



**RUTH  
FIRST**

17982

ANC

mulher  
militante  
investigadora

foi assassinada  
na Universidade  
pelos racistas  
sul-africanos

pegar em  
armas e  
sendo o  
estudo  
armas  
con



January, 1983

Dear

Hilda + Rusty,

At 4.30pm on the 17th of August, 1982, Ruth, relaxed, happy and waiting to share a farewell toast to a departing colleague, was killed instantly opening a Pretoria-prepared parcel bomb.

Why did they do it? Why was she, who had nothing to do with the planning or implementation of armed activities, chosen as the target of their killing machine? The answer is crystal-clear. Her boundless energy and intellectual productivity in opposition to racist savagery posed a threat to them which was no less sharp than a whole arsenal of weapons. And, in keeping with their past, they acted in the only way fascist thugs know: if you cannot deal with an idea—kill it.

You were among the thousands from every part of the world who remembered Ruth, and the cause for which she lived and died, with warmth and admiration. Your words of support and condolence made it less hard for Tilly, Shawn, Gillian Robyn and me to bear in our terrible sadness. Thank you.

Those who wrote to us knew Ruth (or of her) in a variety of different settings; as journalist, author, teacher, researcher, public campaigner, political activist, or just as a warm and generous friend. We want to give you something of the flavour of the responses which Ruth evoked in her lifetime and we have selected, almost at random, extracts from just a few of the messages and letters which reached us, and the tributes paid at memorial services.

During the 33 years of our married life Ruth and I enjoyed a warm companionship and stimulating mutuality. It was not without its moments of contest which sometimes perturbed those of our acquaintances who were not yet aware of the chemistry of our relationship. Ruth expressed well an aspect of our spirited comradeship in a letter during one of our unavoidable separations: 'Oh for a good row in close proximity.'

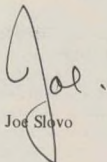
For me there is no measure to gauge her loss. She was a lady of style and elegance both in wit and vanity. She was a comrade whose intolerance of hypocrisy, inefficiency and humbug won her the respect even of those who were discomfited by the razor-sharpness of her thrusts. She was a friend and companion with a rich, albeit private, passion. She had the extraordinary capacity to postpone the traumas of work-conflict and relax with us and with friends in private and social situations. She had moments of complete intensity and engagement in a piece of argumentation and could quickly dissolve in laughter.

Ruth devoted her considerable talents to the cause of a liberated and non-racist South Africa. Inside the country news of her murder brought many colleagues and friends together, mostly in secret tribute. In Soweto, the cradle of our revolution, the regime illegalised the planned memorial service. But one thing is certain: the time is approaching in our country when those who rule

through torture and killing will be thrown on to the rubbish heap of history, and when the lives of people like Ruth will be celebrated openly in freedom and joy.

If you care about the ideals and beliefs for which they destroyed her, then do all you can to bring that day nearer.

AMANDLA! VICTORY IS CERTAIN!

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Joe Slovo'. The signature is stylized, with a large, looping 'J' and 'S'.

Joe Slovo





# ANC and SACP

This meeting, dedicated to the memory of the late Comrade Ruth First, is an expression of our individual and collective feeling of grievous loss, an international act in denunciation of the Pretoria criminals who presided over her murder, and a fitting acknowledgement of her outstanding contribution to the struggle for a new social and economic order in South Africa and internationally.

A most devoted and highly talented member of our movement, an uncompromising and inflexible opponent of exploitation and oppression in any form, the late Comrade Ruth First committed her creative energies and intellectual brilliance to the struggle for national liberation, social progress and human advancement inside and outside her own country. In London, Durham, Dar es Salaam and Maputo, no less than in Johannesburg, she served the cause of progress with boundless devotion. Her life story is a record of achievement. As a social scientist, Comrade Ruth sought after, expounded and fearlessly defended the truth as she saw it. As a friend, a colleague and a comrade-in-arms, she occupied a distinct place in our lives and work. She has now fallen, a victim of the apartheid crime against humanity, a victim of the fascist and racist minority regime that has the political, economic and military support and encouragement of the Western powers to commit armed aggression and murder throughout Southern Africa, a victim of the enemies of peace.

The South African regime, desperate in the knowledge that our struggle is advancing, is perpetrating atrocities on our people and waging an undeclared war against the countries and people of Southern Africa. Yet, the Pretoria assassins should know that, far from being a deterrent, this latest act of barbarism, like others before it, serves only to swell our ranks with new activists and combatants, and wins us more allies and supporters. It serves only to reinforce our determination and deepen our obligation to destroy the apartheid system, liberate ourselves and our country, and bring peace to all people of Southern Africa.

In the pursuit of this historic objective, the African National Congress and its allies, the broad masses of the people of South Africa, will not betray Comrade Ruth First and other martyrs of our revolutionary struggle. In the meantime, let it be placed on record that Pretoria's crimes against our people cannot and will not go unpunished.

In the name of all our leaders, members and people I wish once again to express our sincere condolences to the bereaved family, particularly Mother Tillie First, the children and our colleague and comrade, Joe Slovo.

The struggle continues with unity in action!

Victory for our just cause is certain!

*Maatla! Amandla!*

*O.R. Tambo*

*President, African National Congress*

Deeply grieved to hear of this tragic blow which we all share and shoulder with you. Together we mourn the loss of our dear comrade Ruth, foully cut down in her prime of life by the vicious enemy who feared her brilliant mind, her indomitable will and her implacable devotion to our cause of national liberation and social emancipation. She joins the ever-growing list of martyrs of our revolution, whose achievements and sacrifices will continue to inspire our people to fight on until the perpetrators of this heinous crime—the apartheid regime—have been completely destroyed.

In the face of this cruel blow our rejoinder to the enemy is as always—we shall never be deflected from our course.

The struggle continues and victory is certain!

*Yusuf Dadoo*

*Chairman, South African Communist Party*

She died as she lived—a true revolutionary who devoted her entire being to the struggle for social justice, equality and communism. We sympathise with you, the children and Tillie, and vow to continue the struggle until our cause has triumphed. Ruth has been martyred by a cruel and ruthless gang of terrorists, but her death has not been in vain. Admired in all quarters of the globe for her creative work and unswerving dedication, the assassination has aroused the indignation of tens of thousands of progressive people and won even greater support for the revolution. Her memory and works will live as long as our country continues to honour its martyred dead.

Long live the revolution!

