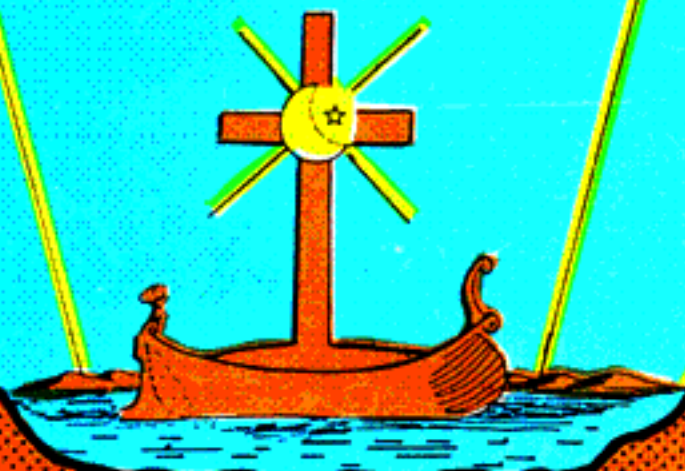


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SOUND FAITH, LOVE AND ENDURANCE

ANC DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

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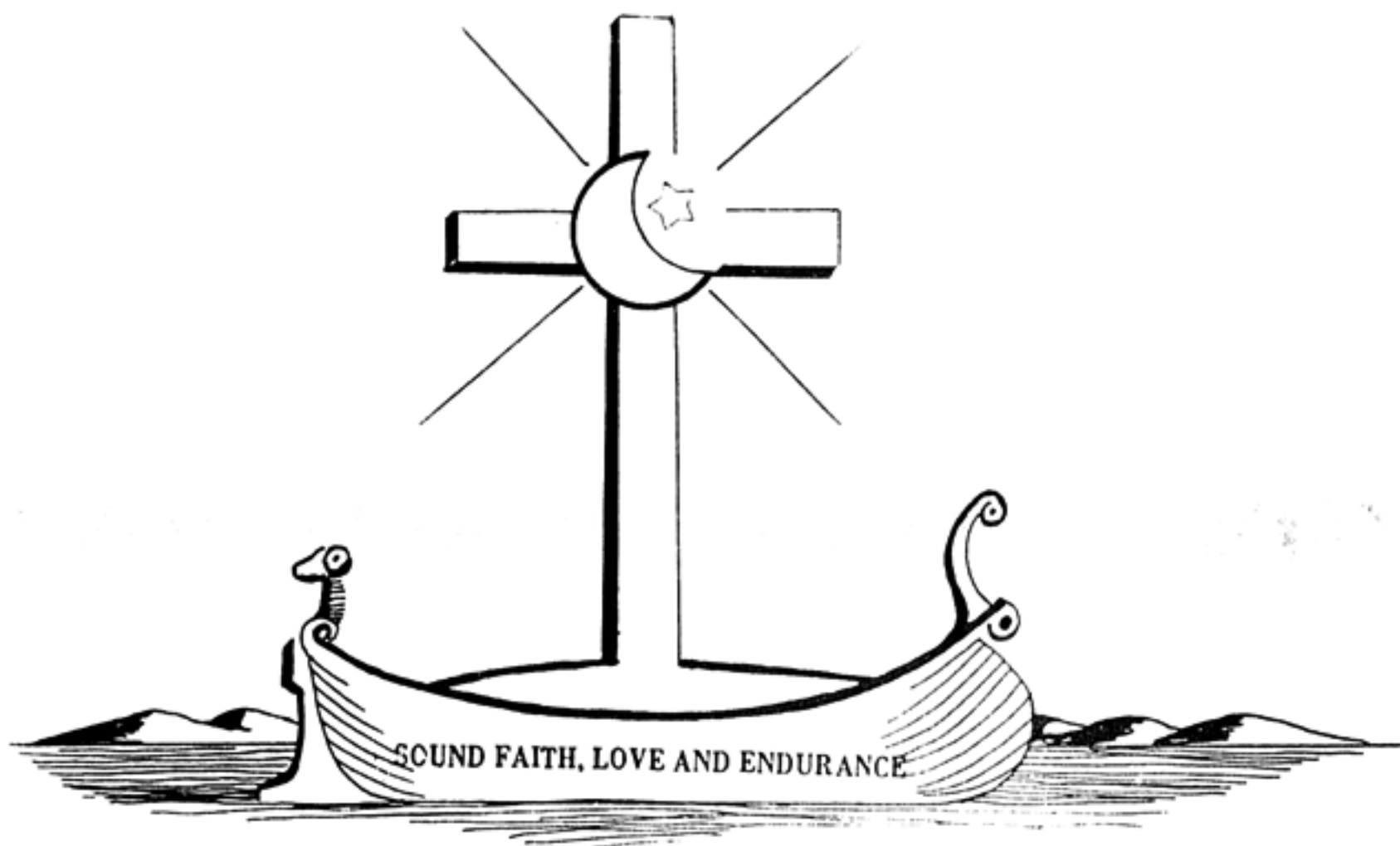
Late Revd. Mandla, Msibi, left, with Revd. Mogoba.



Tutu R. Mompathi



Mugabe Tambo Palmer



FRONT COVER: Ntabiseng (make me happy) Mabusa, one of the victims of apartheid brutality on children, who gave testimony on her ordeals at the International Conference on Children Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa – Harare, September 24–27, 1987. Twelve-year-old Ntabiseng was shot by the racist South African Army last year in Botswana.

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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EDITORIAL

WITH our first publication we have dealt a blow to the Botha regime which is still trying to play the religious community against the ANC. We are not disturbed by their concerted efforts because we know that the forces of darkness cannot stand against the forces of justice and peace whom we represent.

Also we have triggered off a wide range of reaction and are deeply grateful for the positive criticism we have received. Painfully aware that we as a department cannot grow without your support and contributions. Once again APARTHEID had been declared a "heresy, a crime against humanity, that it cannot be changed or reformed, but that it should be abolished and destroyed." These are the words of a meeting between the ANC and the World Conference of Religion and Peace (WCRP), an interfaith world body. Important with that meeting was to clear the way for interfaith cooperation within

our religious community in order to involve them in the struggle for a free democratic and non-racial South Africa.

It had cost a meeting like the International Conference on Children, Repression, and the Law in Apartheid South Africa, for the world to really understand the problems in Southern Africa, caused by South Africa. In the words of our comrade president O.R. Tambo who said that "...The apartheid regime cannot exist because it thrives on brutal human violations. Without it, it ceased to exist".

Those are the start words our president painfully shares with the world about the plight of children in Southern Africa. Children who since their conception in their mothers womb tasted the smell of teargas, police harassment, forceful evictions and now face detention. Today still they are the victims of a brutal system who enjoys unflinching pain to our harmless, innocent children. That

is how the Botha regime is crippling us of our future. Our president continues to say that "We cannot be true liberators unless the liberation we will achieve guarantee all children the rights to life, health, happiness and free development, respecting the individuality, the inclinations and capabilities of each child. Moreover, our concern for the children, the inheritors of our future, cannot be postponed until the day we achieve our emancipation."

This call to mind the important place children occupy within every society and also in the teachings of Christ. For instance, when people brought children to Christ so that he could lay his hands on them and pray for them his disciples scolded at the people. But Jesus said: "Let the children come to me and do not stop them because the Kingdom of heaven belongs to such as these." (Matt. 19:14 Good News Bible).





The Expression 'Bloody Boer' cannot be without significance

Mr Chairman, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the ANC, Honourable Ministers, Members of the Diplomatic Corps, Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades and Friends,

It is a singular honour for us in Zimbabwe that our Capital City has been chosen as the venue for this unique Conference on Children, Repression and the Law in Apartheid South Africa. I personally feel specially honoured and privileged that I have been asked to address the Opening Session of the Conference. I wish, Mr Chairman, to preface my statement with an expression of a sincere wish from the Government and people of Zimbabwe for the first time will take time off to acquaint themselves with the general-ity of our people and some of the natural or physical attractions of our country. We like to think that the entire country is an open tourist resort and all our people are your hosts. On their behalf, I wish to welcome you all to Zimbabwe and to this Conference.

I hope I can be allowed to extend a special word of welcome to you, Archbishop Huddleston. You are no stranger to South Africa, having spent a good part of your life in South Africa and being one of the pioneers and an ally in the anti-apartheid struggle. Your continued fight from Great Britain against the evil apartheid system is greatly encouraging and is appreciated by us in Southern Africa.

The international character of participants at this conference is a very clear

STATEMENT BY THE HONOURABLE PRIME MINISTER, COMRADE R.G. MUGABE, AT THE OPENING SESSION OF THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN, REPRESSION AND THE LAW IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, HARARE, 24TH SEPTEMBER 1987.

manifestation of the universality of the feeling of revulsion and concern generated by the dehumanisation to which the majority of the people of South Africa are daily subjected by the apartheid system in that country. I sincerely hope that the deliberations of this Conference will enhance international awareness of the terrible plight and situation of the weakest and most vulnerable of the South African population, namely, the Black children who are as we know, the most hapless and helpless victims of the evil monster that is apartheid. It is they who are daily malnourished by apartheid. It is they who are daily mis-educated by apartheid. It is they who, above all, are daily jailed, maimed and murdered by apartheid.

Yet, international awareness of the suffering of the children in apartheid South Africa is alone not adequate unless it is followed by a resolve, determination and strength to fight and eradicate the heinous system from our civilised world. The pariah state of South Africa has no legitimate claim to being part of the civilised international community as long as the sanctity and respect for the rule of law has not been restored in that country. Indeed, no society

has a right to be regarded and accepted as part of civilised humanity unless and until its legal system and practice guarantees the rights of all its citizens, regardless of race, sex, political and religious convictions.

The prisons of South Africa are today full of children who, under civilised conditions should be in schools undergoing preparation for their future roles and responsibilities as citizens of their country. Alas, their prescribed lot is that of being murdered, tortured, brutalised and imprisoned.

I commend the organisers of this important Conference for having invited some of the victims of the immoral racist regime to come and give their own testimony. Equally vital will be the accounts of the mothers of the victims, the lawyers who have dealt with the cases of the children, as well as the pastors and welfare officers who are battling to rehabilitate the emotionally and spiritually shattered young people and children in that sad land.

You, and most of us from this region, know that the rule of law does not exist in apartheid South Africa. The law, such as exists there, is only for the advancement and protection of the privileges of the few. The law and all the related state institutions have been designed and geared to protect and promote the interests of the White minority by systematically trampling upon even the most basic rights of the Black masses.

Should any voice of conscience draw attention to the injustice of the system and criticise the so-called law enforcement agents, such



criticism is contemptuously ignored. Recently, the Detainees' Parents Support Committee published its informative reports or studies on tortures and detentions in the 1980s.

The reactions of the racist Minister of Law and Order was characteristic. He accused the Committee of vilifying the police. The cases of child arrest and assault, and the sordid examples of torture in detention were dismissed as mere fabrications. The sleep deprivation to which young detainees were subjected, the suspension in mid-air, the kicking, beating, electric shocking, the strip-

and more to the shedding of blood. The expression "bloody boer" cannot be without significance.

This Conference, Mr Chairman, and especially the testimonies of participants from South Africa, should provide a rare opportunity for relating to the outside world the story of the human tragedy taking place in South Africa.

The traumatic and horrifying experiences in the dark and squalid prisons and detention centres are more clearly and vividly narrated by those who went through them. We have some of them

and destabilising activities within the region. Indeed, many of you from outside the region have heard or read about the effects of South Africa's apartheid policies, the regime's economic disruption and political destabilisation and their destructive effects upon the lives and welfare of the Blacks in South Africa and the peoples of the entire region.

The statistics are readily available. But may I remind you, that behind those figures or statistics are real children, youths and their parents, with names, human feelings of pain, fear, want and



'Bloody Boer'

ping and numerous other horrific perpetrations which the youths and children received from their interrogators, did not revulse the so-called Minister of Law and Order. How could they? Revulsion is a response of a person of conscience and morality.

