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COVER: official ANC logo for 70th anniversary.
Editorial

UNITY IN ACTION

The ANC has declared 1982 a year of Unity in Action. On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the ANC this is a fitting tribute to the founding fathers of the ANC. These men and women achieved a lot — during their lifetime — and therefore left us with a legacy which we cherish. We should remember that the idea of the formation of the ANC was democratically adopted: it was put to a vote and passed unanimously, with loud cheers, all delegates standing. It was a popular decision. There was more to it. The formation of the ANC meant an establishment of African political opinion as an autonomous factor in its own right in South African politics.

Since then much has happened internationally and nationally. The working class within our country has become a dynamic component of the liberation struggle; the C.P. played and still plays an important role in our liberation struggle; the Indian and Coloured communities have identified with the African people; the Freedom Charter was adopted; Umkhonto we Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC is using a new type of weapon against the white minority rule; a growing number of white resisters — including war resisters — is gradually coming closer to the positions of the ANC and numerous organisations have emerged recently among the black oppressed masses.

It is these forces the ANC is appealing to for unity in action. We aware that there are many problems to overcome. Some of these organisations do not share our outlook — but they adopt anti-apartheid positions. We should also remember that each people and indeed even each locality has its own historical experience — and this may influence in one way or another the form of unity in action. We should not forget that these various forces have not been subject to exactly the same exploitation.

Whilst we do not overlook these aspects, we do not emphasise them. Our task is to strengthen these forces, to broaden and deepen their outlook. What is foremost in our thinking is the cause we represent and in the pursuance of our goal the question of further deepening the cohesion of these forces is of vital significance. Unity in action means unity of all those forces that stand against Apartheid, racism and colonialism regardless of their class background. It also means a relentless struggle against racism, anti-communism and tribalism. It means grappling with the daily problems that face our people in factories, on the farms, in the Bantustans, at universities and in the battlefield. It means efficiency, quick reaction and response, humility and understanding. These are aspects of what we call discipline. But there is more to it — political awareness, understanding of our situation and its solution. We must study the Freedom Charter. As Oliver Tambo has said: "In summary we can therefore say that an urgent and continuing task that faces the African National Congress is and has been the unification in action of all the black oppressed people, whatever their class origin, to fight for victory of the democratic revolution. The ANC and its allies also have the task to build up the democratic movement among the white people and to strengthen the bonds of unity between the white people and the oppressed majority, in one common struggle for the liberation of this majority, Organisational the enemy seeks to destroy the ANC and its allies physically, to ensure that no force exists within the country that has the influence and capacity to mobilise and unite the South African democratic forces. In place of the genuinely
popular organisations and leaders of our people, the enemy is trying to create and sponsor his own to replace those whom years of extreme and brutal reaction have failed to destroy.

In the struggle to build up the strength and raise the level of unity of the movement for national liberation, the African National Congress relies first and foremost on the fact that the cause we represent is just and meets the fundamental aspirations of the masses of our people. Consistently, therefore we have put forward the perspective of a democratic South Africa bringing to the fore the truth that is the patriotic duty of the entire people to rid our country of the tyrannical rule of the racist-fascist regime. This is a perspective and an orientation which must necessarily infuse and fire the will of all the national and class forces whom we have already described as having an objective interest in the victory of the national democratic revolution.”
ANC  
70th ANNIVERSARY

South Africa was conquered by force and is today ruled by force. Whether in reserve or in actual employment, force is ever-present. This has been so ever since the white man came to our country. In order to fully appreciate the political and social significance the ANC expresses, the necessity for the type of organisation we have today, we have to look into the past; we have to look into the history of the contact between African people and the whites in South Africa, a bitter and grim story of national struggles and historically unbroken and self-sacrificing resistance against foreign invasion, plunder and political, economic and social domination. We have to look into the past to see what forces forged and inspired the formation and functioning of our national liberation movement.

European settlement in South Africa dates back to April 6th, 1652. Because of the intrusive, predatory and aggressive policies of the invaders, disputes which soon led to war ensued. Having defeated the Khoisan people who inhabited the Cape Peninsula, robbing them of their land, their livestock and frequently their lives, the settlers devoted themselves for a brief spell to farming the fertile land. However, disagreements soon arose between the farmers and the Dutch East India Company over economic and political policies and the amount of control the Company had over settlers. Some left the Peninsula and gradually penetrated the interior until they reached the Cape Western Plateau, an area inhabited by the Khoesan-speaking section of the African people. In the Cape alone 9 wars of resistance against white encroachment were waged covering a time span of almost 100 years. First the Boers and later the combined forces of Boer and British were checked in their advance - however, superior arms helped them to slowly push the Indigenous people of South Africa back beyond the Great Fish River, occupying part of their ancestral land. Yet, as was the case throughout the country, our people were never conquered by the Boers.