*A Unit of the South African Communist Party*

Ruth First has been selected by the racists because of her unswerving dedication to the liberation struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa. She dedicated all her talents and life to the advancement of this noble ideal. In fact, her contribution to the cause of liberation has made its mark even across our national borders, in the neighbouring countries, and beyond.

These acts of banditry against the ANC and our cause of liberation will not deter us from pursuing and intensifying the struggle until final victory. Ruth First and all the other martyrs and heroes of our struggle are a source of inspiration and encouragement to us all.

*Alfred Nzo*

*Secretary General, ANC*

To the family of our comrade Ruth, we extend our profound and sincere sympathies. To the people of South Africa, we pledge our unwavering determination to pursue our role in the fight for national liberation. We would like to make it known that we, the fighting women of South Africa, have always taken courage from the late Comrade Ruth First. She was a dynamic fighter and a liberated

woman. She stood for her ideas like a fighter. She would not agree with you to please you. She would agree with you because she was convinced that you were correct. She stood in the face of difficulties. She was indeed a fighting woman. She was always like a warrior with a spear in hand. Her nature and determination made her rise to a dynamic leadership position. She became one of the few women in our country who rose to be among the leading Communists. Though she was a woman the enemy feared her as he feared the lion. That is why the enemy worked out ways and means to murder her in this brutal way.

We, the fighting women of South Africa, pledge to take the spear and fight on until our liberty is won.

*Women's Section of the ANC, Maputo*

For us, the combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe, we shall continue to be inspired by the immeasurable contribution to the struggle made by Comrade Ruth throughout her entire life. Her genius, revolutionary discipline and selfless commitment will remain a guiding star in our revolutionary work.

We therefore solemnly pledge to avenge the barbaric murder of our Comrade Ruth and all who have given their lives to the struggle, sparing neither courage nor energy in such a mission as an integral part of our fight. It is on this note that we realise, mourn though we shall, as we must, simply mourning will not only be a failure on our part to continue on the path charted for us by comrades of her calibre, but will also be a betrayal of those principles for which they lived and died.

Heartbroken but renewed in spirit by the knowledge of the immortality of the principles for which she fought, we further vow to let our every action be a battle cry against racism and all forms of exploitation. 'Even where death may surprise us, let it be welcome, so long as our battle cry may have reached some receptive ear, and some hand reaches out to pick up our fallen spear.'

Comrade Slovo and family, may it be a comfort to you to know that for us Comrade Ruth is not dead, she is alive, for she lives in our hearts and minds, and will never be forgotten either by us or our children.

*Combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe*

The historic ANC Youth Conference, meeting from 17 to 23 August, 1982, in Somafo, Mazimbu, Morogoro, heard with shock and disgust about the barbaric and gruesome murder of a leader, a revolutionary, a journalist, writer, academician and internationalist of high standing of our movement and our country—the late Comrade Ruth First. Her death, her loss, will spur thousands of our youth to take up her spear. Her contribution will remain cherished by our people. Her death has given the conference added seriousness and determination, and we pledge that the assassins—the Botha-Malan regime—will not go unpunished.

Then to you, Comrade Joe Slovo, the conference has no doubt that the dastardly act will not dampen your revolutionary spirit, as it will not deter the youth of the ANC from its chosen revolutionary path.

*Chairman, ANC Youth Conference  
Somafo, Mazimbu, Morogoro*

# Heads of State, Fraternal Organisations

To the memory of Comrade and Friend, Ruth First. You fell on the battlefield. But you did not fall in vain. You were carrying out your duties as a combatant, dedicating all your strength and all your energies to the triumph of the noble ideals of freedom, independence, justice and brotherhood of man. To the triumph of your ideals, which are our ideals.

Because of this we shall continue to be inseparable, even though you are not with us physically. Without faltering, because your example will always encourage us to advance, whatever the difficulties and sacrifices, until final victory.

Your example will inspire the South African people still further, and they will transform pain and mourning into an immeasurable strength for still more decisive combats in the struggle for the elimination of apartheid and the annihilation of the neo-fascist regime of Pretoria.

*Samora Moises Machel  
President of the Frelimo Party and the People's Republic of Mozambique*

On behalf of SACTU and the workers of South Africa, we learned with great shock and sorrow of the assassination of Comrade Ruth by the enemy of the liberation movement, the racist government of South Africa. They had been carrying this campaign of murdering our people in Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Maputo and other places. However tragic these actions by the fascist government on the people of South Africa, we shall carry on with the struggle as Comrade Ruth has done until victory is achieved, for a free and democratic society.

Let us not mourn, dear patriots, let us tighten our belts and destroy the enemy of mankind for a free, democratic South Africa as enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

An injury to one is an injury to all!

*Stephen Dhlamini  
President, South African Congress of Trade Unions*



Swapo learnt with shock and regret of the untimely death of Ruth First. Swapo expresses its sincere solidarity and condolences to the oppressed people of South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. We join the movement in honouring this heroine. We condemn this barbaric act of banditry carried out by the South African regime.

*Sum Nujoma  
President, South West African People's Organisation*

It was with profound indignation that we learned of the cowardly attempt which took the life of militant Mrs Ruth First, and wounded our companion and friend Dr Aquino Braganca and other officials of the University of Maputo, in addition to material damage. Faced with this further manifestation of the despair of the sworn enemies of the African peoples, it is my painful duty, on behalf of the Cape Verdian people, their Party and Government, and in my own name, once again to express to you our unshakeable solidarity with the brother people of Mozambique, their Party and Government, in the certainty that no crime, no enemy manoeuvre, will succeed in halting the irresistible advance of our people in their just struggle for progress, peace and well-being.

*Aristides Pereira, Secretary General of the PAICV  
President of the Republic of Cape Verde*

... On behalf of the people of Guinea and on my own personal behalf we extend our sincere condolences and our militant compassion ... We are certain that this loss will contribute yet another stimulus for the fighting people of South Africa to intensify their struggle to free themselves from Pretoria's racist and fascist yoke.

*Ahmed Sekou Toure, President  
Revolutionary Popular Republic of Guinea*

Profoundly upset by the news of the barbarous attempt which took the life of our beloved sister and companion in the struggle, Professor Ruth First, outstanding ANC militant, journalist and writer of international renown. It is my painful duty, on behalf of the people of Guinea Bissau, their PAIGC Party and their Government, to express our most vehement condemnation and repugnance at such a crime.