Mr Vlok and all the members of his apartheid regime are evidently men to whom conscience and morality are mere trifles. Murder cannot, in such circumstances any longer revulse the bloody heart of its perpetrator, for each murder committed also destroyed his moral conscience, hardening him more

in our midst.

Mr Chairman, as the report of UNICEF has recently illustrated, the tragedy of the Black children and youths in South Africa extends to their brothers and sisters in the Frontline States. I refer here to the report, entitled *Children on the Frontline, the impact of Apartheid, Destabilisation and Warfare on the Children in Southern and South Africa*. This report draws urgent and special world attention to the serious and desperate plight of the children of the entire sub-continent and rightly attributes it to the apartheid regime's internal repression

hunger. I trust that this important Conference on children, repression and the law in South Africa, will enhance your appreciation of this fact even more and the need to move to action to stop the suffering of the little ones and their parents.

Let me, once again, wish this Conference all success, bearing in mind the interests of the children in apartheid South Africa, the Front Line States and the world over.

It is now my great pleasure to declare this International Conference on Children, Repression and Law in Apartheid South Africa officially open. — THANK YOU.

Apartheid Feeds on Blood

MR CHAIRMAN, Rt. Rev. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston; Comrade Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, the Hon. Robert Mugabe;

Your Excellencies, members of the Diplomatic Corps; Comrades leaders of the brother people of Zimbabwe; Distinguished participants at this important conference; Comrades, friends ladies and gentlemen.

The Afrikaner poet, Ingrid Jonker, died in 1965 at the young age of 32. Consumed by a dark foreboding and overwhelmed by despair, she committed suicide as her creative intellect was coming to its ripening.

By her death, she joined herself to the children of our country about whom she had written. Her tragic passing was as powerful an indictment of the apartheid system as were these verses which she has left us:

The child is not dead
the child lifts his fists
against his mother

who shouts Africa! shouts
the breath of freedom and
the veld

in the locations of the
cordoned heart.

The child is not dead
not at Langa nor at
Nyanga

nor at Orlando nor at
Sharpeville

nor at the police post at
Philippi

where he lies with a bullet
through his brain

The child is the dark
shadow of the soldiers on
guard with their rifles, saracens and batons

the child is present at all
assemblies and law-giving

the child peers through the
windows of houses and into
the hearts of mother

STATEMENT BY ANC PRESIDENT O.R. TAMBO
AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON
CHILDREN, REPRESSION AND LAW IN APARTHEID
SOUTH AFRICA, HARARE, 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1987.

this child who wanted
only to play in the sun at
Nyanga is everywhere the
child grown to the man treks
on through all Africa

the child grown into a
giant journeys over the whole
world without a pass"

We share with Ingrid
Jonker that noble vision of
the child who wanted only
to play in the sun, the child
grown into a giant, journey-
ing over the whole world,
without a pass. We share with
her the knowledge and
confidence that the wanton
massacre of the children at
Langa and at Nyanga, at
Orlando and at Sharpeville,
at Soweto, Athlone, Maseru,
Gaborone, Harare, Maputo
and Kassinga, the knowledge
that this succession of mass-
acres will not deny us our
journey over the whole world
— free at last, at last free,
the last to be free but free,
at last.

What pain it must have
been to her, who, an Afrika-
ner, saw these images, of
those who immolated the
child who wanted only to
play in the sun at Nyanga,
and then told her that they
murdered in order to protect
her, her kind and her "civi-
lisation". And what her tor-
ment to know that each
extra day of her "way of life"
costs the souls of many a
black child.

And under that terrible
order the children die, with
bullets through their heads,
welts on their bodies, hearts
and brains stopped before
they could attain maturity,
because a person as ordinary
as you and I, has inherited
powers that go beyond all

that is permissible in the
conduct of relations among
those we would all count
as mortal.

A criminal tyranny that
has the audacity to call
itself a civilisation lives on
across the borders of this
country: It survives because
humanity, and principally
ourselves, has not yet said
that an extra day of apartheid
is an extra day too long. It
thrives because it can include
within its body count the
lives of children whom it
describes as opponents that
it has vanquished. It persists
because without the death of
innocents, it cannot be.

We meet here today be-
cause we want to discuss the
unspeakable plight of the
black children of South
Africa. We meet because
there is something that is
happening to the hapless
and the innocent that
should not be allowed to
happen. We meet because
we recognise that our own
lives have meaning only to
the extent that they are
used to create a social condi-
tion which will make the
lives of the children happy,
full and meaningful. We have
gathered ourselves in Harare
and on this particular occa-
sion because we know that a
grievous injustice is being
done to all humanity.

And yet, strange as it
might seem, there are some
who are opposed to the fact
that we meet here, for these
purposes. These are convin-
ced that our consultation
is of the devil's own making.
And yet they are the first
to stand unabashed in front
of the whole world, project-



ing themselves as the very representation of all that is good, upright and unconquerable.

Our century has witnessed some of the worst atrocities in all human history, perpetrated by people who considered themselves good, these, regardless of their opinion of themselves. And once more the peoples have judged that those who uphold the apartheid system are committing a crime against humanity itself. And as this conference knows, at the core of this crime is the theory and practice of racism.

death by disease and starvation is planned essence of this system. The barefoot child — clothed in a sack that should carry produce — planting, hoeing, reaping is the alter ego of the white farmer who towers above the toddler with a whip in his hand. The orphan is no more than a precise statement that apartheid lives. The mangled remains of the black child who wanted only to play in the sun are the justification for the existence of the largest and most sophisticated machinery of repression that Africa has ever known. The apartheid

capabilities of each child. Our liberation would be untrue to itself if it did not, among its first tasks, attend to the welfare of the millions of children whose lives have been stunted and turned into a terrible misery by the violence of the apartheid system.

Moreover, our concern for the children, the inheritors of our future, cannot be postponed until the day we achieve our emancipation. That is why this Conference is being held. It should result in the greatest possible international mobilisation



Another Massacre

What more man-hating ideology can there be than this which defines black people as less than human! And could we expect any consequence from its practice other than the slaughter of black children! the predator feeds on human blood. That fact defines its being.

The endless rows of children's graves, ready prepared for the children whose

predator feeds on human blood. That fact defines its being.

This terrible desolation defines for us what our struggle must be about. We cannot be true liberators unless the liberation we will achieve guarantees all children the rights to life, health, happiness and free development, respecting the individuality, the inclinations and

around the issue of the plight of the children of South Africa. The world needs to be informed about what is happening to these young lives. Let the truth be told in all its gruesome detail. Let all humanity see the true face of apartheid, mirrored as it is in the glazed and staring eyes of the children it is starving to death and in the sightless eyes of those

it has murdered.

Let all those in the West who still treat with this régime as legitimate explain why they continue thus to aid and abet the commission of a crime against humanity. Let them stand accused as those who, by refusing to impose sanctions, extended a helping hand to the apartheid régime so that it could continue its campaign of terror against the children.

Inside our country, we, as well, have a responsibility to act now in defence of the children. There too, we must rip off the cloak of silence which the Pretoria régime tries to drape around its horrendous misdeeds. The democratic movement, must in its entirety, join the campaign to force the racist régime to take its blood stained hands off our people!

Other men, and women of conscience must themselves join in this struggle because none can reckon themselves human and be unconcerned about what is happening to the young. We would expect that people of all faiths would feel moved by their own beliefs to say we too must be counted amongst those who stood up in defence of the children. Similarly, the Child Welfare Societies have an obligation to extend their own work and join the battle for the advancement and protection of the fundamental rights of the child. So too must the cultural workers, like Ingrid Jonker, use their talents in pursuit of the common goal.

Of late, the Pretoria régime has been involved in a wide-ranging propaganda campaign whose aim is to give racial tyranny a new face and thus to divert attention away from the ugly reality of the continuing system of apartheid. That ugly reality includes the unrelenting persecution of the children,

the murder of activists by secret murder squads, ongoing and planned illegal trails of the people army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. It is represented by the continuing state of emergency, the execution of patriots and some of the them in secret, the attempt to force the so-called independence on the people of the KwaNdebele Bantustan, aggression against the frontline states, plots to assassinate leaders of the ANC, and so on.

To hide this reality and to shift the focus of our offensive away from the objective of our advance towards people's power, through struggle, the racist régime has been making all manner of noises about the issue of negotiations. At the same time, it hopes to give sufficient grounds for its international allies to be able to claim that the basis for negotiations exists and thus to try to undermine and destroy the campaign for sanctions. The fact of the matter is that the Botha régime is not interested in any genuine negotiation that would lead to the transfer of power to the people through a system of one person one vote in a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Its preoccupation is to manouvre in defence of the apartheid system.

The proposal to establish a so-called National Statutory Council reflects this preoccupation. Of fundamental importance to the conflict in our country is the reality that the régime that holds power over our people has neither political nor moral legitimacy. It is the result, the expression and continuation of a racist and colonial legacy which decreed that a white settler minority should govern, like the black indigent majority must be

consigned to the status of the governed.

In all out history under racist rule, the reality has been that though we were defeated, we have never been conquered. We had to live with the fact of white minority domination but have never accepted that it is a condition to which we must succumb. That is why the ANC was formed 75 years ago, and that is why our people have sustained the struggle over all these decades.

It cannot be that at this late hour we would accept some creature of the apartheid parliament, given to us as a mechanism for negotiation, created by the same illegitimate institutions to which we are opposed, and subject to summary dismissal by the same institutions.

It is in any case to add insult to injury to suggest that we who have opposed any elections based on race should now accept an electoral process based on race. To imagine that we can be convened and presided over by the marshalls of the racist hordes, to discuss the abolition of a racial tyranny imposed and maintained by the same marshalls, beats all understanding.

The contending forces in our country are as clearly defined as they were with regard to this country when a new constitution was negotiated and agreed in 1979. On one side, there are the forces, both black and white, which represent the democratic and non-racial perspective. These have, themselves and on their own, recognised the leading role of the ANC. On the other side are those of apartheid racism and reaction grouped around the ruling fascist party, including its black puppets.

Once more, the Pretoria régime is playing politics with



an issue which is of principal concern to all our people, the immediate and unconditional release of all political prisoners. We would like to take advantage of this opportunity to reiterate this demand and to urge all opponents of racism both inside and outside our country further to step up the campaign for the release of all our leaders and activists who are imprisoned and detained and for an end to all trials of those whose only offence has been to join the struggle for a democratic South Africa.

So must we also intensify the campaign to save the lives of the tens of activists who have been sentenced to death by the apartheid courts. Already some of these have been hanged and some of them in secret. We must not by our silence and inactivity become unwitting collaborators with the apartheid regime in the commission of judicial murders of men of women who are heroines of our struggle and people. Indeed we could pose the question — how can there be a climate conducive to negotiations when these patriots face and are objects of execution!

Rumours put out by the Pretoria regime that some of its members have been in contact with the ANC are complete falsehoods without any foundation whatsoever. When and if the time comes that the apartheid regime feels compelled to talk to the ANC, it will have to come to us openly and not in secret. We who represent the majority of the people of our country, the victims of the apartheid system, would have to ensure that these masses know what the racists are saying and ensure that these millions, participate in any activities designed to shape their destiny. Our very convi-

ctions dictate that we enable this democratic process to take place.

South Africa must be transformed into a united, democratic and non-racial entity and a force for peace and progress in our region and our continent. That will only come about through struggle carried out in our country and supported by the world community. The Botha regime is not a force for change but the principal obstacle to fundamental change. Our strategic objective must therefore continue to be to intensify our offensive, to defeat this regime and to ensure the transfer of power to the people. The unity of all democratic and anti-racist forces both within our country and internationally is fundamental to the victory we all seek. Consequently, we all have a common obligation to guard that unity like the apple of our eye.

We are meeting here to discuss the situation of children in apartheid South Africa. As we discuss this issue, we should not forget the similar plight of children in Namibia who, in addition, are forcibly recruited into the army of occupation, corrupted into joining the various terror gangs and forced to serve as prostitutes to satisfy the animal needs of the army of terror.

Neither should we, overwhelmed by the harrowing stories that describe the abuse of children in South Africa, ignore the plight of millions of children throughout Southern Africa who are also dying in unimaginable numbers thanks to the criminal campaign of debilitation and aggression carried out by the Pretoria and its surrogate puppet groups.