In order to continue their march into the interior the Boers were forced to change course, to turn northwards and abandon the easterly direction they originally intended to follow. Wherever the Boers went, they met fierce opposition. They were fought and defeated in Natal, Basutoland (now Lesotho) and in the Eastern Transvaal and were reduced to roving bands of brigands. Had it not, in fact, been for the arrival of the British forces the Boers would eventually have been defeated in their quest to occupy, dominate and enslave our country. As it is the Boers never ruled any section of the African people, managing to merely levy tributes from the small and weaker tribes. When they arrived in the Cape every inch of our country was occupied. It was not a 'no man's land'.

The arrival of the British forces in South Africa at the beginning of the 19th century marked a qualitative and quantitative change in the resistance struggle, immensely strengthening the forces of colonisation and oppression. With their overwhelming superiority in arms and numbers of well-trained men, they were able, after grim and bitter battles, to eventually subdue all military opposition to their fraud designed to colonise and exploit our country and people. Effectively, the defeat of the Bambata Rebellion in 1906 brought to a
close this first, 250-year phase of resistance and set the stage for the handing over of the administration of the country to local whites by British imperialism. There is a direct connection between the Bambata Rebellion of 1906 and the formation of the ANC six years later.

Defeated militarily and totally disarmed, robbed of their land by foreign invaders, denied any say in the government of their country, our people realised that new ways had to be found to continue the struggle. Old forms of organisation and methods of struggle were becoming outdated and proving inadequate to meet the new conditions and situation. The people were looking for new forms of organisation and learning new methods of struggle, methods of fighting without the spear or gun; they were learning the ways of mass meetings, demonstrations, deputations, protests, passive resistance and even strikes. The need for African unity in the face of a common enemy and common problems—a need long recognised by far-sighted African leaders, was forcibly brought home with the promulgation of the Act of Union in 1910, when the government under General Louis Botha moved to consolidate white hegemony within the system established by the SA Act, uniting the formerly embittered feuding sections of the white minority.

The formation of the ANC on January 8, 1912 was not an accident of history, it was a logical development of history, a continuation of the anti-colonial struggle of our people which began with colonialism itself. Of course it did not all happen overnight. There were many factors which led to the formation of the ANC.

The introduction of Christianity in South Africa led to an emergence of Black Christians who later rejected the white Christian values, formed their own independent churches with new concepts and values. The first of these black converts to form an independent church was Nehemiah Tile who played a significant religious and political role. He formed the Thembu Church in 1883 in the Transkei. The founding of the Ethiopian Church by Rev M.M. Mokone on the Witwatersrand in 1892 was tantamount to widening the battlefront started by Tile.

This period saw the emergence of young African intellectuals who came from mission schools established throughout the country. They helped in establishing the early beginnings of what later developed to be an African press. They wrote articles in English and African languages, and therefore helped to develop the African languages. The first political organisation formed was Imbumba yama Afrika (Union of Africans) in the Cape in 1882 which advocated African unity as opposed to denominational diversity and planned representations to white authorities. In 1884 two additional organisations were formed, again in the Cape, namely the Native Education Association and the Native Electoral Association which were concerned mainly with electoral politics—in those days Africans in the Cape could vote.
But it was during the Anglo-Boer war and immediately after the Treaty of Vereeniging in May 1902 that concrete steps were taken by Africans to form a movement which would devise some method of presenting grievances and complaints of Africans to the government. This growing awareness and consciousness of a need for a political organisation of Africans on a broader basis led Martin Lutuli, Saul Maane and Josiah Gumede to meet Harriet Colenso to discuss the formation of an African political organisation. In July 1900 the Natal Native Congress was formed and its first secretary was H.C. Matiwane and the Chairman was Martin Lutuli — whose nephew, Albert Lutuli, was later to become ANC President-General. Martin Lutuli was chairman for 3 years and was replaced by Skweleti Nyongwana and Lutuli became vice-chairman. Local committees managed local affairs and the object and intention of Congress was to represent the whole African community in Natal.

In the Eastern Cape in 1902 Africans close to the East London newspaper Izwi Tshweni and therefore opposed to Jabavu's Imvo Zabantsundu and his pre-occupation with European politics founded the South African Native Congress. The tasks of this organisation were to co-ordinate African activities in the Cape Colony, particularly in connection with electoral politics. The political orientation of the SA Native Congress is contained in a statement of its Executive in 1903: "Questions affecting the Natives and Coloured People resident in British South Africa'. The Native Vigilance Association of the Orange River Colony presented a testimony before the South African Affairs Commission on September 23, 1904. What is striking, but not surprising if one takes into account the ethnic composition of the province, is the 'non-tribal' composition of the leadership of this organisation, that is, judging by the delegation which saw the Native Affairs Commission.