The death of that fighter for freedom of Africa is a great loss not only to the heroic people of South Africa, but also to all the peoples fighting for peace, progress and social justice in the world. We should like on this occasion to reaffirm our firm conviction that no attempt or manoeuvre of the sworn enemies of our continent can halt the glorious advance of our peoples to their total liberation. At this time of mourning we address our deepest condolences to Your Excellency as well as to the ANC and the bereaved family.

*Brigade Commander Joao Bernardo Vieira  
President of the Council of the Revolution of the Republic of Guinea Bissau*

Owing to my absence from Lisbon, it is only now that I have learned of the indescribable attack which took place at the Centre for African Studies. Permit me, Mr President, to express my profound emotion and to lament the loss of a human life and the wounds caused.

*Francisco Pinto Balsemao  
Prime Minister of Portugal*

I have heard with indignation of the savage killing of Comrade Ruth First by the cowardly racist and imperialist enemy. Her martyrdom for freedom must impel our militant revolutionary forces to advance the liberation struggle to final and certain victory.

*Kenneth David Kaunda  
President of the Republic of Zambia*

Although she has fallen, her work will continue to inspire revolutionaries in this region, and especially in South Africa. Her life and work is a shining example of total commitment to liberation of oppressed peoples in our region and mankind generally. I first met her at the University of Dar es Salaam in Tanzania in 1975 and again at the Centre for African Studies in Mozambique in 1978. There she showed how to wage the ideological revolution as an essential pillar of the military struggle. Her brilliant writings are now a strong weapon in the hands of the ANC and all those fighting against fascism, racism, neo-colonialism and imperialism in Africa.

*N.M. Shamuyarira  
Minister of Information, Posts and Telecommunications, Zimbabwe*



*She has been a dear comrade, an outstanding journalist and author ...  
Their loss is our loss. I just do not have words to express my deep feelings...*

*Walter Sisulu  
Pollsmoor Prison  
Serving Life Imprisonment*

*It was not for glory  
But for truth  
Not for yourself, but  
For all suffering mankind  
Your memory, your work  
Lives on*

*The Sisulu Family*

# Governments and Organisations

The All Africa Conference of Churches vehemently condemns the assassination of Ruth First, a well known, militant freedom fighter against apartheid in South Africa, her motherland. Only the hand of notorious state terrorism of fascist South Africa would plot for her demise.

As a white militant in the conditions of apartheid, she struggled relentlessly and selflessly to undermine the basis of apartheid. As a woman, she followed the highest tradition of women militants against apartheid South Africa. She has sacrificed her life for the noble cause of total political and social liberation in South Africa.

We salute Ruth First. Her assassination is not a sign of the strength of apartheid. On the contrary, it is a cowardly act of a system doomed to utter failure. The AACC calls upon all forces that struggle for genuine freedom in South Africa to mark the passing away of this gallant daughter of South Africa by stepping up the struggle at all levels.

*All Africa Conference of Churches*

On behalf of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and the worldwide movement against apartheid I send our greetings of friendship and solidarity to the People's Republic of Mozambique as you grieve the tragic assassination of Ruth First in your capital city, Maputo. We condemn this cowardly act and pledge our continuing solidarity with

Mozambique in the face of the escalating aggression and destabilisation of apartheid South Africa.

*Archbishop Trevor Huddleston  
President, Anti-Apartheid Movement*

We wish to convey to you our deepest sympathy on the death of your daughter. We abhor the use of violence and this was a brutal and vicious attack with tragic results for all who loved Ruth. There is something particularly cold-blooded and abhorrent about people who send letter bombs. Ruth had a most distinguished academic career and her work and research in Africa is of lasting importance.

*Sheena Duncan  
The Black Sash*

I wish to express the great sorrow of our Party at the death of Ruth First. Her brutal murder is a savage blow at the ANC and all those forces worldwide fighting against apartheid and the aggressive South African regime. Ruth First is very well known and respected in Britain, and we, along with others, will honour her memory by increasing our activity in support of the causes to which she devoted her life.

*Gerry Pocock, International Dept  
Communist Party Great Britain*

The valuable blood shed by the best sons and daughters of the South African

people will relentlessly serve as fertilizer in the struggle against the greatest enemies of mankind, the apartheid regime and US imperialism.

*Embassy of Cuba, Tanzania*

The Foreign Minister of East Timor, Mr Mari Alkatiri, (whose country has been illegally occupied by Indonesia) said: 'We considered Ruth First as one of our greatest friends, and we feel her loss as we would feel that of one of our own militants.' As a vice-president of the Permanent Peoples Tribunal (successor to the Russell Tribunal), Ruth First took a leading part last year in the Tribunal's session, held in Lisbon, devoted to the Indonesian aggression against East Timor.

*Mari Alkatiri  
Foreign Minister, East Timor*

Such dastardly acts of the Pretoria racists cannot impede the victorious struggle for freedom. Confident that the struggle for liberation will rise to new heights, we express our indignation and wrath against treacherous act.

*Tibebu Shiferaw, Secretary General  
Ethiopian Solidarity, Peace and  
Friendship Committee*

There will never be enough knives, guns or bombs to silence those who demand justice.

*Bernard Boyer  
French Ambassador to Mozambique*

Comrade Ruth First was well known and held in high esteem as a passionate patriot and a true internationalist, not only by the progressive forces in Southern Africa, but also by her many comrades and friends in the German

Democratic Republic. I'm sure that this brutal act of the apartheid regime will result in further closing the ranks of the ANC in its just struggle for national liberation and social progress in South Africa.

*Horst Koehler  
GDR Ambassador to Zambia*

I wish to convey on behalf of myself, my family, and members of Inkatha and the South African Black Alliance our deepest condolences. It was with deep shock that we learnt of the malicious and ruthless murder of this great fighter for human rights. Her name will always be engraved in the hearts and minds not only of our generation, but in those of future generations.

*Mangosuthu G Buthelezi  
President, Inkatha, Chairman, SABA  
Chief Minister of KwaZulu*

When liberation is won, Ruth will be among many who died for freedom and justice, whom we will remember with love and the deepest regard.

*Phyllis Altman,  
Principal Administrative Officer  
International Defence and Aid Fund*

The horrible assassination of our dearest friend Ruth is a great loss for African and world culture and the demonstration of the inability of apartheid to debate and counteract with ideas.