All this knowledge should spur us both to act in defence of the children and to inten-

sify the general offensive against the racist system whose evil deeds made this Conference necessary. In this regard, we have the unquestionable obligation to escalate our political and military assault against the apartheid system. Equally we need to press on with even greater vigour for the imposition of mandatory and comprehensive sanctions against racist South Africa.

We join in welcoming you all to this important Conference and are certain that our deliberations will do much to widen the front of struggle against the apartheid crime against humanity. We would like also to thank our dear brother, comrade-in-arms and leader, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe for joining us this morning and for his inspiring call to battle, from one who everyday is, like us, faced with the counter-offensive of the apartheid regime.

To our old friend and fellow-combatant, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, we say thank you very much for taking this important initiative. In you, the children of our country have always found a protector and a second parent. In their name, we wish you good health, being certain that the victory of the cause to which you have dedicated your life is not far.

Finally, let me extend a special word of welcome to Lisbet Palme who has also interrupted a busy schedule in order to be with us. Thank you for your care and consent. Your commitment gives us enormous strength to fight on whatever the difficulties. — THANK YOU.





Who Cannot Take Sides?

STATEMENT BY MRS LISBET PALME AT THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN, REPRESSION AND LAW IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA, HARARE, 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1987.

Sisters and brothers,

This is a solemn occasion.

No journey is more important than to come here to Harare, to participate in this conference on Children, Repression and the Law in apartheid South Africa.

Throughout my entire adult life I have experienced how oppression by the racist regime in South Africa against the majority of the population has cast its deadly shadow around the world — even to our own country far up in the northern hemisphere.

When my husband Olof Palme was murdered by violence one and a half-years ago, he had worked for 40 years against the cruel, insane policy of apartheid. He began as a young student by giving blood to collect money for scholarships for young people — students in South Africa — who had been driven out from their education because of the colour of their skin. Again and again he spoke and demonstrated against the apartheid regime's atrocious oppression.

In 1964, in a speech to the Youth Congress of our Social Democratic Party in Sweden, Olof talked about how the past years had brought both triumphs and disappointments for the idea of human dignity. Hitler's terrorism and Stalin's slave labour camps belonged to history. But in South Africa, Olof said, people were being driven together, they were being deprived of the possibility for work and development, they were being forbidden to move around freely because their skin was dark, or because they had begun to demand their rights.

Already more than 20

years ago our friend Oliver Tambo came to us in Sweden to demonstrate against racism together with Olof. At that time we could not even imagine that the racist system in South Africa would continue and expand over more than 20 years to come. We did not know that 20 years later I would have to make my first public speech, in Paris, at the UN Conference on sanctions against racist South Africa, on the 10th anniversary of the Soweto uprising in June 1986. I was to speak in Olof's spirit. I talked there about the unspeakable violence against children and young people in South Africa and about the death of more than 200 children — through the "indiscriminate use of tear gas, bird shot, metal tipped wips, rubber bullets and live ammunition", to quote the New York based Lawyers' Committee For Human Rights.

In his foreword to that report, the Nobel Peace Prize Winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu urges us to force ourselves to read it because he hopes that we will 'be galvanized into action that will topple apartheid and help establish a dispensation which is just, stable, democratic and safe for all our children, black and white.'

I ended, in Paris, with what Olof said at the People's Parliament Against Apartheid one week before he himself was murdered by violence: "A system like apartheid cannot be reformed it can only be abolished. It is by taking joint responsibility that we can contribute towards abolishing the apart-

heid system. This system can live on because it gets support from outside. If the support is pulled away and turned into resistance, apartheid cannot endure. If the world decides to abolish apartheid, apartheid will disappear."

South Africa was for Olof a question of peace. It was a question of how to achieve justice and prevent war — a civil war throughout South Africa or an even wider conflict.

I am now here in Harare to represent the Swedish National Committee for UNICEF. The UN's Children's Fund has as its task to support children's development wherever in the world it is threatened. UNICEF's projects for spreading knowledge about and implementing programs for mother's and children's health and for water and sanitation are well known in Africa.

UNICEF has also another task: To promote the rights of children. To free children from oppression is the ultimate purpose of UNICEF's advocacy for children. UNICEF has investigated and described circumstances which threaten the lives and health of children — conditions such as those created by the apartheid regime in South Africa. These conditions are also a threat to children throughout the front Line States. The situation for the 15 million children in these countries who are under the age of five is getting worse.

In Angola and Mozambique, the two most affected countries, infant and child mortality rates are now estimated to be the highest



'The Mangled Remains of the Black CHILD WHO wanted only to play in the Sun'.

in the world. Last year, approximately 140 000 Angolan and Mozambican children under the age of five died as a consequence of war and destabilization. These shocking facts speak for themselves.

UNICEF's report "Children in the Front Line — the Impact of Apartheid, Destabilisation and Warfare on Children in Southern and South Africa", is one of the devastating reports which is referred to in the list of documents for this conference.

Even to read the titles of the reference list — and I have studied many of these reports — is afflicting to the point of despair. I have read about murdered children, big and small, girls and boys, shot from behind, I have read about the tortured children whose mutilated bodies can often never recover, and whose souls are incurably wounded.

I have read reports which are based on children's own evidence of the assaults against them by police and guards and soldiers — all legal representatives of racist South Africa. It is an unimaginable society which emerges from the children's accounts. The children's way of recounting these horrors is a sign of their own human dignity, but what they are recounting is an abyss. The children relate what they have experienced.

They try to describe something which cannot be understood. They have answered questions under interrogation. They have explained themselves and they have been met by unexpected assault and unexplainable punishment. Children with dignity have met adult oppressors and sadists. — It should not be difficult to take a stand.

Three days ago during the official visit of President Chissano to Sweden I learnt

of yet another shattering evidence of the policies of destabilization in Mozambique. Small boys between 8—10 years were recruited by the bandits. They were trained for bestial acts — even to kill children and women. How can children performing these acts ever grow up to human beings? What can be a deeper degradation of human dignity?

The message of this conference — on outrages against the majority in South Africa, where even children have become a target for oppression — has gone out across the world. Yesterday, in my own country, the Swedish Social Democratic Party interrupted its congress to go out in the streets and squares of Stockholm to demonstrate its solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa. Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, his cabinet and all the delegates took part in handing out



CDE Mugabe arrives at the Conference Centre where he opened the conference on children under apartheid. With him are the ANC president, Cde Oliver Tambo, and the wife of the late Swedish prime minister, Mrs Lisbet Palme.

leaflets and collecting money in support of the victims of apartheid.

On Saturday morning, I will myself take the message from this conference in Harare to a conference in Stockholm, organized by doctors, psychologists, engineers, lawyers, journalists, researchers, teachers, meteorologists and architects against nuclear weapons.

The Conference is called "From Arms Race to Disarmament". I will tell the delegates about how we travelled from different parts of the world to Harare to bear witness to the testimony of assault against black children in South Africa. My subject will be: "Arms Race, Children and the Future". How could I not talk of you, of the children of South Africa?

Important elements of the Swedish Government's policy against apartheid is the humanitarian assistance to ANC and SWAPO, to the victims and opponents of apartheid as well as development assistance to South

Africa's neighbours, the Front Line States. This assistance has increased substantially in recent years. Today it constitutes close to 50 per cent of the Government's total appropriations for bilateral assistance. Only last week the Government allocated 33 millions US Dollars in extra emergency assistance to Mozambique.

The Government's humanitarian assistance to the victims of apartheid is geared to children who are forced to leave their country, and thus given a chance to a reasonable way of living. The large number of children and youth, who are detained today, are also receiving assistance for legal defence. This support is imperative so as to give children a chance in the inhuman legal system of today's South Africa. Economic and social support is furthermore appropriated for children whose parents are detained. Yet another area is the support of alternative educational methods — methods beyond the bantu education system.

My husband Olof Palme

has been awarded, posthumously, the Albert Einstein Peace Prize in the United States, and the Jawaharlal Nehru Peace Prize in India.

Our family has decided that the prize money will be used for children and young people in South Africa who are victims of the apartheid system: Children who have lost their parents, children, children and young people who have not been able to study because of their colour, children who have been wounded, and who suffer from the consequences of the violence we have heard about today.

A group of people in South Africa have come together to form a committee which will be called "Olof Palme Children's Trust". They will be part of the work for the children's future in South Africa.

So will we, all of us, who have been here in Harare, and who will return to our countries, bear a message which we can never forget and I keep asking: "Who can not take a stand?"



SERMON DELIVERED ON THE 16TH JUNE 1986

SOUTH AFRICAN YOUTH DAY AT THE CATHEDRAL OF THE HOLY CROSS, LUSAKA ZAMBIA

Your Excellency Cde Dr Kenneth Kaunda,
The Honourable members of the free and democratic Republic of Zambia,
The leadership of both the ANC and SWAPO;
Fellow christians, comrades and friends gathered here today.

Allow me to read from the Holy Bible as the basis for our message, a passage from the Book of Rev. 7: 9-13.

"After this I looked, and there was an enormous crowd - no one could count all the people! They were from every race, tribe, nation and language and they stood in front of the throne and of the Lamb dressed in white robes and holding palm branches in their hands. They called out in a loud voice: "Salvation comes from our God!" All the Angels stood round the throne, the elders and the four living creatures. Then they threw themselves face downwards in front of the throne and worshipped God, saying "Amen! Praise Glory, Wisdom thanksgiving, honour, power, and might belong to our God for ever and ever, Amen". One of the elders asked me "Who are these people dressed in white robes, and where do they come from?"

Many theologians agree that the Book of Revelation was written for a specific Church community against a background of political persecution. The language used by the author is richly symbolic and very difficult to comprehend. It is written in a hidden language that could only be understood by those who shared a common experience and common faith.

What influenced the author to adopt such an unusual style of writing? Fellow christians, friends and comrades, for a few minutes I beseech you to come with me as I attempt to decode this important vision.

Many centuries ago, in Asia Minor, there once lived christian communities which loved, feared and worshipped the living GOD. This was the time when the practice of worshipping idols was very rife. The Pagan rulers of the time expected their subjects to worship them as gods. Christians as part of such communities were expected to do likewise. Those who resisted were persecuted and many lost their heads. Consequently, fear swept throughout the church. Some were ready to compromise their christian principles. They were ready to renounce their Lord and Saviour. Yes! they were ready to crucify Jesus Christ.

"In times of severe persecution, suffering and death, the heart of the faithful long passionately for the signs of the power of God and for Gods intervention in history for the sake of justice and liberation."

As God of love and power; as God who remains God even though that love and power seem to disappear under the wave of blind rage of persecution. He heard their cry and intervened in history on their behalf.

Within the oppressed; within the persecuted; within the church God raised His own divine earthly instrument of proclaim the Good News of freedom to the persecuted and Gods divine judgement

upon the oppressors who like to play gods in the lives of others. This raving prophet was simply known as John, the author of this book.

John feared God and walked with God. He was a servant of a special type, set apart by God for God. The chosen one.

When John's message of liberation began to give hope in a once helpless situation, the pagan rulers felt politically threatened. He became a political threat to the so-called law and order and was branded a dangerous "Communist". He was consequently exiled to that infamous Patmos Island.

His banishment was designed to brake him down spiritually. It was hoped that he would be isolated firstly from his God and subsequently from his people i.e. the church. Thus rendering Gods ultimate divine plan of liberating His children from the yoke of oppression a futile exercise.

However, contrary to the wishes of the powers that be John as never before became closer to his God. Day and night he experienced the warm presence and the power of the living God. In God he found an ideal sanctuary.

What the agents of doom sought to use as a weapon of suppression, God turned into an ideal centre of resist-

It was during this close relationship with God in Exile, in about AD 95 (As some theologians claim) that John was charged by the Holy Spirit to write to the Seven Churches in Asia Minor.

The question arises: How did John's letters from exile managed to reach his intended



audience? Many answers to this question could be easily advanced but there is only one that is practical and sound. John was able to execute and accomplish his divine mission through the use of a well organised underground network. This is surely the political strategy that broke down the walls of banishment which temporarily separated him from the church.