The testimonies and petitions to King Edward VII, e.g. from the Native United Political Associations of the Transvaal Colony (April 25, 1906) or the Orange River Colony Native Congress (June 1906), or the Natal Native Congress (October 1908) or from the 'aboriginal natives of South Africa, resident in the Transvaal' (October 22, 1908) and resolutions of the South African Native Congress (October 1908), give us an insight into the problems and grievances of the Africans who showed an acute awareness of the magnitude of their disabilities and a sharp antagonism to any continuation of the political system of the Boer Republics.

These petitions (the Transvaal Native Union collected 3,764 signatures) asked for a common roll franchise throughout South Africa plus separate representation for the mass of the African people unable to qualify for this. Within 4 months these organisations held congresses. The draft South Africa Act was discussed at these meetings. Resolutions deprecating the colour bar and the failure to extend the African franchise from the Cape to the north were passed. It was from these regional conferences that 60 elected delegates came to Bloemfontein to attend the South African Native Convention on March 24-26, 1909.

The South African Native Convention consisted of delegates from the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, Orange Free State and Bechuanaland (now Botswana). Rev Walter Rubusana, leader of the Cape delegation of the South African Native Congress, chaired the convention and was elected president of the Convention. They discussed those clauses of the draft Union Act which related to African and coloured people. These resolutions which attacked the racism inherent in the Draft Act were delivered to the Governors and Prime Ministers of the 4 colonies (Cape, Natal, OFS and Transvaal) and to the British High Commissioner for transfer to the Secretary of State for Colonies. If the Draft Act was not amended, a deputation was to be sent to England. The delegation was to comprise Rev Rubusana, president of the Native Convention, T.M. Mapikela of the Orange River Colony and D. Dwanya of the Cape Congress. The Transvaal Native Congress appointed Alfred Mangena who was already in London and instructed him to 'work in co-operation with the other delegates'. W.P. Schreiner was invited to join them and Tengo Jabavu represented his tiny Cape Convention. The Coloured
community was represented by Dr Abdurahman, leader of the African People's Organisation while Advocate Gandhi represented the Indian community. This defiant deputation was later to be disappointed by the attitude of the British government, which once more deliberately ignored the express wishes of the black population of South Africa.

JANUARY 8 — AN HISTORIC DAY

This new spirit of the need for an African organisation and the awareness of the identity of interests of the African ethnic groups in South Africa grew rapidly and young African radicals became more convinced of the need to organise themselves along these new lines. The African students who were studying abroad in America and Britain were inspired by the activities of our people at home, and they in turn inspired them with new ideas. But the main reason for the formation of the ANC was the humiliation, deprivation and indomitable urge to freedom of the African people. Their practical experience of two and a half centuries of oppression and struggle, climaxxed by the Bambata Rebellion of 1906, proved that the old methods of struggle were no longer suited to the new situation. The drive to unity and political organisation along modern lines was given a powerful impetus by the economic integration of the 4 British colonies under the hegemony of imperialism and the Rand mining millionaires, and finding political expression in the projected formation of the 'Union of South Africa' and the transfer of effective power into the hands of the European minority.

The South African Act of Union which was passed by the British House of Commons in 1909 and ratified by the then South African white Parliament on May 31, 1910 — the anniversary date of the Treaty of Vereeniging, signed in 1902, at the conclusion of the Anglo-Boer War, — incorporated, as its central, key provision, a colour bar clause that precluded all blacks from being eligible to become members of Parliament.

Faced with these problems and the fact that their interests had been totally dis-regarded in the absence of a political organisation of their own which could voice their grievances and aspirations, the Africans started to work towards unity for common action and to educate themselves, towards promotion of mutual help, a feeling of brotherhood and a spirit of togetherness. Pixley ka Isaka Seme, who became the convenor of the January 8 meeting, was in fact impatient about the formation of the ANC. In October 1911 he wrote: "This is conclusively urgent that this meeting should meet this year because a matter which is so vitally important to our progress and welfare should not unnecessarily be postponed by reason of personal differences and selfishness of our leaders." In what seemed to be a statement of policy or an item on the agenda of the coming meeting — the central theme of his contribution — he said: "The demon of racialism, the aberrations of the Xhosa-Fingo feud, the animosity that exists between the Zulus and the Tongas, between the Basotho and every other Native, must be buried and forgotten ... We are one people! These divisions, these jealousies, are the cause of our woes and all the backwardness and ignorance that exists today'.

Thus on January 8, 1912, when the ANC was formed, Seme gave the keynote speech. After the opening speeches were made the gathering sang Tiyo Soga's Lizalis 'Fulfil Thy Promise God, Thou Lord of Truth'.

