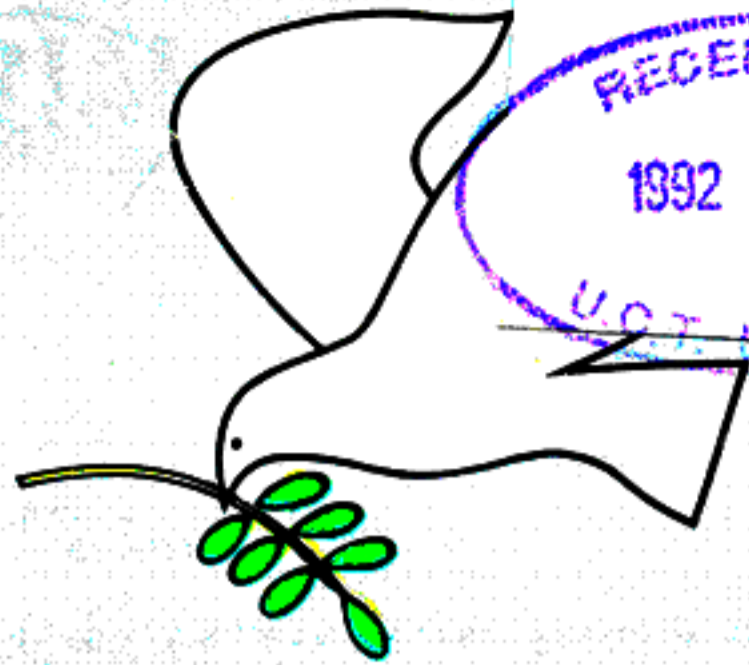


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Phakamani

Quarterly magazine of the ANC
Department of Religious Affairs
Vol. 2 No. 1/1988

Sound Faith, Love and Endurance





Sound faith, love and edurance

**DONATE GENEROUSLY TO THE ANC
RELIGIOUS DEPARTMENT TO CRUSH
APARTHEID!!!**

FRONT COVER:

Comrade President Regionald Oliver Tambo leading a »Toi-toi» (Revolutionary dance) at the 76th Anniversary of the ANC in Lusaka.

FEATURES.

1. Statement by Lutheran World Federation at the "People's of the World Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa" Conference Arusha - December 1-4 1987. (Page 13).
2. Christians and the Path of the Revolution. (Page 20) (ANC Christian underground structures)
3. Profile of Rev. Frank Chikane (Page 27)
4. ANC Constitutional Guidelines For a democratic S.A (Page 26)

View 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.

The Editor
Department of Religious Affairs
P.O. Box 31791
LUSAKA
ZAMBIA
Telex. ANC SA: ZA 45390
Telephone: 218- 771
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EDITORIAL

THE establishment of the new Department within the ANC - the Department of Religious Affairs - has once again struck the blow to the racist regime and its allies. The regime and its allies have for a long time tried to portray the Liberation Movement as a Communist led organisation - mainly because of its alliance with the SACP. Though the SACP is a separate political body from the ANC, we should not hide the fact that the ANC is a mass Liberation Movement which accomodate people from different schools of thought. It does therefore have communists and religious people in its membership. These different schools of thought - including many others - are all bound by one perspective, i.e., ridding our country of the tyrannical apartheid system.

The Racist regime has now gone on a multi-million rand campaign of propaganda against the establishment of the Department of Religious Affairs, saying that the ANC has now found new avenues in its so called continued »Terrorist Activities» and now uses the Religious people.

In its desperation, the Sata-nic Botha regime has, on the 19th February 1988, declared our Chaplain - Comrade Rev. Gqiba F.F. - a listed person who cannot be quoted any more in South Africa.

The truth remains - the ANC was formed by Christians who loved peace and stability in

their country which the regime is denying them now for decades.

The Department of Religious Affairs has already circulated two quarterly issues of its Journal inside as well as outside South Africa. But the Journal had not been given a name yet. And the Logo that has been used in the two previous issues we have felt must be dropped and a new one be used in its stead.

The Journal shall henceforth be called »PHAKAMANI» Phakamani means »STAND UP» , »ONTWAAK» in Afrikaans or »EMELLANG» in Sotho. It obtains from the call made by the ANC that all should stand up and join the Democratic forces inside South Africa and abroad - and oppose the legality of the Pretoria regime to rule our country, irrespective of political and economic values. The intensification and escalation of the armed struggle in South Africa remains the vital task of all the democratic forces in the country. As the ANC entrenches itself deep inside the country, it has also aligned itself with all patriots waging the struggle against the inhuman system of apartheid. And within the bounds and conviction to the struggling of South Africa. The ANC will continue struggling until victory is achieved.

And instead of the Logo that was used in the previous, issues, we shall now be using the

White Dove as our emblem. The dove has served in the ancient times as a symbol of love, a messenger of the gods and a holy creature which supposedly brought salvation and hope to the people. Today this ancient symbol is known world over as the symbol of peace and the struggle for peace.

The White dove has been depicted by various artists in the most diverse forms. The Spanish Painter, Pablo Picasso distinguished the white dove as a bird of skillfulness and strength, perseverance and wisdom. Louise Aragon a poet, found the bird on his desk during the preparation for the Paris World Peace Congress in 1949, and presented it at the Congress. Since then the White Dove has become a symbol of all congresses and conferences of peace the world over.

The ANC' waging a struggle for peace, had all along marched with all peace loving people in the struggle for peace. Using this symbol is to confirm the just cause waged by the people of South Africa.

UNITED IN ACTION



South Africa's Destabilization of the Southern African Region.

By REV. FRANK CHIKANE

THE racist white-minority regime of South Africa is waging a bitter war against the black majority in the country, in defence of the apartheid system. This is a war that is waged in defence of the last bastion of white rule in Africa.

Because of this war thousands of our people have been killed, detained and tortured, many have been thrown into prisons and many other thousands have been forced into exile. Millions of our people have been forcefully removed and relocated or dumped in the so-called homelands as prescribed by the apartheid system, in an effort to make 87% of South Africa white. Millions of our people have been deprived of their citizenship making all of us refugees in the land of our birth over and above all the South African refugees who are scattered around the world.

As the war intensified during the eighties we have seen how the system has used the tribal homelands to wage war against the people. We have seen the emergence of vigilante groups, (backed by agents of the system) attack and kill the democratic and legitimate leaders of the black people. We have seen the emergence of assassination or death squads which are systematically eliminating leading opponents of the apartheid regime.

The present state of emergency and the control of the media has created just the right climate for this brutal acts to be committed without being exposed. For this reason many people have been displaced, most of whom are school children. This should give you a picture of the degree of destabilization within the country.

But what concern us in this paper is South Africa's destabilization of its neighbours, which is inter-related to this internal form of destabilization. The war inside South Africa has engulfed the whole Southern Africa region. Since the eighties, for instance, South Africa has: —

- * invaded and attacked the capitals of Lesotho, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia;
- * invaded and attacked Angola and Swaziland;
- * backed dissident groups that have brought chaos in Angola and Mozambique and less serious disorders in Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Zambia;
- * obstructed the oil supplies of six countries (Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe).
- * Attacked the railways, providing the normal import and export routes of seven countries (Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zambia and Zimbabwe).
- * Blockaded Lesotho in 1986, which blockade, amongst other factors, created the necessary condition for a coup on January 1986.

Since the eighties, an estimated 0,5 million have died in this region and more than half of these were children under the age of five (1). Most of them were starved to death because of the South African-backed Mozambique's National

Resistance Movement (MNR), which prevented drought relief to reach the people. Famine here was used as a weapon of war. More than one million have been displaced within their country or as refugees elsewhere.

Over the period 1980 to 1984 South Africa's destabilization cost this region US\$ 10 000 million which is more than all the foreign aid these states received in the same period (2). This has seriously affected development projects and has also reduced the very low living standard of most people in this region.

To understand this South African destabilization strategy of the Southern African region I propose that we deal with the background leading to this strategic position, the concept of destabilization, the three phases of destabilization between 1981 up to date, and, then briefly look at the uniqueness of the Namibian situation

In conclusion, we shall raise an issue about the legitimacy of the South African regime in the light of its policy of destabilization, and then end by proposing a way of stabilizing this region. Recommendations to the AACC's fifth Assembly are presented separately as an annexure to this paper.

BACKGROUND TO SOUTH AFRICA'S DESTABILIZATION STRATEGY

The independence of Mozambique and Angola in 1975 altered the balance of forces in the Southern African region. It broke the so-called "cordon sanitaire" of white ruled colonies which gave the apartheid

regime a feeling of security and confidence to suppress indefinitely the political aspirations of the black majority in the country.

The fall of the Portuguese colonies brought the battle front against colonial rule closer to heartland of white oppression and exploitation (3) This created security problems for South Africa. The 1976 Soweto uprising followed by the November 1977 U.N. Secu-

1977 Defence White Paper which laid the basis for P.W. Botha's concept of a "total onslaught" from beyond S. Africa's borders. The "total onslaught" needed a "total national strategy". The "total onslaught" which South Africa was facing was articulated as a communist plot. Joseph Hanlon presents this view of South Africa as follows:

"The concept of total on-

the protector of Western Christian values. It created a helpful contradiction for the West so that when they attack apartheid they should feel that they are in fact helping the Soviet Union.

The "total strategy" to counter this "total onslaught" consisted amongst other elements of the following:—

- * The need to forge some kind of national unity government to defend white



Another village in danger. SADF conscripts enter a Namibian village.

urity Council resolution on mandatory arms embargo against South Africa; the guerilla actions of the ANC which were fueled by the Soweto uprising; the economic decline from 1974 up to 1978; the substantial outflow of foreign capital; all contributed in deepening the crisis of the regime. White hegemony was clearly under slave.

In response to this crisis the apartheid regime produced the

slaughter equates the 'red peril' with, and defence of apartheid with defence of Western Christian values(3).

He says that his formulation has two advantages for white South Africa. Firstly, it makes all criticism of apartheid to be dismissed as communist. Secondly it creates a condition which makes both white South Africans and the West to see South Africa as the last bastion against communism,

rule. The present tri-cameral parliament developed from this need. This racist tri-cameral system and the so-called black local authorities were meant to co-opt the so-called Indian and Coloured populations in South Africa and some middle class black Africans into a junior partnership with the white minority against the black majority.

- * Repression of all anti-apart-

heid activists and those who resist this system.

The imposition of South African hegemony over the whole Southern African region to silence those opposed to apartheid and to neutralize mainly the African National Congress (ANC) guerilla warfare against South Africa. This would consist of a combination of diplomatic/political economic and military strategies. The 1977 Defence White Paper identified the need to maintain a balance relative to all Southern African states and also called for economic action to promote "political and economic collaboration amongst the states in Southern Africa. This proposed collaboration was later called the constellation of Southern African States (CONSAS).

The total strategy therefore was aimed, in this sense, at establishing South Africa's position as a "regional power" and establishing a "constellation of states" under its tutelage. This would develop a "common approach" on both the security and economic fronts against what was called expanding communist influence of the region.