Central to John's underground letters to the persecuted was a message of hope. He beseeched them to push on — not to lose faith — because their suffering was short — lived. The God of history was and is still in full control.

For John's fellow christians, the price was high but the end was near. They were called to be steadfast to their call. Those who remained faithful would surely share in the victory of the Lamb.

As in other times, John's Book has much to say to our own times and especially to those of us who, like the churches in John's time, must live under political repression.

Once again as people on a divine march we are drawn into struggle between God and the bunch of murderers. Once again we are forced to take a stand against Botha and his generals.

The modern gods of racism gods of militarism, gods of oppressive political and exploitative economic systems confront us with fearsome reality demanding obedience, loyalty and submission.

A constructive critical attitude is quickly declared 'a communist total onslaught'. It becomes a threat to the so-called law and order.

So, John speaks from exile to the church today. He confronts us with two choices "obedience to God or subjugation to Ceaser who calls himself God". We must choose. Either we are on our

way to the new non-racial and democratic South Africa or we perish with the racist white Babylon.

In S.A. the evil beast portrayed by John has again taken shape. It is embodied in the racist white minority regime which has gone a step further in its barbarism by maiming, killing and putting in its jails thousands of small children — the flowers of our maturing national democratic struggle. The barbaric racist soldiers and police simply go in a shooting spree in the streets of white Babylon killing even 3 year olds like Mita Ngobeni-'justified homicide' they argue. Yes! they simply go into the houses of the oppressed in the name of protecting Western Christian Values and dig out small children hiding under beds, in cupboards, and even under their mothers dresses. Some of these children are still in detention while others are untraceable. Yes! they are dead, they have paid the ultimate price as true disciples of the Living God.

"Who are these people dressed in White robes and where do they come from?"

Friends and comrades, let us cast our minds back to the 16th June, 19 and consider the type of question that was asked then:

"Who are these people dressed in white robes of blood with gaping wounds on their bodies?"

These, the answer might have been, are the heroes of the maturing revolution of our beloved mother land, S.A. These the answer might have been are those who have decided to lay down their lives for the true liberation of mankind who choose to die for peace and freedom. These young ones — the immortal flowers of our national democratic struggle-died that year and are still dying even now for the supreme ideal — the

liberation of mankind.

Looking on the flip side of the coin we must consider what the question of the day might have been regarding the messengers of death:

"Who are these who have taken the lives of so young patriots?"

These are, the answer might have been, those who have dedicated themselves to the perpetual oppression of the majority of the S.African nation. These are, those who claiming to be christian, defending western values, have destroyed God's supreme creation, man. These are those who, claiming to be christians, discriminated against man, God's wonderful creation. these are those who have gone into Africa to kill and maim to destroy and destabilise. Yes! these are the racist rulers of the condemned white great Babylon, South Africa.

But, let us pause to consider another situation. In Africa, as elsewhere in the world, there are progressive nations and leaders, and the question must be asked:

Which are these nations in Africa, which are prepared to go hungry, which are prepared to die in support, of the struggle of the people of S.A. and Namibia?

Who are these leaders, who keep on exhorting their people to pay the supreme sacrifice for the liberation of the people of S.A. and Namibia?

These are the leaders who understand that the freedom of S.A. and the freedom of Namibia is freedom of Africa.

Fellow christians and comrades we need to pay, in the name of God, tribute and homage to the people of the free non-racial and democratic Republics of Zambia, Angola, and Zimbabwe and their able leaders, their Excellencies Dr K.D. Kaunda, Dos Santos and Robert Mugabe for their solida-



Hector Peterson – first victim of police bullets at Soweto, 16 June 1976.

ity and unadulterated contribution to the struggle of S.A and Namibia.

To these Nations and their leaders, we must ask in pay-

ing tribute:

“Who are these people dresses in white robes, and where do they come from? Behold!

“These are the people who have come safely through the terrible persecution. They have washed their robes and made them white with the blood of the Lamb (Rev.146)

Reverend F.F. Gqiba



The making of a Saint

IN paying tribute to one of our fallen MK Commanders Dawn has this to say:

"This is an eulogy for a giant, this is our belated epitaph. This is an obituary we could not read at your lonely grave the dirge we never sang. To you Dear departed Commander, Commissar, Fighter and Hero this is our silent salvo in your honour. It is in place of a deserved gun salute.

These are tears that dried on mothers chinks, the words that stuck in our unbelieving throats. This is our love, our pain, our loss. This is an affirmation of a vow. As man lives, so shall he be sung in after-time. Blackman lived nobly, he graced our world with virtuous attributes and left us a legacy of good to imitate."

This is a fitting praise for the late extraordinary Reverend Mandla Msibi who was popularly known as Blackman — the RISING DOWN-TRODDEN. So come with us as we attempt to narrate the story of the Christ-like revolutionary life he lived in its totality.

In August 1980, an important Consultation was held in Lusaka by a collective of comrades who had worked with the churches at home together with the leadership of the ANC to map out ways and means of consolidating the contacts already established with the Church community and how new ones could be established. This event was officially opened by Cde. President O.R. Tambo.

The aftermath of this day was the birth of the Church Front and the adoption of a Programme of Action. The primary target at that point in



The late Revd. Mandla "Black Man" Msibi, left, with Revd. Mogoba.

time was to work mainly amongst Christians, though we understood that we had to develop and begin work with other religious communities as they exist in our country.

Two political reasons can be cited as important factors that ultimately influenced the ANC to concentrate more on the Churches. Firstly, the Church is historically responsible for the socio-political and economic crises that have torn apart our beloved country on racial lines. Apartheid doctrine is historically the product of Christian — justification of exploiting indogenous christians and religious black

people. Lastly, the church was born within the womb of christianity. It was, therefore, important for the ANC to remind the church of its prophetic role — to completely brake away from the Satanic Pretorian regime. This was a priority.

Rev. M. Msibi was subsequently assigned the enormous task of leading the Church Front. He was ordained in 1989 at the Union Bible Institute in Natal. After ordination he ministered at Springs until he moved to Durban and became the General Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association. (YMCA).

It was during his christian and political activities within the YMCA that he became very close to the Black Consciousness Movement — the healthy first stage of one's political awareness — and subsequently became an activise member. He worked very close with outstanding church leader of that time, like Rev. Mashwabada "Castro" Mayathula. He was recruited into the underground network of the movement and became an outstanding activist.

In 1977, he was commanded by our leadership to leave the country and join the external structures of the movement. Like an MK combatant he responded positively. In his lifetime as a christian and a priest he was able to destroy the myth that for a christian to be revolutionary is a breach of faith with God. To identify with the suffering masses, the poor, and to practically participate in the struggle was for him qualities of a true christian.

He made the ultimate sacrifice — laid down his life in struggle for his country and people. Behold! this is the



making of a Saint!

In the external mission he could have joined the local churches and have a secure non political life, or he could have pursued other educational interests either than being a full time activist of the movement. However he understood why he left the country. He hated the existence of the apartheid regime, and the divine task of destroying that which is not of God—was not yet over.

He was a trained cadre of our glorious army Umkhonto we Sizwe. Occasionally he penetrated the enemy battle lines inflicting unforgettable blows upon it. Rev. M. Msibi — the Rising Downtrodden died on the battle field in 1980 in Swaziland where he with young communists like the late Cde. Mduduzi Guma also known as "Conquerer Ntwana". Yes he died gloriously in his trench with his boots on.

Let us honour this Saint with our revolutionary deeds. Since his time the church front has grown into a Department of Religious Affairs. It has as its sub-structure the Inter-Faith Chaplaincy the role of which is to develop and foster inter-faith understanding and co-operation in our country within our community.

Just prior to his untimely death Blackman in 1980 attended a Consultation of the WCC in Holland on Racism. His contribution to this conference left an indelible mark on all those present who have always perceived the ANC as a movement removed from the christian community. An assertion which is very far from the truth if you consider the many christians who founded the movement. It is a history that the ANC is proud of. After all the black oppressed majority comprise about 75% of the christian church in our

country.

The late Cde. Rev. Msibi like many of his predecessors like Rev. Dube, Rev. Calata Rev. Rabushane was a pioneer of the Dept of Religious Affairs. He made an outstanding contribution to our struggle and left an indelible imprint on all his comrades in arms. We remember him

by his cheerfulness compassion and devotion to duty. His life was an eventful one and full of meaning. His path to political consciousness has great relevance to our people — believers and non believers alike.

Let us all carry the spear of this fallen combatant and christian soldier, a son of our beloved country, South Africa.



Rev. Frank Chikane, Addressing the Conference on Children Repression and law in Apartheid South Africa.



APARTHEID victim Ntabiseni (seated), surrounded by her wellwishers in Harare. From left: Cde Oliver Tambo, Mrs Lisbet Palme, her mother Anna and Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

APARTHEID IS A HERESY - A CRIME AGAINST HUMANITY

(The children's letters and photos to Reagan originated from SWAPO DIP)

Judgement Day

Lord! I see a Black child being hunted down and killed
they kill a child so dear to us
a precious flower of our revolution
at every street corner of the white Babylon
a child is beaten to death
listen to a Black child crying
hear the sound of his sobs
along the road

up to the valley of death
the cries of distress.

Quick run for your life!
run Black child run!

like a wild desert donkey run!
escape from the racist killing fields!
People of South Africa and Namibia
mourn for a child you so love
he is no more

tell your children about it
they will tell their children
who in turn will tell the next generation.

Is the child killer going to use his killing machine for ever?
is he going to keep the downtrodden down for ever?
is he going to keep on destroying the Black neighbouring
states for ever?

O Lord! how long must we call for help before you listen?
before you save us from this barbaric violence!

But the time is coming quickly
the Day of God's vengeance is coming
it may seem slow in coming
but it will come true
it will certainly take place in our life time.

Yes! South Africa will be free
yes! Namibia will be free.
When that freedom day comes
alas! to the child killer
the racist hunter will be the hunted.

there will be wailing and cries of sorrow in the streets of the
White Babylon

even the "Bloody Boer" farmer will be called to mourn
there will be wailing in all the vineyards of the Western Cape
the child killer will be on trial
behold! the child killer will be consumed by the fires of
freedom.

The lame, the maimed will be rescued
the political prisoners will break down the doors of captivity
and victoriously march out
the exile will triumphantly come home

our scattered people will come home
our Living God will make us famous throughout the world
he will make us prosperous once again.
The time of freedom is coming
the Day of God's vengeance is coming
it is surely coming.

In the very place that the dogs licked up the precious blood of
our beloved child
they will lick up the blood of the racist child killer
(1 Kg 21: 19).
"Thus says the Lord".

BY REVEREND GQIBA F. FUMIE

Dear Ronald Reagan,
I wish that you would stop
trying to own Namibia. You
know that Namibia wants to
be free forever and never
fight so please let my land
be free just for our sake, please.
And if you won't do
that then we shall have to
keep on fighting and fighting
please. I know that
is not good. I know that
because of the bible. It says
that God said that was not
what he wanted at all and I
know that you have read
God's words and you should
do them all. I would like
people free. I am not saying
that I hate you. Life would be
more easy for me and you,
Namibia free. Life would be
my people and your people.
ESTA MARTINS
(9 years old)



Villagers were lined up against the wall. . . .

Massacre at Oshikuku—March 1982



Eight people were killed, including children.

Dear Sir,
I am a Namibian student
here in Zambia. I want to tell
you not to support South
Africa again. I have read a
newspaper saying that you
are supporting South Africa
unlawfully every day inside
Namibia, they will kill more
people of South Africa.
South African attacks on
refugees from Namibia and
neighbouring countries. There
were many killed at the
Kassinga massacre. We want
to get independence and
build a new Namibia. We
want to rule our country
ourselves. Again I say that
the Boers are killing our
people in Namibia at Oshi-
kuku. Why are you support-
ing South Africa? It is better
you stop supporting South
Africa.

From
Elizabeth Ndipwashimwe.