Seme, seconded by Alfred Mangena, moved that the assembly should establish the South African Native National Congress. He was unanimously supported. A committee was appointed to draw up a constitution. George Montsioa suggested that 7 paramount chiefs be appointed as Honorary Presidents of the SA Native National Congress (the ANC). Thus the conference resolved that 2 houses, the Upper and the Lower house, should be established. The Upper House consisted of Dalindebo of the Thembus, Montsioa of the Bafing; Lewanika of Barotseland (part of Zambia); Letsie II of Basutoland (now Lesotho) who was elected President of the Upper House; Khama of Bechuanaland (now Botswana); Mardane of Pondoland and Moepi of the Bakgatla; Dinizulu, the Zulu chief who was deposed and exiled to the Transvaal by the British was also included. The Executive of the Lower House, the executive proper, consisted of Rev. John L Dube, President;
Solomon T Plaatje, Secretary; Pixley ka Isaka Seme was elected Treasurer; Thomas Mapikela of the Orange Free State became Speaker and Motsionga, Recording Secretary. Rev. Mqobiil of the Wesleyan Church became Chaplain-in-chief with Rev. H R. Ngcayiya, President of the Ethiopian Church as his Assistant. The Rev. Walter Rubusana, Meshack Pelem, Sam Makgatho and Alfred Mangena were elected vice-presidents.

The first National Executive Committee consisted of ministers of religion, lawyers, an editor (Plaatje) a building contractor (Mapikela), a teacher and estate agent (Makgatho) and an interpreter, teacher and Native labour agent (Pelem). These are people who went through mission schools. 5 of them studied abroad (USA and Britain) and others had attended conferences overseas. These men were prominent both in local political organisation and nationally. They were relatively young, in their thirties and early fifties. The four provinces were represented on the Executive. The chiefs were honoured in accordance with African tradition. They represented the rural masses, who, in any case, were then the majority of the people.

At the inaugural conference of the ANC eleven papers were read and the topics ranged from discussions about schools burning current issues of 'Native' labour, segregation, the land question and the 'Squatters' Law. To conclude the proceedings John Knox Bokwe's 'Give a Thought to Africa' was sung and the delegates returned to report back to their local organisations on the practical means of implementing their vision of African unity and the fight against white domination. These resolutions could only be implemented in the course of the struggle.

SIGNIFICANCE OF JANUARY 8TH

The formation of the ANC on January 8th 1912, signified the birthday not only of the ANC but also of the nation. The ANC was the 'people-union of South Africa' — a rejection of the European/White Union, and the ANC was assigned the task of being midwife in this process of national rebirth and regeneration. The formation of the ANC meant the creation of a loyalty of a new type, a non-tribal loyalty, a loyalty which was inherently anti-colonial and in the course of time developed to be anti-imperialist. This was an act of national salvation, a continuation — under new historical conditions — of the anti-colonial struggle of our people which began with colonialism. The ANC was formed to represent not just the overwhelming majority of our people — important as that is — but exactly that section of the population which had experienced nothing but violent legislation from the government, especially since 1910.

In the 70 years since the formation of the ANC much has happened. It is not our task to related that story here. One thing we can say with certainty is that the original task of uniting and leading to freedom the African people has expanded and changed — today the ANC is faced with the task of organising and leading all the oppressed people — African, Indian and Coloured — and to win over to its banner all democratically-minded whites. Today the ANC is a genuine people's organisation; it enjoys the support and confidence of the people whom it leads; it is viewed by the masses of our people as the product of their sacrifices, the inheritor and continuation of the revolutionary experience and traditions of the oppressed people as a whole; the people's leader and organiser. The activities and thinking of the founding fathers and their successors laid the firm foundation on which our young men and women in the ranks of the ANC and our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, are harnessing the enemy on all fronts, taking firm strides down our freedom road.
On October 19 to 22, 1981 the ninth Congress of the International Organisation of Journalists met in the magnificent historic Hall of Columns of the House of Unions in Moscow. Kaarle Nordenstreng, the Finnish President of the IOJ opened the Congress and stated:

“This is the largest and most representative meeting of journalists ever held anywhere”.

The truth of these words was underlined by the deliberations and discussions at the Congress.

Discussions and Deliberations

In Moscow there were 194 delegates and more than 200 observers and guests. 96 organisations of journalists from 89 countries were represented as well as a number of regional and international organisations and institutions.

The Congress met in plenary sessions and in three sections which dealt with:

1. The IOJ’s contribution to strengthening peace, security and cooperation amongst nations;
2. The New International Information Order;
3. International solidarity among journalists.

A total of 72 participants took the floor in these discussions.

In these discussions the exceptional responsibility which journalists bear in the present and complicated international situation was emphasised as well as the duty of journalists to fight against any excuses for and defence of aggressive wars and the arms race. From its establishment immediately after the War, the IOJ strengthening peace, mutual understanding and cooperation amongst nations; the fight for national liberation; abolition of colonialism and racism and the establishment of a new, truly democratic international information order and laying down new tasks in these spheres. The Congress devoted considerable attention to the question of activating international solidarity in defence of journalists persecuted for their progressive ideas and activities.