*Claudio Moreno  
Ambassador of Italy in Dakar, Senegal*

The Labour Party is deeply saddened and shocked to hear of the death of Ruth First. We deplore this terrible act of murder. All opponents of the South



African apartheid regime will recognise the great contribution she made to the struggle for freedom. Let us all resolve to remember her work by ensuring the defeat of apartheid and racism.

*David Hughes, National Agent  
Labour Party (UK)*

I was deeply shocked and saddened to hear of the death of Ruth First, whom I worked with during my presidency of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. She was a doughty fighter against the evils of apartheid and her loss is a bitter blow.

*David Steel  
Leader of the Liberal Party (UK)*

A statement issued by Nicaragua's ambassador to Mozambique, Mr David Mofield, said: 'The vile murder of Comrade Ruth First deeply affects us.' He pointed to the bloody aggression 'that all peoples who love freedom, peace and social progress are suffering.' Nicaragua, he said, felt the same sorrow at Ruth First's death as if felt for the assassination of Nicaraguan workers and peasants by the puppets of US imperialism 'on our borders with Honduras.'

*David Mofield, Nicaraguan  
Ambassador to Mozambique*

We are deeply shocked by the brutal killing of Ruth First, an outstanding representative of those who struggle for a non-racial, democratic society in South Africa. In order to memorize Ruth we, friends of Ruth at SIDA/SAREC in Stockholm, have decided to give 2,000 Swedish Cr to the African National Congress office in Maputo as a small contribution to the continued

liberation struggle of South Africa.

*Friends in SIDA/SAREC Sweden*

I and my colleagues at the Embassy are terribly shocked and saddened at the news of the vicious crime that took the life of Ruth First and injured other friends at your University.

*Finn Bergstrand  
Swedish Ambassador, Mozambique*

At their meeting today our General Council expressed deep shock and sorrow at the cowardly murder of Ruth First—who was personally known to some of them as a courageous fighter against apartheid. I should be grateful if you would accept this expression of our sincere condolences at the tragic loss.

*Lionel Murray, General Secretary  
Trade Union Congress (UK)*

I wish to associate myself with tributes to Ruth First, beloved daughter of Africa and courageous fighter against injustice. We recall that she appeared before Special Committee in 1964 and made a moving statement against ruthless repression by racist regime in South Africa. She co-operated with us in campaign against Rivonia Trial, in exposing torture in South African prisons and in many other activities. We mourn her tragic death and we pledge to redouble our effort to combat terrorism of Pretoria regime and indeed to destroy apartheid.

In her statement to the Special Committee Ruth First emphasised the need for world pressure to prevent holocaust in South Africa, and pointed out why the release of political prisoners is a vital question for South Africa

and the world. She expressed faith that with international sanctions South African people will achieve freedom and demonstrate that they can not only live together in peace as a multiracial country, but also build a very great and glorious country.

The Special Committee will do its share to promote effective sanctions and campaign for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners so that her faith will triumph.

*Alhaji Yusuff Maitama-Sule  
Chairman, Special Committee  
Against Apartheid (UN)*

The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities of the United Nations, meeting at its 35th session in Geneva in August 1982, has learnt with shock, dismay and profound sorrow that Dr Ruth First has been assassinated by the use of a letter bomb. The Sub-Commission expresses its conviction that her work will go on, and that contemptible means of assassination and intimidation will not prevent the ultimate elimination of apartheid in South Africa.

*Arturo Hein-Caceres  
Resident Representative*

I wish to associate UNESCO in the homage paid by the ANC to the memory of Ruth First, whose writings and actions are imbued with truth and realism that cannot be obliterated by her physical disappearance.

*Amadou-Mahtar M'bow  
Director-General, UNESCO, Paris*

We vigorously condemn this act of banditry which once more unmasks the true face of the fascist apartheid regime backed by imperialism, which is an abomination in today's world.

WFTU reaffirms its full solidarity with your struggle against the apartheid regime.

*Ibrahim Zakaria  
WFTU General Secretary*

She was an outstanding fighter for the just cause of the oppressed people of South Africa. Her great contribution in the struggle against racism, apartheid, colonialism, imperialism, for freedom and peace serve as a source of inspiration to oppressed and fighting peoples.

*Romesh Chandra  
President, World Peace Council*



*Photo taken in Ruth's office the day before the assassination*

# Memorial Meetings

'We, the MK combatants, unconditionally, uncompromisingly, vow on behalf of our fallen heroes that their blood—as one of our heroes pointed out—will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom. We vow that all these notorious acts of aggression will not go unpunished. We salute our fallen martyrs, because they have created a frame for the revolution to rest upon. We salute the family of our late mother, Ruth First. We say our mother is still alive spiritually, she is a pride of our people. We salute our mother, Ruth First. We say, Hamba Kahle, Mama Ruth First.'

*Meeting of MK Combatants*

She was a woman who did not mould herself to fit, did not accept the convenience of ready-made ideas or the imposition of models. That was her great revolutionary role, to disturb when necessary. We had struggles that were salutary ... because it was through this confrontation of ideas, through dialogue, through deepened debate that she carried out her role as a teacher.

She did not reserve Marxism with capital letters for official displays, she used Marxism in her daily life.

We had the privilege to have had her work with us when her capacities were developed to their fullest, at the peak of her intellectual life. We are happy she found a place of work in which she could combine her revolutionary activity as a member of a liberation movement with the activity of a revolutionary intellectual. We are grateful because she trained a generation of investigators in our university who cannot deviate from the path she opened for us. She worked with us, side by side. She brought us an experience of her revolutionary practice, she brought that which was the culmination of her intellectual career and put it at the service of the Mozambican revolution and the service of Southern African liberation.

We salute Ruth First and those ANC comrades for the solidarity that their presence here demonstrates. The enemy could not bear those lacerating wounds inflicted through the open, lucid criticism proffered by Ruth First and the other intellectuals with whom she worked at the university. It disturbed them perhaps more than other actions of struggle because it exposed the exact nature of the oppressive apartheid regime, and left them troubled.

Our enemy is a barbarous one, we must be ready to face this enemy. Ruth First's assassination will not be the last of its attacks in Mozambique.

*Fernando Ganhao, Rector, University Eduardo Mondlane*

Ruth First's life was essentially a political act; as her death was a political act of a hideously different kind. She would have wanted our celebration of her life and our grief and rage at her murder to be a political act. And it will be. For if

her murderers had as their motive to intimidate or dismay us, then they must be even madder than we supposed. Let them be in no doubt. Those of us who were falling asleep are now awake; those of us who had grown tired are vigorous again; those of us who have been leading separately our own lives are aware once more of where our lives collectively should lead. The revolutionary movement, to which Ruth gave her life, will find in us only a reinforcement of purpose, of resources, and of effort.

