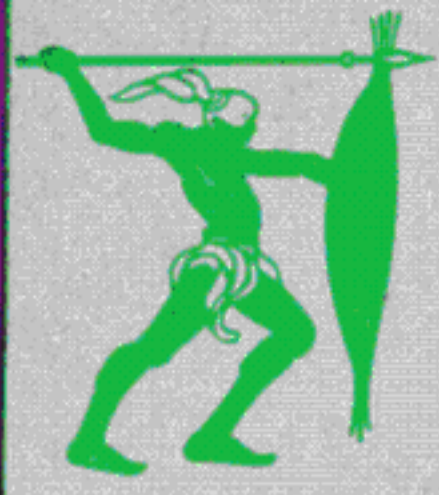
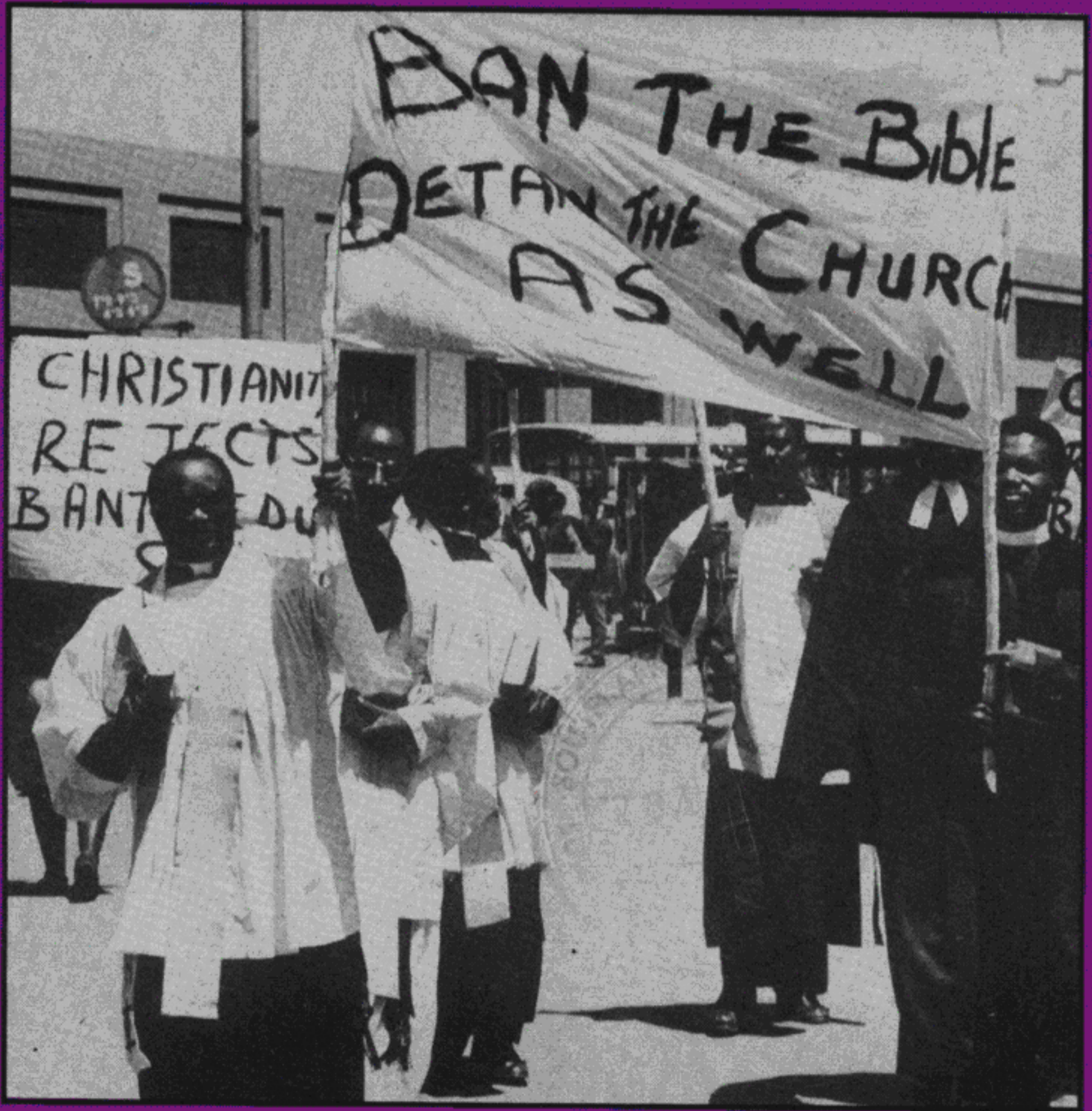


JULY 1987



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa



SATAN STOP REBUKING SIN!

In June P W Botha told a joint sitting of Parliament that the background of violence against which he had declared the state of emergency on June 12 last year had not changed significantly. The "ordinary laws" were still inadequate to maintain public order. He accused the ANC of many sins. He bellowed:

"We reject them (the ANC) for living in luxury in foreign capitals while, as a deliberate strategy, ensuring the continued incarceration in Cape Town of former and now aged leaders (of the ANC) by refusing them permission to abandon violence ...

"We reject them for intimidating companies to disinvest from our country, causing black fathers to lose their jobs and black children to go hungry in the townships, while they themselves attend dinners in hotels."

He said more. If yesterday we were accused of being "communists" or "communist agents" now we are accused of being "bourgeois" of all people by Botha! This is a new slant. It is really new? Gatsha Buthelezi has said similar things before. Who is teaching who?

The ANC is being accused of "ensuring the continued incarceration of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners" and is "causing black fathers to lose their jobs and black children to go hungry in the townships." The impression given here is that Botha sympathises with these "poor victims of the ANC" and unwittingly he is telling the world that townships are the real place where Blacks have to live!

This is being said when some 20 000 to 25 000 people are in detention; at a time when 21 people are on death row; when people are refused permission to bury their loved ones — those massacred by the police and army — when inroads are made on the freedom of the press, assembly and association; when curfews are imposed, funerals restricted, meetings banned; when it is "criminal" to wear certain T-shirts or emblems; when orders are given making it "subversive" to encourage people to campaign for the release of detainees or engage in symbolic acts of solidarity. Parents are literally afraid to pray aloud, they pray in silence. People are arrested not only for their activities during the emergency but for their roles before it began.

Cosatu and UDF leaders are on the run and the Cosatu headquarters have been bombed. The targets are not only organisations but specific township initiatives and especially leaders of trade unions and their property.

These atrocities have had traumatic effects on the

population. Nyanisile Moko, an ambulance driver, committed suicide when all eight of his children were detained within weeks of the start of the emergency. Let us take the case of Fazzie, the brother of Henry Fazzie, vice-president of the UDF in Eastern Cape. After many spells in detention he was left behind alone, chronically ill with severe heart problems, kidney diseases and a stroke, with children dead or killed in Maseru or in exile with no access to lawyers, and worst of all with his wife in detention. "I am so terribly forgetful" says Fazzie. Fazzie from Duncan Village, East London is one of the many such victims.

Is the ANC responsible for all this? Why does Botha shift the blame on to us? It is simply that apartheid is diametrically opposed to truth and to defend it effectively you have to be a monumental liar. This brings me to the question: what does the ANC stand for? We are fighting, sacrificing, being detained and dying for the noblest of human causes: real freedom and democracy. Our demand — repeat demand — is for a genuine state of national democracy where every trace of racism and colonialism will be destroyed; where sweeping land reforms will end White monopoly of land and where people will be given land, food, freedom, education, human dignity and equality as a right. We demand freedom of organisation, the right to national self-determination and the right to take part in government of our own choice for the benefit of the people. This is what the ANC stands for — these are the basic issues at stake. All else is lies. Apartheid is not only fraudulent but anachronistic in this age of decolonisation. What has to be stressed is that it is not a matter of this or that "settlement" or "solution" but who rules and on whose behalf. We are fighting for the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

It would be instructive to those who accuse us of being a "front of the Soviet Union" to heed the advice of President O R Tambo gave to George Shultz, American Secretary of State. He told him that according to our experience the Soviet Union has no interests in Southern Africa separate and different from those of the rest of humanity. It wants an end to apartheid. That is why it supports us. What the United States should consider is having consultations and discussions with the Soviet Union with the aim of seeking ways and means of devising a joint plan and strategy of helping us overthrow apartheid. To those who accuse us of being "bourgeois" we say: Satan stop rebuking sin!

