

FREE MANDELA!

AND ALL
SOUTH AFRICAN,
NAMIBIAN
AND OTHER
POLITICAL
PRISONERS -
AND ALL THOSE



DETAINED,
BANNED,
BANISHED -
OPEN SOUTH AFRICA'S
DOORS FOR THE
FREE RETURN OF
ALL THOSE
IN EXILE

LENT

1980

THE SUNDAY POST of Soweto has launched a campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela of the African National Congress - serving a life sentence at the Robben Island prison colony, and other leaders in prison, and for the free return of those in exile.

The Rev Sam Buti and Bishop Desmond Tutu, president and general secretary respectively of the South African Council of Churches, endorsed the campaign started by SUNDAY POST editor Percy Qoboza. The executive of the South African Council of Churches stated: 'This national executive wholeheartedly supports the call made by the editor of the POST, and endorsed by Bishop Tutu in his personal capacity, for the release of Nelson Mandela. We recognize the unique leadership role still accorded to Nelson Mandela by very many South Africans and we note the calls being made in many quarters in South Africa for the recognition of our natural leaders. We believe that the Church, in its role as peacemaker, must help the people of South Africa to avoid needless suffering and bloodshed such as have been endured by the people of Zimbabwe. Such suffering can only be avoided if Mandela and other leaders in prison or in exile are enabled to share in the reshaping of a unitary South African society more conformed to God's will for justice and peace.'

AMERICANS: CALL ON YOUR CHURCH LEADERS TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR AMNESTY.

CALL ON YOUR LEGISLATORS TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR AMNESTY.

CALL ON PRESIDENT CARTER TO SUPPORT THE SOUTH AFRICAN CALL FOR AMNESTY.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN
for
SOUTH AFRICA



Room 1005 • 853 Broadway, New York, N. Y. 10003 • Phone: (212) 477-0066

—For A Free Southern Africa—

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

LENT

1980

'On this occasion, I have not only joined you as a daughter calling for the release of her father - I've joined as part of my generation who have never known what a normal life is, what it is to be with a father and sometimes a mother, not because one's parents had committed any crimes. My generation have seen grave crimes of oppression committed against the people. We grew up discussing the latest pass raids, whose father had been detained, who had lost a parent in detention, or in which prison one of your parents is, when last they were visited, when the last police raid was in your home....This briefly was our childhood conversation.'

- Zinzi Mandela, daughter of Nelson Mandela - imprisoned for life - and Winnie Mandela - banished, speaking at an amnesty rally at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 20 March 1980

The stunning victory of the Patriotic Front in the February elections in Zimbabwe sent a strong message to the world - especially across the Limpopo into the bastion of apartheid. South African whites were shaken to their roots. Prime Minister Pieter Botha warned Prime Minister-elect Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe not to harbor forces hostile to Pretoria. Botha also announced he was going to assemble a national conference to weld all races together to stand 'shoulder to shoulder' to defend South Africa against communism. Botha reneged on that and now says that his 'states conference' really means a gathering of Southern African leaders to pursue his dream of a 'constellation' of states - a device for controlling the sub-continent which now lies in ruins in the wake of the victory of the people in Zimbabwe. The response of free Southern African nations to that particular piece of nonsense was a meeting in Lusaka, Zambia, where nine countries - including Zimbabwe - ratified a declaration entitled: 'Southern Africa: Towards Economic Liberation'.

Zimbabwe's message came through loud and clear to South Africa's blacks. Exultation swept the country. Soweto SUNDAY POST editor Percy Qoboza picked up on both the tide flowing out of Zimbabwe and Botha's flustered reaction and launched a campaign for freedom for exiled and imprisoned leaders. The 20th anniversary of the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 was marked amidst the refreshing events. An enhanced determination infuses the ranks of the oppressed and some of the more fortunate alike. An opportunity, a hopeful opportunity, presents a path for a peaceful and just settlement in that lovely and agonized land.

No such settlement can succeed without an amnesty. South Africa's 'natural leaders' must be free, unhampered and at home so that any genuine representative national dialogue can come about. We outside South Africa must redouble our efforts - support the movement for amnesty - without in any way relenting in pressures for economic sanctions against the Pretoria regime or in our support for the active forces of liberation.

CALL ON PRESIDENT CARTER, ON YOUR LEGISLATORS, ON YOUR CHURCH AND COMMUNITY LEADERS

This is a last chance for peaceful change in South Africa

SEND MESSAGES TO: Ambassador Donald B. Sole
South African Embassy
3051 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20008

PHONE: (202) 232-4400

Blacks will follow Mandela, says Qoboza

South Africans underestimate the will of the black people to be free, said Mr Percy Qoboza, editor of Post Transvaal, before a packed audience in the Great Hall at the University of the Witwatersrand last week.

The mass meeting calling for the release of the ANC leader Nelson Mandela was also addressed by Mandela's daughter Zindzi and Mrs Sherna Duncan of the Black Sash.

Mr Qoboza said the most visible act of faith by the Government would be to release Mandela. It would give immense credibility to the often expressed but never demonstrated intention to change. It would immediately release the frightening tension in the country and create an atmosphere

favourable to negotiation. "In spite of 16 years away from public life, Mandela is still the man black people will follow and this has been proved in many surveys.

