

DO NOT USE

DO NOT USE

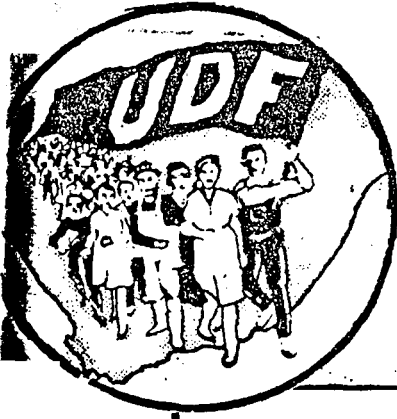
DO NOT USE

WE, ZWELETEMBA RESIDENTS SAY STAY AWAY FROM BADI'S AND
TSOBO'S TAXIS. THEY ARE THE SELL OUTS. BOERS PUPPETS
WHO SEND AWAY THE PEOPLE FROM THEIR HOUSES AND ZINC HOUSES.

THEY BETRAY PEOPLE WITH THE AIM OF THEIR OWN BENEFITS. WE
SAY AS FROM SATURDAY, 15th SEPTEMBER DO NOT TAKE THESE MENTIONED
TAXIS THEY MUST BE BOYCOTTED.

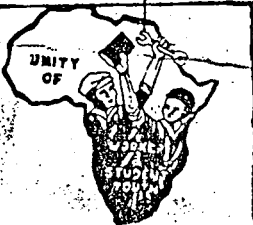
RESIDENTS, UNITE AGAINST SUCH OPPRESSIVE CONDITIONS.

TRANSLATED FROM KHOSA TO ENGLISH BY NO. S154589E D/W/O.
L. MAKUNZI, SECURITY BRANCH, WORCESTER



U-BOTHA UYADELELA

Badi ^{23.6.88} 13/4/88
Moleleke 14/7/88



MFUNDI, MZALI, TITSHALA
MANYANANI

Abantu oomzantsi Afrika jikelele ba-
likhabe ngawo omane iyelenqe lepala-
mente ebucala yabeBala namaIndia.
Izizathu zoko kungenxa yokuba
uninzi lwabemi balapha emzantsi
Afrika bengamelwangakwasesikweni kulo
nomgogwana wabo.

Sisatsho nangoku ukuba thina abangaba-
fundi siyalikhaba eliyelenqe asiyikho
Izandla zabanomgogwana zisaxhapha ipa-
zi lo Xolise Mosi, Sunnyboy Zantsi,
Boy Nonkasa, Inunnu Magegelele,
ooToto, Themba, nabaninzi esingaba-
khankanyanga. Eziparamente zabo zi-
phelelelwe ngegazi labantu abamnyama.

Ukubonakalisa incaso yawo onke ama-
sebe abemi bomzantsi Afrika. Aba-
fundi abangaphezu kwamawaka angama-
khulu asixhenxe baye bakwaya izikolo.
E Sharpville bayafa abafundi, iyama-
ngalisa ukuba ibekwangababafundi aba-
celwa ukuba bazimase aba nomgogwana.



FRONT PAGE

BOTHA UNDERESTIMATES

STUDENTS, PARENTS, TEACHERS UNITE

ALL THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA COMPLETELY REJECTED THE PLOT OF GIVING COLOURED AND INDIANS PARLIAMENTARY RIGHTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES (A SIDE PARLIAMENT)

THE REASON FOR THIS IS BECAUSE THE MAJORITY CITIZENS OF SOUTH AFRICA ARE NOT OFFICIALLY REPRESENTED IN THE SO-CALLED PARLIAMENT.

TO SHOW THEIR REJECTION, MORE THAN SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND STUDENTS BOYCOTTED SCHOOLS AT SHARPEVILLE. STUDENTS ARE DYING. IT IS SURPRISING TO HEAR THAT THESE SAME STUDENTS ARE ASKED TO ATTEND THE CEREMONIES OF THE SO-CALLED PARLIAMENT.

WE STUDENTS STILL MAINTAIN THAT WE REJECT THIS PLOT. WE DO NOT OPEN THE HANDS OF THESE STOOGES WHO ARE STILL FULL OF THE BLOOD OF XOLILE MOSI, SUNNYBOY ZANTSI, BOY NONKASA, NHUNHU MAGENGELELE, TOTO TEMBA AND OTHERS WHOM WE DID NOT MENTION.

THIS PARLIAMENT OF THEM ARE BEING BAPTIZED BY THE BLOOD OF BLACK PEOPLE.

BACK PAGE

PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

RECENTLY WE WERE SURPRISED BY THE PRESENCE OF CISKEI BUSES WHICH HAD BEEN BOYCOTTED. THE STOUGE GOVERNMENT OF CISKEI FORMED BY BOTHA KILLED PEOPLE BY INSTRUCTING POLICE AND HIS FORCES INTO OPERATION WITH THIS GOVERNMENT OF BOTHA TO WHICH THEY ARE INVITING OUR CHILDREN TODAY.

AT THIS MOMENT THESE BUSES ARE HERE COVERED IN BLOOD. THESE BUSES ARE NOT USED BY THE PEOPLE OF EAST LONDON AND MDANTSANE. THESE BUSES ARE WHITE IN COLOUR AND BLUE AND E.R.F. ON ITS FRONT. THE OTHERS HAD A ORANGE

2/....

COLOUR WITH A NAVY WITH YELLOW TOP.

THE LEADERS OF U.D.F. ARE IN DARK CELLS AT THIS MOMENT
BEING ARRESTED BY THE SAME GOVERNMENT OF BOTHA WITH HIS
SELL OUTS.

WE ARE BOYCOTTING THIS PLOT.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE !

TRANSLATED FROM XHOSA TO ENGLISH BY NO. S154589E D/W/O.
L. MAKUNZI, SECURITY BRANCH, WORCESTER.

Voeg by bes 4
van ABA 2

TRANSLATION OF EXHIBIT "ABA2"

Front Page

BOTHA UNDERESTIMATES
SCHOLARS, PARENTS, TEACHERS UNITE.

People in the whole of South Africa have totally rejected the plot of the discriminatory parliaments of Coloureds and Indians. The reasons for this are that the majority of South Africa's citizens are not officially represented in this dummy of theirs.

To show their rejection by all sections of the South African citizens, more than seven hundred thousand students boycotted schools. In Sharpeville students are dying. It is surprising that it be these same scholars who are now asked to show respect to these dummy institutions.

We still say that we as scholars reject this plot. The hands of these puppets are red with the blood of Xolile Mosi, Sunnyboy Zantsi, Boy Nonkasa, Nhunhu Magengelele, Toto Temba, and many others whom we have not mentioned. These parliaments of theirs have been baptised by the blood of black people.

Back Page

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN

Recently we were surprised by the presence of busses

from the Ciskei which are not being used there. The puppet government of the Ciskei, Botha's creation, has killed people by feeding them to the police and his armies in co-operation with Botha's government, to which our children are now being called today. As we speak these buses that are still red with that blood are still here and are still not being used by the people of East London and Mdantasne. These busses are white in colour and have a blue colour as well and the writing which says ERF on the front. Others are orange with a navy stripe, and on top they are yellow.

UDF leaders are in dark cells as we are speaking, arrested by this government of Botha and his informers. We boycott this plot.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU - POWER IS OURS

~~ONS IS VIR DIE MENSE, DEUR DIE MENSE EN~~
~~IS DIE MENSE~~

24/6/86

WEE!!!
VIR
APARTHEID

JAAAA!!!
VIR
U.D.

DOELSTELLINGS

- * GEKANT TEEN APARTHEID
- * 'n VERENIGDE NIE-RASSISTIESE DEMOKRATIESE SUID-AFRIKA
- * BEVEG LAE LONE, SWAK BEHUISTES HOOR UITREKKEDE SWAK



UNITED ABA3
DEMOCRATIC
FRONT

23.6.86



THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT CALLS ON ALL SOUTH AFRICANS TO OBSERVE THURSDAY AS A NATIONAL DAY OF MOURNING IN SOLIDARITY WITH THE PEOPLE KILLED IN CROSSROADS, VAAL TRIANGLE, FORT BEAUFORT Uitenhage AND ALL OVER THE COUNTRY.



edag

DOM
OM OI

NATIONAL STAYAWAY
THURSDAY 28th MARCH

A STORY OF TERROR

1

Innocent people in Uitenhage were ruthlessly gunned down simply because they protested against the ever-increasing cost of living.

2

The Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation (PEBCO) called on the people to unite against these increases by organising a weekend of protest.

3

Together with PEBCO the people decided they will stay away from the city centres for the weekend (16 and 17 March) and stayaway from work on Monday, 18 March.

The stayaway was 100% successful but the peaceful nature of the protest was brought to an end when police shot down the people. By Monday they had already killed 13 people and wounded many more.

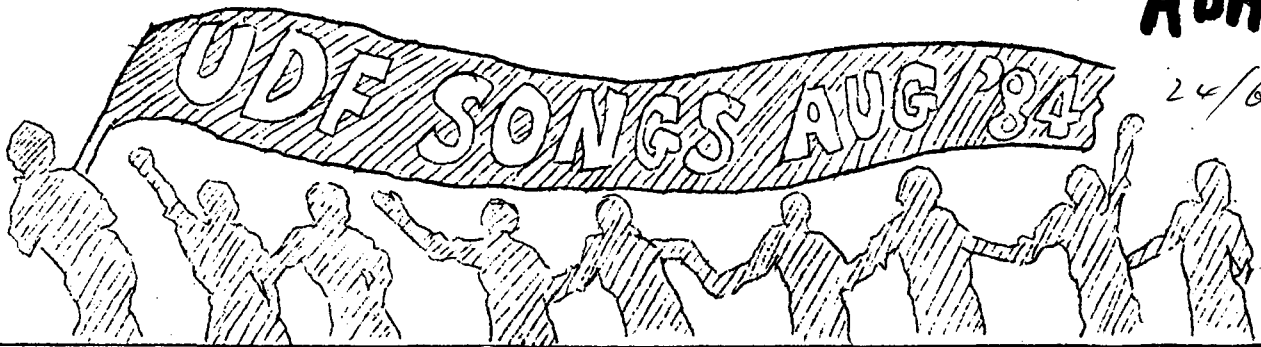
On Thursday, exactly 25 years since 69 people were gunned down by police in Sharpville, the police once again opened fire. They shot down people who were peacefully marching to bury 6 of their friends who had been killed in the weekend.

But this time they went too far. Using rifles they killed 43 people and wounded hundreds.

VC

END APARTHEID

24/6/86



1. Angena majoni

Amajoni wase Afrika (X 2)
Masiye, masiye kusebenzi
Umsebenzi wase Afrika (X 2)

Hulle sal ons nooit verdeel
Want die UDF verenig ons
Ons sal never vote
Want die UDF verenig ons

Voorwaarts, voorwaarts na vryheid
Voorwaarts na vryheid in ons lewens
tyd.

2. Basebenzi manyanani

Manyanani (X 3)
Ikhona lentlangano iUDF (X 3)
Manyanani makhosikazi manyani (X 3)
Manyanani bafundi manyanani (X 3)
Manyanani lolutsha manyanani (X 3)

(Werkers moet saamstaan
onder die vaandel van die UDF
Vrouens moet saamstaan...
Studente moet saamstaan....
Die jeug moet saamstaan....)

. Daai geld, daai geld, daai baie
geld (X 3)

Die boere verdien daai geld
Hulle sit op hulle gat en skryf
wette uit (X 3)
Maar die boere verdien daai geld

Ons bruiners en ons swartes werk
ewer hard (X 3)
maar die boere verdien daai geld

4. We shall not, we shall not be moved
(X 2)

Just like a tree that's standing by
the waterside
we shall not be moved

We shall not, we shall never vote (X3)
Curry and Hendrickse are sell-outs
For them we'll never vote.

5. Die UDF sal nooit verloor (X 3)
Wat gaan jy maak, Hendrickse?

En as ou Boesak kom, wat gaan jy
maak Hendrickse
Wat gaan jy maak, Curry
Wat gaan jy maak (X 3)

Die army soek vir jou (X 2)
Maar die UDF veg daarteen

Die boere raak nou bang (X 2)
Want die UDF kom aan.

6. (Mandela, Mandela)
Mandela prescribes for freedom
Mandela says freedom now
Now we say away with slavery
In our land of Afrika

Rolihlahla
Rolihlahla Mandela
Freedom is in your hands
Show us the way to freedom
In our land of Afrika

7. Siphamandla Qamata

Singadinwa
Siphamandla Qamata
Xa besibulala

8. walking, walking in the light
in the light (X 3)
In the light of UDF

Stap maar, stap maar in die lig
In die lig (X 3)
In die lig van UDF

Hamba, hamba, kukanye
kukanye (X 3)
Kukanye iUDF

9. Thina silulutsho asinukulawa
Acoze sabulalawa ngamagxagxa
Sisebatsha (X4)

10. Ons swart mense

Kinders van slawe
wil ons eie land terug
wat gesteel is van ons vaders
toe hulle in die donker was

Gee dit terug nou (x 2)
Weg met alle slawerny
Botha sal ons nie vashou nie
Afrika sal vryheid kry

11. SWAPO shall never (x 3)
be defeated
by Botha's regime

12. SWAPO ulibendi
Telule bandela (x 3)
Uya Namibia

13. Senzenina (x8)
What have we done (x8)
Wat het ons gedoen (x8)
Mayibuye iAfrika (x4)

1

14. Unzima lumthwalo
Ufuna madoda (x2)
Asikatali nobasiyabotshwa
Sizimisele . . . Khululeko
Khululeko (x3)
Asinayo

Thina bantwana
Base Afrika
Sizimisele Khululeko
Khululeko (x3)
Asinayo

15. Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika
Maluphakamisu phondo lwayo
Yivis nemithsindazo yethu
Nkosi sikelele
Thina lusapho lwayo (x2)

Woza Moya
Sikelela Nkosi sikelela (x 2)
Woza Moya Oyingwela
Nkosi sikelele
Thina lusapho lwayo

Morena boluka
Sechaba saHesu
Ophidi sedintwa la matwelo ho (x2)

Osiboluke
Osiboluke
Osiboluke Morena
'Siboluke
Sechaba saHesu
Sechaba saAfrika

Makube njalo (x 2)
kude kube nguna phakode

(God seën Afrika
lei haar leiers
Seën haar kinders
Help om haar op te bou.)

BELL, DEWAR & HALL

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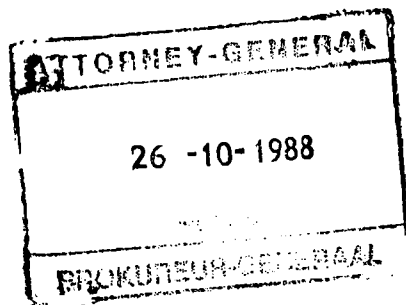
Your reference

Our reference

Mr Dison/FS/MOSE3163-001

21 October 1988

Advocate P Jacobs SC
Deputy Attorney-General
Pretoria



By Hand - Urgent

Dear Sir

State v Baleka & Others

We have checked through Mr Mahlangu's translations of Exhibit ABA5 and ABA 7 and taken instructions from the accused in this regard. We confirm that you may advise the Judge that the translations are acceptable to the accused.

Yours faithfully


BELL DEWAR & HALL

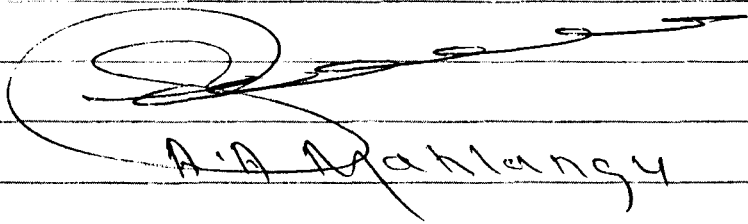
VERTALING

I ABIE ABRAHAM MATHANGU AM THE
INSPECTOR OF INTERPRETERS FOR THE
PROVINCE OF TRANSVAAL. I AM STATIONED
AT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HEADOFFICE
IN PRETORIA.

I WAS REQUESTED BY THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY
GENERAL TO TRANSLATE EXHIBITS ABA 5 AND
ABA 7.

I TRANSLATED EXHIBITS ABA 5 AND
ABA 7 FROM XHOSA TO AFRIKAANS AND
ENGLISH TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY
JUST AND CORRECT.

PRETORIA
13-10-1988



A.A. Mathangu

(1) DIE SOLDATE KOM IN.

DIE SOLDATE VAN AFRIKA * 2

LAAT ONS GAAN, LAAT ONS GAAN WERK.

DIE WERK VAN AFRIKA * 2.

2. WERKERS VEREENIG, VEREENIG * 3

DOU IS 'N ORGANISASIE DIE U.D.F * 3

VROUENS VEREENIG VEREENIG * 3

VEREENIG STUDENTE VEREENIG * 3

VEREENIG JEUG VEREENIG * 3.

3 IS IN AFRIKAANS

4 IS IN ENGLIS

5 IS IN AFRIKAANS

6 IS IN ENGLIS

7 ~~HERE~~ GEE ONS KRAG

OM NIE MOEG TE WORD

HERE GEE ONS KRAG

AS HULLE NIE ONS DOOD MAEK.

8 IS IN ENGLIS EN AFRIKAANS EN ~~HET~~
'N XHOSA vertaling:

STAP, STAP IN DIE LIG,

IN DIE LIG

IN DIE LIG VAN DIE U.D.F.

(9) ONS DIE JELU SAL NIE DOODGEMAAK WORD
ONS SAL NIE DEUR DIE BOERE DOODGEMAAK
WORD.
ONS IS NOG JONK. X 4

10 IS IN AFRIKAANS

11 IS IN ENGELS

12 IS IN 'N TAAL VAN S.W.A WAT AAN
MY ONBEKEN IS. (HERERO TAAL)

13. IS IN ENGELS EN AFRIKAAN behalwe
DIE WOORD: SENZENI NA? X 8
VERTALING HIERVAN: WAT HET ONS GEDOEN X 8

14. DIE ONGERIEF IS SWAAR,
DIT HET MANNE MODIG X 2
ONS GEE NIE OM AL WORD ONS
GEARRESTEER.

ONS IS BEREID, OM ONS VRYHEID
TE KRY X 3.

ONS DIE KINDERS VAN AFRIKA
ONS WATERSIN ONS VRYHEID MEⁿ X 3
WAT ONS NIE HET NIE.

~~15. ~~HIER~~ ~~HEER~~ SEEN AFRIKA, LAAT SY TORING HOOG
gebou word, ~~boon ons gebied~~~~


15. HIER SEEN AFRIKA
LAAT SY TORING OP GEFAT WORD,
GEE GEHOOR AAN ONS GEBEDENS,
"HIER SEEN ONS SY KINDERS. X 2

61
KOM HEILIGE GEES
SËEN HERE SËEN
KOM HEILIGE GEES
HERE SËEN
ONS SY KINDERS X 2.

HERE BEWAAR ONS VOLK
MAAK DIE OORLOG KLAAR,
EN AIT WAT ONS ALA X 2

BEWAAR ONS
BEWAAR ONS
BEWAAR ONS HERE
BEWAAR ONS VOLK
DIE VOLK VAN AFRIKA.

LAAT DIT SO WEES X 2.
TOT EWIG EN EWIG.



GESKIEDENIS VAN GRAFCOM - NLUUS

Kerkorganisasies, sportorganisasies, studenteorganisasies versoenig onder vaandel v/d UDF (24/7/84)

1. Vereniging v/d mense, deur die mense en vindie mense wat staan teen onderdrukking, uitbuiting, swak huise, stof = praeie, min werk en lae lone - Apartheid.

Vordering v/ GRAFCOM: Disco's, video-vertoning, twee konferensies, 'n gedenkdienst op 16 Junie en huis tot huis besoek in gemeenskap - UDF inligting verskaf.

Hotelboikot het bewys dat ons kan saamstaan.
GRAFCOM kontak met Aberdeen, Middelburg, Beaufort-Wes, Carnarvon, Somerset-Oos, Colesburg, De Aar. UDF groei in Karoo.

3. Augustus 8: UDF-vergadering. 5000 mense. Dr A Boesak, A. Borraine, Eerw. F. Hutkie sprekers. Ons verwerp die nuwe bedeling en steun nie pop-leiers soos Koeberg, Hendrikse en Botha nie. Gisteraand 3000 mense weer byeen om hul misnoe teen apartheid te toon.

4. Boikot deur studente/leerlinge landswyd.
Oproep deur AZAZO/COSAS nie die UDF aan studente om te boikot: Om misnoe teen nuwe bedeling en Apartheid te wys. Op Spandau, Asherville, "Lokasie" leerlinge is besig om verantwoordelik en gedissiplinêerd te boikot. Indien enige geweld sou dit die polisie wees wat in ons gebiede kom en kinders intimideer.

5. GRAFCOM en die Toekoms:
Ten spyte van intimidasie en verhoor en van ons eie "backbiters" sal ons mense saamstem ongeag van velkleur, geloot, kwalifikasies, sportklubs of status.

6. Naweek verrigtinge van GRAFCOM (UDF).
Saterdag (môre) is "Workshop" by die markie.
Sport Saterdagmiddag.
Gumba (Reggae-musiek) in Selfbou. (Saterdagavond).
Sondag: Gedenkdienst in Asherville.
Veg oor die land gaan mense die 1ste verjaarsdag v/d UDF vier op 'n vreedsame en ordelike wyse.

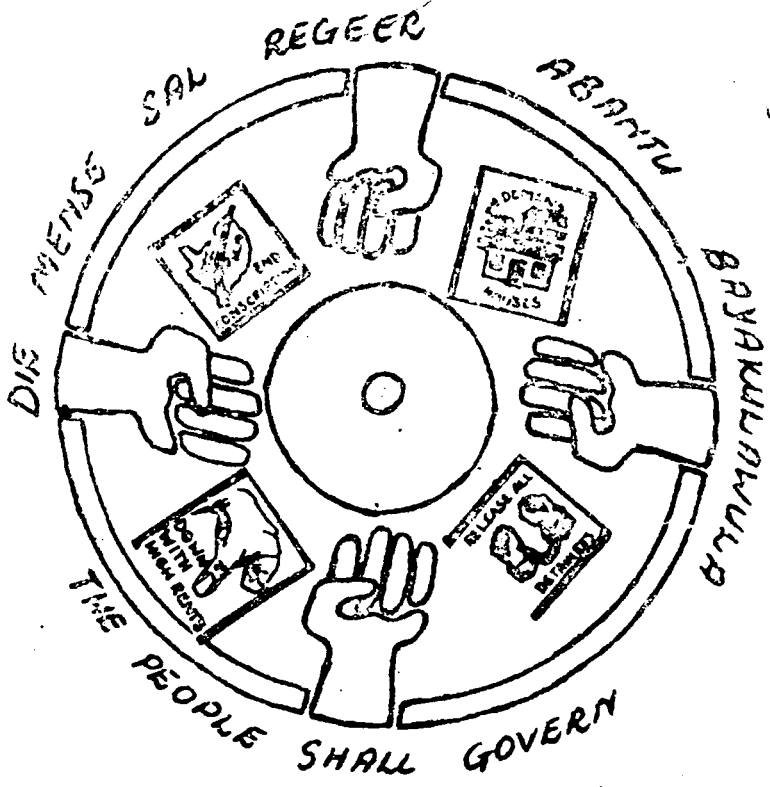
Moenie gaan stem op 22 Augustus vir 'n kruppeltoekoms nie. Ons Graaff-Reinetters is nie bang, don't of poppe nie. Ons kan en gaan SAAMSTAAN.

UDF UNITEES APARTHEID DIVIDES.

Die stryd om Vrede, Gelykheid en GERECHTIGHEID hou nie op 22 Augustus op nie. THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE, LIBERATION AND JUSTICE WILL CONTINUE TILL FREEDOM COMES.

DON'T VOTE. UNITE WITH THE UDF.

GRAF COM ABA 7. NUUS LINDABA



24/6/86

"The past is theirs the future is ours."
Oscar Mpheta

Dr. A. Boesak: "If the people want FREEDOM and are willing to struggle, we shall have our FREEDOM. You can take our workers and exploit them and pay starvation wages, but we shall have our FREEDOM."

ABA 7

taba nge UDF

sahambela omnye wo Presidenti se GRAPCOM othe anazwi awathethayo:

wathi Ndiyani bulisa egamani lezshalazo ongecalu-calule do Sifumano inkululake Elizweni

nyona nto ibaluloki loye neyona nto ingamandla anyano. Nakuthembeka okuphaloloyo. Utho eziz- azicaphuleyo zino ase zinto eziyabuzisa em- lake elizweni lethu. Njengeko sabona ukhulu- ke wase Kwantel Afrika uze namashe angqilileyo eziziz- nakuchwazi abantu ngalawitho mitaba koomhof (Koomhof Hills). Nganye walesitha- likho i-Black Local Authority Act. Injenge sale- lumente ngokuthi angenise leawitho kubaba eza- atu kwiindawo abahlala kuzo babagqibale kuma- an kairaloyo (homelands) esifaka kempromokel ne- vol. Bathi kulo abhothe banika iilekishi emalun- o aphololoyo kuzo akunjalo. Ngubani onokuthi- ephololoyo aphololayo kanti leawitho ezakujika- e kwayo. Oku kwilekhi kukungaka kwe Ranto phakanyileyo, izindlu ezilungele complimeni, izind- ezibangela abantu izifo, izitalato ezibanga- ke (S.B.) nakubamba kwe Sampaywana emini phak- kubantu. Injengeko ke singamandla ukungqibela abaphi koomhof (Community Councilors). Malunga- ke adiyithoye ungayikhangela kwimawo yem- tili u Yabobi 29-13. Injengeko ezizithi singamandla eminyala ngokuthi- nobo umntu kuzakuba oithobela u Ekimo, ngoba- alulekile ukuba siyazole inyaniso ayizole- ngo Yesu.

B. Kubisi.....
TUBONI
SILINT

.....
S. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

GRAFCOM

Graaff-Reinet Gemeenskap Organisasie is nou vyf maande oud. Die mense van Graaff-Reinet het by mekaar gekom en die probleme van ons gemeenskap bespreek. Ons ouers, sport clubs, Kerke, studente en werkers was gesader en na vele besprekings en gebede was Grafcog gestig. Grafcom is die mense van Graaff-Reinet. Die mense wat sukkel om te bestaan te voer. Die mense wat lê en worry oor hoë huurgeld, lae lone en die mense wat na ander mense moet kyk vir 'n stukkie brood. Grafcom het ook swaar gekry. Van ons leiers was op getel deur die Veiligheids Polisie, andere was geslaan deur SAP. Maar Grafcom het steeds voort bly staan en sê dat ons soek regte huise en huurgeld wat ons kan bekostig. Hier is geen werk vir ons mense nie. As jy 'n maand agteris met jou rent dan kom sit hulle jou uit. Ons moet saam staan want ons kry almal swaar. Ons glo dat die mense moet regeer. Ons soek nie leiers soos Koeberg en Mpepho nie, want hulle werk vir hul eie sak. Hulle word ryk en doen niks vir ons mense nie. Ons regte leiers is op Robben Eiland en in die tronke. Ons regte leiers is Ds. Hufkie, Ev. Williams en Mnr Kuboni - mense wat saam met ons swaar kry. Ons glo dat Nelson Mandela sal vry word en ons lei. Amandla Ngawethul.

GRAFCOM AND SPORTBEHEERRAAD

Hey bakithi, west julle wat op die 13de November het ons n meeting gehad met die Sportbeheerraad en ABC. Kodwa nrelishwa sifumaneise intokuba isport Beheerraad ayiyo i-a-filiate yeGRAFCOM so the meeting was gestop. Ons moes gediscuss het oor die fact dat some clubs believing in non-racial sport accommodate an abnormal element in their club i.e. Security Police kodwa bathi abacingi badlale inormal sport in an abnormal society.

Uproar as Sacco blows the
as out. Sunday Times
on 'sjambok police'

By SAUL HASSING

Five policemen who allegedly sjamboked and assaulted spectators during a football match in London have been banned from playing soccer.

Centuries Selvedean, Jack Nelson, Billy and Leo Hattie, who play for their respective clubs, were banned by the Football Association (FA), which is affiliated to the South African Council on Sport (SACS).

The president of SACS, John M. M. M., said football players should stop the game taking place against boycotts and not decide collectively not to play against their team.

He said the policemen had admitted it was his personal decision but it was in fact a group decision.

The policemen have refused to accept the ban and have accused SACS of bringing politics into sport.

Mr M. M. said the policemen had signed a form saying they would adhere to the spirit of the ruling and should be allowed to play.

"There are other bodies they can go to which can give their own decisions," he said.

"If there were really no political bias back then boys would be glad to let those who were forbidden to play by white facilities," he said.

Mr M. M. said if the man...



MR. M. M. M.
Team captain

MR. M. M. M.
"I am sorry"

But its confusing into yekuba iS.A.R.U. ithathe i-action maar die Sport Beheerraad weier om te act. So wa as the Graaff-Reinet Community Organisation took a resolution to sever the ties with Sportbeheerraad because of the presence of security Police in their midst. So bakithi we don't associate with collaborators.

BOYCOTT - WAYO - BOYCOTT - UKWAYO

iBoycott yenye yezixhobo esizisebenzisayo ukulwa abo basincinezalayo okanye abo basebenzisana nabo basicinezalayo.

BOYCOTT FOR YOUR OWN INTEREST

1. Mr. R.Q. Nqomashe's shop engomnye wamapolisa asibambayo xana sithetha inyaniso. Asinakho ukusebenzisana nomntu esibonayo ukuba ukungo nababantu basikhonkayo xana tibanzjwo.
2. Boycott Richard Jacobs se shop want hy is werksaan met Mr. K. Kooberg who is a member of parliament.
3. BOYCOTT u-JABULA (Beer Hall) ngoba u Hlulukile ubulala iingqondo zothu eingacingi izinto ezakhayo. Inye into yeyokuba sivingwa eli holo singakwazi ukuncokola izinto ezakhayo. Ngoko sithi u SHAKE SHAKE word nie neer ge-keep nie. Umtha jy kan rog dink - jy sal nie SHAKE keep nie.
4. Don't forget to boycott SIMBA PRODUCTS.

VICTORY OF OUR BOYCOTT

Omye woo Novenkile bete boycott(wa) uye wasinanye nathi esithi uyasebenzisana nathi wade wasinika yonke into besiyifuna.

Leo Novenkile utha: "In the eyes of God all men are equal. We must remember that we should not oppress other people. We must share with other people. We need UNITY and UNITY will lead to strength and united we will stand divided we will fall and this will lead us to FREEDOM."

I. MAHOMMED (KISMET)

VICTORIES OORWINNINGS ULOYISO VICT RIES ULOYISO...

Eenheid van ons mense teen die Nuwe Bedeling vind plaas in Suid Afrika ook in Graaff Reinet. Werkers, ouers, studente, vroue, jeug het opgestaan teen apartheid en ekonomiese uitbuiting. GRAFCOM is gestig deur die mense vir die mense. GRAFCOM met sy werkersklas leierskap, het die Anti-Election Campaign gelei, en ook die stigting van die Karoo-Streek UDF as ook die stigting van jeug organisasies in die streek.

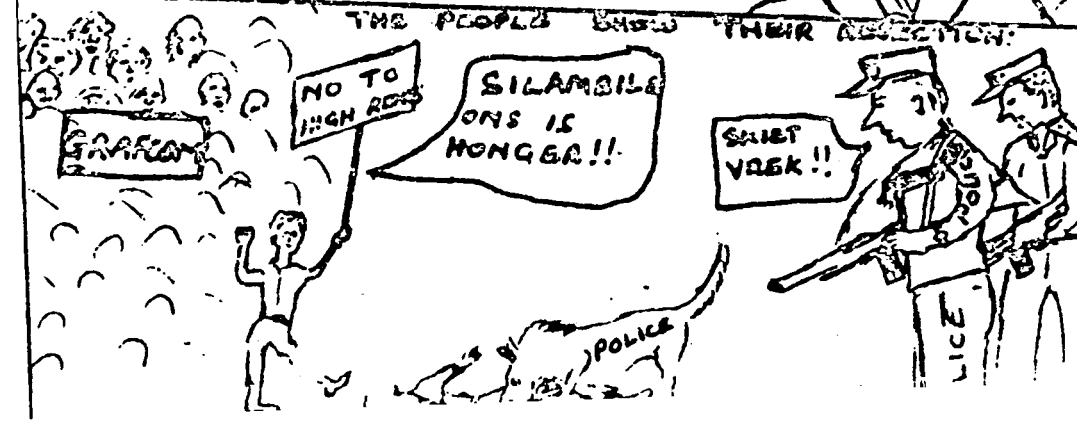
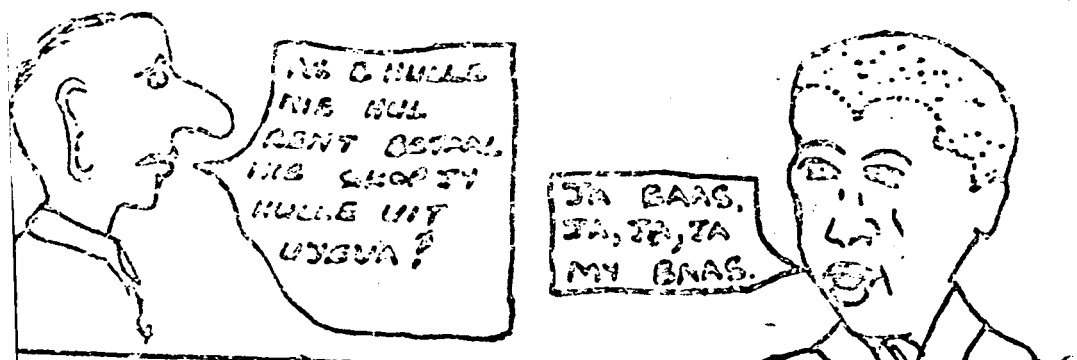
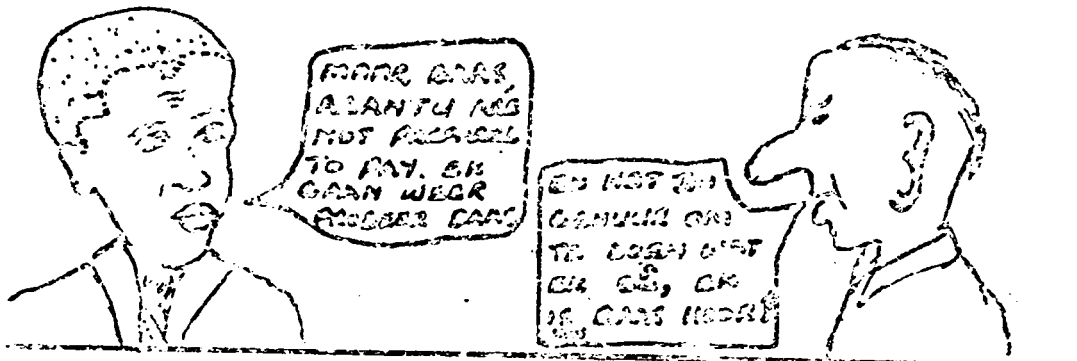
Ngexesha lokwayo-voto abantu base Rkhafu bonze uloyiso olukhulu kuba thengisi babantu. Ngolu hlobo i UDF nabacinezelweyo base Mzantsi Afrika bayavuyisana beyinqwenelela inkululeko nempumelelo i GRAFCOM. ngoloyiso lwayo nangona abomthetho besoloko borhorhozei la emva kwayo. Ngoko anehlo omzantsi Afrika ajonge ukuba iRkhafu liyakukhokela ikharu.

GRAFCOM het boikotte teen collaborators geloods. Die boikot teen Ishmael (Kicmet) is opgehef nadat hy 'n verklaaring teen Apartheid uitgeroek het. 'n Belangrike oorwinning met GRAFCOM is dat die klassestryd tussen Lokasia en Kroonvale besig is om te ont-rafel maar die middelklas situasie is nog 'n faktor in Kroonvale.

Die mense voel hulle is GRAFCOM en GRAFCOM se victories is hulle sin. Maar nou dat ons victories behaal het, hou die stryd nie hier op nie, maar moet ons dit verder voer.

VOORWAARTS, MANDELA ONS LEIER, SAL VRYKOM.

MPEHO



DETENTION OF OUR PEOPLE

The Rev. C.A. Nissen, Mziandile Peyi and Thobile Mhetya were detained last month under Section 50 of the Internal Security Act which says they can detain anybody which they view as the cause of unrest. They were kept in solitary confinement and never saw each other in the period they were detained. The worst - they were not allowed to worship our Father. This shows that the U.A. Government is anti-christ. We therefore congratulate the people for praying for them, inspite that one of the ladies being kicked out when praying for them. We condemn such actions taken by people saying they are christians.

HOVEEL VAN HULLE MOET NOG STERF
VOORDAT ONS VRYHEID KRY!!



"I was hungry and you gave me food, I was thirsty and you gave me drink . . . I was naked and you clothed me . . . Truly, I say to you, as you did it to one of the least of these my brethren, you did it to me."
(Mt. 25:35-40)

(Issued by Publicity Committee GRAFCOM) 613 Top Street
GRAAFF-REINET

VERTALING

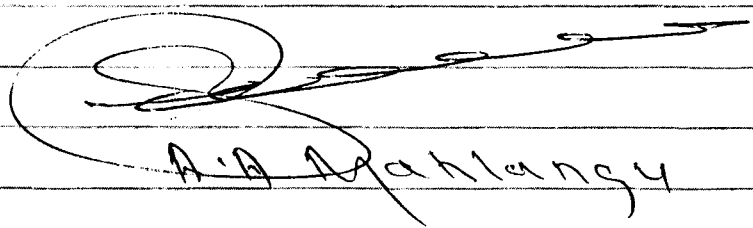
I Abie Abram Mahlangu AM THE
INSPECTOR OF INTERPRETERS FOR THE
PROVINCE OF TRANSVAAL. I AM STATIONED
AT THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE HEADOFFICE
IN Pretoria.

I WAS REQUESTED BY THE DEPUTY ATTORNEY
GENERAL TO TRANSLATE EXHIBITS ABA 5 AND
ABA 7.

I TRANSLATED EXHIBITS ABA 5 AND
ABA 7 FROM XHOSA TO AFRIKAANS AND
ENGLISH TO THE BEST OF MY ABILITY
JUST AND CORRECT.

PRETORIA

13-10-1988



A.A. Mahlangu

Bladsy 1

ONS het een van die presidente van Grafcon besoek wat gese het, Ek groot julle in die naam van die stryd wat geen apartheid het nie, tot ons vryheid kry in ons land.

Hy het gese wat belangrik is, en dit wat mag het is om seker te staan, en betroubaar wees ten volle. Hy het gese hierdie goed waarvan hy praat dinge is wat vryheid in ons land sal bring.

Soos ons sien die Suid-Afrikaanse regering kom met 'n planne om mense uitmekaar te maak met hierdie nuwe wetgewing. Van Koorhof (Koorhof bills) en een van hierdie wette is die 'Black Local Authority Act' Die Oogmerk van die regering met hierdie wette is om mense van hul woonplekke weg te neem na die tuislande (homelands) soos Transkei en Ciskei. Hulle se in hierdie wet gee hulle die lokasies volle mag, Maar dit is nie so nie, 'Wie kan se by het volle regte, die regte wat sal omdraai en vir jou eet. Die eet word in die sin dat hangerde sal opstyg, huise wat nie in goeie toestand is gesondheid, huise wat veroorsaak dat mense siek word, strate wat siekte veroorsaak (T.B) Die Verwydering van Naggrond in die dag. tussen mense. Om die reeds stem ons nie saam met die belastinge in vorderings (Community Councils)

Hey Mense, weet julle wat op die
13^{de} November het ons 'n vergadering
gehad met die Sportbeheerraad en ABC.
Maar ongelukkig het ons uitgevind dat die
Sportbeheerraad nie 'n affiliaat van Grafcom
is nie, so die vergadering is gestop.

Ons moes bespreek het onder andere
dat sekere klubs wat in 'Non racial
Sport' glo huisves ~~at~~ Abnormale elemente
in hulle klubs. i.e. 'Security police'

Maar hulle se hulle sal nie normale
sport speel in 'n Abnormale gemeenskap
nie.

UPROAR AS SACOS BLOWS THE

Dit is snaaks dat SARY Aksie geneem
het maar die Sportbeheerraad wies
om aksie te neem. So ons die
PiraatReinet se gemeenskaps organisasie
het 'n besluit geneem om van
die Sportbeheerraad af te breek, omrede
die Aanwesigheid van die 'Security
Police' in hulle 17. So ons mense
ons assosieer nie met Collaborators.

BOYCOTT BOYCOTT.

Boikot is een van die wapens wat ons gebruik teen ons onderdrukkers en die mensse wat met die onderdrukkers werk.

BOYCOTT FOR YOUR OWN INTEREST.

1. Mr. R. Q. Ngumache se winkel, hy is een van die polisie wat ons arresteer as ons die waarheid praat. Ons kan nie saam met h man werk wat ~~ons~~ saam met mensse werk wat ons molesteer as ons gearresteer is nie.

(2) Boikot Mr. Richard Jacobs se winkel wat hy is werksaam met Mrs. Korbberg wat h lid is van die Volksraad.

(3) Boikot Jabula bier (Biersaal) want sorghum bier. Maak ons gedagtes dood so dat ons nie konstruktief kan dink nie. En verder dat ons nie die sal kan kry om oor belangrike sake te geselsie nie. So ons se "shake shake" word nie meer gekoop nie. As jy kan reg dink - jy sal nie "shake shake" koop nie.

(4) Don't Forget to Boycott Simba Products.
Victory of our Boycott.

Een van die winkeliers wat geboikoot was het nou met ons kom staan, en gesê hy werk saam met ons en ons alles gegee wat ons verlang het.

Daardie winkelier se: In the eyes of God all men are equal. We must remember that we should not oppress other people.

(4 Nervoly)

(Z. 15.)
81/142289

We must share with other people,
We need unity and unity will lead
to strength an United we will stand
divided we will fall and this will
lead us to freedom

MAHOMED (KISMET)

Gedurende die nie-stem kampanje het die
mensse van Graaf-Reinet 'n groot oorswinning
teen die 'ballouts' gehad. En so die U.D.F
en al die onderdrukke mensse van Suid-Afrika
is bly en wens vryheid en voorsuitgang
vir Graafkom. Hoewel die mensse van die
wet (polisie) agter dit kyk. Die oë van
Suid-Afrika kyk nou dan Graaf-Reinet as
die leier van die Karoo.