CERTAINTIES AND UNCERTAINTIES

STRATEGIC OPTIONS FOR INTERNATIONAL COMPANIES

**Address by President O R Tambo
to Business International May 27th 1987**

I am told that it is inherent in the business of businessmen that they live with uncertainty. At the same time it is part of your everyday tradecraft to talk of such issues as investments, economic growth rates, profits and losses and to back up your technical arguments by many statistics. For my part I shall try to avoid technical arguments and statistics but I shall grapple with some certainties.

South Africa is trapped in an irreversible crisis. The struggle of the Black people has reached the point of no return. Since the onset of the current phase in the crisis which set in in the latter half of 1984, thousands of Black men, women and children have been gunned down by the racist army and police in the Black townships. In the lifespan of the present state of emergency more than thirty thousand have been detained without trial, including over two-and-a-half thousand children.

We Have Spilt Too Much Blood

Apartheid has long become intolerable to our people. We have spilt too much blood and lost too many lives to stop our forward march. Apartheid tyranny has forced us to become accustomed to injury and death. Everything that the racist regime does now in an attempt to suppress and defeat our movement becomes an added spur to us to act with an even greater sense of urgency to terminate a system which is capable of such gross evil. When millions of people are inspired by this degree of determination then victory is inevitable.

On the other hand, the regime of PW Botha has driven itself into a corner. He has no coherent strategy except to tighten the screws of repression. Of course he dresses up this naked and increasing spiral of brutality with the contention that "law and order" is a necessary precondition

for his brand of "reform". One wonders: is there anyone who is still prepared to buy such an empty package of meaningless promises?

Because of the truism that business executives live with uncertainty it is perhaps understandable that you constantly hanker after certainty and are therefore tempted by Botha's promises. And change that does not disturb the existing order is sometimes alluring, however much it may be illusory.

The African National Congress, together with the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, do not consider as meaningful any changes aimed at reducing the brutalities of apartheid or ameliorating its effects whilst the shackles that bind the Black people are left intact. Liberation in our country requires the destruction of the apartheid system in its entirety: its ideological roots, its institutional branches, its violent seeds and its bitter fruits of oppression, racism and exploitation.

Liberation must therefore entail the transfer of power to the people of South Africa so that we can collectively determine and shape the society we desire, create the institutions and structures required and decide by whom and how they will be operated. Our struggle is for the creation of a non-racial, democratic and united South Africa founded on the principle of one person, one vote — a principle which must be untainted by any concepts based upon racial and ethnic categories, which Botha uses to ensure the survival of White domination and by means of which he denies the one-ness of all South Africans.

Reform of apartheid is a meaningless concept. It is a stratagem by which Botha tries to retain control over the lives of our people, to arrest the process leading to fundamental change and to

steer this process away from the fulfilment of our people's aspirations. The bottom line of this stratagem can be summed up as sharing power while retaining control over the destiny of our people in the hands of the White minority. Those who still insist that change in South Africa can only come through reform, in effect accept that apartheid must continue, albeit in a different guise, and that the White minority should retain their monopoly of decision-making. And more. Bereft of any strategy for real change Botha seeks acceptance that he, his party and the all-White parliament are the agents for change in our country.

Let it be said clearly: the African National Congress is committed to bringing about fundamental change to the entire socio-economic and political formation which constitutes the South Africa of today.

In case anyone should be tempted to ignore these realities, let us remind ourselves that almost forty years ago, and before the present Nationalist regime came to power, the historian Arthur Keppel-Jones concluded "that the salvation of the country can only lie in the reversal of historic tendencies, a reversal so thorough as to constitute a revolution."

Through unrelenting struggle, the democratic forces of our country, under the overall leadership of the African National Congress, have now become rightfully the locus of change.

The responsibility for destroying apartheid and liberating our country rests with our people. The persistent tyranny of the apartheid system, which had often been proclaimed by its architects as a variant of Fascism and Nazism, forced us to take up arms to end this crime against humanity. Then, as now, we were conscious of the awesome potential for bloodshed and destruction inherent in the character of the South African conflict. Nothing that has happened since that historic decision in 1961 has altered the validity of that choice. Every move by the Botha regime underlines our need to intensify the armed struggle side by side with our mass political offensive.

The Need For Sanctions

Within this strategy we see the need for international sanctions even more urgently than before. We conceived of sanctions and the isolation of the apartheid regime as a weapon which would

complement our people's efforts, and not as a substitute.

The efficacy of this complementary weapon flows out of the fact that South African society has, to a considerable extent, been the product of foreign influence and that, to a significant degree, its political and socio-economic character has been determined by outside interests. And more. Over the years Western companies and finance houses have helped to build and continue to prop up the apartheid system:

- trade and foreign investment have bolstered the apartheid economy and added to the resources which the apartheid State has recklessly wasted in the pursuit of inhuman schemes of so-called social engineering founded on racism;
- furthermore, this trade and investment has enabled the apartheid economy to fund ever-increasing expenditure on the State's coercive machinery which is aimed at internal repression and external aggression;
- the flow of technology from outside helps to refine that apartheid machinery and make it more efficient;
- military collaboration has enabled the Pretoria regime to gain access to arms and build an armaments industry despite the mandatory arms embargo.

These international connections have helped sustain, and continue to sustain, the very system we seek to abolish.

It should be clear by now that there can be no peaceful resolution to the struggle we are engaged in. One cannot even begin to address the issue without recognising that violence is inherent and endemic in the system of White minority rule. Violence emanates from the apartheid system. What is on the agenda today is the extent to which determined action to terminate these international connections will help minimise the amount of bloodshed and destruction that is unavoidable before freedom, democracy and justice prevail in South Africa.

We are encouraged that the business community within as well as outside our country, and governments, have begun to rethink their positions in relation to the South African struggle. And we believe that the dialogue arising from this process will positively reflect upon our struggle and the future of our country, as well as upon the entire Southern African region. Encouraging as these tendencies are, they are as yet whol-

ly inadequate. Today no one dares defend apartheid. But statements of rejection and condemnation are not enough.

Within South Africa the business community persists in believing that reform is a realistic path to change. Their programmes of reform, however boldly they have begun to challenge the credos of apartheid, shy away from the fundamental political demand of the Black people, namely one person, one vote.

Internationally, business executives and bankers are becoming less confident of the status quo in South Africa that they have been defending, and more reluctant to invest any more. If one may be permitted to characterise the present stage of re-thinking, the tendency is one of beginning to hedge your bets, rather than to change sides.

Disinvestment and economic sanctions have emerged as an unmistakable tendency. As the crisis deepens and the struggle in South Africa intensifies, this tendency will grow. The majority of the people throughout the world, and, in particular, the western world, recognise that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that investment, trade, technology transfer and military collaboration with the Pretoria regime are indefensible. In the meantime, the escalating struggle inside South Africa, combined with a stagnant economy moving towards bankruptcy, necessarily increases the risk to investments and inexorably whittles away the profit ratios that have hitherto made collaboration with Pretoria and investment in the apartheid economy such an attractive proposition.

Freeze the Flow of Technology to Apartheid

Many companies and some banks have in the recent period begun to disinvest. And many governments have imposed limited and selective sanctions. Whilst the tendency is encouraging, it is also true that the process is much of a mixed bag. Essential to the support that we are seeking is not only a stoppage of the flow of funds into the apartheid economy, but an effective withdrawal of funds from that economy. Secondly, we insist that the flow of technology into the apartheid economy be arrested and frozen. Whilst some of the pull-outs are clearly genuine, most are highly problematic and it is understandable that we should look at these with a high degree of suspicion. While some of the creditor

banks claim that the three-year rescheduling agreement was unilaterally forced on them, some of them are actively considering converting their short-term loans to longer-term claims that will be repaid in ten years, thereby diluting the pressure potential that had been built up by the initial refusal to reschedule. Some companies have gone so far as to transfer money into South Africa and arranged for purchasers to repay out of future profits on extremely favourable terms! Is this not a case of business-as-usual, except in name? Perhaps this is more a case that illustrates the capacity of those in business to acknowledge back-handedly the growing power of the campaign for disinvestment and sanctions.