"White South Africans have nothing to fear but fear itself," Mr Qoboza said. "You have been deceived by fear and your leaders have exploited you because of it. Nothing has collapsed in Zimbabwe."

Zindzi Mandela said the call for the release of Nelson was merely to tell the authorities that there was an alternative to a blood-bath.

Dr Ntsho Motlana, chairman of the Soweto Committee of Ten, said unless whites divested themselves of absolute power they would not sleep peacefully for the



Mr Percy Qoboza

next two years.

The military wing of the ANC was formed because of white stupidity and white intransigence.

There was talk of a national convention, but he would not attend such a convention because authentic black leaders such as Mandela would be in jail.

Mrs Duncan said: "When we have reached the stage where we must be armed all the time, then we have reached the point of no return."

He dismissed as he was heckled by a group of students, the demand for the release of Mr Nelson Mandela, the African National Congress leader, and other prisoners held on Robben Island, near Cape Town. This is the subject of a petition which has aroused considerable excitement among blacks, especially in the Johannesburg area.

Mr Botha rejected the parallel with Mr Robert Mugabe, saying that South Africa, which has an independent sovereign state, could not be compared with Zimbabwe, a former colony of Britain. He said Mr Mandela had "overstepped the mark" by breaching the law and seeking to overthrow an independent state. The judiciary had "put him where he belongs".

Rebuking the hecklers, he said that to free Mr Mandela would be to release an "arch-Marxist who belonged to an organization which was working from outside South Africa to overthrow the State".

He denied that his Government was going slow on its promise to remove discrimination. South Africa was at the crossroads. The Government had made it possible for Indians and Coloured (mixed race) people to reach the highest rungs of the public service. Job reservation had disappeared and black trade unions had been given their due.

Police quiz Dean on Mandela

By PATRICK LAURENCE
THE Anglican Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Reverend Simon Nkoane, was taken to John Vorster Square yesterday for questioning about the Free Mandela campaign.

The Dean, three members of the Mothers' Union and two Soweto students, were confronted by policemen outside St Mary's Cathedral and told to accompany them to John Vorster Square.

They had been working at a table near the cathedral, collecting signatures from the public for the Free Mandela campaign.

Police also took posters advertising the campaign, and petition forms.

After answering questions at Security Police headquarters, they were released and allowed to take their posters and petitions.

Confirming these details last night, Father Nkoane said: "I whole-heartedly agree with the call for the release of Mr Mandela. I consulted with my wardens and they agree with me."

Forms will be available at the cathedral on Sunday.

Security Police have been asked to comment on the incident.

RAND Daily Mail Release Mandela

IF THE Government had truly learnt the lesson of Rhodesia it would heed the call for the release of the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela.

It would release him as a dramatic gesture of reconciliation to black South Africans.

And it would release him to participate, with other black leaders, in a national convention to draw up a new constitution for South Africa to which all the people of this land would then be subscribers.

That is the only way to a peaceful future; to avoid the grim and bloody course that Rhodesia followed with such utter pointlessness.

It is the only way to arrive at a negotiated solution that blacks will accept. Anything short of such a convention, any white-devised solution, will be rejected by blacks whatever its intrinsic merits may be. Likewise any solution that emerges from a negotiation that excludes their real leaders will be rejected.

And there can be absolutely no doubt that the men on Robben Island, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, rank high among those real leaders.

In their shocked reaction to Robert Mugabe's sweeping victory and the annihilation of Bishop Muzorewa, it appeared briefly as though Nationalists were perceiving the lesson of Rhodesia.

Mr P. W. Botha showed a sudden sense of urgency, and there was a warning in the Nationalist Press that the Government would have to talk to the "real" black leaders here since the "traditional" leaders were clearly being rejected.

But already the windows of perception are beginning to cloud over again, the clear lesson of Rhodesia becoming blurred in a flurry of ideological polemics.

In the elliptical logic of their current debate, Nationalists say they accept that there must be negotiation rather than confrontation. They accept that there must be a new constitution, and that "interracial deliberation" is the only way to arrive at it.

But then they reject a national convention, because they will not allow blacks to participate in the decision-making process.

They will have talk-shop discussions with the leaders of other groups, but it is the whites-only Parliament which will make the decisions (meaning, in practice, the National Party caucus).

Moreover, the "leaders" of the other groups in the talk-shop will be those whom the Government chooses to recognise; who were elected through the system it devised and set up. It will bypass those who reject this system — including Mr Mandela and many other real leaders.

That is why the plan cannot work. It will fail to win black acceptance even more hopelessly than the Muzorewa compact did.

Which is why the release of the men on Robben Island has become essential.

The argument is presented that Nelson Mandela cannot be released because he was sentenced by a court of law to life imprisonment for a criminal offence. But murderers are released after 10 to 16 years and Mr Mandela, who murdered no-one, has been in prison for 16. Had he been an ordinary criminal he would almost certainly have been a free man by now — so clearly he is being kept as a political prisoner.