It is the third element of the "total strategy" of South Africa which laid the basis for the development of the destabilization strategy against the Southern African states.

THE CONCEPTS OF DESTABILIZATION

Arne Tostensen defines the destabilization policy of South Africa as:

"A deliberate and systematic policy on the part of the South African apartheid regime to engage in insurgency actions

against neighbouring states with the aim of undermining the credibility and legitimacy of their lawful governments by rendering development efforts and national reconstruction virtually impossible(4).

Arne Tostensen continues to say that:—

"to this end a wide range of means are employed, including veritable military invasions; sabotage of economic and



Mozambican woman beaten by MNR thugs

social infra-structure; terror against the civilian population; support for surrogate organizations (i.e. UNITA, MNR, and LLA); sophisticated and covert forms of economic sabotage; propaganda, and disinformation; as well as selective use of 'carrot-and-stick' tactics to drive a wedge between cooperating partners within the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC).

South Africa obviously does not articulate this policy the way Tostensen defines it. For them the aim is to stop the harbouring of ANC and Swapo 'terrorists' and thereby curb

the advance of communism.

But Deon Geldenhuys, the major South African theoretician of the concept of destabilization comes more openly on this strategy of South Africa, actually sets out to establish South Africa's right to destabilize its neighbours and elaborates on the methods and tactics to be used. In setting out the objectives of a destabiliser he says that:

"The destabiliser's primary objective is an avowedly political one. Essentially, he wishes to produce (force) profound political changes in the target state. They may not involve structural changes in effect toppling the regime in power — but certainly would involve major changes in the target's behaviour. At the very least the destabiliser demands a fundamental shift as reorientation in the target state policy vis-a-vis the destabiliser (5).

In my study of South Africa's total strategy of which destabilization is part I see a direct relationship between this strategy and the Reagan Doctrine. Maybe it is for this reason that some political scientist call this strategy Botha's Doctrine. All of them go beyond just supporting those governments which are fighting revolutionary forces, (perceived as extension of Moscow) but they destabilise established governments which are seen to be revolutionary, and those which gained their independence through revolutionary means. Infact the Reagan Doctrine goes as far as trying to roll back established governments.

(The U.S.A., for instance, supports the Contras in Nicaragua whilst South Africa supports Renamo (MNR) in Mozambique. Both support UNITA in Angola. This simi-

larity in the strategies of these two countries will show itself in the dilemma the U.S.A. finds itself in when considering support for the Southern African states' SADCC programmes

THE THREE PHASES OF SOUTH AFRICA'S DESTABILIZATION OF THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN REGION

Eduardo Da Silva divides South Africa's application of the total strategy policy into four distinct phases. The first phase consists of the effort to launch a Constellation of Southern African states (CONSAS). This occurred at the same time as the development of the reform strategies internally.

The second phase for Da Silva is the period from mid-1980 to the end of 1981. This phase consisted of the application of destabilization tactics in a fairly generalized and indiscriminate manner. The third phase consisted of refined strategies of destabilization. It was selective and related to the particular target state's conditions.

This phase covered the period between 1982 and 1983. The last phase for Eduardo Da Silva covers the period after the Nkomati Accord in 1984.

Eduardo Da Silva's four phases of the total strategy are of course related directly to the Mozambican situation. But I found his four phase distinction of this strategy helpful to understand the related phases of the destabilization policy of the apartheid regime. I would like to identify three phases of the destabilization policy of the apartheid regime. The first phase is the same as Eduardo Da Silva's second phase of the total strategy. This is the period mid-1980 to the end of 1981.

The second phase covers the period of both the third phase and fourth phase as identified by Eduardo da Silva. My third phase covers the period after mid-1985, the period after the Nkomati era.

GENERAL AND INDISCRIMINATE DESTABILIZATION PHASE

Before we deal with the first phase of the destabilization policy of the apartheid regime, let us look at the immediate events which led to the application of this policy.

There are two major events which led S.A. to apply its destabilization strategy by mid-1980. The first one was the defeat of the Muzorewa forces in the Zimbabwe independence election in 1980. Eduardo Da Silva says that the Constellation of states proposal, in its original form, was "predicated on Zimbabwe achieving independence under a collaborationist Muzorewa government". Under this CONSAS they would have had what was then called Zimbabwe-Rhodesia under Muzorewa; Namibia under the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance; the three members of the customs union (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) along with Malawi whom they assumed would all join; and the bantustans (the so-called independent homelands). They also saw Zaire and Zambia as other possible members. This grand vision of P.W. Botha was dashed by the defeat of Muzorewa as we have already said.

The second event which led to the application of the policy of destabilization occurred two months later. On the 17th April 1980 the majority ruled states of Southern Africa established the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference

(SADCC) which defined its primary objective as the reduction of economic dependence on South Africa. This involved the following countries:

Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This came as a major reversal to South Africa's strategy for the region. It dashed the hopes of forming the constellation of Southern African states (CONSAS).

These two events did not only affect Botha's total strategy but they also caused difficulties for the U.S.A. and other Western governments. Firstly, it dashed the belief that S.A., irrespective of its apartheid ideology, would be an anchor of the stability of the Southern African region. Secondly, the development of the two regional systems (S.A.'s proposed Constellation of states, and the SADCC) created difficulties for them. They were forced to review their policies in relation to this region.

It is because of these two events, coupled with internal pressures and the intensification of the armed struggle by the African National Congress which made South Africa resort to a generalized, random and indiscriminate attacks on its neighbours. They invaded Angola in January 1981, attacked Matola in Mozambique and supported surrogate forces like the MNR and UNITA. They flexed their economic muscle by applying coercive economic techniques. This was the first phase of the destabilization strategy.

THE 'STICK' AND 'CARROT' APPROACH (1982 - MID-1985)

The second phase which

started in 1982 consisted of more refined and sophisticated strategies of destabilization. The regime became more selective depending on the specific conditions in the particular country in question. This refined strategy, maybe, was a result of the one and a half years of experience the regime acquired. As we have seen from the section on "The concept of destabilization" expert theologians like Deon Geldenheys began to emerge by 1982.

The objectives of a destabilization policy were now clearly defined. Firstly, it was to force neighbouring states to flash out the African National Congress (ANC), in particular, and the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO). The 1984 Defence White Paper saw South Africa's threatening military capacity as essential to advance the peace process. They called this the 'policy of deterrence'.

Secondly, it was to force the Southern African states to sign non-aggression pacts to maintain South Africa's political and economic hegemony. They wanted to reduce the degree of criticism by these states of the apartheid system and to stifle the efforts of the South African states to reduce dependency on South Africa through the SADCC.

Thirdly, if some states were not complying they would then create chaos in those countries by applying economic sanctions, attacking them militarily, use surrogate forces, death squads etc. This is a model used by the old Rhodesia against Mozambique and Zambia, and that of Israel in Jordan and Lebanon. Joseph Hanlon says that "the goal was simply to create chaos in the neighbouring

states, especially those who could not be forced into line," to prove to white South Africans and the world at large that black majority rule does not work. "It was an attempt", he says, "to replace the old 'cordon sanitaire' with what was sometimes described as a 'cordon of instability'". Eduardo Da Silva says that this 'selective application of destabilization incentives tactical package clearly sought to divide the states of the region.

It is history now that to achieve the first goal of destabilization South Africa has gone on the attack against most of the Southern African states. To achieve the second goal South Africa signed, a 'secret' non-aggression pact in February 1982 with Swaziland. In February 1984 South Africa signed the Lusaka Agreement with Angola, which seemingly was never effected. In March 1984 they signed the Nkomati Accord.

It is clear that by the time they signed the Nkomati Accord South Africa was convinced that she had succeeded on attempts of Southern African states to move from a dependency relation with her. She saw the possibility of going back to the concept of constellation of states. P.W. Botha at Nkomati talked about his vision of a 'veritable constellation of states' in Southern Africa. After Lusaka and Nkomati, South Africa saw itself as the regional power again, and, expressed a lot of self confidence.

BACK TO THE 'OLD' DESTABILIZATION TACTIC

This aura of self confidence of course did not last for a long time. The Gorongosa event in Sofala province on the

28 August 1985 shock the Nkomati Accord to the ground. The crisis of apartheid at home also deepened, and, pressure was building up on the economy of South Africa. The threats of sanctions against South Africa and the participation of the Southern African states in international forums on the question of economic pressure against South Africa angered the apartheid regime even more. This forced the apartheid regime to return to the old destabilization tactics which were indiscriminately applied against all the Southern African states.

Although we cannot give details about this last phase of destabilization policy of the apartheid regime up to date because of space problems, I would like to make a number of observations about this period which can be used as a form of evaluation of how the apartheid regime fared in this regard.

- * Firstly, it is important to note that although military pressure on the Southern African states to flash out the ANC from within their countries was effective and affected the ANC in many ways, this pressure has forced the ANC to operate more from inside the country than from outside. There is ample evidence that many units of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are based within the country.
- * That instead of the Southern African states submitting themselves to the apartheid regime there has been a move to strengthen the South African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) and even countries like Malawi which were viewed as obvious

allies of South Africa were moved more closely to be Southern African states and further away from South Africa. The only place where South Africa could say that their policy worked is in Swaziland and to some extent in Lesotho.

* That with the sanctions campaign more and more Western states are taking side with the Southern African states in the form of development aid and to some extent military aid. The only country which is still having difficulties as far as its Southern Africa regional policy is concerned is the U.S.A. They are faced, of course, with the contradiction of finding themselves supporting UNITA and in some way South Africa (on the Namibian question) whilst on the other side wanting to plunge in on the side of the Southern African states.

* That instead of South Africa emerging as a regional superpower, it is more isolated than ever before. Instead of being seen as the 'peacemaker' and a 'stabilizing' factor in this region, it is now seen as the source of instability. Simon Jenkins puts this succinctly when he says that: "Destabilization is not control, South Africa can throw its weight about the subcontinent; it cannot rule it. Its achievements will be anarchy".

This evaluation of their efforts since the second phase of their destabilization policy forced them to resort to the crude form of destabilization.

DESTABILIZATION OF NAMIBIA - ITS UNIQUENESS
Before concluding this

paper I suggest that Namibia be presented as a unique entity (although still part) of the whole Southern African reality of the destabilization policy of the South Africa regime. What is the difference? Namibia, unlike the other states which South Africa tries to destabilize has never achieved political independence at any stage in its modern history.

It was originally colonized by Germany, and in 1920 the League of Nations gave South Africa the mandate to be caretaker of Namibia on its behalf. But in 1946 when the United Nations replaced the League of Nations South Africa refused to be accountable to the UN on administering Namibia. In 1948 the Nationalist Party denounced the mandate given by the U.N. and dealt with Namibia (thus called South West Africa) as a colony of its fifth province.