It is right that in remembering Ruth here we should remember all the other victims, known and unknown to us, of South Africa's institutionalised terrorism. Ruth would have been the very last person to expect her own sacrifice to be regarded as unique. But those who knew and loved her must hope that she will be remembered also for herself, as a person of exceptional qualities.

Ruth was an intellectual: though she would doubtless have agitatedly dismissed the term as an attempt to limit her with a label. I intend no such limit. And I know of no higher praise than to say of someone that she loved ideas: because she was always wanting to learn, to examine new insights, to extend her understanding. Inevitably, those ideas that mattered to her most, that she made her own, were those that were instruments in the liberation of people and personality. They came, in general, from the rich store of revolutionary socialist thought. But she did not take them as from some rack of the ready-to-wear. She was always looking at them by the light of new events and perceptions, to reinforce or augment them. Drawn to the cause of women's liberation, she saw it not as a diversion from her revolutionary socialist commitment, but as a necessary enlargement of it. And she wrote, with Ann Scott, that milestone biography of Olive Schreiner.

She was confident and commanding on the platform and in print, but shy and uncertain in private when meeting people she did not know. She was a person of profound culture and she worried about the books she had not read, the pictures she had not seen. She had an abundant capacity for friendship. She was warm and sensitive and generous and always unswervingly loyal. She was an intellectual adventure. And she was such fun. I admired her for what she did. And I loved her for what she was. I know that I will feel the loss of her to the last moment of my life.

*Ronald Segal, Address to the London Memorial Meeting*

Her death leaves a gap that will not easily be filled either in the world of academic learning or of revolutionary action. She was murdered because of her outstanding contributions in both fields and her lifelong struggle against racism, national oppression and class exploitation.

Ruth lives on in her books, in the organisations which she helped to build, and in the students and comrades whom she inspired. The enemy killed her because of her great prestige at home and in the progressive movement outside. She died on the battlefield as surely as those whom the enemy has killed inside the country and abroad.

No public demonstration in honour of Ruth was allowed in South Africa. The



Workers Support Committee called a mass protest meeting to be held in the Methodist Youth Centre in Western Jabavu, but the magistrate banned the meeting outright, saying that it would threaten the public peace. Not satisfied with murder, the regime wanted to erase Ruth's memory from the people.

Her achievements will live on in spite of persecution. They are part of our national heritage and will continue to be so in years to come before and after Independence.

*Jack Simons, Lusaka Memorial Meeting*



*Shawn, Robyn and Gillian at Maputo Memorial Meeting*

# Colleagues and Friends

I feel as though I am only now coming out of the shock, and the feeling that I can't really believe it. I think it's the same for all of us—including those friends Ruth probably didn't know she had ... people who'd met her once, or seldom anyway, yet recognised that extraordinary quality in her. The mixture of strength and vulnerability that made us all love her ... [And now] everyone seeking someone else out who cared for Ruth. And at the same time that presence of Ruth herself, with her 'standards' to which we feel we must live up to somehow, write about her in a way of which she would approve, act in a way worthy of her!

Did she know how powerful she remains?

*Ros Ainslee*

Having been thinking about little else since the news of her dreadful death on Wednesday, I know I can write nothing which will sufficiently express my pain, sympathy, respect and determination ... I could not restrain the need to write to record my sorrow, my sympathy and also my more positive sense that the values she stood for must be even more strongly fought for now by those she so directly and strongly inspired by her work and her wit.

*Reg Austin*

I render sad homage to Ruth First, militant and revolutionary fighter, communist intellectual, friend, teacher and comrade. Her cowardly assassination makes us hate more that which she taught us to hate, makes us love more those values of revolutionary struggle in which she at our side took

part. That which I learnt with her will for always stay with me.

*Carlos Nuno Branco*

Alive, you were a militant. Dead, you are an inspiration. And an inspiration is a fire that you cannot put out. For all that you were, for all that you did, others will now be the inexhaustible energy of your contribution.

Thank you.

*Carlos Cardoso*

May I express the horror of everyone in this firm, and the grief of those who came to know Ruth personally during the course of publishing *Olive Schreiner and South West Africa: Travesty of Trust*. Her death in this appalling way is inexpressibly shocking even to those who were only slightly acquainted with her, and we all wish you to know how much we admired her and how sincerely we offer sympathy at this terrible time.

*Andre Deutsch*

As colleagues and friends of Ruth First and teachers at the University of Durham, we were appalled by the news of her assassination in Mozambique, and by the involvement of the South African Secret Service in this act, as reported in *The Guardian*.

Ruth's crime was to be an excellent scholar and academic. Her work at the Centre of African Studies in Maputo was widely respected and was bringing much-needed publicity to the conditions experienced by migrant Mozambique workers in the gold mines of South Africa. The work followed on from years of committed scholarship based upon Africa as a whole; work

which was dedicated to exposing the many ways in which violence and repression was used against the people of that continent, and the inhuman conditions suffered by many of them. For this, for the accuracy and perception of her exposures, she was killed.

The work at the Centre for African Studies was a central part of Mozambique's attempt to establish itself as a viable, independent entity. Ruth's commitment to the Centre was enormous and was but one example of her belief in both the practical importance of research and knowledge and the necessary political and moral responsibilities of intellectuals to be involved in the processes they write about.

Ruth will be sadly missed—and in many parts of the world. But the work she valued will not come to an end. The hope must be that her assassination will be remembered by others as an obligation to ensure that her particular type of intellectual scholarship and commitment continues.

*Colleagues at Durham University  
Dr R Selden, Mr H Benyon,  
Prof R Brown, Mr R Humphrey,  
Dr D Collcott Surman  
Prof F Dowrick, Mr A Burnett*

There is nothing I can say except that I loved her, and that sorrow mixes with anger. It is impossible to accept.

*Faith Evans*

Ruth taught me when I was an undergraduate at Durham and helped and encouraged me to do a PhD. I wrote to her in Mozambique once or twice and received considered advice in reply, but more than any academic help she gave me support at a crucial time, and I always felt I could turn to her if I ever needed it again. Although I have much less right than her close friends to claim it, I fell a great loss and bitter-

ness over her death. I can't say any more—I've been in tears typing this. I will miss her and hope with all my heart that you will soon achieve all she could have wished to see happen in her lifetime.