More pertinently, it is also argued that Mr Mandela is a revolutionary — and no government in its right mind is going to release such a man to go right back to his revolutionary activities.

Fair enough. But Mr Mandela could be approached to renounce violence and enter into a convention; indeed this should be the one firm condition applying to all participants in the convention.

He would presumably accept this, since his friends have always said he turned to violence only because he could see no hope of peaceful change — and a convention would clearly provide that hope.

It is in these terms, then, that we endorse the call for his release and that of his colleagues.

Mr Botha puts limit on changes in S Africa

From Eric Marston
Johannesburg, April 11

Mr Pieter Botha, South Africa's Prime Minister, has reaffirmed his government's willingness to make political changes — including giving "peoples of colour" a share in central government decision-making — but has drawn sharp lines of limitation.

Speaking at Stellenbosch University last night, Mr Botha emphasized that changes will fall short of "one man, one vote in a unitary state", or of any form of federal or consociational democracy. He was in favour of a confederation of states, but only in a form in which no state could dominate another.



The General Theological Seminary
CHELSEA SQUARE • NEW YORK, N. Y. 10011 • 212 CH 3-5150

We, the Faculty of the General Theological Seminary, in our meeting on April 1, 1980 expressed our concern and support for our brother, The Right Reverend Desmond Tutu, Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, who has recently had his passport taken away from him by the South African government. In 1977 Bishop Tutu was given an honorary doctorate by this Seminary and therefore is one of our company. Also we wish to register our great distress over the sentencing of the Reverend David Russell for the violation of his banning orders. We cannot accept that persons be condemned for their response to be faithful to God's call.

We hope that this expression of our concern for Bishop Tutu and Father Russell will be understood also as a measure of our deep anguish over the whole present political situation in South Africa. We condemn all the bannings, pass laws, political imprisonments and other aspects of apartheid maintained by the present government.

We have learned of the call for amnesty of all political prisoners which is being made to the government by many persons from all parts of the South African community, including Bishop Tutu. Because this call for amnesty is so clearly made with the belief that only through full national dialogue can there be peace and justice without bloodshed in South Africa, we urge the support of all Christian leaders and people for this call. We ask that the church leaders in the USA speak out in support of this call. We pray for all in South Africa that they may be strengthened in their proclamation that "Christ is risen" and in him "all things can be made new".

Walter Harth
James A. Carpenter
J. Robert Wright
William A. Davidson
Anne-Marie Selzer
R. R. Deropian
Patricia Page
John Dierckx
Paul V. Marshall
Robert W. Conroy
Robert Hood
Robert F. Jones
John Koenig
James C. Feiberg
John P. Long
John P. Long
David Hard
Frederick E. Shivers
George M. Smith
Richard A. Lee
Jacqueline Van Dyke
Alan W. Jones

Free Mandela movement grows

by Eric Marsden,
Johannesburg

WINNIE MANDELA spent one hour this weekend speaking to her husband through a thick glass partition in the maximum-security prison on Robben Island, five miles off Cape Town, where he has been held since 1963. Though she has to journey for two days from her home to the black settlement of Bantolort in the Orange Free State for the monthly allowance of one hour, she was not allowed to mention the piece of news that must be closest to her heart.

This is the campaign for Nelson Mandela's release, which has aroused fierce controversy in South Africa and has won support from African states and from left-wing politicians in Europe.

Mandela, now 51, and other members of his African National Council are serving life sentences handed down at a sabotage trial. He is regarded by the government as a revolutionary who wants a communist take-over in South Africa.

Winnie Mandela is barred from mentioning any political subject during her visits. She sees him through the thick glass and they talk by telephone. Xhosa-speaking guards stand behind her to make sure they discuss only family matters.

Their youngest daughter Zizi, 19, says: "They are not allowed to touch. My mother has not been able to touch dad for 17 years." But according to Zizi, they are still deeply in love and have kept alive their ambition to have a son. Winnie Mandela is 14 and has an elder daughter, Zizi, who is 21, and two granddaughters.

Zizi told me: "Even if dad told her what he thinks about the campaign to release him, mother wouldn't be able to say

His wife can see him in prison but they have not touched for 17 years



Nelson and Winnie Mandela: one hour's talk a month

anything about it to you because he's a banned person and nothing he says can be quoted."

The 22 others on Robben Island, including eight ANC men sentenced in the 1963 Rivonia sabotage trial, are the VIPs among 450 prisoners. They live separately in a block of 20 single cells. Apart from Mandela, the most prominent are Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki, both of the ANC, and Herman Toivo Jaiven, the founder of Swapo (South West Africa People's Organisation).

Though all have to work in the prison quarry, the older men do not do heavy units. They exercise daily and have a games room. Apart from government publications, they are not allowed newspapers or radio news bulletins.

Despite these restrictions,

friends in Soweto claim that Mandela is kept well-informed through the prison grapevine and is aware of the moves to free him. They believe he may yet emulate Kenyatta, Banda and Mugabe, emerging from long years in prison to gain political power.

Robert Mugabe's victory in the election in Rhodesia provided the impetus for the campaign for the release of Mandela, Sisulu and the others. It was started by a black newspaper, the Sunday Post, which is edited by Percy Qobusa, and won support from the South African Council of Churches, opposition politicians and white liberals such as the author, Alan Paton.