It is difficult for us to accept the argument of business both inside and outside the country that it is politically impotent. Business has chosen, until now, to align itself with and benefit from the economic and military state that is part of the apartheid system. Let us for a moment pause to look at the ways in which business is enmeshed in the repressive machinery of the State by legislation and practice.

All companies in South Africa, including multinationals and subsidiaries of foreign concerns, are integrated into Pretoria's strategic planning and directly into the repressive machinery. This is done institutionally by their participation on Committees and Boards, by complying with legislation, and by financial and other support.

In addition to taxes and purchase of defence bonds, most companies top-up the salaries of their White employees while they are doing their national service in the South African Defence Force. No law requires them to do so. It would appear that only a few small companies have desisted from engaging in this practice. From a study of the national service pay scales, it is clear that business enterprises are directly and voluntarily subsidising the South African Defence Force. This practice means that some of the SADF soldiers occupying the townships and Namibia and engaged in aggressive military actions, particularly against Angola, are being paid in part by the companies that employ them in civilian life. Though there is widespread concern about the role that the South African Defence Force is playing in the Black townships and against internal so-called unrest, it would seem that business prefers to rationalise their direct

subsidising of the SADF on the grounds that it also has to take into account the so-called needs of their employees who are performing national service!

Representatives of 21 employers' organisations sit on the Defence Manpower Liaison Committee, which succeeded the Defence Advisory Council in 1982. The 1982 Defence White Paper states that this Committee "meets regularly and consists of the Chief of Staff Personnel, the Chiefs of Staff Personnel of the four arms of the Service and representatives of 21 employer organisations, and its aim is to promote communication and mutual understanding between the SADF and Commerce and Industry with regard to a common source of manpower." The Defence Manpower Liaison Committee is reproduced at the regional levels and it has been easy to establish that the regional committees deal with a variety of issues including intelligence briefings aimed at placing, and I quote, "controversial subjects into the correct perspective."

In addition to the Defence Manpower Liaison Committee, business leaders also sit on the various key policy-making bodies of the country — all of which place many of them at the heart of the South African military-industrial complex, both profiting from it, and indebted to it.

In terms of the National Procurement Act there are ministerial powers to compel any company to supply, manufacture and process goods. In most cases the minister does not have to use his powers. Their mere existence has been sufficient for companies to supply whatever is requested, be it vehicles, tents or oil for the SADF.

Botha's The National Keypoints Act

Hundreds of installations and areas have been designated national keypoints under the National Keypoints Act. Owners of these factories or plants are required to train and equip their own militia. Usually, but not always, made up of White employees, these are trained in "counter-insurgency and riot control." The companies have to provide access for SADF units to their premises and to incorporate their own militia in regional so-called Defence Planning. They also have to provide storage facilities for arms. In terms of this act, the whole process is kept secret and there are severe penalties for even disclosing that a given plant, mine or installation has been designated a keypoint.

Some multinationals initially protested about having to bear the costs, but there is no evidence that any have refused to comply. In fact there is reason to believe that the overwhelming majority of identified keypoints were co-operating fully with the Pretoria regime.

It cannot be denied that international companies are co-operating with the South African military establishment not only in instances where they are required to do so by law. As the case of the topping-up of salaries of employees who are doing national service shows, their co-operation is extensive and indefensible, particularly before their Black labour force which is so grossly exploited.

We have taken some time to dwell on these aspects because we believe that statements rejecting apartheid must be accompanied by concrete action which visibly breaks the intimacy that characterises the relationship between international business and the apartheid state and economy. The co-operation that exists in relation to the repressive machinery of the State tends to be ignored by those who justify their refusal to disinvest on the grounds that by their presence they are helping to bring about change in the interests of the Black man.

With apartheid universally condemned and disinvestment and sanctions vigorously resisted, international business has turned to justify its presence by promising to provide so-called neutral support in the form of Black education, housing and welfare. It is strange indeed that support for the cause of the Black man has to be neutral while support for the apartheid system is as positive as emerges in the connection to be found in relation to the repressive machinery of the state. In any event, the issue is not simply about Black education, housing or welfare, notwithstanding that these are grossly neglected by the apartheid state. The point is that such neutral support will always be compromised by the apartheid system. In fact, such neutral support will further enmesh international business in the apartheid system.

If the preponderance of evidence points to the fact that hitherto corporations have undermined their own future by assuming political impotence, today it has become far more urgent that they define their political alignment. This, necessarily, means that corporations have to distance themselves from and resist the short-term

pressures that lock them into Pretoria's embrace. It is our firm view that the true interests of the business community lie not in continuing to identify with a system doomed to disappear, but to relate to the forces for change which are destined to take charge of the socio-economic life of a non-racial, democratic South Africa.

Such a perspective is, in our view, the only way to peace, stability and progress not only in South Africa but the entire Southern African region. Accordingly, we consistently maintain that support for our struggles in South Africa and Namibia in the form of sanctions and disinvestment should be part of a larger effort of disinvestment and assistance to the independent states of the region who are engaged in constructing their own economic infrastructures and resisting Pretoria's aggression and destabilisation of the region.

Victory is Certain

I should like to conclude with a few words about the perspectives of the African National Congress with regard to a future non-racial, democratic and united South Africa.

South Africa today is a country of immense inequalities. The bedrock of our perspective is our commitment to the establishment of democracy in a South Africa that belongs to all who live in it, Black and White. In keeping with this commitment to our people, our policy positions enshrined in the Freedom Charter have been formulated with the fullest participation of our people. Every word, every line of that Charter is permeated with the concrete realities of oppression, exploitation and racism that our people have endured for centuries.

No one can deny the economic realities of the apartheid system. Ownership of the land is a virtual monopoly of the White community. While starvation and malnutrition plague the majority of the people of our country — the Black people — the White community knows neither hunger nor poverty. Ownership of the mines and industry is so concentrated that it is difficult to conceive of a parallel. Some writers describe South Africa as a First World country in the case of the Whites, and a Third World country in the case of the Blacks.

A future and free South Africa must break that monopoly of White power and privilege. All formations are entitled to their own prescriptions as to how to achieve this. The African National

Congress has its perspectives, deriving from the people, which are embodied in the Freedom Charter adopted in 1955. The Charter embodies the aspirations of our people and does not prescribe the formulas for their realisation. In the context of its parameters, we believe that the issues as to how the wealth of our country is redistributed for the benefit of all our people, how the economy of our country is remoulded in order that all South Africans may thrive and prosper, are of prime importance and should find their solutions in the context of democracy. These are matters requiring the participation of the people; issues to be settled by informed debate and discussion in a democratic and sovereign parliament rather than through street battles.

Victory in our struggle is certain. As the vanguard movement of our people, the pre-occupation of the African National Congress is, and should be, the relentless prosecution of the all-round struggle to achieve freedom and democracy in our country. At the same time, we have begun to face the responsibilities that flow from having to lead our people in the restructuring of our society under the conditions of freedom. At the heart of this process is the need to ensure that the hopes and aspirations of our people find realisation through programmes based on concrete socio-economic facts. This process involves systematic examination of each aspect of our society from the point of view of developing guidelines and programmes which can be put before our people for the purpose of consultations. This is an enormous task but our approach has, as its starting point, our commitment to democracy. There are no glib answers and we are not about to provide any.

We have welcomed this opportunity to address you frankly and forthrightly. We believe that if the international community, governments and corporations in particular, play their part, racist South Africa will soon cease to exist. But the condition for you to play such an honourable role is that you choose sides now. That choice is between the apartheid system led by PW Botha and the alternative power of a future South Africa, at whose head stands the ANC, and which is already being moulded in the heat of struggle.