*Ralph Fevre*

I have been thinking of you all so much, especially the three of you to whom Ruth was a mother—since I know what it means to lose a mother, and because our mothers were friends. I will never forget how supportive and kind Ruth was to me when Hilary died. It was the time that I felt closest to her. She held the memorial meeting at Lyme Street, and knew exactly how to handle it. She spoke about things others ignored: funny things, characteristic things. And she talked to me a little bit about her feelings for her own mother, it was strange, communicating across the generations, drawing three generations of women together.

The liberation struggle and the solidarity movement won't die because Ruth died; and yet she was an irreplaceable loss. I mourn her very much. I have thought about it constantly since I heard the news; it has cast a shadow over my life, and I feel as if it will be a long time before I can really laugh at anything again. When I woke up the morning afterwards, and often during the night, it was like waking through a fog of pain, before I was fully conscious of what it was: Ruth had been assassinated.

Still, today, it's hard to believe that it's true. Because of the power of her personality, Ruth seemed indestructible; how could those bastards ever get the better of her? But then, they killed her because they couldn't, and still they haven't. They took her life, and nothing can compensate for that; but they haven't destroyed her.

A death like Ruth's can never truly

be revenged, because the deaths of all of her murderers wouldn't weigh enough by comparison. But she will remain alive in the hearts of those who loved and admired her.

I wonder how it feels to share such an intense and private grief with so many people. I imagine that it is sometimes a comfort, sometimes alienating. But if you want to contact people who are anxious to do more, please include me. Ruth was many different things to different people. Sometimes, different things to the same people; a dear friend, a powerful adversary ... but always a beautiful and forceful personality. Losing her has moved me deeply. I can't let it rest.

*Erica Flegg*

She knew what she was doing. She knew the risks, but meanwhile you hope that they will not get you and your comrades. I thought about my father, only 31 when he was killed by the Nazis, I was still in the belly of my mother. He fought in the Spanish war, was a communist, was underground in the press in the Second World War—finally they got him. He contributed to the freedom he never saw again, others continued. The only thing we can do for you is support the struggle much harder than we did, and give you our love and wishes of strength.

*Guite Hansma*

It is only now that I realise quite how many circles Ruth's dynamism brought her into. A South African and Mozambican revolutionary, a feminist, an intellectual, writer, activist and a woman of the family: she had a genius for ensuring that none of these things was separate from the other ...

*Laurence Harris*

This morning's news on BBC has stunned the whole ANC community at

Mazimbu. As you know, Ruth visited here about six months back, and had meetings and discussions with the teaching staff and students. In the few days she was here, she made a tremendous impact. Her vitality and uncompromising truthfulness really set sparks flying; her questions about the school, its purpose etc., cut right through to the heart of the problems. Long after she left discussions were still raging.

Her programme was packed but during her short stay she found long hours to invest in individuals; she delivered a scathing critique of a young comrade's poetry—and her untempered comments were accepted!—a tribute not only to her stature, but also the fact that she very evidently cared.

Ruth had a very rare quality—a critical and ever-questioning mind, which was a source of inspiration to our movement. On more than one occasion I have had to re-examine my own views or to delve deeper into a subject I thought I was familiar with. This must have been true of many comrades who knew her better, including you, whom she loved fiercely. Over the years I remember her, Ruth mellowed and seemed to become more beautiful, and she never lost an ounce of her youthful zest—a great revolutionary hallmark!

This cowardly bombing of such a cherished comrade has aroused great anger in our ranks. Together you and Ruth have set high standards of devotion in our struggle, and I am certain you will continue unflinchingly in the tasks ahead. I am also certain that this assault will shake up the movement at home and abroad and that the banner Ruth carried will truly be swept up by many inspired hands.

Ruth's murder will be avenged in the victory which is drawing nearer. More importantly, her life's efforts will be continued in that victory.

*Spencer Hodgson*



You have been in Maputo and personally witnessed the love, respect and esteem which the Government and people of Mozambique, our own ANC and Party, and friends and governments throughout the world have for Ruth. We, South African revolutionaries, are well aware that whilst Ruth developed as she did through a multitude of factors and people, it is to both you and our late comrade Julius that we look as the initial source of her intellect, brilliance and total commitment to the most noble cause—the liberation of mankind.

Ruth was a most unique and outstanding human being, clearly the offspring of a pair of unique and outstanding parents. The oppressed people of South Africa and all Ruth's comrades within our great movement are forever grateful to you for fashioning Ruth as you did. We are grateful to you and comrade Julius for the enormous contribution you both made over the years. There can be no doubt that long after these heinous criminals have been buried by history and the wrath of our people, the family of First and Slovo will be remembered and acclaimed in a free South Africa.

*The Kasrils family*

It was a joy to see her when she came to lecture at St Anthony's not long ago, still full of the same zest, vitality and determination which she had always demonstrated as a young woman at Wits. Her work at the Maputo African Studies Centre was characteristic of her firm adherence to the highest academic standards and complete, active commitment to her political principles. She will always be remembered with love and admiration.

*Kenneth Kirkwood*

It is really with a very heavy heart that I write this letter to you, because I know that expressions of sympathy sound so hollow in a tragedy like this.

Life is funny. Somehow I could think of many a person whom the enemy would most likely make an attempt to assassinate. But for all her great qualities and tremendous contribution, I never thought that those bastards would do this to Ruth. Somehow she seemed beyond this, if you know what I mean. And because they chose her for this, I detest and hate them even more. Of course she was a thorn in their flesh. More than most of us, in the way she mounted and organised opposition to them.

Maybe it is my own weakness and lack of depth of thought, but you don't do this to Einstein, Jack Simons, Ruth First and such intellectuals. That sort of thing is too physical. It demeans even such low types who perpetrate these crimes to a level even lower than the depths to which they have already sunk.

Ruth was Ruth. A rare person. Not many like her around. A unique person and I'm certain with great, genuine depths of compassion which not many could detect. I feel that I honestly and instinctively knew this about Ruth. And what a razor-sharp mind. Incredible! A person I'll never forget when I have forgotten many others.

Words for this sort of emotional scene fail me. I hope my genuine hurt and loss gets through to you. And I most sincerely hope, of course, that she will be avenged so that we will be able to gain sustenance from this terrible crime.

*Wolfie Kodesh*

I am filled with grief. There was no-one like her. What a brilliant mind, what a capacity—and how beautiful she was. The loss to the movement is almost unbearable to consider: the

only 'consolation' is, of course, the extraordinary contribution she made, which lives on, and of course will do so in future history.