Young intellectuals in Soweto are convinced that Mugabe's triumph marks a watershed in southern African history and that

it has made inevitable a similar march to majority rule in South Africa. The Boers have lost the initiative now and we are going to press for a speedy black take-over, one told me.

This euphoria seems to be based on a misreading of the government's motives in making concessions over apartheid, and could lead to racial disturbances and a halt to the reforms. Ministers warn that militant blacks are inviting a white back-lash and playing into the hands of hardliners such as Dr Connie Mulder, the former information minister who heads the new National Conservative Party.

Black leaders disavow calls for compromise. If the demand for the release of Mandela had been made on humanitarian grounds it might have some granted — an condition that he gave up politics. But the organisers and their backers insist that its aim is to reinstate him as their spokesman in talks about political change.

After two weeks of silence, the government has reacted sharply to the growing campaign, which so far has attracted 10,000 signatures. The prime minister, P. W. Botha, had no exchanges with students at Stellenbosch university — which was produced four South African prime ministers and has fathered been predominantly white nationalists — and was hoisted by some and cheered by others, when he rejected demands for Mandela's release.

He described the ANC leader as a man who had resorted to violence, a declared Marxist and member of an organisation seeking to overthrow the state. But the campaign has been supported by white students at Witwatersrand universities in Johannesburg and at Cape Town university, where many stand with the raised in the Black panther salute.

LENT 1980

VICTIMS OF PRETORIA



Two prominent South African clergymen are among their many fellow countrymen to suffer the vindictive fury of the Pretoria regime.

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, was on 4 March stripped of his passport. The outspoken Anglican prelate was preparing to conduct a prayer and thanksgiving service for Zimbabwe when security police served him with an order from the Interior Ministry. An official stated: 'It is the policy of the Minister not to furnish reasons for withdrawing a passport'. Bishop Tutu was due to make a late March-April tour of Europe, Britain and America.

The Rev David Russell was on 28 February sentenced to three-and-a-half years in prison for violating the banning orders which Pretoria arbitrarily imposed on him in October 1977. Two-and-a-half years were suspended providing he does not again break those orders during a period of five years. The 41-year-old Anglican priest was taken immediately to Pollsmoor prison outside Cape Town. Father Russell was granted release on 500 Rand bail on 4 March pending the outcome of an appeal.

EPISCOPAL CHURCHMEN
for
SOUTH AFRICA

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—For A Free Southern Africa—

Desmond Tutu was born in Klerksdorp in South Africa's Transvaal Province in 1931. After receiving his university degree he served as a high school principal until he undertook theological training at St Peter's College. He was ordained priest in 1961 at St Mary's Cathedral, Johannesburg. Fourteen years later he became Dean of the Cathedral. He was elected Bishop of Lesotho in 1976. In 1978, he returned to Johannesburg to head the day-to-day working of the Council of Churches as its first black general secretary.

Bishop Tutu is forthright in condemning the injustices of the apartheid state. He spoke out about the abysmal rural resettlement camps where myriads of black men, women and children are dumped. He criticized the codes of conduct businesses boast of in dealing with their black employees 'in that they deal with improvements of a basically unjust and immoral system...Foreign investors must not kid themselves. They batten on black misery, cheap labor and the destruction of black family life through the iniquitous migratory labor system.' The bishop has called Prime Minister Pieter Botha's grand design of a constellation of Southern African states 'a ploy to deprive South African blacks of their citizenship in the land of their birth'. A proponent of non-violence, he asks those who oppose armed resistance: 'Why do you all suddenly become pacifists when it comes to the freedom of blacks? There has been the extraordinary lauding of resistance movements in the Second World War.' Bishop Tutu presided at the funeral of the martyr, Steve Biko, in 1977. He has recently been accused of supporting a boycott of South African coal and has become a favorite target of cabinet ministers, including the one who has now seized his passport. The Minister of Police warned the SACC and 'leftist ministers' to desist from encouraging people to break the law. Bishop Tutu has consistently, even desperately, pled for reconciliation amongst all South Africans.

David Russell, scion of a distinguished Cape Town family, is a graduate of the University of Cape Town and Oxford. He was ordained in 1965 and started his ministry in the Ciskei region of South Africa. In 1970 he moved to King Williams Town and was pastor to the dispossessed at the Dimbaza resettlement camp. To focus attention on those uprooted by South Africa's racist policies, he kept a four-day fasting vigil on the steps of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town, a stone's throw from Parliament. Saying he had 'never seen such concentrated and depressing total poverty' he went back to Dimbaza and lived for months on the same starvation diet his parishioners were forced to exist on,