Hier word ek gese het verwyf ek
 na die boek van Jacob 2: 1-13
 Soos ons se ons is Christene, ons is
 skuldig omdat ons, voor mens buig in
 plaas van om voor die Here te buig.
 Dit is belangrik dat ons uit die waarheid
 staan en daarvoor soos Jesus sterf.

TEKEN

M. KUBONI

S. WILLIAMS

PRESIDENT

PRESIDENT.



FSAW: '54-'84

ABA 8

"WE STAND SHOULDER
TO SHOULDER
WITH OUR
MENFOLK IN A
COMMON STRUGGLE
AGAINST POVERTY
RACE AND CLASS
DISCRIMINATION"

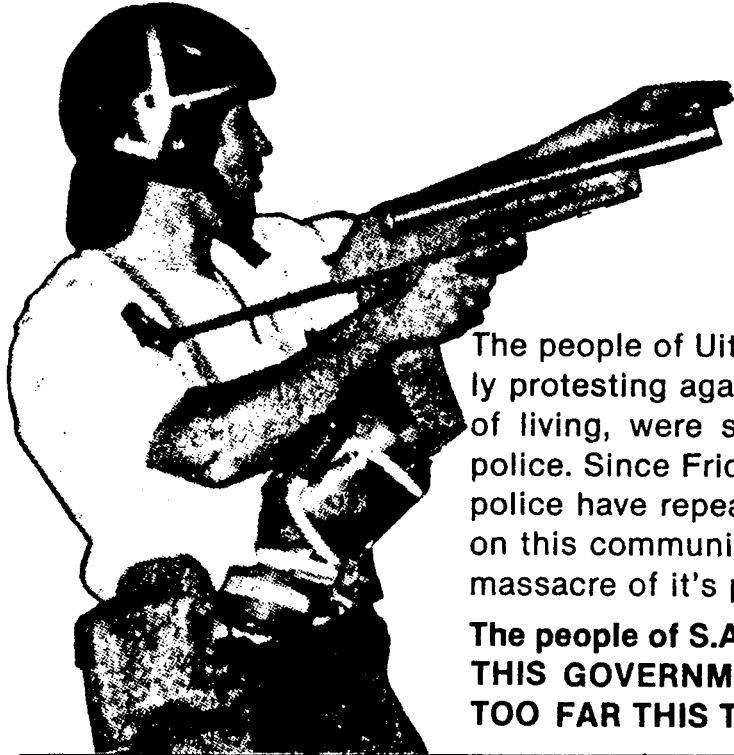
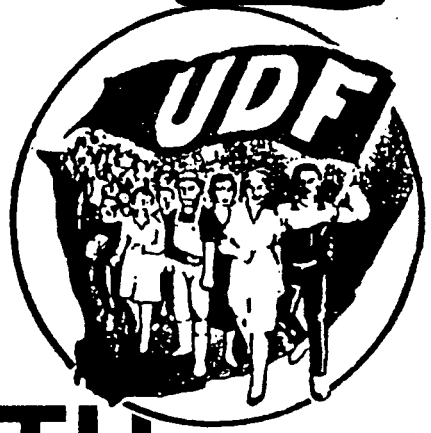
FSAW
17 APRIL 1954
FEDERATION OF S.A.
WOMEN

PUBLISHED BY: WOMEN'S MEDIA COUNCIL, JUNE 1954

Nickelburg

1985

OVER 70 KILLED IN PORT ELIZABETH



The people of Uitenhage, peacefully protesting against the high cost of living, were shot down by the police. Since Friday, last week, the police have repeatedly opened fire on this community resulting in the massacre of its people.

The people of S.A. are saying:
**THIS GOVERNMENT HAS GONE
TOO FAR THIS TIME.**

DAY OF MOURNING

THURSDAY 28 MARCH, 1985

A STORY OF TERROR

Innocent people in Uitenhage were ruthlessly gunned down simply because they protested against the ever-increasing cost of living.

The Port Elizabeth Black Community Organisation (PEBCO) called on the people to unite against these increases by organising a weekend of protest.

Together with PEBCO the people decided they will stay away from the city centres for the weekend (16 and 17 March) and stayaway from work on Monday, 18 March.

The stayaway was 100% successful but the peaceful nature of the protest was brought to an end when police shot down the people. By Monday they had already killed 13 people and wounded many more.

On Thursday, exactly 25 years since 69 people were gunned down by police in Sharpsville, the police once again opened fire. They shot down people who were peacefully marching to bury 6 of their friends who had been killed in the weekend.

But this time they went too far. Using rifles they killed 17 people and wounded hundreds.

APARTHEID IS VIOLENCE

The history of apartheid has been a history of violence against our people:

- In Sharpsville, on 21 March 1969, 69 people were gunned down and 187 were injured.
- In Soweto in 1976, 1000's were massacred and injured.
- Again in 1980, during the education boycotts, students in many parts of the country were mercilessly shot down.
- In the Vaal Triangle, last year hundreds were killed.

And today, once again apartheid is responsible for spilling the blood of yet another 43 people in Uitenhage.

This state exists through sucking money from the poverty-stricken masses through perpetual financial taxation like the notorious G.S.T.

We demand the release of our leaders presently charged for High Treason.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM, PEACE AND JUSTICE
IS NOT AN ACT OF TREASON**

END THIS VIOLENCE!

Issued by U.D.F., Khotso House, 42 de Villiers Street, Johannesburg.

1985 - YEAR OF THE CADRE.

- 1960 - sharpeville massacre, 69 killed by regime.
- 1961 - peasants in Transkei silenced by the racist's bullets.

"I believe in the supremacy of the white man over his people in his own territory, and I am prepared to maintain it by force."

Ex. Premier B.J. VORSTER
parliament, 1965.

- 1976 - Soweto uprisings, 1000's shot dead.
- 1982 - Maseru raid by SADF.
- 1983 - Matola raid, by SADF.
- 1984 - Sebokeng, mothers and children gunned down.
- 1985 - Uitenhage, Langa, our people mercilessly murdered.

TOO MUCH OF OUR BLOOD HAS BEEN SPILT


DON'T MOURN:

MOBILISE, ORGANISE, FIGHT ON : : : : :
TAKE UP ARMS. TAKE UP ARMS.
JOIN ~~UMKONTO~~ ~~WESIZWE~~

BE VIGILANT:

The enemy, SADF, has launched Civic Action Programme, (CAP), to present apartheid in positive light - armed uniformed national servicemen deployed, seconded to government or bantustan departments, working as teachers, doctors, engineers, lecturers, administration personnel, directors of tourism, etc.

SO ENEMY'S AGENTS, PUPPETS;
DO NOT BE SEEN BY OUR PEOPLE WHEN REMOVING
THIS. THE PEOPLE, OUR PEOPLE, (BLACK AND WHITE)
ARE THE MOVEMENT!



PREAMBLE: We, the women of South Africa, wives and mothers, working women and house wives, Africans, Indians, European and Coloured, hereby declare our aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations, conventions and customs that discriminate against us as women, and that deprive us in any way of our inherent right to the advantages, responsibilities and opportunities that society offers to any one section of the population.

A SINGLE SOCIETY

We women do not form a society separate from the men. There is only one society and it is made up of both women and men. As women we share the problems and anxieties of our men, and join hands with them to remove social evils and obstacles to progress.

TEST OF CIVILISATION

The level of civilisation which any society has reached can be measured by the degree of freedom that its members enjoy. The status of women is a test of civilisation. Measure by that standard South Africa must be considered low in the scale of civilised nations.

WOMEN'S LOT

We women share with our menfolk the cares and anxieties imposed by poverty and its evils. As wives and mothers, it falls upon us to make small wages stretch a long way. It is we who feel the cries of our children when they are hungry and sick. It is our lot to keep and care for the homes that are too small, broken and dirty to be kept clean. We know the burden of looking after children and land when our husbands are away in the mines, on the farms, and in the towns, earning our daily bread.

We know what it is to keep family life going in pondokkies and shanties, or in overcrowded one-room apartments. We know the bitterness of children taken to lawless ways, of daughters becoming unmarried mothers whilst still at school, of boys and girls growing up without education, training or jobs at a living wage.

POOR AND RICH

These are evils that need not exist. They exist because the society in which we live is divided into poor and rich, into non-European and European. They exist because there are privileges for the few, discrimination and harsh treatment for the many. We women have stood and will stand shoulder to shoulder, with our menfolk in the common struggle against poverty, race and class discrimination, and the evils of the colour bar.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

As members of the National Liberatory movements and Trade Unions, in and through our various organisations, we march forward with our men in the struggle for liberation and the defence of the working people. We pledge ourselves, to keep high the banner of equality, fraternity and liberty. As women there rests upon us also the burden of removing from our society all the social differences developed in past times between men and women which have the effect of keeping our sex in a position of inferiority and subordination.

EQUALITY FOR WOMEN:

We resolve to struggle for the removal of laws and customs that deny African women the right to own, inherit or property. We resolve to work for change in the laws of marriage such as are found amongst our African Malay and Indian people, which have the effect of placing wives in the position of legal subjection to husbands, and giving husbands the power to dispose of wives property and earnings, and dictate to them in all matters affecting them and their children.

We recognise that the women are treated as minors by these marriage and property laws because of ancient and revered traditions and customs which had their origin in the antiquity of the people and no doubt served purposes of great value in bygone times.

There was a time in the African Society when every woman reaching marriageable stage was assured of a husband, home, and security.

Then husbands and wives with their children belonged to families and clans that supplied most of their own material needs and were largely self-sufficient. Men and women were partners in a compact and closely-integrated family unit.

WOMEN AND LABOUR

Those conditions have gone now. The tribal and kinship society to which they belonged has been destroyed as a result of the loss of tribal lands, migration of men away from their tribal home, the growth of towns and industries and the rise of a great body of wage-earners on the farms and in the urban areas, who depend wholly or mainly on wages for a livelihood.

Thousands of African women, like Indian, Coloured and European women, are employed today in factories, homes, offices, shops; on farms and in professions as nurses, teachers and the like. As unmarried women, widows or divorcees they have to fend for themselves, often without the assistance of a male relative. Many of them are responsible not only for their own livelihood but also that of their children.

Large numbers of women today are in fact the sole breadwinners and heads of their families.

FOREVER MINORS: Nevertheless, the laws and practices derived from earlier and different state of society are still applied to them. They are responsible for their own person and their children. But the law seeks to enforce upon them the status of a minor.

Not only are African, Coloured and Indian men denied political rights, but they are also in many parts of the Union denied the same status as men in such matters as the right to enter into contracts, to own and dispose of property, and to exercise guardianship over their children.

OBSTACLE TO PROGRESS:

The law has lagged behind the development of society; it no longer corresponds to the actual social and economic position of women. The law has become an obstacle to the progress of the women, and therefore a brake on the whole of society.

Such an intolerable condition would not be allowed to continue were it not for the refusal of a large section of our menfolk to concede to us women the rights and privileges which they demand for themselves.

We shall teach the men that they cannot expect to liberate themselves from the evils of discrimination and prejudice as long as they fail to extend to women complete and unqualified equality in law and in practice.

NEED FOR EDUCATION

We also recognise that large numbers of our womenfolk continue to be bound by traditional practices and conventions, and fail to realise that these have become obsolete and a brake on progress. It is our duty and privilege to enlist all women in our struggle for emancipation and to bring to them all realisation of the intimate relationship that exists between their status of inferiority as women and the inferior status to which their people are subjected by discriminatory laws and colour prejudices.

It is our intention to carry out a nation-wide programme of education that will bring home to the men and women of all national groups the realisation that freedom cannot be won for any one section or for the people as a whole as long as we women are kept in bondage.

AN APPEAL

We appeal to all progressive organisations to members of the great National liberationary movements, to the trade unions and working class organisations, to the Churches, educational and welfare organisations, to all progressive men and women who have the interests of the people at heart, to join with us in this great and noble endeavour.

Draft Constitution - MANKWENG CIVIL ASSOCIATION

1 PREAMBLE

1. We the residents of Mankweng ^{Township} and district, having noted over years
- That there was no representative and democratic leadership in Mankweng and district. Instead there was always government created despotic and unrepresentative institutions or bodies that furthered no cause other than that of the oppressive and exploitative machinery of Apartheid
 - That this community of Mankweng and district, like any other blacks and particularly African Community in South Africa has been and is brutally subjected to the inhuman, discriminatory and unjust laws of the racist apartheid regime and their Bantustan lackeys and forcefully deprived of any say in the central decision-making bodies of our land
 - That extortionate taxation has always continued against us without democratic representation.
 - That thus, most of the residents have no houses; decent housing and some live in slums. Many are unemployed with the result that many families and person go either hungry; without decent clothing; cannot adequately and efficiently provide for their children in this rich country of unlimited resources.
 - That further noting that our children are forced to go through an unacceptable and expensive form of education
 - That ~~the~~ ^{the} youths and workers in Mankweng and district are inadequately provided for
 - Therefore Resolve to found the Mankweng Civil Association ~~hereinafter referred to as MPCA~~ based on the following

2. NAME

The name of our organisation shall be Mankweng Civil Association hereinafter hereinafter referred to as MPCA

3. AIMS AND OBJECTS

- 3.1. To unite all residents of Mankweng and district
- 3.2. To take up the demands of the residents and strive for the enforcement of the residents' rights, the protection of their interests and human dignity
- 3.3. To encourage ~~and~~ promote the spirit of solidarity amongst residents
- 3.4. To encourage wider resident participation, ~~and~~ promote organisational efficiency, accountability and democratic decision-making process by forming departments/sub-committees to deal with most sections of the public services
- 3.5. To ~~become~~ initiate and become practically involved in projects and residents' self-help schemes which contribute to the improvement of the Association
- 3.6. To strive for free, compulsory and dynamic education, economic and social conditions of residents and to co-operate with bodies and organisations engaged in similar projects
- 3.7. To oppose unrepresentative local government institutions and strive towards a free, unitary, non-racial and democratic South African Society.

4. MEMBERSHIP

- 4.1. Membership shall be open to all residents of Mankweng and district who accept, identify with and fully subscribe to the aims and objects of the Association
- 4.2. MEMBERSHIP shall be by
 - 4.2.1. Individual application
 - 4.2.2. Group affiliation
- 4.3. Associate Membership
 - 4.3.1. Any group including amongst others religious, cultural, sporting and other special interest groups may become members of the Association.
 - 4.3.2. Such application for membership shall be lodged with the Commissioner and processed in accordance with the Act.
 - 4.3.3. Applications shall be submitted together with the applicant's contribution.

4.24 Applicants shall furnish any other information as may be required by
MRCN executive Committee.

5 STRUCTURE

5.1. The association shall consist of the following organs

- The Executive Committee
- Inter-Branch
- Manning and district residents ^{annual general} ~~congress~~ Congress (AGC)

5.1.1. The Executive Committee

The executive committee shall be the management of the organisation
in between meetings of the general membership

THE EXECUTIVE ^{committee} SHALL CONSIST OF

5.1.2 The chairperson

5.1.3 The vice chairperson

5.1.4 The secretary

5.1.6 The publicity secretary

5.1.6 The treasurer and

5.1.7 Heads of departments

5.1.7 a. Kabon

(5.1.7.b. Women organiser

5.1.7.c) Housing and Religious portfolio

5.1.7.d) Health

6 DUTIES OF OFFICE BEARERS

6.1. Chairperson

6.2. Inter-Branch

The Inter-Branch shall consist of:

a. Two elected representatives from each branch of the PRC at an AGC

b. The president of the Council of MRCN

7. THE ANNUAL GENERAL CONGRESS (AGC)

It shall be the supreme and policy-making body of the Association and shall comprise of

7.1. The Executive Committee

7.2. Ten delegates from each Village branch

7.3. Observers who are the general membership of the Bram M.A.C.F. and

7.4. Invited observers.

8. DUTIES OF OFFICE BEARERS

8.1. Chairperson

8.1.1. Shall chair all meetings of the executive and the AGC

(8.1.2. May appoint any member of the executive committee to ~~chair~~ preside at any general meeting

8.1.3. Shall sign minutes after confirmation

8.1.4. Shall, in conjunction with members of the executive committee, represent and/or elect from the executive committee the Association's representative wherever necessary.

8.1.5. Shall perform all other duties incidental to the office

8.2. Vice chairperson

(8.2.1. Shall ~~exercise~~ exercise and perform duties of the Chairperson in the absence of the latter.

8.2.2. Shall chair or appoint a chairperson for all inter-branch meetings

8.2.3. Shall assist the office of the chairperson

9. THE SECRETARIES

9.3. THE SECRETARIES

9.3.1. Shall receive requisition of meeting

9.3.2. Shall conduct correspondence of the Association

9.3.3. Shall take minutes at meetings

9.3.4.

Kept. Uster
Picketing (1) **A NC SPEAKS!** ~~ABAM~~
~~ASA~~

UNITE! FIGHT FOR YOUR RIGHTS! FIGHT AGAINST RENT INCREASE! UNDEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS! FIGHT AGAINST THE CRIMINAL RACIST MINORITY REGIME!

1. Now is the time to engage the enemy.
2. Join youth organisations, civic bodies, students organisations, women's organisations, workers organisations etc.
3. Organise the unemployed, the church, and the community as a whole.
4. Form structures where they are not there.
5. Workers organisations must form a Federation.
6. Organisations must join the mass popular Front.
7. Form underground structures.
8. Render yourselves ungovernable. Botha must go...

FORWARD WITH THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH ! ! !
FORWARD WITH YEAR OF THE CADRE ! ! !

LWELANG SEO E LEGO SA LENA! DIRENTE TŠA GO OKETŠWA! LWANTŠHANG MAKGOTLA AO LE SA A KGETHANG! LWANTŠHANG MMUŠO WA BOTSOTSI! WA KGETHOLOLO!

KOPANANG!

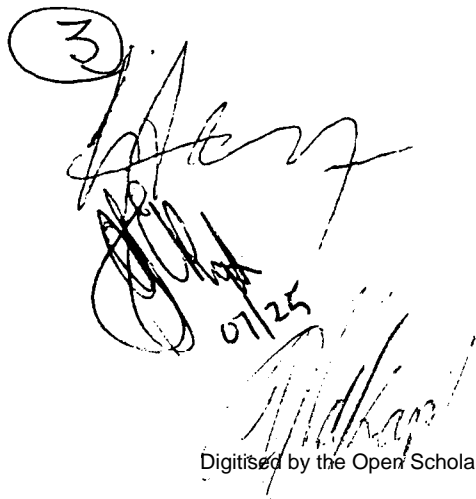
1. Bjalê ke nako ya go lwantsha sera.
2. Tsenelang makgotla a baswa, a baagi, abasadi, a baithuti, a basomi etc
3. Agang makgotla a bao ba senang mešomo, maloko a dikereke, le a baagi ka moka.
4. Agang makgotla moo a sego gona.
5. Makgotla a basomi a age -Federation.
6. Makgotla a lena a swanetše go tsenela Front ya batho e e tsebegago.
7. Agang makgotla a sephiring.
8. Itireng bao ba sa laolegego. Botha a sepele!

PELE KA NGWAGA WA BASWA! ! !

PELE KA NGWAGA WA MASOLE XMM A KONKERESE(ANC)! ! !

Issued by

underground
unit of ANC.

(3)


YUSUF DADOO

1909-1983

~~ASAS~~
ABAI5



**HE FOUGHT
FOR FREEDOM**

**HE DIED
OUR LEADER**

PORTRAIT OF A FREEDOM FIGHTER

- Leading figure in the Non-European United Front. (1939)
- Vice-chairman of the Anti-Pass Council. (1944-5)
- President of the Transvaal Indian Congress. (1946)
- Charged and jailed under the Riotous Assemblies Act during the 1946 African mineworkers strike.
- President of the South African Indian Congress. (1948)
- Succeeded in forging unity of the oppressed peoples through the Doctors Pact and the Congress Alliance.
- First person to be banned under the Suppression of Communism Act.
- Member of the National Planning Committee and Assistant Volunteer-in-Chief to Nelson Mandela during the Defiance Campaign.
- Awarded honour of ISITWALANDWE at the Congress of the People.
- Forced into exile but continued to play a prominent role in exile politics.

**Tribute to the
People's Leader**

ATTEND MASS RALLY

Saturday 24 September 1983

at PATIDAR HALL

Sylvia St

Lenasia

at 3:00 pm

Issued by the Transvaal Indian Congress P.O. Box 25063 Ferreirastown

THE UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL REGIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

~~ABAIK~~
ABAIK

NAME	POSITION	TELEPHONE
1. ALBERTINA SISULU	PRESIDENT.	986 - 1044 (W) 939 - 4332 (H)
2. SAMSON NDOU.	ACTING PRESIDENT (VICE PRESIDENT)	838 - 2377 (W) 726 - 6613 (H)
3. ISMAIL MOHANED	VICE PRESIDENT	716 -2945 (W) 673 - 3826 (H)
4. R.A.M SALOOJEE	VICE PRESIDENT	852 -1311 (W) 852 - 1316 (H)
5. SYDNEY MOFUMADI	PUBLICITY SECRETARY	838 -2377 (W) 936 -4991 (H)
6. MOHAMMED VALLI	GENERAL SECRETARY	29 -4010 (W) 852 - 4146 (H)
7. PAUL MASHATILE	GENERAL SECRETARY	443 - 1493 (H)
8. EDDIE MAKUE	MINUTE SECRETARY	833 - 7810 (W) 945 - 3491 (H)
9. MURPHY MOROBE	RURAL SECRETARY	29 - 4010 (W) 938 - 2219 (H)
10. AZHAR CACHALIA	TREASURER	838 -8661 (W)
11. TITUS MAFOLE	TREASURER	26 -2915 (W)
12. RAYMOND SUTTNER	EDUCATION OFFICER	716 -2903 (W) 648 -1659 (H)
13. MZWACKE MBULI	MEDIA OFFICER	29 - 3906 (W)
14. ARTHUR MKHWANAZI	CIVIC PORTFOLIO	26 -2915 (W)
15. AMANDA KWADI	WOMEN PORTFOLIO	836 -7112 (W)
16. PAUL MASEKO	LABOUR PORTFOLIO	827 - 9230 (W)
18. DAN MONTSISI	YOUTH PORTFOLIO	936 -3722 (H)
19. MATTHEWS SATHEKGE	STUDENT PORTFOLIO	

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT (TVL.)
P.O. Box 10308 KHOTSO HOUSE
JOHANNESBURG 42 DE VILLIERS ST.
2000 JOHANNESBURG
Tel. 29-4010

See ABA 18 for typed version

ABA 17

Report of the N.T.U.L UDF conference

(21)

7/10/87

Date of the conf: 03/02/85

Venue: Krantzstein Lutheran Mission (Maseelama)

F. I. S. van der Merwe

~~Participation~~ Organizations, individual activists and working groups from all over the N. ~~Transvaal~~ Transvaal came together to discuss the progress of ^{the} UDF in this region. The meeting was convened by the N.T.U.L. Co-ordinating Committee of UDF.

- The following organizations were represented:
1. South African Allied Workers Union (S.A.A.W.U.) - P/berg
 2. United Metal and Mining Allied Worker's Union of ~~South~~ South Africa (Ummawusa) - Steelpoort.
 3. Mankweng Youth Congress (MAXCO)
 4. Seshego Youth Congress (SEYCO)
 5. Krantzstein Youth Congress (KRAYCO)
 6. Congress of South African Students (COSAS)
 7. Azanian Students Organization (AZASO)
 8. Lenyenyeng Youth Working Group.
 9. Nkowa-Nkowa Youth working Group.
 10. P.P. Rust + TIC w. group.
- Other activists came from Sibasa (Venda) and Sekhukhuni land.

History of the UDF Vide ABA 18.

21) Comrade Moss Chickane gave a brief history of the UDF. He pointed out that a call for a united front was made by Dr Allan Boesak on the 22 January 1983. This was followed by three regional launches - ~~in~~ the Natal, Transvaal

7/10/87
21/10/87

and Western Cape. On the 20th August 1983 more than 15 000 people from all over S.A. came together ^{in Cape Town} to launch UDF nationally. Since its formation the UDF has been engaged in the struggle against forced removals, influx control and the New Constitution.

The UDF succeeded in exposing the New Constitution which was and still is aimed at entrenching apartheid. On the 22 & 28 August 1984 more than 82% of the Indian and Coloured people refused to take part in the apartheid elections and voiced in action their support for the struggling masses under the banner of the UDF.

REPORT ON THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

Comrade J. Mubudafasi read the report.

The N. Tol. Co-ordinating Committee was formed in May last year with the aim of co-ordinating UDF activities ~~in this region~~, and publicising the front in this region.

The committee ~~has~~ to some extent succeeded in developing contact between activists and between organizations in the N. Tol. Contact was also developed with many of the existing grassroots women's groups which ^{are} organized mostly around cultural activities and self reliant projects.

On the 5th August 1984 a rally was organized by the committee in Bealego. More than 5 000 people attended the rally from all

corners of Northern Transvaal. This was the biggest ~~rally~~ political rally ever held in the history of the N.T.U.

Structure were formed during ~~the~~ preparations for the rally ~~even~~ after. The Committee failed in co-ordinating activities ~~up to~~ the way it had planned mainly because of lack of funds. The national executive of UDF had promised to help financially but funds were made available ^{only} for the rally. There after nothing happened.

STRUCTURE

The meeting identified the problem as lack of co-ordination and agreed that a much more permanent structure was needed to co-ordinate in this region. Comrade Moss Chikane was asked to ^{explain} UDF structures and ^{their functions} how they work. I will ~~not go into~~ ^{only} confine my report only to the Area Committee and Regional Structures because I regard them as much more relevant to our discussions.

Area Committee

Organizations working in the same area come together and form an Area Committee, e.g. organizations in Mankweng or Seshego can form an area committee. Area committees send two ~~representatives~~ delegates to each Regional Council meeting. ~~Regional~~ These committees have got to raise funds on their own. •

ii) Regional Structure

This is a much more bigger structure than an area committee. ~~It is~~ regional structure is ^{formed} when organizations operating in the same region come together and form a General Council (G.C). The G.C is the highest policy making body of the regional structure. The General Council is the one that elect an executive committee. Examples of regions are: Transvaal, Border, Western Cape, Natal and Eastern Cape.

Regions are being financed by the National ~~the~~ ~~Most of the regions~~ Executive Committee. This however does not bar regions from raising funds on their own, in fact they are encouraged to do so. The ~~N.E.C~~ N.E.C is the only body which is allowed to raise funds on an international level.

Conclusion

(21) ~~The meeting~~ It was felt that the meeting should not take any decision on ~~whether to~~ ^{the kind} of a structure which will be much effective in the N.T.U. This was agreed upon in order to give comrades time to discuss ^{the type of} ~~this with~~ their structure we need to form in our area.

Comrades I greet you in the name of the struggle:

I greet you in the name of Hector Peterson,

I greet you in the name of Emma Sathole,

I greet you in the name of Bongani Khumalo

And lastly I greet you in the name of all those who died in the struggle for freedom.

I stand here as a ~~member~~ student and a member of the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) which has for more than five years now been fighting for a free, non-racial, compulsory and democratic education. Students under their organizations like COSAS, AZASO and ~~the~~ ~~the~~ NUSAS are not fighting for Black Education, Coloured Education, Indian Education or White Education.

We are fighting ^{for} education that is all. The education that we are fighting for is the one which will not make us sellouts and ~~the~~ puppets, education that will not make us selfish and greedy. We want the education that will instill the progressive spirit into us.

~~ABA 18~~
ABA 18

of the conference: 03/02/85

at: Krazenstein luthern Mission (Masealama)

(21)
29/10/87

representations, individual activists and working groups from all over the Transvaal came together to discuss the progress of the UDF in this region. The meeting was convened by the N.TVL Co-ordinating committee.

The following organizations were represented:
South African Allied Worker's Union (S.A.A.W.U.) -P/burg
United Metal and Mining Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Ummawusa)-Steelpoort.

- Mankweng Youth Congress (MAYCO)
 - Seshego Youth Congress (SEYCO)
 - Krazenstein Youth Congress (KRAYCO)
 - Congress of South Africa students (COSAS)
 - Zimbabwean students Organization (AZASO)
 - nyenye working group
 - nkowa-nkowa Youth working group
 - P.P. Rust TIC working group
- activists came from Sibasa (Venda) and Sekhukhuneland.

HISTORY OF THE UDF

de Moss Chikane gave a brief history of the UDF. He pointed out that a united front was made by Dr Allan Boesak on the 22 January 1983. This was followed by three regional launches Natal, Tvl and Northern Cape. On the 20 August 1983 more than 15 000 people from all over S.A came together in cape town lounch UDF nationally. Since its formation the UDF has been engaged in the struggle against force removals, apartheid control and the New constitution. UDF succeeded in exposing the new Constitution which was still based on entrenching apartheid. On the 22 & 28 August 1984 more than 100 000 of the Indian and Coloured people refused to take part in the municipal elections and voiced in action their support for the struggling masses under the banner of the UDF.

(21)
29/10/87

REPORT ON THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

de J. Mabudafasi read the report. The N.TVL Co-ordinating committee was formed in May last year with the aim of co-ordinating UDF activities and publicising the front in this region. The committee to some extent succeeded in developing contact between activists and between organization in the N.TVL. Contact was also opened with many of the existing grassroot women's group which were organised mostly around cultural activities and self reliant projects.

On the 5th August 1984 a rally was organised by the committee in Seshego where more than 5 000 people attended the rally from all corners of Northern Tvl. This was the biggest political rally ever held in the history of the N.TVL.

Problems were formed during preparations for the rally even after the committee failed in Co-ordinating activities the way it had planned because of lack of funds. The national executive of UDF had offered to help financially but funds were made available only for the rally. There after nothing happened.

STRUCTURE

The meeting identified the problem as lack of Co-ordination and agreed that a much more permanent structure was needed to Co-ordinate in this region. Comrade Moss Chikane was asked to explain UDF Structures their functions. I will ~~te~~ confine my report only to the Area Committee and Regional structure because I regard them as much more relevant to our discussion.

AREA COMMITTEE

Organization working in the same area come together and form an Area committee e.g organisations in Mankweng or Seshego can form an area committee Area committee sends two delegated to each Regional Council meeting These committee have got to raise funds on their own.

REGIONAL STRUCTURE

This much more bigger structure than an area committee. A regional structure is formed when organizations operating in the same region came ~~form~~ together and form a general council (G.C) The G.C is the highest policy making body of the regional structru. The genēal cōncil is the one that elect an executive committee. E.g. of regions are: Tvl, Border, Westen Cape, Natal and Eastern Cape.

Regions are being financed by the national Exucutive committee. This however does not bar regions from raising funds on their own, infact they are encouraged to do so. The N.E.C. ~~us-tge~~ is the only body which is allowed to raise funds on an international level

DECISION

It was felt that the meeting should not take any decission on the kind of a structre which will be much efective in the N.tvl. This was agreed upon in order to give comrades time to discuss the type of structue we need to form in our area.

Onother meeting where a decission will be taken as to which structure are we going to form will be held on the 3/March/1985. Comrates are asked to come with full mendate from organizations on the question of structure.

CO ORDINATION

The committee was given the task to continue co-ordinating until the next conference. Names of people who could be contacted by the committee wrere given.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!!

F. MOHLALA

F. Mohlala (Co-ordinator)

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



ABA-19

TRANSCVAAL
REGIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

1985 05 02

TO ALL UDF AFFILIATES IN THE TRANSCVAAL

SUBJECT : GENERAL COUNCIL MEETING

Comrades

You are hereby ⁱⁿformed that the next general council meeting of the United Democratic Front Transvaal will be held on Saturday, 18 May 1985 at 2pm. The venue is Khotso house.

The following is a draft agenda for the meeting :

1. Secretarial report.
2. Functions and powers of office and portfolio bearers on the R.E.C.
3. Programme of action.
4. The 30th Anniversary of the Freedom Charter.
5. The All - Blacks tour.
6. Finance.
7. UDF in the Northern Transvaal.

Affiliates and area committees are requested to engage in discussion on the programme of action prior to the council meeting.

Yours faithfully

P.P.
M. VALLI
TVL SECRETARY

"Bylaag C"

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

UDF UNITES! APARTHEID DIVIDES!



ABA 20
TRANSVAAL
REGIONAL OFFICE

KHOTSO HOUSE
42 DE VILLIERS STREET
JOHANNESBURG
P.O. BOX 10366
TEL: 29-1916
29-1917

04 JULY 1985

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

The following resolution was adopted by the Transvaal Regional Executive Committee of the UDF on the 2nd July 1985

A bank account shall be opened in Pietersburg. The name of the account shall be "UDF (NORTHERN TRANSVAAL) and signatories to the account would be at least two of the following three names;

1. LOUIS MGUNI
2. PETER MOKABA
3. FRANCE MOHLALA

YOURS IN STRUGGLE

P.P. M. Valli
M. VALLI (TVL. SECRETARY)

ABA 21
~~139~~

NO CAUSE TO CELEBRATE
(BOYCOTT LEBOWA AGRICULTURAL SHOW)

The Lebowa police (notoriously known as the 'Lebowa Boys') have killed comrade Shadrack Mafokwane of Mankweng Township. They shot down people at Seshego. Last week they beat to death a youth, States Mphahlele, at Lebowakgomo.

Hundreds of people have been baton-charged at the Mankweng Township, Seshego, Lebowakgomo, Namakgale, Tzaneen, Sekhukhune and many other areas in Lebowa. More than 600 people have been detained by these skunk-heads with their notorious masters at the Pietersburg Security Offices.

People and students constantly receive letters to report at the Pietersburg Security Offices.

Many residents at Lebowakgomo have fled their homes for fear of being shot by these trigger-happy mongers.

They not only end there; they from time to time disrupt meetings organised by peace-loving people.

Their top master is none other than the puppet of Botha and Malan. This puppet is called Phatudi.

Phatudi has wasted our money by buying a rainmachine. Where on earth did you see a machine making rain?

This puppet has close to six houses in Lebowa while many of us are living in matchboxes.

Now this puppet is asking us to celebrate the Lebowa 'National' Agricultural Show.

What Show?

We do not have reasons to celebrate while our people are in hospital.

We cannot celebrate while our people have been shot dead, by Phatudi's dogs.

We cannot celebrate while our people are languishing in jails.

WE CALL ON ALL THE FREEDOM AND PEACE-LOVING PEOPLE TO BOYCOTT THESE HOO-WASH CELEBRATIONS, WHICH ARE SUPPOSED TO START ON THE 3RD SEPTEMBER 1985.

We should boycott these celebrations because our killers will be there.

We should boycott these celebrations because the SADF will be there.

We should boycott these celebrations because Apartheid stooges will be there.

WE DEMAND:

• The lifting of the state of emergency.

• The release of all the people who have been detained by these hooligans.

• The immediate withdrawal of the Lebowa Police from our Townships, schools and campuses, and from our villages.

Their hands are dripping with the blood of our children, friends, comrades and relatives.

• The unconditional release of comrade Rolihlabla Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners.

THE POLICE MUST GET OUT OF OUR TOWNSHIPS AND VILLAGES.

WE MUST BOYCOTT THE LEBOWA AGRICULTURAL SHOW.

LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER

DOWN WITH PHATUDI. DOWN WITH THE BANTUSTANS.

ISSUED BY: Lebowakgomo Youth Congress

Lenyenyeng Youth Congress

Shiluvane Youth Congress

Mankweng Youth Congress

Seshego Youth Congress

Azania Students' Organisation

N.Tvl UDF Area Coordinating Committee

Alf has explained his agreement with Frans Mohlala on the office to the Branch Executive Committee, Comrade Isaac Madikoto included the idea. Isaac Madikoto explained that since we are part and parcel of U.D.F. Northern Tui region we are asked to share offices with UDF. He said that as long as it is Branch Executive Committee agreement would not present any problem. It would present problems if it remained an individual agreement.

It was then resolved that the UDF Northern Tui region should not occupy the office anytime from the day: 5-06-1985. Alf was instructed to send the resolution to the Head Office.

The relationship between S.A.A.W.U and UDF in office sharing will be left with the organisers in the office i.e. S.A.A.W.U organisers and UDF administrators.

It is also recommended that the above officials hold house committee meetings to resolve issues of mutual interest as speedily as possible at the lowest level.

Signed by:

- 1. Thelma Mamabolo absent
- 2. Johannes Mabiletja Mabiletja
- 3. Alfred Makaleng Alfred Makaleng
- 4. Isaac Madikoto Isaac Madikoto
- 5. Ernest Ramoloko Ernest Ramoloko

SOUTH AFRICAN ALLIED WORKERS UNION
 1st FLOOR, GUYS & GIRLS BUILDING
 57B LANDROS MARE STREET
 PIETERSBURG 0700

DRAFT BUDGET FOR N.TVL UDF CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

By way of H.
ABA23

During the meeting between the N.TVL co-ordinating committee and TVL REC in P/BURG, certain points were agreed upon. It was agreed that organisations in the N.TVL are still weak and co-ordination is very poor. The poorness of co-ordination was attributed to lack of resources. Organisers find it very difficult to move because of lack of transport.

It was agreed that in order to strengthen co-ordination and organisations a basic machinery will have to be set up. A suggestion for an office and one person to be employed by the UDF as a co-ordinator was agreed upon. It was further agreed that few comrades should be trained in media skills. This was agreed to be a process which will be followed in the launching of a regional structure. Until the launching, this office will remain part of the TVL region.

In another meeting on the 09/05/85 between the co-ordinating committee and two members of the REC, the rural secretary cde. M. Morobe and the treasurer cde. T. Mofolo, it was agreed that an office and the co-ordinator should be found immediately.

During a G.C. meeting attended by fourteen organisations on the 12/05/85 it was agreed that the office be situated in P/BURG. The meeting agreed on France Mohlala as co-ordinator. We have been promised a room by SAAWU in P/BURG at a building owned by the Northern Transvaal Council of Churches (NTCC).

BUDGET

RENT-----	R105	MONTHLY
PHONE-----	R150	"
SALARY-----	R400	"
TRANSPORT-----	R400	"
STATIONARY-----	R200	"
TOTAL-----	R1 255	"

Budget for three months = R3 765

An additional amount of R350 will be needed for type writer and locker.

The budget will operate for three months i.e. June, July and August. It might be reviewed after this period.

Hoping that the REC will give this matter urgent attention and respond immediately.

Yours in struggle

ABA 24

NOTARBOEKIE VAN
LOUIS MNGUNI
(een kopie)

THIRTY YEARS OF THE FREEDOM CHARTER

Born in defiance, inspiring defiance - THE ROAD TO FREEDOM!

26th June 1985 will go down in the history of South Africa as the most significant date in the development of the liberation struggle. Our people are poised on the brink of seizing power from the hands of the racist regime.

Today councillors homes are being bombed by crude homemade explosive. Pamphlet bombs urging our people to new levels of defiance are exploding in city centres. Today Umkhonto we Sizwe and the underground movement are reaching higher levels of cohesion; and dummy bodies are being rapidly replaced by People's Committees. The tri-cameral and bantustan system continue to display their impotence and are humiliated by the people.

On the side of the enemy we find dissension in the ranks of the ruling class and continued acts of barbarism like the raid into Botswana killing 14 civilians. The racist regime, finding itself incapable of an adequate response to people's resistance reacts in fits of irrational rage. Yet nothing it does can stop our march to national liberation.

The Freedom Charter remains the pivot of all forms of people's resistance. Workers, students, women and youth complement each others struggle in a fighting alliance under the guidance of the F.C. Today this alliance against racial oppression and colonial domination is poised to wrest power from the hands of the oppressors and exploiters.

The F.C. was drawn up in a period of widespread struggles against pass laws; all discriminatory legislation. During a period of massive worker's strikes and stay-aways. It was born in a period of defiance. Thirty years later, it continues to inspire our people to increase our defiance of apartheid laws; to set the foundations for a people's government.

5th June 1985 represents the most important turning point in our liberation struggle as the ANC ends its second major consultative conference. The conference attended by ANC comrades from all parts of the world and Umkhonto and underground cadres from within the country will guide us on the path to be taken for the final offensive against the corrupt Pretoria regime.

All those fighting for liberation must begin creating the new order based on the Freedom Charter now.

'THE PEOPLE MUST GOVERN - create People's Committees.'

As the National Executive Committee of the ANC stated in its Call to the Nation: All organs of the racist power must cease to function. The impotent community councils; LAC's; Bantustan govt. and the tri-cameral parliament must be defied and smashed in every part of the country.

People's Committees becoming the embryos of people's power must be established in every factory; in every township; in every school;. All cadres must work tirelessly to strengthen the ANC's underground. Our people must be protected against the savagery of the Pretoria regime by armed units which will also add inestimable power to Umkhonto we Sizwe.

* 'THE COUNTRY'S HEALTH SHARE IS OURS - strengthen the trade union movement, organise for national strikes.'

The working class must become increasingly organised under a single trade union movement to reclaim the wealth that belongs to it. The Botha regime has no hesitation in slaughtering our people when they are fighting against the starvation caused through poverty wages, high rents, transport costs and food prices. We must attack the inequalities caused by this system just as ruthlessly.

Workers must prepare for a lasting national work stoppage backed by our communities and supported by armed activity. Unemployed workers must also be organised to claim their right to work and security.

* 'HOUSING AND SECURITY FOR ALL - boycott rents; smash local authorities.'

The townships in the Vaal and Eastern Cape have combined their battles for proper housing, low rentals with their fight against the dummy community councils. Lives are being sacrificed daily for basic needs which the regime would not meet as it makes super-profits at the expense of our people's sweat.

Townships throughout the country must become no-go areas for the enemy's police or armed personnel - the real threat to our people's security. Our armed units must continue protecting our people and attack the enemy's armed forces. Our organisations must escalate the battle for lowering of rentals and prices; the end to removals and evictions; the nourishment of our people by making the plentiful food produced in this land available to our starving communities.

* 'OPEN THE DOORS OF LEARNING - forward to SBOs and the Education Charter.'

Our youth in schools are subjected to the brutality of sexual harassment, corporal punishment. Bantu Education strives to enslave them perpetually. As they have done in 1978 the youth are inspiring our people with their death defying acts of resistance. The fighting alliance of students and workers witnessed in the stay-aways in the Vaal and Eastern Cape must be encouraged and developed.

The students battle against daily brutality and for democratic student representation must be supported by our communities. An Education Charter, outlining the only possible solution to the present education crisis, can be the student's movement's most fitting contribution to the 30th anniversary of the F.O.

Botha's regime is in deep crisis. We need to mount our assault on the crumbling pillars of apartheid, to make this evil system more unworkable and the country less and less governable. For this we must strengthen all mass and underground organisation to create the beginnings of People's Power. In this, the Year of the Cadre, the ranks of Umkhonto we Sizwe must be swelled to intensify the armed struggle. In this the 30th anniversary of the F.O. we must confront the enemy on all fronts.