*Caroline Lassalle*

Her murder will make us all realise that she must have been one of the most remarkable women of her generation. Her achievements in politics, in journalism, as a political scientist, as a writer, as a literary figure, as a woman of great charm, superb style in her life and her writings, and endowed with that steely mind, with true incisiveness. She had suffered so much, motivated not so much (I sense) from hatred or bitterness, but from love of the world, of her fellows, of her comrades, and of the future. A true woman of principle and action.

*David Lehman*

I wish I could say something, ask something, express something but it isn't easy to communicate the feelings of grief and to console you, which is what I feel I ought to be doing. I can't console you ... all one can do is communicate the grief. I wish we could do something to avenge their criminality, so many still in jail, so many in slavery.

*Marian Milliband*

Ruth died on the field as the great militant she had always been. And I think that her assassination very clearly demonstrates that they could not stand the fight of ideas and that Ruth's action in the sphere of culture and science together with her political engagement constituted a continuous challenge to which they were unable to reply but by murder. We will always remember Ruth's intelligence and deep culture, but above all her generosity, her human curiosity and availability that made of her such a good friend.

*Claudio and Anna Pia Morena*

With sorrow and anger I heard about the death of Ruth. I water the Finnish forest with tears. But how many times to we have to say A Luta Continua until A Vitoria e Certa? We will not fail.

*Mai Palmberg*

I find it difficult to express my feelings about the death of Ruth. The shocking news reached me Tuesday night and I could not help swearing through my tears. Yes, I cried for Ruth, for you, from anger and from sadness. If it was the murderer's intention to break your determination, then I think they do not know you.

We grieve for you, Joe, and with you. We regret very much the untimely death of Ruth and we will cherish her memory. My tears have not dried up yet, but they will shortly. Yet I will not forget Ruth, I will not forget you and that will be enough inspiration to continue to do here what I can to help in support of your work. This is not an empty promise, soon forgotten; for my life has taken a definite turn during my stay in South Africa and that puts me under obligation. We may not sit idly by and watch apartheid continue unimpeded. The people of South Africa will have to liberate themselves, I know, but we can attack here the complicity in maintaining the injustice and the exploitation. That's what I have been doing in my work and I will continue to do so. As my colleague Koos Koster (who was murdered in El Salvador this March) once said: 'The fact of survival obliges.'

*Karel Roskam*

I'm grieving with you—with everyone touched by Ruth's work and life. From this corner of the world I know it was not in vain, that history is written in blood and pain and perseverance.

I owe you all a debt. as do so many

others. For the rest of my life I'll have been proud to have known her.

*Danny Schechter*

We have no words to tell you how deeply we grieve for you, your daughters and Tillie. We have been shocked to the core by this terrible and cruel murder of Ruth. We tell ourselves and others tell us that we are fighting a war but that is no comfort. We loved Ruth dearly, admired her greatly as a comrade, committed revolutionary, brilliant writer and speaker.

Her death will be a great loss to us all—which of course is what the regime intended. We shall continue to struggle but are the poorer without her. The worldwide protest reveals Ruth's great impact and the respect she inspired among all democrats, freedom fighters and opponents of the regime.

*Jack and Ray Simons*

I grieve with you for the terrible loss of Ruth. The whole world is the poorer for it: the more evil thrives, the more we need her courage, energy, intelligence and humanity.

I have felt immensely privileged to have shared a small part of Ruth's private life here in Durham; for me, as for men and women everywhere, she will continue to be a vital source of inspiration. There is great shock among her friends here. A colleague said this morning that he thought Ruth would be remembered both as a great freedom fighter and as a great woman writer. I, too, believe that she will take her place in history beside Olive Schreiner and Eleanor Marx, as well as the great men who have set examples of commitment and integrity.

I hope and trust that when the worst distress has passed, it will be of consolation to you, her mother, that you gave such a daughter to the world.

*Diana Surman*

Some of the delay in sending this letter is that one felt time was needed by all of us to absorb that cold and brutal fact, made more sinister by the remoteness and anonymity of the killers. Those who rule South Africa will not understand that they have subtracted from themselves as much as they have from us—a woman whose work, acts, life will not be forgotten because so much of what she did mattered, for that part of our African world especially that still has to realise itself.

It is no solace that the world is full of terrible sacrifice, and Ruth's and yours are the greatest. It feels shallow for us to say that it is solace that yours is a meaningful sacrifice: but perhaps you can gain comfort from the knowledge that its meaning is known not only to yourself and those few who are working with you now.

*Mervyn and Zena Susser*

Like so many others, I was shattered by the appalling news that Ruth had been killed. I admired her greatly as a friend, colleague and critic. I shall miss her.

*Gavin Williams*

I don't have any easy words of consolation to offer, though I wish there was something to say that matched the need. The response is not in words but in silent reflection and then in action. In these hours and days I have been reflecting much on the commitment that Ruth's life represented. I am sure that she would want her memorial to be a renewal of struggle in the many ways that people contribute.

*Michael Wolfers*

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# Funeral in Maputo- AIM Report

A **Book of Condolences** was opened at Eduardo Mondlane University in memory of Ruth First. The book, on a modest table which also carries a portrait of Ruth and a vase of flowers, is at the entrance to her workplace, the Centre of African Studies, where she had held the post of Director of Research.

A few metres away the gaping hole gouged by the blast in the wall of Ruth's office can be seen. The first person to sign the book was Fernando Ganhao, the Rector of the University, who is also a member of the Standing Commission of Mozambique's Parliament, the People's Assembly.

Some 3,000 mourners, from dozens of different nationalities, paid their last respects on the morning of August 23rd to Ruth First. Six pall bearers from the African National Congress carried her coffin, over which an ANC flag was draped, into Maputo's Llangene Cemetery. Behind them walked Ruth's husband, Joe Slovo, her mother, Tilly, and her three daughters, Shawn, Gillian and Robyn.

She was laid to rest beside the thirteen graves of the ANC members murdered at Matola in the South African commando raid of January, 1981.

Most members of the Mozambican Government and of the Frelimo Party Standing Political Committee attended the funeral, as did many members of the diplomatic corps accredited in Maputo. Several buses brought hundreds of workers and students to the cemetery. Representatives of almost all the groups of foreign workers resident in Maputo also attended.