On being assigned to Cape Town, Father Russell and others in the Ministers' Fraternal in January 1977 issued a document detailing eye witness accounts of killings and home burnings by South African Police. Father Russell; his secretary, Ms Dot Cleminshaw; Bishop Patrick Matolengwe and other churchpersons had their homes and offices raided and were charged with producing the report. While on bail appealing a three-month prison sentence, Father Russell sent a memo to all Members of Parliament entitled: THE RIOT POLICE AND THE SUPPRESSION OF TRUTH. It and the first document were banned as 'undesirable literature'. In September 1977, Father Russell joined thousands of his fellow countrymen at the funeral of Steve Biko. A month later, the South African regime banned a wide range of black organizations, newspapers and individuals. David Russell received a stiff five-year order because, as the Justice Minister stated, 'you engage in activities which endanger or are calculated to endanger the maintenance of public order'. Despite his restrictions, David Russell prevailed in ministering to the people at the Crossroads squatter settlement built and run by some 20,000 men, women and children. He was charged with violating his banning for making a pastoral visit after hours to a sick person at Crossroads. David Russell wrote the Minister 'I cannot in conscience accept the limitation on my ministry that flows from obeying the terms of the banning orders. This is especially so because, in my view, the whole system of banning orders functions outside of normal Rule of Law procedures, and is therefore inherently unjust.' Father Russell broke his banning orders by attending the December 1979 Synod of the Anglican Church some 300 miles from Cape Town. He was an elected delegate and had been summoned by the Archbishop. In a message to Synod, David Russell stated: 'I believe that this is a clear instance of the State interfering in Church matters, and I now put this in your hands, to respond as you think right in terms of our witness to the Gospel in this situation.' He was given a standing ovation. David Russell was sent to prison on 28 February 1980 by a magistrate who said 'This sort of behaviour cannot be tolerated in any state whatsoever'.

THE MOTHER OF THE NATION

Lilian Masediba Ngoyi, long-time and well-honored leader in the struggle against oppression in South Africa, died on 12 March 1980. She was living at her Soweto home under the latest of a series of banning orders going back to 1962. Her latest ban was due to expire on 31 May. Ms Ngoyi had suffered from severe cardiac problems and from disabling asthma.

Lilian Ngoyi was born in Pretoria in 1911, and grew up to become an active leader in the garment workers union. She joined the African National Congress during the 1952 Defiance Campaign and was made president of the ANC Women's League. In 1954 when the Federation of South African Women was formed she was elected president. In 1956 she became the first woman to be elected to the ANC executive committee.

Ms Ngoyi was the leader of a march of 20,000 women on the seat of government in Pretoria during the 1956 nation-wide protest against the extension of pass laws to women.

THE VOICE of Soweto describes what happened: 'With her secretary general, Mrs Helen Joseph, they went up to the Prime Minister's office and knocked on the door. Meanwhile, outside, their thousands of colleagues sat down quietly on the lawn. It was said that the Premier was not available but the two women handed an official their bundles of protest forms. As they returned to their followers, the national anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, filled the air. A definite statement had been made.'

Lilian Ngoyi was one of the accused in the Treason Trial which began in 1956 and dragged on until 1961 when those charged were acquitted. During the state of emergency declared after the Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 she was detained for 5 months.

Lilian Ngoyi's funeral was an affirmation of her own struggle and that of all those fighting for freedom in South Africa. The Orlando East Methodist Church was full to overflowing. Her bier was covered with flowers, while a placard proclaimed: 'The Mother of the Struggle Shall Be Avenged. Viva Ma-Ngoyi!' There were speakers from student, teachers, community organizations. THE VOICE says: 'The only white speaker, Mrs Helen Joseph, who though unbanned now, cannot be quoted as a listed person. She recalled, in a moving tone, her love, respect and admiration of over 30 years of her friend, colleague and leader, Ma-Ngoyi.' Messages from all over the world were read. THE VOICE recounts... 'One special message of condolence that could not be read was that of Robben Island prisoner, Mr Nelson Mandela'. THE VOICE stresses the presence of the youth: 'They drove the horse cart; ran alongside it; in front of it and, also, behind it, chanting freedom songs. They were committed young people from all over the country - in particular Cape Town and Natal.'

Lilian Ngoyi lived long enough to savor the news of victory flowing out of Zimbabwe.



'There was drama in the air as students walked up to the rostrum to face the Prime Minister and a supporting phalanx of MPs and university authorities to question Mr Botha on his refusal to release Nelson Mandela. There was laughter when Mr Botha described the South African Press as one of the most free in the world, and there was anger when he turned on his student tormentors to tell them to get back to their books and to treat their Prime Minister with more respect.'

- report in South Africa's SUNDAY TIMES on a confrontation between Prime Minister Pieter W. Botha and students at the Afrikaner Stellenbosch University, 10 April 1980

The stress and chemistry of an altered situation in Southern Africa are nowhere more evident than among the student community in South Africa. The memory of Soweto and its ghastly aftermath is fresh in the minds of the young. Now four years after Soweto black students in high schools and universities, seeing the class of '76 coming back as armed guerrillas and invigorated by the freedom of Zimbabwe, are resolute in shaking off their shackles. At this writing, 100,000 students all across South Africa - classified in Pretorian terms as 'coloureds' - are out on strike against their sub-sufficient educational system. The South African Police are responding as usual with teargas and baton charges. One of the strike leaders declared: 'We must tell the Government that we want to determine our own destiny. The Government has done everything to humiliate us by giving us inferior education.' The bread is indeed rising.