JOIN THE ANC! DON'T LEAVE THE ANC!

JOIN THE PEOPLE'S ARMY - UMKHONTO!

LONG LIVE THE ANC

LONG LIVE THE FREEDOM CHARTER!

ISSUED BY THE UNDERGROUND OF THE ANC.

De Kruis... (handwritten)
MEMORANDUM ON THE CHANGING POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF THE NORTHERN TRANSVAAL REGION

The formation of the United Democratic Front and the various campaigns it undertook made a significant advance in planting seeds of organisation in the Northern Transvaal region. The N. Transvaal Committee of the UDF is having a visible muscle. MAYCO, COSAS, AZASO, SEYCO, SAAWU, POYCO and MAVIYCO form the backbone of the committee. More than any other period organisations are mushrooming at a rate unparalleled by any epoch in the history of the struggle.

Workers organisations are gaining momentum. SAAWU (Pietersburg) and UMMAWSA (Steelpoort) are drawing more and more workers in their ranks. Youth organisations have sprouted and taken shape across the length and breadth of the vast territory of the N. Transvaal. MAYCO, SEYCO, Muhlaba Youth Organisation, KRAYCO, STEYCO, MAVIYCO, Arethusane Youth League, Lenyenye Youth Working Group, ZEYCO, Potgietersus Youth Working Group, POYCO - and indeed an innumerable number of working groups are emerging at a rate that cannot be managed by bureaucratic centralism. Y.C.S., SUCA and CASA have strenght and potential.

Students in almost all the teachers training colleges of the N. Transvaal are locked in protracted battle with the regime. Youth movements, Womens' organisations, churches and trade union struggles are starting to emerge in bold relief and indeed serve as a pointer to fighting forces in various degrees of formation. The Town Council elections in Seshego, Nirvana (an Indian area), Westernburg (Coloured area) and Lebowakgomo were marked by a low poll. Mankweng Town Council was put out of action.

From these developments the crucial question is how to unite these trends, lay basis and develop ANTI BANTUSTAN offensive. To secure the existance of organised mass democratic structures in this region is to secure a vital terrain of rural organisation and struggle.

It is in this regard that we feel the N. Transvaal region has to become a region in its own right, capable of harnessing the potential of its fighting forces. More than any other period, we need a local structure which shall serve as a focal point for effective planning and approach to mass rural organisation. The impact of UDF as a mass popular structure has not been felt in the N. Transvaal. People need to identify with structures that are brought more closer to their eyes in order to have meaningful participation in those structures. Comparatively speaking, the people in this region are by far materially disadvantaged than people in urban centres. As a result it is not possible to talk about mass democratic structures in the absence of a central structure to co-ordinate mass activities. It is in this light that we have to have a resource centre in order to launch and educate on a permanent basis, our people against Banstustan propoganda. To assume a special responsibility in executing this task we can no longer depend on the Southern region for publications, resources and manpower.

The worst features of apartheid and fascism show themselves clearly in the Bantustan. The worst features of exploitation stand concentrated in bold relief in the Bantustan. The tribal structures, the puppets and the homeland leaders are the worst hated symbols of the Bantustans. The tribal police, deseases, poverty and hunger and starvation continue to dominate the lives of people in the Bantustans. More than any other period in the past, priority tasks are starting to emerge boldly: to secure a scientific approach towards rural mass organisation the approach dictated by objective material conditions must guide our approach. For this reason it would be politcally incorrect to assume that we can employ the same strategies as would obtain in an urban settlement. Resources that are sometimes squandered in mass rallies could be more profitably channeled in conscious and deliberate methods of mobilising and organising.

for this reason it would still be politically incorrect to burn out the energies of rural activists in trips and journeys to and from urban areas. Many hours and vast resources employed in this manner even for trivial aspects like resources could be spent more profitably at home in confronting on an hourly basis the arduous task of slow, painful and exerting mobilisation of the masses in this region. Often this has not been the case because of centralised resources. It is only this approach which will ensure access of rural people to their structures. Moreover, it would make the UDF a closer reality to the problems and solutions of rural life. Whatever resources were there in the past, they were fruitlessly spent in transport costs to urban centres of the Southern Transvaal.

Contrary to the political complexion in the urban areas, we do not have readily available issues to pick up upon in our rural areas (eg: rents, transport, community councils). The structures that dominate peoples lives are not readily discernable. It is not possible for people to demonstrate on streets, if we really have streets. No picketing, no stay-aways are possible because we do not have jobs or industrial centres. It is for this reason that we have to rethink our strategies and immerse ourselves in the lives of the rural people. This cannot be done by anybody beyond the borders of the Bantustans. It is the activists themselves in these areas who are in a position to maintain continual presence within rural structures who will ultimately play a guiding role in peoples struggles. To be able to execute this task, activists need to be trained. Their training must of necessity differ from the one offered in the urban mobilisation. Resources are also needed to train our activists.

To be able to co-ordinate mass democratic structures, it would be necessary to show the necessary confidence in the people to organise themselves and that nobody from outside can do the job for them. To master this approach is to understand that N. Transvaal must be a region in its own right, with full representation on the UDF. To argue in this fashion is not to encourage regionalism but to foster a spirit of self-confidence in the people and their ability to change their own lives, to combat prejudices and to promote a united conception of one mass democratic movement under the popular banner of the UDF. This in essence will mean democratic centralism as opposed to bureaucratic centralism. This task we can achieve only if we charge activists with this mission for they only are able to maintain permanent contact with the rural mass democratic structures.

The vastness of the N. Transvaal region, its geographical location, its towns and villages laughs at the term "Area Committee". By area committee one refers to a locality like Johannesburg and Pretoria. The N. Transvaal itself is spread across a vast area of land, across mountains and plains for distances of over 500 kms from one focal point to another. It is thus logically wrong to look at the Northern Transvaal as an area committee. To illustrate this point, one can imagine the distance from Pietersburg - Potgietersrus to Tzaneen - Phalaborwa - Louis Trichardt to Bochum and Messina. These few places are areas in themselves. Sekhukhuniland is a vast area in itself. For the said reasons it would be politically naive to speak of the N. Transvaal as an area committee. The cumulative effect of all the above demands that we adopt a scientific and realistic approach towards rural organisation, lest we be paralysed by our own analysis - with serious political consequences for the region. The magnitude of all these problems - lack of transport, facilities, people power and resources has lead to activists undermining the scope and nature of rural misery. It is on the strength of these that the N. Transvaal region must be a priority area, with an independent treasury focussing on vital aspect of financial administration according to priority tasks, This will only be possible when we are a fully fledged region - capable of leading mass struggles on local terrain and effectively linking those struggles to broader national issues.

In the past the N. Transvaal has been isolated in as far as democratic decision-making and representation on the UDF is concerned. This has had serious consequences on the political awareness of the people. The Northern Transvaal has niether been consulted nor contacted before decisions were made. More often than not the invitation came only after decisions were made, thus subjecting its people to bureaucracy with the result that their advancement and confidence in being their own liberators was significantly dwarfed. The constituency has never played any meaningful role, instead they were made to welcome the idea that their liberators would one day emerge from Johannesburg. We were treated as a bantustan in its own right, with no right of participation, thus maintaining the status quo in one form or another : that the N. Transvaal people have their capital city of struggle in the Reef. These developments have tended to affect the growth of our organisations in a dramatic way. Like labour reserves, the advanced section of our activists are usually drawn in the urban centres while the fate of the masses is left to providence. We make a speacial demand that this be remedied, and this demand is in the form of a mandate from Northern Transvaal organisations that they launch their own regional structure of the UDF immediately.

This is not only a request but a demand and thus a mandate. The organisations here feel that their intergrity has been seriously violated. Organisations here have taken judicial notice and strong exception of the bureaucratic and managerial attitudes of the (Southern) TRansvaal regional executive. A special request is that this situation be remedied before it causes political problems of division.

Activities and problems in the N. Transvaal are not given press coverage. As a result nobody has cared whether there is an issue or not. There are workers strikes, bus boycotts, school boycotts plaquing the N. Transvaal region. Infant mass graves, deseases, hunger, starvation, unemployment and death are the order of the day. No single aspect of these callous consequences of apartheid has ever found its way to the press.

Activists must be interested in developments, not only in Uitenhage and Sebokeng, but from the Cape to the Meditteranean. The establishment of a region in the N. Transvaal would make it possible to co-ordinate our activities and efforts with those of the Southern region thus enabling the struggle to set a new pace and revolutionary fervour, allowing permanent communication and contact thus over-stretching the enemy's resources beyond his limits. And nobody, not even the imperialists would save apartheid from its death pangs.

JOIN THE STRUGGLE !

PEOPLES' WAR IS INVINCIBLE !

VICTORY OR DEATH !

Mr Muzigahon now becoming
Healy
A/B Easner
Pickering

RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE NGC TO THE NEC

1. BUILDING AND BROADENING THE FRONT

1.1 Unconstituted Regions

Interim structures must be set up ⁱⁿ unconstituted regions.
The National Organiser must keep in regular contact with these regions.

1.2 Building People's Organisations

Our programme must promote formation, growth and strengthening of all democratic organisations.
The programme must extend and strengthen all UDF structures
The programme must address the organisation of rural communities.

1.3 Organisations not in the Front yet

A systematic programme must be drawn up to start a fresh recruitment drive.
Ways must be found to incorporate such organisations into our campaigns

1.4 Internally

Sub-committees on the key aspects of the work of the Front must be set up. (Labour, education, rural development were identified)

2. EDUCATION AND TRAINING

- 2.1 There must be an intensive political education programme geared towards developing a common political line.
2.2 Such a programme must facilitate ^{distribution} distribute skills of various kinds

3. FULL POLITICAL RIGHTS FOR AFRICANS

- 3.1 Demanding the vote for all
3.2 Addressing the issue of citizenship
3.3 Launching a national campaign against bantustans
3.4 Co-ordinating Anti-Forced Removals campaigns nationally, exchanging information on strategies, tactics and general information on struggles against forced removals
3.5 Pass laws must be challenged

4. ANTI -CONSCRIPTION / MILITARISATION

A programme must be developed in accordance with the resolution adopted at the NGC.

5. REPRESSION

- 5.1 Challenge and neutralise repression through education of our people on their legal rights.
5.2 Use repression as an issue around which people can be mobilised.
5.3 Challenge legal constraints and struggle to win ^{more} legal space ..
5.4 Challenge the Bophuthatswana Bill of Rights

6. COST OF LIVING

- 6.1 A programme must be drawn up in accordance with the resolution.
6.2 Cost of living must be linked to the issue of unemployment.
An approach to unemployment must be worked out as a matter of urgency

7. CO-ORDINATION

- 7.1 UDF must play effective co-ordinating role at a local level and provide political leadership.
- 7.2 Front must get involved in day to day struggles of communities.

8. INTERNATIONAL

- 8.1 Develop work as per resolution.
- 8.2 In the spirit of challenge + more direct action must be taken against foreign companies and governments operating in S.A.

9. CHALLENGE TO APARTHEID

- 9.1 There is a need to challenge the Apartheid state with our alternative for a transition to peaceful, democratic S.A.
- 9.2 Demand an immediate stop of the SADF and police violence.
- 9.3 Challenge councilors and junior partners in the tri-cameral parliament and deepen their isolation.
- 9.4 The National Working Committee (NWC) must identify crucial aspects of Apartheid against which appropriate campaigns would be launched to enhance the general objective of the Front.

10. EDUCATION

- 10.1 UDF must ^{take} active part in Education Charter Campaign, must also seek to involve affiliates in the campaign
- 10.2 Assist in strengthening students and other organisations operating in the education front.

11. OTHER RECOMMENDATIONS

- 11.1 FREEDOM CHARTER - The UDF seriously considers adopting the Freedom Charter. Discussion within the affiliates must be facilitated as soon as possible.
- 11.2 PATRONS - Guidelines must be worked out on the accountability of patrons of the UDF and their role within the Front.

Signed _____

Students' Representative Council
Verteenwoordigende Studenteraad

NO. 2.
85/6/5
85.06.05
ABA 27

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH
P.O. BOX 643
SOVENGA
0727
TEL. 65
TELEGR. UNIKON



UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE NOORDE
P.K. (BUS) 643
SOVENGA
0727
P.O./Pk. SOVENGA
02 May 1985

MEMORANDUM TO S.R.C

I, M.J. MOKHOSI, the current president of the abovementioned institution would like to express my feeling and opinion as to why I do no longer deem it necessary and/or wise to serve in the S.R.C. I would like to acknowledge that problems are like a wheel coming for you and me, and I believe that my turn has come. It indeed comes at a bad time of the year, when there is turmoil and spirit of uneasiness on campus. Where each one of us is trying to gravitate a step forward but guardedly so, in order not to plunge into troubled water. Things are bad Mzala!

All the same, I think I have tried my best in this S.R.C., but am really failing to execute these duties efficiently for support that I receive from council members is not enough :

- (a) Council members do not come to the offices regularly;
- (b) Members are not executing or do not help in the execution of the tasks from the student body, but such a task is normally left in the hands of a few individuals;
- (c) this S.R.C. is being undermined by councilors themselves; councilors demonstrated together with the members of the student body whereas they should be the first to bring or highlight problems to be discussed and not show their dissatisfaction by protest. (food issue demonstration);
- (d) One councilor was attacked with all sorts of missiles and was subsequently coerced to join a demonstration over food issue only the 18/04/85;

Signature

- (e) this S.R.C. is being referred to as the coopted S.R.C., this allegations is serious in nature and cannot be left unchallenged,
- (f) It seems councilors are resigning from the S.R.C., in order to wage struggle outside the forum of the S.R.C., maybe ^{it} is an educated wise move to do so;
- (g) Grapevine has it that this S.R.C is not doing much and that this S.R.C is gradually becoming unpopular with students. To cite, normally when students have problems, these are reported to the S.R.C so that solutions could be sought, but as far as food issues are concerned, the office of the S.R.C. did not receive any complaints save to witness demonstration on 18 and 19 April 1985.

This is a clearcut demonstration of lack of confidence in this S.R.C.;

- (h) some members of the student say I was against the MAY DAY celebration on campus, but for heavens sake, who am I to be against a day that has such an international standing. That would be anti-struggle and reactionary. In the past, we as students we used to come together ^{to} discuss how such a day like MAY DAY or any NATIONAL DAY could be celebrated and/or commemorated, but recently we see anonymous notices that instruct us as students not to attend lectures, whereas there is an S.R.C at this University. Such a way of organising is not and cannot be condoned by anyone for it creates problems. What has come to my awareness is that there is a profound doubt that some members of the student body are having against me in particular or against some councilors. It seems that if it was

by them, they could have me under constant surveillance or supervision. My genuine intentions and moves are viewed with suspicion. There is clearly lack of trust and this situation should not be left to continue any further without being remedied.

I am truly tired of pretending that matters are okay, whereas I can see that the boat is sinking. I am aware that these days I am short-tempered and easily being made emotional, it is this way because of pressure from within the S.R.C and outside. I acknowledge that this is not a good remedy for my uneasiness in the S.R.C, but hope councilors will bear with me, for by quitting the S.R.C. will help me avert the looming confrontation and further help in lessening the degree of attitude-developing among us. I am forever a worried man. Please do consider my resignation letter with the urgency it deserves.

Yours Faithfully


M. J. MOKHOSI

SRC PRESIDENT
University of the North
P.O. Box 843
Sovenga
0727

NO. 4.

Handwritten notes:
15/6/5.
15/6/5
8-06/05

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

STUDENTS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

~~ABA 28~~
ABA 28

CONSTITUTION

PREAMBLE:

Whereas a Student Body of the University of the North by name The Students' Representative Council of the University, has applied to the Council of the University for recognition by the Council of the said Student Body, as a Student Body to represent students of the University, and whereas the control, government and executive power of the university is vested in the Council of the University, by virtue of and subject to the provisions of the University of the North act., act. no. 47 of 1969, the Council of the University deed it fit to grant and do hereby grant, recognition to the said Student Body as a student body to represent the students of the University in terms of the constitution set out in the annexure hereto:

Sello Ledija

UNIVERSITY OF THE NORTH

STUDENTS' REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

CONSTITUTION

SECTION 1

NAME:

The name of the Body is and shall be the "Students' Representative Council of the University of the North", hereinafter referred to as the S.R.C.

SECTION 2

POWERS AND DUTIES:

1. The S.R.C. shall be empowered:
 - (a) To represent the students of the University of the North, in general and in particular, in relation to:
 - (i) The Administrative Authorities, other academic centres, the S.R.C.'s of other Universities;
 - (ii) the University Council;
 - (iii) the general public; and
 - (iv) National and International Student Organizations.
 - (b) To exercise the powers and disciplinary duties over the students laid down in this constitution.
 - (c) To acquaint the Council on its own initiative, or at the request of the Council, with its views on all matters affecting the students and their welfare.
 - (d) To supervise all students' extra-mural activities and control the finances relating to such activities.
 - (e) To administer, in the interest of the students, such funds as may be allocated to it from time to time by the University Council, or as may be received by it from any other source.
 - (f) To convene and conduct Mass Meetings of students.
 - (g) To submit at the end of its term of office, a financial statement accounting for all funds and other assets administered by it during its term of office.

(h) To act as a first court of appeal in case of an irregularity arising in any society, club, sub-Council or Committee. The Council shall be the last court of appeal in such cases.

2. The S.R.C. shall recognise new clubs or societies whose constitutions are not contradictory to the S.R.C. constitution and whose subscription fees it approves.

3. The S.R.C. may withdraw recognition of any club or society if:

- (a) it is no longer functioning; or
- (b) it is not administered according to its constitution and rules and orders of the S.R.C.; or
- (c) it no longer serves the purpose for which it was created.

4. For the proper execution of its functions, the S.R.C. will :

- (a) elect honorary officers who may or may not be members of the S.R.C.;
- (b) elect or appoint committees which may include students who are not S.R.C. members.

5. In co-operation with the Rector and the Deans of the respective Faculties, the S.R.C. shall be responsible for all student publications.

6. The S.R.C. shall authorise and control the wearing of the University colours by students.

SECTION 3

COMPOSITION OF THE S.R.C. :

1. The S.R.C. shall be composed of thirteen (13) elected members of which at least two (2) shall be women students and two (2) ex-officio members.

2. Members shall include Faculty Representatives, Further Representatives, and Representatives of the All Sports Committee and the Central Culture Committee.

- (a) Faculty Representatives shall be members elected to the S.R.C. by the different Faculties. Each faculty elects one member on the S.R.C.
- (b) Further Representatives shall be members elected to the S.R.C. by the student body.
- (c) Ex-officio members are the chairmen of the All Sports Committee and the Central Culture Committee.

3. At its first meeting, the S.R.C. shall elect from amongst its members :

- (a) A President.
- (b) A Vice-President.
- (c) A Correspondence Secretary.
- (d) A Minutes Secretary.
- (e) A Treasurer.

The members so elected shall jointly constitute the Executive Committee of the S.R.C.

SECTION 4

MEMBERSHIP AND QUALIFICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP:

1. The S.R.C. shall consist of thirteen (13) elected members and two (2) ex-officio members.
2. Membership of the S.R.C. shall be optional.
3. Every person registered as a student of the University of the North for a degree or post-matriculation diploma and has been registered as a full-time student for at least one semester (one semester being from the beginning of the academic year up to the last day of June), shall be entitled to vote and be voted for in an S.R.C. election.
4. A student studying for a post-matriculation diploma shall only be entitled to vote when he has enrolled as a full-time student for his/her second year of study with the University. A student **falling** under this category shall NOT be a candidate in an S.R.C. election.
5. Full-time and part-time members of the Administrative or Academic Staff shall not be entitled to vote and be candidates in an S.R.C. election.
6. Subject to the right of appeal to the Rector, a student may be deprived of the right to vote in an S.R.C. election for any breach of the electoral regulation, on a resolution carried by a two-thirds majority of the S.R.C. Executive.

SECTION 5

ELECTIONS:

1. Electoral Committee :

The S.R.C. shall not later than the second week of the second semester in each year appoint an Electoral Committee consisting of a Chief Electoral Officer and two (2) additional members who

may be students or full-time members of the academic or administrative staff of the University but shall not be candidates for election. Subject to the regulations under Section 5 the Electoral Committee shall have complete control over the elections.

2. Supervision :

Elections shall be conducted and supervised by the Electoral Committee, but in the case of an irregularity arising from the election, the Electoral Committee shall report the matter to the S.R.C. Executive Committee.

The Electoral Committee together with the S.R.C. Executive Committee shall decide whether the irregularity be grave enough to bring about the invalidation of the whole election or to cause a disqualification of the candidate concerned.

3. Polling Booth :

There shall be only one (1) polling booth, situated at the S.R.C. Office.

4. Voters Roll :

- (a) The S.R.C. shall hand a list of voters obtained from the administration to the Chief Electoral Officer who shall then post it at the polling booth not later than four (4) days after his appointment, and shall remain posted until three (3) days after the day of the election.
- (b) The voters roll shall be divided into two groups, Group A comprising students falling under Paragraph 3, Section 4, and group B students falling under Paragraph 4, Section 4.
- (c) All objections to the voters roll must be lodged with the Chief Electoral Officer, in writing, not later than 12 noon on the third day after the voters roll has been posted.
- (d) Alterations to the voters roll shall be made by the Chief Electoral Officer subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the S.R.C.

5. Nominations :

- (a) The Electoral Committee shall appoint a day on which nominations for an S.R.C. election shall be held.
- (b) Student shall be notified at least one (1) week before the day of nomination.
- (c) Students shall call at the S.R.C. office on the day so appointed for nomination forms.
- (d) A nomination form shall bear the consent signature of the nominee and the signatures of at least five (5) supporters

(nominators) in the case of Further Representatives. For Faculty Representatives the nomination form shall bear the consent signature of the nominee and those of at least three (3) nominators.

- (e) Nominations of Faculty Representatives shall be held before nominations of Further Representatives.
- (f) On the day following the closing of nominations a list bearing the names of the nominees shall be posted at the polling booth.
- (g) Should any nominee's nomination form be declared invalid, steps shall be taken by the Electoral Committee to notify him accordingly within 24 hours after the nomination form has been declared invalid. The S.R.C. Executive Committee shall also be notified.

6. Objections to Nominations :

Objections to nominations shall be in writing and shall be lodged with the Electoral Committee two (2) days after the closing of nominations, for consideration by the Electoral Committee in consultation with the S.R.C. Executive Committee.

7. Voting.

- (a) Voting shall be by ballot papers provided by the Electoral Committee.
- (b) There shall be no voting by proxy.
- (c) Any student qualifying under Paragraphs 3, 4 and 6 of Section 4 shall be entitled to vote in an S.R.C. election.
- (d) Votes shall be counted at the end of polling by the Electoral Committee and at least two (2) Executive members who are not candidates for election.

8. Spoilt Papers :

A ballot paper shall be deemed to be spoilt and be rejected if :

- (i) The same preference is cast for more than one candidate;
- (ii) the paper contains preferences of less than five(5) or more than the required number;
- (iii) the Electoral Committee, in consultation with the Executive members, finds good and sufficient reason(s) to declare the paper spoilt.

9. Election Declared Invalid :

The election shall be declared invalid if less than 10% of the electorate votes.

10. Inspection of Ballot Papers :

Inspection of ballot papers including spoilt papers shall be open to voters and the Electoral Committee shall be in constant attendance at such an inspection. Ballot papers including spoilt papers shall be kept until one month after the election. Inspection will, however, close 48 hours after the declaration of results.

11. Irregularity :

- (a) Should any irregularity arise before or during voting it shall be rectified, and voting shall continue.
- (b) Should the Electoral Committee in consultation with the Executive Committee deem an irregularity grave enough to have influenced the procedure of voting, they shall declare the voting null and void, and shall call for a re-voting.

12. Results :

The results shall be declared and posted on the S.R.C. Notice Board immediately after the count has been completed. Full details of the count shall be posted on the Notice Board at the official polling booth.

13. Objections to Results :

- (a) Objections to results shall be lodged with the Electoral Committee within 48 hours after the declaration of results.
- (b) Objections shall take the following forms :
 - (i) Objections to voting and conduct thereof.
 - (ii) Objections to counting and conduct thereof.
- (c) Objections shall be considered by the Electoral Committee and the Executive Committee of the outgoing S.R.C., and their decision shall be final.

14. Report :

The Electoral Committee shall submit a report on the conduct and results of the election together with any expenses incurred therein to the incoming S.R.C.

SECTION 6CLASSES OF ELECTION :

- 1. There shall be two classes of election, vis. : election of Faculty Representatives and election of Further Representatives.
- 2. Election of Faculty Representatives :
 - (a) The Electoral Committee shall not later than August, 15th in each year, appoint a day for the election which shall be a week day between the 15th and 18th August, and polling shall take place on that day between the hours of 8 am. and 8 pm.

- (b) A nomination of a candidate shall be signed by three (3) students eligible to vote, who shall be members of the same Faculty, as that of the candidate, and must be accompanied by the candidate's written acceptance of nomination. A candidate may not offer himself for election in more than one Faculty at one and the same election.
- (c) If only one candidate is nominated for any Faculty he shall be declared elected forthwith.
- (d) In the case of contested elections, the Electoral Committee shall prepare separate ballot papers for each Faculty. The ballot papers shall bear the full names of the candidates in alphabetical order without any further particulars concerning them.
- (e) A student shall not be placed on the roll of voters in more than one Faculty. A voter who is registered as a student in more than one Faculty shall inform the Electoral Committee and shall be placed on the list of voters in one Faculty only.
- (f) A voter shall indicate his preference for a candidate by placing a cross (X) against the name of his choice on the ballot paper. A ballot paper shall not be valid unless it contains only one cross (X).
- (g) At the conclusion of the poll the Electoral Committee shall compute the total number of valid ballot papers; it shall then cause the number of crosses given to candidates in each Faculty to be counted. The candidate with the highest number of crosses shall be declared elected.
- (h) If there should be a tie in the number of crosses, the Electoral Committee shall decide by lot which candidate shall be elected.

3. Election of Further Representatives :

- (a) The Electoral Committee shall within 48 hours of the declaration of the result of the election of the Faculty Representatives appoint a day for the election of Further Representatives, which shall be a week day not later than August 24th. On the day so appointed, polling shall take place between the hours of 8 am. and 8 pm.
- (b) A nomination of a candidate must be signed by five (5) students eligible to vote and must be accompanied by the candidate's written acceptance of nomination.
- (c) If the number of candidates nominated is equal to or fewer than the number of vacant seats, they shall be declared elected, and the remaining vacancies (if any) shall be filled at a bye-election.
- (d) In the case of a contested election or a bye-election, the Electoral Committee shall prepare ballot papers bearing the full names of the candidates in alphabetical order without any further particulars concerning them.
- (e) A voter shall indicate his preference by placing numerals in the order of his choice against names on the ballot paper.

Except in a bye-election, a voter shall not indicate his preference of candidates for more than the number of vacant seats or fewer than half the number of vacant seats.

- (f) At the conclusion of the poll the Electoral Committee shall compute the number of valid ballot papers. He shall then determine the electoral quota by dividing this number by N plus X (where N is the number of vacant seats and X a number determined by the Executive). The next whole number above this quotient shall be the electoral quota.
- (g) The Electoral Committee shall then cause the number of first preferences given to each candidate to be counted and those candidates whose first preferences reach or exceed the electoral quota shall be declared elected.
- (h) If the number of candidates declared elected is less than the number of vacant seats, the first preferences of the eliminated candidates shall be transferred to their second preferences and those candidates whose transferred first preferences and second preferences reach or exceed the electoral quota shall be declared elected. If the number of candidates at this stage exceed the number of vacant seats, the leading candidates, in order of highest transferred first preferences and second preferences, up to the number of vacant seats, shall be declared elected.
- (i) If the number of elected candidates is still less than the number of vacant seats, the process herein described shall continue until all vacant seats are filled.
- (j) If at any stage there should be a tie, where there are two or more candidates, the Electoral Committee shall decide by lot which candidate(s) shall be declared elected.
- (k) If not already elected by means of normal procedure the two (2) leading women candidates shall be declared elected above the two (2) qualifying male candidates with the lowest number of votes.

SECTION 7

TERM OF OFFICE.

1. Members of the S.R.C. shall hold office until the first meeting of the incoming S.R.C., except as if otherwise provided below.
2. If a member of the S.R.C. ceases to be a student he shall automatically cease to be a member of the S.R.C.
3. If a member representing a Faculty ceases to be a member of that Faculty, he shall automatically cease to be a member of the S.R.C.
4. If a member of the S.R.C. tenders his resignation in writing and it is **accepted** by the S.R.C. he shall cease to be a member of the S.R.C.

D/..

5. Should a member of the S.R.C. absent himself from two or more meetings without good reason, or without apology, he shall cease to hold office in the S.R.C. Such meetings need not be consecutive.
6. If a member of the S.R.C. ceases to be a member, he shall automatically also cease to hold any other office held by virtue of his S.R.C. membership.

SECTION 8

MEETINGS OF THE S.R.C. :

1. The first meeting of the incoming S.R.C. shall be held in the first week of September in each year. The President of the out-going S.R.C. shall preside over this meeting until the election of the new President, except that where the out-going President is a member of the new S.R.C. a person who is not a ~~member~~ of the new S.R.C. may preside.
2. Ordinary meetings of the S.R.C. shall be held at least once every three weeks during the first half of the academic year, and once every four weeks during the second half of the academic year.
3. Special meetings of the S.R.C. shall be called by the President or, in his absence by the Vice-President, either at his own instance, or when required to do so by a Resolution of the S.R.C. or at the request in writing of not fewer than five (5) members of the S.R.C. provided that the reasons for such a requisition are stated. The Chairman or Acting Chairman shall have an ordinary and a casting vote.
4. The S.R.C. may invite any student or any other person to attend its meeting. A person so invited may be permitted to take part in the discussion, but shall not be permitted to vote. The attendance of any such person(s) at an S.R.C. meeting shall be approved by the S.R.C.
5. Ten (10) members of the S.R.C. shall form a quorum.
6. At the first meeting of each newly elected S.R.C. each member shall receive a copy of this constitution.
7. The S.R.C. may at any time hold a meeting, or part of a meeting in camera. A resolution carried by a simple majority of those members present and voting shall effect this.
8. The President shall have the power to adjourn a meeting if he considers such action desirable or necessary.
9. Last Meeting :

After the business of the last meeting of an outgoing S.R.C. has been transacted the Chairman shall adjourn the meeting for a short period in order that the Minutes Secretary may check and correct the minutes of that meeting. The meeting shall then be resumed and the minutes shall then be put to the meeting for adoption.

SECTION 9THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE :

1. At its first meeting the S.R.C. shall elect from among its members :

- (a) A President.
- (b) A Vice-President.
- (c) A Correspondence-Secretary.
- (d) A Minutes Secretary.
- (e) A Treasurer.

The members so elected shall jointly constitute the Executive Committee of the S.R.C. (See Section 3,3).

2. The President shall be the chief Executive Officer of the S.R.C.

3. The duties of the Executive Committee acting in accordance with S.R.C. policy and subject to S.R.C. ratification shall be :

- (a) To deal with urgent matters arising in the period between S.R.C. meetings.
- (b) To deal with such matters as the S.R.C. shall direct from time to time.
- (c) To act as a general administrative committee of the S.R.C.
- (d) To act for and represent the S.R.C. and to summon S.R.C. meetings.
- (e) To carry out, in the presence of the Treasurer, urgent financial transactions approved by at least three (3) members of the Executive. Such transactions shall be reported at the next S.R.C. meeting.
- (f) To draw up a budget for the ensuing year for approval by the S.R.C.

4. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once a week.

5. Three (3) members of the Executive Committee shall form a quorum.

6. The Executive Committee in conjunction with the S.R.C. shall be responsible for the implementation of S.R.C. resolutions.

7. The President shall present a report of the activities of his S.R.C. to the incoming S.R.C.

8. In the period between the last meeting of the outgoing S.R.C. and the election of the new Executive Committee, the outgoing Executive Committee shall deal with matters which require attention during the interim period, subject to ratification by the incoming S.R.C. at its first meeting.

9. Press Statements :

The Executive Committee may at any time it deems fit instruct

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the President to issue press statements on behalf of the S.R.C. and its Committees subject to consultation with the Rector.

SECTION 10

POWERS AND DUTIES OF MEMBERS :

1. President :

- (a) The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Executive Committee, the S.R.C. and any student Mass Meeting.
- (b) In his absence the Vice-President shall take his place, and in the absence of both, the Executive Committee or S.R.C. shall elect a chairman by show of hands.
- (c) At each ordinary meeting of the S.R.C., the President shall, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submit a report of its activities since the previous ordinary S.R.C. meeting.
- (d) The President shall represent the S.R.C. at all official functions such as Commemoration and Graduation days.
- (e) The President may, at his discretion, exercise ex-officio membership of all S.R.C. Standing Committees, ad hoc Committees and Commissions.

2. Vice-President :

In the absence of the President, his powers shall devolve upon the Vice-President.

3. Corresponding Secretary.

- (a) The Correspondence Secretary shall have charge and be responsible for the safe custody of the records and office property of the S.R.C.
- (b) The Correspondence Secretary shall conduct the S.R.C. correspondence and shall keep copies of all correspondence handled by him/her in official capacity.
- (c) The Correspondence Secretary shall circularise notices and agendas of S.R.C. meetings among all members of the S.R.C.
- (d) The Correspondence Secretary shall work in full concert with the Minutes Secretary.

4. Minutes Secretary :

- (a) The Minutes Secretary shall take minutes at all S.R.C Executive Committee, and Mass Meetings.
- (b) The Minutes Secretary shall maintain the correlated resolutions of the S.R.C.

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- (c) The Minutes Secretary shall post minutes of all S.R.C. and Mass Meetings on the S.R.C. Notice Board within three (3) days of such meetings which minutes shall remain there for at least seven (7) days.

4. Treasurer :

- (a) The Treasurer shall disburse all moneys as authorised by the S.R.C. or S.R.C. Executive.
- (b) The Treasurer shall present a financial report at each Ordinary Meeting of the S.R.C. Minor expenditures shall be reported independently of the major financial report.
- (c) The Treasurer shall have the power to investigate the financial situation of any student organisation recognised by the S.R.C. when authorised by the S.R.C. or the S.R.C. Executive.
- (d) The Treasurer shall keep book and/or proper records of the finances of the S.R.C.

SECTION 11.

STANDING S.R.C. COMMITTEES :

1. The following shall be the standing Committees of the S.R.C.

- (a) Executive Committee (See Section 9).
- (b) Students' Visiting Lecturers Trust Fund Committee.
- (c) Publications Committee.
- (d) Students' Union Committee.
- (e) Tuck Shop Committee.
- (f) Constitutions Committee.

2. The S.R.C. shall be empowered to create further or abolish existing Committees by a two-thirds majority. It shall also be empowered to create ad hoc Committees for any purpose it deems fit by a simple majority.

3. The Chairman and/or S.R.C. Representative on Committees shall present regular written (preferably typewritten) reports to the S.R.C.

4. The S.R.C. shall have the power of amending or overruling the decisions of any of its Committees.

5. Constitutions as well as constitutional amendments of all Committees shall require ratification by a simple majority of the S.R.C.

6. Committees shall submit annual Balance Sheets to the Treasurer of the S.R.C.

7. Upon vacating office, a chairman of a Committee shall submit a report to his successor on the functions and activities of his Committee.

8. The Constitutions of all Committees shall be approved by the S.R.C. and shall be subject to the provisions of this Constitution.

SECTION 12

OFFICE BEARERS OF STANDING S.R.C. COMMITTEES.

1. The S.R.C. shall appoint or elect the following office bearers:-
- (a) Executive Committee. (See Section 9)
- (b) Students' Visiting Lecturers Trust Fund Committee :
- (i) The Executive Committee shall before September 17th in each year call for nominations from the Student Body for three (3) members of the Committee.
- (ii) The Executive Committee shall before September 30th in each year make appointments in terms of 12.1 (b)(i).
- (iii) The S.R.C. shall at its next meeting (following the appointments) elects one of its members to represent it on this Committee.
- (iv) The S.R.C. shall elect one of the four (4) committee members Chairman of the Committee.
- (v) This Committee shall make all arrangements for the invitation of visiting lecturers and budget for the expenses in this connection.
- (vi) The Committee shall draw up its own rules.
- (c) Publications Committee :
- (i) The Executive Committee shall before September 17th in each year call for applications from the Student Body for the following posts on the Committee :
- (a) Literary Editor.
 (b) Sports Editor.
 (c) Photographic Editor.
 (d) Afrikaans Editor.
 (e) Science Editor.
- (ii) The Executive Committee shall before September 30th in each year make appointments in terms of 12.1 (c)(i).
- (iii) The S.R.C. shall at its next meeting (following the appointments) elect two (2) of its members to represent it on this Committee.
- (iv) The S.R.C. shall also elect from among the members of the Committee a Chairman and Secretary/Treasurer.
- (v) This Committee shall be responsible for all S.R.C. publications.

(d) Students' Union Committee :

- (i) The S.R.C. shall at its first meeting elect from among its members the Chairman of this Committee.
- (ii) The Executive Committee shall further at its first meeting elect or appoint from the Student Body with the Aid of the Chairman :
 - (a) The Vice-Chairman
 - (b) The Correspondence Secretary
 - (c) The Minutes Secretary
 - (d) The Treasurer.
- (iii) This Committee shall be responsible for all the recreational activities sponsored by the S.R.C. including film shows.
- (iv) The Committee shall collect and pay in to the treasurer of the S.R.C. all receipts from film shows or other recreational events.
- (v) The Committee shall draw up its own supplementary rules.

(e) Tuck Shop Committee :

- (i) The S.R.C. shall at its first meeting elect from among its members the Chairman of this Committee.
- (ii) The Executive Committee shall further at its first meeting elect or appoint from the Student Body with the aid of the Chairman :
 - (a) The Vice-Chairman
 - (b) The Secretary/Treasurer.
- (iii) This Committee shall be in control of the Tuck Shop.
- (iv) The Committee shall draw up its own rules to assure an orderly administration of the money collected in the Tuck Shop and to arrange for the payment of accounts by the Accountant of the University.

(f) Constitutions Committee :

The S.R.C. shall at its first meeting elect from among its members :

- (i) The Chairman.
- (ii) The Secretary, and
- (iii) one further member to the Committee.

2. Ratification of Appointments or Elections :

Any appointments made or elections ratified by the Executive Committee in terms of Section 12 shall be ratified by the S.R.C.

3. Addition and Creation of Offices :

By a simple majority the S.R.C. shall be empowered to create or abolish ad hoc offices.

4. All office bearers in S.R.C. Standing Committees shall be accountable to the S.R.C.
5. The S.R.C. shall have the power to suspend or remove any office-bearer appointed or elected by the S.R.C. by a two-thirds majority vote of those present and voting at an S.R.C. meeting.

SECTION 13STANDING SUB-COUNCILS OF THE S.R.C. :

1. The following shall be the Standing Sub-Councils of the S.R.C. :
- (a) Arts Faculty Council.
 - (b) Science Faculty Council.
 - (c) Education Faculty Council.
 - (d) Economics and Administration Faculty Council.
 - (e) Theology Faculty Council.
 - (f) Law Faculty Council and
 - (g) of any other faculties that may in future be established.
2. Constitutions and amendments to the constitutions of sub-councils shall be subject to the approval of the S.R.C.
3. Members of a sub-council shall be elected by the students registered to those Faculties and eligible to vote.
4. S.R.C. Faculty Representatives shall be Chairman of the sub-councils.
5. Students who have paid their annual membership fee of the sub-council shall be eligible to vote at meetings of this faculty Council.
6. The S.R.C. shall have the power of dissolving any sub-council in terms of Paragraph 3, Section 2.
7. The S.R.C. shall have the power of overruling any of the decisions of any of the above sub-councils.
8. Any recognised sub-council may issue its own publication provided that it obtains the permission of the S.R.C. for such a publication.
9. The S.R.C. shall in no way be responsible for any matter contained in such publications.

SECTION 14CLUBS AND SOCIETIES :1. Membership

- (a) All clubs and societies shall be open to all students.
- (b) A club or society may make regulations for the admission to its membership of persons other than registered students, but such regulations must be approved by the Committees concerned subject to the approval of the S.R.C.

2. Office bearers :

All clubs and societies shall elect their own executive committees consisting of at least

- (i) a Chairman
(ii) a Secretary
(iii) a Treasurer

3. All Sports Committee :

- (a) The Chairmen and secretaries of all sports clubs shall constitute the **All Sports Committee.**
- (b) The All Sports Committee shall elect its own executive committee consisting of at least
- (i) a Chairman
(ii) a Vice-Chairman
(iii) Minutes Secretary
(iv) a Treasurer
- (c) The Chairman of the All Sports Committee shall be an ex-officio member of the S.R.C.

4. Central Cultural Committee.

- (a) The chairmen and secretaries of all cultural **clubs** and societies shall constitute the Central Cultural Committee.
- (b) The Central Cultural Committee shall elect its own executive committee consisting of at least
- (i) a Chairman
(ii) a Vice-Chairman
(iii) a Minutes Secretary
(iv) a Treasurer
(v) a Corresponding Secretary
- (c) The chairman of the Central Cultural Committee shall be an ex-officio member of the S.R.C.

5. Recognition.

- (a) Any club or society shall make application for affiliation with either the All Sports Committee or the Central Cultural Committee.

- (b) The Executive Committees of the All Sports Committee and the Central Cultural Committee shall grant permission for affiliation after making sure that
- (i) the club or society has a proper constitution and
 - (ii) that there is a sufficient number of students interested in its activities.
- (c) The Executive Committees of the All Sports Committee and the Central Cultural Committee shall apply for recognition of its affiliated clubs and societies by the S.R.C.
- (d) The S.R.C. shall recognise new clubs or societies whose **constitutions** are not contradictory to the S.R.C. constitution and whose subscription fees it approves.
- (e) The S.R.C. may withdraw recognition ~~from~~ any club or society if it is satisfied that :
- (i) it is not being administered in accordance with its constitution and the rules and orders of the S.R.C; or
 - (ii) it is no longer functioning; or
 - (iii) it is no longer serving the purpose for which it was created; or
 - (iv) it has been responsible, directly or indirectly, for any breach of University discipline.
- (f) Recognition shall mean the privilege to be styled a University club or society; to hold meetings on University premises; to use University notice boards set aside for this purpose; to make use of the amenities of the S.R.C. office and to be eligible to receive a financial grant from the S.R.C.