Dear Sir,
I am a Namibian student
in Zambia. I want to ask
you, because I have read
the newspapers, why you are
supporting the South Afri-
cans inside Namibia to kill
the people of Namibia and
South Africa. The Boers also
attack our people's refugees
inside neighbouring countries.
I want independence and a
free country. We want to get
independence in our country.
The Boers are illegally in
Namibia, so why are you
supporting the South Afri-
cans?

ANNA NELENGE



South Africa's Hour Of Need

By T. S. Farisani

A FRIEND in need is a friend, indeed. This is our hour of need -- South Africa's hour of need. We need your support, honestly we do. Moral, spiritual and material support to the oppressed, and withdrawal of support to the oppressor -- moral, spiritual and material support.

OUR PRESENT REALITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The policies of reform and constructive engagement have both misformed our society and misinformed the world on the political dynamics of present day South Africa. Suffice it to say that today we are further away from justice, peace and order than we have ever been. The political twins of reform and constructive engagement must take full credit for these momentous achievements: 30,000 detainees, including 10,000 kids, two states of emergency, white pseudo-piety, pseudo-ignorance, pseudo-innocence and irresponsibility. The nazification, apartheidization, and balkanization of our country continues in the name of God, of civilization, of western democracy and holy capitalism. The government continues to implement their evil policies by hook and by crook: by persuasion, bribery, blackmail, intimidation, and structural and physical violence. Torture and murder of detainees irrespective of age and sex. Of late, the vigilantes, the instant police (kitskonstables), the green berrets, the uniformed police and the South African Defence Force have unleashed terror and death in the streets and homes of black townships and rural areas. To add insult to

injury, Botha has called for another whites only general election on May 6. The black majority must again watch helplessly as white lunatics, idiots and racists cart votes that will determine our present and future, as they have for years determined our past. Is there any doubt anywhere anymore that we are no more than:

- part-time citizens who must fade away at election time.
- part-time husband and wives, creatures of migratory labor.
- part-time pastors, half of our lives in detention while the flock starves.
- full-time prisoners in Pollsmoor and Robben Island?
- full-time laborers with part-time wages

Truly, May 6 reminds us for the upteenth time that we are part-time beings made by a part-time god during his part-time hour in the service of a full-time devil.

We have lost our right to farm.

We have lost our right to eat.

We have lost access to water.

We have lost our right to drink.

We have lost our right to elect a government of our choice.

We have lost our right to be.

Why this, dear friends, why this, O God? Our guests have turned our house upside down, our history inside out, our rights are thrown out the window.

We found Botha in The Hague and gave him an apartment,

We found Le Grange in prison and freed him,

We found Heunis naked

and dressed him,

When they were hungry in Holland, we fed them.

How dare aliens alienate the native? How dare naturalized citizens claim monopoly to Africanhood?

CAN THE PRESENT REGIME SOLVE OUR PROBLEMS?

They are captives of their own imaginations and ideology. They belong to a superior race, with a superior color and culture. They are not willing to share power and privilege -- both acquired at the expense of the black majority. They must defend their race and system at all costs for survival they argue. Needless to say, all these fears are self-inflicted as is the case with all authoritarian, unrepresentative regimes. For more details I refer you to the Commonwealth E.P.G. Report. Botha has neither the desire nor the resolve to solve our problems. More bluntly, the racist regime has no capacity to incapacitate itself, they need encouragement -- are you willing to encourage them back to a one, undivided, democratic South Africa with a black majority government? This is the hour!

ARE YOU WILLING AMERICA? WHO ARE GATHERED HERE AND TO WHAT END?

- To collect information for the South African government which will be useful in their fight against our freedom, justice and peace?
- To get material for a master's or doctor's degree?
- To listen and get new hope?
- To listen and pray?
- To pray and act?



— To sympathize and go home saying shame, poor creatures! The problems are complex!

— To rationalize, philosophize, theologize, psychologize, spiritualize?

Why are you here? To applaud the speakers and make standing ovations? Are you willing America: To take sides with the social outcasts, the political lepers, the economic appendices and the scavengers in the hallways of hell in South Africa and Namibia? Can I depend on you? Can I rely on you in this hour of need? Or shall I turn somewhere else? Where do you stand America? On Gatsha's side, Botha's political-twin-brother-in-disguise? On Savimbi's side, the man who has more honour in the corridors of power in Pretoria and Cape Town's white Parliament than the average black in both South Africa and Namibia? We are suspicious America: suspicious that the white House is blinded by the whiteness of the oppressor in southern Africa and has no enthusiastic, practical concern for the oppressed because of their blackness. We think it is in your long term interest — it is in the interests of justice, peace and order that instead of exporting Stinger missiles and intelligence to the oppressors and their surrogates, you should be exporting support to progressive freedom lovers in South Africa and Namibia, and the front-line states. We expect Uncle Sam to export democracy, justice and peace. But what do we see? Are you willing America?

DO YOU WANT TO BE GREAT AMERICA? HERE IS THE CHALLENGE :

I do not call upon you to conquer space;
I do not call upon you to challenge God,
I do not ask from you the

impossible.

We call upon you Americans to:

- Carry our cry to the White House,
- Never use your veto to protect the sons and daughters of apartheid,
- Send 100,000 letters, telexes, and telegrams to Botha to protest the whites only election on May 6, the continued imprisonment and detention of black people, including kids, the muzzling of people and the press, the state of emergency.

Protest against the very existence of the regime!

Support materially and morally the victims of apartheid! Can you afford, each of you, to:

- Part with ten dollars today for e.g. Cosatu?
- Pump billions of dollars into the frontline states?
- Stop tourism to South Africa?
- Uphold and increase economic pressure, including gold? Can't you survive without South African gold tainted with black blood?

This is greatness! Working for freedom, justice and peace.

FOR US ALL, THIS IS THE HOUR OF DECISION, THE HOUR OF ACTION!

- We must work for a new order in South Africa and Namibia which is only possible with popularly elected governments.
- We must accept today that Botha has baptized his government in the name of oppression (June 12, 1986), in the name of repression (December 11, 1986) and in the name of blasphemy (April 11,

1987)

Therefore, South Africa is not the same anymore, the old has gone, the new has come, a truly police state has been born — without qualification. Now, at long last, P.W Botha has genuinely crossed the Rubicon, from pretenses at political reform to racist domination of the black masses by state terrorism and policies of repression and cooption. Americans, we want to remember you in our hour of glory — which will surely come — for your support in our hour of shame. Please join our freedom song:

How many more blacks must die?

How many more blacks must disappear?

How many more blacks must be detained?

How many more blacks must go into exile?

How many more kids must be thrown in prison? . . .

Before Uncle Sam is moved? Cry with us:

We are tired of apartheid laager beer,

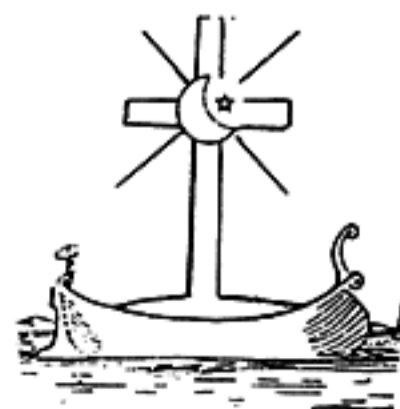
We are tired of farming rocks,

We are tired of hunger and thirst,

We are tired of belonging nowhere.

Today we are citizens of here, Tomorrow we are citizens over there, Next year citizens of in-between . . . Whose are we?

Scare-crows, non-entities that we are, In perpetual motion 'til Mandela Day, The voice of Pollsmoor, the voice of UHURU South Africa shall be free Nkosi: Sikelel' Africa!





A BROTHERLY INVITATION TO THE INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY

In this year of "Advance to People's Power," on behalf of the ANC leadership and all the democratic-minded people of South Africa, I greet you all in the name of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.

My task in this paper is that of a messenger. Firstly I bring you Christian revolutionary greetings from our far-sighted leadership and also from the oppressed masses of South Africa. Secondly, I bring you a brotherly invitation from both the former and the latter.

In his 1985 Presidential Address to the nation, O.R. Tambo cites four factors as the pillars of our political struggle. One of these pillars is international support or international solidarity. According to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, a pillar is, among other things, "a person who is a main supporter."

The major question that arises is: Why is this fourth pillar equated to the other three?

The answer to this important question is two-fold. Firstly, this is to acknowledge the political support rendered by the international community in exposing and isolating the Racist Pretoria regime.

In conjunction with our South African Brothers and Sisters (both Black and White) the international religious people have declared apartheid a heresy—a crime against humanity. Satanic apartheid distorts what God "saw as good" — man — after creation.

As members of this tested vanguard Movement of our beloved South Africa, we sincerely laud you for your positive contribution towards our still maturing struggle. We salute you all.

However, apartheid is still very much alive. It is on the loose. Like a wounded lion, it kills and maims all true prophets of the Living God. The once peaceful streets of our beautiful country have been turned into killing fields. In short, the racist Pretoria regime has declared war against Yahweh—our Living and Loving God. Even three year old children, like Mita Ngobeni, have been brutally killed. They are no more. Yes! The name of our Lord and Saviour is being profaned in the streets of the White Babylon. And this Satanic regime has the audacity to claim that it acts on behalf of our Loving God and western democracy.

How long, Brothers and Sisters, should we be tormented like this. How long should we be subjected to such extreme blasphemous acts? Now is the time for us to close ranks and take another historical step forward in the name of Christ against this racist monster.

Our divine task is not yet accomplished. It is still in its embryonic stage. Let us tell the regime that its Satanic and violent days are numbered. "Thus says the Lord of Hosts."

If apartheid is the product of man's greed; the product of sin; it should have been destroyed from below long ago. As God's special chosen people; people exclusively set apart by God for God; people who have been endowed with a very important power of discernment by

Yahweh Himself, the divine task of destroying what is not of God rests squarely on our shoulders. We have no choice and there is no middle road.

Fellow combatants of Christ, "an extra day of apartheid is an extra day too long." Now is the time. The God of history; the God of our fore-fathers; the God who always sides with the under-dog, the down-trodden, is on our side. We cannot afford any longer to be indifferent when the image of God is being crucified in the streets of the White Babylon. Yes! In South Africa, Botha and his generals are crucifying our Liberator, Jesus Christ.

How are you then expected to contribute towards the destruction of what has been declared a heresy? Are your prayers alone adequate to accomplish this enormous and divine task?

Yes! As religious people prayers are the key to the Holy of Holies. It is through prayers that we are able to find and follow God's way in this wicked world and read His mind. However, prayers lead to positive action. In other words, prayers not accompanied by positive action become an empty slogan. They cease to be a divine key to a divine action. They end up being used as a reactionary weapon which is ultimately utilised to escape our prophetic role in this evil world.

We cannot expect God to start throwing stones against the racist regime. God's power of love for the poor will only be realised through our practical endeavours. So, when you see the children of Soweto, Guguletu, Langa, Mamelodi, Umlazi (the flowers of our National Democratic Struggle) confronting the Satanic racist regime in the streets of the White



Babylon, barehanded, behold! that is God's love in action.

On this point in time of our history, the most practical approach of solving South African political problems is for you to join hands with the ANC. To be more specific, let us be in mission. This is a sincere invitation to you. We are reaching out to all those democratic-minded people who have the love of our beloved country at heart. Let this golden and rare opportunity not slip out of your hands.

It is only through such political partnership with the ANC that the International Religious Community could surely influence the political course of our National Democratic Struggle. It is only through such holy alliance that you could also be part and parcel of the engine of political change in present South Africa and in a future free, non-racial and democratic South Africa.

I beseech you to come with me as I briefly attempt to analyse the Nazi German and Colonial Mozambican Churches which deliberately failed to hear the cry of their worshippers when they needed them most. But this should not be misinterpreted as an attempt by me to frighten or to coerce the religious community into accepting this invitation. Perceive this as an attempt to remind the Church about the atrocities which were committed not in the name of its Founder, Jesus Christ, but in the name of Satan. The Church is called upon to take up its cross — the symbol of suffering and victory — and follow our Lord and Saviour.