Student dissent, as the quote at the top of this page shows, is spreading right into the heart of Afrikanerdom. Stellenbosch has always been noted as the most 'liberal' of the Afrikaans-speaking campuses for whites. This set-to between a group of young Afrikaners and the old guard of the regime is but a tender sprout in the midst of the gathering storm. But it raises the possibility of English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking young whites finding a commonality and proffers the hopeful vision of young blacks and young whites uniting to create a new South Africa. An immediate common goal shared among students at universities like Witwatersrand and Stellenbosch and their black counterparts is the Free Mandela campaign, a movement which is growing among people of a wide range of age and background in South Africa.

An instance of Pretorian retaliation against white university students must be related. We quote from VARSITY, the student publication at the University of Cape Town. 'A watershed between State and the student press body has been reached with five UCT journalists presently awaiting trial for allegedly producing "undesirable" publications. This is the biggest group of students charged in one fell swoop since 1976, when five NUSAS members were acquitted of a conspiracy to further goals of Communism.' Among the five is Andrew Boraine, president of the National Union of South African Students and son of a member of Parliament, Alex Boraine (who has endorsed the Free Mandela campaign, much to the horror of the ruling National Party).

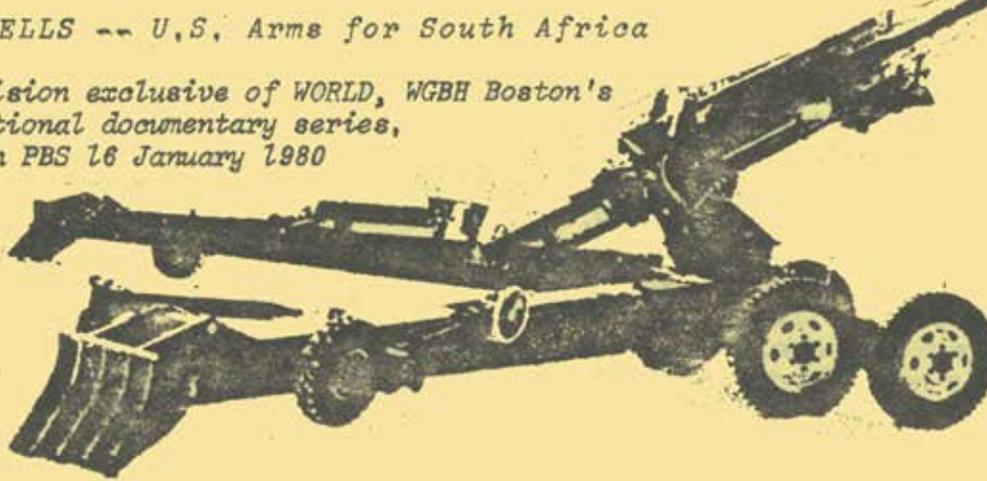
The UCT newsmen's crimes include publishing various reports and newsletters on repression and on Pretoria's highly sensitive program of National Preparedness, that is, the defense of the status quo against change. Andrew Boraine says 'they have indicated that more people are going to be charged. Clearly, the State is no longer content with banning specific publications. They are now intent on silencing students who make and formulate opinions.' VARSITY comments: 'The State has decided that instead of banning separate issues, it will generate a "prosecution psychosis" which, it hopes, will act as a severe inhibiting factor to students expressing their beliefs.'

South Africa's Publications Act, which was steered through Parliament in 1974 by the then Minister of Information, Connie Mulder, before a corruption scandal brought him down, survives as a typical twisted South African piece of legislation. Writes VARSITY: 'A person commits an offense if he/she knowingly produces a publication which is later found to be undesirable by the Publications Directorate. The Act thus functions retrospectively. An editor cannot know his publication is undesirable until the committee decision has been made and then it is too late.'

AMERICAN MILITARY AID FOR PRETORIA

HOT SHELLS -- U.S. Arms for South Africa

a television exclusive of WORLD, WGBH Boston's
international documentary series,
Aired on PBS 16 January 1980



'That cannon was
the GC 45 155mm
howitzer, generally
agreed to be the best
in the world.'

'The brand new
GC 45 can out-
shoot any
howitzer in
the world.'

'...in 1963, the United States imposed a voluntary arms embargo on South Africa. Since the passage in 1977 of the United Nations Security Council mandatory arms embargo, the United States Government does not license for sale to South Africa any "arms or related material", (i.e. items on the United States Munitions List).'

- Note Verbale dated 23 May 1979 from the USA representative to the UN to the chairman of the Security Council Committee on military sanctions against South Africa,

Pretoria was desperate in 1975 when its forward columns in Angola suddenly ran up against devastating Russian-made, Cuban-operated artillery. South Africa's military dispatched a team from the state armaments board to the USA. The ARMSCOR officers found what they wanted and got it despite US government protestations of observing an arms embargo against Pretoria - the way made smooth by the CIA and the Defense and State Departments. The Space Research Corporation, an outfit with strange US and Canadian government connections and dedicated to developing weaponry on its 10,000 acres straddling the Quebec-Vermont border, had just what the South Africans needed - the finest artillery system in the world.