Are we expecting too much when we ask you to incorporate in the dry equations of profits and losses the balance of suffering and sacrifice that is inevitable for the realisation of a free South Africa?

CAN THE IMPERIALISTS ABORT OUR REVOLUTION?

by Mzala

The greatest shortcoming of the successive policies of the United States toward South Africa is that they regard the apartheid regime as the principal vehicle for change in South Africa; from the days of Memorandum 39 up to the present policies, the premise is the same: the assumption that apartheid can go beyond itself and commit suicide. The apartheid regime has proved, on the contrary, that it does not have within its chemistry the properties for realising a non-racial and democratic South Africa. Apartheid cannot out-apartheid itself, it cannot reform itself out of existence, it cannot be anti-itself. Its very existence is the source of the problem — a problem cannot be its own solution at the same time.

Flogging A Dead Horse

The May 1987 White elections were called to demonstrate, principally to the western governments who are attempting to put some pressure on South Africa, that as long as the majority of the Whites continue to constitute a base of the National Party, no changes will occur in the country beyond cosmetic readjustments already promised by Botha. To expect the National Party to lead the process of change from apartheid is to ignore this important fact. No political party in South Africa has ever won elections among Whites by promising franchise to Blacks. The May elections are a demonstration that South African Whites still support apartheid.

The basic essence of the apartheid regime is fascist methods of rule; it is this violent essence that will always eclipse promises of reforms. The regime has always demonstrated this, even during moments when sheer common sense compelled it to pretend to the contrary. This was the experience of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group,¹ whose goodwill mission to South

Africa was cut short by South Africa's military attacks on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. This aggression was carried out while some of its leaders sat at table and were discussing the feasibility of a negotiated settlement of the South African crisis. Again, the true colours of the apartheid regime have been demonstrated by the violations of its own agreements, as was the case with the Accord of Nkomati signed with the People's Republic of Mozambique, as well as its continued military presence in Angola despite a cease-fire agreement reached with the People's Republic of Angola in February 1984 calling for withdrawal of South African forces from Angolan territory.

Dishonest Stand on 'Violence'

Yet despite all this evidence of South Africa's unreliability and wanton use of violence against unarmed people and sovereign states, the US policy-makers adopt an absolutely dishonest stand on the question of 'violence' in South Africa. In the official policy documents, the American government says that:

"The United States shall work toward encouraging the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress, and their affiliates to (Clause 1) suspend terrorist activities so that negotiations with the government of South Africa and other groups representing Black South Africans will be possible ...; (Clause 7) ...the United States will pursue diplomatic and political measures against those countries harbouring such groups so as to achieve the objectives of this Act; and (Clause 6) encouraging, and when necessary, strongly demanding that all countries of the region take effective action to end cross-border terrorism ..."²

An abstract presentation of the question of violence in South Africa is bound to be an insur-

mountable obstacle for the United States if it genuinely wants to make a contribution toward the solution of the South African problem. This is going to be so from two angles. The first is that of the apartheid regime itself. This regime (particularly now) has lost all political means to govern the Black people, and now relies solely on its ability to command the military forces. Under revolutionary siege, the Pretoria regime is showing a very clear tendency of moving toward the Chilean type of rule. And in the absence of a political will to dismantle apartheid, the regime is unlikely to abandon violence, at least while it still prides itself on its ability to command an obedient army of more than 106 000 full-time members (64 000 conscripts and 42 000 Citizen Force Volunteers); and, in addition, there are an estimated 317 000 Citizen Force reservists. The South African Defence Force occupies an important position in the country's power structure, and no American policy can leave it out of analysis.

The second angle is that of the ANC which fights a war of liberation in South Africa. From the viewpoint of actual history in South Africa, the source of violence in the country is the apartheid system itself. As long as apartheid exists, violence is bound to be a permanent feature of South African political life. This question of violence in South Africa should be posed historically, but this is not what the United States does.

Fighting A Just War

The ANC was formed 75 years ago — from 1912 to 1949, a period of 37 years, it adhered strictly to a form of struggle that was confined to sending delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that we could advance gradually to full political rights in a common parliament with Whites. In 1952, it was stated by none other than the internationally renowned man of peace, Chief Albert Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress:

"Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately, and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today

we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all."

Even after 1949, the ANC remained determined to avoid violence. The movement, however, changed from the quasi-constitutional methods of struggle and opted for a strategy of non-violent protest demonstrations. The Defiance Campaign of 1952 was in pursuit of this strategy. Then came the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, followed by the banning of the ANC. When Nelson Mandela explained to the court during the trial in 1964 as to why the ANC resorted to armed struggle, he explained that:

"... all lawful modes of expressing opposition to (the principle of White supremacy) had been closed by legislation, and we were placed in a position in which we had either to accept a permanent state of inferiority, or defy the government. We first broke the law in a way which avoided any recourse to violence; when this form was legislated against, and then the government resorted to a show of force to crush opposition to its policies, only then did we decide to answer violence with violence."³

The United States legislation addresses the question of violence in South Africa as though it were an imagined principle found in manuals dealing with pure morality. In another sense this approach places the oppressed at the mercy of the fascist regime which has already demonstrated its insatiable thirst for human blood.

The ANC Will Not Abandon Armed Struggle

It is therefore unlikely, both now and in the foreseeable future, that the ANC can be persuaded by the United States policy to abandon the use of violence unless the apartheid regime first ceases to use violence both as a system of political rule and as a means of defending the oppressive regime. In practical terms, the abandoning of violence by the regime includes the release of all political prisoners, the repeal of various security laws, the lifting of all bans on political organisations, the dismantling of the bantustan system and a stop to a host of other violent activities of the system and of the South African army and police in particular.

If the formulation 'cross border terrorism' is referring, in any way, to the liberation war presently taking place inside South Africa under the leadership of the ANC, then the US legisla-

tion is both misleading and insulting to the oppressed people fighting a just war of liberation. The traditions of so-called western civilisation are heavily indebted to the right of the oppressed to revolt against tyranny. Are these principles not found in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776 (which was preceded by various armed revolts against the British colonists), which states that civil government is merely an instrument to guarantee the rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness within the framework of social order, but that when the government becomes tyrannical the social compact is broken, and it is the right of the people to rebel and abolish it?