The massive growth and influence of the IOJ over these last 35 years is due to the fact that the IOJ encourages the formation of national and regional organisations of journalists; it upholds the principle of professional and ethical mission of journalism in society; it encourages and appreciates the tradition of meetings between international and regional organisations of journalists and declares its willingness to seek also in the future the possibility of establishing beneficial relations with the Brussels-based International Federation of Journalists, which broke away from the IOJ during the dark days of the cold war, the International Union of Catholic Press and other organisations, in the interest of understanding among nations.

No serious and responsible journalist can afford to ignore the IOJ more so that it is the largest single international organisation of organised journalists in the world. The IOJ provides a forum for discussing such important issues as the development of journalism in the non-aligned world and the New International Information Order which, briefly stated, means the attempts by the tricontinental world and its allies to reorganise the world media business and to wrest media control away from the handful of US, British, French, West German and Japanese companies which enjoy a near-monopoly of news-information and technology, particularly as regards the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

Western Reactions

The problem with western counties is that news, information networks etc. have
heavily come under intensive technical investment — a profit-making media business. This is part of the Imperialist offensive with the aid of electronics corporations. There is also the political angle. The New International Information Order has evoked a violently hostile response from Western governments and the major media multinationals. The U.S. government even threatened to cancel its subventions to the UNESCO budget (25% of the total) if UNESCO presses ahead with the New International Information Order proposals.

There were many of these pressures. Last May the U.S. funded a major seminar held under the auspices of the Voice of Freedom Committee at the Talloires campus of representatives of “independent news media” comprising bodies like the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers and the major western news agencies declared war on UNESCO. Big business interests which dominated Talloires warned that they would fight any “proposed curbs on press freedom”, citing the Helsinki agreement of 1975 as their new found bible. These media multinationals pledged themselves to foster the agreement to a “freer flow and wider dissemination of information of all kinds, to encourage cooperation” and the signatories warned that they would “rigorously oppose any interference with this fundamental right” and would insist that the press and the public were assured of access to “all sources of information”.

What is interesting is that while the Declaration of Talloires attacked media control by government agencies and supported a variety of “independently” owned news media — “the ideal form all countries should aim for” — it paid tribute to the importance of advertising as a “consumer service” and in providing financial support for a strong and self sustaining press. What about the readers who are supposed to be the source, guide and financial backers of a democratic press? Slogans like “without financial independence, the press cannot be independent” do not help much to solve our problems in Africa. The emphasis on the introduction of new technology to the mass media and improvement of technical means of communication in our part of the world does not help much in solving the major question, which is a political one. Who do the mass media serve? Who owns them? Are they reflecting the aspirations of the masses?

The question of “plurality of views” is alien to African tradition where people discuss and discuss until they agree. The whole argument on “media freedom” as a basic human right falls flat when one considers that the controllers of the world communications business are obviously the best qualified to protect it.

What about the abuses of power by multinational communications media or the barrage of hostile propaganda from TV transmitters owned by the multinationals? Surely “freedom of journalists” does not necessarily mean privatisation of state-owned and controlled media; it does not mean the right to fire the entire staff of the state broadcasting service, state-owned newspapers and government information service. Nor does it mean the introduction of the most unethical journalistic practices.

In other words what the IOJ is saying is that the problem of journalism cannot be left to technicians who happen to work for multinationals. Technology is only part of the problem. Supplying technology is like laying gas or oil pipelines. This becomes more obvious when one considers that most African countries receive information — even on their own countries — from foreign news agencies. Some former colonial countries still have telephone links with neighbours through the former colonial powers. The media world is more than a trade union affair — important as that is — it is wider and perhaps even more political: the journalists and cinema people are involved in one of the most sensitive issues as “opinion makers”.

IOJ and Africa

The IOJ has attracted a new generation of journalists especially in the non-aligned world and unliberated countries like South Africa and Namibia. At the IOJ Congress in Moscow 21 new organisations were
admitted as new members of the IOJ. The participation and presence of African delegates was impressive. The delegates also visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and placed a wreath there and on another occasion a wreath was laid at the grave of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin Wall.

The Congress also heard reports of the IOJ Professional Commission; Coordinating Committee for Training and Professional Qualifications of Journalists from Developing Countries and a report of the Committee for Study and Documentation. The 5 Congress reports were approved unanimously.

It was decided that in addition to the two existing permanent IOJ Commissions — the Professional and Social — two more should be set up: the IOJ Commission for Journalist Training and the Commission for Study and Documentation. The editorial commission presented a draft Orientation Document which set out the main directions of the organisation’s activities in the coming period. Kaarel Nordenstreng was unanimously re-elected President of the IOJ and Jiri Kubka as Secretary General.