The semi-finished 155mm shells in a form known as rough steel forgings were purchased by SRC from the US Army munitions plant in Scranton, Pennsylvania, and trucked to SRC's Vermont-side facility for finishing. The Pentagon okayed the deal in 4 days without the government to government letter of end use required for foreign military sales. John Stockwell, CIA Angola task force chief in 1975, who witnessed an earlier attempt to supply the South Africans, comments in this documentary: 'Four days is impressive.' The State Department's Office of Munitions Control responded to SRC's director's plea that the forgings need not be licensed: 'So long as they are not clearly identifiable as parts or components of weapons, no license is required from this office.' The Scranton plant manager comments: 'You might use them as boat anchors, or fence posts, or something of that type, but there is no other practical use for these that I know of except to convert them into 155mm artillery shells.' The real coup for Pretoria though was the acquisition of the GC 45 cannon - and the design and technology for its entire artillery system, which, the makers of this documentary are careful to note, is capable of delivering a nuclear payload. The last consignment of shells was shipped to South Africa in mid-1978, after the UN Security Council mandatory arms embargo was instituted.

HOT SHELLS is a hard-hitting piece of journalism. Producer, writer, director William Cran, investigative researcher William Scott Mallone and their team deserve signal thanks from Americans. The American people deserve a public accounting from their government. Is this kind of thing still going on? What about Pretoria-Washington cooperation in the nuclear realm?

- '...it's clear to us that this administration, as well as its predecessors, want to sustain the current South African government.'

- Randall Robinson, executive director, TRANSAFRICA, Washington

TWINKLE! TWINKLE!

The twin flash detected by a US Vela satellite somewhere in the South Atlantic-Indian Oceans area last year persists as a controversial 'mystery'. The Vela, 10 years aloft and of proven trustworthiness, recorded the distinctive two-stage flash of a nuclear explosion at 3 am on 22 September 1979, South African time. The information was received electronically by the US air force which immediately notified the American president, the secretaries of state and defense (the latter was awakened to hear the startling advice), other top officials. The US public knew nothing until someone leaked the matter to ABC news correspondent John Scali, a former US ambassador to the United Nations. Thereupon the State Department on 25 October issued a statement saying there was 'no corroborating evidence' of a nuclear explosion. That has been the line put out by Washington to this day.

The event occurred within a vast expanse some 4500 square miles in extent covering the region at the confluence of the two oceans, the northern littoral of Antarctica and southern Africa. The Pretoria regime was at once and widely singled out as the perpetrator of an atom bomb test. South African officials heatedly denied any knowledge of the affair; an admiral fingered the Russians and Foreign Minister Pik Botha advised consulting Neptune. US planes scooped the atmosphere and Washington reported no evidence of fallout. New Zealand scientists at a meteorological station noted an increase in radiation but that government submitted a report to the UN saying there was no proof of a nuclear event. Stories commenced to flood the press in the USA posing such explanations as malfunction of Vela, a glint of sunlight, the magical concurrence of a falling meteor and a lightning bolt, a 'superbolt' of lightning. But the 'fingerprints' of a nuclear explosion - a twin pulse of light in which an initial fireball briefly fades then flares up again with far greater intensity - were unmistakable.

THE WASHINGTON POST's Thomas O'Toole has given the most consistent reporting, and compelling:

- there were two sensors, 'bangmeters', aboard Vela and each saw the double flash;
- the radio observatory at Arecibo in Puerto Rico, the world's largest comprising an entire small valley, picked up a ripple in the ionosphere 'suggesting that a shock wave had moved through the skies and displaced the electrons in at least one layer of the ionosphere as it moved along. In calculating the velocity of such a shock wave, scientists figured that a shockwave starting about 4,000 miles away in the southern skies near South Africa at 3 am Sept. 22 would have arrived in the skies over Puerto Rico about the same time.';
- early warning radar recorded 'the faint but unmistakable echoes of the explosion's sonic boom';
- the CIA informed congressional committees that a South African naval task force was conducting a secret exercise at sea on the night of 22 September;
- Vela's orbit was unpredictable; it is possible that 'whoever set off the explosion in the middle of the night on Sept. 22 could have timed it so that Vela would miss it'. But Vela did not miss. Speculation infers that may not have been the first such explosion.

Journalist William Scott Mallone, testifying on 14 March before the UN Security Council committee on the South African arms embargo, suggested a chilling tie-in between the Space Research Corporation's sale of an advanced artillery system to the South Africans and the 22 September event. He pointed out that the size of the alleged explosion was measured at between two and three kilotons. The yield of the US Army's 155mm nuclear shell (which is the calibre of the cannon provided for Pretoria) was two to three kilotons. 'Military experts we have consulted have informed us that the use South Africa has for nuclear weapons is a tactical one, particularly as naval weapons for anti-shipping, anti-submarine warfare and the harassment of resupply harbors.' O'Toole in THE WASHINGTON POST writes of 'a nagging suspicion among scientists...that it was a neutron bomb'. That would explain the lack of success in finding radioactive fallout. 'Designed for use on the battlefield, a neutron bomb generates a small fireball that produces little physical destruction but a huge excess of neutrons. The neutrons are lethal to people in the vicinity but do not travel far and do not persist in the atmosphere the way radioactive fallout does.' (Tactical nukes, just what Pretoria needs to sanitize its borders from guerrilla infiltration and a small war situation so far obtaining in Southern Africa.)