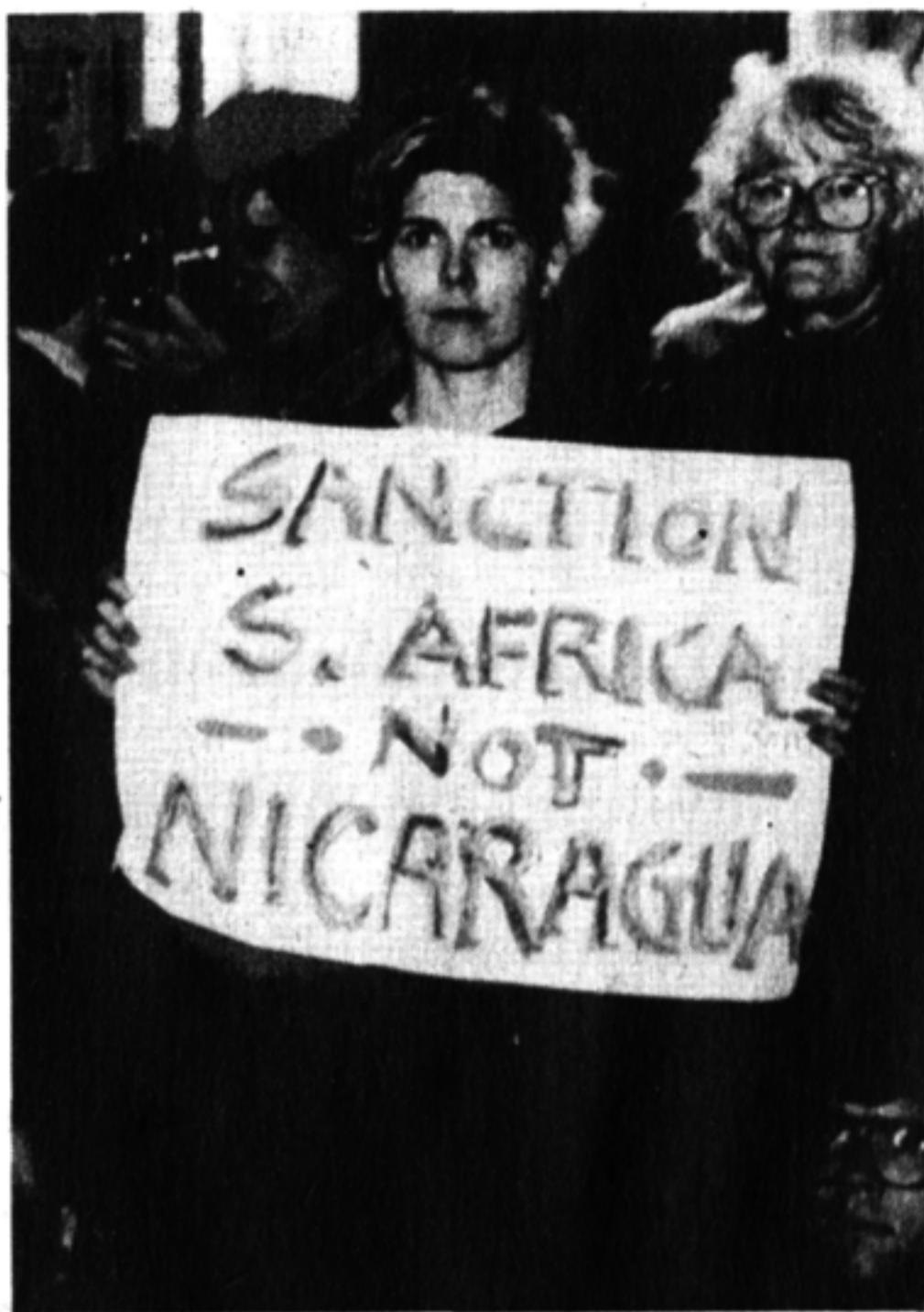
Was it not Tom Paine who wrote in 1776:

"Arms as the last resort decide the contest ... the Sun never shined on a cause of greater worth ... To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded thro' a thousand pores instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them; and can there be any reason to hope that, as the relationship expires, the affection will increase or that we shall agree better when we have ten times more greater concerns to quarrel over than ever? Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence?"⁴

Applying Double Standards

Barely two centuries later, the American government is now applying double standards, calling 'terrorist' the fight to restore justice in a country so that, indeed, all governments should derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. We have always thought that when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to place people under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

This US legislation also goes further to promise funds to the victims of apartheid, but qualifies the victims as "families of victims of violence such as 'necklacing' and other inhuman acts." There seems to be no greater kind of 'terrorism' in the thinking of the US government than the "abhorrent practice of necklacing as well



as the fear of life, limb and property instilled by the radical 'comrades.' " Additional funds are made available "to Black groups in South Africa which are actively working toward a multiracial solution to the sharing of political power in that country through non-violent, constructive means." None of the funds authorised by this section or appropriated thereunder, can be used to finance education, training, scholarships or further study for any South African "who has engaged in any terrorist activities."

It will be the United States government, however, which will first raise objections when the ANC sends its students to study in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, or when we ask for material support from the German Democratic Republic or Czechoslovakia, since to them to be a member of the ANC automatically means falling within their definition of a "terrorist." Well let them keep their funds, after all they have always reserved them as capital investment to boost the apartheid regime, and now they will also help the victims of the 'necklace' The ANC will continue to grow in strength and prestige, as we have made it thus far, without the conditional allocation of funds from the United States.

Arm-Twisting Tactics

The United States also plans to exert political as well as diplomatic pressure on any Front Line state that keeps members of the ANC. South African practice in this regard has demonstrated that it is the hundreds of refugees in the Front Line States, the victims of persecution in their own country, who are also subjected to the torture of being perpetual victims of removals from one country of refuge to another. The presence of refugees in any country is a subject of international conventions, to which the government of the United States is also a signatory. Not a single country in southern Africa does not have South African refugees as well as the presence of the United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees.

The United States now plans to join hands with the South African government to put pressure on these Front Line states, using both political and diplomatic trickery, to force or persuade these

countries to expel refugees who are members of the ANC, under the pretext that they are the so-called 'terrorists.' If there is one factor that is common between the United States and the apartheid regime at this period, it is their fear of the ANC. All these intended political and diplomatic manoeuvres in the Front Line states are aimed at one thing, and one thing only, to stop the South African revolution from leading to armed seizure of power by the people, and resulting in the implementation of the Freedom Charter.

Obsession About the Communist Party

The imperialists do not want to be seen to be fearing a typical national liberation struggle aimed at gaining genuine independence for the colonised people, so they have come up with another 'linkage' issue, the question of the ANC alliance with the South African Communist Party (SACP). These days, western intelligence agencies are competing with each other in the game



Demonstration in the United States

of guessing how many members of the ANC leadership are also members of the Communist Party.

There is a real obsession with this question of the communists. Sections 508 and 509 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 request that the President of the United States, with the assistance of the Director of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the director of the Defence Intelligence Agency, the National Security Advisor and other relevant government officials in the intelligence community, should transmit to Congress a report on the activities "of the Communist Party in South Africa, the extent to which communists have infiltrated the many Black organisations engaged in the fight against the apartheid system, and the extent to which any such communist infiltration or influence sets the policies and goals of the organisations with which they are involved." The President's executive Order (No. 12571) October 27th, 1986, delegated to the Secretary of State the authority to complete this report.

An impression is then created that, were it not for the ANC's alliance with the Communist Party, the United States and other western powers would do anything in their power, including imposing complete and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa, to see that the oppressive system was dismantled; and that, further, under such circumstances the western countries would willingly give material assistance to the ANC. This impression, however, is completely hypocritical. This concern about the South African Communist Party is not genuine, it is merely an artificial excuse created to avoid the responsibility of the United States, as one of the main economic supporters of South Africa, to force her to abandon her inhuman policies and practice.

The Example of Namibia

Let us take the example of Namibia to illustrate our point. In Namibia there is no Communist Party. There is no Marxist-Leninist organisation, whatsoever! Yet despite the absence of communists allied to SWAPO, this has not been sufficient reason to persuade the United States to pressurise South Africa into granting independence to the Namibian people on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions. Instead, it is the very United States and its allies

in the Security Council of the UN who always abuse their veto powers to protect the racist regime from internationally co-ordinated mandatory and comprehensive sanctions, which would definitely speed up the process of the Namibian people's struggle for self-determination.

There is every reason to believe, therefore, that even if the Communist Party had not existed in South Africa, even if it were not in alliance with the ANC, the US would still have looked for another 'linkage' to dodge the issue of her responsibility against the apartheid regime. Perhaps we are wrong! But let the US prove us wrong by demonstrating the honesty of its concern by helping speed up the independence of Namibia.

We Are Allied Forces

Why should the spectre of communism suddenly haunt the American authorities now that it is fascism in South Africa that has to be destroyed? This was not the case during the Second World War, when the US and other Allied Forces joined hands with the Soviet Union, exchanging strategies and combat plans, in order to defeat Hitler's fascism. Communist influence on the ANC? What does that mean? That the ANC now accommodates a political programme for the realisation of socialism in the country? That is not so. Everybody knows that. The ANC has no secret agenda, it has no programme other than what is contained in the Freedom Charter. It has never pretended to be a socialist party. Its policies, in their entirety, embody a desire for national liberation of the Blacks.

Incidentally, this accusation of the ANC's being influenced or 'controlled' by the Communist Party has a very interesting and revealing history. This accusation is as old as the Freedom Charter itself. Soon after its adoption, leading members of the Congress movement (including members of the Communist Party) were charged with treason, with the racist state alleging that the Freedom Charter was a document inspired by the works of Marx and Lenin. What was the verdict of that most prejudiced of all courts? Not guilty.