The IOJ Congress offered us an opportunity to meet other journalists who are suffering the same evils of imperialism — for example in El Salvador there is recorded the highest number of missing and dead journalists — and what is more, the IOJ gives us practical assistance for our work as journalists of the liberation movements and newly independent countries. Of course besides this technical assistance, ideas are more important.

Indeed at the IOJ Congress one felt that there is a need to mobilise even those forces living on the wrong planet — the imperialist world — because the earth has been tuned into a global or tribal village. There is need for communication and the IOJ is the best forum.

MURDER OF A PATRIOT
Griffiths Mxenge

"They can kill hundreds of Mxenges and the struggle for liberation will not stop at all". These defiant words were spoken by the widow of Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge, outstanding Durban attorney and freedom fighter.

The nation’s mourning of Griffiths Mxenge was only tempered by the outrage felt about his vile murder. On November 26 his mutilated body was found near Umlazi Cycling Stadium in Durban. Mxenge’s disappearance followed on the poisoning of his families pet dogs and visits by the Security Police during which he was questioned about allegedly being in possession of ANC funds. This was by no means the first time Mxenge had faced the terror of the racist state.

Born in 1935 in King William’s Town, Mxenge was to embark on a life of service to his people and to this end he battled to acquire specific skills. In 1961 he got his B.A. at the University of Fort Hare and the next year began his LLB at the University of Natal. But his political involvement was to hamper the course of his studies.

Griffiths Mxenge was detained under the 180 day law in 1966. In 1967, he was sentenced to 2 years on Robben Island for furthering the aims of the banned African National Congress. On release he was able to complete his legal studies. But in 1973 his freedom was once again restricted when he was served with a five year banning order. Three years later when the whole
MXENGE

WE WILL

REMEMBER
of South Africa was aflame, Mxenge was detained for 103 days under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act when he refused to give state evidence in the trial of Harry Gwala and 8 others.

During the last five years of his life, Griffiths Mxenge was deeply involved in the struggles of his people. As attorney he acted in many political trials including the cases of Mdluli and Mohapi who were murdered in security police detention. He was also a leading figure in the highly successful anti-SAIC campaign, treasurer of the Durban Release Mandela Committee and active both in trade union resurgence and the students struggle against apartheid education. He was a founder member of the South African Democratic Lawyers Association.

More than 3,000 people paid tribute to the contribution made by Griffiths Mxenge at the memorial service held in Durban. The coffin carrying his body was draped in the colours of the ANC and bore a name plate which read - LONG LIVE CONGRESS. Bishop Desmond Tutu read the sermon and speakers included Albertina Sisulu, Ntatho Motlana, Thozamile Gqwetha and M.J. Naidoo.

The crowd listened to telegrams of condolence from the ANC including one from its President Oliver Tambo. Speaker after speaker dismissed the enemy's propaganda which had made the ludicrous claim that the ANC was responsible for Mxenge's death in connection with the misuse of ANC funds. At a special press conference called by Mrs Victoria Nonyameselo Mxenge, his widow denied this lie created by those ultimately responsible for his death.

Griffiths Mxenge leaves his wife and children Mbasa and Nomhle. They are not alone in their grief. As Victoria Mxenge said of her husband "... he achieved a lot. He not only had the courage of his convictions but he passed on this courage to many who will continue to fight for the freedom in which he believed".

Below we print extracts from the statement of ANC President O.R. Tambo on the murder of Griffiths Mlungisi Mxenge.

On the night of the 19th of November in the South African city of Durban, agents of the Pretoria regime brutally assassinated Griffiths Mxenge.

Using knives, the murderers were not content just to take away the life of this outstanding patriot. In unbridled savagery, they extensively mutilated his face and cut off his ears.

The massacre of our people in Matola in January the murder of Joe Gqabl in Salisbury in July and now the assassination of Griffiths Mxenge are a sign of the desperation of the enemy who increasingly finds himself unable to stop the forward march of the people, the ANC and the popular army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

These acts of brutality can only serve to strengthen our determination to free ourselves. Through his martyrdom Griffiths Mxenge has set us the task to destroy the apartheid regime sooner rather than later.

The African National Congress in its entirety convey its condolences to the wife and family of our late comrade and pledges its oneness with them at this our hour of grief.

As we lower our banners in memory of a great son of our people, an outstanding revolutionary, we renew our vows that we shall give no quarter in the noble struggle to rid our country of the murderers and tyrants that illegally rule our country and people.

Farewell dear brother and comrade. Your sacrifice is not in vain.
DEATHS IN DETENTION

By 1978 the toll of patriots murdered in security police detention was at least 50. A torrent of international protest appeared to have caused a hill in these crimes. But over the past two years evidence gleaned from political trials shows an increase in the severe torture of detainees. In four cases since 1980, this has led to deaths in detention.

On November 12, 1981, Tshihwa Mhofhe died two days after his detention by Venda security police. A former leader of the Black People's Convention which was banned in 1977, Mhofhe was arrested along with 14 others after an armed attack carried out on a Venda police station. He was reported to be in excellent health at the time of his arrest.