6. General.

- (a) No constitution or amendment to the constitution shall be valid unless approved by the Executive Committee of the All Sports Committee or the Central Cultural Committee respectively and thereafter by the S.R.C.
- (b) The S.R.C. shall see to it that the constitutions of clubs and societies are in agreement with the rules of the constitution of the S.R.C
- (c) At the end of each financial year, the Treasurers of all societies and clubs shall submit to the Treasurer of the S.R.C. via the treasurers of the All Sports Committee and the Central Cultural Committee all annual balance sheets of income and expenditure.

SECTION 15

PUBLICATIONS :

1. Publications of the S.R.C.

The Publications Committee of the S.R.C. shall be responsible for the publications sponsored by the S.R.C. and its committees.

2. Publications of clubs and societies.

- (a) Any publication of a club or society must be authorised and approved by the Publications Committee of the S.R.C.
- (b) In the budget of the club or society presented to the S.R.C. provision should be made for the costs of a publication.
- (c) The treasurers of clubs and societies shall be responsible to the treasurer of the S.R.C. in all financial matters concerning the publication.
- (d) The Editors of all Student publications shall be accountable to the S.R.C.

SECTION 16MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS RELATING TO ANY RECOGNISED STUDENT ORGANISATION1. Control of Meetings :

The control of meetings of any committee or organisation recognised by the S.R.C. shall be in the hands of the presiding officer who shall have the power to order any member whose conduct is unruly or disorderly to leave the meeting.

2. Affiliation.

No student organisation may affiliate with any organisation outside the University unless such affiliation is approved by the S.R.C. and by the University Council according to the regulations.

SECTION 17MASS MEETINGS :

- 1. (a) A maximum of six (6) Mass Meetings per academic year may be held at the discretion of the S.R.C.
- (b) Not more than four (4) special Mass Meetings may be called by the President of the S.R.C. if at least one-third of the registered voters request the holding of such a meeting in writing : provided that the objects of the meeting are clearly and precisely stated and provided further that the Rector be notified of such meeting and provided that in the event of prior notification not being possible such notification shall be given not later than during the forenoon of the following weekday.

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- (c) Any further Mass Meetings must receive the approval of the Rector before they are convened : provided that the request shall clearly indicate the objects of the meeting.

2. Quorum and Procedure.

- (a) A Mass Meeting shall not be open to the public.
- (b) One-third of the voters shall form a quorum.
- (c) The presiding officer shall be the President, or in his absence the Vice-President, or if they are both absent a person elected from among S.R.C. members by the S.R.C.
- (d) The presiding officer shall have the control of the Mass Meeting and shall have the power to order any member whose conduct is unruly or disorderly to leave the meeting.
- (e) At a Mass Meeting no business shall be transacted other than that of which notice has been given.
- (f) All questions shall be decided by the majority of votes of those present and voting.
- (g) Voting shall be on a show of hands or by ballot.
- (h) The Chairman shall have an ordinary and a casting vote. The decision of the Chairman on the result of any vote shall be final.
- (i) The ruling of the Chairman on any question of order or procedure shall be binding unless immediately challenged by a member, in which case it shall be submitted without discussion to the meeting whose decision shall be final.
- (j) Objections in connection with a Mass Meeting must be handed to the S.R.C. in writing within 24 hours and their decision shall be final.
- (k) Should there be any irregularity in connection with a Mass Meeting, the S.R.C., if it decides that such irregularity may reasonably have affected the result of the voting, may declare the result null and void, and convene another meeting.
- (l) Only students eligible to vote may vote at a Mass Meeting.

SECTION 18

DISCIPLINE.

1. The S.R.C. shall have disciplinary jurisdiction over offences :
- (a) referred to the S.R.C. by the Rector;
- (b) relating to damage of property by the S.R.C. or any recognised student organisation;

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- (c) relating to disorderly or improper conduct at functions organised by any student organisation on any premises under the control of the S.R.C., or of any student organisation or student whilst representing a student organisation in any capacity;
 - (d) relating to the breach of any regulations adopted by the S.R.C. and approved by the Rector as subject to the disciplinary jurisdiction of the S.R.C.
2. Where the S.R.C. finds any student has committed an offence in terms of Section 18.1 it shall have the power :
- (a) to impose a monetary fine of up to but no exceeding the sum of R1 (one Rand) upon the offender;
 - (b) to exclude the offender from all or any of its amenities and/or from all or any student organisations and/or functions and/or tours for a period of not exceeding a University semester;
 - (c) require the offender to make good any loss caused by him to the S.R.C. or any student organisation in any way;
 - (d) refer the offender to the Rector for any action he may deem necessary.
3. Complaints relating to any offence shall be made by :
- (a) any individual student;
 - (b) any student organisation;
 - (c) the S.R.C. and/or its Executive Committee;
 - (d) complaints shall be made in writing to the Executive Committee within two weeks of the alleged offence.
4. Procedure.
- (a) All complaints shall be investigated by the Executive Committee who shall have the power to summon and hear the alleged offender(s), complainant(s) or any witness(es) the offender(s) or complainant(s) deem necessary.
 - (b) Such investigations shall be in committee and a full record of the investigations together with the findings and recommendations of the Executive Committee shall be presented to the S.R.C.
 - (c) Decision upon any complaint shall be made by a simple majority of the members present and voting at any properly constituted meeting of the S.R.C.
 - (d) Should the complainant or offender be an S.R.C. member, he shall be suspended from all offices he holds for that period in which the case is under discussion. This shall also apply to Executive Committee members.
 - (e) The S.R.C. shall sit in committee when discussing and deciding

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upon a complaint. Records of the proceedings and the record of the Executive Committee's investigations shall be kept separate from the S.R.C. minutes and shall be reviewed only in committee.

5. All decisions of the S.R.C. penalising students shall be subject to appeal to the Rector. Notice of such appeal shall be lodged with the Correspondence Secretary of the S.R.C. within seven (7) days of receiving communication of the decision of the S.R.C. The Correspondence Secretary of the S.R.C. shall at once communicate such notice together with such relevant records and findings of the S.R.C. to the Rector. In the event of an appeal, any penalty imposed shall be suspended until such time as the appeal is rejected.

SECTION 19

FINANCE.

1. The S.R.C. shall administer funds and assets allocated to it by the University Council or as may be received by it from any other source in the interest of the students.
2. Estimates of expenditure shall be handed to the Assistant Registrar (Academic) of the University on or before the 15th March of the ensuing year.
3. The Executive Committee of the S.R.C. shall present a draft of proposed estimates for all its clubs, societies, sub-councils and committees for the year ensuing before the 1st March of that year for consideration and approval by the S.R.C. for submission to the Assistant Registrar (Academic) of the University. The estimates of the clubs, societies, sub-councils and committees shall be submitted to the Executive Committee of the S.R.C. before the end of the preceding year.
4. Any expenditure of money shall be authorised by a two-thirds majority of those present and voting at an S.R.C. meeting.
5. The Trustees of the S.R.C. shall be the President, S.R.C. Treasurer, the Dean of Students' Affairs and the Assistant Registrar (Academic) of the University.
6. The S.R.C. shall not incur debts which it will be unable to liquidate during its term of office.
7. The financial year shall be the period between the first meeting of the serving S.R.C. elect and the first meeting of the incoming S.R.C.
8. The S.R.C.'s financial books shall be audited annually by the Department of Accountancy and Auditing of the University.
9. The President and the Treasurer of the S.R.C. shall see to it that the financial report for the period of their term of office is submitted to the Assistant Registrar (Academic) within six

weeks after the closing of the financial year for their term of office. The President and the Treasurer or all members of the outgoing S.R.C. shall be held responsible for all financial irregularities pertaining to their term of office. Failure to submit the financial report and/or statements timeously shall be regarded as a disciplinary contravention and disciplinary measures shall be taken by the University.

10. The Treasurer of the S.R.C. and one of the following are the only persons authorised to sign and/or endorse cheques or other financial documents for and on behalf of the S.R.C. :
 - (a) President/Chairman of the S.R.C., or
 - (b) Vice-President/Vice-Chairman of the S.R.C.
11. The S.R.C. shall have the power to make contracts with other persons and bodies.
12. Finance of clubs, societies, sub-councils and committees affiliated to the S.R.C. ;
 - (a) No club, society, sub-council or committee may control any money through a private banking account or any manner other than by the S.R.C.
 - (b) No club, society, sub-council or committee may ask for donations unless authorised to do so by the S.R.C.
 - (c) No club, society, sub-council or committee may organise a fundraising function or enter into any fund-raising scheme without the prior consent of the S.R.C.
 - (d) Every club, society, sub-council or committee shall have the right to apply for a grant from the S.R.C.
 - (e) All clubs, societies, sub-councils and committees shall submit every month a financial statement of their activities not later than two days after the end of that month to the Treasurer of the S.R.C. who on his part shall submit a summary statement of all financial activities under control of the S.R.C. to the Assistant Registrar (Academic) of the University not later than four days after the end of the month on which it is reported.

SECTION 20

UNIVERSITY COLOURS :

1. Ordinary University Colours :
 - (a) Only students who have registered for their second year of study with the University shall be permitted to acquire any ordinary colours of the University. Such a student must also have complied with such regulations as may be laid down by the S.R.C.

- (b) No student shall be allowed to acquire any colours of the University without the written permission from the S.R.C.
2. Sports Colours.
- (a) The award of colours shall be in accordance with regulations laid down in the constitution of the All Sports Committee.
- (b) The decision of the All Sports Committee and the awards made by it regarding sports colours shall be subject to ratification by the S.R.C.
- (c) Sports colours may not be adopted or obtained without the written permission of the S.R.C.

SECTION 21

AFFILIATION AND REPRESENTATION :

Affiliation:

1. The S.R.C. shall be empowered to affiliate with any Student Organisation subject to the approval of the Rector.
2. All registered students of the University shall be considered members of the Organisation to which the S.R.C. shall be affiliated unless they signify otherwise in writing to the S.R.C.
3. A delegation of such a number as is laid down by the Organisation affiliated with shall be elected by the S.R.C. and the S.R.C. shall elect one of the delegates as leader of the delegation. Whenever possible the delegation shall consist entirely of S.R.C. members. The S.R.C. may, if it deems fit, appoint alternative delegates.

Representation on Other Bodies:

1. The S.R.C. shall be empowered to affiliate with any Student Organisation subject to the approval of the Rector.
2. In the absence of specific mandate or instructions, representatives of the S.R.C. on other bodies shall be authorised to act on behalf of, and in the name of the S.R.C. provided that they shall not cast a vote in conflict with the declared policy of the S.R.C., and that their action shall not necessarily be binding to the S.R.C.
3. It shall be the duty of the representatives of the S.R.C. on any Body to present a written report to the first Ordinary Meeting of the S.R.C. after the meeting of the Body on which they represented the S.R.C.
4. The S.R.C. may, after having reviewed the actions of such representatives, terminate the appointment as representatives by two-thirds majority vote of the members present and voting at the meeting of the S.R.C., and then appoint substitutes.

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SECTION 22GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS:

1. All matters pertaining to the interpretation of this Constitution shall be submitted to Council for decision.
2. Nobody shall make use of the S.R.C. notice board(s) unless authorised to do so.
3. No student shall represent the students of the University of the North or the S.R.C. without being duly authorised to do so by the S.R.C.
4. Two copies each of every Student Publication shall be deposited with the Librarian and the S.R.C. immediately after publication.
5. The S.R.C. shall furnish the Rector and Dean of Students with minutes of the meetings of :
 - (a) S.R.C.
 - (b) S.R.C. Executive
 - (c) All Sports Committee
 - (d) Cultural Committee
6. The files of the S.R.C. shall be open to inspection by non-members of the S.R.C. only on the approval of the S.R.C. Executive Committee.
7. The decisions of the S.R.C. are binding on itself and all subsequent S.R.C.'s unless or until amended or altered by a simple majority, except decisions which require a two-thirds majority. Any resolution which is not a constitutional amendment and which has been passed at a previous meeting by a previous S.R.C. is automatically rescinded or amended, when and if a resolution is passed at a later meeting which contradicts, modifies or supplements the contents of such previous resolution.

SECTION 23AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION:

1. Amendments to this constitution shall be carried on a two-thirds majority of the S.R.C. members present and voting in the meeting.
2. Motions to amend the constitution shall only be discussed or voted upon after at least one (1) week's notice to the members of the S.R.C.
3. Any such notice of motion shall be submitted first to the Constitution Committee for recommendation and, if necessary, redrafted at least one week before the S.R.C. discusses it.

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4. Any amendment or suspensions of any part of this constitution shall be presented to the Council of the University for ratification. Amendments or suspensions so made, shall be extended to copies in office as well.

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AZASM : MARCH 85, Vol. 1

Awake Black Students

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DON'T MOURN — MOBILISE!

On the eve of the Seventh Anniversary of the Soweto uprisings, the Apartheid regime once more demonstrated its callous disregard for human life. At 7am, on Thursday, the 9th of June, 1983, the Pretoria hangman committed his foul deed, and Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Thabo Motaung were murdered.

But it was a murder that could not be hidden, for throughout the world thousands of voices were raised in protest. Vigils, protest demonstrations and church services took place in almost every capital city in the world — condemning apartheid tyranny and paying tribute to the courage and fortitude of the three gallant ANC freedom fighters.

International protests, mounted over many months, climaxed with urgent last-minute appeals to the Pretoria regime for clemency by many governments, heads of state and organisations. Amongst such appeals were calls for a stay of execution from the United Nations, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, the ten EEC countries, including the British Foreign Secretary, Italy's President Sandro Pertini, and more than 50 US Congressmen and Senators including Walter Mondale, Edward Kennedy and Julian Dixon, chairman of the Congressional Black Caucus. The worldwide anti-apartheid movement spared no effort in campaigns to save the lives of the 'Moroka Three'.

In South Africa the banner headline 'The Nation Weeps' captured the mood of the people and the country exploded into scenes of deep anger and anguish. In every part of our land the people paid homage to these martyrs of our just revolution. From Wednesday morning 24-hour vigils were begun in many parts of South Africa and indeed the world. The mood was sombre but defiant. Throughout the night freedom songs were sung, and voices were raised in praise of the three soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

At Sam church bells tolled throughout Soweto. Amid a massive security clampdown in Pretoria the three men were led to the gallows. Mindful of the impact of Solomon Mahlangu's haunting last words: 'My blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. Tell my people that I love them and that they must continue the struggle', spoken as he walked tall to the gallows on April 6th, 1979, the regime feared to give details of the hangings, and the only witnesses were the officials directly involved.

These murders took place in a city in a state of siege. Police in camouflage uniforms stood guard outside Pretoria Central Prison. Newsmen and photographers were kept 100 metres away. All passers-by were stopped and questioned as to where they were going. Church Square, including the 'Palace of Justice', was sealed off by a tight cordon manned by a special task force. Police vehicles with dogs were posted all around the prison, and the racist judges who had both imposed and upheld the death sentences (Justice Curlewis and Justice de Villiers) have been placed under tight police protection, fearing the justice of the people.

The murder of the three heroes provoked peoples' anger nationwide. Police vehicles were set alight, buses were stoned, students and workers, young and old, men and women, marched through the streets proudly holding aloft the black, green and gold flag of the people. Banners, also in black, green and gold, hung

defiantly in many halls where protest meetings were held. Speeches were punctuated with shouts of 'Amandla!' and the cry Long Live the Freedom Charter resounded the length and breadth of our country.

The regime's response was to immediately ban all future meetings organised to protest against the murders, preventing the parents of the three carrying their sons' messages to gatherings organised nationwide. Yet even this tactic failed, for one of the high points of the June 16th memorial service at Regina Mundl in Soweto was an address by Mrs Sarah Mosololi. Describing her last meeting with her son Jerry in the Pretoria Central Prison, she said: 'When he kissed me, he said "Be brave. We are prepared for this". He said we should tell the people he was happy, that we should thank them for their support and that they should carry on if they can.'

Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Marcus Motaung were soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and as such should have been treated as prisoners of war. Their murder was a deliberate violation of social justice and international law. The ANC, (unlike the racist apartheid regime) in keeping with its humane principles and concern for the life and dignity of humankind, has signed the relevant Geneva Protocols which guarantee prisoner of war status for captured enemy soldiers.

There is a war going on in South Africa, a people's war against the tyrannical apartheid system. Sacrifice, dedication and commitment to total liberation is the guarantee that victory is certain and that our just cause will triumph. These three militants have paid the supreme sacrifice, and their names will forever be inscribed on the nation's scroll of honour. The words of Mrs Sarah Mosololi will haunt the regime until the hour of our victory: 'Go well, my son, I am proud of you because you are to die for your people. You must know the struggle will not end even after your death.'

The white minority regime knows that this is the beginning of the end.

PICK UP THEIR WEAPONS!

There is nothing the enemy can do to divert us from the path of revolution. Today we can and will answer the regime's tyrannical bullet for bullet — and the enemy knows this. We are able to make advances with arms in hand, growing stronger every day. Join Umkhonto we Sizwe! In the words of President O R Tambo: *Umkhonto we Sizwe, born in the Sixties, fighting side by side with victorious armies in Southern Africa, and now with the Namibian heroic armed forces, has got the challenge of moving against the enemy across the land. Umkhonto we Sizwe has started; the people must join. We cannot pause — our victory is calling!*

REMEMBER THEM IN ACTION!

FORWARD TO VICTORY!

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**WE DIP OUR BANNER IN SALUTE TO
HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION –
MURDERED BY THE APARTHEID
REGIME ON JUNE 9th, 1983**



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Today, at dawn, the Pretoria regime carried out a cold-blooded murder. Three members of the African National Congress, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, *Simon Mogoerane, Jerry Mosololi and Thabo Motaung*, are dead. In flagrant and deliberate violation of international law, Botha and his accessories joined together to kill these prisoners of war. The cabal, which has no regard for the most elementary notions of human decency, carried out its crime despite appeals by our people, by governments and representatives of millions of people throughout the world.

The African National Congress hereby extends its heartfelt condolences to the families of the martyred heroes and commends them for their steadfastness in defence of what their loved ones stood for. We salute the international community which raised its voice in a noble effort to save the lives of these patriots. We hail our own people who stood by their sons to the last second of their lives. We lower our flags to the eternal memory of our departed comrades, who have perished because they dared to fight for the national emancipation of their people, for democracy, non-racialism and peace. At the very end of their brief but heroic lives, they chose to die with honour rather than to demean themselves with craven pleas to their captors.

Their example and their sacrifice must and will, for us, serve as a call to battle. The apartheid regime of terror has done its will. Through struggle, the will of the people of South Africa, with the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe at their head, shall prevail in the not too distant future. The perpetrators of this latest crime will be brought to book

Farewell, Dear Comrades,
The cause for which you sacrificed will surely triumph

*Alfred Nzo
Secretary General
9th June, 1983*

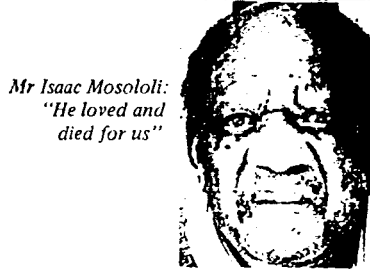
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Part of the crowd of protesters at one of the many memorial meetings held nationwide



Mr and Mrs Motaung: "All we ask is for the body of our son so we can bury him ourselves"



Mr Isaac Mosololi: "He loved and died for us"

Wreaths, with photographs of the murdered three, hung on the railings outside the Apartheid embassy in London



Mr Daniel Mogoerane: "My son and the two others did not act like criminals and it would be unfair to hang them"

Thekiso Mogoerane: "I condemn the fact that my younger brother and two others are to be hanged"

Mrs Sarah Mosololi: "I am proud of you because you are to die for your people"

SPEECH

THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC STRUGGLE

The entire bourgeois world is haunted by a spectre of drastic and often revolutionary change around the corner. Our, capitalist world is masked nowadays by a condition that might be termed stable crises. Crisis is no longer the exception; it is the norm. Whatever way we want to look at it, there is a complete discord between what is actually happening on the ground and what the western media want us to believe. For today it is no longer unusual to hear of 350,000 German workers striking in favour of a reduction of working hours from 42 to 35 hours per week. Neither is it unusual to hear of thousands or even millions of people in Western Europe taking to the streets to demonstrate their disgust at the deployment of Nuclear Missiles in their own countries. Perhaps to bring it nearer home, it is not surprising to hear that 50,000 people in Britain demonstrated against racist P W Botha's visit to Margaret Thatcher. All these are pointers to one thing and one thing only - that the crisis is deepening. When the crisis deepens, the imperialists try to create diversion by going to invade

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peace-loving people in places like Grenada. For how else can you explain events like this and the mining of the harbours of Nicaragua by America. At the same time, they want to tell the whole world that the Soviet Union has done the same in Afghanistan. On the contrary, it is a fact of history that after the people's 1978 revolution in Afghanistan, some feudalists, in collusion with Pakistan, America and China, tried to subvert the revolution in Afghanistan. There is no doubt that the sovereignty of Afghanistan was threatened. As a result, President Karmal of Afghanistan invited his Soviet friends to come and bolster his country's defence capabilities. The imperialists are now saying that the Soviet Union has colonised Afghanistan. We know for a fact that the Soviet Union does not have a single colony at least on this planet called earth. Therefore those who in their Congresses resolve that they are "opposed to imperialism, be it from the West or the East", are themselves minions of the imperialists.

We in South Africa are not the only people today who find themselves fighting for liberation. The people of Namibia for instance, find themselves today travelling along the same road. Those who are occupying that country (illegally of course), are

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saying that they are now prepared to work for a negotiated settlement. The way they want it, is that SWAPO must negotiate with traitors who bear the tag of the so-called MULTI-PARTY CONFERENCE. We have seen these things happening elsewhere - when Ian Smith went to Lancaster House, he was accompanied by Abel Muzorewa. In Angola for instance, the USA, South Africa and their common market allies, have been trying to preserve that country for imperialism by trying to force (through the use of arms) the MPLA to negotiate with Jonas Savimbi. What is happening in SA today, can also be explained in that context. The existence, apart from popular structures, of parallel structures which also purport to be fighting for liberation, is not a peculiarity of South Africa.

It is indeed a dynamic age we are living in - an age of social revolutions and national liberation movements. The profound changes in the life of society, the intensifying struggle between ideas that are refusing to die and ideas that are struggling to be born, places ever greater demands on our ideological positions. The material base for ideas dominating in any given society, is the economic system of that particular society. Thus when a given economic system is established, there always crystalizes out from the

whole process of ideological and institutional activity, a complex of ideas and institutions which serve the definite function of preserving the established order. South Africa's socio-economic structures, just like the socio-economic structures of any other capitalist country, rest ultimately on class relations which are maintained through political domination. Every law passed by the State, every law enforcement measure is a political measure. These laws are enacted and enforced with a view to protect the fundamental interests of one class over the other - which is domination, pure and simple. Theories have emerged which are held by people who profess to be motivated by the "desire for change". We hold it to be absolutely correct that the progressiveness of these theories can only be evaluated by their ability to transform political relations of class domination.

This paper wishes to examine three trends which are contemporarily contesting the legitimacy of having a correct interpretation of our objective situation and of being capable therefore, to transform the objective situation. In the process, I am going to expose some of these tendencies for what they are and for what they represent in totality - treachery and counter-revolution. Without qualms on my rectitude, I

must also point out that the basic rationale governing the selection of issues around which to focus my analysis has been to justify and project the specificity of the national democratic revolution without obscuring what is of universal significance.

We have this one tendency that has chosen to address itself solely to the question of exploitation of one class by the other. On the other hand, we have the other tendency which addresses itself solely to the relationship of one race with the other - thus seeing the White race as a monolithic block. I will not try to refute their arguments solely on theoretical grounds, but I will try to establish the facts as they exist in our objective situation.

We must come to understand that it is not simply a coincidence that in South Africa we have the vicious exploitation of the black people in factories, mines and farms existing alongside a political system which denies them a say in the governing of the country. It is obviously the demand for cheap labour by the industrialists that gives rise to this situation. The long and short of what I am saying here is that capitalism in South Africa has taken a racial form.

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What is easily discernible therefore is the dialectical interconnection between the racial and the class aspects of the system in South Africa - and refusal by anyone to recognise this does not alter the fact. It is this specific feature of South African Capitalism which lends absolute legitimacy to the stress placed upon the importance of the national democratic struggle as a particular form of class struggle to be waged under the present South African conditions. It is from this premise that we can safely conclude that while it is legitimate on the one hand to challenge capital in the factories, it is retrogressive on the other hand to refuse to recognise, as workerists do, that issues of class domination go beyond the factory gates. It is equally retrogressive for any tendency to fail to grasp that much as the political domination of one race by another is a realistic problem in South Africa, the principal contradiction remains the one between capital and wage-labour. It is against this backdrop that we wish to submit that both positions are inadequate - precisely because in refusing to grapple with our societal conditions, they destroy their own revolutionary potency. For there is just no way that you can transform any given society for as long as you are not armed with, and not guided by, a revolutionary theory which is sufficiently capable of challenging the basis of that Society.

Given the South African societal conditions as outlined above, the conclusion therefore becomes inescapable that the only tendency which is capable of confronting and changing these conditions is the one that takes into cognisance and strives to crystallize through action, the dialectical interconnection between the national and class aspects of our struggle. That tendency must also distinguish between contradictions which the enemy can afford and these that it cannot afford at any given time. As for those which the enemy cannot afford at any given time, they must be sharpened with the velocity which the enemy will find difficult if not impossible to block. For it is the sharpening of such contradictions that erodes the base upon which this society is founded. When we talk about contradictions upon which our society is founded, we are thinking about contradictions which manifest themselves in all spheres of our lives. We are actually thinking about the way people relate. These contradictions manifest themselves at the workplace in the community where people live, at schools and universities and also in the way people relate as men and women. These relationships are of class domination and thus oppressive in nature. Over and above, they are reinforced through political measures.

In the majority of cases these contradictions are not clearly visible. Also, our obsession with the question of colour makes racism in our country the one antagonism that we perceive the most. For instance, when we think about a "Pass Book" and the fact that Africans are expected to carry these around with them, the conclusion that we immediately come to is that the "Pass Book" is a symbol of racial discrimination. It is only when people have come to understand our society in its totality that they will be able to understand that a "Pass Book" is a mechanism of capitalist control. Only consistent organisation and mass mobilisation can make these contradictions visible and reveal the structure of society and its fundamental antagonism. This actually forms the basis of the strongly felt need for organisations to emerge in various sites of our struggle. These organisations (they already exist in our country), were not formed simply because people wanted some veneer of respectability by belonging to some organisation, but rather because people have identified the need to combat oppressive conditions and transform their objective situation - a process which will make our country a zone of freedom where people shall live in peace and prosperity.

By placing emphasis on this multi-dimensional nature of our struggle I am trying to show that exploitation as a relation, is not only maintained in the factories. This is the main thrust of my argument! This then clearly indicates that the working class has to wage its struggle in alliance with other democratic minded sections of the community, be they in the student organisations, womens' organisations, civic bodies or issue-orientated structures like the ANTI-PC and RMC. For the actual destiny of the workers, no matter how bold and self-sacrificing they may be, depends on whether they gain the support of the broad masses. To illustrate this point, we only have to look back into our recent past and ask ourselves if the Fattis and Monis, the Red Meat and Wilson-Rowntree boycotts would have been maintained without the support of people and organisations who are not necessarily operating on the factory floor. To contend that these boycotts would have materialised without this support is unhistorical, and is to distort the actual picture of our social development, its driving forces and its prospects.

This compels me to take your congress a little bit to the deliberations of our progressive unions which are

involved in the Unity Talks. Somewhere in this paper I talked about what is happening in the international scene. This aspect is imperative for us because what is happening on the international plane has a bearing on our internal situation in South Africa. For the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa is taking place within an international context of transition from Capitalism to a new social order, of the breaking down of the colonial system as a result of national liberation and social revolutions, and the fight for social and economic progress by the people of the whole world. It is an open secret that the so-called "INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS" (ICFTU), tried to dissuade SACTU from its affiliation to the Congress Alliance by offering SACTU a lot of money. We know the role of ICFTU has played in overthrowing progressive governments in Central America. We know of the manoeuvres they did in Africa - in Nigeria, in Kenya, in Ethiopia and also here in our country. Their sole aim here in South Africa was to dissuade SACTU from participating in the general struggle for the seizure of power by the masses of our people. Therefore all those who are proponents of this "workers alone" position, are wittingly or unwittingly, part of a network which is working in the direction of bringing down the pitch of the working class struggle and diverting the working class from

political action. So long as working class struggle is limited to such purely economic aims, its utmost stretch is to gain concessions from capitalism while it continues to accept the existence of the system. The Trade Union movement in our country can pass from this phase of fighting for no more than reforms within capitalism only when it is able to link the day-to-day factory-floor issues to the broader question of fighting for a Unitary South Africa where the people shall govern. The only way to attain this strategic objective, it seems, is by stepping up all forms of ideological struggle against anti-proletarian tendencies and sentiments which are ushered into the labour movement by those corrupt unionists who spend two hours in South Africa and twenty-two hours between Jan Smuts Airport and the offices of the AFL-CIO in America. It is only then that we shall be able to prevent unions from sinking into the quagmire of spontaneous reformism.

At the very Unity Talks that I have just referred to, people were debating whether or not it was necessary to organise a joint campaign against the banning of SAAWU by the Ciskei puppet administration. To those who are genuinely looking forward to the advent of a new South Africa, this is not an issue of controversy or even

debate. The most ridiculous of arguments to come out of these deliberations was that an immediate campaign against the Ciskei regime would serve no purpose because the labour movement as a whole is still very weak. All we need to do as proponents of this position argued, is to organise and organise until the Bantustans wither away. We have no problems with the withering away of the Bantustans, but we cannot conceive of the Bantustans withering away on their own. It is this sort of argument which weakens the combativity of the masses. For working class struggle cannot be based on a passive accumulation of forces. It is this passive accumulation of forces which is dangerous, precisely because it stifles the initiative of the masses and puts them in a Utopian waitingroom while the enemy is busy consolidating its own position. We are not saying that this campaign could have brought an immediate collapse either of the Bantustans or of the South African regime as a whole. That is not our concept of gains. We do not look for victory in every minor skirmish against the ruling class. It is logical that Lennox Sebe would not mind to be seen to be ruling by consensus. The repressive posture he adopted was the results of the struggles of our people in that part of our Country who made that area virtually ungovernable for him. It was therefore going to be absolutely necessary for us to direct

mobilization efforts towards heightening the consciousness of our people more and more to a point of fully understanding the interlocking between State and Capital - or even for them to understand the manner in which Bantustan quizzlings become protagonists in the theatre of apartheid.

It is a matter of historical record that political consciousness is organic - it is something that needs to be advanced by conscious effort as a regular part of political struggle. It is one thing to formulate fanciful notions about what the objective situation is and another to engage in programmatic activities aimed at transforming that objective situation. It is true that before the industrialisation of our Country, our African people in the rural areas had an outlook which was essentially tribal. For a long period of time the tribal system slowly disintegrated as people were forced to leave their homes and forced to work down the mines, on the farms and in the factories. It was then that a new identity was born. This made it possible on the one hand to form the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, and for the ANC, once formed, to fight for the development of a coherent political consciousness among wider and wider sections of the people. The tribal

consciousness that we are speaking about was reactionary insofar as it was unable to combat oppressive conditions and the national consciousness which people developed as a result of material conditions under which they were living, was relatively progressive. It is important to stress that this change in the people's outlook - giving them a new sense of identity, did not come about on its own. It was the end-result of organisation and mobilisation of people around their own experiences. Steve Biko once said: "The whole notion of psychological liberation implies that you can change the world by changing the way people think". We have already seen that people do not think independently of their own society. The structural form which our Country took before industrialisation, formed a material base which was conducive to tribal consciousness. Industrialisation took place and the industry needed labour. The industrialists did not care whether you came from Transkei, Gazankulu or Kwazulu; all they needed was the cheapest labour they could get. The people started to work and live under one roof and experience the same problems. This made it possible to unite and wage struggles as one people. The concept of race started to take a distinct form. You do not do away with racism by trying to wish away the concept of race. You have to organise and mobilise towards a new order

that conduces to non-racialism .

This brings me to reproaches and accusations which we constantly hear levelled against our position, and which lead to wholly wrong conclusions. We have been condemned for instance, of being ethnicists because of our unequivocal adherence to the FREEDOM CHARTER which explicitly recognises the existence of national groups. I wish to point out that the world of political change is a harsh one and it is not enough to tackle questions of social change simply on the basis of wishful thinking. Certainly it would be an ideal situation to have people in this Country being conscious of being one single nation. However, it is not enough to just stand on a Regina Mundi platform and mouth pseudo-revolutionary slogans in the hope that when you wake up the following morning the situation will have changed. You have to mobilise the masses and involve them in activities which are geared to alter conditions which gave rise to their reactionary ideas. It is also at this instance that I wish to differ with Azapo's Lybon Mabaso who at a meeting of the NATIONAL FORUM said: "We are witnessing the re-emergence of ethnicity on the one hand and bantustans on the other, endorsing the system of apartheid". Through this statement Mabaso was implicitly saying that there is an

analogy between the revival of the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS and the established of for instance, the KwaZulu or Ciskei bantustans. Unfortunately that is not in keeping with our experience. Our experience is that the TRANSVAAL INDIAN CONGRESS was revived with a view to consolidating the gains made during and through the ANTI-SAIC election campaign. The ANTI-SAIC COMMITTEE was not formed only to reject the SAIC elections but also to mobilise people towards a goal of non-racialism from a particular community. It is a materialist analysis of society which asserts that communities, because of segregation, have different material conditions. We are not going to impose notions to our people in these segregated communities. On the contrary, we are going to organise them according to those material conditions and steer this organisation towards a non-racial democratic position. This is what we have set ourselves to do - and not to meet in an annual talk-shop to formulate concepts which are aimed at masking treachery.

While this paper pays tribute to struggles which people wage through their first level organisations, it simultaneously points out that those struggles will not be won until people have been able to free themselves from the political oppression and economic

exploitation which lies at the root of their problems. The fundamental question that we have got to address is the question of change. This is the one question which calls for maximum mobilisation of all the forces that are looking forward to changing the character of our Country. The refusal by our people to:

1. Participate in sham community council elections.
2. Participate in the SAIC elections.
3. Go along with the Coloured Labour Party in its sell out ploy;

and

4. to pay increased bus fares in the Ciskei; is a pointer to the fact that the majority of our people identify with the strategic objective of the seizure of power. Our people have even decided to co-ordinate their democratic activities and channel them towards showing that the Constitutional proposals are not accepted because they say nothing of our minimum demand which envisages the creation of a unitary South Africa. This decision gave rise to the formation of the UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT.

Some closeted intellectuals argue that the UDF does not represent the working class. But if I look at the mass of the people who are members of the UDF through their organisations, I find that they are workers or are involved in activities which do not run counter to genuine positions of the working class struggle. In fact, when we talk about a united front... a united front organises and unites all patriotic forces who are prepared to unite and fight against the common enemy.

With apology to none, and with absolute interest in the advent of the People's Republic of South Africa, we are going to continue to mobilise all the relevant forces for a maximum impact on the existing. And that is what the national democratic struggle is all about.

SYDNEY MUPAMADI

(GENERAL AND ALLIED WORKERS' UNION OF S.A.)

NKOMATI AND OBSTACLES TO PEACE

The argument presented here will be that, although the Nkomati accord is a setback in our struggle and indeed in the Southern African region as a whole, it must be seen in its proper context. That context is in fact a general forward movement in the struggle for national liberation and independence, and in the struggle against imperialism and for socialism and for freedom.

IN order to understand Nkomati our basic analysis will therefore be to outline the development of the present status of international relations in general, the changing nature of regional relations, the mode of development and position of individual countries in the region. We then need a clear conception of the nature and path of our national liberation struggle. We need this in order to understand the impact of Nkomati. Finally, we need to develop an adequate strategic and organisational response so that we can continue and indeed intensify our struggle.

Without purporting to give more than a broad outline, the history of Africa's relations with Europe can be divided into a number of phases. In the earliest phases prior to the slave trade what relations there were, and these were limited contacts, were relations of equality. In the sixteenth century for example, there is correspondence between the King of Portugal and the King of the Congo, where the Portuguese king refers to his 'royal brother'.

The slave trade however altered this balance and ushered in an era of European exploitation of Africa, first of African bodies as slave labourers. This phase fundamentally weakened Africa and paved the way for colonial conquest and a more systematic and far-reaching European domination over Africa.

Subsequent struggles and indeed our present South African struggle are part of a wider struggle to free Africa from this imperialist grip and to enable Africans to determine their own political destiny.

At the dawn of the twentieth century we had throughout most of Africa, a classical colonial situation with African peoples dominated by an imperial power - an imperial power situated overseas.

Handwritten scribbles and signatures at the top of the page.

IN the twentieth century this balance was to change. Already the socialist movement and progressives in the African and Asian colonies were calling for an end to colonialism. But the October Revolution of 1917 created a fundamental breach in the imperialist world.,After 1917 a socialist state existed, whose very first acts declared the annexation of other peoples' territories to be an international crime. Also in its practice the Soviet Union was to annul all unequal treaties previously entered into by Tsarist Russia and to allow Finland and Poland to realise their self-determination by seceding from Russia.

After World War II we saw the emergence of a socialist camp in Europe, a number of states committed to socialist development and in their relations with Africa, Asia, and Latin America, committed to self-determination and sovereign equality.

IN 1949 the socialist world expanded further with the creation of the People's Republic of China and in the 1960s and 1970s it was extended to Cuba, Vietnam, Laos, Kampuchea, Afganistan and on our own continent there are states with a strong socialist orientation, such as Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique and also South Yemin.

All these socialist gains were severe setbacks for the imperialists. But these setbacks went further. Latin American states, previously almost entirely under American tutelage are now asserting a degree of independence. Many of the states of Africa and Asia having a socialist orientation are persuing policies that bring them into contradiction with imperialism. Such anti-imperialist trends have found organisational expression in the nonaligned movement, the changing balance of forces in the U.N., the commonwealth and other organisations.

So the 1960's and 1970's were in the main, periods of severe setback for imperialism. The imperialist response has been varied. In the sixties it was at first possible to directly respond militarily as in Guatemala in 1965. In the seventies this was more problematic, especially after the imperialist defeat in Vietnam. The tendency has subsequently been to set up sub-imperial powers. First the Shah, who unfortunately for imperialism is no longer with us, then Isreal and now S.A.

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So what we have then in the 1980s is two world systems with the socialist world in alliance with the nonaligned states making many gains against imperialism. The consequence for SA of the principled stand of these states as well as the concerted efforts of the ANC external mission and other anti-apartheid forces has been that SA, once a respected member of UN and Commonwealth has been hounded out of virtually every international organisation. By the time of the election of Thatcher and Reagan, SA's isolation was virtually complete.

The election of Thatcher, Reagan and Kohl has seen an attempt to redress the international balance of forces, to roll back Communism, even by direct imperialist intervention as in Grenada. It has also seen an attempt to rescue SA from its well deserved polecat status, to find a way to bring the racist regime back into the respectable capitalist world.

It is in this context that we must understand the Botha regime's renewed attempts to depict itself as peaceful. In order to justify their reabsorption into the wider capitalist family, the S.A. regime must appear to behave "normally". Even if so-called peace with neighbours is secured by violence, that might appear to provide a basis for justifying the ending of its pariah status.

I now want to pass on to the S.A. region. Prior to 1965 we find on the one hand protectorates - Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland; Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola; Rhodesia, Namibia under South Africa's yoke and South Africa itself practising extreme repression.

In the period 1965 to 1974 we see the protectorates securing independence and armed struggle being entered into in Namibia, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Angola. In S.A. extensive repression continues.

In the period 1974 to 1980 we see S.A. gradually surrounded by independent states apart from Namibia. First Mozambique and Angola successfully gain independence after heroic liberation wars. Then the Zimbabwean liberation war is concluded after the Lancaster House talks, which lead to the country's independence.

All these events stimulate mass action within S.A. First the renewed worker activity and emergence of independent trade unions. Then we see the heroic Soweto rising of 1976 followed by the more organised mass action which we are still developing in the communities, in women's organisation, in student organisation, etc, today.

Throughout the 70's and 80's armed resistance has escalated as demonstrated in a series of daring acts of sabotage, notably Koeberg, Voortrekkerhoogte, Pretoria, Oil Refineries, etc.

The final phase of the struggle in the South African region from 1981 to 1984 is the period when S.A. tries to reverse the gains made by the liberation struggles in the region. It is the period of destabilisation and extensive military intervention. S.A. directly intervenes in Angola, and still occupies large tracts of Angolan territory. South Africa also carries out incursions into Zimbabwe, Zambia, Lesotho, Mozambique. This is coupled with a massive policy of destabilisation. These strategies are aimed at subverting the independence of states in the region by encouraging counter revolutionary bandits in Mozambique, Angola, Lesotho and Zimbabwe.

To counter this the states in the region have formed themselves into a coherent political force as the frontline states, who exercise considerable political influence in Africa as a whole. Economically they have formed SADC to reduce their dependence on apartheid S.A. Finally, they have called on the assistance of Socialists and friendly neighbouring states. First Cuban and Soviet military support to Angola, Soviet naval support in Mozambique after Matola raid, then Tanzanian military support in Mozambique. This is coupled with extensive economic, scientific and medical assistance from Socialist and Scandinavian states.

The destabilisation of states in the region is related to the struggle against apartheid. To the extent that peaceful and armed struggle against apartheid has intensified, the apartheid regime has tried to pretend that its source lies in neighbouring states. Previously it blamed Moscow. Though it still does that, more immediately it blames Southern African States who support the South African struggle against apartheid. Despite these states denying that they have ever offered military bases to ANC, the South African apartheid regime tries to intimidate them into reducing their commitment to end apartheid.

I now want to turn to Mozambique. Prior to 1974 it conducted an armed struggle against the Portuguese fascist and colonial regime. Having secured independence it proceeded in its struggle to build a socialist state, to end oppression and class exploitation. But it faced considerable difficulties. First there was the legacy of colonialism which had left the country without an industrial base, which also explains the class character of the Mozambican struggle which was primarily peasant in composition. Then there were natural disasters such as severe droughts and alternatively flooding of crops. Then the extensive damage caused by the MNR bandits.

Nevertheless in this period after Mozambican independence the Peoples Republic of Mozambique pursued a principled policy towards the apartheid state. From the outset it recognized the ANC as the legitimate representative of the South African people and its struggled consistently against apartheid and for the regime's isolation.

In the most recent period 1981-1984, the Mozambican regime has had to evaluate the consequences of these pressures and to confront an economically disastrous situation. This is the context in which Nkomati was entered into. We know that in such situations, demoralisation may set in, that forces within a political movement, previously in the minority, may rise to dominance, advocating a different line.