In fact therefore South Africa is occupying Namibia illegally as declared by the 1971 International Court of Justice. The destabilization of Namibia therefore takes two forms:

"The international and the external. The South African regime destabilizes Namibia the same way as it destabilizes South Africa. It has declared war against the people of Namibia, brutalises them as it does with South Africa, and denies them of their right to self-determination as a people.

The South Africa regime has occupied Namibia as an external force and created an economy of dependence. Because of the combination of these two forms of destabilization, Namibia destabilization takes on a more complex form. And unless

Resolution 435 of the Security Council of the U.N. is implemented there is no way in which the problems of Namibia can be resolved.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion I would like to raise three issues. The first one is the question of the de jure legitimacy of the South African regime. Secondly, it is the cultivation of enemy images as an integral part of the destabilization policy of the apartheid regime. And, lastly, a need to find another way of stabilizing this region.

The Lusaka statement (May 1987) was drawn jointly by the Church in South Africa and the world at large, and the liberation movements.

Extensive debates are taking place back at home about the question of the legitimacy of the South African regime. To facilitate this debate the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT) organised a seminar jointly with the Centre for Legal Studies of the University of the Witwatersrand on the legitimacy and illegitimacy of this regime during June of this year. The SACC in its last National Conference adopted the following resolution in this regard:

The National Conference takes note of Churches pronouncements on Apartheid as a Heresy which call in question the moral legitimacy of the South African regime as a basis for questioning de jure legitimacy of that regime. Therefore, recommends to the member churches to question their moral obligation to obey unjust laws such as:

- * The Population Registration Act
- * The Group Areas Act
- * The Land Acts
- * The Education Acts

* The Separate Amenities Acts

Further calls upon member churches to support the structure which are recognized by the people as their authentic legitimate authority in the eyes of God.

In the light of the destabilization policy of the South African regime we need to take this argument further into the international arena. The task of a government is usually to ensure stability, justice and peace for its citizens and its neighbours. It needs to protect the rights of all and should be responsible for the good and peaceful relationships with its neighbours.

Because South Africa is pursuing the opposite of the very fundamental tasks and function of what constitute a government. We can conclu-

de that it is de-fure an illegitimate government. This is based also on the criterion of the human rights concepts.

Secondly, we need to realize that South Africa uses enemy images to justify their destabilization policy. For instance, they present the liberation movements in South Africa as tools of communism and of Russia aimed at overthrowing the S.A. government and replacing it with an atheistic regime. In this way they try to mobilize the religious sentiments, particularly of white people, in S.A. They also present the neighbouring states as enemy territory by arguing that they are harbouring terrorists. The independence of Southern African states from colonial powers is presented as an advance of communism which is going to sweep the whole of Southern Africa.

Lastly, we need therefore to find another way of addressing the question. Southern Africa at present is a sub-continent of refugees and exiles because of this policy of both internal and regional destabilization. The other way should establish a Southern Africa which is a united homeland for all people. I am convinced that if the economic potential of the regime could be loosened it would not only benefit people in Southern Africa, but the whole African continent. Maybe it is this very potential which threatens western countries to an extent that they are not prepared to commit themselves to the removal of the apartheid regime in the region.

Without removing apartheid there will be no peace in the region, and also for the whole world.



**United
action for
people's power!**

TO THOSE WHO LOVE THE LORD WITH ALL THEIR HEARTS.

BY: PRESTON SELEPE (ANGOLA)

COMRADES, Brethren and fellow-country men, allow me at this point in time to share my little testimony with you as an exhortation in your belief to the Mighty Lord Jesus Christ.

I was born like all other children in racist South Africa, exposed to all oppressive laws. I acted in the same way that a normal child in the townships would react to the demanding conditions there. It was under those conditions that I found myself seeking refuge where my hope can be assured. I made a decision to accept and acknowledge the Lord Jesus as my personal Saviour. I must admit that ever since I made that decision life became very challenging to me. It was an experience that shall forever live in me.

At that early age of my redemption I overlooked one primary thing — I failed to understand that I was still a human being still living in South Africa. I was susceptible to pass laws, to bantustanisation, to bantu education, to detention without trial, to starvation, to poverty and all other things that we all know, just because I am a Blackman in "White South Africa". For a long time I did not regard whites as my compatriots due to all the atrocities they perpetrate on my own people. But because the Bible has the answers for all our problems I one day read Acts 26 v 17-18 and found the following words "I will save you from the people of Israel and from the gentiles to whom I will send you. You are to open their eyes and turn them from the

darkness to the light and from the power of Satan to God so that through their faith in the they may have their sins forgiven and receive their place among the chosen people."

It took me time to digest this in our day to day lives in South Africa. But lately I realised that the Israelites today are persecuting the Palestinians and robbing them of their freedom and land, so it is with the racist South Africans who have usurped our kingdom and later made it theirs. Whether they be the Israelites of old or these Zionist Israelites of today or even the racist South Africans who are all claiming to be God chosen yet not obeying His will ought to be rebuked in public so that they should be ashamed. I then took it upon myself to let the Will of God be done on earth as it is in Heaven above.

Comrades I must admit that this is not an easy task as many might be made to believe. It is a task that shows one's dedication to the mighty Lord Jesus. There are many temptations from all sides if one has to solve these problems. Yet so, we should not let fear rule us. Our Lord Jesus Christ was not led by fear. Not that he did not have it in Him but He suppressed it. He fought against it. Shouldn't we follow in His footsteps? Paul became subtle when He approached the question of subordination to those in authority. He knew very well that there are those who do not have the will of God in their minds but who are serving their own interests.

After telling us to be obedient to those in authority he continues to explain that:

"And now knowing the time of our salvation is nearer, that is now high time to awake out of sleep for now our salvation is nearer than we believed. The time is far spent, the day is at hand.

"Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness and let us put on the armour of light".

Paul later emphasised that all shall give account before the almighty God for whatever they have done. This includes those who are persecuting us, who are maiming us and killing us in the name of what they call law and order.

Brethren, South Africa belongs to all those who live in it irrespective of colour. It is what it is because of the sweat of men and women of different colours in our place of birth. Today if we can sit down and count the number of Christians who have fallen victim of these brutes in our country, we cannot but just lament. Shall we then say that Christ is remote and is doing nothing for us? God forbid. It is the wish of our Saviour to see to it that there is peace and social justice in South Africa. Paul says in Romans: 14 verse 19.

"Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace and where one may edify another."

The presence of police in our townships is not the solution to peace and stability.

» Apartheid laws are the source of division....»

But on the contrary it is the source of violence and death of souls so innocent. The State of emergency did not solve the apartheid problems which are the stumbling block in the way of progress. The apartheid laws are the source of division and what the Botha — Malan regime claim as black on black violence whereas they are the agitators

ing naked, when we see a stomach hungry, when we see a soul without shelter in a rich country like South Africa we know that there is a sin committed somewhere. This is the truth that never left my mind. I knew as I still know that apartheid is a sin against humanity. It is a venom of mass destruction. And the Botha regime is responsible

leaders but in vain. Were I also supposed to sit down and use Greek to the Afrikaaners? They would not understand me either. Not that I did not try to do this, but what did I gain? Imprisonment, torture and more sufferings. Brethrens it is not the will of God to see us suffering. What good will it bring me to have everything in abundance alone

It is . . . well known that the main national liberation organisations in this country have consistently followed a policy of non-violence. They have conducted themselves peaceably at all times, regardless of Government attacks and persecutions upon them, and despite all Government-inspired attempts to provoke them to violence. They have done so because the people prefer peaceful methods of change to achieve their aspirations without the suffering and bitterness of civil war. But the people's patience is not endless.

The time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom.

(Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Flyer 'issued by command of Umkhonto We Sizwe' and appearing on 16 December 1961).



of all these things. I remember Brother Frank Chikane, now SACC Secretary General, addressing our university Graduation ceremony some-time back talking on peace and social justice. In his message he mentioned that it is the will of God to see peace and harmony prevailing among His people.

To emphasize this he said that when we see a body walk-

for all starvation cases, sufferings and hunger pangs that reign in our rich country.

As a christian I realised that it was my task to correct the situation, but how could one correct it when one does not know the language of roars and claws? For a long time Moses talked to Pharaoh but in vain. For a long time Albert Luthuli spoke to Strydom, Vorster and all the apartheid

whereas millions and millions of my fellow human beings are still under the yoke of apartheid? Nothing.

There was only one solution for the early Israelites to gain their peace, and that was through fighting Pharaoh. Today there is only one way for us to gain our freedom as enshrined in the Freedom Charter, and that is to swell the ranks of the fighting arm of

the peoples army, MK. It is for this reason I am a soldier of my people fighting against the evil system of apartheid and its perpetrators. This is the course I urge to all those who love our country with all their hearts to follow. We shall remember brethren that when Jesus prayed for us He said, that we should not be taken out of this planet but that we should be protected right here. We have the power of God with us. If God is on our side who can stand against us?

To all those who love the Lord not only with their lips but with their entire selves I have this to say — Jesus came here on earth and was persecuted and crucified for our own sins. He died so that we should have an everlasting life that shall not go with man-made sufferings and suppression. That we should not be robbed of our lands, education, treasures, health, shelter, work and security.

He showed us the way to lead a happy life full of trust and peace to one another. Yet we know that there are those like Botha and Malan who claim to be our authorities while they do not want to see us living the way God wanted us to live. Further they claim to be Christians doing exactly what James said there are those like them. They are not the doers of the word, but only the preachers of it.

They tell us to lay down our arms and start negotiating for a peaceful solution. Of course as Christians we want that. But then at the same time they are still killing our brothers and sisters in the townships. They are still fighting in Angola where the people of that country had fought to gain their independence. They are still supporting and actually

fighting with the MNR against the sovereign state of Mozambique.

The very same people who want us to lay down our arms are still occupying Namibia illegally against the will of the International Community. James rightly say that they are deceiving themselves. They do not preach the God we know, and thus we ought to fight against their god and let the God of justice be worshipped in our country of birth.

As Christians we know our task. It is to visit and render

help to those in jails and in physical pains inflicted by the apartheid laws. To visit the fatherless and widows who lost their beloved because of apartheid.

The day of salvation is at hand. Let us wake up from our sleep and strive for justice with all those who love the Lord with pure hearts. May the good Lord bless you and open our minds to this mission before us.

Yours in the struggle for peace and Social Justice.

FORCE OR VIOLENCE

by Cedric Mayson

THE seven deadly sins are good gone bad. That is the context for discussing force and violence.

Good gets corrupted into evil, like sweet smelling fruit ripe for eating which will rot and stink if it goes too far. Pride corrupts the healthy enjoyment of satisfaction; lechery is sexual delight gone rotten; envy is the perversion of pleasure in another; anger brutalises righteous wrath; covetousness distorts equality; gluttony prostitutes the natural satisfaction of hunger; and sloth of rest.

So freedom destroys itself if it becomes licence; concern if it becomes fear; self-defence if it becomes aggression; and force if it becomes violence. Force and violence can never be equated.