Another "independent" bantustan was the scene of the murder of Manana Mgqweto, aged 60, who died in Engcobo prison while detained under the Transkei security laws in September 1981. He was a long-time member of the opposition Democratic Progressive Party.

In the same month the inquest was held into the death of Sifundile Matalasi, 27, who died in Umtata prison in December 1980. He had been in detention for 122 days under the Transkei security laws. The Magistrate said he could not find anyone to blame for Matalasi's death after hearing from the state that:

"Mr Matalasi had joined his pair of socks and tied them round his neck, tying the other end to the window. He then allegedly lay down on the floor, covered himself with a blanket, using the left arm to exert pressure and thus, died of strangulation."

A former "Minister of the Interior" of the Transkei was detained at the same time as Matalasi. Saul Ndumo, alleged to be involved in a plot to overthrow the bantustan leaders, died 8 days later.

Against this background, the widespread detentions carried out by the Security Police throughout South Africa at the end of last year, should serve as an alert to the international community. More than 100 people are being held incommunicado under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act alone. It is clear that systematic and brutal torture is being practised in these cases in an effort to crush the upsurge of resistance throughout the country. In South Africa committees have been set up to rally behind the detainees. It is crucial that this solidarity extends world wide.

The deaths in detention in the bantustans are a painful reminder of the meaning of so-called independence. As more dumping grounds achieve this status we are sure to witness an increase in terror and brutality.
APARTHEID MERCENARIES IN THE SEYCHELLES

The attempt to stage a coup in the Seychelles to overthrow the progressive government led by President Albert Rene at the end of November last year, once again demonstrated the apartheid regime’s aggressive intentions towards independent Africa.

As the facts unfolded of the bungled attempt, it became ever clearer that behind the nearly 50-strong gang of mercenaries, stood the South African apartheid regime.

What actually happened in this attempted coup, and how was the ugly face of the fascist regime exposed as the originator of the scheme?

The mercenaries’ “mission” began on November 24, when 45 white men gathered in a Rand coach in Johannesburg. It was later to become apparent that the gang were on a mission where, if they succeeded they would be heroes, but if they failed they would be disowned. They stopped that night in Ermelo.

By the time they reached Swaziland they were posing as members of a fictitious beer-drinking club on the way to play a rugby match.

They flew from Swaziland to the Seychelles, with a stop over at the Comoros Islands, where it appears they may have picked up their arms.

Certainly when they reached the Pointe Laroure airport that afternoon of November 25, they had concealed weapons with them.

The other members of the gang panicked and grabbed their weapons and attempted to take over the airport.

This they were temporarily able to do, but crack units of the Seychelles security forces soon had the airport surrounded and were subjecting the mercenaries to withering fire.

Under fire the mercenaries bravado did not last long. Reportedly, a few of the gang ran away into the mountains but most decided to run back to their master as fast as they could, and for this purpose they hijacked an Air India Boeing 707 which had just landed at the airport.

The air pirates forced the pilot, at gunpoint, to fly to Durban, with all the passengers on board.

The mercenaries dragged one dead member of their gang with them — it was later revealed that he was a South African army reservist.

On arrival at Durban, the fascist regime staged a pretence by “arresting” the mercenaries and taking them to Pretoria for “questioning”.

The regime immediately began a propaganda campaign to deny its own involvement in the coup attempt.

President Rene called for the gangsters to be returned to the Seychelles to face trial.

The apartheid regime responded by releasing 39 of the 44 returned mercenaries, brazenly saying there was no law under which they could be charged.

Fascist police minister Louis Le Grange said “You tell one what laws they broke in South Africa. They only shot out some windows and ran around in the bush”.

However the regime, in a bid to distance themselves from the gang, announced that five of the group were to be put on trial, including the gang leader, Colonel “Mad Mike” Hoare, the notorious international mercenary who resides in South Africa.

But it soon became clear that this “trial” would prove a farce. They were immediately released on bail. They arrived at the court, joking with the security police.