This is also the situation when the Reagan and Thatcher regimes are trying to reverse the trend of South African isolation. This is the time of raids into neighbouring states and deals with imperialism. South Africa's reabsorption demands not only "peace treaties" but what is depicted as "internal reform" is an attempt to rehabilitate the image of apartheid by conducting racist policies by different means. This is also the period of extensive militarisation of the South African state, where parliament's power decreases relative to the executive in general and the military in particular. The imperialist goals in this period, which it seeks to achieve through apartheid S.A. are: internal repression, but of a more acceptable kind in appearance, external extermination of the ANC, destabilisation and re-entry of S.A. into the international arena.

What does all this mean for us, for democrats struggling within S.A. to create a free and non-racial state. Our approach to the struggle in consequence of these imperialist endeavours, must be, in the first place, to draw more and more people into our movement, to develop our organisations so that we harness their energies as effectively as possible. What forms of struggle we can engage in cannot be chosen abstractly. They will only be feasible in so far as they reflect the level of our organisation.

Externally - what must our relations be with the front line states? I think that we need and they need to realize and acknowledge that there will be no long term stability in the region until there is liberation in S.A. There may be treaties but there will not be peace within S.A. and without the internal peace there can be no possibility of peaceful relations of equality with the states of the region. Nkomati may forbid forms of subversion in one state. The apartheid regime will not brook independent states. Their very existence threatens it. It is in our interest to have an independent Mozambique and to have strong and independent states in the whole region

We must support them. Equally it is in their interest to support us in our struggle to rid the world of the scourge of apartheid.

What then is the impact of the Nkomati. We noted at the beginning of this talk that it has weakened the spirit of many of our people. We cannot allow that to continue. We have to rid ourselves of any feeling of defeatism. A long and difficult struggle lies ahead. We never expected it to move smoothly. We have had many setbacks before Nkomati. We surmounted them and we will surmount this one. We will do so if we improve our organisations and in our strategic response if we put even more of our energy behind the UDF into turning this Front into the truly mighty force that it needs to be.

With Nkomati we may expect more repression. The state may feel that the accord frees its hand to deal more viciously with mass resistance. How we can meet this prospect, the only effective way of carrying the people with us, no matter what the racists may do, is to intensify mass action and struggles - among the workers, in the communities, among the youth and women.

As regards the international impact of Nkomati, admittedly P.W. Botha got to Europe and was received by Thatcher. But even these "gains" must be seen dialectically, for as with the New Zealand rugby tour the "gains" were largely eroded by the spurt that these visits provided to anti-apartheid organisations, who used the tour as a rallying point to draw vast protesting crowds.

I cannot pretend that we wanted this Nkomati Accord. It was something of a setback. But this setback occurred within the context of an overall advance in our struggle, internally and internationally. We must not allow ourselves to be immobilised by this Accord. We must strengthen our organisations, and deepen our understanding and develop our strategy and tactics. No matter how many accords the racists may force other states to enter with them, no matter how much violence they use against our people and other states in the region, our struggle will not stop. No matter how long it takes, we will continue. Ultimately we will be free and the freedom of S.A. will be the freedom of the whole region.

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 [Handwritten signatures and initials]

It is these patriots who represent the bulk of 'Coloured' opinion, and not those who pretend that the cause of the Black people is best served by their occupying soft cushioned seats in Botha's three-tier, separate development parliament.

The challenge facing all genuine patriots of our country, both black and white, is to ensure that those who preach collaboration with racist tyranny do not succeed in their intentions. Together we must work for the

authentic voice of the people to emerge victorious.

We cannot advance through Botha's President's Council schemes. The only way forward, painful as it is, is through united struggle to a genuinely democratic and non-racial South Africa, governed by all the people.

Whatever illusions were created at Eshowe, we are convinced that the 'Coloured' people belong among the forces that are committed to fight for such a South Africa.

O. R. TAMBO

«WE MUST ORGANISE OURSELVES INTO A CONQUERING FORCE»

Below we publish the speech given by Comrade President O.R. Tambo on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, on the occasion of January 8, 1983, the 71st anniversary of the African National Congress.

Today, January 8th, we mark the 71st anniversary of our organisation, the African National Congress. We are beginning a new political year. We must therefore set ourselves new tasks which we should strive to achieve in the coming year.

We are marking this important occasion in the history of our protracted struggle at a time when the revolutionary ferment amongst all sections of the black oppressed majority has reached unprecedented heights and has plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of political and economic crisis. A distinctive feature of this all-round crisis facing the oppressor class is that the initiative is shifting into the hands of the people and continues so to

shift. We are on the offensive to put an end to the cruel system of national oppression and economic exploitation. It is a process that the Pretoria rulers can neither defuse nor halt. Within the confines of the apartheid system there is no way out of this crisis situation. The real solution lies in the victory of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid machinery and the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority. Each year, as our forces advance on the enemy, this, our cherished goal, becomes clearer and nearer.

This time, last year, we proclaimed the year of the 70th anniversary of the ANC as the "Year of Unity in Action." Drawing on the historic lessons contained in seven

decades of struggle under the leadership of the ANC, we have sought to ensure, during this past year, that all those at home and abroad, who are opposed to the apartheid system and stand for a democratic South Africa, should unite in action and act in unity, thereby to expedite the process of our liberation.

In the coming period, we shall need to defend and consolidate all the gains that we have made in the struggle, to ensure the widest possible united action of the forces of progressive change in our country. We have to struggle continuously to overcome all obstacles and differences amongst ourselves that are blocking the realisation of unity and united action. We shall furthermore need to build on these gains, continuously to strive for the situation in which the millions of our people can move as one, behind a united leadership and in pursuit of commonly-agreed goals.

Last year, operating under difficult conditions of illegality and police surveillance and risking arrest and persecution by the security forces, the ANC and its allies in struggle, together with other patriotic and revolutionary forces drawn from all social classes and strata, drawn from all population groups of our people, organised and carried out successful political confrontations and economic strikes throughout the country. Important battles took place around such questions as wages, rents, removals, sporting and cultural boycotts, ceding of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane and the assassination of patriots like Dr. Neil Aggett.

Our underground organised forces are striking deeper roots and multiplying among the masses who are the bedrock of our revolution. Gestapo repression and persecution has failed to break the will of the masses or to deter them from the pursuit of the revolutionary cause. Instead, they have further provoked the wrath of the people and increased their determination and drive to win freedom.

Combined with these mass political

actions, has been the succession of stunning blows by the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) against the enemy throughout the country, in such far-flung places as Cape Town, East London, Paulpietersburg, Mkhuze, Komatipoort, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Koeberg, to cite but a few. We take this opportunity once more to salute the commanders and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe and to express our confidence that they, the army of the people of South Africa, will discharge their mission with the same dedication and discipline that they have so far displayed. As our struggle unfolds and reaches higher levels of intensity, our armed offensive will occupy a correspondingly more important role in our overall strategy to seize power from the racist tyrants.

Last year, we stated that our Movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime, but has actually emerged as an alternative power which has won over the conscious and active support of the majority of our people. The validity of this assessment has been fully vindicated by events. Bent on entrenching racial domination and reaping super-profits from sweated black labour, the racist rulers continue misreading the lessons of the historical development of mankind. For that reason they are determined to plunge our society into the worst of human catastrophes.

In sharp contrast to the enemy's strategy of racial and ethnic segmentation, the ANC and its allies continue to uphold and fight for the ideal of a unitary, non-racial and democratic society for all our people, black and white. Our policy document, the Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955, has not only stood the test of time, but is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers of our people – including honest patriots and democrats in the white community as well. For this reason, the Botha-Malan regime has launched a counter-offensive to blot out the ANC politically, liquidate its leaders, exterminate its

activists and supporters, and if possible, destroy the very spirit for freedom, and to inflict the greatest possible damage on our broad movement for national liberation.

To achieve this goal, the Pretoria rulers, their army and security forces, collaborators from among the black people and mercenary agents recruited from all over the globe, are working out and actually implementing this plan, at home and abroad.

At the centre of this counter-offensive, typical of all colonising and oppressor classes, there lies the dirty political and ideological propaganda to discredit our strategy and policies inside and outside the country, using the state propaganda machinery.

Of course accompanying all this ideological offensive, arrests, detentions, physical and mental torture of anti-apartheid activists and democrats, as well as their murder, continue unabated. Some of the most recent cases of patriots being killed by the fascist police in detention are those of Moabi Dipale, Neil Aggett and others.

Also prominent in this enemy strategy is the use of the weapon of assassination. Some of the victims include our dear comrade Joe Gqabi in Harare, Griffiths Mxenge in Durban, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose in Swaziland, and Ruth First in Mozambique.

Undeclared war in Southern Africa

The countries of Southern Africa are embroiled, at the present time, in an undeclared war launched by the Pretoria regime. Whether it be in Mozambique and Angola, Lesotho or Zimbabwe, Botswana or Zambia, Seychelles, Mauritius or Madagascar, the apartheid monster is involved in a deliberate campaign of aggression and destabilisation.

During these campaigns of murder and pillage, our people have been slaughtered in cold blood and have even had their bodies desecrated.

The enemy has stated the purposes of this aggression quite clearly, when it has

repeatedly proclaimed its intention to act against these countries so long as they allow the ANC to be present within their territories. Clearly, therefore, the peoples of Southern Africa are having to pay the supreme sacrifice, as they have done and are doing in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the region, because they are refusing to bow down to the demands of the enemy to have the ANC and SWAPO of Namibia uprooted and expelled from this region.

The offer made a few days back by the racist Prime Minister Botha to the independent states of Southern Africa, for these states to sign non-aggression pacts with apartheid South Africa, constitutes part of this offensive designed to impose Pretoria's will on these states. Botha is the persistent aggressor. No African country has fired a single bullet across its borders into South Africa. And yet Botha is inviting the targets to sign a non-aggression pact with the aggressor. If he believes in non-aggression, why does he not stop aggression? If he believes in aggression, how will a non-aggression pact stop him?

During the past year, this regime has been encouraged in its counter-offensive by the criminal activities of Zionist Israel against the people of Lebanon and Palestinian refugees in that country and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the PLO. After repeated raids, aggression into Lebanon during the course of which the Zionist Israeli troops mercilessly butchered both the Lebanese and Palestinians and sought to destroy whole cities, the Zionists ultimately occupied virtually the whole of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon.

Apart from anything else, the Pretoria regime used this experience to prepare the white South African population for similar campaigns of terror against the peoples of Southern Africa, as happened and is happening in Southern Angola, as happened in South-Western Zambia and in Maseru. Significantly, both Zionist Israel and fascist South Africa enjoy the full, active, political

and material support of the Reagan Administration. It is this support that has strengthened the striking capability of these two regimes.

We need to say here that tragically the white population and certainly all its political parties openly acclaimed this campaign of terror and allowed themselves to be used to legitimise the commission of these crimes.

The racists have proudly proclaimed that up to 86 per cent of the white population of our country supports the policy of aggression against independent Africa and it has specifically approved the brutal Maseru Massacre. We would like to urge our white compatriots seriously to weigh the disastrous implications and the dire consequences of their being accomplices in the commission of these heinous crimes against the people of Africa.

The Reagan Administration has placed itself firmly and unequivocally among the bandit forces that are conducting a reign of terror throughout Southern Africa. Its support for the apartheid regime consists precisely in encouraging these fascists to intensify their counter-offensive and in guaranteeing them immunity from punitive international action. Every crime that the Pretoria regime commits, be it in South Africa, Namibia or elsewhere, bears Washington's stamp of approval. This regime goes into action backed by the logistic, financial and political support of the United States. The apartheid regime, acting in its own right and in furtherance of the global strategy of the United States, constitutes a strike force for the accomplishment of the counter-revolutionary objectives of defeating the progressive forces of Southern Africa, including SWAPO and the ANC, and transforming our region into an exclusive economic, political and military preserve of the imperialist world.

Strengthening our offensive power

In the face of this determined enemy counter-offensive, we must hit back with all

our strength, ensuring that the millions of our people are engaged in struggle. To increase our offensive power:

- * we must organise the people into strong mass democratic organisation;
- * we must organise all revolutionaries into underground units of the ANC;
- * we must organise all combatants into units of Umkhonto we Sizwe;
- * we must organise all democratic forces into one front for national liberation.

Large sections of our people remain unorganised. We should not allow this situation to continue any longer. For us to achieve victory, it is essential that the masses of our people engage in struggle as a conscious and united force. That requires that these masses must have their own democratic organisations to mobilise and guide them and through which they can themselves make their own point of view heard.

So far, only a small minority of the black workers is organised into trade unions. It is the task of the existing democratic trade union movement to ensure that the unorganised workers are in fact organised. This organisational drive must encompass also the workers in the mines and in agriculture. We do have to bend all efforts to ensure that every worker belongs to a democratic trade union.

Therefore, with all the power at our command, we make a special appeal to the democratic trade union movement to come together again and actually succeed to draw up and adopt a plan for the united action of the democratic, non-racial trade union movement. There is no obstacle too formidable to stop us from achieving this goal.

The situation in the countryside also calls for bold and urgent measures to establish or strengthen the popular organisations among the rural masses who are suffering in a manner and on a scale that is indescribable.

Whether as landless peasants, unemployed or agricultural workers, or as deportees who have been dumped in the so-called resettlement areas or as victims of the criminal Bantustan system, our people in the countryside are living in a veritable hell. To them, as to the rest of us, the issue of liberation has become a matter of life and death.

These masses need also to be organised and mobilised into action where they are and wherever they are. They must be mobilised to confront the oppressor and the exploiter now. Hence the need for mass democratic organisations that will lead them.

Similarly, all patriots and revolutionaries must work tirelessly to strengthen and expand the mass democratic organisations among the youth and students, among the women, among the cultural and sports workers, the religious community and at the civic level.

While the task of building the mass democratic movement must fall on the shoulders of the patriotic forces of our country and in their entirety, a special responsibility for the accomplishment of this task rests with the membership of the African National Congress.

On this day, we salute you, dear comrades, and express our profound admiration for the manner in which you have contributed to raise the struggle to the level at which it is today. Yet that very achievement imposes on the ANC new, more complex and urgent tasks.

The people expect us to lead them to victory. They expect us to answer the question, together with them, in struggle and in action - the question: *What is to be done?*

Our obligations to the people

We must, therefore, pose the question to ourselves. Are we organised enough, strong enough, disciplined and dedicated enough to meet our obligations to the people?

6 Let all of us, on this day, the 71st anniver-

sary of our organisation, seek to answer those question frankly and honestly in order to correct all previous mistakes and to learn from our experience with a view to building the ANC itself inside the country into a more formidably organised force than it is today.

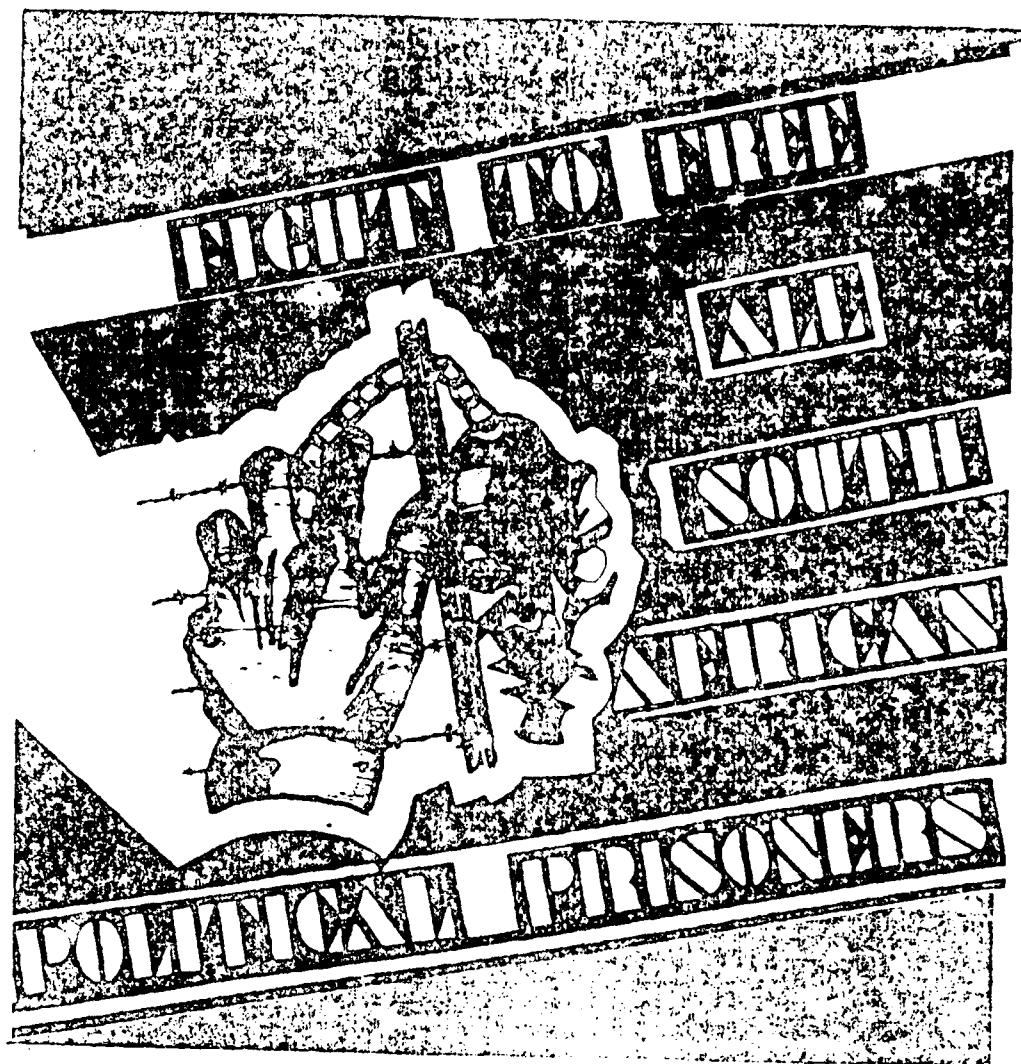
The African National Congress is a movement of patriots. It leads the masses in struggle for the destruction of the fascist regime, the transfer of power to the people and the realisation of the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter. It upholds a strategy which combines revolutionary mass political action with revolutionary armed struggle.

As members of the ANC we must, together with the people, in fact, help to solve all problems that serve to slow down the progress of the struggle, provide a clear perspective of where we go from here and translate that perspective into a practical programme of action.

This year, we shall be observing the 20th anniversary of the Rivonia arrests. By decision of the United Nations Assembly, the international community will observe this anniversary by further intensifying the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all South African political prisoners. We, the people of South Africa, must be in the forefront of this campaign - in our millions.

But we must also observe this anniversary by seeking to emulate the example set for us by these outstanding revolutionary patriots who have remained in captivity for two long decades. To emulate them means that for every Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg; for every Motsoaledi, Gwala, Nyembe or Hogan that the enemy has captured, we must produce a thousand others to take their places.

We have a duty to make our own sacrifices in the struggle to which they dedicated their lives. We must follow in their footsteps, learning from their experiences, inspired by their courage and fired with the same love for the people and the same



dedication to the cause of freedom which have made them to be household names not only in South Africa but throughout the world.

The enemy relies decisively on the use of force to entrench himself in power. We have to meet his murderous onslaught by intensifying the armed struggle. Our task, therefore, is to further strengthen the combat capacity of Umkhonto we Sizwe within South Africa for the immediate

purpose of escalating our offensive. The masses of our people must become and be part of this great revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We would like to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to those combatants, those members of our people's army who have fallen heroically in battle. Our revolutionary masses, least of all the ANC, will never let it be said of them that they fell in vain.

Even as we speak here, there are six (6) young militants, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, who are sitting under the shadow of the gallows in Pretoria's death cells. These prisoners of war are the responsibility of the international community and, especially, of our own people. The lives of comrades Shabangu, Moise, Tsotsobe, Motaung, Mosolodi and Mogoerane must be saved.

Need for united resistance

Among the key elements in the enemy's strategy of survival and the entrenchment of the apartheid system are the proposals put forward by the so-called President's Council. Central to this plan is the cooption of the so-called Coloured and Indian communities of our population as tools to be used for the perpetuation of white minority domination. It has dawned on the white minority that alone, unaided, it is unable to prolong the lifespan of apartheid.

The recent decision of the South African Labour Party to support and participate in the implementation of the President's Council's schemes must, therefore, be condemned without reservation. The African National Congress calls upon all our people in the so-called Coloured community to reject this decision and rebuff all attempts to draw them into the camp of the oppressor; to set them against the majority of the people of South Africa, to set them against the peoples of Southern Africa and the entire continent, to set them against the international, progressive community. The campaign for the rejection and defeat of the enemy's counter-revolutionary constitutional plans is the task of all patriotic South Africans: Africans, Indians and democratic whites – in addition to our people in the Coloured community. There can be no solution to the South African problem without the transfer of power into the hands of the majority.

8 During this year, the Botha regime will seek to enact and implement its so-called

Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. This Bill is intended to legalise genocide on a new and unprecedented scale. It aims to enslave the African workers as never before and will result in the deportation of millions of our people into the Bantustans in pursuit of the obnoxious plan of turning South Africa white. We must launch the most concerted campaign to defeat this Nazi Bill with its intentions. It must be resisted with every possible means on a national scale.

Despite its restoration of the control of the KaNgwane and Ingwavuma areas to the respective Bantustan administrations, the Botha regime has clearly not abandoned its plans of depriving more than a million of our people of their birthright as South African citizens. It has not abandoned its plan in regard to Kosi Bay which would serve its military strategic objectives. The appointment of the Rumpff Commission confirms this fact. The regime is looking for new ways and means of realising these intentions. We call on all the people to oppose any attempt to barter away even a single square inch of South African soil, to oppose any attempt to deprive a single South African of his citizenship.

The apartheid system is in a deep crisis not only politically, but also economically. At the same time, the Pretoria regime is spending astronomical sums of money on its military machine and on the rest of its repressive apparatus. The burden of this economic crisis and military build-up is shouldered by the ordinary working people in the form of higher prices, rents, fares, taxes, reduced wages and salaries, and higher unemployment.

We must fight for a system in our country, a system whose wealth shall be used for the benefit of all our people.

International Imperatives

When we observed the 70th anniversary of the ANC, we were joined literally by millions of people on all the continents. This event proved to be a universal and

moving demonstration of the commitment of the world's peoples to the destruction of the apartheid system and a reaffirmation by the international community of its pledge of solidarity with the ANC and the people of South Africa in their struggle for national and social emancipation.

From Southern Africa to North Africa, from South America to North America, from Eastern Europe to its Western part, from the Middle East to the Far East, the same message of solidarity came back. The message was repeated by Christians and communists alike, by Buddhists and Moslems, workers and intellectuals, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, artists, women's and youth organisations.

An issue that is of grave importance for us in South Africa is the fact that the Pretoria racist regime is committing daily acts of aggression against the people and against independent African states in Southern Africa. In the course of this, through its agents and directly, it kills people, including children, and it carries out political and economic destabilisation of these states on a wide scale.

We cannot remain aloof in the face of this criminal activity. We must denounce and actively oppose this campaign of terror that the Pretoria regime has unleashed against independent Africa. The most effective deterrent to the campaign of terror across our borders is a massive assault upon the regime on all fronts within our borders, and by the people as a whole.

In doing so, we shall be reinforcing the decisions of the summit of the heads of state and government of the Frontline countries which was held in March of last year in Maputo; when they resolved to strengthen their co-ordinated defence actions in order to 'defeat Pretoria's acts of aggression and economic sabotage against free and independent Africa, and to force the regime to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola.' The decisions of the Maputo Summit are by their very nature a reflection of the positions of the O.A.U. and

its member states. In this connection, it is important to emphasise that the people, especially of South Africa and Namibia, are, as never before, in need of the effective support of the O.A.U.

It is of course common knowledge that during the past year the O.A.U. has experienced serious internal problems.

As part of the African Continent, as part of Africa's progressive forces, we must work for a solution to the problems that have plagued the O.A.U. We cannot stand aloof from this effort either, for, as the founding fathers of the O.A.U. declared, no African country can be truly free until all of Africa is liberated. That truism is being demonstrated on our continent today. African countries need solidarity one with another. And no single one of them, all of them collectively, can claim full independence unless and until the whole continent has been liberated. And at the present time, until Namibia and South Africa have been freed. That is why the current concern of the peoples of Africa, in regard to the state of this great African Organisation are particularly acute when they relate to the aggressions to which the people of South Africa are being subjected by the fascist regime, assisted by its imperialist allies.

We are confident, however, that the O.A.U. will observe its 20th Anniversary as a united force, capable of leading the people of our continent, capable of playing its proper role as a member of the non-aligned movement, capable of contributing in the struggle for world peace.

In your name, dear compatriots, we salute our comrades in arms, the heroic people of Namibia, their valiant vanguard SWAPO, and the mighty People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), all under the dynamic leadership of President Sam Nujoma. We pledge our solidarity with them. We condemn the Reagan administration and the Pretoria fascists for their crimes against Namibia and the People's Republic of Angola. In spite of them, in spite of the

Reagan administration and the Pretoria racists, even because of them, Namibia will be liberated by SWAPO and the people of Namibia. We extend our greetings to all the peoples of Southern Africa, as well as to those of Western Sahara, Palestine, El Salvador, East Timor and their vanguard organisations: Polisario Front, PLO, Farabundo National Liberation Front and Fretilin.

We greet the Non-Aligned Movement, especially the participants in the forthcoming Delhi Summit.

We salute the fighters for peace throughout the world, and pledge that we will do all in our power to remove the violator of international peace and security in our midst – the apartheid regime.

We greet our friends and allies throughout the world and call on them to persist together with us, on the side of the forces of national and social liberation, peace and stability in Southern Africa.

We are most deeply appreciative of the political support and substantial material assistance they have given us during the past year and which we know they will continue to give in greater measure.

The Year of United Action.

Fellow South Africans, the apartheid regime is preparing for the crisis ahead. That is why it is bringing its armed forces into decisive positions of authority within the apartheid power structure. That is why it is carrying out constitutional changes designed to centralise power in the hands of the racist president. The captains of the apartheid system are re-organising themselves in the vain hope that they can deal us a crushing blow.



But we shall never be crushed. No people determined to free themselves have ever been crushed. And we are not about to become an exception. But we must organise ourselves for the capacity to attack effectively, as well as defend ourselves effectively. We must organise ourselves into a conquering force. The level of our political and armed offensive must reach new heights during the year 1983. This will be our Year of United Action!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Maatla Kea Rona!

Power to the People!

RECOLLECTIONS OF

NELSON MANDELA

Part One: The First Explosions

In view of the international campaign for Nelson Mandela's release, SI. CHABA gives its readers some insight into the character of Mandela the man. Here, an ANC veteran and one of the first members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, relates some of his personal experiences.

Last year was the year of Unity in Action, the slogan symbolising the 70th anniversary of the existence of the African National Congress of South Africa, and it was also the 20th year of Comrade Nelson Mandela's incarceration by the racist, fascist regime of South Africa. Perhaps we should relate some historic but human incidents, which would take away some of the mysticism surrounding the character of our first Commander-in-Chief, and bring out the qualities which will reveal more clearly the man himself.

When talking about Nelson Mandela, you are talking about a real man, a man of the people and a great leader, not some hazy somebody who does not exist except as a myth. He has served the last twenty years in the front trenches against the enemy. He is a man like us - flesh and blood, suffering for our freedom.

Let me tell you some of the many stories I could relate about him. I hope they will act

as a clarion call to redouble our efforts to release him, and all others serving in the dark dungeons of apartheid.

The First Known Explosion

The year was 1961. The call for a national convention had been ignored by the government. During the three-day strike called for by Mandela in his speech in Pietermaritzburg, many comrades had been beaten, shot and gaoled. But the forces of the regime felt frustrated. They were unable to arrest the leaders, or determine where they were hiding out. Their enemy No 1, Nelson Mandela, had been named the 'Black Pimpernel' by the media. They certainly were seeking him here and everywhere, but there was not a sign, not a clue, of his whereabouts. Every policeman in South Africa had been alerted to keep a look-out for him, and to hold him, to capture him at all costs. But not a finger had been laid on him. He was like a fish swimming in the sea of his own people.

There were important matters to be attended to. The decision had already been taken by the movement to move into the area of armed conflict. A High Command had been established, with Mandela as the Commander-in-Chief. Various area commands had also been established, and recruiting was very selective. It was made crystal clear to every MK cadre that politics took precedence over military affairs, but that armed struggle would now become part and parcel of the fight for freedom until implementation of all the clauses of the Freedom Charter had begun, in a free and democratic South Africa.

What needed to be done at that time was to get a factory established for the making of the bombs, and the opportunity to test them, before going into action on December 16th. This day had been deliberately chosen. It was the day on which the racists celebrate their so-called victory over the 'Bantu' at Blood River. At the same time, the great majority of the people of South Africa, namely the Africans, regard the day as one of pride for that great warrior, Dingane, who was killed leading his people into battle against a foe which, with superior arms, was ruthlessly plundering the land.

The late Jack Hodgson, a veteran of the war against Hitler, together with others, had been summoned to help in organising the forces and weapons necessary. Jack was a master at improvisation. He set to work with a will, to produce the bombs and Molotov cocktails, which were the initial weapons to be used. We had already tested the possibility of cutting telephone wires, electrical wires, and various other means of dislocating communications. The operations took place months before MK as such started operations.

We would hit at all the symbols of apartheid, but under no circumstances were we to kill or maim members of the population. Ours was not a terrorist organisation; the real terrorists were the all-white government and its supporters. Reconnaissance work had been carefully undertaken. The targets had been chosen. The synchron-

isation for action throughout the country, in all the main areas, was being finalised. Action stations were chosen, and very careful briefing undertaken. But in the couple of remaining months, the weapons were to be carefully and thoroughly tested.

Jack indicated that we were ready to test about a dozen Molotov cocktails and an improvised bomb. He warned that we would need extraordinary care to ensure secrecy and safety, for, if the bomb blast was detected or the blaze created by the Molotov cocktails spotted, the whole operation would be endangered, and our plans revealed.

Reading this, comrades in MK must remember that we had no access to the sophisticated weapons available to them today. Everything was a hazard. Almost all of us were being closely watched by the Special Branch - we had been known for years. And under these circumstances, right under the noses of the SB, we had to undertake all these very sensitive and exceedingly dangerous experiments and operations. Just the slightest mistake could be fatal.

A place had to be found. This place would have to satisfy the High Command. We found it; it was a disused brickworks known to one of the comrades involved in the operation. We reconnoitred the area. It satisfied everybody. Derelict buildings still remained, and several pits from which the clay had been extracted, surrounded by all sorts of paraphernalia. All brickworks are allowed to use dynamite to blast, so as to loosen the soil for making bricks. This was ideal, as any blast coming from any brickworks (and there were several in the area) would not attract any attention.

The team of inspection had been chosen. It, of course, included the Commander-in-Chief who insisted on being present, in spite of the fact that the police were out looking for him. We had arrived at the scene of operations and hidden the car, when a man emerged out of a galvanised iron building and strode menacingly towards our group. He was the watchman of the place. This spelt danger for us, and it seems that this



NELSON MANDELA

unforeseen circumstance would prevent us from continuing with our plan.

But we had calculated without the persuasive qualities of our Commander-in-Chief. He immediately sized up the situation. We could not abandon the exercise at this stage. He signalled to us to bring the equipment forward, while he took aside this man, who was Zulu-speaking. Soon the two

of them were in deep conversation, with one arm of Comrade Nelson around the shoulder of his newly acquired friend. We noticed that the watchman was nodding his head vigorously, and then he walked away from the scene. We waited for him to disappear. Comrade Nelson explained that he'd persuaded the man to accept our presence there.

One of the buildings was soon being bombarded with Molotov cocktails. Every time a bottle exploded and burst into flames, Comrade Nelson shook his head gleefully, and smiled the smile of victory. We all joined in his glee and enthusiasm, of course.

These were the first known explosions of the new era.

But there was more to come.

After dowsing any flames still licking at the walls and other pieces of wood and rubbish lying around, we moved to the open spaces, and chose our pit for testing the bomb.

Today, those who have been trained to use more sophisticated equipment would be aghast at the contraption which was contrived for use in the initial stages of sabotage. But one can only have admiration for those who constructed the device. Comrade Jack was a genius at this specialised work. You will understand what I mean when I tell you that part of the timing of the explosion included the thin tubing contained in plastic ball pens. You can also imagine the surprise of some shopkeepers when we bought up all their stocks of this particular kind of biro.

According to our calculations, that container placed at the bottom of the pit would explode within fifteen minutes. We all stood waiting expectantly, as near to the edge of the hole as we dared. Five minutes went by. Ten minutes. Fifteen minutes. No explosion. Twenty minutes. Still no explosion.

What to do? We certainly could not leave it there, for obvious reasons. Nor would we know its effectiveness or not. A decision had to be made. One of the more experienced comrades clambered down, gingerly lifted the contraption and slowly brought it up; an impulsive act, it is true, but it worked. Soon Jack adjusted the charge, everything was again placed in position, and many hands were proffered to pull the comrade out of the pit. Hardly had he been lifted clear, and positions of relative safety taken by all, when an almighty explosion took place, causing a huge cloud of dust to

rise up into the air, and tons of earth to go tumbling down to drown anything left of the bomb.

This was not the normal bang of dynamite. It sounded more like that of a giant thousand-pounder.

Further curiosity about the effects were abandoned, all of us made a very hurried bee-line for the automobile, piled in, and made as hurried and bumpy an exit from that territory as any automobile has ever made.

But we felt triumphant and cheered at the effect created.

Comrade Mandela was buoyant with pleasure and excitement. He advised very soberly that certain adjustments and alterations be attended to, and congratulated and thanked the comrades all round as we sped away from the scene. He proposed that as soon as we were certain that the timing was properly mastered, we should report to the High Command so that every other unit throughout the area be put on alert and properly briefed as to the correct use and working of the anti-apartheid bomb.

Several days after, a reconnaissance of the scene was made. The watchman smilingly assured us that, although it had been an unusually loud explosion, nobody had made any enquiries, and all was well.

I have often wondered over the years exactly what Comrade Mandela said to this man, and also whether the subsequent events made any impact on him. But I am sure of one thing: Comrade Nelson Mandela was an excellent judge of our people - the ordinary people of our country. And this judgment of his inspired many of us to have faith in the ordinary working man of our country. For if his judgment had been wrong, that watchman could have led the police to catch up with us.

I shudder to think, also, what the owner of that brickworks would think if he were told today how Umkhonto We Sizwe tested its first bomb on his property.

TORTURE AND THE HEALTH WORKER -

The Nature of Culpability (2)

The Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), is a voluntary body with jurisdiction over its own members and is limited in its powers of censuring their ethical conduct. It appears that it can do no more than expel.

Subsequent to the Biko inquest it appointed a two-man Commission to consider the ethical issues raised by it. In the confidential report they made in June 1981 (15) they examined standing orders and instructions to the police (not published officially or available to the public at large). They reveal that if a person is seriously injured or appears to be ill the police are required to call a doctor, and his orders are to be carried out without delay. The report, however, makes it clear that it is uncertain whether these provisions — not legally binding — extend to detainees held under the Terrorism Act. Subsequent to the death of Biko a further standing order has been issued to the effect that a detainee can be moved to a hospital other than a prison hospital only after 'Head Office' has been consulted if it is thought that there is a security risk.

The report also reproduces a warrant for the detention of a person under the Terrorism Act; this appears to permit no more than immediate routine treatment and the administration of ordinary medical prescriptions, and does not cover removal to a hospital.

It is significant that the proposals in the report go no further than objecting to the final decision resting with the police on whether or not a patient may be taken to hospital for treatment.

It also proposes that medical examination of a detainee should not be conducted in the presence of the police, and says that with proper safeguards there are no insuperable security risks. It states that these proposals are not merely in the interests of the detainee but of the State also. Herein is the significant factor, for the purpose of the report is to suggest ways in which the operation of the security laws can be improved; it does not consider whether they are compatible with medical ethics.

The report expressly rejects the proposition that where the doctor's advice is overruled by the police he should wash

his hands of the case. Its solution is to propose that the doctors should call in, at the State's expense, another doctor; if the two are in agreement the police should not be permitted to override their opinion, and it suggests that the standing instruction should be amended accordingly. Failing this, it concludes that it would be the ethical duty of the practitioner to report directly to the Minister that his instructions had been overruled and he should immediately seek support from his local medical association.

The report does not consider what form that support might take. The association could only support the doctor by agreeing with him that the interests of the patient should prevail over security considerations; this would be the inevitable effect of agreeing that the patient should be in hospital and taken from or not returned to police custody, and this is obviously unacceptable. The entire thrust of the legislation is to ensure that security considerations as perceived by the police are paramount at all times.

As the MASA Report makes clear, the proper operation of the security legislation depends on the cooperation of doctors who may be involved; and if they withhold their cooperation they would be deemed to be acting unethically. Clearly, if their conduct has the effect of hampering the police in their operation of the legislation the doctors involved would become victims themselves. One would therefore expect that the medical associations would not support a doctor in the manner suggested.

One can only say that the evidence of what has happened up to now has not been encouraging. Told by Counsel for the Biko family during the inquest that Dr. Tucker had said that the Hippocratic Oath bore on his ethical conduct but that he was actually governed by the rules of the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC), Dr. Gluckman expressed surprise, and said that there was no conflict between the Hippocratic Oath and the rules of the SAMDC, adding that "the ethical

component of the rule is a legal codification of the principles fundamental to the Hippocratic Oath. In terms of accepted medical ethics, the interest of the patient — and nothing else — is paramount to the doctor."

Dr. Gluckman's view of his ethical duties has been rejected by the SAMDC — this is the only possible explanation for the decision of the SAMDC not even to consider whether Doctors Lang and Tucker acted improperly.

Torture of Thozamile Gqweta

That difficulties would follow for the administration of the security legislation should any other view prevail, is shown by the case of Thozamile Gqweta, the National President of the South African Allied Workers Union. He was detained under the Terrorism Act on 8 December 1981, admitted to a psychiatric ward in Johannesburg in February 1982, and released on 3 March 1982.

The Attorney-General for the Ciskei said he was being released so that he would be in a fit state to give evidence for the State in a Terrorism Act trial; Mr. Gqweta however denied this, saying that the police had said nothing about it. He said that he had been released for health reasons: "I was released because the doctors who were treating me refused to continue if I was to go back into detention. The treatment was for me to go back into society." (16) It appears that the police have attempted to avoid the problems posed by uncooperative doctors in the case of another trade unionist, Sam Kikine, by taking him back into custody on condition that he was not held in isolation. (17) They resolved the matter in the case of Gqweta by rearresting him barely twelve hours after he had been taken back to his home, and releasing him on condition that he reported three times daily until the trial at which he was required.

The case of Gqweta, as far as can be determined, is almost unique. The duties of the medical profession, as perceived by



The face of a torturer - Lieutenant Steven Whitehead, chief interrogator of Dr Neil Aggett

the generality of the practitioners and reflected by the SAMDC, may be gathered from other cases. For example, a detainee (Dean T. Farisani) held under the Terrorism Act on 19 October 1981 was taken to hospital three times under police guard, twice for psychiatric treatment, being returned to detention on 14 January 1982 and again in February; and finally in February again, with critical head injuries. (18) As far as can be determined, the medical staff involved have not considered that the matter is of further interest or significance.

The doctors in cases such as Farisani's may well claim not to have known of torture and he may not have been tortured. What is disturbing is that there is no evidence that they were at all concerned or that the matter was investigated by their professional association.

The Minister of Police appears to have decided that where medical and specialist treatment and care are considered to be adequate then no access will be given to the detainee's own private doctor. (19) The new Internal Security Act accordingly provides only for fortnightly visits by a district surgeon; apparently he is regarded as a sufficiently independent monitor of a detainee's condition despite the Biko scandal.

The Minister has rejected for "security reasons" a request that detainees should be seen by an independent panel of doctors or doctors of their own choice. (20)

The Federal Chairman of MASA, Professor Guy de Klerk (21) announced that MASA was prepared to set up an independent panel of doctors to see detainees. This was in response to the demand by the Detainees' Parents' Support

Committee that detainees should be seen by a panel appointed by themselves. He said that such a panel would be as suspect as one appointed by the State; in his view, only MASA could be trusted as it "stands above suspicion". (22) Two comments seem to be called for. First, MASA seems to be trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds simultaneously; and secondly, it seems clear that a deep mistrust now exists within the medical profession in South Africa over the security laws.

Nothing illustrates the point more clearly than the case of Motaung, recently sentenced to death for treason. While being arrested, he told the court, he was shot in the hip by a policeman who then pulled him up and shot him again in the genitals. He said that he was then told that he would be taken to hospital only when he produced the guns the police were seeking, although he was bleeding and in pain. He was examined the same day by a district surgeon, Dr. M.S. Snyman. She testified that she had been told that Motaung was a "terrorist who had to do important things". Accordingly she certified that he was fit to help the police and gave him "painkilling tablets" but no other treatment. She told the court that she considered that it was more important for him to assist the police than to undergo immediate medical treatment. Motaung was taken to hospital two days later. He was operated on and kept for eight days. (23)

There is evidence that the police have confidence in the doctors whom they call on to examine detainees, and that where injuries are noted the doctors will accept police explanations. This confidence extends to general practitioners.

Magistrates have also acknowledged the need for full cooperation from doctors. The decision in the Biko case, that the available evidence did not prove that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person, reflects this. Any other verdict would have clashed

with the view taken by the SAMDC and MASA as explained above. This appears to have affected also the decision in the inquest held into the death of another detainee, Mouflie, who died in December 1980 after 112 days in detention. The magistrate held that he could not find anyone to blame; he apparently agreed with the allegation that the dead man had killed himself by joining his pair of socks, tying them round his neck, and tying the other end to the window and then, lying down on the floor while so tied, he had covered himself with a blanket and by using the left arm to exert pressure he had caused his own death by strangulation. (24)

Where the defence alleged that a detainee called as a witness for the State had been so severely assaulted that he lost an eye, the court does not appear to have seen any need to investigate the matter further. In this case, another detainee called to give evidence for the prosecution said he had cooperated with the police because he was 'petrified' of them, and described an assault on another detainee. (25)

Understanding the Doctors

MASA and the SAMDC simply reflect accepted perspectives, and it would be extraordinary if the medical implications of the legislation discussed above would prompt its rejection. This would require the bodies concerned to react to the political implications of what the medical profession is required to do. Moreover, many practitioners — and not only those dealing with detainees — are regime supporters who would in any event argue strenuously that the laws are necessary.