If there is any kind of influence that the Communist Party has had on the ANC, in our own experience, it has been to make us stauncher nationalists and democrats. Communists have demonstrated by personal example what is

meant by dedication and heroism in the struggle against national oppression. When some groups and individuals have criticised the ANC for being 'backward' or even 'bourgeois' by not including a socialist clause in its programme, it has been the members of the Communist Party who have been the first to defend the ANC's national democratic programme, and the need for the ANC not to 'narrow' its objectives.

Criticism From All Sides

The same South African Communist Party is also criticised by the likes of Neville Alexander for "abandoning its priority and its true class mission in favour of an alliance with an essentially bourgeois democratic organisation." According to this criticism, the Communist Party should have nothing to do with national liberation, since such a stand is typical of a "petty-bourgeois and not class-conscious proletarian" party. In coming into an alliance with the ANC, the Communist Party has not made any pretensions, it equally has no secret intentions; its aim is to ultimately build a socialist society in South Africa. The Party, however, has never asked the ANC to assist in that mission.

In its programme, which is a public document, the Communist Party puts its own independent perspective of the South African revolution in the following terms:

"The Communist Party has no interests separate from those of the people, and shares with them the overriding necessity to put an end to the suffering and humiliation of apartheid. The destruction of colonialism and the winning of national freedom is the essential condition and the key for the future advance to the supreme aim of the Communist Party: the establishment of a socialist South Africa, laying the foundations of a classless, communist society."

Capitalism Is Another Reality of SA

South African people do not only suffer from national oppression by the colonial system, but are also exploited by capitalism as a system of production. The ANC does not address itself in a programmatic manner to this specific reality of South Africa, but the Communist Party does. The fact that the ANC does not is not an indication that capitalism is not another problem in South Africa. It is just that the ANC does not concern itself with the totality of the South African

problem, and this is why the Freedom Charter, instead of suggesting the abolition of the capitalist system, actually guarantees the expansion and development of the small bourgeoisie, especially from among the Blacks, who have been barred from this possibility by apartheid colonial laws.

The Communist Party, by looking at the totality of the problem, is addressing itself to a real problem and not an imaginary one; in that way its existence in the South African political scene is as much of an objective necessity as the existence of the ANC is in the presence of colonial domination.

If the Communist Party has adopted for itself a strategy of moving to socialism via the national liberation road (as the quotation from its programme suggests), then why should this bother the ANC since all that the ANC is concerned with, after all, is the achievement of national freedom? Let all those who hate apartheid and are prepared to do something about it come together, irrespective of their ultimate destinations, into a mighty stream of national liberation, and the ANC, as a broad democratic movement, is prepared to accommodate all political tendencies which find the Freedom Charter compatible with their line of march.

'Nationalisation' of Industries

The imperialists argue that the clearest indication of the Communist Party's influence on the ANC is precisely this Freedom Charter. According to a confidential 11-page report entitled: *Communist Influence In South Africa*, which was submitted by the US State Department to Congress in January 1987 in fulfilment of the requirements of Section 509 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, it was the Communist Party that played a major role in the formulation of the Freedom Charter. Of particular worry to the imperialists about the Freedom Charter, is the clause that refers to the nationalisation of monopoly industries. According to them, this radical clause was a typical insertion of the communists into what would otherwise have been an innocent ANC political programme. This belief is so entrenched in their minds, that one of the reasons why they insist today that the ANC should break ties with the Communist Party is because of the belief that the ANC alone can be quite willing to get back to

a South Africa without the nationalised industries. They therefore hope that a different ANC, without a 'nationalisation' economic policy, can come out of that envisaged 'break-up.'

Why should the 'nationalisation' programme be seen as a communist insertion the minute it is envisaged by the ANC in South Africa? We are aware of numerous nationalist manifestoes in countries which are not even in the least related to communists (actually, in some, like Iran, the Communist Party is banned), but which contain clauses on the nationalisation of foreign monopoly industries.

In 1958, the General Assembly of the United Nations established a Commission on Permanent Sovereignty over Natural Resources, and instructed it to conduct a full survey of the status of permanent sovereignty over natural wealth and resources as a basic constituent of the right to self-determination. In 1962, after considering the final report, the General Assembly adopted a series of principles which declared, among other things:

- That the right of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources must be exercised in the direction of their natural development and of the well-being of the people of the State concerned;
- that nationalisation, expropriation or requisitioning shall be based on grounds or reasons of public utility, security or the national interest which are recognised as overriding purely individual or private interests;
- that violations of the rights of peoples and nations to sovereignty over their natural resources and wealth is contrary to the spirit and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and hinders the development of international co-operation and maintenance of peace.

These declarations and resolutions were not adopted by a communist party congress, but by an Assembly of representatives of nations from various countries, member states of the United Nations.

All Shall Share In the Country's Wealth

The predecessors of our own principles of democracy in South Africa were therefore not moving at a tangent to these universally recognised principles on the right of nations to self-

determination in the sphere of a country's economy, when they stated that "the national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people." It is against the background of this understanding that Comrade Oliver Tambo, the President of the ANC, told the United Nations General Assembly in October 1976, that:

"We fight also for a South Africa whose wealth will be shared by its peoples equitably. We fight to abolish the system which obtains in our country today and which concentrates almost all productive wealth in the hands of the few while the majority exists and toils to enlarge that wealth."

I foresee no circumstances that can arise in South Africa leading to the ANC abandoning this economic policy, for what will be the use of centuries of struggle and so much sacrifice if at the end people cannot control the wealth of their own country? A revolution without a radically democratic economic policy, detailing concrete measures for transforming the country's economic ills and bringing to an end mass exploitation and hunger, such a revolution is not worth a single alphabet of the word 'revolution.'

References:

1. The Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group (EPG) was appointed under the Nassau Accord on Southern Africa to promote a "process of dialogue for change, for ending apartheid and establishing a genuine, non-racial democracy in South Africa." The group worked against a background of mounting turmoil within the country and increased calls for sanctions by the international community. The timetable for their mission was six months from 1st January, 1986.
2. Section 102 of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, quoted from the Congressional Record — Senate, S 11652, August 14th, 1986.
3. Nelson Mandela, *The Struggle Is My Life*, IDAF, London, 1978, 1978, p.156.
4. Tom Paine, in the pamphlet *Common Sense*, published anonymously in January, 1776. This pamphlet was enormously influential and popular, and helped solidify America's rebellious spirit.

SWINGING TO NOWHERE

By Sello Moeti

The sheer volume of the noise, the shouting and screaming, the beating of racial war drums, the hysteria, the cries of *swart gevaar*, *rooi gevaar*, *kaffirboetie*, traitor among the White political parties has somewhat subsided. Even the excitement of 'I-told-you-so' after the elections among analysts about a 'swing to the right' has eased. Piet Botha is sitting firmly in his seat as president of the racist republic of South Africa. Andries Treurnicht is facing him as the official opposition. Both men are extremely happy with the results of the Whites-only elections held in May. Botha is thankful to the Whites for once more voting for the National Party, its apartheid and his martial law. Treurnicht is grateful that of the 2 062 000 White voters, about 604 000 Afrikaners, roughly the same number of Afrikaners who voted for the National Party voted for him and his *Herstigte Nasionale Party* (HNP) and *Afrikaner Beweerstandbeweging* (AWB) friends. Thus he enjoys equal support with Botha among Afrikaners.

PFP: Its Dreams Die First

The Progressive Federal Party, which stands for white power anyway, is back where it started as a Sunday dress of that section of the White propertied classes, which speaks refined English and believes itself to be enlightened. But the propertied class is faced with diminishing profits, rising armed struggle, growing combative trade unionism, international economic sanctions and slipping political power. Accordingly, it is not in its Sunday clothes. Which explains why the PFP's popularity, such as it was, suffered seriously in the very atmosphere it ought to thrive in: of progressive thinking, reforms and *verligtheid* all round.