Force is a necessary and legitimate part of human equipment and violence its corrupted illegitimate excess. A parent may use force to guide a child but never child abuse. If a woman strikes out at

a rapist that is the legitimate use of force by a victim to ward off a violent attack. The enforcement of just laws by a legitimate democratic just government differs totally from the violent imposition of oppression and exploitation by a powerful clique with no legitimate right to rule. Force holds society in place, like gravity; violence disrupts and divides it, like an earthquake.

The South African regime is committed to unjust forms of despotic rule which the rest of the world has repudiated since the times of the tsars and empires and colonies. The constituency of the national franchise is limited by pigmentation to only 15% of the population, of whom a third are too young to vote and a third oppose the ruling party, vesting power in a puny minority. This is the illegitimate regime which rules our land without justice or democracy, in defiance of the will of the people.

It rules by violence alone.

Legitimate governments use police to protect their populace from unruly elements, but illegitimate tyrants like the South African regime need bellicose army battalions in every area to impose their will on their own citizens. Its response to moral appeals, legal demands, ethical protestations, democratic persuasion, and common sense is simply violence.

Our country claims to be the most developed on the continent yet is renowned not for its sophistication, its music, its art, its health care, its education, or its social welfare but for its killing culture.

'South Africa' is a pseudonym for anguish. Our land is famous for guns and tear gas and sjamboks, for police and army and war material, for forced removals and detentions and judicial murders, for mercenaries and state terrorism, on a scale unknown elsewhere in Africa.

Throughout South Africa and its bantustans, Mocambique, Angola, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Zambia, millions of people suffer barbarous brutalities from the SA regime.

Peace can only come when that ability of the regime to be violent has been removed. Legitimate government can only be established by removing the violence which maintains the illegitimate tyrants in power.

Over several generations they have demonstrated conclusively that they will not listen to moral appeals or legal arguments, so force must be used to prise the guns from their hands, destroy the tear gas, close the armament factories, and dismantle the political and logistical infrastructure of violence before peace can break out. It is moral, just, and legitimate for our people to defend themselves and remove the violence of the regime.

Religious people have two reasons to be involved in this struggle. One is that this violent tyrant claims to act in the name of God to protect Christian civilisation. That lie must die. Those who deliberately take the name of God in vain, and attempt to give theological and moral justification for the violence of oppression are heretics who must be ejected from the household of faith until they repent. They are to be 'cast out; 'it is better for him to be thrown into the sea with a millstone put round his neck than that he should lead astray a single one of these little ones'. Those who make such claims must be forced to realise that they cannot be accepted as Christians anywhere in the world.

Religious people are also called to overcome evil with good, to defend the weak and oppressed, the widowed and

the fatherless, and the poor. A few have differed on idealist grounds, but the great majority of religious people throughout history have believed it is right to overthrow evil by good, to tumble tyrants off their thrones, to stop the violence of the ungodly by every force possible including the force of arms.

The use of force is highly responsible. We must resist dehumanising ourselves by becoming brutes; distinguish between opposition and hatred and between loving our enemies and pretending we have no enemies; ensure that the clarity of our political objectives overrides any blood-lust blindness of revenge. but like the saints and heroes before us it is our clear duty to resist the violence of our oppressors and overthrow their military might, to establish the conditions which make for peace.

Many oppressors refuse to distinguish between legitimate force and illegitimate violence. They countenance the terrorism of the South African tyranny which protects their investments in exploitation, but refuse to support the Liberation Movements which are committed to stop that violence. Jesus had a good word to describe such people; Hypocrites! Their claim to be good has gone bad and their virtues have rotted into vices.

THE CHURCH AND ECONOMICS

What others have said

THE South African State, has taken over the myth of communism . . . Threats about hell-fire and eternal damnation are replaced by threats and warnings about the horrors of a tyrannical atheistic terrorist communist regime - a kind of hell on earth. This is a very convenient way of frightening some people into accepting any kind of domination and exploitation by a capitalistic minority. *The Kairos Document.*

They are so obsessed and pre-occupied with what they call 'the threat of communism' to the extent of blessing any regime in the world that is anti-communist however evil and corrupt it may be . . . in their understanding of their faith they cannot see the possibility of being socialist and also christian . . . the western capitalist culture has become an idol of these groups . . . their god whom they love and worship. *The Evangelical Document.*

We must talk to our people about how the oneness of humankind is being destroyed by the conflict between the few consumer nations and many nations being consumed. Maulana Faried Esack: Tutu Peace Lecture Marx's perception that evil is to be found, not just in individuals, but in the very structures of economic and social relationships, has its origins in the Old Testament itself. . . and the same perception finds expression in the New Testament. Faith in the City: the Church of England Report.

The 'collective conscience' to which Pope Paul VI refers is of the highest importance

because it is that complex of social attitudes which to a large extent regulates the behaviour of members of society . . . Structural sin and violence abound . . . The structure of society itself, dictated by race and class considerations, may make it virtually impossible to remedy the disruption of family life and the hardships imposed on workers. — *SA Catholic Bishops Conference.*

The Christian church bears a very heavy responsibility for not having a critique of its own dehumanisation by its connivance with capitalism — for what it has done to itself, let alone to the people as a whole. Many of the ideological assumptions of the Christian church . . . come from the predominant capitalist mode of production and not from the Gospel of Jesus Christ. — *Fr. Michael Lapsley.*

Unless we participate actively in the rebellion against those social structures and economic organisation which condemn men to poverty and degradation then the church will become irrelevant. — *Julius Nyerere.*

Peace will not come in Africa by the churches who are in Africa, but by the churches in those big countries which are rocking the economies of these small countries. Those churches must conscientise the people in their countries to say: What are we doing that is wrong? — *Philip Mudenda, Christian Council of Zambia.*

There seems to be a network in place of those who have an interest in dominating the world and in Africa they are working through the South African regime. . . I

see a process of an economic recolonisation of Africa developing. — *Mosi A Kisare of the All Africa Council of Churches.*

The world financial system is a greater cause of hunger in Africa than drought . . . In Africa today the wealth of the African nations does not benefit the majority of the African people. It benefits first and foremost the system of international capitalism and after that the members of the national bourgeois class. We have economic systems which can only function if they continue to be useful to the transnational corporations and the system of international capitalism. . . The issue of rich and poor is seen as a purely moral issue. But the issue is more than that: it is an economic issue and a political issue.

Today there is no way the Church in Africa can escape these conflicts' — *Sam Kobia of the Kenya Council of Churches.*

People ask me the question: How do you reconcile your faith and your politics? I say it never occurred to me that there was a problem because they are two sides of the same coin. Politics are the practical expression of my faith. . . Christians have to realise there is much more to Marxism than atheism, and Marxists have come to realise that Christianity can be revolutionary . . . So the Church will have to come to terms with this kind of experience before they can make any meaningful contribution. — *Canaan Banana, Former Methodist President of Zimbabwe.*

WHEN WE ARE ONE
 Their Fingers
 Like Winter fig-trees
 Pointed up the sky
 In a useless plea for mercy
 Hippos and Caspirs
 Block our township roads
 Police and soldiers
 March in our dusty streets
 Dogs and rifles (R1's)
 Have dominating sounds
 Teargas and snizzer
 Contaminate the air.
 Crying and shouting
 Amandla Ngawethu!
 Jumping and running
 Is all they can do
 Oo! Yini Bafazi
 Baphel' abantwana
 Nihlel' ezindlwini
 Yayaphi na inimba yabazali benu?
 Awu! Yini madoda
 Nalibala kukutshon'
 Ezinkonkxeni
 Zivuthululwa, ziphela intyatyambo zezwe lenu?
 Makhosikazi!
 Thabathani imibhinqo yenu
 Nilandele
 madoda!
 Qubulani iminqayi yenu
 Nikhusele
 Safa saphela isizwe
 Nikhona
 Worker! This is no students' fight
 For it comes to your factory too
 Parent this is no Youth's struggle
 For bullets strike you too
 Pastor! This is no non-Christian's war
 For your congregation is affected too
 Intellectual! This is no hypothetic battle
 For your intellectual work suffers too
 Liberal! This is no oppressors problem
 For its your future too
 Privileged! this is no time to sympathise
 For we need your strength too
 All of us should be concerned
 This is our Country
 This is our children's future
 Lets strive for lasting peace and harmony
 Lets fight for this noble ideal
 We will certainly win
 When we are one

By: B. J Simmons.

JESUS THE SON OF THE LIVING GOD

They saw the Star that rose above glowing stars
 They marvelled and shouted for joy to come
 Travelling for ages to meet a child of the Universe
 Born in stinking muds reserved for the despised

He came not as God to condemn those in chains
 He came as a uniting glue across colour bar
 Speaking of love and peace to the weary
 Jesus the Son of the living God

They called Him names he never deserved
 When He took a whip to correct evilness
 They called Him a terrorist against money-mongers
 When He used words they should understand
 They laughed at Him and mocked His ways

He proclaimed Himself Life, Light and Love
 Appealing to those in authorities to follow suite
 Yet to this day those who call themselves by His name
 Destroy life of the innocent and the weary

Yes, He shall come in clouds above the skies
 Every knee shall bow before Him
 Every tongue shall confess Him as Lord
 Fascists will cry for mountains to bury them

As days of our salvation from racist brutes approach
 We look upon Him and say Jesus give us more strength
 You were a revolutionary for world peace
 Stand behind those who demand this, your will be done

Listen to cries of orphaned children in our townships
 Listen to shouts of mercy in racist dungeons
 Lift your hand upon those who deny your will in my count

Lift your hand upon those who deny your will in my count
 Let justice flow like a mighty river righteousness its stream.

— PRESTON SELEPE (MK C)

Maryknoll Sisters
P.O. Box 298, Harare
Zimbabwe.
30th Jan. 1988.

Dear Comrade,

Congratulations on the new publication from the ANC Department of Religious Affairs. As a Community of religious Women working in Africa, we support your struggle to abolish apartheid in South Africa and we also welcome your efforts to involve Christians in struggle.

We look forward to receiving forthcoming issues.

Aluta Continua!
Amandla!

— SISTER J. MC LAUGHLIN

Dear Brother,

I recently had the privilege of reading your circular to the religious community and was very interested to hear of the formation of the religious department and your chaplaincy.

I shall follow with great interest the development and growth of your chaplaincy, praying that God's hand may be upon you.

May I therefore request that I be added to your mailing list so that I may be kept abreast with the activities and progress of your department.

— JURGEN HOFFMAN
[ADRE], Ferndale.

Dear Rev. F.F. Gqiba,

I have received and read your first publication of your religious periodical. I would like to congratulate you and the ANC Executive members for having embarked on this important task. It has long been overdue, and I probably stand with many Christians and other brothers and sisters all over the world to wish you God's guidance in the work ahead of you.

God's peace and guidance to you all.

Your brother in Christ.
— Lesly Paynter (Vicar)
Ontario

Dear Brother,

The office of the Mazimbu Administration acknowledges with thanks receipt of your new journal. I have just gone through some of the topics and I personally find the book very inspiring.