In Nazi Germany, when Hitler was all out to exterminate the Jewish people, the Church was busy holding extravagant synods which were mainly debating about

the latest Church vestments — flashy and expensive garments worn by priests during divine services. It was only when the existence of the Church, as an institution, was threatened by Nazism that the Church woke up and reluctantly challenged the status quo. Hence the death of great Church martyrs like Kietrich Bonhoeffer. In short, the Church in Nazi Germany failed to be the true witness of the Kingdom of God.

Again, not very long ago in the then colonial Mozambique, the Church (particularly the Roman Catholic Church) found herself caught up in the Satanic tentacles of the Portuguese colonial masters. Even certain religious individuals who endeavoured to live up to their divine call were over-shadowed by the unGodly behaviour of the Church. She became intertwined with the colonial oppressive machinery and totally lost her prophetic role.

When the oppressed peace loving people of Mozambique under the political guidance of FRELIMO rose up against the status quo, the Church there felt threatened. Due to her unholy alliance with the forces of darkness such political uprising was perceived as a direct assault to the Church.

Consequently, in the name of Satan — the evil force which successfully hijacked the Church — the religious community did its best (in conjunction with the state) to suppress the unstoppable Mozambican Revolution. After the defeat of the colonizers, the Church experienced political turmoil.

As religious people, we should be the first to know that God uses many ways to punish His own when reason fails to prevail. In Mozambique, God purposely punished the Church that has failed to:—

— Bring good news to the

poor

- Heal the broken-hearted;
- Announce release to captives, and freedom to those in prison;
- Comfort all who mourn,
- Give to those who mourn, joy and gladness instead of grief,
- A song of praise instead of sorrow. (Isaiah 61:1-3a).

Dear Fellow Christians or religious Brothers and Sisters, what the Church in the post colonial Mozambique experienced should be perceived and be accepted by all religious and democratic-minded people as a fitting divine judgement. It is and will remain a divine lecture for us all.

Let us not allow ourselves to be controlled by narrow religious sentiments. God used and will continue to use even non-believers as His earthly divine instruments, whenever the Church fails to be Christ-like. Let us all remember that King Nebuchadnezzar, the pagan ruler of ancient Palestine was also used as God's servant to punish the children of God when they renounced Yahweh and worshipped other gods (Jer. 25:9; 27:6; 43:10).

Coming back to the South African situation, let me offer you once again ANC's hand of political friendship. Please! Let us close ranks and give Satan no space to manoeuvre. Time is on our side. Together, let us take another important political step forward against the racist regime.

This historical political invitation to you, therefore, answers the second part of our central question: Why this fourth pillar?

Let all who truly love and obey the commands of the Holy Spirit now say, as we say here :

Continued on page 22

"AN EXTRA DAY OF APARTHEID IS AN EXTRA DAY TOO LONG"

Dear Brothers/Sisters,

It is a matter of great honour and happiness to our people to inform you that on the 27th — 29th March, 1987 the African National Congress of South Africa together with foci of peace, freedom and social progress all over the world has established the inter-faith chaplaincy whose first and foremost task is to minister to the spiritual needs of the ANC religious community in exile.

The inter-faith Chaplaincy will work with, and co-operate with all South African religious organisations, denominations and institutions towards a fruitful and divine religious witness in South Africa, as the "Evangelical Witness" and the "KAIROS DOCUMENT" have already set the pace.

"The present crisis challenges the whole Church to move beyond a mere 'ambulance ministry' to a ministry of involvement and participation".

We express our profound gratitude to your church, to the christian and religious communities in your country for identifying with the genuine aspirations of our people. The various activities mounted by religious people all over the world for the total isolation of the racist regime of South Africa are a source of courage and strength to our people.

It is the part of the proven history of the ANC that among

its founding fathers and early leaders are to be found such true Christians as Rev. John Dube, first president of the ANC, Minister of the Congregational Church, S.M. Makgatho, second president of the ANC Methodist leader and lay preacher; Rev. Z.R. Mahabane, third president of the ANC, Minister of the Methodist Church Rev. W.B. Rubusana, one of the four vice-Chairman of the Congregational Union of South Africa, and Rev. J.T. Gumede the fourth president of the ANC.

These great sons of our people and those who followed in their footsteps, saw clearly that their own efforts to secure human fulfilment and salvation lay also in their active involvement in the struggle for national liberation.

True Christians and religious people in our country today are realising that as long as apartheid exist in our unhappy land, meaningful change is totally impossible. Thus ministers of religion, Church leaders, religious activists are identifying themselves with the cause of the oppressed and are challenging the racist Pretorian regime and its oppressive machinery of terror. They rally in their thousands to the call of the ANC to join with other patriots to mobilise the masses of the people, including millions of believers, to engage in the struggle for a democratic South Africa based on the noble ideals enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

Our people are suffering

massive violations of their fundamental human rights. The racist regime is committing genocide against our people. Jesus Christ is being crucified in the streets of the White Great Babylon. Millions are forced to endure conditions of poverty and degradation so that a tiny minority can engage in unlimited personal and financial speculation.

We are however more determined to make the sacrifices that the situation demands of us and we believe that peace and brotherhood in our country can only be realised after the total destruction of the racist Pretoria regime.

We wish to invite your Church and the whole Christian and Religious communities in your countries to join our struggling masses and be political partners in this just and holy political war of ours. We further kindly request your Church or religious formations to render us the necessary humanitarian support to enable us to successfully our intended programme of action.

We are confident that Christians and Religious people all over the world will engage in further activities in support of the just cause of our people now and beyond victory.

The Lord of Hosts, through His humble servant, has spoken.

In His Service,
Yours In Christ,
Rev. Gqiba F. Fumie
(ANC CHAPLAIN)

From page 21

"These God-given human freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have once and for all, destroyed what is not of God — Racism."

Let all those who have ears hear. The ball is in your court. Thus says the Lord.

CLARION CALL TO WORLD CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

THE masses of our people and their vanguard Organisation, A N.C. will both stand stronger if the rest of the world community stands with us and is actively engaged in

striving to accomplish the following programme:

- increase moral and material support to the African National Congress and other patriotic forces of our country, for the trans-

CONTINUED ON PAGE 27



"I WAS BAPTISED AND BROUGHT UP AS A CHRISTIAN, EDUCATED IN CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS AND, I DEVELOPED A STRONG ATTACHMENT TO THE CHRISTIAN FAITH."

220/82: Nelson Mandela.

Dear Sheikh Gabier,

As a member of the Methodist Church of South Africa, I was baptised and brought up as a Christian, educated in christian schools and, at an early age, I developed a strong attachment to the christian faith.

During my long term of imprisonment, I and my fellow prisoners received tremendous support and encouragement from the Christian churches. The new trend that the church, as opposed to the isolated actions of individual clergymen, should be in the forefront of the struggle for self-expression and justice, and the elevation of Blacks (i.e. Africans, Coloureds and Indians) to positions of authority in the Church have, in terms of our unique situation turned christianity into a militant doctrine, and the institution itself into a powerful force and natural ally of all those who are involved in that struggle. These developments have made the Church more aware of the evils of lack of opportunity, poverty, malnutrition and, as a result more acceptable to the masses of our people.

Until I was 23 years of age I lived, like most of us in those days, in a homogeneous social environment. Although I knew vaguely of the existence of other religions, I never even seriously thought about them. Then in the early forties I found myself working closely with members of other population groups, and discovered that these religions were as great as and, in some cases even older than Christianity, with equally magnificent achievements in the field of human rights, education and

welfare.

I found that men like Mauloi Cachalia, Nana Sita and a host of others were fine and forceful personalities as eminent for virtue as any Christian. I must add that it was Mauloi Cachalia who first outlined to me the basic tenets of Islam and the history and achievements of the University of Ibadan.

Later I became an admirer of Dr Abdurahman, the far-sighted pioneer who raised the question of Black unity with unrivalled dedication as far back as the Twenties. I never met Imam Haroun but heard many good things about him. Imam Bassier visited us regularly on Robben Island and, at the time of my transfer to this place, his services were enjoying ever-growing support. Having listened to him there, I consider it regrettable that there should be no Moslem priest visiting us in this prison. The support we got as prisoners from the Christian churches was not greater than the support and encouragement we were given by our Moslem and Hindu communities.

I should have indicated that my 1962 African Tour opened my eyes even wide and I gained a deeper insight into the principals and influence of Islam on our continent. Although I have no authentic statistics on the matter, my three months tour of the Arab States in North Africa from Egypt to Morocco, and my visits to Mali, Guinea and Nigeria gave me the impression that on this continent there were more Moslems than Christians.

But I must return to the domestic scene and inform you that on the Island I

literally harassed the Commanding Officer for permission to visit Sheikh Mautiva's Kramat. Permission was granted only in 1977. That is the day which I will not easily forget. Symbols and monuments especially those which represent great movements or national heroes can move one beyond words. My fellow prisoners and I spent more than an hour in the shrine and we came out feeling proud and happy that we were able to pay our respect to so great a fighter as Sheikh Mautiva.

Unfortunately, there was nobody among us who was well-versed in Islam to explain to us the significance of the Arheles, signs and symbols inside and outside the Kramat. Our knowledge would have been considerably enriched.

In conclusion, I want to point out that there are two evils which have confronted society right down the centuries. These are wars, on the one hand, and lack of opportunity and disparities in wealth, on the other. Those whose primary concern is the elimination of these evils tend to judge all ideas, spiritual and otherwise, and all social institutions on the extent to which they contribute towards the removal of these evils. In my current situation I cannot express myself fully and frankly except to let you know that I consider the Moslem Judicial Council to be fully committed to the elimination of these evils. This is the reason why the MJC is an inspiration to us all.

Fondest regards to you, Sheikh Mohammed to all the members of the MJC.

Yours Sincerely,
N.R.D. MANDELA.



CONSULTATION OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND PEACE (IWCRP) HELD IN LUSAKA – ZAMBIA.

ON the 16th –18th September 1987 an international consultation was held in Lusaka, Zambia by the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP) at which the African National Congress was invited.

The WCRP is an established

world religious body which seeks to foster inter religious cooperation within the religions of the world. As an organisation it follows with interest conflict situations in the world with an aim to finding solutions to those

conflicts. This was not a first encounter with the WCRP for us. WCRP as an organisation which has NGO status and represented at the United Nations, We have shared platforms in anti-apartheid forums on many occasions. We attend-



Comrade Ruth Mompoti and Bishop Desmond Tutu



ed the fourth general assembly of WCRP in Nairobi, Kenya in 1984.

The consultation was a follow up on a decision taken at the fourth WCRP general assembly held in Nairobi to send a delegation to South Africa to assess the political crisis in our country. This was not to be as the regime refused most of the members of the delegation visas.

The WCRP was determined to be informed about the situation in South Africa and decided to hold the consultation in Lusaka, Zambia. The WCRP-SA delegation led by the Archbishop D. Tutu included Anglican Bishops and religious leaders from Muslim and Hindu religions. The WCRP international chapter was led by its Secretary-General, John Taylor and other WCRP leaders from India, USA and Australia.

The ANC delegation was led by Cde. Ruth Mompoti and consisted of other four members of the NEC and other comrades. The consultation was significant for the one reason that it took place at a time when Botha was threatening all South Africans opposed to apartheid not to have any contacts with the ANC. It was also important as the regime has imposed a blanket ban on news of the atrocities it is perpetrating against our people, and the people of southern Africa. The participants in the consultation were able to get first hand informa-

tion from people involved in the struggle some of whom have been victims of its repression.

The movement over the years has worked closely with the church leadership. It was the first time to be exposed to youth from the Hindu community which is waging struggles to involve more of the leadership from his community in the National liberation struggle. The consultation was held in a cordial and warm atmosphere which enabled delegates to reach common understanding on a number of issues. At the end of the consultation a communique was issued which stated inter alia:

"Religions are becoming a real vital force in South Africa and people of religions have an increasingly important role to play in the struggle for liberation.

Inter-faith cooperation is essential in South Africa in order to focus on the fact of religious pluralism in South African society to provide a platform for the continuous condemnation of apartheid and to attend to inter-faith tensions as a potentially divisive factor which the apartheid regime seek to exploit. . .