Then they were charged, not with the serious charge of hijacking, but with the
relatively minor charge of kidnapping. And when the magistrate announced the bail for the five, the mercenaries, in the best tradition of a US southern States lynching trial, produced the exact amount — R30,000 — in cash from a suitcase. Just at the time the regime announced it could not charge most of the conspirators, and was giving this kid glove treatment to the "leading" five, it launched mass raids, detaining scores of progressive trade unionists, student and community leaders, under indefinite detention laws. The apartheid regime refused to release the names of the 39 who were freed, but they had, like the other five, left their passports behind in the Seychelles. And also in the Seychelles, five mercenaries had been arrested by the Seychelles government. These five included some who had apparently escape from the airport, and some who were already on the islands when the other mercenaries arrived. It soon became clear that a number of the mercenaries were serving members of the South African security forces — some of the notorious Reconnaissance Commando. The Seychelles government displayed one of the captured men to the press, Martin Dollinchek, who admitted that he was a serving member of the South African intelligence service NIS, the successor to BOSS. In the Seychelles, President Rene told a meeting of several thousand that the five mercenaries would be put on trial soon. He demanded that South Africa also put the escaped mercenaries on trial too. President Rene also thanked the Soviet Union and France for promptly responding to his government's call and sending warships to the Mahe port, in case the racists tried another attempt. It was now apparent, even to South Africa's apologists in the West, that with serving members of the apartheid regime's security forces in the group, the apartheid regime must have known about the attempt to overthrow President Rene, and must have been involved in the attempt. The apartheid regime continued to mount a propaganda offensive to deny involvement. Numerous suggestions and accusations were made in the western press about who was behind the coup attempt.

What is clear for all the world to see not have been involved, the South African apartheid regime clearly was. The Seychelles government has revealed that the gang intended to stage their coup the day after their arrival at the airport. They would apparently have seized the entire political leadership of the country who would have been at a central committee meeting in the capital. Simultaneously the gang planned to capture the main radio station and to broadcast tapes saying that deposed president Mancham had taken power. President Rene has called for a UN inquiry into the attempted coup. And at the UN, the Seychelles delegate recalled that 3 years ago, the US and six West European states had agreed to halt flights to all states which refused to put hijackers on trial. However the West, particularly Thatcher's Britain, has shown no eagerness to impose a ban on flights to South Africa, and Britain and the US appear willing to allow the apartheid racists to get away with hijacking. The UN, OAU and progressive nations must force the Western supporters of apartheid to carry out the international agreements reached in Bonn and the Hague on hijacking. For, as President Mugabe pointed out, the coup attempt in the Seychelles has once again revealed the true intentions of South Africa in regard to independent Africa. This is another example of international terrorism about which the ANC has constantly warned. It is another example of export of counter-revolution and racist South Africa is acting as a policeman of the whole region, destabilising the whole area and terrorising our people in the country. The wounds of innocent Namibians and Angolans have hardly healed, the massacre of our comrades in Matola in Mozambique and of Joe Gqabi still fresh in our memories, now they are inflicting fresh wounds on the people of Seychelles.

We say this is enough!
US SOLIDARITY CONFERENCE

“We urge the people of the United States to join the people of the world in demanding that the struggle be carried to a new level—the comprehensive and mandatory economic, military, diplomatic and cultural sanctions of South Africa, including an effective oil embargo.

We have a special responsibility to play and are charged with a unique responsibility. It is our government that keeps apartheid alive, feeds it, oils it, and arms it. The heroic people of the ANC and SWAPO are destroying apartheid from within, but only we can end our government’s pact with racism, which, if not obliterated, will destroy us all.

This conference proudly takes up this fight and joins the peoples of the world.”

(from the New York Declaration, October 1981)

For three days a thousand USA citizens, of all colours and of all ages, met in Conference to express solidarity with the liberation struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa. Delegates representing labour, professional, religious, civil rights, local community, women’s, students, political, media and solidarity groups from virtually all states of the USA participated in the Conference at the Riverside Church, New York City from 9 to 11 October 1981.

ICSA initiated the conference which was convened by a broad based preparatory committee in co-sponsorship with ANC and SWAPO. Congressman Ron Dellums was president of this committee and attorney Lennox Hinds its chairman.

The Conference heard statements, studied documents on USA links with apartheid, discussed in commissions which were followed by action workshops to draw up an extensive programme of action.

“The struggle in Southern Africa is their struggle, it is not for us to decide how,” said Cleveland Robinson, secretary-treasurer District 65 UAW. “So-called leaders who come from South Africa, walking tall here in the USA, and then return to South Africa without harassment are not leaders. There is no difference between true leaders in exile and the people inside. We must support the struggle unconditionally, or get out of the way.”

The Hon Shirley Chisholm US Congress, said: “Our government has to make a choice between profits and human beings.”

Relating the horrifying experience of watching Cross Roads being bulldozed when she visited South Africa with a fact-finding mission of the Congress she made it clear: “It has to be the armed struggle” to bring about change.

Comrade A. Nzo led the ANC delegation and the Secretary for External Relations, comrade P. Mushishange, headed the SWAPO representation. The UN Special Committee against Apartheid and the Council for Namibia endorsed and supported the Conference. For the first time in its history, all the forces in the USA engaged in opposing their government’s open and secret support for apartheid were brought together in a powerful coalition.

A standing ovation acclaimed the New York Declaration. The proposals for an action programme, including the transformation of the preparatory committee into a continuation committee to coordinate further action was adopted.

(for a full report and complete text of the New York Declaration see ICSA Bulletin NO.15 from 30A Danbury St, London N1)