As you know that our movement is labelled by many as an organisation of non-believers, I therefore find a booklet like this one very good in that it will correct many of such myths. On the other hand it informs our membership about the development of the struggle as seen by the religious people in our movement and the role played by the church at this phase of our revolution.

The Mazimbu and Dakawa communities are surely to benefit a lot from your Magazine.

Yours in Christ.
— Chief Administrator
Tanzania.

Letters to to the



Dear Comrade,

I hereby enclose an article that I have for so long wished to publish. For more than five years I have been a very staunch Christian both at home and here in exile. But due to lack of Christian stimuli I found myself losing touch with this religion that I so much cherished.

May I take this opportunity to thank our vanguard movement to have seen a need to re-open this front not only for those masses at home but even for those who did not believe that we have our Christians at heart. I know the good Lord is going to bless us mightily in this field and we shall be in a position to win millions of those who did not care for our liberation movement.

I have sent this article noting that you have said unequivocally that what appears in this journal does not actually represent your views. As a result I am assured that my views will be just as I wish them to be. Particularly because they are in line with what we as soldiers in MK want.

Thanking you in this Year of United Action for Peoples Power.

— PRESTON SELEPE
Luanda.

STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE - A DUTY OF EVERY CHRISTIAN

Comrade Chairperson, Mr Salim Ahmed Salim,

Comrade the CCM Chairman, Dr. Julius Nyerere,

Comrade President Tambo, and Comrade President Sam Nujoma, Ladies and Gentlemen.

As a member of the Lutheran World Federation Executive Committee I have pleasure in bringing you cordial greetings on behalf of the Lutheran World Federation delegation to this ANC Conference on "The World United Against Apartheid For A Democratic South Africa". I am speaking not only on behalf of the Lutheran member churches spread throughout the globe, but I also specifically bring the voices of African member churches particularly those from the Frontline States.

As Chairperson of the Christian Council of Tanzania, I, accordingly bring greetings from the Christians of Tanzania who, together with all the people of this country, wish to guarantee the Liberation Movement, moral support for the struggle to dismantle apartheid. We, the people of Tanzania, shall not really feel free before the majority of people of South Africa attain their rightful freedom.

On the basis of the Biblical command, we wish to affirm that the church in its essence has a continuous task of liberating in the widest sense. The church through its praxis has to actively involve herself in empowering individuals and communities to become free. The church in its allegiance to God has to reflect the cultural and political values of the environment in which she finds herself. She has a calling

Statement presented by Bishop Dr. Sebastian Kolowa on behalf of the Lutheran World Federation Delegation At the ANC Arusha Conference on the world united against apartheid for a democratic South Africa, 1 1 - 4 December, 1987.

both as a prophet and disciple which transcends its immediate context which offers hope and vision to an unjust world.

The churches recognise the centrality of the Liberation Movement in the struggle for freedom and justice.

Specifically the major root causes of conflict in Southern Africa are racism and apartheid which disposes the people of their land and deny them political and economic rights, social justice, human dignity and community. Churches need to broaden and deepen their action programmes. Apartheid is, indeed, the worst form of race tyranny the world has ever known since the days of nazism. As such the evil of apartheid cannot be reformed. The struggle for justice has its mandate clearly given in the Scriptures.

Apartheid is used as a tool for social and economic exploitation of the majority of the people of South Africa and Namibia. The Western Powers including their Christian constituencies benefit from that exploitation.

The lasting solution to the political and economic crisis facing the South African regime can only be resolved through the involvement of the Liberation Movement, includ-

ing the churches and all democratic forces. The churches must take sides with those struggling for their legitimate freedom.

We regret that the South African government has forced our people to embrace the armed struggle to defend themselves and win their freedom. "Where there is no peaceful evolution, violent revolution becomes inevitable."

At its Sixth Assembly in 1977 in Dar es Salaam, the Lutheran World Federation stated that:

"Under normal circumstances Christians may have different opinions on political questions; but political and economic systems may become so perverted and oppressive that it is consistent with the confession to reject them and work for changes . . . The situation in Southern Africa constitutes a status confession is . . . which means that churches would publicly and unequivocally reject the apartheid system."

We thank the governments and the people of the frontline states for their spiritual, moral and material support to the South Africans in exile and in the Liberation Movement.

It is evident that development in Southern Africa is hampered by the conflict, war and destabilisation caused by the South African regime on neighbouring states. South Africa does all this with the support and understanding of the Western World. The West has political and economic interests in South Africa and the region and would like to protect these interests by denying the people of South Africa and Namibia freedom



Dr. Sibusiso Bhengu, Executive Secretary for Research and Social Action of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva, with ANC Chaplain Rev. F.F Gqiba at the » Peoples of the World Against Apartheid for a Democratic South Africa » Conference - Arusha, Tanzania. 1- 4 December 1987.

and independence.

Resources in the region are redirected away from development to the war machinery in order to protect the political gains that independent Africa has won. The struggle for liberation is an integral part of the development process in Southern Africa.

We therefore recommend that the churches, particularly those in the Southern Africa region, be part of the solution. The churches should understand that a commitment for liberation is a commitment for development.

In addition to the material support which churches have given to the liberation struggle our determination is that this support must include spiritual, moral and political support to the Liberation Movement. The churches need to develop structures of consultation with the ANC and SWAPO.

We further commit ourselves as churches in the Frontline States to establish a Research and Planning Mechanism (Committee) to develop a programme of action as a

counter-strategy to the destabilisation actions by the South African government.

We also urge the church and the international community to take a clear stand and use the correct terms such as "freedom fighters" instead of the term "terrorists" used by the South African government, and "prisoners of war" instead of "criminals"

In conclusion may I highlight two points, namely the urgent need for comprehensive economic sanctions to be imposed on the government of South Africa as a peaceful way of dismantling apartheid. Churches have passed several resolutions recommending economic sanction to be used to weaken and to isolate the government of South Africa. The economic sanctions should include the boycott of cultural, academic and professional institutions which legitimise the apartheid regime.

Finally, as churches our stand is that whilst we support a negotiated settlement to the problem of South Africa and Namibia we are opposed to

"cheap peace." We as churches have to guard against attempts for people to reconcile with evil.

Negotiations have to be preceded by justice which would become evident if all political prisoners were to be unconditionally released, the state of emergency would have to be lifted, the army and the police withdrawn from the townships.

Similarly, all repressive legislation and all laws empowering the regime to limit freedom of assembly and the activities of the liberation movement would have to be repealed. There also would be need that the negotiations would take place within a given time-frame.

If the South African government agreed to these steps this would indicate their acceptance of a negotiated and peaceful settlement. If the struggle for justice should continue we pledge our continued support of such a struggle!

Thank you!

SOUTH AFRICAN REPRESSION - WHO DOES IT AFFECT?

CHRISTIAN OR NON-CHRISTIAN? By CAROL MAJIZA

THE South African struggling people are experiencing the most naked, barbaric and brutal repression in the hands of the Nationalist Party since it came to power in 1948. The White minority racist regime has unleashed its dogs of war and develops more repressive laws by the day to counter the mass popular resistance to its apartheid policies. It has unleashed its trigger happy rogues on all the peace loving and democratic minded people of South Africa.

All forms of repression have been utilised by the Botha clique in the name of the defense of so-called civilized values, peace, Christianity and freedom. The lives of the millions of the oppressed majority are no longer guaranteed. A friend, relative, comrade may bid you good night tonight not knowing that it would be his or her funeral the following week end.

A funeral fraught with government regulations as regards who must attend the burial, when and how to conduct the funeral and the duration of the proceedings. In a nutshell the oppressed people do not have the right to bury their loved ones the way they like because of the so-called law and order regulations.

Among the ranks of democratic forces no one for certain can be sure that he can survive the total onslaught by the apartheid rulers through detentions without trial as in the case of New Nation Editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, General Secretary of the Municipal

Workers Union, Themba Nxumalo, Trevor Manuel, the 31-year-old Secretary of the UDF in the Western Cape who is now marking his 16th month in detention.

The pathetic part is that Trevor was detained 6 weeks after the birth of his son, Govan. Above Govan's cot hangs a photograph of Trevor which he tells what he has done during the day and bids it good night before going to sleep.

During his lengthy confinement in Paarl's Victor Verster Prison, Trevor has held his son in his arms just once - during a "contact" visit with his wife. These are not the only ones on detention but scores of our people are detained every day.

The neo-fascist onslaught inflicted upon the oppressed majority is not only through detentions but mass arrests, forced removals, tortures and assassinations depict the real face of apartheid rule. Still fresh in our minds is the assassination of Comrades Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi in the dusty streets of Swaziland.

It is also reported that in November 1987, Mr Mlungisi Stuurman was given a cigarette and a mug of brandy and thereafter taken to the Great Fish River where he was shot dead and thrown in the river.

When a Constable Goosen was asked how he had shot Mr Stuurman his answer was, "I shot him from behind; through the neck. I saw the bullet come out of his face and hit the opposite bank. Sand flew. The boy fell like an ox. We

grabbed him and threw him in the river." Good Gracious!!!!

The regime does not end there it continues unabated its kidnapping of ANC members in neighbouring states and abroad. The regime has turned Swaziland into its spring board to carry out atrocities against ANC activists. One ANC member Ismail Ebrahim was abducted from his home in Swaziland in December, 1986 and is now facing treason charges in Piet Retief. There are also reports that up to 10 people kidnapped from Swaziland are held by the South African Police. Even as far as London and Brussels plots to kidnap and assassinate ANC members were exposed.

Executions are also the order of the day. In December 1987, 14 people were executed in Pretoria and these executions brought the number of people hanged in 1987 to 164, the highest annual total since the union in 1910.

If one is lucky to 'escape' the net of repression he remains with a long term of imprisonment. Not long ago, Rev. Arnold Stofile whom we, as friends and students affectionately called "Bra" Stof was sentenced to 11 years imprisonment for his alleged involvement with a banned organisation.

Two men, Esekiel Motaung and Aaron Memela who were also detained under the emergency last year have been sentenced to 24 years and 19 years by a Potchefstroom regional court magistrate. A minister in the Dutch Reformed Church, Cyril Afrika who was arrested in October 1985

just began his jail sentence in January this year.

The health of jailed trade union leaders Cde Harry Gwala and Oscar Mpetha also leaves much to be desired. Cde Gwala is reported to have been moved to a prison hospital from Robben Island suffering from a neurone disease. Cde Mpetha who is 78 old and suffers from diabetes has had his leg amputated while in prison and is permanently hospitalised.

He was even refused permission to attend his wife's funeral. Once again the people of South Africa have been robbed of their leader Cde Govan Mbeki who has served 23 years on Robben Island and has been released into the confines of a prison house in the Eastern Cape.

It is a wonder to me and perhaps to the whole world how these forces of the Botha-Malan regime can manage to lay claim to being a Christian government with such a grim picture of their performances. They profess to be Christians and yet war is in their hearts, their words are softer than oil yet they are drawn swords. They often confess to draw their religious beliefs from the teachings of Christ.