The real contenders for power, the Black majority and democratic forces of all colours, are now confronting their real oppressors and exploiters face to face. The space between the democratic forces led by the ANC and the Pretoria regime is now more than ever before, truly in the barricades with no middle ground of either political or moral nature, if ever there was any such middle ground.

Botha had not planned the much vaunted rise of the extreme right of *Afrikanerdom*, the Conservative Party and the AWB this time, and the so-called *verlig* rebellion of Dennis Worrall, but both suited him well. The Afrikaner right is a traditional Whites-only election bogey. Every time there is a Whites-only election there is always a so-called right-wing group which preoccupies Whites — supposedly as a threat to the good intentions and reforms of the National Party. For a long time this role was played by the *Herstigte Nasionale Party*, which was supposedly threatening Johannes Vorster's so-called *verligtheid*. That is, before we were told that Johannes Vorster himself is right-wing and he was threatening the *verligtheid* and reforms of Botha and his generals. Now this role is being played by the Conservative Party and the AWB.

The left-wing revolt so-called, among the Afrikaner academics in this election was a diversion, a sideshow played in every election to attract attention to the one-sided farce of Whites-only elections.

What Botha had not thought about, indeed he has no thought of any kind, is the extent the elections would reveal the utter hopelessness of Whites-only politics and the inevitable demise of his regime. South African Whites-only elec-

tions have always been about keeping Blacks down. Despite that Blacks do not vote, all parties and candidates are judged by their attitude towards them. What Botha's May election has for the first time done is, as Winnie Mandela put it, exposed that there were "only two parties to the election — the White National Party and the ANC — only the constituency of the National Party were allowed to vote." The constituency of the ANC, the majority of the Blacks, voted instead with a powerful stay-at-home protesting against the elections. The Whites, those of them who believe in democracy at any rate, according to Colin Eglin, stayed away, depriving the PFP of much needed support.

A Pyrrhic Victory

On the face of it the NP has won the elections with an increased majority of 123 out of the 166 elected seats which will be increased with 4 nominated MPs by the State President and 6 of the 8 MPs elected proportionally. In the 178-seat House therefore, the NP will be having 133 seats with an overall majority of 88. Of the 800 000 English speakers, about 350 000 voted PFP, meaning that about 450 000 English voted NP. This number includes the reactionary imports of Portuguese, Rhodesians, Greeks, Poles and other fascist fellow travellers. 1 200 000 Afrikaners voted. 600 000 voted for the Conservative Party.

The belief of a 'swing to the right' in the elections refers mainly to the 600 000 who always voted NP and have now chosen to vote for apartheid as interpreted by the Conservative Party, and the 450 000 English who were spread out over the years in the old United Party (UP) then the Progressive Party (PP) and are now leaving PFP, NRP, assembling in the NP. In policy terms Botha stands for apartheid with new sign boards. Treurnicht stands for it in its 'original' form, without the confusing sign boards.

The decimation of the HNP by the Conservative Party with its paramilitary groupings of Afrikaner Resistance Movement is not a swing to the left by the Afrikaners. In the same way that the move from the PFP, NRP to the NP and Conservative Party is not a swing to the right. The English speakers not only moved to the NP some passed on to the Conservative Party. For instance, Clive Derby-Lewis came within unseating Leon Wessels (NP) in Krugersdorp on a Conservative Party ticket. The reason why

there is no swing to the right is found in the history of White politics in South Africa.

The point is that historically, the overwhelming majority of South African Whites are agreed that Blacks must be politically oppressed in order that they can be economically exploited. They differ only on methods of maintaining what is virtually a Whites-only paradise. This agreement does not start today. From the very first days of Whites' arrival in the Cape in 1652, right through the British occupation of first the Cape and later of the whole country, through the so-called Great Trek of 1836, and at the time of the joint campaigns against Zulu armies in Natal or against the Basotho in the Free State or in the north against Sekhukhune, Ba-Venda and Ba-Rhonga, the Boers had different parties and differences within themselves and with the English. They quarrelled among themselves and with the English. Armed clashes took place and sometimes even wars against each other. But there was one thing they always agreed on and that was in waging wars against the African people. Their unity on the centrality of pushing the Blacks down survived their differences, their conflicts and even wars amongst themselves. This is the one fundamental element that is not changing in the politics of South Africa.

True some were English-speaking with their missionaries and others Afrikaner boers who differed and hated each other. The Voortrekkers wanted boer republics where no burger would be bothered for maintaining with a rifle and a whip 'proper relations between master and servant.' The missionaries were the advanced liberal spokesmen of a determined British colonial empire which was expanding relentlessly all over the world. The missionaries stood for "civilising the native and turning him into a productive, loyal servant of her Majesty's realm." The Voortrekkers were fighting for a place in the sun where 'die koelie is uit die land en die kaffir op sy plek,' a mission supposedly given to them by God. There was no fundamental difference here.

The Truly Left Whites

It was only towards the end of the last century and the beginning of this one that truly left forces started existing among the Whites in the form of socialists from the working class movement from Europe. In a confused way at first, they started campaigning for African rights. It was among

them that the SACP was formed. By 1927 the majority of its membership was Black. It is among them, that a political body of democratic opinion developed, exemplified by the formation of the Congress of Democrats (COD) in the 1950s, who unequivocally, supported the principles of the Freedom Charter and the policies of the ANC. Besides the genuinely left, in the Communist Party, COD, it was also among this group that the spectrum of views passing for South African liberalism grew. It is this section of the democratic Whites that is now growing rapidly, inspired by the heroic struggle for a democratic and non-racial South Africa. The Johannesburg Democratic Action Committee (JODAC), End Conscription Campaign (ECC) and others grow from this group, which for a long time has been small in proportion to the White population in general. This group, in its colours, from red to yellow, are on our side of the barricades.

Whites, not only always voted for, but fought for and rigorously implemented, Black oppression. Not only do they vote for Black oppression but in their farms, houses, kitchens and as 'die baas en miesies' carry out atrocities against Blacks. Since the advent of White rule the Africans lost political rights, birthright to land and its wealth and our right to self determination.

Black Oppression Remains

Times change but Black oppression remains. While in the first 200 years Blacks had their necks broken by tying them to a ox-wagon wheel, today they are hanged by the neck until they die in Pretoria. Both individual killings and execution of Blacks by the regime and organised groups for the protection of Whites such as the AWB, Kappie Kommando and the big arms of White domination, the SADF and SAP have risen steeply. About 4 000 Blacks have been killed and about 30 000 are languishing in detention and more than 25 in Botha's death cells in Pretoria Central Prison all in only 36 months. The number of children in detention runs into thousands.

Yet some things have changed since the days of Paul Kruger. Britain, the original thief, has changed its role too. From a full colonial exploiter fighting the Blacks and exploiting them supposedly for being savages and uncivilised, it has now moved back to a neo-colonial role of fighting us supposedly for being communist and

terrorists. Even in past centuries when it quarrelled with, and even fought wars against France and Germany, there was always an unwritten agreement that Blacks must be kept down. Today Britain has been joined by the USA, West Germany, Japan as the major dealers in stolen property from South Africa. The unwritten law now is that Blacks who are not employed by them must stay out.

It is not accidental that English-speaking Whites, if they are not voting for Botha, are discreetly trying to find out from the British embassy in Pretoria about a "rescue mission." Partly it is because of Britain's role as a profoundly racist former colonial power: But more importantly it is because Britain is one of the very few, who in this day and time, still secretly train the SADF personnel, exchanging experiences, passing on economic, police and military technology to Pretoria. British military and police experts "take leave" to give lectures to SADF and SAP. Of late, British paratroopers go 'on government service,' not only take part in mercenary activities of the SADF but carry out executions of liberation fighters in Southern Africa. Britain is waging a fierce campaign in international forums against the ANC and its leaders, supposedly as men of violence. British diplomats and undercover operators are busy these days inside the country trying to weed out the leaders of the trade unions, civic associations in so-called training programmes, leadership exchange programmes and other schemes. The whole exercise is to disorient Blacks by pretending that those who reap profits from apartheid are opposing it. Britain is one of the few countries whose secret services are acting as the eyes and ears of Pretoria in those areas where decent people do not want to see the ugly, blood-drenched face of the boers.