The entire basis on which the security legislation functions creates an assumption on the part of the public that a person detained, questioned, tried or otherwise adversely affected is involved in subversive violence.

The fact that a person has been detained itself points to a criminal involve-

ment. The legislation makes it clear that only those considered by the police to be involved in security offences may be detained and it is 'natural' for such persons to be treated as guilty for all purposes. There is little prospect of their being believed when they make allegations of torture, because from the very outset they appear to have an interest in lying. Other problems of credibility are shown by the case of Bentley, mentioned earlier, where the defendant told the court that he had not told the doctor or magistrate who visited him earlier how he had been injured because he feared that this information would be given to the police, who would continue to assault him. As we have seen, the doctor confirmed the defendant's fears only too clearly.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the police have sole responsibility for investigating allegations against themselves. The system is one which is geared to manufacture guilt, and the medical profession is an integral part of this structure. There is a remarkable paradox to be taken into account: the rhetoric used is that of a fair trial, the right to present a defence, and the freedom from improper pressure from the State to confess; yet the massive volume of evidence pointing to the violation of these rights and raising questions of involvement by the medical profession is not even investigated by it, and in practice the system is designed to reject such allegations.

For there to be any point to detention for interrogation, questions must be answered. It is ludicrous to propose that no pressure may be exerted on detainees to induce them to cooperate, especially when the State emphasises how important a confession in a criminal trial is by providing that, unless the contrary is proved, it is to be presumed to have been freely and voluntarily made and is sufficient evidence by itself for a conviction. This is one of the essential reasons for interrogation. The police must, and invariably do, deny having

put pressure on detainees to answer questions.

In addition to simple assaults, much of the evidence of torture refers to methods that leave no visible marks — e.g. continuous interrogation for days and nights, with sleep deprivation; "statue" torture; humiliation and intimidation; hooding; psychological assault (false reports of death or illness of relatives or friends, or threats of indefinite and solitary confinement); partial suffocation; subjection to extreme noise; and alternate immersions of the feet in hot and icy water. Where injuries are sustained, protracted periods in isolation are said to follow until visible signs have healed. In addition, statements made to magistrates visiting detainees, which may be evidence of torture, are transmitted to the police, while detainees are not permitted to have copies of the reports on visits made by magistrates. They may however have a copy of a doctor's report.

It should be remembered that by law detainees are not permitted to have access to lawyers. Attempts have been made to silence witnesses to torture by detaining them or — as in the case of the inquest into the death of Dr. Neil Aggett earlier last year — by a banning order. In this case, a person detained with Dr. Aggett swore an affidavit which he gave to lawyers for Dr. Aggett's family describing how Dr. Aggett had been tortured in his presence not long before his death. In addition, steps have been taken to prevent the inquest from hearing a statement made by Dr. Aggett himself describing electric shock treatment, by seeking a ruling that the statement is inadmissible.

The ethical duties of a doctor require him to note, record, and treat injuries. No matter how suspicious he may be as to their origin there is, on the evidence, no chance that the court will believe that they were caused by torture of the detainee who now challenges the confession allegedly made by him. In any event, as the Biko and other cases considered illustrate, no action

by the doctor must interfere with the operation of the security legislation. It is absolutely essential for the administration of justice in South Africa that this should be so, and the SAMDC and MASA are inexorably compelled to play their part.

Conclusions

In the context within which it functions, the South African medical profession has shown itself to be incapable of coping with the ethical implications arising from the security legislation. While doubtless in individual cases practitioners may justifiably be suspected of having acted with evil motives, the greatest part of the problem arises from the very structure of the institutions involved. The statutes and definitions, both explicitly and in the manner in which the courts have interpreted them, equate with treason all opposition to the State's established policies. The medical profession consists of individuals who in many cases, as white voters, accept the fundamental political implications of this legislation. Accordingly, one must not expect them willingly to confront it. This, however, is an inadequate explanation for what is happening in South Africa today for it does not take into account the manner in which the medical associations are structured into the system: not only are the individuals reluctant to come into conflict with the system, but should they be willing to do so their professional associations are rendered incapable of giving support.

In South Africa, the ethical standpoints of the professional associations require them to ensure that they play their full part in ensuring that the security laws do what they are meant to do — i.e. convict those who oppose the regime. The medical profession is required to play its part in the formal manufacture of guilt. It does not have the means to test the conduct of its members against accepted ethical standards used elsewhere in the world, and it does not want them; these two factors combine in

a vicious circle in which impotence and unwillingness support each other.

Ultimately, the causes of this terrible medical tragedy are fear of the monster the medical profession is required to serve, and sympathy for it. Comforting the profession from abroad will not help it to overcome these problems but merely reassure it and enable it to live with them. The only solution lies with the processes of change within South Africa itself; so far as the medical profession itself is concerned, isolation will encourage it to develop the tensions and splits necessary for the healing process to commence.

Footnotes

15. "Report to the Medical Association of South Africa by the Ad Hoc Committee appointed to consider certain ethical issues".
16. *Sowetan*, 5th March 1982.
17. *The Star*, 11 March 1982.
18. *Sunday Express (Johannesburg)* 17 January 1982, *Sunday Times (Johannesburg)* 21 February 1982.
19. *The Star*, 6 March 1982.
20. *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 February 1982; *Sowetan*, 3 February 1982.
21. *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March 1982; *Financial Mail*, 16 March 1982.
22. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 May 1982.
23. *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 August 1982; *Sowetan* 28-29 August 1982.
24. *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September, 9 October 1981.
25. *Post*, 15 April 1980; *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April 1980, 25 July 1980.



APARTHEID TERROR

How Pretoria wages war on Africa

by Aziz Pahad

The apartheid regime has embarked on a concerted and co-ordinated campaign of economic, political and military destabilisation in Southern Africa. The gravity of the situation is reflected by the communique of the heads of Governments of the Front Line States (meeting in Maputo, March 1982) which noted that "The invasion and military aggression, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa."

It is becoming increasingly clear that the regime is developing a massive capacity not only to hold back the revolutionary advances in South Africa and Namibia but also to subvert and undermine the gains already achieved in Southern Africa. The use of conventional war is becoming a central component of this regional strategy. Using the 'big lie' techniques of Goebbels they justify their aggression by claiming that the neighbouring countries pose a military threat to them. In the preface to

the 1982 Defence White Paper Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence) stated that: "It is alarming that more and more sophisticated weapons are pouring into neighbouring countries" and that "serious consideration should now be given to the possibility of conventional warfare."

Prime Minister Botha gave some indication of South Africa's intentions when he stated that "We are moving more and more in the direction in which the state of Israel has already been since 1948," and went on to warn that "South Africa's sphere of influence" extends to all its neighbours in Southern Africa.

Pik Botha (Foreign Minister) spelt this out more blatantly when he arrogantly declared that "The existence of a ring of marxist states ... around South Africa was inimical to South Africa's interests." This situation he said, could not be tolerated.

After announcing that South Africa would have to open up a "second front", Magnus Malan issued a warning that the "slogan in Africa should be: Obtain communist assistance and terrorist organisations to launch so called liberation

has production of minerals we all must have."

The Reagan nominee to become head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Kenneth Adelman (presently deputy to Jean Kirkpatrick that other great 'human rights campaigner' and 'freedom fighter', and friend of the US and South African intelligence services) is reported to have said that if South Africa acquired nuclear anti-submarine weapons, these could be helpful to the west in protecting the Cape shipping route. He went on to say that such weapons could be turned into nuclear bombs to deter a land attack.

Given such open and brazen support by the Reagan administration it is hardly surprising that the South African 1982 since the winning of independence in Zimbabwe; since the attempts by the Front Line States to break out of the economic stranglehold of South Africa through the SADCC, and as a result of the intensified resistance in South Africa and Namibia.

Imperialist Collaboration

South Africa's reactionary role by and large coincides with imperialist strategy for world domination and exploitation. The Reagan administration, under the smokescreen of anti-communism, anti-sovietism and "anti-terrorism", has launched a world wide counter-revolutionary offensive, and sees the apartheid regime as the instrument for achieving its global strategy on the African continent. In 1980 Crocker (U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) concluded that, "Washington could no longer simply enjoy its varied interests in Southern Africa. It would have to work actively to pre-empt Soviet-backed revolutionary change." He later went on to say that the "American stance towards the Republic of South Africa is inevitably the centrepiece of our regional policy... South Africa is by any definition an important regional power, and it is by far the most important country in the Southern African region.

It is in South Africa that the west's most important regional interests are at stake - both our tangible economic and strategic interests and also our political and moral interests in non-violent change".

On taking office, Reagan said, "Can we abandon a country which has stood with us in every war we have fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world? Its movements and the end result is perish in misery."

South Africa is imposing its own version of the Monroe doctrine. This aggressive militarist strategy has been intensified since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the attempts to establish genuine people's democracies, leading to the socialist transformation of Angola and Mozambique; Defence White Paper concluded that "there are encouraging signs that the USA is once again prepared to play an active role as leader of the West." For South Africa, this has meant extensive cooperation in the exchange of intelligence and military personnel and information. There has been a gradual relaxation of the ban on military and military-related equipment from the US - for example, the Cyber 75 variety of computers, which can be used to model nuclear explosions, has been supplied to Armscor or its subsidiaries, and US brokers played a key role in helping South Africa buy almost 100 tons of enriched uranium. Export credit guarantees have been resumed by the US government, and the Americans were largely responsible for the granting of a 1.2 billion dollar loan to South Africa from the IMF in 1982. In Namibia the USA is spearheading attempts to halt the process of liberation. American subterfuges were revealed when, in a secret memorandum to Haig in 1981, Crocker stated that racist South Africans must be told of the US willingness to open up a new chapter in their relationship, based upon strategic reality and South Africa's position in that reality. He went on to say that the Namibian problem was a primary obstacle to this new relationship, and that



"we are willing to work with them to find an internationally acceptable settlement which will not harm their interests."

This active and open collaboration of the Reagan-Thatcher administrations has undoubtedly encouraged the terrorist use of their muscle, and is turning Southern Africa into one of the most critical flashpoints in international politics.

In the last few years, there has been a steady escalation in the regime's use of economic sabotage and terrorism, commando raids and large scale military invasions, the strategic objectives being to:

- * maintain dominance of the region and prevent any socio-economic changes;
- * maintain racist South Africa as a base

for imperialist global strategy, and specifically for subversion, exploitation and destabilisation of the African continent;

- * limit support given to the ANC and SWAPO.
- * physically eliminate the ANC and SWAPO;

South African aggression affects virtually the whole of Southern Africa, and even farther afield, as the attempted coup in the Seychelles and the bombing of the ANC office in London showed. A brief look will give some indication of the nature and extent of this, and the serious challenge confronting not only the peoples of

Southern Africa but the entire international community.

Economic pressure

The colonial legacy has resulted in the fact that the economies of almost all countries in the region are interlinked with that of South Africa. South Africa's dominant position in this relationship has been used extensively to put pressure on these states.

In 1981 at a very crucial moment, racist South Africa unilaterally terminated a preferential trade agreement (dating back to 1964) with Zimbabwe. It simultaneously recalled about 80 railway trucks and diesel engines on long term loan to Zimbabwe Railways (this had a disastrous effect on the transport of the maize harvest).

Recently the racists warned Lesotho that unless she toed the line the job opportunities for Lesotho citizens in South Africa would be jeopardized (it is estimated that at present 40% of Lesotho's GNP comes from wages earned by Lesotho citizens working in South Africa).

However, the most dangerous disruption has been through the systematic destruction of the socio-economic structures. Roads, railways, bridges, electric and water supplies, oil refineries and depots, factories, dams and agricultural projects have been attacked and destroyed. To cite but a few examples:

The road, rail and oil pipeline connection between Zambia and Mozambique is continuously attacked. In October 1981 traffic between the two countries was halted when the road and rail bridges over the Pungwe River were sabotaged.

In November 1981 the port of Beira was closed when 10 out of the 12 navigational buoys were sabotaged.

In January 1983 a major dam in Angola was sabotaged, causing extensive flooding and damage to a vital agricultural area.

The long term effects on the consolidation of independence and the process of development cannot be overestimated. The Angolan President said in his 1983 message:

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"South Africa's undeclared war against

Angola had once again obliged us to divert a great part of our manpower, material and financial resources to strengthening our defence capability, thereby jeopardising a number of projected development targets." Conservative estimates show that since 1975 the losses Angola suffered because of South African aggression amounted to a staggering sum of 10 billion dollars.

Other consequences, in terms of human suffering, ill health, loss of schooling, malnutrition, unemployment, displacement of millions, cannot be calculated fully.

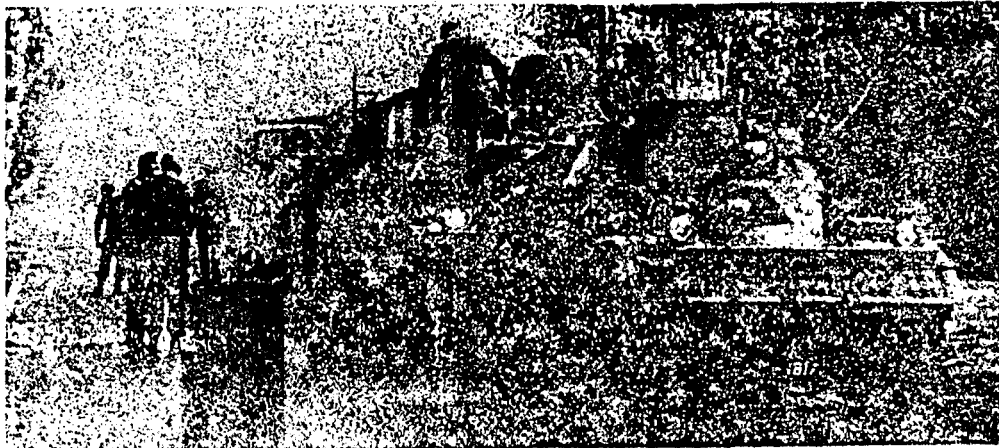
Military aggression

Since the mid 60's the apartheid regime has adopted a highly aggressive and interventionist policy towards its neighbours.

Between 1967 and 1975 it was estimated that over 4000 South African troops supported by armoured cars, helicopters and planes were actively involved in Zimbabwe. There were over 1000 South African troops involved with the Portuguese in Mozambique and in 1969 under a Portuguese-South African agreement a joint command system was established in Angola to direct South African air reconnaissance and troop transport activities against Namibia and MPLA guerrillas.

However a new dimension was added in 1975 when over 6000 South African troops and foreign mercenaries invaded Angola in a last desperate attempt to prevent MPLA from coming to power and to instal UNITA in power. The CIA played a major role in initiating and underwriting this campaign. USA direct and open intervention was not possible at this stage because of the post-Vietnam mood of the American people and the disarray and confusion within the military industrial complex, arising from the Watergate affair. The dirty work had therefore to be spearheaded by South Africa with the assistance of mercenaries and UNITA and FNLA bandits.

This invasion of Angola by 3 South African armoured columns, code named



10 Eland armoured-cars on the road to the operational area (mid 1982)

"Zulu", "Foxbat" and "Orange," swept northwards capturing town after town. Within a short time they occupied the whole of the centre of Angola, the northernmost line of occupation stretching from Lobito to the capital of the Moxico Province in the east.

The invading forces reached within a few miles of Luanda. In response to the Angolans' urgent appeal for assistance, Cuba and the Soviet Union reacted with unparalleled internationalist manpower and logistical support; further assistance came from other socialist countries and some third world countries.

Eight months after the invasion started, South Africa and its surrogates were forced out of Angola. Since then the South Africans have conducted a constant and systematic campaign of bombing raids, violations of Angolan air space, border provocations, infantry attacks, artillery shelling and minelaying.

It is estimated that from 1976 to 1979 the South Africans were responsible for:

- 193 mine laying operations
- 7 artillery bombardments
- 25 ground attacks
- 21 ground infiltrations

The scope and intensity of this "scorched earth" policy has increased yearly. From 1976 to 1979 there were 291 military attacks against Angola; during 1980 there were 1 100 acts of aggression; in the first 6 months of 1981 there were over 650 acts of aggression including:

- 472 reconnaissance flights
- 22 air attacks
- 111 helicopter-borne landings
- 4 paratroop landings
- 2 artillery bombardments
- 15 ground reconnaissance incursions
- 5 ground attacks
- 30 bombing raids

Worse was to come. In August 1981, following a massive troops build-up of over 45 000 on the Namibian border, the racists launched "Operation Protea". This involved 11 000 troops, 36 centurion tanks, 70 armoured cars, 200 troop transporters, heavy artillery and long range missiles, supported by 90 aircraft and helicopters.

Today the invaders are still occupying an estimated 50 000 sq. kilometres of Angolan territory. This sad and tragic story is repeated in all other neighbouring countries. For example in November 1982, Mozambique alerted the United Nations

to the fact that the racists were massing thousands of troops on the border and that a full scale military invasion was imminent. There is little doubt that this timely warning and international action temporarily, at least, halted the planned invasion. It has also been reliably reported that the racists had established a "Matabele brigade" commanded by Col. Breytenbach to carry out attacks against Zimbabwe. Training camps have been set up at Phalaborwa, Spacer Camp, Madibo Camp and the Ntibi camp. In April 1980 the Western Province of Zambia was invaded by 2 battalions of South African troops. They mined roads, attacked villages and burned crops. The area had to be declared a "disaster area." Such violations of Zambian territory take place continuously and Lesotho is increasingly experiencing such aggression.

Elimination of ANC and SWAPO

South Africa's aggression is intensifying at a time when the resistance of the people of South Africa and Namibia has reached unprecedented heights and the regime is facing mounting economic and political crises.

Today the legal, semi-legal and illegal activity of the oppressed masses is shaking the citadels of power as never before.

The black working class, the leading force of our revolution, continues to grow in strength, maturity and consciousness. Waves of militant strike actions affect almost all sections of major industries.

The youth and students, women's organisations, the churches, professional organisations, the masses in the rural areas and Bantustans are confronting the regime at every level.

Under the banner of "Unity in Action" the mighty forces of liberation and social emancipation continue to grow in strength.

The actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe have played a very significant role in this. Over the last two years units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have carried out sabotage actions throughout the country. The brilliant

attack on the Koeberg nuclear plant, one of South Africa's most carefully guarded installations, has sown panic in the ranks of the enemy.

The enemy believes that the "next five years is going to be decisive," (Gen. Magnus Malan) and has launched a massive offensive to stem the revolutionary tide. One aspect of this is to create an image of moderation internally, while in actual fact intensifying repression and control. Another aspect is the physical destruction of the ANC and SWAPO both internally and externally.

Warlord Malan recently reiterated warnings that "We are determined to wipe out the terrorists even if we have to cross our borders to do it." Specially created assassination squads and regular forces of the South African Defence Force have carried out this policy with a lunatic frenzy. Joe Gqabi, Ruth First, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose represent a growing list of victims of racist acts of terror.

South African troops blatantly invade neighbouring countries to carry out their murderous work. For example in 1978 South African troops attacked a SWAPO camp at Kassinga ruthlessly slaughtering about 1 000 unarmed Namibian refugees. Eye witnesses were shocked by the "spirit of extermination and destruction" of the South African troops.

In January 1981 South African troops invaded Mozambique and attacked ANC residences murdering 12 unarmed people and kidnapping two.

In December 1982 over 100 South African troops invaded and occupied Maseru the capital of Lesotho. In an orgy of indiscriminate and ruthless violence they murdered 42 South African and Lesotho citizens.

This sharp escalation in the actions of the regime and its murder squads gives warning that the regime, threatened by internal resistance and haunted by the spectre of socialism in neighbouring countries, is committed to unleashing a



P.W. Botha with J.C. Heunis shown deep inside Angola at the end of 1975, together with the UNITA guard of Jonas Savimbi. 'Die Burger' 5.2.77, from which this picture is taken, said it was a "great opportunity for Dr Savimbi's guards to meet these two South African leaders." Also in the picture is Jannie de Wet, then Commissioner General for Namibia.

reign of terror across its borders in a vain attempt to roll back the tide of history

102 **Features of apartheid terrorism**

Some features of racist aggression have been:

Growing brutalisation and almost total breaches of international conventions. These include terror attacks against civilians, indiscriminate bombings, assassinations, the use of poison gas etc.

Increasing use of surrogate forces. These include UNITA in Angola, MNR in Mozambique and the LLA in Lesotho. Documents captured after the Portuguese revolution, as well as accounts by CIA defectors like Stockwell, confirm reports that Savimbi worked for PIDE and the CIA. Since 1975 he has been actively

working with the apartheid regime. The MNR is nothing but an extension of the SADF. When Mozambican troops captured an MNR base at Garngua (Dec. 1981) they found large quantities of South African arms and equipment, signs of SADF instructors, and documentation which showed that all actions carried out by the MNR were determined and controlled by the SADF. The LLA has bases in South Africa and receives financial and logistical support from the SADF.

Increasing use of mercenaries. These are recruited from the USA, Britain, West Germany, Latin American countries (those with close links with the USA), Israel and other western countries. In many cases western governments have given tacit approval to such recruiting. They have

not only failed to take effective action against it but, on the contrary, have facilitated the work of these "whores of war." Are certain major western countries consciously using mercenaries and bandit organisations to achieve objectives in situations where it is not politically possible to use their own armed forces?

Need for Urgent Action

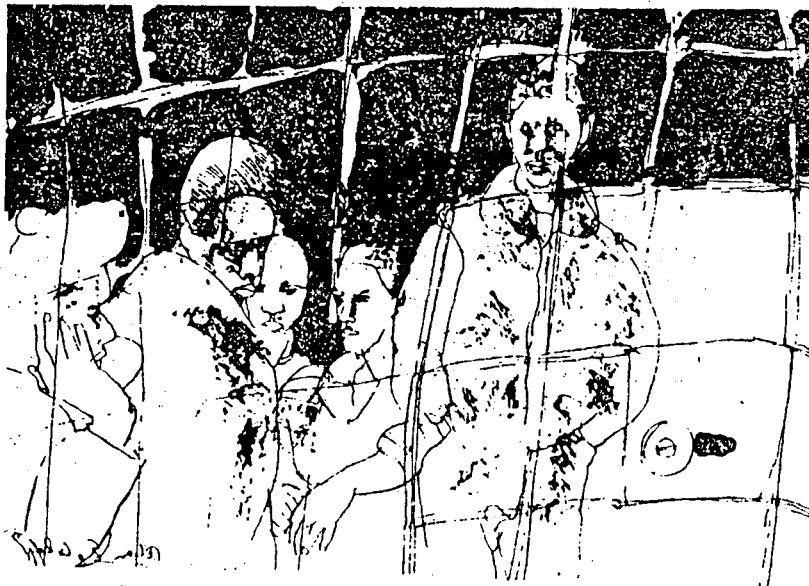
South Africa has given notice of its aims and objectives in Southern Africa and also the extent to which it will go to achieve these. The war psychosis being developed in South Africa and the constant warnings that it will take further military actions if it considers its security to be threatened, are ominous. A senior spokesman of the regime recently stated that "the acceptance of Soviet military aid by those states is destabilising the region because it provides a military umbrella for subversive elements. It is the government's duty to protect South African interests ... We will not hesitate to take action against Russian missiles and radar bases on our neighbours' territory ... It does not matter if the communist military forces are there legitimately as allies of these states."

Such arrogant display of big power chauvinism; such total disregard of all conventions of international law and morality; such blatant distortion of facts which turns victim into aggressor; such contempt and disregard for international opinion; such callous disregard of human suffering has few parallels in modern history.

Can the world allow the apartheid regime to unleash another holocaust? The military industrial complexes using the smokescreen of the "red bogey" helped Hitler rise to power. This generation cannot and must not allow history to repeat itself.

A massive international campaign must be launched to stop the apartheid regime's terroristic aggression against neighbouring states. Mass militant pressure by the peoples must compel the US, British and French Governments to stop abusing their powers of veto in the Security Council of the United Nations. Effective and total sanctions must be imposed against South Africa.

All-round political, material and diplomatic support must be given to SWAPO and the ANC.



ABA 34

ABA 34

Nelson Mandela

NO. 15.

will be 70 years old tomorrow, July 18th 1983 - born 1918-07-18

When Nelson Mandela was a young man in the nineteen forties, there was an upsurge of African nationalism in South Africa — a reflection of the struggle against fascism being fought at that time on three continents. In 1943, together with Walter Sisulu, later to be Secretary-General of the ANC, Mandela joined the Youth League of the African National Congress. Together, he, Sisulu and others pressed for more militant, defiant policies, and under this pressure the ANC began to break away from its old methods of petition and verbal protest.

In 1952, during the Defiance Campaign organised by the ANC and the South African Indian Congress, Mandela led a corps of over 8 500 volunteers from all sections of the South African people, who systematically defied apartheid laws, and went to gaol. Congress had started on the road of mass militant opposition, and Mandela himself on the road that was to lead him to the dock in the Rivonia trial.

After the Defiance Campaign, he and other leaders were banned, and his bannings followed one upon the next without interruption for almost the entire period of his life outside prison.

He was one of the chief architects of a new method of organisation in the ANC, calling for discipline, unity, clandestine work and dynamic contact with the mass of the people. He played a leading part in organising the Congress of the People, at which the Freedom Charter was drawn up and adopted — that historic document which sets out objectives for a future, non-racial and non-exploiting South Africa. When, in 1956, the regime retaliated by arresting 156 leaders on a charge of high treason, Mandela was one of them. All were later acquitted.

The regime introduced new and more vicious laws to silence opposition. In 1960, after the Sharpeville massacre and the protests that followed, the ANC was banned, and resolved to carry on the fight from underground.

At the All-in African Conference in Pietermaritzburg in 1961, Mandela called upon 1 500 delegates to organise a three-day strike. From his underground headquarters, he later announced a 'full-scale and country-wide campaign of non-co-operation with the government.' In November of the same year, Umkhonto We Sizwe was formed, the military wing of the ANC, and in December a wave of sabotage hit almost all the major cities of South Africa. The armed struggle had begun.

In 1962 he travelled abroad to undergo military training and to organise it for cadres of the ANC. On his return to South Africa he continued to work underground, organising new units, consolidating old ones, and giving all-round political leadership. After seventeen months he was finally captured while on a mission to Durban, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment for leaving the country illegally.

While he was serving this sentence, our movement suffered one of its greatest setbacks, when the underground leadership was captured at Rivonia, near Johannesburg. Mandela was charged together with Sisulu, Mbeki, Goldberg, Mhlaba, Mlangeni, Kathrada and Motsoaledi. They were sentenced to life imprisonment, while, outside the court, a huge crowd defied the police, demonstrating, and singing, 'Shosholozo Mandela' — 'Carry on, Mandela.'

Mandela has now been behind prison walls almost twenty-one years. This means that he has spent nearly one-third of his life inside prison, yet he is as determined as ever not to compromise with the authorities, and to maintain his principled stand against the South African racist regime and against all that apartheid brings in its wake.

His fellow Rivonia accused, who were arrested on July 11th 1963, have been in prison for twenty years. Life sentences mean literally life for political prisoners. The one white is in Pretoria, and the other seven were on Robben Island until last year.

According to press reports, in June last year, all seven were transferred from Robben Island to Pollsmoor Prison on the mainland, at various times, together with an additional unknown number of other political prisoners. Information reaching London indicates that Mandela is no longer with his Rivonia comrades, but is sharing a cell with five other political prisoners. In fact, he no longer has any contact with the others from the Rivonia trial; he has been wrenched from 'friends he has lived with for the past twenty years' — a cruel additional punishment.

The transfer to Pollsmoor has meant such serious deterioration in their conditions that the prisoners complained to the commanding officer. When he refused to receive their complaints and there was no improvement, Mandela and his cell mates decided that an appeal should be made to the outside world to redress the conditions which, in his own words, 'are a threat to our lives.' They risk reprisals for this, but feel they have no option.

Mandela and his comrades have not seen a blade of grass since they left Robben Island. They are confined to their cells for 24 hours a day, and are not even allowed out for exercise. After rain there is flooding, and water seeps up through the floor. Often they wake in the morning to find pools of water round them. The prisoners' health has been neglected; Mandela had to have an operation on his toe because he had been forced to wear ill-fitting shoes. Studies are now almost impossible; Mandela now has to study in the cell with the five others present, and they are not obliged to remain quiet. Many small 'privileges' which were won through years of hard and bitter struggle have now been taken away.

We Appeal to You

We call once more on the international community to protest with all the strength it can muster against the new humiliations and deprivations now being suffered by those who have been transferred to Pollsmoor Prison. These conditions must not be allowed to continue.

We ask you to write to the Officer Commanding, Pollsmoor Maximum Security Prison, Private Bag X4, Tokai, 7966 Cape, South Africa, and to the Commissioner of Prisons, Pretoria, South Africa.

Use your influence in any organisations you may be active in to support the campaign for the release of political prisoners in South Africa.

For further information, get in touch with the African National Congress, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR.

RELEASE MANDELA AND ALL SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICAL PRISONERS!

CULTURE

ITS ROLE AND PLACE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN REVOLUTION

The revolutionary struggle for the liberation of South Africa takes different forms, all of which are both complementary and interconnected.

The force of people's power has become so formidable that it is not surprising to find its rhythm and feel its pulse running, from a musician's heart or a poet's lips.

OUR CULTURE LIVES ON!

Songs, dances, prose and poetry are an enriching component of our traditionally vibrant and militant cultural life. From this cultural lifeline, we have always drawn ammunition to fight against the racist and imperialist drive to divide and rule us in perpetuity. In this regard, we can proudly claim to have frustrated the onslaughts of cultural imperialism, and remain a distinct fighting people, aware of our history and certain of our destiny.

WEAPON OF STRUGGLE

"...our artists have succeeded in piercing the dam wall, and, in one form or another, are articulating the feelings, hopes and dreams of the impoverished millions of our land. Radical and socially conscious, the art that our people are producing can serve as a powerful weapon in the struggle for national liberation." This is part of a message from none other than our President, O R Tambo, in a broadcast addressed particularly to artists at home in South Africa, as well as to the oppressed masses in their entirety. As an integral part of this cultural dimension, we see a growing experience of musicalising the agonies, traumas and joys of our people. Our music speaks boldly of courage, defiance, anxiety and hope — qualities characteristic of the downtrodden people of South Africa. At the same time, these are qualities that are the very nerve centre, giving life and vitality to people's war raging throughout South Africa.

CELEBRATE WITH MANDELA!

July 18th marks the 65th birthday of our illustrious and exemplary leader, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, and in June this year it was twenty years since he was sentenced to life imprisonment by a fascist court. His courage, his vision of the future and the perspective it holds for the oppressed majority, remains untarnished and ever bright. His captors, the Pretoria racist regime, have won for themselves fear, isolation and desperation, while their intended captive, on the other hand, remains an unbroken symbol of resistance, inspiring both old and young and admired by both friend and foe.

THE MEANING OF THE FESTIVAL

This festival, celebrating Nelson Mandela's spirit of resistance, must be a reminder of the determined message from him that was smuggled out of prison three years ago:

"We who are confined within the grey walls of the Pretoria regime's prisons reach out to our people. With you we count those who have perished by means of the gun and the hangman's rope. We salute all of you — the living, the injured and the dead. For you have dared to rise up against the tyrant's might."

May Nelson Mandela's 65th birthday serve as a special occasion on which cultural workers at home and abroad, like armed freedom fighters, re-dedicate themselves to the ideals he stands for. We are one with President Tambo's words that "we discern in the content of the work of art — be it song, poem, painting — we discern the powerful MESSAGE OF FREEDOM."

This festival, at which the admirable and great talents of artists have been put at the service of our people and to the memory of Mandela, should also serve as a warning signal to those artists of international fame who, from time to time, plunge a dagger in the side of the South African people by breaking the cultural boycott against South Africa. Such cultural mercenaries will find themselves trapped in between the cross-fire of people's war and white minority rule.

IMAGES OF A NATION

The African National Congress embodies the best traditions of our people on the pathway to freedom. Nelson Mandela is the very epitome, the very symbol of courage and sacrifice. Indeed, within South Africa, or across the vast expanses of far and near lands, he remains a living legend, a heavyweight champion of patriotism and moral courage. Through this festival, cultural workers should say NO! to apartheid rule. They have seen and felt images of a nation yet to be, and their resolve should be to commit themselves to the struggle today, as well as to the South Africa of tomorrow.

It is only a matter of time before the drums will beat victorious rhythms, and the generation of a democratic South Africa will freely sing 'Happy Birthday' to Mandela and his colleagues — this time, when they have emerged from the prison walls.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

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STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS ON THE OCCASION OF
JANUARY 8, 1984, DELIVERED BY THE PRESIDENT, O.P. TAMBO

Comspanklike in besid van

Dear Compatriots
Brothers and Sisters in the Struggle
Comrades,

luit van Dpt Le Petersburg 15/1/84
8-dc -ps

Today, the 8th of January, your organisation, the African National Congress is 72 years old. In keeping with established practice, we ask you to share with us today some thoughts on the tasks that confront us during 1984. Allow me to begin by extending to you all, the wishes of the National Executive Committee and the general leadership of the ANC for great successes in the New Year.

This time last year, when we marked the 71st Anniversary of the founding of our Organisation, we pointed out that our long struggle had come to a point where the revolutionary ferment had reached unprecedented heights and had plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of crisis. We went on to state that within the confines of the apartheid system there was no way out of this crisis situation. Apartheid cannot be reformed. The only real solution lies in the victory of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid machinery and the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority.

Events of the past year have fully borne out the correctness of this assessment. The momentous struggles of the past year have taken us further upon the road to our cherished goal and have driven the racist rulers into further realms of degeneration. For us, the future is brightening daily whilst for the Pretorian racist clique, the future is getting darker and darker by the day.

We cannot rest on our laurels. We must continue to fight during 1984 and to take our struggle forward towards liberation. The past year, our brave struggle has left our enemies in a state of confusion and disarray. We must continue to struggle, to build up our strength, to take power into our own hands. We must continue to fight as all, as one, for the liberation of our people. We must continue to fight for the order of the day which is the order of the people's revolution!

Our revolutionary struggle rests on four pillars. These are first, the all-round vigilance and activity of the underground structures of the ANC, second, the united mass action of the peoples, third, our armed offensive spearheaded by Umkhonto we Sizwe and fourth, the international drive to isolate the apartheid regime and win world-wide moral, political and material support for the struggle.

Dear Comrades and Friends,

Over the last few years, the guardians of reaction in our country have devised a programme of action centred on the twin notions of so-called national security and total strategy. This programme is based on the recognition that the apartheid system is immersed in a deep and permanent general crisis. The ruling group in Pretoria has therefore been addressing itself to the question of how to manage this crisis to ensure that it does not get out of hand.

The Bantustan Scheme, the militarisation of society; the offensive against the ANC; the new apartheid constitution and other recent pieces of legislation notably those covering industrial relations, the so-called community councils, the press and the economy, all are elements in this programme of crisis management. Coupled with the criminal war against the Namibian and Angolan people and increased aggression against the rest of Southern Africa, these measures point to the desperation of the regime as it battles for its survival.

The racists have yielded, under mounting pressure from the revolutionary masses and the international community, to tinker with the Apartheid System, but in such a way as to further entrench racism and consolidate this illegitimate and criminal system. Despite all these manoeuvres, Apartheid has no future.

In other words, the fascists recognise that they can no longer rule in the old way. We recall how, at the height of the SOWETO uprising, J.B. Vorster made bold to declare: "there is no crisis" - no crisis for minority rule. But a few years later P.W. Botha called on the whites to adapt to reality or perish with Apartheid.

This was a public admission that there is a crisis, threatening the destruction of the apartheid system. It is an imperative task of the revolutionary and democratic forces of our country to compound and further deepen this crisis by ever intensifying the struggle for national and social emancipation.

Compatriots,

The black people of our country have challenged the legitimacy of the South African racist State from its formation in 1910 and throughout the ensuing decades. As we fight the Apartheid system today, we should all speak with one voice in declaring that the present regime, like all others before it, has no legitimate authority to rule our country. Indeed, its central purpose is to perpetuate the illegal rule of the white usurpers of power in our country.

All revolutions are about state power. Ours is no exception. The slogan, - "Power to the People", means one thing and one thing only. It means we seek to destroy the power of apartheid tyranny and replace it with popular power, with a government whose authority derives from the will of all our people, both black and white.

The issue we have to settle together is what steps to take to attain that ultimate goal? What intermediate objectives should we set ourselves, building on what we have achieved, and in preparation for the next stage in our forward march to victory? The answer to these questions relates directly to what we have already referred to as the illegality of the apartheid state.

We must begin to use our accumulated strength to destroy the organs of government of the apartheid regime. We have to

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undermine and weaken its control over us, exactly by frustrating its attempts to control us. We should direct our collective might to rendering the enemy's instruments of authority unworkable. To march forward must mean that we advance against the regime's organs of state-power, creating conditions in which the country becomes increasingly ungovernable.

Comrades, countrymen and friends:

You are aware that the apartheid regime maintains an extensive administrative system through which it directs our lives. This system includes organs of central and provincial government, the army and the police, the judiciary, the Bantustans administration, the community councils, the local management and local affairs committee. It is these institutions of apartheid power that we must attack and demolish, as part of the struggle to put an end to racist minority rule in our country. Needless to say, as strategists, we must select for attack those parts of the enemy administrative system which we have the power to destroy as a result of our united and determined offensive. We must hit the enemy where it is weakest.

The goal we are setting ourselves today is dictated by the logic of our revolution. Its realisation is made possible by the fact that in our millions, we have already laid the basis for its accomplishment. Thus through our efforts, the so-called Coloured Persons Representative Council ceased to exist; as a result of extensive mobilisation, the puppet South African Indian Council was brought in by a laughably insignificant minority; the entire Bantustan system faces overwhelming rejection and continuous resistance, and similarly, towards the end of 1983, we united in a massive rejection of the local management committees and community councils.

In certain areas and at different times, we have gone beyond rejection of this oppressive system of government, beyond a challenge to its legitimacy. In 1960 our people in Pondoland destroyed the regime's administration, and set up their own administration and people's courts. Likewise in 1976, we caused the collapse of the Urban Bantu Councils. In the recent past, in Sobantu Village in Pietermaritzburg, we destroyed

the newly installed community councils have frustrated the plans of the Frankenburg Administration Board.

Our determined resistance at Grahamstown and at KTC in the Western Cape has made it impossible for Koornhof to carry out his schemes. He has been unable to govern at will. In Mdantsane our heroic struggle has shaken the puppet Sebe Administration to its core. Commenting on this situation, one South African political observer stated: "the stakes are high because the issues have moved beyond those of a (bus) fare increase. The boycott has become a conflict of will between the Ciskei (puppet administration) and its many opponents in Mdantsane, the second largest black township in South Africa."

In the course of our struggles against rent increases and other facets of apartheid, such as the proposed incorporation of some townships into the KwaZulu Bantustan, we have gone further to destroy part of the administrative infrastructure of the Pretoria regime.

From these examples, it is clear that we have the ability to raise the struggle to greater heights. Having rejected the community councils by boycotting the elections, we should not allow them to be imposed on us. We do not want them. We must ensure that they cease to exist. Where administration boards take over their functions, then these must be destroyed too.

In the Ciskei, as with the other so-called independent Bantustans, we must take the battle further. In the conflict of will between ourselves and the murderous Sebe regime, our will must prevail. And it will if we transform what began in Mdantsane as resistance to bus-fare increases into a nationwide offensive against the Pretoria Regime's Bantustan system. In Mdantsane the people have said - "Sebe must go! Power to the people!" That call should spread throughout the Ciskei to galvanise the people into united action for the destruction of the instrument of oppression - the Ciskei Bantustan.

The intolerable hardships and sufferings; the persecutions, detentions and murders of patriots and emocrats in other Bantustans call for the establishment of fighting organisations to organise and lead the struggle for the destruction of these racist institutions of oppression".

This year, Botha and Malan will be busy implementing the provisions of their apartheid constitution. In this regard, our democratic movement must mobilise to ensure that the so-called Coloured and Indian sections of the black population to refuse to be recruited to play the role of partners in apartheid tyranny. White South Africa alone should man the apartheid constitutional posts which it alone has created, for its exclusive benefit. Those who elect to serve in these apartheid institutions must expect to face the wrath of the people.

We must go further to say that our white compatriots, with even a modicum of anti-apartheid feeling, have to abandon the delusion that they can use Botha's constitutional institutions to bring about any change. The forces struggling for a new order in our country are outside of these structures. It is within the ranks of these extra parliamentary forces that the anti-apartheid whites can make a significant contribution to democratic change in our country. Now is the time to choose.

It is essential that we continue to shift our posture from the defensive to the offensive. The enemy has failed to destroy us and never will. But invincibility is not enough. It is in the attack that we shall find victory. Nor should we wait for the enemy to take the initiative and then react to its plans and schemes. We have a purpose, a goal, an objective, a historic mission to accomplish for our country and for humanity. Our historic duty is to pursue it with relentless determination and persistence, whatever the enemy does or omits to do.

We must apply ourselves with determination in our efforts to organise the unorganised, to consolidate, defend and expand existing people's organisations and to lead the broadest range in united action on all fronts. It is absolutely necessary to raise the standard of our organisational and educational work as well as psychological preparedness, to the level of the major and complex tasks facing our revolution today.

At this juncture allow me to single out the creation of the U.D.F. as a historic achievement in our people's efforts to unite in the broadest possible front for the struggle against the inhuman apartheid system. The formation of the United Democratic Front was a product of our people's determination to be their own liberators.

The growth of the strength of the democratic trade union movement and its power to wrest recognition from both the regime and the employers, and the determined efforts to form one national trade federation constitute one of the most significant advances of our struggle in recent years.

Everywhere in the country, our people and youth have courageously confronted the regime in numerous encounters, whether against rent-increases, forced removals or in military actions, among them the attack on the Air Force Headquarters at Pretoria by Umkhonto we Sizwe.

This is the spirit that must guide and inspire the leaders, organisers and activists of our democratic movement. We are talking of a spirit of rebellion and frame of mind which puts to the fore the politics of revolutionary change.

A special responsibility rests on the shoulders of the ANC and the most advanced members of our broad democratic movement to act as revolutionaries, - as such, to wage revolutionary struggle; and, basing themselves on the conscious and organised involvement of the masses of the people, to build a strong and discipline revolutionary

movement. In this context, the further mobilisation and organisation of the masses of our country assumes special importance.

Quite clearly, we have made great strides in these areas of work. This is evident in the strength of the UDF and the pace at which it continues to grow. It is evident also from the struggles we have conducted, in some areas for months on end. We can see it in the organisational growth of the trade union movement. There have been commendable advances in the development of the youth and students' as well as civic and women's movements.