These claims as expected have a negative effect on the genuine Christian community in South Africa. In spite of all this, the ANC stands firm as Botha's system of apartheid.

I want to commend and applaud the ANC, the mouthpiece of the oppressed people which has stood for 7 decades of struggle, unshaken and unyielding in its conviction to mobilise, organise and unite all the oppressed people.

I commend and applaud the vanguard movement for the step it took in catering for



ZWELAKHE SISULU, silenced editor

Zwelakhe Sisulu, aged 35, one of South Africa's leading journalists, is the son of former ANC general secretary Walter Sisulu, who was sentenced to life imprisonment.

the Christian community within its own ranks. This move has undoubtedly shattered all questions of doubts that the African National Congress is a genuine and above all the authentic national liberation movement.

I also wish to remind our allies that the enemy will not relent and let this achievement pass by in an idle way. Already in the past all forms of deceit and division have been employed to render asunder any efforts to unite our people. As Cedric Mayson puts in his

Article (AC,110.p.53):

"The system has spent years and millions promoting Christian versus Marxist conflict as part of divide and rule policy upon which capitalist imperialism thrives."

Christians were often the target of the enemy trying to put them at logger heads with their historical allies in the struggle — the communists. This tactic was a deliberate and calculated plan aimed at enforcing divide and rule policy. It is still widely claimed that these two allies are two strange bed-

mates in many circles.

These circles have overlooked ties that were born through the past and present life and death struggle. We have observed in our history as sufferers that Christians had all along fought ceaselessly alongside the communists since the formation of the ANC and therefore it is our common commitment in the liberation of our country which is a great spiritual and material reality and that is where Christians and communists unite. As Cedric (AC, 110. p.62) puts it: "The object is not to make

conversions, not to establish dogmatic grounds for discrimination against believers and non-believers, not to become involved in ideological wrangles about deity or the science of Marxism-Leninism but to share our joint resources."

Yes, to share our resources as we strive to liberate our people who have centuries known no peace and for decades stood at the command of a vicious system whose urge to a Black person is the latest styles of dying. Cde Alfred Nzo, the ANC Secretary General once said:

"Religious people and atheists must join hands against the common enemy. By their participation in the struggle all these forces place themselves in a position to participate also in determining the future of our country."

Both Christians and non-Christians are at heart concerned with the liberation of human community and they know that the problem of Christians is not Communism and that of Communists is not Christianity BUT that our PROBLEM is apartheid, imperialism and capital exploitation.

Christians and the Path of the Revolution, Leaflet produced by A.N.C. Christian Underground structures inside South Africa.

Brothers and Sisters,

We are Christians who are members of the African National Congress. We are playing our part in the democratic organisations of our people, as well as in the underground political structures of the ANC, and the people's revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We are writing to you because the revolution in South Africa presents a challenge to Christian faith, and also because you are part of us, and we are part of you. Being part of one another is not merely a theological truth, but is made real by the fact that we are part of the Mother Church of our beloved land, South Africa.

For many of us Christians, our involvement in the broad struggle for liberation was motivated by the desire to rid our country of the tyrannical Apartheid regime. However we

need to acknowledge that for some of us, the initial spur for our involvement was motivated by other considerations: The fear of being irrelevant or the desire to fill the pews of the church; or even out of fear of reprisal from the revolutionary youth. However, whatever the reason for involvement — it is important for all of us now committed to the liberation struggle, to reflect on our involvement — in order to intensify the struggle.

The important experience gained from being part of the liberation struggle, should enable us as Christians to give depth to the programmatic announcement of Jesus: "The Kingdom of God is at hand, repent and believe in the Gospel". Like Abraham, we are called out of the old and the decadent. Our work in the struggle is the historical expression of the Christian vocation

to be a sign of the Kingdom; to incarnate the Christian faith, giving it flesh and blood in the life of our people.

We urge you therefore, brothers and sisters, to give urgent and serious attention to certain specific tasks and issues.

Our churches should give clear support to the democratic organisations of our oppressed and exploited people. Many Christian revolutionaries have been, and still are, involved up to the highest levels of our people's organisations. These comrades are taking their rightful places as servants of the poor, and in so doing, are making valuable contributions to the daily struggles of the people.

However, our churches as opposed to many individual members, have not taken up a clear option in support of the

struggle. The Church as an institution cannot be neutral nor can it present a "Third way" — there is no specifically Christian analysis, strategy and tactics. Both of these options hinder and obstruct our people's struggles, and thus postpone the day of liberation.

There is a dominant tendency within the Church which argues that if the Church gave her support to secular political parties and organisations, or to the programmes of such organisations, then the Church would be absolutizing these organisations and their programmes — the Church would be making "Holy" that which is not.

Is the Church itself perfect? The democratic organisations of the people are just as capable of self-examination and correction as are the Churches. To commit our churches and ourselves to the liberation struggle is to become involved with organisations and with people undergoing transformation, as they seek to transform society.

Our churches need to become homes and fortresses for even the most poor and oppressed of our people. For the poor, the oppressed, the exploited, the marginalised; for our mothers and our fathers who are the factory workers, the landless, the migrants, the domestic workers; for our brothers and sisters deprived of proper schooling, adequate food and shelter, who have become the brave and militant youth; for our toiling, struggling and fighting masses — for all of these to find a home in the churches there needs to be a transformation

of the Church itself. The churches must be restructured in such a way that the Word of God is heard through the voice of the poor. At this time it is still the interests of the rich, the professional elite, the petty-bourgeois intellectuals which dominate in the chambers and the corridors of power of our churches.

Let the churches be restructured, so that the oppressed and exploited people can determine the choice of leaders, the programmes and allocation of resources. Let the churches become fortresses for the values of the Gospel of Christ. Let them take their places alongside the people's democratic organisations. Let them be transformed on the anvil of the popular struggles of our people.

Our churches have alongside them the para-church organisations. Many of these have made bold attempts to participate in the struggles of our people. Our churches need to strengthen and encourage these organisations. In turn, these organisations ought to be broadened and deepened. They must at all times remember that their base is in the masses in the Church. Without strong links with these masses, they, the para-church organisations, will lose direction.

Appropriate and urgent attention should be given to forging links among themselves. The para-church organisations need to develop a strong democratic platform from which they will be better armed for battle against the Apartheid regime.

Our churches need to recog-

nise the necessity for the armed struggle. There is much debate over whether Christians may or may not resort to revolutionary violence to overthrow a tyrannical regime. For us it is no longer an issue. We have made a decision in conscience and out of a deep sense of obedience to our Lord and Master. Our decision has not been an easy one.

We do not claim that this path is a norm for all Christians who are committed to the process of social transformation. We respect the moral conviction of pacifist. We simply expect in return, that our belief — that a disciplined revolutionary army is an indispensable part of the struggle for true justice and peace — be respected. History has taught us that the non-violent actions of the oppressed and exploited in South Africa, has only provoked the regime to shed more of our people's blood. Revolutionary violence — a response rooted in deep love for our people — is a last resort. We participate in the armed struggle of our people's army in order to defend our people from the terror attacks of the regime's army and police and with the hope and faith in "God" that our actions will contribute to a swift establishment of a just peace.

We christian revolutionaries and cadres of the African National Congress, call upon all christians, black and white, to intensify the struggle for a just and democratic future based on the Freedom Charter.

Long live the fighting unity of our people!

Forward ever, backward never!

AMANDLA NGAWETHU!

Waarom Twyfel ? (Why hesitate ?)



An Anti-Apartheid Demonstration in the F. R.G. Kein Geld Für Apartheid

MET die toename in ons stryd, word talle mense voor die keuseprobleem geplaas. Baie besluit om deel te vorm deel van die demokratiese massa terwyl andere besluit om by die Botha-regering te skaar. Graag wil ek my uitlaat oor die laasgenoemde groep wat hulle ook die neutrals noem

Ongelukkig bestaan daar nog baie twyfel by ons gelowiges. Gepraat van gelowiges, verwys ek nie net na Christinne nie, maar na almal wat godsdienste beoefen en dus deel uitmaak van die "RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY". Die twyfel waarna verwys word kom daarop neer dat nog steeds die vraagstelling: Moet ek betrokke raak by 'n regverdige en demokratiese stryd in ons land? Dis tragies om op HIERDIE stadium nog te worstel met genoemde vraag. Mense om jou sterf daagliks, nie dat hulle siek was nie maar a.g.v. die wreedheid van die polisie en

veiligheidsmagte (SADF)

Kinders word in konsentrasiekampe aangehou, nie dat hulle die wet oortree het nie, maar omdat hulle met gebalde vuiste uitskreeu: Hoe lank nog al hierdie lyding? Deur middel van die noodtoestand en 'n verbod op progressiewe persberigting is derduisende onskuldiges in tronke gestop vir onbepaalde periodes en geen nuus betreffende die S.A. situasie bereik die buiteland nie.

Volgens Botha is dit belangrik dat die noodtoestand van krag bly sodat "vrede" gehandhaaf kan word. Jeremia (30:5) sreek die volgende betreffende "die soort vrede": "This is what the Lord says: Cries of fear are heard, terror not peace." Hier word daar verwys na die Israëliete in die Babiloniese ballingskap. Onder die juk van die Babiloniers was die Israëliete wreed onderdruk terwyl die owerheid alles 'n sy vermoee gedoen het

om "vrede" te handhaaf.

Van watter vrede praat Botha immers? Is dit vrede wanneer die veiligheidsmagte (SADF) woonbuurtes patroleer en onskuldiges aanrand en vermoor? Is dit vrede wanneer die polisie en SADF begráfnisgangers met traangas, rubberkoels en lewendige ammunisie bestook? Is dit vrede wanneer jy onder 'n wettelose noodtoestand moet leef wat onbeperkte magte verskaf die polisie en SADF? Is dit vrede wanneer jy gedurig vreesbevange skuiling soek want arrestasie en brutale aanranding is die orde van die dag?

Is dit vrede wanneer gemeenskappe teen wil en dank wreed verskuif word? Is dit vrede wanneer die bloeddorstige monster (SADF) sy landsgrense oorskry en onskuldiges in buurstate vermoor? As dit die "vrede" is waarna Botha verwys, soek ek dit nie. Daar

kan VREDE wees soder geregtigheid nie.

Dis die situasie waarin ons ons bevind. As gelowiges is daar genoeg rede om weg te skram van die werklikheid en te se: Here, ek is bang, ek wil nie betrokke raak nie. Die vraag mag ontstaan: Waarom moet ek betrokke raak by 'n regverdige en demokratiese stryd? Ek is 'n gereelde kerk-ganger, volg my godsdienst-die streng, betaal my tiendes maandeliks en bid vir almal. Ook is ek betrokke in my kerk organisasies. Wat meer word van my verwag? Gelowige, betrokkenheid eindig nie in ons afsonderlike kerk, moskee of sinagoge nie.

