brings down the mighty arrogant rulers from their hand — made and man ordained thrones, and lifts up the lowly;

“He who fills the hungry with good things, the arrogant He sends them right away with empty hands Why was I born to see these un-Godly terrible things? the ruin of our democratic and peace loving people; our rich and beloved country.

Must I sit here helpless?

Our country is mismanaged by agents of the forces of doom the church is either co-opted or lost its divine sense of responsibility.

Our country is like a woman without beauty, a man without honour.

its riches have been carried away as a loot by our oppressors to buy politcal favours and to enrich foreign capitalists.

All her precious metals and gems have been taken away and stored in foreign banks.

Workers of our land are now slaves, no longer free.

Yes, every capitalist nation in the world enjoys South Africa's sweet, fine wine.

Our children have been killed in the streets of white Babylon

Yes, all have died in the name of western democracy

How long must we be tormented?

How long Lord?

Enough is enough — Forward to our holy war!

By Rev. Gqiba F.F.

For your information Copy of
our Telex to:
The State President
Union Buildings, Pretoria

Geneva 31st August 1987.

The State President,
Union Buildings
Pretoria South Africa.

The South African Government intends to hang Moses Mnyanda Jantjes and Mlamli Wellington Mielis tomorrow, September 1, 1987. Both Moses and Mlamli have denied the charge for which your Government intends to hang them for. These two young men are, like many others, freedom fighters against the evil system of apartheid. Once again your government chooses to eliminate opponents of apartheid rather than dismantling the entire system as the international community and the majority of South Africans demand.

How long can your government continue to ignore the wishes of the majority in South Africa? The programme to combat racism of the World Council of Churches appeals to you to stay the execution and grant reprieve to Moses and Mlamli.

James Mutambirwa
Acting Director, Programme
to Combat Racism World
Council of Churches,
150 Route de Ferney
1211 Geneva 20, Switzerland.

TO: ANC HEADQUARTERS
BOX 31791
LUSAKA

DEMAND PRISONER OF WAR STATUS FOR CAPTURED FREEDOM FIGHTERS

STOP APARTHEID EXECUTIONS!

PEOPLES OF THE WORLD SUPPORT THE ANC

The President of the African National Congress,
Oliver Tambo, with President Kenneth Kaunda of
Zambia on the occasion of the 75th Anniversary
celebrations held at Mulungushi Hall, Lusaka,
January 8th, 1987



**MESSAGES RECEIVED BY THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION OF 8 JANUARY 1987
THE 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF ITS FOUNDATION**

ADVANCE TO PEOPLE'S POWER!