Marcelino dos Santos spoke at the funeral on behalf of the Frelimo Central Committee. *'Ruth First had been assassinated by apartheid,'* he said. *She had 'fallen as a militant of the ANC, of a people struggling to create a free South Africa, a country for all, a country without tribes or Bantustans, without blacks, whites, coloureds and Indians, a country of South Africans. Apartheid cannot bear freedom and equality, hence the South African regime hated and feared the example of the People's Republic of Mozambique and our alternative vision of civilisation and culture. Because of this apartheid attacks us.'*

The ANC's struggle to liberate South Africa was *'increasingly bringing our two peoples together. Ruth First, in practice, was strengthening that unity between the Mozambican and South African peoples.'* The Frelimo Central Committee would not be turned aside from the battle *'to build a strong socialism in Mozambique. No bomb, no threat, will make us drop our support for the ANC and for the people of South Africa'* he said.

The main funeral eulogy was read by Moses Mabhida, General Secretary of the South African Communist Party. *'Ruth was yet another victim of the apartheid regime's terror campaign.'* He cited previous murders carried out by the South



African regime against opponents living abroad over the previous two years—the killing of the 13 ANC militants at Matola, the deaths of Joe Gqabi in Zimbabwe and Petrus and Jabu Nyaose in Swaziland. The aim of such murders was *'to silence and intimidate all those who opposed apartheid. Ruth was singled out because of the work she was doing strengthen the unity between the peoples of South Africa and Mozambique, and indeed all the peoples of Southern Africa.'*

Moses Mabhida gave a brief political biography of Ruth. Her commitment, he said, had begun 40 years ago when, as a young student, she had joined the Young Communist League. While still a student she joined the Communist Party itself, of which she remained a member throughout her life. She threw herself into the mass struggles of the 1940s, *'taking part in all the great debates of that time, and establishing lasting relationships with militants of the ANC.'* He praised Ruth's courageous journalism on the newspaper *The Guardian*, banned and continually reappearing under other names. *'It was through the pages of The Guardian that our people's leaders—Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo and many others—became known throughout the country. In her writings Ruth fought for the unshakeable unity of revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice. She left behind her a solid body of work that cannot be destroyed by any number of bombs.'*

Surveying the grave waiting to receive Ruth's coffin, and the graves of those killed at Matola Moses Mabhida promised that *'one day, in the not too distant future, the bodies of all those who have fallen will be returned to a free South Africa.'*

Ruth's coffin was then lowered into her grave as an ANC choir sang *The Red Flag* and songs of the ANC's armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe.

Ruth's family, followed by the members of the Frelimo Political Committee and of the Mozambican Government present, then scattered flowers and earth into the grave. One by one the mourners filed past the grave, each dropping a handful of earth on to the coffin.



*With Presidents Machel and Tambo*

Many organisations and parties worldwide sent messages of support and condolence. Below we reproduce some of those received. In addition, many representatives of many governments and organisations conveyed their condolences in person in Mozambique. To all we express our appreciation.

- Abrasso  
 Africa Group of Sweden Recruitment Organisation (Maputo)  
 American Committee on Africa  
 Anti-Apartheid Beweging—FRG  
 Anti-Apartheid Beweging—Netherlands  
 Anti-Apartheid Movement—UK  
 Anti-Apartheid Movement, Women's Committee, UK  
 Anti-Outspan Movement—Netherlands  
 ARO Cooperantes Suecos  
 Australian Anti-Apartheid Organisation  
 Boycott Outspan Action—Netherlands  
 Camden AA Group  
 Church Programme to Combat Racism—Denmark  
 Cocamo Cooperantes Canadians in Mozambique  
 Col Cidac  
 Collectivo de Mulheres Internationa-  
 listas en Mozambique  
 Committee of Initiative of Dutch Cooperantes  
 Communist Party of Canada  
 Communist Party of Chile  
 Cooperantes Dinamarqueses  
 Cooperantes Holandeses  
 Cooperantes Italianos en Mozambique  
 Cooperantes Norte Americanos en Mozambique  
 Cooperantes Suicos  
 Cosv—Italy  
 Croydon AA Group—UK  
 Cuam—Italy  
 Cuso—Zambia/Zimbabwe  
 Danish Association for International Cooperation  
 Danish UN Association  
 Danish Youth Council  
 Defence and Aid Fund—Netherlands  
 Defence and Aid Fund—UK  
 Ethiopian Solidarity Peace and Friendship Committee  
 Eduardo Mondlane Foundation  
 Fight Racism-Fight Imperialism—UK  
 Guardian Newsweekly—UK  
 Hart—New Zealand AA Movement  
 Holland Committee on Southern Africa  
 Inkatha Yenkululeko Yesizwe  
 International Cooperantes in Dept of Housing in Mozambique  
 International Forum—Denmark  
 International Voluntary Services in Mozambique  
 Ipalmo  
 Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement  
 Italian Comitato Nazionale di Solidarita con I Popoli dell Afrika Australe  
 Izquierda Crita do Chile  
 Labour Movement Development Education Committee  
 Labour Movement Solidarity Fund—Denmark  
 Left Christian Party of Chile  
 Liga Delle Cooperative Italiane and Coptecnical  
 LO of Denmark  
 Magic Cooperantes in Mozambique  
 Magic—UK  
 Medical Committee, Angola  
 Molisv  
 Mondlane Foundation in Mozambique  
 Movimento de Acao Popular Unitario do Chile  
 Movimento de Izquierdo Revolucion-  
 aro do Chile  
 National Committee, SA Action Denmark  
 Norad  
 Novib  
 Ottawa Citizens Concerned About Southern Africa  
 Palestine Liberation Organisation  
 Partido Comunista Brasileiro  
 Partido Comunista do Chile  
 Partido Radical do Chile

Partido Socialisto do Chile  
Peoples Progressive Party—Guyana  
Portuguese Communist Party  
Sactu—UK  
Sida—Maputo/Zimbabwe  
Sotecni (IRI)—Italy  
Soviet Union—Central Committee of  
the CPSU  
Swam—UK  
Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement  
Toronto Committee for the Liberation

of Southern Africa  
Tyneside AA Group—UK  
Workers Party of Ireland  
Working Group Kairos—Netherlands  
Women and Development—Denmark  
World Council of Churches Programme  
to Combat Racism  
World Peace Council  
World University Services—Denmark  
Yugoslav Embassy in Mozambique  
□□□□



*Treason Trial — 1956*



*With Winnie Mandela*



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