We have built an organised mass democratic movement sufficiently strong to give us the possibility to tackle other uncompleted organisational tasks.

We refer here in particular to the organisation of the working class into a revolutionary trade union movement; the organisation of the rural masses, inside and outside the Bantustans; the organisation of the women-folk of our country and the religious community into struggle.

Let us now take a brief look at each of these areas of work:

Millions of workers in our country, including the unemployed and those engaged in the agricultural sector, remain unorganised. We have to make determined efforts to reach these unorganised workers, bearing in mind that it is the historic responsibility of the working class to take the lead in our struggle for people's power.

The task of forming one federation to unite the democratic trade union movement has not yet been accomplished. We should pursue this goal with even more determination and speed because, apart from anything else, a united democratic workers' movement would give us greater possibilities to advance our struggle.

We do not believe, dear comrades, that there are insurmountable or even very serious obstacles on the way

to the creation of such a federation. We do not agree with the school of thought which creates artificial barriers between the fight for trade union rights and the national liberation struggle under the racist conditions obtaining in South Africa. In our situation, the victory of the trade union struggle is unattainable except as an integral part of the victory of the political, ideological and military struggle. The struggle of the working class is therefore, and must be, an integral part of the national liberation struggle.

The organisation and mobilisation of the rural population is clearly lagging behind those of our people in the towns and cities. And yet it is in these rural areas that the apartheid system has its most disastrous impact on our people. We have the organisational capacity to begin to tackle the rural areas seriously and continuously.

In the Freedom Charter we say that "the land shall be shared among those who work it". As you will know, the situation today is that our people in the Bantustans have been reduced to landless and jobless outcasts. Many are condemned to a slow and painful death in the so-called resettlement camps. On the commercial farms, the most merciless brutalisation of our people, especially women and children, takes place, every day and every hour of the day at the hands of the landowners.

One of the fundamental elements for the solution of the problems facing our people in the countryside is the resolution of the land question in favour of the tillers. Our immediate task therefore, is to mobilise the rural masses around the question of land. It is only when the countryside is organised that the rural masses will be able to respond resolutely to the call: "seize the land!"

Brothers and Sisters,
Fellow-countrymen,

In the past period we have seen the increased involvement of the religious community in our struggle for liberation. In this context, you are aware that at the South African Council of Churches National Conference last year, a proposal was made to convene a conference in 1986 to decide on the issue of the contribution of the Christian church to change in our country. It was then said: "When peace is broken or threatened by injustice, the Christian has a responsibility to work for peace, to work for righteousness, by striving to rectify what is unrighteous, unjust".

Those words constitute a serious challenge not only to christians, but also to people of other faiths in our country. While the evil and unjust apartheid system exists in our country, we cannot have peace, nor can the peoples of Southern Africa.

The fraternal peoples of Namibia and Angola, especially, have for years now known no peace because of Pretoria's brutal colonisation and occupation of their countries. Daily, our Namibian and Angolan brothers and sisters suffer death and destruction from the regime's bombs, bullets and bayonets. This war of aggression is being conducted by a regime from our own country and we have a responsibility to ourselves and the children and people of Namibia and Angola, to raise our voices in condemnation of the aggression. We urge upon the people of South Africa to demand and fight for the immediate withdrawal of all South African troops, mercenaries, Pretoria-backed bandits and special assassination groups from Angola, Namibia and other affected countries of Southern Africa. In this context, let the oppressed and democrats of our country assume their historic responsibility, recognising that the struggle in South Africa is the hope of the sub-continent.

We are entitled to expect that people of all faiths in our country, including the Christian, the Jew, the Hindu and the Moslem, will in fact act and act now, in defence of justice, peace and life; against a system that is totally evil and inhuman.

It will be our special task this year to organise and mobilise our womenfolk into a powerful, united and active force for revolutionary change. This task falls on men and women alike - all of us together as comrades in struggle. We wish to stress the need, at the present hour, for the emergence on the political scene of a women's movement that is politically and organisationally united. Our struggle needs and demands this potentially mighty force.

Our struggle would be less than powerful and our national and social emancipation could never be complete if we continue to treat the women of our country as dependant minors and objects of one form of exploitation or another. Certainly, no longer should it be that a woman's place is in the kitchen. In our beleaguered country, the woman's place is in the battlefront of struggle.

We have come a long way from the time, as in the 50's, when we fought banded - disarmed and unarmed - against the military might and the trigger happy army and police force of the apartheid regime. No black hand was allowed to touch a fire-arm or possess any instrument more lethal than a pen-knife.

Today, the racist regime's army and police generals who occupy a central position in Pretoria's state machinery, through the State Security Council are making frantic efforts to recruit and arm the "Kaffirs, Coolies and Hotnots" of the 50's to serve as cannon fodder in the defence of a system that has fallen foul of the times, a system that has enslaved and debased us these past 70 years.

It is not that the military might of the regime has declined. It is rather that the people, determined to be free, have taken up arms and, through their own army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, have moved on to the offensive.

Today, armed struggle is a vital, indispensable component of the struggle for national and social liberation in South Africa, where the apartheid regime relies for survival on its fascist army and police, on black mercenaries, and on puppet armies and murderous puppet administrations who slaughter men as readily they butcher children, the democratic majority in our country supports the People's Army - Umkhonto We Sizwe, whose rising sophistication will yet compound the survival problems of the apartheid system.

But the challenge confronting Umkhonto We Sizwe in face of current developments in Southern Africa has never been greater. Therefore, in commending its units and commanders on the sustained offensive of the past year, we charge them, and call upon our people to carry the struggle to new heights, and sue for victory tomorrow rather than the day after tomorrow.

To this end, Umkhonto We Sizwe must deepen its roots and grow inextricably among the popular masses : among us - the workers, the peasants, the youth, the women; we, the unemployed, the landless, the homeless, and the starving millions.

Umkhonto We Sizwe must grow in size, in the spread and quality of its operations, and in the weight of every blow delivered. The armed struggle must grow. We shall achieve victory through a combination of mass political action and organised revolutionary violence.

We address a special message to the white youth. Your future is in issue. The apartheid regime has no future. Like Adolph Hitler and his war machine, after spreading death and destruction everywhere, the regime will be defeated and destroyed everywhere.

The future belongs to the majority of the people of South Africa, black and white, who, in struggle, are today laying the foundations of a united, non-racial democratic South Africa in what will then, but only then, become a peaceful and rapidly advancing region of Africa.

Your proper place is among these builders of a new order in our country. Join them. Refuse to join an army whose sole function is to murder, murder, murder African people everywhere.

It goes without saying that Black youth - African, Indian and so-called Coloured must under no circumstances serve in Pretoria's army of violent repression and criminal aggression. The democratic movement should immediately take up this issue with our youth throughout the country.

Our democratic movement, our movement for national liberation is part of a multi-million strong world alliance of forces which fights for national independence, democracy, social progress and peace. On the other hand, the apartheid regime belongs firmly within the camp of imperialist reaction and is active within this camp to further counter-revolutionary goals.

We therefore have an international obligation to be active in the struggle to defeat the counter-offensive that the imperialists, led by the Reagan Administration of the United States, have launched. We too must raise our voice against the war-mongers within NATO who have brought humanity closer to a nuclear holocaust by sabotaging all efforts at achieving nuclear disarmament and who have, instead, unleashed a new arms race and heightened international tension and insecurity. We too must

- 17 -

struggle together with the world peace forces especially because the Pretoria regime itself possesses nuclear weapons and maintains secret military relations with the most belligerent circles on the world scene.

We too must speak out and have spoken out against the attempts of the United States to impose its will on the peoples of the world. This policy has already resulted in the criminal invasion of Grenada, the undeclared war against Nicaragua and the direct intervention of the United States in El Salvador, in support of a gang of murderers. It has led to a reign of terror against the people of Palestine and their organisation, the PLO, as well as the people of Lebanon. It has helped Morocco to ignore the resolutions of the OAU and to maintain its colonial hold over the people of Western Sahara. This policy has further delayed the independence of Namibia and emboldened the Pretoria regime itself to seek to impose its will on the peoples of Southern Africa by force of arms.

In this regard, through a policy of military terror and economic strangulation, the racists seek to compel the independent states of our region to surrender their independence and, as an important part of that surrender, to help evict the ANC from the whole of Southern Africa. Never was there a clearer illustration of the relationship between the struggle to liberate our country and the struggle to defend the independence and sovereignty of the countries of Southern Africa. The peoples of our region share one common destiny. Certainly, that can never be a destiny of subservience to the criminal regime of Pretoria.

As the Maputo Frontline States Summit of March 1982 agreed, the only way forward for the peoples of our region is to support the ANC and SWAPO in our common struggle against the Pretoria regime and to repulse the offensive of the regime against independent Africa.

For some time now, especially since the Maseru massacre, spokesmen of the South African regime have repeatedly boasted of the intimate nature of their collaboration and the happy relations they have with the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland. The people of Swaziland, like most in the rest of Africa, will have resented that claim, especially if, as we suspect, Pretoria has in mind collaboration in the fruitless attempt to liquidate the ANC by assassinating and harassing its members and supporters in Swaziland.

The trouble about any alliance with apartheid is that the liberation struggle is growing and destined to grow and advance, no matter which or how members and leaders of the liberation movement are murdered or arrested in the doubtful interests of either white minority domination or good neighbourliness.

Of course the Botha regime is frantic about the emergence of the ANC as the alternative power on the South African political scene. The regime is frantic also because of its inability to block the powerful and evidently dangerous thrust of the ANC and the people towards the goal of liberation. The regime is therefore blackmailing African States into an alliance targetted on the destruction of the ANC.

But the ANC has grown among the people of Southern Africa in the past 70 years. It has always embraced and always will embrace them as allies and comrades-in-arms. It is a child of Africa's determination to achieve and enjoy human dignity, freedom and national independence; it will never betray that parentage. It is an integral part of the revolutionary process; it will stay in the revolution until final victory. The ANC is at once the life, the national awareness and the political experience of the popular masses of South Africa. As the people cannot be liquidated, neither can the ANC. We take this opportunity to give a stern warning to some of our people against the dangerous temptation to work as enemy agents for the liquidation of the people's struggle.

The indestructibility of the ANC should however not induce complacency on our part. In order for the ANC to effectively pursue and accomplish its historic mission, we must be unceasing in our efforts to strengthen and expand its underground structures, ensuring its active presence everywhere in our country.

We hereby extend our unequivocal support to the independent states of Southern Africa, including Seychelles, in the common struggle to defeat the aggressive policies of the Botha regime. The training, arming and deployment of counter-revolutionary bandits into Mozambique, Lesotho and Zimbabwe forms part of this aggression. We are greatly inspired by the heroic struggle of the people of Angola to expel the occupying South African forces from their country and to wipe out the puppet UNITA bandits. We salute the internationalist Cuban forces which have contributed so decisively to frustrate the schemes of the Pretoria regime and its ally, the Reagan Administration.

We extend our greetings to our comrades in arms of SWAPO, the Peoples Liberation Army of Namibia and the Namibian people as a whole and pledge to fight side by side with them until our continent is rid of all vestiges of colonial and white minority domination.

As we enter this New Year - we hail the firm and positive role played by the frontline countries and the forward country of Lesotho, despite Pretoria's destabilisation efforts and naked aggression against them. The dream of the total liberation of Africa is in sight.

We salute the resilience of the OAU in the face of concerted imperialist manoeuvres and call upon both the OAU and the non-aligned countries to increase their material and moral support for our struggle as well as that of SWAPO and the frontline countries.

The Socialist countries remain a solid pillar of support to our national liberation struggle. We are assured of their continued internationalist solidarity till the triumph of our revolutionary struggle.

In the past year we have succeeded in widening and deepening our support in the western countries. We are particularly cognisant of the consistent support we receive from Sweden and other Nordic countries, from Holland, Italy and Austria to mention a few. We are happy to report the establishment of a new office in Australia, at the supportive invitation of the Government and people of that friendly country.

Our efforts to win international support have been significantly sustained by a wide spectrum of anti-apartheid solidarity and mass organisations in almost all the western countries as well as the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. With respect to the latter continent, the occasion of the ceremony of the award of the Simon Bolivar medal of Honour to our people's hero, Nelson Mandela, served the great purpose of laying a firm foundation for the future development of our relations with the peoples of Panama, Venezuela, Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and other South and Central American countries.

We pay tribute to the progressive forces in the USA for their valiant efforts to achieve wide-scale U.S. disinvestment in South Africa. On them rests the heavy responsibility to defeat the Reagan Administration's racist "constructive engagement" policy with Pretoria, and to curb and confine the aggressive character of America imperialism.

We salute the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people fighting for their birthright under the tried and tested leadership of the P.L.O. and commend those Arab countries who are making a positive contribution towards the achievement of genuine and lasting peace in the Middle East.

Dear Compatriots,

On this historic 72nd Anniversary of the ANC, we pay undying tribute to the many patriots who have fallen in action since January 8 last year. Among these we remember, with great affection, especially Comrades Dora Tamana, Yusuf Mota Dadoo, Rev. James Calata - great stalwarts whose contribution to our movement shall be remembered by all future generations. We dip our revolutionary banner in tribute to the heroic combatants of Unkhonto We Sizwe, including Comrades Jerry Mosololi, Simon Mogoerane, and Thabo Motaung. We pay homage to the martyrs of our people like Saul Mkhize and Msizi Dube - all of whom were murdered in cold blood by the Pretoria regime.

We salute all our leaders and activists incarcerated in Pretoria's dungeons, and greet all those who are banned and banished. We greet you all ^{our} working people in the mines and factories, in the fields and highways, in offices, churches, schools, and hospitals and the various other socio-cultural services.

We greet parents, mothers and fathers who manage to raise families against tremendous odds in the face of the genocidal apartheid policies. The loss of life resulting from the operation of this system is staggering. The process and victory of our struggle will redeem the situation. In the meantime as a people, we need to address the problem of lack of respect for human life which is manifest in the growing number of deaths from unnatural causes in the ghettos of our country.

We have just brought to its close a year that we observed as one of United Action. During this year, we built up the unity of our democratic forces as never before. We must defend and consolidate these gains. We must build on them as we move to the next stage of our struggle. "The workers and peasants; women, youth and students; all of us black and white must continue to engage in an ever-broader and united assault on the racist regime and its policies".

One of the principal tasks we have to accomplish this year is, as I have said, the organisation and mobilisation of our wonderful race women. For this reason in the name of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress I declare 1984 THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN, and charge the entire democratic and patriotic forces of our country with the task of joining in the effort to mobilise our women to unite in struggle for people's power!

To all true patriots of our country, we extend best wishes for success in our common struggle during this, THE YEAR OF THE WOMEN!

Mobilise and March Forward to
Peoples's Power!!!

Amandla ngawethu!
Matla ke a rona!
Power to the people!

ABA 35

(Z. 15.)
81/142289

STATEMENT BY
NEC of ANC

8.1.84

(O R Tambo)

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STATEMENT OF

MEC & ANC

8.1.87

O R (amps)

7/11/82 (a) (13) *Handwritten*
85-07-14

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ABA 36

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT TRANSVAAL LIST OF NOMINATIONS FOR THE R.E.C.

POSITION.	NOMINEE'S	ORGANISATION	NOMINATOR.
1. PRESIDENT.	A. SISULU *	FEDTRAW.	FEDTRAW.
VICE PRESIDENT.	S. NDOU. *	GAWU.	SAAWU.
VICE PRESIDENT	I. MOHOMMED. *	ANTI. P.C. COMMI.	ANTI. P.C.
VICE PRESIDENT.	R.A.M. SALOOJEE *	T.I.C.	T.I.C.
GENERAL SECRETARY	MICHAEL SELOANE PAUL MASHATILE MOHAMED VALLI	MAYO AYCO. T.I.C.	MAYO/MAC. AYCO. T.I.C.
GENERAL SECRETARY	MICHAEL SELOANE PAUL MASHATILE MOHAMED VALLI	MAYO AYCO. T.I.C.	MAYO/MAC AYCO. T.I.C.
MINUTE SECRETARY.	EDDIE MAKUE. JONTY JOFFE.	TVL. ANTI. P.C. JODAC.	SCA. NUSAS.
PUBLICITY SECRETARY.	SYDNEY MAFUMADI MOSS CHIKANE.	GAWU. MAC.	GAWU. MAYO.
RURAL SECRETARY.	MURPHYSON MOROBE *	SCA/SOYCO.	SCA.
TREASURY	AZHAR CACHALIA * TITUS MAFOLO *	BSM. ASRO.	BSM. SAAWU.
MEDIA OFFICER.	MZWAKHE MBULI CECIL SOLS	KHUVHANGANO. RMC.	SOYCO. RMC.
EDUCATION OFFICER.	RAYMOND SUTTNER *	JODAC.	JODAC.
CIVIC PORTFOLIO.	ARTHUR MKHWANAZI *	ASRO.	ASRO.
YOUTH PORTFOLIO.	DANIEL MONTSISI MACON MATHE IGNATIUS	SOYCO SAYO RYCO	SOYCO TYCC TYCC TYCC

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POSITION	NOMINEE'S	ORGANISATION	NOMINATOR	
IDENT PORT- FOLIO.	MATTHEWS SATHEKGE. *	COSAS.	COSAS.	
BOUR PORTFOLIO	PAUL MASEKO. *	ERAPO.	GAWU.	
EN.	AMANDA KWADI. *	FEDTRAW.	FEDTRAW.	
PLEASE NOTE THAT THE CANDIDATES MARKED WITH THE <u>ASTERISK</u> (*) ARE THE UNOPPOSED.				

ABA 37

(Z. 15.)
81/142289

FREEDOM CHARTER

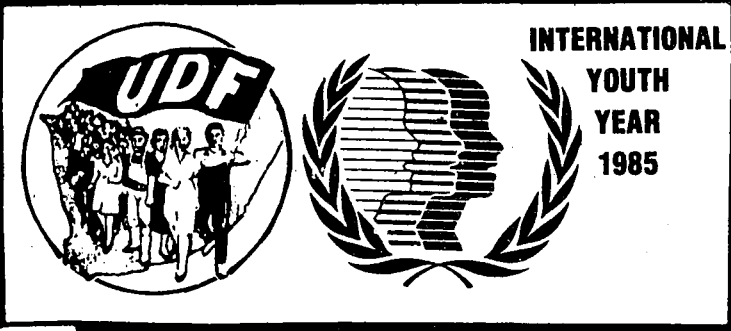
VISUAL ACTION

of.

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COME TO THE LAUNCH OF YOUTH YEAR



1985 has been declared International Youth Year (IYY) by the United Nations. Young people throughout the world, have already begun to celebrate this event. The themes for IYY are PARTICIPATION, DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE. Young people have seen the need to come together to solve their problems, and grow into mature people, living in a world of peace and harmony.

In South Africa, too, we young people face many problems. We do not have the right to make decisions about our lives. Our many talents are not allowed to develop and our attempts to create a better future for all, are stifled.

So, as young people we need to come together to decide how we can bring about a happier society. All over the country youth are on the move. In the Transvaal a great start has been made with the formation of the Transvaal IYY Committee. It has invited youth of all races to join it in its launch.

Sunday 21 April 10am - 6pm
Tembisa Mathole Cinema

Speakers:

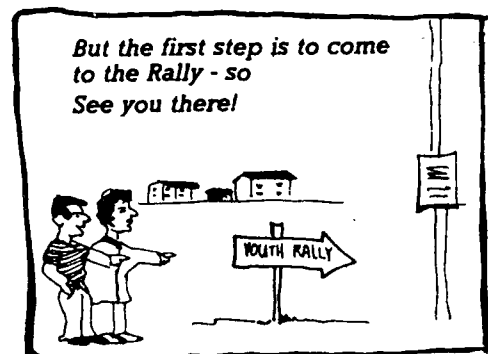
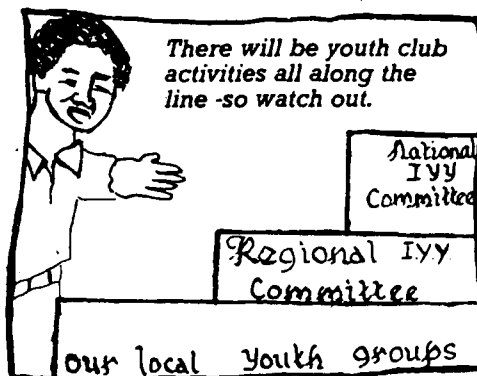
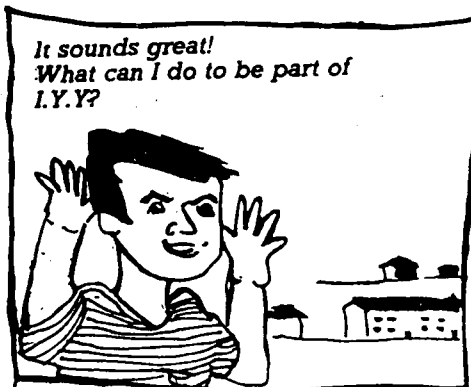
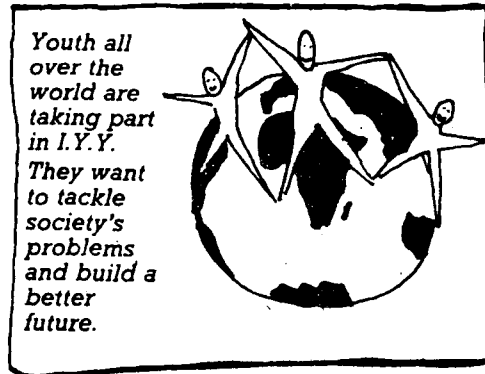
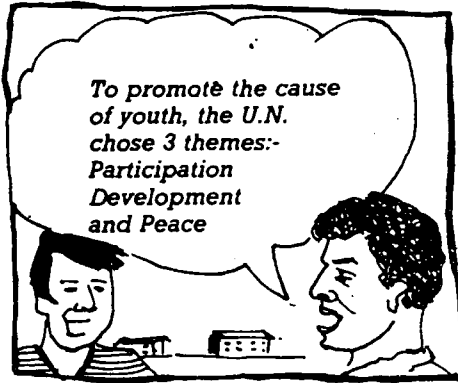
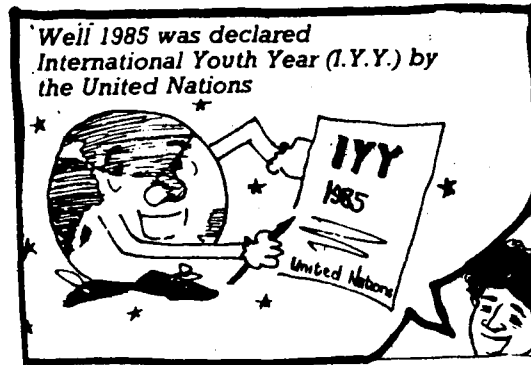
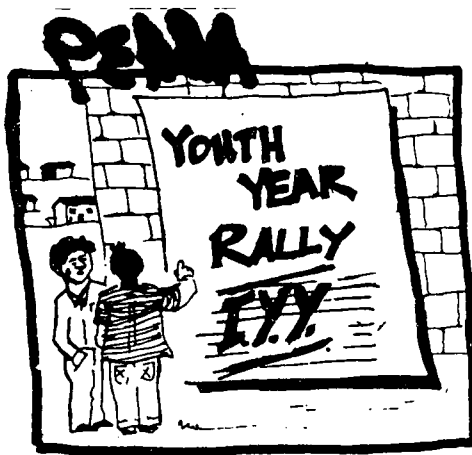
- L. Tsenoli (IYY-Natal)
- S. Mafumade (UDF)
- C. Kekane (Education Charter Comm)

- Fedtraw speaker
- SACC youth speaker
- Swapo Youth League speaker

Also:

- Poetry - Mzwaki, Jingles etc
- Music - gum boots etc
- Plays - Qinisela

YOUTH UNITE! THE FUTURE IS OURS!



JOIN THE YOUTH OF THE WORLD JOIN YOUR LOCAL YOUTH CLUB NOW!

Become part of the planning, directing and enjoying many interesting, challenging and fulfilling activities.

Meet youth of all races and backgrounds and make many friends.

Become useful to our communities and help do something about the problems that face us all.

Let us work together, black and white, to build non-racialism, harmony and peace...
...and move forward to a democratic South Africa, free of the evils of racism, division, hatred and injustice!

THE FUTURE IS OURS!

COSAS

EACH ONE TEACH ONE

TVL REGIONAL COMMITTEE

TEL 339 2139



~~ABA 10~~
CONGRESS OF
SOUTH AFRICAN
STUDENTS

FREEWAY HOUSE

9 DE KORTE STREET

BRAAMFOIITEIN 2001

07 OCTOBER 1984

THE SECRETARY

[Signature]
85-07-14

[Signature]

Dear Sir/Madam

The academic year of 1984 started with students of our country waging their educational struggle nationwide and showing their rejection of apartheid gutter education and dissatisfaction as a result of problems they encounter because of this colonial bantu education.

They made their demands clear to their parents and those responsible for them. ie. the apartheid Det in Pretoria. Their demands which are indeed genuine are, end to excessive corporal punishment, sexual harassment of their female fellow students, scrapping of age-limit law, issuing of text books to all of them and most important the scrapping of puppet prefect system and its replacement by a democratically elected representation in a form of Students Representative Council(SRC)

The response of apartheid Det was negative and was then followed by a series of detentions, intimidation, killing and harassment of students. This made us be convinced that apartheid Det does not have our interest as students at heart as it claims. This was further proved by the response of its minister who instead of looking into our demands as students, blamed instigators and agitators and finally said he will never give in to the demands of the students of our country. and wanted to divide us oppressed and freedom living People of South Africa.

At such crucial time in our struggle for justice and better education we find it important to inform all our People that only in united action shall we be in a position to win our struggle for People's education and power. and have the genuine demands of the students of our country.

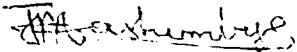
It is in this regard that the above mentioned students organisation, COSAS Transvaal Regional Executive Committee calls upon your organisation to send two delegates to a meeting to discuss this crisis, the role your organisation can play in solving the problems of the students of our country.

Vanue: Khotso House

Time : 12H00

Date : 10 October 1984

Yours Faithful



Tshiki Mashimbye

Secretary (regional)

J.M. Mula
(50) *Andiph 85-07-17*

~~ABA~~
ABA41

A CALL OF
UNITY PARTICIPATION LOVE AND CO-OPERATION
TO ALL RESIDENTS
NO-HOUSING FOR ONE IS NO-HOUSING FOR ALL

THE LAUNCHING OF THE MANKWENG Civic RESIDENTS ORGANISATION
DATE:
VENUE:
Let us Speak of Houses, Security and Comfort

We call on all residents of our Township and the surrounding villages
Let us come together and unite in organisation
Let us unite in action, participate, love and co-operate in our own democratic
own-created resident's organisation and elect our own democratic
representatives

Let us Speak of Houses, Security and Comfort

We call upon all Commuters, Workers and unemployed
Let us speak of the ever-increasing travel expenses
Let us speak of the long distances we have to travel each day to and from
work places. *Let us demand jobs for all.*
Let us speak of rest leisure and recreation
Let us speak of the rising cost of living and our ever decreasing starvation
wages
Let us participate as union and individual workers
Let us form our own democratic Resident's Organisation

Let us Speak of Houses, Security and Comfort

We call upon all business men and women and all intelligentsia: Lecturers
and students, lawyers, priests, nurses, doctors and all health workers
Let us speak of the deepening education crisis
of the increasing percentage of adult illiteracy
Let us speak of lack of preventive health schemes
of expensive medical care and hospitalisation
of the aged, orphans, the disabled and the sick
Let us speak of the normalisation of relationships between
. teachers, lecturers and students
. the church and the community
. doctors, nurses, health workers and patients
Let us speak of unity in democratic civic organisation

Let us Speak of Houses, Security and Comfort

We call all Parents and Youth
Let us speak of unused and yet unavailable housing spaces
Let us speak of the demolition of slums, abolition of ghettos and demand
decent housing for ALL now
Let us speak of rising food prices
of the rising telephone tarrifs
of the incessant water cuts
of the dark unelectrified streets
of the untarred, muddy, sandy and uneven roads
of the lack of playing fields, creches and other social centres



Rudolph 85-07-14

M. M. M. M. M.

ABA 42
ABA 42

NORTHERN TRANSVAAL UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT

CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

P.O. Box 667
SOVENGA
0727

85-02-21

Dear Comrades

You are hereby invited to a major conference to be held on the 3rd March 1985 at Kratzenstein Mission (Mmasealama)

The purpose of this conference will be to make final arrangements on launching of the N. Tvl. U.D.F. comrades are urged to attend this major conference.

You are requested to extend the invitation to other comrades.

Yours in the struggle

A. C. M. M. M.
CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

REPORT ON NORTHERN TRANSVAAL UDF CONFERENCE.

DATE : 03. 02. 1985.

VENUE : KRATZEINSTEIN LUTHERAN MISSION (MEASEALAMA)

Organisations, individual activists and working groups from all over in the N. Transvaal came together to discuss the progress of the UDF in this region. The conference was convened by the N. Tvl co-ordinating committee of UDF. The following organisations were represented:

1. South African Allied Workers Union (S.A.A.W.U.) -P/burg
2. United Metal and Mining Allied Workers Union of South Africa (Ummawusa) -Steelpoort.
3. Rankweng Youth Congress (RAYCO)
4. Seshego Youth Congress (SEYCO)
5. Kratzenstein Youth Congress (KRAYCO)
6. Congress of South African students (COSAS)
7. Azanian students Organisation (AZASO)
8. Lenyenyene working group.
9. Nkowa-nkowa Youth working group
10. P.P Rust TIC working group.

Other activists came from Sibasa (Venda) and Sekhukhuneland.

HISTORY OF THE UDF

Comrade Moss Chikane gave a brief history of the UDF. He pointed out that a call for a united front was made by Dr Allan Boesak on the 22 January 1983. This was followed by three regional launches Natal, Tvl and Western Cape. On the 20 Augustus 1983 more that 15000 people from all over S.A came together in Cape town launch UDF nationally. Since its formation, the UDF has been engaged in the struggle against forced removals, influx control and the new constitution. The UDF succeeded in exposing the new constitution which was and still is aimed at entrenching apartheid. On the 22 and 28 August 1984 more 82% of the Indian and Coloured people refused to take part in the apartheid elections and voiced in action their support for the struggling masses under the banner of the UDF.

REPORT ON THE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE.

Comrade Joyce Mabudafhasi read the following report.

The N.TVL. Co-ordinating committee was formed in May last year with the aim of Co-ordinating UDF activities and publishing the front in this region. The Committee to some extent succeeded in developing contact among activists and organizations in the N.TVL. Contact was also developed with many of the existing grassroots women's group which are organised mostly around cultural activities and self reliant projects.

On the 5th August 1984 a rally was organised by the committee in Seshego more than 5000 people attended the rally from all corners of Northern Tvl. This was the biggest political rally ever held in the history of the N.T.V.L.

Structures were formed during preparations for the rally and after. The committee failed in Co-ordinating activities the way it had planned mainly because of lack of funds. The national executive of UDF had promised to help financially but funds were available only for the rally. There after nothing happened

The meeting identified the problem as lack of Co-ordination and agreed that a much more permanent structure was needed to Co-ordinate in this region. Comrade Moss Chikane was asked to explain UDF structures ^{and} their functions. He confined his report only to the Area Committee and Regional structure because he regarded ^{them} as more relevant to our discussion. Acc (21)

AREA COMMITTEE.

Organizations working in the same area come together and form an Area committee e.g. organisations in Mankweng or Seshego can form an Area committee. ^{The} Area committee sends two delegates to each Regional Council meeting. These committee have got to raise funds on their own.

3/.....

REGIONAL STRUCTURE.

is a
 This is a much more bigger structure than an area committee. A regional structure is formed when organizations operating in the same region come together and form a general council (G.C.). The general council is the one that elects an executive committee. e.g. of regions are: Tvl, Border, Western, Cape, Natal, and Eastern Cape.

Regions are being financed by the national executive committee. This however does not bar regions from raising funds on their own, infact they are encouraged to do so. The N.E.C. is the only body which is allowed to raise funds on an international level.

DECISION.

It was felt that the meeting should not take any decision on the kind of a structure which will be much effective in the N.Tvl. This was agreed upon in order to give comrades time to discuss the type of structure we need to form in our area.

Another meeting where a decision will be taken as to which structure going to form will be held on the 3rd March 1985. Comrades are asked to come with full mandate from organizations on the question of structure.

CO-ORDINATION.

The committee was given the task to continue co-ordinating until the next conference. Names of people who could be contacted by the committee were given.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...

F. MOHLALA.

_____ Coordinating Committee.

ABA 43

PLAKAAT UDF

DONT VOTE FOR APARTHEID

ABA44

Book:

MAYDAY

issued by

CRIC



Handwritten notes in the top left corner, possibly including the name 'L.W.' and other illegible scribbles.



L.W.!!

TOETSPAPIER

(Skryf op albei kante van die papier)

TEST PAPER

(Write on both sides of the paper)

Handwritten 'Bylaag A' in the top right corner.

Handwritten 'ABA 45' and 'ABA45' in the top right corner.

Naam: Name:.....

Student Nr: Student No:.....

Vak: Subject:.....

Datum: Date:.....

Today is the 16th day of October, 1983. A historic day in our struggle, that is that it marks the birth & launching of Mankweng youth congress. It is an important aspect in our Revolutionary struggle in the sense that our youth have realized that it is only when its organized that it can play an important role in our struggle against racist minority regime in our country.

The South African Youth proved in 1976 that it prepared carry out the aspiration of the oppressed people of South. It proved itself to be a generation which was prepared & det to see freedom in its life time. But first before this youth can realise itself as the dynamo of the C.A Rev it must satisfy a few basic expectations among itself.

The Youth must realise the importance of Unity. It must know that the road towards the humanisation of the oppressed can only come when they are united. It must realise that fighting amongst themselves over trivialities would be of help to them. They must as a committed Youth avoid engaging ourselves in horizontal struggles. Ours is a vertical struggle — to fight against the dehumanising forces — as a united force. We must avoid promoting division amongst ourselves for Bata, Piet Kooen, those who promote division amongst us are not our leaders nor our compatriots but they are the stumbling block towards the achievement of our goal. One important fact concerning unity is that it is not based on the sameness or the same approach towards a common problem. Let us unite despite our diff approaches; as

long as our unity is based
and trust & sincerity, we
will attain our goal of
bringing a just society
in S.A. - Struggling Block for
word & deed.

If we can succeed to forge
unity amongst ourselves,
then we must take those at school,
University, the employed
& the unemployed then
we will be in a position
move on to educate
& prepare the masses for
the revolution.

~~Educative role of the Youth~~

It is important that the youth
as the dynamo of our Rev
must involve itself in a conscientizing
programme that involving
themselves a genuinely
liberating education. This
awakening of critical consciousness
will ultimately be the way to
the expression of social
discontents. Precisely
because these discontents
are real components of
an oppressive society situation.
If this education will
free the oppressed from
free of freedom. This
education will prepare the

of themselves a dehumanized
lead to humanization
to liberate themselves &
oppressors as well. Projects -
workers.

Youth Preparation
of leadership.

Youth as dynamo or
pivot / catalyst
1970 - 80s

Mahtanga (committed
death - to seekable
fires of Paris)

Youth: this is the stem from
which the branches like

J. Mosobeli, Motauze,
Mogoverane.

A coin that does
not value its youth.

Mpetra.

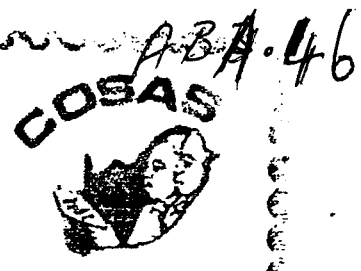
9

AAZ

07/25



Christoph. Masisi 28/1/88
 10000 0167 88



EACH ONE TEACH ONE

PROGRAMME

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. OPENING | 7. M.O.Y.A. |
| * HYMN | * FREEDOM SONG |
| 2. ORBITUARY | 8. TEMBISA WOMEN'S GROUP |
| * HYMN | * POEM |
| 3. TEMBISA CIVIC ASSOCIATION | 9. COSAS-TEMBISA BRANCH |
| * FREEDOM SONG | * FREEDOM SONG |
| 4. A.Y.C.O. | 10. COSAS-TVL REGIONAL COMM. |
| * POEM | * FREEDOM SONG |
| 5. S.O.Y.C.O. | 11. S.A.A.W.U. |
| * FREEDOM SONG | * FREEDOM SONG |
| 6. S.A.Y.O. | 12. UDF |
| * POEM | * FREEDOM SONG |
| | 13. NATIONAL ANTHEM |

A PEOPLE WITHOUT THEIR PAST HISTORY, ORIGIN AND CULTURE IS LIKE
 A TREE WITHOUT ROOTS. OUR ROOTS ARE... SHAKA, SEKHUKHUNI,
 ALBERT LUTHULI, ABRAM TIRO, HECTOR PETERSON, EMMA
 SATHEKGE,
 BONGANI KHUMALO, NELSON MANDELA,
 ... AND YOU ...

ABA 46

Joseph is the son of Johannes and Berlina Motsitsi. He was born in 1958. He started school at Sedibeng H.P. Later he got employed with Afgate, he was a breadwinner in the family. Joseph is one of the people shot dead by the Pretoria regime force on the 5th Nov 84. He is survived by his mother and two sisters.



2. Khehla is the son of Johannes and Francinah Tsoetsi, born in 1964. He started his schooling at Sedibeng H.P. in 1971. Later left school to work at Link Co. Khehla was shot dead by the Railway Police on the 5th Nov. 1984. He is survived by his father and mother, 4 sisters and one brother.



3. Ditiro Samuel Papo is the son of Patrick and Priscilla. He was born in 1968. He started school at Tlhakanyang LP. Later proceeded to Moriting HP. went to Boitumelong Sec. School where he was in Std.10 when he was shot by the SAP. on the 5th Nov. He is survived by his parents, sisters and brothers.



61 4. Susan is the daughter of Maggie and Elliot Mazibuko, born in 1958. She started her School at Ecaleni LP. school. In 1972 she proceeded to Shukumani HP. school. From there she decided to go and work until she was shot by the SA. Police on the 5th Nov 84. She is survived by her mother and her co-workers at Mr. Rooster.



5. Thomas Matsubane is the son of Simon and Mambethu Matsubane Born on the 10th Oct. 1970. He never attended school because he was mentally retarded. Thomas was brutally shot by the SA. Police. He is survived by his mother, grandfather and grandmother.

6. Jabulani Amos Nyathi is the son of Amos and Magdeline Nyathi, born on the 9th Nov 1963. He started school at Mavulane and later proceeded to Nyiko HP. and then to Boitumelong to do his Std. 7. He then left school and was employed at Mico Inisando until he was killed by the . . . on the 5th Nov .84. He is survived by his father and 5 sisters.



7. Frans Sikwambane is the son of Leah and Obed Sikwambane. He was born on the 8th July 1968 at Mooifontein. Frans started school at Giyana, Northern Tv1. in 1976 and due to some reasons beyond his control he returned to Tembisa to finish his primary education at Nyiko LP. Until a shopowner mercilessly ended his soul on the 5th Nov. 1984.



LONG LIVE UDF

U D F CALLS ON YOU TO SUPPORT THE STRUGGLE.

AGAINST high rates and rents
AGAINST Apartheid education
AGAINST unlawful detention
AGAINST police brutality
AGAINST government imposed community councils



UNITE AGAINST BOTHA'S ARMY AND THE
ARMED INVASION OF THE VAAL

In only one year the UDF has grown to over 600 organisations.
UDF unites people from all walks of life despite the state's
policy of divide and rule. Neither Le Grange's threats nor
police harassment will stop resistance to Apartheid.

DAN APARTHEID

Le Grange
513

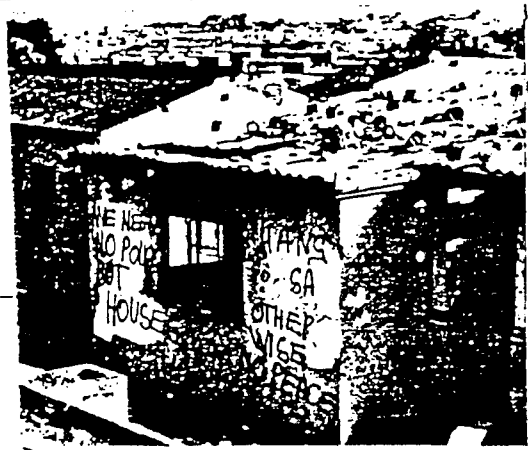
AB 447

DUDUZA CIVIC ASSOCIATION

ABA48



PUBLIC MEETING



FOR EVERYBODY EVERY ORGANISATION.

Tsangane
18/4/88
Mazibane

AT ISSUE: NO TO BUCKET SYSTEM. MORE HOUSES.



VENUE: DUTCH REFORM CHURCH

TIME: 1.30pm

DATE: 17.02.1985

ASINAMALI MASIHLANGANENI. ORGANISE OR BE HOMELESS.

BE ORGANISED

APR 1988

DIVISION OF CIVIL
ASSOCIATION

INTERNAL
CIRCUIT

FOR EVERYBODY

EVERY ORGANIZATION

AT RISK OF BEING
SYSTEM MORE HORRIBLE

WORLD LEADER
FROM CHURCH

DATE 17.08.1988

ORGANIZATION BE
ORGANIZATION BE

BE ORGANIZED

mulw

ABA 49

ATTEND COMMEMORATION SERVICE

SUNDAY 16 JUNE

SOWETO

REGINA MUNDI

12 NOON

Speakers:

Curnick Ndlovu
Nthatho Motlana
Tiego Moserfeke
COSAS speaker

ALEXANDRA

NOBUHLE HALL

1 PM

Speakers:

Paul Mashatile
Mrs Ntingane
Cosas speaker
Azhar Cachalia

EAST RAND

**DAVEYTON
KWA-THEMA
RATANDA
VOSLOORUS
DUDUZA**

Contact your local
organisation for
the venue and time

WEST RAND

**METHODIST
CHURCH, KAGISO II**

12 NOON

Speakers:

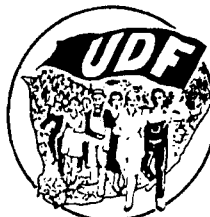
Gatsby Mazwai
Mgwusa president)
Isaac Genu
(KRO vice-chair)
Margaret Nhlapo
(Sadwa president)

Tsingane 18/4/87

UKUBIZWA KWABANTU!