Meanwhile the White House group of experts keeps 'studying' the 22 September 1979 event.

DIRTY WORK 2 - The CIA in Africa

edited by Ellen Ray, William Schaap, Karl Van Meter & Louis Wolf. Lyle Stuart, Inc \$20.00
'respectfully dedicated to the peoples of Africa, especially the liberation forces struggling to overthrow the last but powerful vestiges of colonialism and white supremacy.'

As Africa shook off its colonial chains, the former European colonial powers had to adjust their methods in order to try to maintain less obvious control and to prevent 'radical' independence movements from asserting direction of these minerally wealthy and strategically placed territories. They called on their intelligence agencies - long present in the colonies - to redouble their efforts. Britain's MI-6, France's SDECE, the Portuguese PIDE-DGS and others, singly and in team, worked on individuals and parties in the new states in a continent-wide scheme of subversion. Newer interests joined the lists: Israel's MOSSAD, BOSS from South Africa, our very own CIA. They had successes, they lost a lot. One thing is certain: they haven't given up, they're still at it.

DIRTY WORK 2 is an anthology of recent and real life events - as gripping and as revolting as any collection of horror stories. Foreign plots against the developing and established states of Africa; subversion of infant labor movements, attempts to sway scholars and buy politicians; the use of academic studies to try to penetrate independence movements and governments; the never-ending introduction of mercenaries, the 'dogs of war', in efforts to thwart a people's movement; assassination of leaders: Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau's Amilcar Cabral, Patrice Lumumba amid Zaire's stormy beginnings. Throughout this reportage the sordid threads of scheming and spending and carnage run. The three decades covered in this volume are imbued with the past and there is ever a sense that like events are being hatched and activated this day and for the future.

The maneuvers of the CIA in Africa are of course paramount for Americans to read, and pay particular attention to the Agency's relations with its South African counterpart. Keep in mind their dance still goes on, with details and consequences not yet entirely apparent. No wonder the US government moved to stop distribution of DIRTY WORK 2, on the grounds it was Philip Agee's book (it isn't; he contributed an introduction). In the current and frantically nurtured atmosphere of 'unleashing' the CIA it is doubly necessary to heed the wise words of world statesman Sean MacBride, who writes in the preface to DIRTY WORK 2: '..... democracy and the rule of law could not survive side by side with a state agency that engages in covert operations ranging from assassinations to levying mercenary armies...the whole concept of a secret government and army within a government is a menace to the democratic system.'

* * * * *

GENERATIONS OF RESISTANCE - a new film on South Africa. 16mm color. 52 minutes
produced by Peter Davis and the UN
Contact: Southern Africa Media Center
630 Natoma Street, San Francisco, CA 94103
PHONE: (415) 621-6196

The dramatic story of the struggle of black nationalism in South Africa from the beginning of this century, an uprising in 1905 against British imperialism, the founding of the African National Congress, the Sharpeville Massacre, Robben Island, Steve Biko, Soweto.

SOUTH AFRICA - The Nuclear File - a new film by Peter Davis based on THE NUCLEAR AXIS, by Barbara Rogers and Zdenek Cervenka.
* Contact: Peter Davis
Brophy Road
Hurleyville, NY 12747
PHONE: (914) 434-5579

The story of how South Africa's atomic and nuclear power was created.

BISHOP TUTU'S MESSAGE

Bishop Desmond Tutu, general secretary of the South African Council of Churches, has set down in a Christmas 1979 message a poignant, even desperate cry for meaningful change in South Africa. This excerpt must be read against a background of the massive effort by Pretoria to consolidate its hold not only over South Africa but to reach out for domination over all Southern Africa, at the same time camouflaging the scheme with garments of liberalization and utterances of advance.

When I was in Denmark I remarked on Danish Television that it was disgraceful for Denmark to buy South African coal. That remark has caused a considerable furore because it is economic sabotage to advocate economic sanctions or something like it against South Africa. The resulting furore almost exclusively from whites has been as if I said blacks from now on should go on the rampage and rape white women. There is an upsurge of white altruism about the possible untold misery that blacks who would be consequently unemployed would suffer. And yet most of the prosperity that has come about in South Africa is gained through black misery with the cheap labour and migratory labour system of which blacks are the victims.

There was virtually no outcry from white South Africans at the actual present misery suffered by blacks in the resettlement camps where blacks are dumped like potatoes after being removed from the urban areas where they usually had jobs and reasonably adequate accommodation to the rural areas and the bantustans. And all this was exposed by some newspapers and myself. I told the story of a girl in one of those resettlement camps who lives with her mother and sister.

I asked her: 'Does your mother get a grant or pension?'

'No.'

'Then what do you do for food?'

'We borrow food.'

'Have you ever returned any of the food that you have borrowed?'

'No.'

'What do you do then if you can't borrow food?'

'We drink water to fill our stomachs.'

* * * * *

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