Ons vorm deel van 'n gemeenskap wat apartheid beoefen en die wereld met leuns voer. Telkens word ons daarvan bewus gemaak dat politiek nie in die kerk beoefen word nie. Dit word gese teen die agtergrond van waar die NGK 'n belangrike rol gespeel het met die formulering van die apartheidsbeleid. Die apostel Jakobus (2: 14) herinner ons daaraan dat geloof sonder werke dood is. Wat beteken dit dan om uiting te gee aan jou geloof in S.A.? Hier dink ons veral aan Imam Haroon wat met sy lewe die hoogste prys betaal het.

As 'n streng godsdienstige leier het hy in die hande van die polisie gesterf. En dis nie omdat hy skuldig bevind was enige misdaad nie, maar omdat hy geglo het in geregtigheid, demokrasie en vrede. Ook dink ons Dr Beyers Naude wat standpunt ingeneem het teen apartheid en gevolglik ingeperk was vir 7jaar. d.w.s. hy kon nie preek en terselfder tyd ook nie die grense van Johannesburg oorskry nie. Fr. Mkhatswa en eerw. Molefe Tsele geniet ook ons aandag.

As gelowiges is hulle bereid om die hoogste prys te betaal vir vryheid, geregtigheid en vrede. Hier vergeet ons nie die talle gelowiges wat steeds aangehou word omdat hulle het probeer het om uiting te gee aan hulle geloof.

Die Kairos Dokument begin met die woorde: "The time has come. The moment of truth has arrived". Waar staan jy betreffende die waarheid? Aanvaar jy nog steeds tot die letter wat die Botha-regering SE en DOEN? Soek jy nog steeds na bybeltekse om jou te pas sodat jy kan wegstroom van die werklikheid? Die uur het aangebreek en jy staan voor 'n keuse. Die uur het aangebreek en vra vir konkrete betrokkenheid . . . d.w.s. raak betrokke by 'n stryd wat gelei word deur die ANC.

Die ANC was gestig op 8 Januarie 1912 in Bloemfontein — hoofsaaklik vir die beywering van swart politieke regte. Die beginsel van 'n geweldlose stryd was aanvaar gekenmerk deur petisies, deputasies en demonstrasies. Van tyd tot tyd het deputasies na Brittanje gegaan en het selfs met die eertydse regerings onderhandel vir ons politieke regte. Al hierdie pogings het van niks gekom nie. Intendeel die vreedsame optogte was telkens wreed onderdruk deur polisie aanrandings en arrestasies.

Die invloed van die kerk in die lewe van die ANC, kan duidelik gesien word, veral met ons stigting in 1912. Ons 1ste president was J.L. DUBE (192-1917), 'n leraar in die Congregational Church. Tesame met ander gelowiges het hulle leiding en vorm aan die ANC gegee toe dit nog wettig was en selfs toe dit onwettig verklaar is in 1960. In 1944 met die stigting van die

ANC-Jeugliga, het nuwe idees na vore gekom.

Met nuwe dryfkrag, het demonstrasies nou 'n baie meer militante karakter aangeneem-nog steeds beginsel van 'n geweldlose strydvoering. 26 Junie 1955 was die hoogtepunt in ons geskiedenis toe die VRYHEIDSMANIFES (FREEDOME CHARTER) deur die mense opgestel en aanvaar was. Die term "mense" verwys hier na almal wat deel uitmaak van die S.A. samelewing. Tot op datum is dit ons maatstaf vir 'n nie-rassistiese, demokratiese S.A.

In 'n onlangse koerantberig beweer Fr. Mkhatswa dat baie christinne nog nie die vryHEIDSMANIFES aanvaar het nie . . . HOEKOM? Volgens die christelike leier is daar geen klousule in die VRYHEIDSMANIFES wat indruis teen ons geloof nie. Fr. Albert Nolan van die Rooms Katolieke Kerk het die volgende te se betreffende die VRYHEIDSMANIFES: "I would therefore dare say that, since the churches are called to read the signs of our times, the FREEDOM CHARTER with all its limitations be taken seriously as one of the signs of our time and as one of the places we must look for the prophetic voice of GOD.

The FREEDOM CHARTER can help us bring our abstract principles and statements down to earth. And even more importantly it can challenge us to look more critically at our real motives and assumptions".

Op 'n vraag van: Is die waardes wat in die VRYHEIDSMANIFES bevat word in ooreenstemming met die van ons Christelike waardes, het Fr. A. Nolan en Aardsbiskop D. Tutu die volgende te se:

Fr. A. NOLAN: "Much of the Charter is an appeal for

basic human rights; the right to vote, the right to education, housing and work, the right to form trade unions, to travel freely, to worship; to receive medical care and so forth. There is no difference between the rights demanded here and the statements of the churches about human rights".

Aardsbiskop D. Tutu: The Freedom Charter is the handwork of S.A. of all races and colours and ages . . . It speaks about our common humanity and our common South African citizenship . . . about a sharing society, about a caring community, about a compassionate fellowship . . . about providing for each according to their need . . . about a just, participatory and sustainable society".

Die gebeure op 21 Maart 1960 in Sharpsville waar 69 onskuldige mense vermoor en honderde beseer was, het grootliks daartoe bygedra tot

die besluit en aanvaarding van 'n gewapende strydvoering. In dieselfde jaar was die ANC onwettig verklaar. Chief A. Luthuli het die volgende te se in die verband: "Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all".

Belangrik was dat na 49 jaar van geweldlose strydvoering, was Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) op 16 Desember 1961 gestig. Dit was aangekondig deur 'n reeks ontploffings wat landwyd die aarde geskud het. Vandag word die ANC deur die Botha-regering gevrees; nie soseer dat

ons 'n gewapende stryd voer nie, maar omdat die ANC die mense verteenwoordig en gevolglik so aanvaar is. In Mei verlede jaar het die Wereld Raad van Kerke hier in Lusaka ons stryd in totaal aavaar. d.w.s. ons gewapende strydvoering was na jare van twyfelagtigheid deur die W.R.K. uiteindelik aanvaar. Deur die besluit het ons 'n mylpaal bereik in ons stryd vir vryheid, geregtigheid en vrede.

Na hierdie breedvoerige uiteensetting, kan daar nog rede wees vir twyfel? Die besluit is joue. . . Besluit nou om jou deel by te dra vir 'n toekoms waar jy jou geloof vryelik kan beoefen.

Die vraag lei: Hoe lank nog gelowige sal jy hunker op twee gedagtes? Hoe lank nog sal jy die mense mishandeling aanskou en stilbly?

VOORWAARTS TOT 'N REGERING VAN DIE MENSE. . .

CONSTITUTIONAL GUIDELINES FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

THE Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955 by the Congress of the People at Kliptown near Johannesburg, was the first systematic statement in the history of our country of the political and constitutional vision of a free, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

The Freedom Charter remains today unique as the only South African document of its kind that adheres firmly to democratic principles as accepted throughout the world. Amongst South Africans it has become by far the most widely accepted programme for a post-apartheid country. The stage is now approaching where the Freedom Charter must be converted from a vision for the

future into a constitutional reality.

We in the African National Congress submit to the people of South Africa, and to all those throughout the world who wish to see an end to apartheid, our basic guidelines for the foundations of government in a post-apartheid South Africa. Extensive and democratic debate on these guidelines will mobilise the widest sections of our population to achieve agreement on how to put an end to the tyranny and oppression under which our people live, thus enabling them to lead normal and decent lives as free citizens in a free country.

The immediate aim is to create a just and democratic

society that will sweep away the century's old legacy of colonial conquest and white domination, and abolish all laws imposing racial oppression and discrimination. The removal of discriminatory laws is, however, not enough; the structures and the institutions of apartheid must be dismantled and be replaced by democratic ones. Steps must be taken to ensure that apartheid ideas and practices are not permitted to appear in old forms or new.

In addition, the effects of centuries of racial domination and inequality must be overcome by constitutional provisions for corrective action which guarantees a rapid and
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Stop The Torture!

'South Africa's Children are being jailed and tortured. A Holocaust is now unfolding'

By **BENJAMIN F. CHAVIS, Jr.**

THE MEDIA images are familiar unarmed South African youths running away from armed police firing tear gas and bullets at them. But what we cannot see on the front pages of our newspapers are the overwhelming numbers of youngsters now being detained without trial in South Africa's jails. It is this information that that country's government, with its repressive measures and extensive censorship of the domestic and foreign media, foolishly hopes to hide from the eyes of the world. What is now unfolding in South Africa is tantamount to a holocaust.

There are as many as 40,000 Black South Africans in detention, and of that number perhaps 16,000 are under 17, with some even as young as 8. Hoping to extinguish the growing rage that the detentions have incurred, the government has forbidden any actions that would publicize or seek release of those now detained, including signing petitions, wearing T-shirts with sympathetic slogans or even praying for those behind bars.

In South Africa detention has frightening connotations — it is synonymous with beatings, torture, even death. According to South Africa and American human-rights groups, children are being subjected to horrible abuse. One book, "The War Against Children: South Africa's Youngest Victims" (published by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, New York City), tells of Joseph, 14, whose fingernails are twisted and blackened from electric-shock treatments inflicted



while he was in detention, whose leg still bears a scar where he was cut by police with a broken soft-drink bottle

In 1985 another source, Dr Wendy Orr, a white South African then a district surgeon responsible for examining detainees, filed affidavits regarding the physical condition of the detainees, half of whom were under 18. She had found welts, bruising and blisters "over their backs, arms and on the palms of their hands. Some had lacerated lips, and the skin over their cheekbones was split. Several had their eardrums perforated.

Children languish in prison for months at a time and are denied visits from parents or lawyers. One such child, Fanie Goduka, was accused of throwing stones at two unoccupied vehicles. He was eventually acquitted of the charges, but he was denied bail and was in jail for 57 days because, the police said, they feared the 11-year-old would interfere with witnesses in the case!

Those children not jailed are subjected to a pattern meant to terrorize them: Soldiers pick them up from the streets,

load them into armoured vehicles where they are held for several hours, and threaten and beat them; they are finally released far from home and left to find their way back.

Though the brutality takes its toll on the children, it is also unbearable for their parents. Relatives often know only that their children have been abducted by the police, torture they are being forced to endure or how long the terror will last. Parents are deliberately made to feel powerless and degraded in an attempt to break their spirit, as well as their children's spirits.

Idle words of so-called shock from the Reagan administration are not a sufficient response. We 30 million African-Americans have a profound responsibility to the people of South Africa. We must organize and apply all possible pressure directly on the Reagan administration to change its present policy of "constructive engagement" and support of the racist apartheid regime of South Africa.

One way to do this is to contact all members of Congress to encourage their support for stronger sanctions against South Africa. A bill now being debated in Congress (H.R. 1580/S.556, introduced by Representative Ronald Dillums and Senator Alan Cranston, both of California) would require a total embargo and disinvestment by U.S. corporations from South Africa and Namibia (a country illegally occupied by South Africa).

We should also be more

supportive of several national organizations that are leading the anti-apartheid campaign in this country: the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, Trans-Africa, the Washington Office on Africa and the National Black Leadership Roundtable, all based in Washington, D.C.