Apartheid cannot be changed or reformed and should be abolished and destroyed. The present regime refuses to meet the just aspirations of the people of South Africa and remains the obstacle on the road to a relatively peaceful

solution. It resorts to increasing repression within the country, to increasing aggression and acts of destabilisation against sovereign states in southern Africa and therefore blocks the possibility of a negotiated solution at this stage.

The Pretoria regime meanwhile has become more brutal and inhuman in the present war against its people. The meeting recognised the centrality of the ANC to any solution of the south African conflict. All participants shared a common commitment to the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in South Africa based on one person one vote.

To this end the participants urge the international community to take prompt and strong measures aimed at isolating the Pretoria regime."

The consultation also discussed the forth coming Commonwealth Summit and directed the above communique to the leaders who will be gathered in Vancouver, Canada, to impose mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

The WCRP is making preparations for its fifth General Assembly to be held in Australia in 1988. The issue of Southern Africa will be high on its agenda and the ANC will participate and contribute to the deliberations of this important occasion.

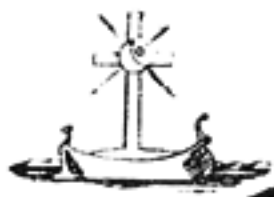
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authority cannot be challenged on such issues. He has travelled widely and continues to do so. The esteem with which he is regarded in Africa can be judged by the fact that the movement he leads, the ANC,

is regarded as the authentic and representative voice of the Black masses of South Africa. He knows personally almost all African leaders on the continent — except Banda — who have a great respect for

his opinions. His speeches have been published and translated into many languages.

This is OR, the man of the people leader of the oppressed masses in South Africa and maker of history.



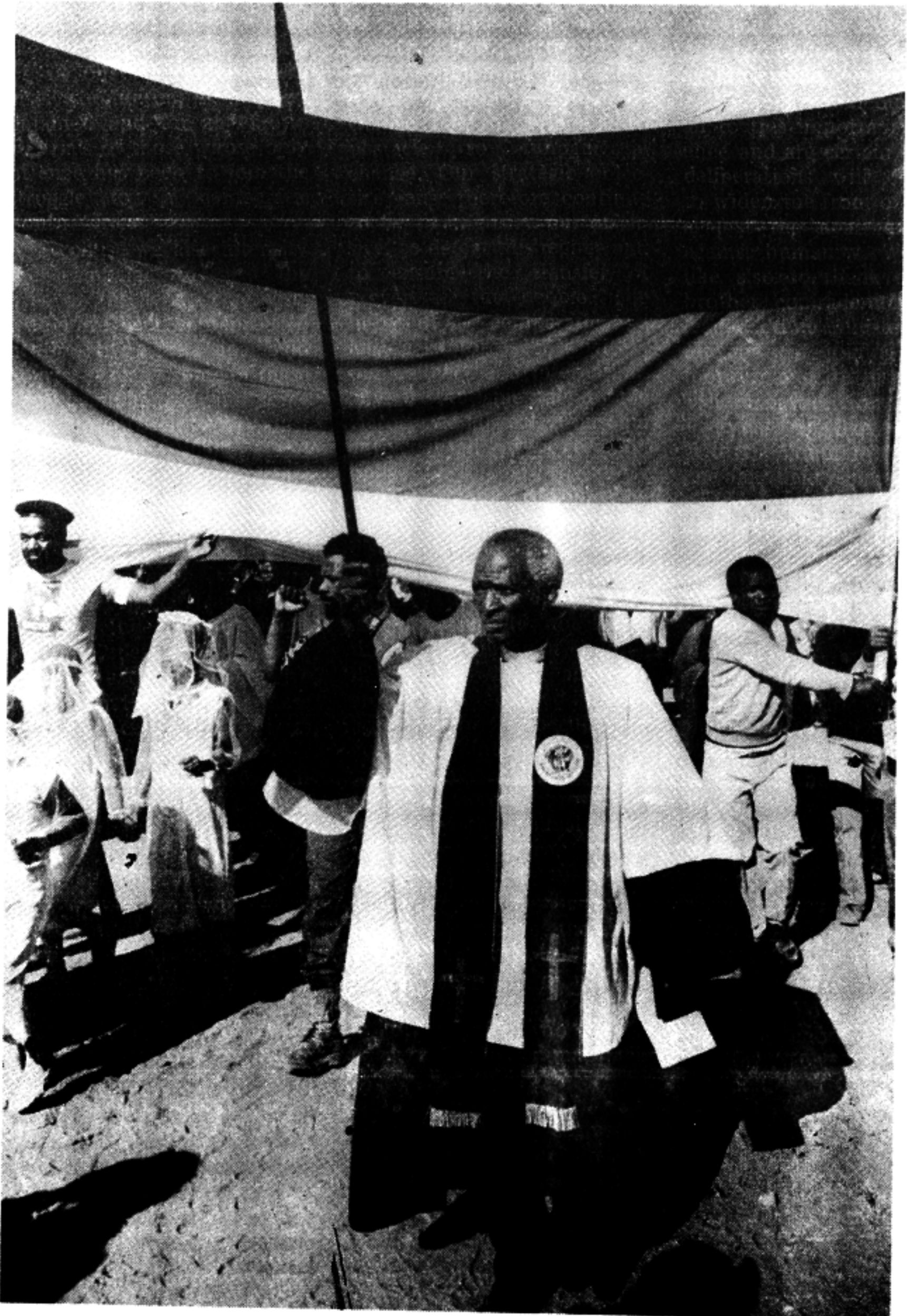
An Eulogy To The Late Rev. Marawu

THIS is the obituary the ANC department of religious affairs could not read at the funeral of Rev. Marawu. It

will surely be ready in a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Comrade Rev. Marawu

passed away on the 13th November 1987 in Groote Schuur hospital, Cape Town and was buried on the 28th





November. His untimely death was due to over exposure to cold and the lack of proper medical care while detained under the state of emergency and kept at the notorious Victory Verster Maximum Prison in Paarl.

Comrade Rev's, as he was known amongst the comrades started political involvement in the fifties with the ANC where he was a member of the volunteers group in Nyanga under the leadership of comrade Oscar Mpetha who together with our leader, comrade Nelson Mandela, were imprisoned at first state of emergency in 1960. It also resulted in Rev. having difficulties to find employment. Whenever employed the racist made sure that he was sacked. This led him to become a minister. It remained a question whether Rev. had time for his congregation.

At the time of Rev's death, he worked as an organizer for the General Workers Union and also for The Ecumenical Action Movement (TEAM). During the launch of the UDF in 1983 he was appointed as one

of its patrons. Rev. had spent all his life in the struggle. He was an untiring freedom fighter and a jack of all trades. He worked with the youth, students, women, religious groupings and workers. Also well known as an interpreter at political and religious meetings he would at times become more of a speaker and give political content to speeches which lacked it. To the youth he always stressed the importance of discipline and hatred for the enemy. He maintained that people should fight back heroically whenever they are in the hands of the racist police. He would say "Use every piece of furniture or anything you could lay your hands on and hit back". Cowards and sell-outs he stressed should be dealt with accordingly by the masses.

Rev. is no more but his revolutionary ideas and noble works live. You have taught us how to fight the enemy. You have instilled in us that revolutionary hatred for the enemy and the need to continue to fight till the end. Your death came at a time when we have intensified our commitment in bringing

about freedom in our lifetime. At a time when the roots of apartheid are showing their decaying effect. At a time when sunrises are showing the sparkling light of freedom.

Was it not you who saw the birth of our glorious army-Umkhonto We Sizwe? Was it not you witnessing how they dished out vicious blows to the enemy? Yes! it was you who had witnessed the incarceration of our leadership to the notorious Robben Island. Rev. you have died a happy man you have witnessed the escalation of our armed struggle and the overall participation of our people in the struggle.

Time has come to say farewell Comrade Rev. The spear that you carried heroically in your lifetime had been sharpened and is carried with determination by all of us. Your courage and strength are in the hearts and minds of young and old. Your desires and wishes will be fulfilled.

Your death shall be avenged. . . .

Hamba Kahle Qhawe
Lamaqhawe.
Mayihlome!

ANC DEPARTMENT OF RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS



CONTINUED FROM PAGE 22

- fer of power to the people;
- Severance of all political economic and cultural links with the apartheid regime of South Africa;
- Ensure strict observance and enforcement of the UN Security Council arms embargo against racist South Africa;
- Urge member churches of the WCC and all countries to withdraw investments

- from South Africa;
- Encourage member churches of the WCC to contact and cooperate with one another at regional and local levels with the purpose of enhancing and strengthening the Programme to Combat Racism;
- The education and activation of every Christian throughout the world to

- raise their level of personal and collective involvement in the struggle to eradicate racism;
 - Encouragement of the Church in South Africa to be fully involved in all aspects of the struggle against apartheid, for a democratic South Africa.
- "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the sons and daughters of God."



**PRESIDENT
OR TAMBO**

**POLITICAL
PROFILE**

(Article originated from Sechaba October 1987)

on the Occasion of
his 70th Birthday

By FRANCIS MELI

IT HAS become a tradition in our movement that when a historical event or an important occasion takes place it is commemorated, indeed celebrated, in a fitting fashion. This is all the more so because the collective memory of the people usually translates itself into mass consciousness, and historical memory being what it is passes from one generation to another — in fact it lingers over the heads of generations. The masses it is said make history. But individuals too make their imprint. The role of the personality in history and politics does influence the course of events. One such personality is OR Tambo, President of the ANC, who is celebrating his 70th birthday this month. OR (as he is affectionately called) has been at the centre of political action all his adult life and has been pivotal in all the innovations and developments within the ANC and South Africa as a whole.

EARLY BEGINNINGS

Born on October 27th 1917, in Bizana (the peasants in the area call the place Mbizana) Eastern Pondoland, Transkei, Oliver Reginald Tambo grew up in the rural areas. His father, Frederick, a peasant farmer, had several wives and his mother gave birth to two children — Oliver and his sister, Lydia. At the age of 12, O.R. Tambo attended the mission school at Ludebe in Holy Cross near Flagstaff. Thereafter he got a scholarship from two English missionary women and went to St. Peter's School in Johannesburg where he completed matriculation with a first class pass

in 1938. He was awarded a scholarship by the Transkeian Bunga and then proceeded to Fort Hare University college in Alice where he graduated with a Bachelor of Science degree in 1941.

But even before he graduated a 'simple' incident, which had repercussions on his later political life, influenced him. A white boarding master assaulted an African woman employee and when no charges were filed, a student protest broke out and Tambo was a key actor in that protest. This was the beginning of his political baptism, his own activism and action against 'authority.' OR has this to say about the incident:

"I was just an ordinary student . . . I'd always got along with authorities quite well . . . I found myself playing quite the leading role in the protest against what happened to this woman."

He graduated and went to Johannesburg where he met ANC politicians, notably Walter Sisulu. By the time he went back to Fort Hare for a post graduate course in Education — University Education Diploma — he had close contacts with some ANC leaders.

Tambo as the elected head of the hostel approached the warden of the hostel about reconditioning an old tennis court. He got permission but when he asked if they could play on Sundays the warden was horrified at the thought. Tambo's hostel was Anglican and the warden feared that this was going to tempt the Methodists and Presbyterians who were not allowed to play tennis — to play on Sundays. The students protested. Their weapon was "non-

co-operation.'

They would go to the chapel, get there and just keep quiet throughout the service. This went on for a week. The students were then brought before a disciplinary committee. Tambo was expelled. This was in 1942. He was not the only one to be expelled — the whole hostel comprised a quarter of the student population — and some left voluntarily, in sympathy with those expelled. OR Tambo remembers.

"These events — they pulled me out of my sense of security."

After expulsion from Fort Hare he went back to Johannesburg where he re-established contacts with ANC. Tambo was 'forced' into political activity by the situation of racial discrimination that surrounds every black man. He taught at St. Peter's — though he did not have a University Education Diploma, a licence to teach. His students included Duma Nokwe, later to be Secretary General in an Executive headed by Chief Lutuli and OR Tambo. President Tambo remembers taking some students from St. Peter's to an Anglican cathedral on a Good Friday in the mid-40's. They were two thirds of the way up in the church when a White priest came around and said:

"Would you please go to the back of the cathedral because this section is reserved for Whites."