Asikitumboleni u June 16 ngo-hambisana nozi nqumo ezithathwe kwi - UDF (national)

- Ziqhubekwe zilwelele imfundo yabantu ezikholweni
- Abasenzi wajoyine ama i-trade union
- Sakhe izinhlango zabantu, zife lezi zama khansela
- Siqinise izinhlango zamokhosizali
- Sakhe izinhlango zabasha
- Kuphele imithetho yamapasi
- Silwe ukuthi kukengabi nobandlululo, kepha ukuthula nokuzwana, czingizimu Afrika.



FROM MOBILIZATION TO ORGANIZATION!

Issued by UDF, Khotso House, 42 De Villiers St, Jhb.

18 4/9/87

20 23/9/87

Khumbula Umhlaka JUNE 16 1976

Ngo 1976 kwakungunyaka wezinyembezi, unyaka woku chitheka kwegazi nokufa — kepha nenguquko ekubalazweni kwabacindezelwe.

Kwaba yisikhathi seqiniso uma abafundi besukumela belwala izikhalo zabo, ngokungesabi bama bethi imfundo yobandlululo mayisuswe kungene imfundo yabantu.

Namhlanje akusebona bodwa abafundi, kodwa neminye imikhando, intsha abasebenzi, izakhamuzi namakhozikazi sibona ukukhula kwezinhlangano zabantu, ama civic associations ama-trade unions, izinhlangano zomphakathi kanye nezolusha nabafundi.

Eziningi zalezi zinhlangano zihlangane zonke ngaphansi kombutho obizwa ngokuthi i UDF. Baye bawehlenganisa wonke umzabalazo wabafundi ezikoleni, wezakhamuzi ema-lokishini kanye nowa basebenzi emsebenzini naku-hulumeni.

Ngo 1976 abasebenzi abahlala ewa-hositela bakhohliswa ngokuthi balwe nabafundi njenge-zithe. Enye yawo umzihlophe. Kepha namhlanje kunobumbano emzabalazweni wethu. Ngonyaka ondululile abasebenzi bayebazinikela ngenkathi kuthiwa azikhwela bekhombisa ukubambisana nabafundi uma bethi bafuna i-SRC's kuyo-yonke iningizimu Afrika abazali bakhe ama-komiti ukulekelela abafundi.

Ngokunjalo, intsha nabafundi balekelela abazali emzabalazweni mhla kwa-Simba Chips, ukuhlangana kwabazali be-xoshiwe nabafundi kwenza ukuthi bathole futhi imisebanzi yabo, kanti ukuhlangana kwezi-nhlangano zonke mhla uboitha ethi amakhaladi namandiya mawa votele ubandlululo. Ukubwa kwa-bantu behlangene sekuyinto enhle yemihla ngemihla.

Imizamo yonke ka hulumeni yokusikhohlisa, ngezinguquko ezingayindawo, azingashintshi kuze kunamhlanje. Nemimuya yethu yukuhlangana, masilweni siye phambili ngekg iphele, inguquko ezibonayo ukuthi namhlanje sihlangene, siqinile ukuya enkululekwene inkululeko iseduzane.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY!

KHUMBULA UMHLA KA JUNE 16 1976.

REMEMBER JUNE 16 1976

IN 1976 WAS A YEAR OF TEARS, YEAR OF BLOODSHED AND DEATH - BUT - - - - - ?

IT WAS THE TIME OF THE TRUTH WHEN STUDENTS STOOD UP FOR THEIR PRIVILEGES, THEY STOOD BRAVELY AND DEMANDED THE REMOVAL OF DISCRIMINATORY EDUCATION AND THE INSTALLATION OF A PEOPLES EDUCATION.

TODAY IT IS NO MORE STUDENTS ALONE, BUT OTHER BODIES AS WELL, THE YOUTH, WORKERS, RESIDENTS AND WOMEN, WE SEE THE GROWING OF THE PEOPLES ORGANISATIONS, CIVIC ASSOCIATIONS, TRADE UNIONS, COMMUNITY ORGANISATIONS, THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS.

MANY OF THESE ORGANISATIONS COME TOGETHER UNDER THE ORGANISATION KNOWN AS THE U.D.F, WHICH BROUGHT TOGETHER THE WHOLE STRUGGLE IN SCHOOLS, THAT OF THE RESIDENTS IN LOCATIONS AND THAT OF THE WORKERS AND THE GOVERNMENT.

IN 1976 THE WORKERS STAYING IN HOSTELS WERE DECEIVED INTO FIGHTING WITH STUDENTS AS ENEMIES, ONE OF THEM BEING MZIMHLOPHE, BUT TODAY THERE IS UNITY IN OUR STRUGGLE.

THE PAST YEAR WORKERS JOINED IN FORCEFULLY WHEN IT WAS SAID 'WE DO NOT RIDE THEM' THEY SHOWED SOLIDARITY WITH STUDENTS WHEN THEY WANTED S.R.C'S IN THE WHOLE SOUTH AFRICA

THE PARENTS FORMED COMMITTEES TO HELP STUDENTS.

THE YOUTH AND STUDENTS ALSO HELPED THE PARENTS IN THEIR STRUGGLE WITH SIMBA CHIPS, THE COMING TOGETHER OF PARENTS DISMISSED WITH STUDENTS RESULTED IN THEM GETTING THEIR WORK BACK, ALSO THE COMING TOGETHER OF ALL ORGANISATION THE DAY BOTHA SAID THE INDIANS AND COLOURED SHOULD VOTE FOR DISCRIMINATION.

THE UNITED FIGHTING OF PEOPLE IS A GOOD DAILY HAPPENING.

THE GOVERNMENT TRIED TO DECEIVE US BY CHANGES THAT DO NOT EXIST, NOTHING HAS CHANGED UP TO TODAY. OUR SPIRIT OF UNITY SHALL NOT GET EXHAUSTED, LET US FIGHT ON, THE CHANGES YOU SEE

IS BECAUSE WE ARE UNITED, WE ARE STRONG GOING
TOWARDS FREEDOM.

THE FREEDOM IS NEAR

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY!

UKYBIZWA KWABANTU

A CALL TO THE PEOPLE

LET US REMEMBER JUNE 16 BY GOING ALONG
WITH THE DISCISIONS TAKEN AT THE U.D.F (NATIONAL)

- TO GO ON FIGHTING FOR PEOPLE'S EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS
- THE WORKERS TO JOIN TRADE UNIONS.
- TO BUILD PEOPLES ORGANISATIONS, THE COUNCILS TO DIE
- TO STRENGTHEN WOMANS ORGANISATIONS.
- TO BUILT YOUTH ORGANISATIONS
- THE END OF PASS LAWS.
- TO FIGHT FOR THE END OF DISCRIMINATION, FOR
PEACE AND UNDERSTANDING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

(70) 23/9/87

No (19) 27/8/87

Tsamane 18/4/88

COMMEMORATION SERVICE: DUDUZA GYMNASIUM HALL

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DAY "JUNE 16 1985"

STARTING TIME: 12H00 noon

programme:

- *OPENING PRAYER:
- *REVEREND'S OUTLINE OF THE DAY:
- *VETSAK WOMEN'S CLUB:
- *UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE:
- *PARENTS & STUDENTS COMMITTEE:
- DUDUZA CIVIC ASSOCIATION:
- *VARIOUS TRADE UNIONS:
- *LERATONG WOMEN'S SOCIETY:
- *DUDUZA YOUTH CONGRESS:
- *CCSAS (LOCAL)
- *REVEREND'S OUTLINE OF THE DAY:
- VETSAK WOMEN'S CLUB:
- **UNEMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE:
- **PARENTS & STUDENTS COMMITTEE:
- **DUDUZA CIVIC ASSOCIATION:
- **VARIOUS TRADE UNIONS:
- **LERATONG WOMEN'S CLUB:
- **DUDUZA YOUTH CONGRESS:
- *CCSAS:
- **GENERAL:

WHEN JUSTICE RULES, THEN WILL PEACE REIGN////////

*How much more bloodshed for us to be human in our land????

*LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY////////

*POWER TO THE PEOPLE//POWER TO THE PEOPLE//

**AMANDLA NGAWETHU//////////

JUNE 16

On this day, June 16, 1976, the students of our country once again came out of the classes protesting against the Afrikaans language used as a medium of instruction and the entire unpopular Apartheid Colonial Education.

The first victim to die was Hector Peterson, a young boy, 14 years of age, who was mercilessly and ruthlessly killed by the trigger happy police of the Apartheid regime. This day in S.A. is remembered by all, in the Bantustans, the Rural and Urban areas, and, furthermore, it has become a daily business with the racists now having come to join the killing campaign.



From Atteridgeville in Pretoria to Cradock, from Thabong in Walkom to Uitenhage, students have stood firm together, united by the COSAS theme - United Action for a Democratic Education - and saying 'We want a democratically elected and run SRC, having its constitution drafted out of the people's wishes and interests in seeing the real normalisation between students and teachers.'

To this moment, the stubborn DET, when they saw our resoluteness has tried attempts to divide us, by giving in there and refusing there. As people who are concerned with Unity and Peace at all costs, we saw this principle working when we accepted a constitution (SRC) drafted by our parents and also approved by a teacher organisation, ATASA, as a basis of establishment of our democratic SRC's.

ADAP, 9 De Korte Street, Braamfontein

19/2/79 A S A S I
20
23/9/87
30/9/87

*Ewoud
D. du Toit June '85*

Each and everyone in S.A. now knows that S.A. is a fascist and racist country whose policies are based on Nazism. Botha-Malan's army has once again been used to 'quell' unrest in our townships, whereas the fact of the matter is that they have come to terrify, provoke and kill unarmed and peace-loving people in our land. When the world puts hope that, 40 years after the Second World War, there has not been another World War, South Africa is doing the opposite of what

the people of the USSR (through their peace movement) etc. are doing, by campaigning for peace.

We reiterate our call that, through dismantling Apartheid, peace and friendship shall prevail in S.A. (Freedom Charter Clause)

Without a united force, our strength is weak. The enemy we are facing is a strong and powerful one, and with this Unity, as it happened in Vietnam beating Americans and French imperialists, no powerful force can defeat the wishes of those struggling for Freedom and Self-determination.

COSAS, a UDF affiliate, reiterates its call for Unity in Action with all those fighting Apartheid and its allies. We call upon Azapo, Fosatu, Cusa etc. to attend this call. We stand aside with the SACC Vice President, Dr A.A. Boesak in his call for a prayer for the downfall of the Govt. whose interests serve only the interests of the small white minority.

Let us struggle forward. Let's not Mourn, Mobilize! Until our struggles for democratic SRC's, withdrawal of SADF from our schools and townships, resignation of Community Councils, drop to price increase to bread are not met, we will never rest, there is no going back.

Forever Forward! Backwards Never!
Victory or Death!

The SRC's shall mushroom in our schools!

March forward with the Education Charter Campaign!

Long live the Freedom Charter!

Amandla! Ngawethu!
Power to the People!

ISSUED BY COSAS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

(19)
27/8/87
(20) 23/9/87

26/6/86

ABA 52

5268
(Z. 15.)
81/142289

PLAKAAT:

REMEMBER 16 JUNE 1976

26/6/86

12/9/84

ABA 53

NOTICE

LESEDING SEC SCHOOL

YOU GUYS STOP FROM
GOING TO SCHOOL OR
OTHERWISE ??? BY COSAS
~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

STOP IT FROM
TODAY AT 8H00

VERTALING

JULLE SAL KAK AS JULLE VAN DAARDIE BOERE
VAN JULLE AFKOM

JULLE SAL VIR DIE BOERE DOODGAAN

JULLE SAL KAK

ABA 54 (1)

(1)	Musoni	Simphiwe	R1	bd
(2)	Mtshengwana	Musereeli	R1	pd.
(3)	Lygosyama	Munisi	R1	pd
(4)	L. S. Holo	Nyela	R1	pd.
(5)	Skeema	North Transvaal	R1	pd.
(6)				

- 38. Mayedwa Madoda
- 39. Nompumelelo Phungula
- 19. Zukisani Matsimbi
- 20. Bobe Nomsa
- 21. Nombekhaya Greyja
- 22. Lito Solomonzi
- 23. Lenco Mungisi
- 24. Nambanzi Juch
- 25. Phumtlang keh doc
- 26. Mokwanda Mkhong
- 27. Mseleni Khdeka
- 28. Nyathi Phumela
- 29. Manyube Nombekhaya
- 30. Stofile Osmond
- 31. Vusani William
- 32. Vusani Nombudelo
- 33. Kosiw Nompisi
- 34. Mackson Mdau
- 35. Party Money SIC
- 36. Mayedwa Sikelima
- 37. Ntsiudu Mpumelela

1. Momi Mamba ✓
2. Mguba hantso ✓
3. Mhntie Kobak ✓
4. Adumiso Moksunbi ✓
5. Bongani Bina ✓
6. Maimba Uyani ✓
7. Shiella Sijo ✓
8. Thembeka Brukwe ✓
9. Nontuthuzelo hupose ✓
10. Mayo Mackson ✓
11. Qilo Buiswa ✓
12. Mdjesha Nkuzolal ✓
13. Macebo Banat ✓
14. Bham Nontskoto -
15. Sebana Nobekuni ✓
16. Ngwala² Pam ✓
17. Thosi Jonas ✓
18. Xoliswa Athama ✓

MEMBERS OF COSAS

(4)

1. DANILO MALERO. Pd ✓
2. DOSELA MAVIS.
3. PHUNGULWA NOMPUNE LEHO. Pd ✓
4. MEMESE NODAN
5. DOBE NOM^{SA}ME. Pd ✓
6. MADOLO NOMATHAMANGA..
7. DILINA BONGANI Pd ✓
8. MATSINABI NDUMISO Pd ✓
9. JEKWA NOMSA
10. MAGANYA KHOLEKA
11. BRONA NONISOKOLO. Pd ✓
12. JACK MOMBEKHANA.
13. MOISHULWANA BONISWA.
14. MALI NOXOLO.
15. MLUNGWANA. BONISWA.
16. MAKANA ZUKISWA.
17. MALAMBILE PHATHIWE.
18. MANKUNE MATHSIRISO
19. QILO BUYISWA. Pd ✓
20. MIZENZE BALISE.
21. MOISHULWANE NOMBHE.
22. FUNISWA NOSIHO. Pd ✗
23. MIBUNGE NOSIHO.
24. KOSINI NOMFUSI. Pd ✓
25. NISUSA MIRANDA
26. MRAMBA NOBULALI Pd ✓
27. MEMESE SIZIWE Pd
28. MBOIYA BRENDA.
29. QUMZA NONDUMISO
30. MAKAZA THELMA.
31. ~~NONKATHA~~ NKOTHANE BONISWA.

- 32. YAKAYA BAE MANISISA. Pd ✓
- 33. MOSE MANDISA.
- 34. MINYAKAMA NONVULA.
- 35. DILINA PHILA. Pd ✓
- 36. DILINA NTOMBEKHANA.
- 37. GROOTBOOM BUYISWA.
- 38. JOHNSON PHUMLA.
- 39. THSAKO COLEKA.
- 40. MDODA NOMATHAMBAQA.
- 41. MANSUBE NTOMBEKHANA. Pd ✓
- 42. MBOYA NTOMBENTSHA
- 43. SONGWISI ZUKISWA.
- 44. SXOVISA NTOMBEKHANA. Pd ✓
- 45. GUSA NTOMBOKOLO.
- 46. GUSA NTOMBOMZI. Pd ✓
- 47. LUGOSWANA NONTMUTHUZELO. Pd ✓
- 48. NGINALANGWALA PRUDENTI
- 49. MDLANGANA LINDI
- 50. JANUARY BONISWA.
- 51. MENZI NOMFUNISO.
- 52. AUGUST QUINTON (A) Pd ✓
- 53. MDYESHA NOKUZONA. Pd ✓
- 54. MDYENGA FUNEKA.
- 55. MDONI MEYTI
- 57. NGUPHE MEYTI
- 58. PLATJIE BULELKA.
- 59. MALI PAMELA.
- 60. DILINA SICELI.
- 61. DILINA NOMANEJHU.
- 62. NGWALANGWALA PAM. Pd ✓
- 63. TOSELA NOMANGESI

- 64. HEKA XOLISWA.
- 65. MTSHUDU NELISWA.
- 66. GALEKWA NOMATHAMSAQA. Pd.
- 67. YAYI NONTSIKELLELO
- 68. HEKA NOMVUKA.
- 69. MANENE NYO.
- 70. MABE MZOXOLO.
- 71. MABESHA MGOBIDE.
- 72. MGOBATA THOKO.
- 73. SKWIBU LINDIKA. Pd
- 74. MZOLISA NOMDUMELELO.
- 75. MABE JULIA.
- 76. MABE THUMBEKA.
- 77. MABE TSEBEBEKA.
- 78. MABE NOMBWE.
- 79. MABE KHOLEKA.
- 80. DULWANA NOMACONGI.
- 81. MABE PHUMELA.
- 82. MABE NONZWAKAZI.
- 83. MABE ZIMASA.
- 84. TESANA THOZAMILE
- 85. LEHOLD MUYELWA.
- 86. MABE MABULULEKO.
- 87. MABE MZIMAKHE.
- 88. JONAS MUYOLO.
- 89. MABE MABEZO
- 90. LOSTERING MELISWA.
- 91. DILINA MOMBENIDI
- 92. MABE MUYELWA.
- 93. MABE KHOLEKA. Pd ✓
- 94. MABE THANDI

- 95. DILINA MORISWA.
- 96. ANTON NOMATHEMPA.
- 97. MABOMBINA MZIWAKHE.
- 98. MILA THAMSAQA.
- 99. MASONI MONTAUNUZELO
- 100. MABABUZANE MESHACK.
- 101. GOYI UYISWA.
- 102. YOKANI MONTSIKELELO
- 103. DAVINE NOMVUZO.
- 104. ~~JOSE~~ JOSE AA LOSE MZINKHULU.
- 105. MKONGI MOKWANDA. Pd ✓
- 106. KOKA NOMPUMELELO. Pd ✓
- 107. PLAATJIE ZWE LIDUMKE
- 108. Mose Mearage
- 109. Zinco Thamsanqa Pd
- 110. Zulema Santelw
- 111. GANDI ROXO.
- 112. SNELI MOKWESI
- 113. TOM KHOLEKA.
- 114. MAQWA KONNIE.
- 115. JOSE MOKISE.
- 116. SXULIWE LULEKA.
- 117. MAPELA SANDRE.
- 118. MAMEONA SIDIMA. Pd ✓
- 119. ZENZILE LUYANDA.
- 120. MONTYI ZOLEKA.
- 121. MSHUHU CIKIZINA.
- 122. NIANISO NOSIPHO.
- 123. NTSHUDU PHUMLA.
- 124. LISEKA NOMBENI
- 125. NANGU VUSUMBI

- 126 BOOI THATHO.
- 127. MISHULWANA THANDI
- 128. JAFTA MANGALISO.
- 129. MABUDLE NOMTHANDAZO.
- 130. NELANI MATHUTHUZELI.
- 131. BHELESANE ZANDISILE.
- 132. DANIEL WANSILE
- 133. MDLALO VUYANI
- 134. JONAS THOZI Pd ✓
- 135. GROOTBOOM LINDILE
- 136. GAYI VUYISILE.
- 137. MANTILE THEMINKOSI
- 138. PHAATSIÉ BONSILE.
- 139. HEKA XOLISWA.
- 140. SKANE JENNIE
- 141. MDYESHA CEBU.
- 142. VAPADI MONGAMELI
- 143. MAJENGE MTSIKELELO.
- 144. MPELEKA MANDLA
- 145. NONIYI ZALISILE
- 146. BABA XOLISWA.
- 147. MUGUBA LUNGU. Pd ✓
- 148. VUSANI NOMBUWELU. Pd ✓
- 149. NDLANGANA PHUMZILE.
- 150. ZITO SOLONZI Pd ✓
- 151. WILLIAM VUSANI Pd
- 151. VERA PHINDILE.
- 152. NOBHADULA FUMANEKILE ✓
- 153. MATSINIBI ZUKISHANI Pd
- 154. ANONI ZONWABELE
- 155. LEHULO THABELENG. PHUMZELANG Pd ✓

- 156. MALAMBILE MANDLA.
- 157. THYS ANDILE.
- 158. MABUULE LUNKILE.
- 159. SEYISE LUNTU.
- 160. KOKA MAMONGA.
- 161. LIWANI NEULE.
- 162. XHALWA NISOMILE.
- 163. PHILIP MAZINI.
- 164. DUDA MLUNGISI
- 165. NSUPHE MINININZI
- 166. MAPELA ALEX.
- 167. NENTSE BULELANI
- 168. ~~MLANI MATHUZELI~~. MAYO MACKSON. Pd
- 169. MLONBI ZITHULELE.
- 170. KOKA VUVISILE.
- 171. KAKANA NOMTHANDAZO.
- 172. NTSUDA MPUMKELELO. Pd ✓
- 173. JAFTA LUDWE.
- 174. LUGOSWANA MLUNGISI Pd ✓
- 175. VINGQI ELBIE. Pd
- 176. DUSA SEBENZILE.
- 177. HEKA LISA.
- 178. MOEKWANA VUSUNDI
- 179. MINTENGWANA MZWANDILE.
- 180. DUVILISIZAKELE.
- 181. MINTENSWANA MIVUSELEU.
- 182. DAVID MZIMENI
- 183. NTSUNDU ANDILE.
- 184. MALOYI LULAMILE.
- 185. MNIUYEDINA LULAMILE.
- 186. MGOABHUZANA ZONKE
- 187. KOKA MABANDLA.

188. NDLANGANE MELE.

189. STOFILE JOHNNIE.

190. BLOU SUNSHINE.

191. QUKWANA MIMI

192. SINO SHEILA.

Pd ✓

193. BRUKINE THEMBEKA

Pd ✓

194. SOBANA NOBELLUNGU.

Pd ✓

195. NTLAMA XOLISWA

Pd

196. MAYELWA MABABA.

Pd

197. ZINCO MLUNGISI

Pd

198. NYATHI PHUMULELO

Pd

199. KOBA MAMTIE

Pd ✓

200. MZIMBA VUYANI

Pd ✓

201. MDA MACKSON

Pd

202. STOFILE OSMOND

Pd

~~203~~
~~213~~ MAYO MACKSON

~~Pd~~

VUSANI / SIMPHINE

Pd

204. MLENGWANA MUSEWELI

Pd ✓

205. LEHOLO VUYELWA

Pd.

206. BOOI THARO

207. MATHELA NDIYAKHARZI Pd

208. Mzingisi Joseph Mtoba

13 Shade Zwidzwa duty (Wetel doctor)

His Father Alfred Tofile Mtoba

32 Mtshakaza Street

Zwidzwa²

209. Buteyi Pacific

ABASS-

①

CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS

.....

**DYNAMIC FREE AND COMPULSORY
EDUCATION FOR ALL**

COSAS



**MEMBERSHIP
CARD**

(2)

Name JEFFREY V. SAMBOKWE

Address 38 BRICKSFIELD LOC.
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Branch SOMERSET EAST

Secretary N. GYOYISA

Date 2 October 1984

OBJECTS

1. To create a spirit of trust, responsibility, understanding and creative companionship between students.
2. To strive towards an education which is dynamic, free and compulsory for the betterment of society.
3. To create a spirit of co-operation and trust between students and parents and teachers.

SAMUEL Mzukisi BANZANA

"In thy light we shall see light"

P.O. Box 270

Somerset East
5850

OR

276 - 9th Avenue
New Brighton
Somerset East
5850

Samuel Mzukisi Banzana
University of Fort Hare
Tiyo Soga II (East Camp) Room:
"In thy light we shall see
light."

The attached are forwarded to you
Pillay Ronny : 543471
421806 }

AB A 56

With the Compliments of

S. NKANUNU & CO.

ATTORNEYS

SILAS NTUTUZELO NKANUNU

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6014

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Port Elizabeth

HANDY HOUSE
120 CHARLES STREET

Molly P.O. Box 13022
 Blackburn P.E.
 1983

Nuwejaarsdag/New Year's Day	Jan. 1	Republiekdag/Republic Day	Mei/May 31
Goeie Vrydag/Good Friday	Apr. 1	Krugerdag/Kruger Day	Okt./Oct. 10
Gesinsdag/Family Day	Apr. 4	Geloftedag/Day of the Vow	Des./Dec. 16
Stigtingsdag/Founders' Day	Apr. 6	Kersdag/Christmas Day	Des./Dec. 25
Hemelvaartdag/Ascension Day	Mei/May 12	Welwillendheidsdag/Day of Goodwill	Des./Dec. 26

JANUARIE	FEBRUARIE	MAART
S . 2 9 16 23 30	S . 6 13 20 27 ..	S . 6 13 20 27 ..
M . 3 10 17 24 31	M . 7 14 21 28 ..	M . 7 14 21 28 ..
D . 4 11 18 25 ..	D 1 8 15 22	D 1 8 15 22 29 ..
W . 5 12 19 26 ..	W 2 9 16 23	W 2 9 16 23 30 ..
D . 6 13 20 27 ..	D 3 10 17 24	D 3 10 17 24 31 ..
V . 7 14 21 28 ..	V 4 11 18 25	V 4 11 18 25
S <u>1</u> 8 15 22 29 ..	S 5 12 19 26	S 5 12 19 26
APRIL	MEI	JUNIE
S . 3 10 17 24 ..	S 1 8 15 22 29 ..	S . 5 12 19 26 ..
M . <u>4</u> 11 18 25 ..	M 2 9 16 23 30 ..	M . 6 13 20 27 ..
D . 5 12 19 26 ..	D 3 10 17 24 <u>31</u> ..	D . 7 14 21 28 ..
W . <u>6</u> 13 20 27 ..	W 4 11 18 25	W 1 8 15 22 29 ..
D . 7 14 21 28 ..	D 5 <u>12</u> 19 26	D 2 9 16 23 30 ..
V <u>1</u> 8 15 22 29 ..	V 6 13 20 27	V 3 10 17 24
S 2 9 16 23 30 ..	S 7 14 21 28	S 4 11 18 25
JULIE	AUGUSTUS	SEPTEMBER
S . 3 10 17 24 31	S . 7 14 21 28 ..	S . 4 11 18 25 ..
M . 4 11 18 25 ..	M 1 8 15 22 29 ..	M . 5 12 19 26 ..
D . 5 12 19 26 ..	D 2 9 16 23 30 ..	D . 6 13 20 27 ..
W . 6 13 20 27 ..	W 3 10 17 24 31 ..	W . 7 14 21 28 ..
D . 7 14 21 28 ..	D 4 11 18 25	D 1 8 15 22 29 ..
V 1 8 15 22 29 ..	V 5 12 19 26	V 2 9 16 23 30 ..
S 2 9 16 23 30 ..	S 6 13 20 27	S 3 10 17 24
OKTOBER	NOVEMBER	DESEMBER
S . 2 9 16 23 30	S . 6 13 20 27 ..	S . 4 11 18 <u>25</u> ..
M . 3 <u>10</u> 17 24 31	M . 7 14 21 28 ..	M . 5 12 19 <u>26</u> ..
D . 4 11 18 25 ..	D 1 8 15 22 29 ..	D . 6 13 20 27 ..
W . 5 12 19 26 ..	W 2 9 16 23 30 ..	W . 7 14 21 28 ..
D . 6 13 20 27 ..	D 3 10 17 24	D 1 8 15 22 29 ..
V . 7 14 21 28 ..	V 4 11 18 25	V 2 9 <u>16</u> 23 30 ..
S 1 8 15 22 29 ..	S 5 12 19 26	S 3 10 17 24 31 ..

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SANTYI DYASI
MBULELO MBOSYA 9-05-85
MONDE SIEMELE 4691

10582 KUPAZKHELE
N.E. 66 5768

1982
DECEMBER
DECEMBER

HELD AT 5/14
13th SEPTEMBER 1984
EXECUTIVE

- 1) CHAIRPERSON :- S. M. BANZANA
- 2) VICE CHAIRPERSON :- S. CHETTY
- 3) TREASURER :- EDDY
- 4) MINUTE SEC. :- SANDY (209680)
- 5) CORRESP SEC. :- T. J. MBENYANE
- 6) PUBLIC OFFICER :- VISHU
- 7) WOMEN'S CEG. :- FIONA
- 8) PROTECTS' OFFICER :- M. NYATI
- 9) ORGANISER :- BANGY MPEKULA
- UDF CO-ORDINATOR :- MANDLA MTHEMBU
- E.C.C. CO-ORDINATOR :- SIFISO MSIBI

484 482 Durban (KwaZulu)

1984

NEWSA CONFERENCE REPORTS
THE ROLE OF STUDENT TEACHERS
10th BURG

- 1) Where do we get our material, democratic struggle.
- 2) How NEWSA can help the student teacher.
- 3) How to organize on the preparator campuses / colleges taking Mthunzi + mthunzi training colleges as our models. (Link of the growth the establishment of SRC's)
- 4) Drawing of bridges by student teacher / compelling them to form organizations / alliances like SAKATA.
- 5) Problems student teachers face in as far as AZASO is concerned take thinking of AZASO being operating in some high profile political level that some have seen 2 NEWSA being directly focusing on their educational problems and have chosen to -organize themselves better with NEWSA than AZASO.

There is a need for student teachers to organize workshops / working maybe at teacher / pupil relationship, how to strengthen

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Jack's secretary (Mr Ncube) 541388

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WEEKLY FILE COPY 4

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Rev. Mphahle 379 - Alice

Rev. Mearns 4438 Grahamstown

Rev. Mearns Cape Town 341373

Rev. Steward 24398 Gray - Keint

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Mabelle Yonine (organiser)

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(City Press Journalist)

(City Press Journalist)

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NON FUNDO MKHEHLE (COOKHOUSE) 132
MSRC (MEDICAL SCHOOL - CIV) 253345

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Phone no. 661777 } 692
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P.O. BOX 66 } 138
COOKHOUSE }
5820 } 88 - SEPTEMBER

NOTES

1. What is economics? is the study of why choices are necessary and how they are made, a study generally undertaken with the aim of improving in some way the outcome of choices.
2. The opportunity cost of any choice is the best alternative which is foregone by making that choice.
3. A commodity is economically scarce when insufficient is available to satisfy all wants completely and the question of its allocation arises.
4. Economics is the study of how men & society choose to allocate scarce resources between alternative uses in the pursuit of given objectives.
5. Economic system decisions have 3 questions
 - (i) what goods & services are produced?
 - (ii) how much of each good & service should be produced?
 - (iii) who should get what is produced?
6. A positive statement says what was, is, or will be and its validity can be tested by an examination of the facts.
7. Normative statements are value judgements.
8. Economics is a science which studies human behaviour.
9. Demand - an ability to pay for a commodity.
10. Characteristics of Utility:
 - (i) A commodity generates different utilities for different people & for the same person at different times
 - (ii) For the same person different commodities may satisfy the same want to different extent.
 - (iii) The utility generated by a unit of a commodity varies according to how much a consumer has of that commodity already.
11. The Law of Diminishing Marginal utility states that the utility of additional units of a commodity to any consumer decreases as the quantity of that commodity he is already consuming increases.

VOORUITBEPLANNER 1984
FORWARD PLANNER

JANUARIE JANUARY	
12. Free goods - are so plenty in relation to the wants for them that no allocation is necessary & so they don't have a price eg. fresh air.	
13. Equilibrium price of a commodity is that price at which the quantities demanded & supplied in a given time period are equal to each other.	
14. Factors affecting household demand for a commodity <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (i) the price of the commodity itself (ii) incomes of consumers (iii) price of competitive (or substitute goods) (iv) price of complementary goods (v) tastes of consumers. 	
FEBRUARY FEBRUARIE	
Elements of economic theory by Erich Koll & qualities of wants: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> (i) they are unlimited in number. (ii) the competitive nature i.e. wants compete with one another for the limited resources. (iii) their complementarity i.e. one gives rise to another (iv) their recurrence & they will tend to recur even after they have been satisfied. (v) it is limited in capacity. 	
MAART MARCH	
15. A good is everything that an individual regards as capable of satisfying a want.	
16. Free goods - goods that are not limited in relation to wants. eg. air, water.	
17. Economic goods - those that may be limited in relation to wants, they may be scarce	
18. Economic dynamics is the study of economic phenomena in relation to preceding & succeeding events - Economic dynamics by William F. Baumol	

APRIL (Economics)
 Recommended Reading (Library books)

1. *Monetary Policy Theory*: Van der Berghe, F.
2. *Government*: P.A. Samuelson
3. *Basic Economics*: T.J. Hollman
4. *The A.A. Economy*: Howard, D.H.
5. *The A.A. Economy*: Nathan I.
6. *Government Policy in A.A.*: J.A. Lombard.
7. *Economics*: Giff R. P.
- 8.

MAY
 The rising impact of inflation on the population
 power in order to ~~reduce~~ reduce inflation returns to our
 investment on investment in
 investment that.

What makes our economy go?
 (a) The purpose of a good economic system is to provide
 an abundance of goods & services efficiently & to distribute
 them widely among consumers.
 As they is defined as any automatically accepted
 medium of exchange.

(c) Money helps economic activity
 (b) Money - a society in which money is
 continuously meeting the conditions under which they
 need to be used

JUNE
 (a) Government - assumed "to be economic man" who
 unconsciously guide & control the economy system.
 of Hayek's (Economics) - is a state of affairs
 content with one's conditions of life
 (b) such individual wants
 (c) social wants
 Factors influencing money
 Economic research & climate
 (ii) Institutional activity

- TIME TABLE FOR MAJOR TESTS 1983
- COMMERCIAL LAW I 6 MAY 4 9 5 PT
 - ECONOMICS I 9 MAY 4 12 5 PT
 - BUSINESS ECONOMICS I 13 MAY 9 15 5 PT
 - ACCOUNTING I 18 MAY 9 20 5 PT
 - STATISTICS I 27 MAY 9 29 5 PT

(iii) social & governmental policies
 "Amnesia"
 "Government" @ "defining"
 @ "Business Economics"
 things to do @ my ledger book
 Report
 Commercial Law (I & II)
 Statistics

(14) social & governmental policies

Homeworks

Assignments:-

① Accounting

② Business Economics

Things to do ① Buy Ledger Book

② Journal.

Prepare

Commercial Law Tutorial

Statistics

TIME TABLE FOR MAJOR TESTS 1983

COMMERCIAL LAW I 6 MAY & 9 SEPT

ECONOMICS I 9 MAY & 12 SEPT

BUSINESS ECONOMICS I 13 MAY & 15 SEPT

ACCOUNTING I 18 MAY & 20 SEPT

STATISTICS I 27 MAY & 29 SEPT

no war ming's worky shorts
R1 machine guns.

Dammy order served loud -
Speaker to people + family
by the bombing order.

people use leader ship tried
to stop people who in
a state of confusion
couldn't believe it
people accident to move
to KwaAkwantle to Lager
started by a light which
blacked them in front.

(orderly manual marching)

1st stop singing + people
conformed + they lined

43 dead + 2 = 45 people

Hospital's don't want to give
information + was closed to
people

1988 JUNE

WEEK 10

U1 TENHAGE MASSACRE

WEEK 11

0700

Funeral of 3 people - 21/03/88

Banning order yesterday

Late people not aware

because of late news.

People from Kusa Nobule to

Langsa for the funeral.

People simply short

(they were not singing)

43 killed

more than 50 living stone +

Provincial

(should have you late)

People used taxis +

Police took them off

The fox is + they

of went on foot

1st
1984

NEUSA CONFERENCE - JO'BURG

0700 THE ROLE OF ^{NEW} STUDENT ^{NEW} TEACHERS

- 1) Where do we fit in the national, democratic struggle.
- 2) How NEUSA can help the student teachers
- 3) how to organize on the repressive campuses / colleges taking Ndumiso + Mbitshulu Training colleges as our models. (link this with the establishment of SRC's)
- 4) signing of pledges by student teachers compelling them to join organizations / alliances like Inkatha.
- 5) Problems student teachers have in as far as AZASO is concerned like thinking of AZASO being operating on a high profile political level and some have ^{UNDAY} seen 2 ^{SOP} NEUSA being directly focussing on their educational problems and have chosen to acquaint themselves better with NEUSA than AZASO.
- 6) There is a need for student teachers to organize workshops looking maybe at teacher pupil relationships, how to strengthen

1. WHY SAY GO INNOVATION

② BROTHERS & SISTERS OF OUR NATION & INTERESTS IN EDUCATION

① Defeat - community problem - we caused leaders are not concerned about education of our people

THEY WENT TO A GREATER EXTENT OF BRINGING SIMMONS

APPARENTS

① RESPONSE OF THE YOUTH AS THIS IS THE YEAR OF THE YOUTH

THESE ARE THE FEARS OF THE YOUTH

THESE ARE THE FEARS OF THE YOUTH

THESE ARE THE FEARS OF THE YOUTH

THESE ARE THE FEARS OF THE YOUTH

THESE ARE THE FEARS OF THE YOUTH

THESE ARE THE FEARS OF THE YOUTH

AIMS & OBJECTIVES OF I.C.T.

- ① Make them aware of their responsibilities in a society of injustice
- ② To make young people realize the importance of their participation in the decision-making in the Church and the Community
- ③ To enrich our understanding of the faith, through joint action and reflection

The destruction of human life, the suffering and exploitation is caused by economic and racial laws of one small group over a deprived Mass. These dark forces create - rich and poor; Exploiters and Exploited; Have and Have nots; Workers and Bosses. The dominant ruling class is protecting his interest thereby destroying the life of the exploited

It is of utmost importance to remember that we cannot work in isolation. That the youth is one aspect of the broader struggle. By forming part of the broader struggle with progressive organisations like the U.D.F. we would in fact give strength and direction to our own objective. It is better to die for an idea than live for an idea that will...

1. Thando Mboha
2. Mzwandile Dyeje
3. Monelli Gxoxya
5. Thozzi Mdyesha
6. A. Gush
7. h. Silima
8. N. Ngciphu
9. M. Blawu
10. N. Mbotja
11. N. Teyo
12. M. Ngwalengwala
13. W. W. Ngwalengwala
14. M. M. Ngwalengwala
15. Baba Mkohe

cut 1980

actions as has happened in 1976

This could have the result for united ideas between parents and youth. If the I.C.Y. could arrange during community. It would concern the struggle and present the part of the exploited which encourages individualism. The youth of society live in a society that generation groups are created by the type the so-called "generation gap". I believe that parents are necessary restrictions in their stability of youth. Parents tend to resist the change is important for the relationship between youth and parents.

1. R. URAYI
2. W. GCAGUSO

ABA 57
ABA 57

GA RE NYAKA MAKGOTLA - TOROPO

Rena baswa le baithuti ba motse wa Mankweng re ganana le go ba tona ga Lekgotla-toropo (Town Council) mo motseng wa rena. Mabaka a rena ke a a latelago :-

- 1. Lekgotla-toropo le re le nyaketše batho ditene eupša nomoro ya batho batho bao ba filwego ditene ga a fihle le seripagare sa batho bao ba nyakago ditene.
- 2. Lekgotla-toropo le e sale le lefiša batho tšhelete le re le nyaka go aga keretshe(creche) mengwageng ye meraro ya go feta. Le gona bjalo re se letile.
- 3. Motse wo wa Mankweng ke kgale o agilwe, eupša ga go na le Holo ya motse(Community Hall).
- 4. Baswa ba motse wa Mankweng ga bana mafelo a go itloša bodutu. Se se dira gore baswa ba fetoge ditsotsi.
- 5. Batho bao ba filwego ditene ba gapeletswa gore ba age dintlo pele ga lebaka la ngaga. Tšhelete ya go aga ba e tšea kae?

Afrika-Borwa ka bophara batho ba lemogile gore makgotla a mošomo wa ona ke go ohetša ditefelo tša dirente, mehlagase le tše dingwe. Makgotla a ke ona a rweleago melato ya go bolawa ga batho ba rena mafelong a go swana le Sebokang, Katlehong, Tembisa, Soweto ; gape le go tswalelwa ga dikolo kua Atteridgeville (Phelendaba) kua Pretoria.

Ka mabaka a re a boletšego, re dira boipiletšo go batswadi ka moka le badudi ba motse wa Mankweng gore ba se ke ba kgetha mo dikgethong tše. Re dira boipiletšo gape le go bao ba tšea go karolo mo Makgotleng a gore ba tlolele(resign).

We the Youth and the students of Mankweng, because of the reasons that we have given above reject the so-called Town Council. We are calling on all the freedom loving citizens of Mankweng not to vote in these dummy and puppet bodies. We are calling upon those who are candidates in these satanical institutions to immediately resign.

MAATLA KE A RONA... ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE... DOWN WITH THE TOWN COUNCIL
Issued by MANKWENG YOUTH CONGRESS (MAYCO) and THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (COSAS)

*S. Muller's
Audience*

19 27/8/87
20 30/9/87

WE DONT WANT TOWN COUNCIL

We the students and youth of MANKWENG, we don't want the TOWN COUNCIL in our location. Our reasons are as follows

i) This town council said, it will give our people stands to build their houses. Only a few people got these stands while a large number of people are still on the waiting list.

ii) This town council has collected money from the people in the township promising to build a creche for them. It is been now three years and we are still waiting for that creche.

iii) Mankweng township is an old place and yet there is no community hall.

iv) At Mankweng the youth has no place to attend hiscope or other things, and that is why they are becoming TSOISIS.

v) Those people who are been given stands are forced to build houses within a years time. Where wil they get the money?

The Town Council is responsible for the rent increase, electrical bill and so on. They are the people who are responsible for the death of our people at SEROKENG, KATHEHONG, TEMBISA SOWETO, and the closure of the schools at ATTERIDGEVILLE in PRETORIA.

Because of the above reason we ask our parents and all residents of MANKWENG not to elect at any election. We are also regretting the town council members to resign.

We the youth and the students of MANKWENG, because of the reasons that we have given above reject the so called Town Council. We are calling on all the freedom loving citizens of MANKWENG not to vote in these dummy and puppet bodies. We are calling upon those who are candidates in these satanic institutions to immediately resign.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE --- DOWN WITH THE COUNCIL

Issued by MANKWENG YOUTH CONGRESS (MAYCO) and THE CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS (COSAS)

ABAS 811
ABAS 8

Dear Sir
You are advised
to resign from
these Community Councils
as soon as possible,
or else you will
be endangering
your business and
life as such.

NB! Advice your
friends (others).

S. A Suicide
Squad

2
ABAS 8(11)

"B"

Mr. S. Mohale
Tintis
Sorenac 0727

Resign from ^{ABA 59c/ii}
community councils
as soon as possible

ABA
59

ii) Advice others
iii) Continuation
will endanger your
life and family

by J. A. S. S.

Thank x.



ABA 5 9(117)

"K"

MAIS Matsete / a
Sovereign
0727