I intend to do all of the

The Reverend Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis, Jr., is executive director

above, but also go on step further, I am no longer going to whisper the name of the African National Congress (ANC), as if mention of direct support for that organization would bring retribution from the powers that be. From now on, everywhere I speak and preach I will be calling for direct

of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice in

financial contributions to the ANC. The handwriting is on the wall. The torture of African children will be stopped only by the victory of the ANC and SWAPO (the liberation movement of Namibia) and by the victory of all the peoples of southern Africa over the forces of oppression.

New York City.

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PROFILE OF A RAVING PEOPLE'S THEOLOGIAN

BORN 37 years ago in Soweto, Frank is the second in a family of seven. His father is a minister of the Apostolic Faith Mission. He matriculated at Orlando High School in 1971 with a first class pass after passing his junior certificate with distinction at Musi Secondary. At the time he was an active member of the Students Christian Movement.

In 1972 he went to Turfloop's University of the North for a degree in science. It was at this time that his religious life experienced a fundamental metamorphosis from a spiritual reductionism to a broader faith embracing social and political concerns. Impressed by student leaders like Abram Tiro and Aubrey Mokoena, his political formation matured and it was not long before he became a leader of SCM at Turfloop. During this period the foundations were shaken by Abram Tiro's shattering graduation address followed by the mass walkout of students from Turfloop. Student militancy had reached such heights that being a Christian was tantamount to being a collaborator or traitor.



As a leader of the Christian Movement during this time, Frank campaigned for a form of relevant faith that sought not to moralize but also to conscientize students and by 1974 SCM had gained its revered credibility. During this time he teamed up with Ishmael Mkhabela (present Azapo President), Lybon Mabaso (past Azapo President) and Cyril Ramaphosa (present General Secretary for NUM). As fate would have it his studies were once more interrupted following the Viva Frelimo Rally and the subsequent crackdown on student leadership.

Back at home Frank taught

privately at Morris Isaacson in 1975 before joining the ministry of the Apostolic Faith Mission in 1976. He served his probation at Kagiso during which time he worked at the University of Witwatersrand as laboratory assistant until his ordination in 1980. When pastor of Kagiso parish, he founded an Interdenominational Youth Christian Study (IYCC) which strives to bring together the youth of different denominations and engage them in programmes of social responsibility and action. Frank saw IYCC as a response to the inseparable link between the youth and the community to which they belong, Frank saw IYCC as a response to the social welfare desolation and resulting in the various community projects such as women's sewing, knitting clubs, blind care, housing, and education. Both IYCC and the Self-Help Scheme are still active to the present day. His ministry came to a halt in 1981 when his District Council suspended

gedly "being involved in".
k's acquaintance with
urity police dates back
7 when he was detained
visiting a family whose
were detained. There-
ne was picked up at
short intervals spending
or months in detention.
was the most severe, he
erned for 8 months and
sulted in the deteriora-
his health.

dy in 1981 prior to his
on, he had joined the
e for Contextual
y as Research Officer.
3 he was appointed
Secretary of the Insti-
position he held till
gifted science scholar,
as never been able to
e his B.Sc. degree
the fact that when he
floop in 1974 he was
nai year. His periodic
ns have been very
because every time it
e lost yet another year
. He has since started
In Theology.

mitted Christian of
le moral standards, he

is practical about his politics
and compelling about the exa-
mple he gives. A gifted public
speaker he often remarks in
passing that he "does not have
anything new to tell the people
but has a new way of telling
them what they already
know." Frank is a tireless
worker who amazingly
manages to honour his appoint-
ments for large meetings and
small gatherings and still
attend his Sunday worship at
his father's church at Naledi
every Sunday. He is always
so willing to minister to
people in crisis situations that
he often overstretches himself.
His only fault, the one which
he never ceases to worry
about, is that he spends little
time with his family.

There is a joke that Frank
is so busy that his wife has to
negotiate an appointment in
his diary to see him. He rather
responds by saying "maybe we
have reached a stage in the
fight against apartheid where
priorities must be readjusted.
Maybe the times dictate that
the fight for justice in our
society should not be subordi-
nated to such noble commit-

ments as an evening with your
wife or an uninterrupted year
of study at University." How-
ever, as a family man he is a
source of inspiration and a
model to countless young
couples. He married in 1980
and together with his wife
Kagiso, they have two child-
ren. Frank's political back-
ground and formation is the
Black Consciousness move-
ment of the 1970's. He was
involved in the founding of
AZAPO and also delivered a
paper at the inauguration of
AZAPO in 1979.

However, during the early
1980's his ideological base
shifted to the non-racial posi-
tion espoused by the Freedom
Charter, a document he holds
in high esteem, second only
to the Bible. Until recently he
was the vice-president of the
United Democratic Front an
alliance of organizations oppo-
sing apartheid and unpholding
the non-racial ideal.

Frank undoubtedly is a
model par excellence of the
new brand of Black Theolo-
gian of liberation. He is a
people's theologian.

e 24

e redistribution of
nd opening up of
to all. The constitu-
also be such as to
the habits of non-
iking, the practice of
behaviour and the
of genuinely shared
onsciousness.

stitution must give
tion to the funda-
an rights of all
are shall be equal
all individuals,
of race, colour, sex
In addition, it

requires the entrenching of
equal cultural, linguistic and
religious rights for all.

Under the conditions of
contemporary South Africa
87% of the land and 95% of
the instruments of production
of the country are in the hands
of the ruling class which is
solely drawn from the white
community. It follows, there-
fore, that constitutional
protection for group rights
would perpetuate the status
quo and would mean that the
mass of the people would
continue to be constituionally

trapped in poverty and remain
as outsiders in the land of their
birth.

Finally, success of the
constitution will be, to a large
extent, determined by the
degree to which it promotes
conditions for the active
involvement of all sectors of
the population and at all levels
in government and in the
economic and cultural life.
Bearing these fundamental
objectives in mind, we declare
that the elimination of apart-
heid and the creation of a
Continued on page 28

truly just and democratic South Africa requires a constitution based on the following principles:

THE STATE:

a) South Africa shall be an independent, unitary, democratic and non-racial state.

b) i) Sovereignty shall belong to the people as a whole and shall be exercised through one central legislature, executive and administration.

ii) Provision shall be made for the delegation of the powers of the central authority to subordinate administrative units for purposes of more efficient administration.

c) The institution of hereditary rulers and chiefs shall be transformed to serve the interests of the people as a whole in conformity with the democratic principles embodied in the constitution.

d) All organs of government, including justice, security and armed forces shall be representative of the people as a whole, democratic in their structure and functioning, and dedicated to defending the principles of the constitution.

FRANCHISE

e) In the exercise of their sovereignty, the people shall have the right to vote under a system of universal suffrage based on the principle of one person, one vote.

f) Every voter shall have the right to stand for election and be elected to all legislative bodies.

NATIONAL IDENTITY

g) It shall be state policy to promote the growth of a single national identity and loyalty binding on all South Africans. At the same time, the state shall

recognise the linguistic and cultural diversity of the people and provide facilities for free linguistic and cultural development.

A BILL OF RIGHTS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION:

h) The constitution shall include a Bill of Rights based on the Freedom Charter. Such a Bill of Rights shall guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens irrespective of race, colour, sex or creed, which shall provide appropriate mechanisms for their enforcement.

i) The state and all social institutions shall be under a duty to eradicate race discrimination in all its forms.

j) The state and all social institutions shall be under a constitutional duty to take active steps to eradicate, speedily, the economic and social inequalities produced by racial discrimination.

k) The advocacy or practice of racism, fascism, nazism or the incitement of ethnic or regional exclusiveness or hatred shall be outlawed.

l) Subject to clauses (i) and (k) above, the democratic state shall guarantee the basic rights and freedoms, such as freedom of association, expression, thought, worship and the press.

m) All parties which conform to the provisions of paragraphs (i) to (k) shall have the legal right to exist and to take part in the political life of the country.

ECONOMY

n) The state shall ensure that the entire economy serves the interests and well-being of all sections of the population.

o) The state shall have the right to determine the general context in which economic life takes place and define and limit the rights and obligations attaching to the ownership and use of private productive capacity.

p) The economy shall be a mixed one, with a public sector, a private sector, a co-operative sector and a small-scale family sector.

q) Co-operative forms of economic enterprise, village industries and small-scale family activities shall be supported by the state.

r) The state shall promote the acquisition of managerial, technical and scientific skills among all sections of the population, especially the blacks.

s) Property for personal use and consumption shall be constitutionally protected.

WORKERS

t) A charter protecting workers, trade union rights, the right to strike and collective bargaining into the constitution.

WOMEN

u) Women shall have equal rights in all spheres of public and private life and the state shall take affirmative action to eliminate sexual inequalities.

THE FAMILY

v) The family, parenthood and children's rights shall be protected.

INTERNATIONAL

w) South Africa shall be a non-aligned state committed to the principles of the Charter of the Organisation of African Unity and the Charter of the United Nations and to the achievements of national liberation, world peace and disarmament.

"PHAKAMANI" and other ANC publications are obtainable from the following ANC addresses:

ALGERIA
5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
Algiers.

ANGOLA
P.O. Box 3523
Luanda.

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

BELGIUM
25 Rue du Conseil
1050 Brussels.

CANADA
P.O. Box 302
Adelaide Postal Station
Toronto
Ontario M5C-2J4.

CUBA
Calle 21a
NR 20617
Esquina 214 Atabey
Havana.
DENMARK
Landgreven 7/3
1301 Copenhagen K

EGYPT
5 Ahmad Ishmat Street
Zamalek
Cairo.

ETHIOPIA
P.O. Box 7483
Addis Ababa.

FRANCE
28 Rue des Petites Ecuries
75010 Paris

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC
Angerweg 2
Wilhelmsruh
Berlin 1106.

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
Postfach 190140
5300 Bonn 1.

ITALY
Via S. Prisca 15a
00153 Rome,

MADAGASCAR
P.O. Box 80
Antananarivo

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

NIGERIA
Federal Government
Special Guest House
Victoria Island
Lagos.

SENEGAL
26 Avenue Albert Sarraut
P.O. Box 3420, Dakar

SWEDEN
P.O. Box 6183
S-102 33
Stockholm

TANZANIA
P.O. Box 2239 Dar es Salaam
P.O. Box 680 Morogoro.

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

UNITED STATES
801 Second Avenue Apt 405
New York NYC 10017

ZAMBIA
P.O. Box 31791
Lusaka.

LISTEN TO:

Radio Freedom

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

Radio Luanda

short wave: 30.7 & 40 m. bands
medium wave: 27.6 m. band
7.30 p.m. daily.

Radio Lusaka

Short wave: 31 m. band, 9580 KHz
7.15-8.00 p.m. Monday to Friday
10.05-1035 p.m. Wednesday
10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday
7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

Radio Madagascar

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

Radio Ethiopia

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

Radio Tanzania

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

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