OR ignored him and when he came next time he found OR kneeling and he (OR) said:

"Please, don't interrupt me."

Up to then OR thought that the church was part of



the struggle. He taught at St. Peter's until 1947. He turned towards politics.

We relate this story because it has relevance for the younger generation of today. OR studied Science; was disillusioned with the church and had discredited his ambition of being a medical doctor - he had now turned to law, on the advice of Walter Sisulu. In 1947 he was 30 years old but today children of 15 are already involved in politics. This is not only a change in attitudes but in the politics of our times; it is not a so-called generation gap but a continuation of a process of injection of politics into education a process started by the founding fathers of the ANC but definitely developed by the generation of OR Tambo.

THE ANC YOUTH LEAGUE

In the mid-forties young men and women in their mid-twenties or early thirties, mainly teachers or students of medicine or law, became dissatisfied with the manner in which things were done by the ANC and the pace with which they were done. These were young intellectuals. Walter Sisulu, a worker, was a noticeable exception.

These were prominent members of provincial and/or local student associations who articulated the aspirations of their generation and the masses of the people as a whole. They held political discussions frequently.

The African youth were concerned with the deteriorating conditions of our people; the rise of fascism in Germany and Mussolini's barbaric attack on Ethiopia in 1935-36 aroused interest not only about the fate and future of South Africa but of the whole continent. The growth and new militancy of African trade unions (the mine workers) and the activi-

ties of the Communist Party were other factors which led to the rise of the ANC Youth League. These young people participated in militant mass actions.

It was in response to this situation that the annual conference of the ANC on December 21, 1942 resolved that "this annual conference of the African National Congress authorises the Executive to institute a youth League of the African National Congress to include students at Fort Hare" and the 1943 annual conference adopted a similar resolution. These young men consulted with the ANC leadership, especially Dr Xuma - the ANC President General before the ANC Youth League was formally established at the inaugural meeting held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg in April 1944.

Anton Muziwakhe Lembede became its first president and OR Tambo was prominent leader. There were many others, the most noticeable being Lembede, Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo, Mda, Njongwe Nkomo, Ngubane, Sobukwe, Ntsu Mokhehle and others. The aim of these young men and women was simple and honest: a desire to remould the ANC, and there was a noticeable shift towards recruiting a broader circle and organising a permanent youth wing within the ANC.

The other aims of the Youth League were to articulate ideological questions such as African Nationalism; to work out political strategies, militant policies and to map out organisational structures.

The moving spirit in the Youth League was Anton Lembede, a controversial but certainly one of the most misunderstood personalities in our history. Lembede was

militantly nationalistic, with very strong views on the Africanness of our struggle his philosophy, he called it, "Africanism". But Lembede's ideas were not static but changing with the times.

On March 9, 1947 a meeting of the Joint Committee of the ANC, the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses was held in Johannesburg. Present were Dr A.B Xuma, in the chair, Dr Y.M Dadoo (TIC), Debi Singh (NIEC) J.B. Marks (ANC), M.P Naicker (NIC), D. Tloome (ANC), C.S. Ramohane (ANC), Y.A. Cachalia (TIC), J.N Singh, A B. Meer (both NIC) and, significantly, A M Lembede.

A sub-committee, consisting of Drs Xuma and Dadoo, Singh, Meer and Lembede was appointed to draft a joint declaration. The joint declaration which was read and accepted, stated:

"... that the next meeting of the joint committee be held on 23 March 1947 at 11.00 am to which representatives of APO should be invited to attend."

What we are saying is that Lembede was part of a Joint Committee of Africans and Indians and was a member of a sub-committee which appealed to the Coloureds to join the Africans and Indians in the struggle. This call for a united front of all democratic forces could only be realised in the 1950's. Even ideologically he was developing and changing his views, attitudes and ideas about the Communist Party. Unfortunately he died in July 1947 at the tragically early age of 33.

Tambo was part of this collective. He served for a while as the National Secretary of the Youth League, then became its Transvaal president and, in 1948-49 was National Vice-President.



called for the formation of the ANC or Gumede when he came back from Moscow or Mandela's Rivonia Trial Speech.

The Western Countries are mounting a campaign against the ANC. We are told that the ANC is a communist front organisation and therefore it must not be supported in fact people are called upon to fight it. The ANC is told to loosen its ties with the Soviet Union and dissociate itself from the South African Communist Party; it must abandon armed struggle it must be part of the 'reform' process.

In this connection it might be instructive to relate what President Tambo told George Schultz, American Secretary of State. The Soviet Union has no interests in Southern Africa that are separate and different from those of the rest of humanity. It wants an end to apartheid. What the U.S should consider is having discussions with the Soviet Union with the aim of seeking ways and means of devising a joint plan of helping us overthrow apartheid. This is what is called consistency in struggle — a characteristic feature of OR.

In the 1970s South Vietnam was liberated and Vietnam united or rather reunited. OR Tambo was so inspired by this victory that he led an ANC delegation to study the experience of the Vietnamese people. These were questions connected with armed struggle and mass mobilisation. This was before the formation of the UDF and other mass organisations. This experience proved useful in the development of our theory of armed struggle and mass mobilisation.

One of OR's contributions has been the drive for the release of all political priso-

ners and the struggle for unbanning the ANC: a process which took the form of transforming the ANC from an African organisation into a national organisation of like-minded people, united by their hatred of colonialism, racism, exploitation and national degradation; sharing a common goal — the Freedom Charter — and whose activities consist in propagating its ideas amongst the people and fighting in a constituency which it itself defines. This was realised at the Second Consultative ANC Conference in Kabwe in June 1985. The subsequent meetings between the ANC and organisations from within the country have vindicated the correctness of this line.

HIS INTERNATIONALISM

The ANC NEC foresaw that our movement is going to be banned: hence they instructed OR to leave the country and mobilise internationally. This proved to be doubly important because when the ANC leadership was arrested at Rivonia in 1963, the External Mission of the ANC had to take over the tasks of the Men of Rivonia — armed struggle — and OR features here prominently. He is a military theorist, strategist and organiser of armed struggle.

When the External Mission had to shoulder the tasks which were the province of the Rivonia Trialists — armed struggle, OR Tambo together with Mgwenye (senior cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe) initiated the participation of our young army in the Zimbabwean struggle. This was OR's internationalism. There were heroes of ours who had fallen in Rhodesia and comrades of ours who were arrested and sentenced to death by the Smith regime and those who were caught in Botswana and even in

South Africa. Some were executed (Mini, Khayingo, Mkhaba) and others sentenced to long term of imprisonment. These include the men of Rivonia.

These were some of the problems that faced OR and his executive in the 1960s.

OR, together with Uncle J.B. Marks and Moses Mabhida (Moses Kotane was at this time incapacitated) helped to give directions in the difficult deliberations of the Morogoro Conference and later became central in the struggle against the 'Gang of 8'.

Comrade Tambo's role in arousing world consciousness has had an immense impact on international opinion about South Africa. His basic thesis is that by liberating South Africa we are contributing to the international community's struggle for justice and therefore assistance to us is not an act of charity: it is a revolutionary duty. Apartheid is not only fraudulent, says Tambo, but anachronistic.

Our struggle against apartheid is therefore connected with the worldwide struggle for peace — our armed struggle is basically a struggle for peace.

Since coming out of South Africa in 1960, he has earned the respect of many world figures by his honesty, his modesty,

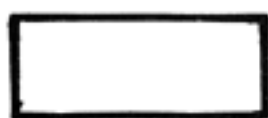
his incisive intelligence and his historic indictments against the apartheid regime at the United Nations and other world forums. He has met practically all African Heads of States and world leaders including recently Gorbachev. In this he was continuing the work he and Mandela started in 1961. So ably has he represented the case against South Africa that he has come to be regarded as a man whose

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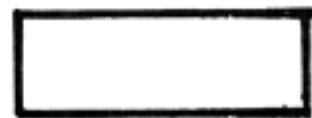
HOW LONG MUST WE SUFFER?



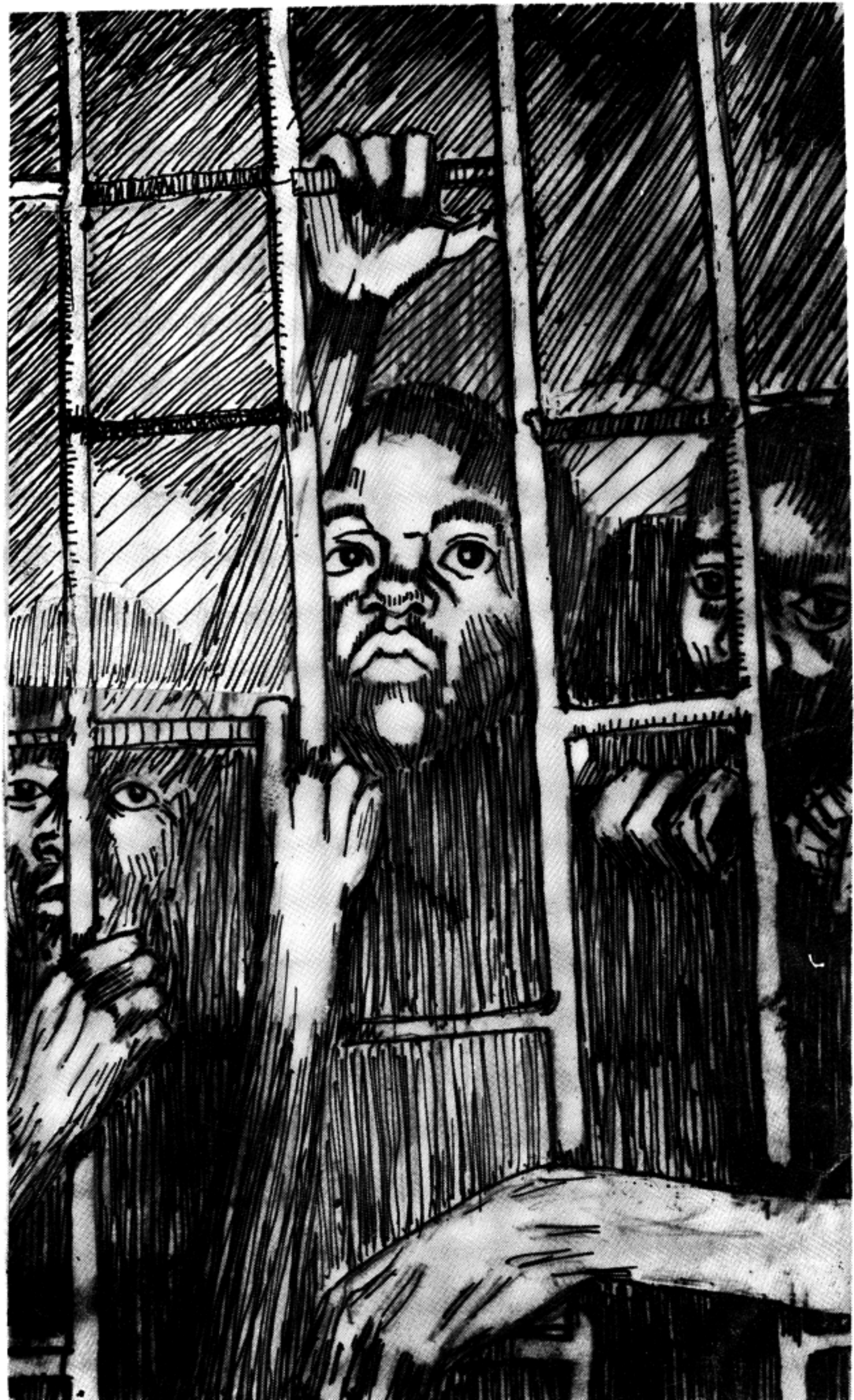
REAGAN - THATCHER - BOTHA STOP THE DETENTION
OF OUR CHILDREN!!



FREE THE CHILDREN



FREE THE CHILDREN FREE THE CHILDREN FREE THE CHILDREN



FREE THE CHILDREN FREE THE CHILDREN FREE THE CHILDREN