The International Dimension

Britain is an example of the western countries' support for apartheid. This is not only economic greed of the ruling groups in the western countries. At one time the volume of trade and returns for British industry from Nigeria was more than those from South Africa. But their military, economic and political support has always been in South Africa. The point is that Britain, like West Germany, USA, Japan and others are basically racist. They see the White community as a part of them. They say South Africa is part

of the west, meaning White South Africa with its wonderful opportunities created by apartheid. The crushing of skulls of Blacks mercilessly in the name of apartheid, means nothing to them. All that matters is anti-communism and the strategic interests of the west. And yet in Namibia where there is no communist party SWAPO stands accused of communism. The point is that, among other things they oppose our race as shown by their treatment of Blacks in USA, Britain and other countries.

The racist regime of South Africa therefore seen from London, Bonn, Tokyo, New York and elsewhere is a Trojan horse. It is at once the political kith and kin and a reason for opposing Black liberation. That is why now constitutional contingency plans are being drawn and redrawn all rotating around the protection of "minority rights." Since the arrival of the Whites 335 years ago, no western power has supported South African Blacks in wars irrespective of the justness of our cause.

Are There Differences Within The Laager?

Can the Whites disagree to a point of having a civil war within the laager? An honest answer to this question is yes and no. Yes, as historically the Afrikaners have never been united for a long time. They are given to bickering over the most trivial of things and even shooting each other. In fact, far from the big talk about die volk Afrikaners have always been a collection of bickering groups. Right from the time of the Cape under the British, through the so-called Great Trek, power struggles, bickering of the most sickening type is their style.

The only time they have been united for any significant length of time, was early this century after the British had pacified the whole country and given it to them on a silver platter, making them watch-dogs over her majesty's so-called interests. Even then Afrikaner obsession with personalities, leading to purges and counter-purges among themselves, has been the mark of their unity. To the extent that any differences, however small, in the enemy camp should be used, yes, we can use such disagreements to our advantage.

But there has been civil strife and wars between Whites in the past. If there was to be a civil war within the Afrikaner laager now, or more remotely, within the Whites in general what can Blacks expect from such a conflict? True, this might

weaken their attention in defending apartheid, but the experience of the Anglo-Boer War, the Second World War, when the Afrikaners sided with the Nazis, shows that not much can be expected. It is a conflict about how best to keep us down.

Can the Progressive Federal Party, the liberal Afrikaner academics, the Dennis Worralls, the Afrikaner business people, unite finally with the traditional liberal English establishment and fight the National Party and institute some form of power sharing? The problem with this question which is often asked by well-meaning people is that it starts from a wrong premise, namely that they are divided on language lines. In fact the patterns of voting of Whites not only during the time of the United Party but even in this last election show clearly the fallacy of a divided White public opinion. English-speaking Whites not only left those parties generally known as English, the PFP and NRP, but 'in droves' joined the NP and the CP. Their ability to vote NP at one time and PFP at another, under lines the sameness of these parties, in the eyes of Whites at least. It is political make-up for the same White power.

The central reality of the South African situation is that the Whites as a group, from the so-called right-wing extremists to the liberals, English and Afrikaner of the Dennis Worrall type are united as one in an economic system of apartheid, being its products, in the same way that Blacks are chained to it as its victims. That is why the liberal opponents of the regime amount to a several thousands while apartheid supporters are in millions as the elections have shown.

The army of the regime, its police, political parties, the bureaucracy, the business interests, their agreements and disagreements are all colours and muscles of the same animal. They form that world view to which Blacks are not people, mere kaffirs and skepsels, maids and boys, at best, communists and terrorists at worst. This perception of us is true of the Anglo-American executives as it is of the Anton Ruperts, the National Party and liberals or right-wing conservative extremists. This cannot be otherwise. They see their interests as diametrically opposed to those of Blacks.

What the elections did manage to make crystal-clear, is that the so-called splits and differences among the Whites while they are about us, they

are in a parliament we are not allowed in. By its very constitution, the debate places us outside. Even if any party were to win, they all want some chains on our wrists. There is still no political party that is committed to democracy in its simplest form of rule by the majority.

Role of Big Business

The role of big business is subtly coming to the fore, but the elections indirectly showed where its real interests lie. The apartheid system has created huge corporations some of which have become multinational corporations. Their strength is that of apartheid. Their role has not been exposed like that of White academics in this election. South African businessmen act as the ears, eyes and, when need be, the hands of the racist regime; providing the regime with up-to-date technical know-how and resources; playing the same role both inside the country and in other countries; opening doors the Botha clique cannot open by itself; speaking quietly in corridors of power where Pretoria cannot represent itself and the Boers paying them handsomely for their services. What is never written about is the important fact that business has an ultra-secret accord with the generals to protect each others' interests. Just to make sure, Botha made the necessary laws, to 'tie their hands' in case of national emergency. In fact, of all opinions among the Whites it is that of big business which is the most homogenous. Irrespective of their usage of Afrikaans or English, the big companies and their servicing connections act as one man everywhere, be it in supporting Botha or sounding out the democratic movement for new contacts who will protect their interests in the future.

From the point of view of political and social emancipation of the Blacks, the differences between the business community that backs PRP, New Republic Party, National Party, Dennis Worrall and Botha is as important as the difference of the sizes of teeth in the same mouth. They help crush food for the same throat.

Stellenbosch Academics

On the other hand, the history of Afrikaner academics makes interesting reading, especially now that Dennis Worrall has formed his movement of Independents. In the 1940s and 1950s the Hendrick Verwoerds, Didericks, the Eiselens, Van Zyls and other Stellenbosch

Afrikaner academics provided the brain power towards the formulation and articulation of the 'skiet en donder' policy of apartheid. Interestingly enough, they displaced another group of Afrikaners who were associated with General Jan Smuts and the United Party. This group opposed and despised the Broederbond and were closer to the English establishment of the time. The Herstigte Nasionale Party as the present National Party was called then despised the establishment portraying it as made up of Jews and 'rooineks'. They sometimes spoke marxism when it suited them in their 'rebellion.' Their main vehicle was the Broederbond and they openly stated that they are struggling to establish 'Afrikaner hegemony.' They worked hard to establish the present system and openly said it would work in such a way that Afrikanerdom would never ever be divided. What it has achieved is that Whites in general are agreed on white domination but not apartheid specifically. Afrikaner unity on the other hand remains elusive.

Dennis Worrall and his Stellenbosch friends, like Verwoerd and others before them, would want an upgrading of the system, they want the system to adapt. Having worked for years and years providing the racist mob led by Piet Botha with strategies, planning and trying to implement total strategy they would want now to pass themselves off as critics of their own plans. Dennis Worrall was one of the main figures behind the formulation of Total Strategist's so-called constitutional changes. In fact many of the academics who pose as critics of Botha now, were and are still deeply implicated in the attempts to once and for all make South Africa constitutionally, a Whites-only country.

The similarity between the position of Afrikaner academics in Verwoerd's time and now is staggering. Stellenbosch is still the pot of fermentation. Not of Stellenbosch wine but of some meaningless argument among Afrikaner academics about 'reforms' and 'power sharing' with other races. A concept which is rooted in the belief that Whites and Whites alone are able to run South Africa. Blacks can only be employed at various levels, including what is called 'highest level' to resolve matters 'affecting them'. What this highest level in practice means is, for instance for Blacks to be busy with White-created creatures such as Gatsha Buthelezi's tribalism,

the nauseating gimmicks of the Matanzima brothers and the crimes of the Sebe brothers who are supposedly making decisions at the 'highest level' and are paid for their services by Pretoria.

The allegations of the liberal English media that Afrikaner academics are rebelling because they are supposedly frustrated by Piet Botha's maniacal howling to their verligte advice are not true. They were, and the majority of them still are, advising him on how to make and keep South Africa a Whites-only paradise with minor changes. Afrikaner academics have, year after year, generation after generation, been refining the system of apartheid, undertaking commissions on its behalf and generally trying to make it work successfully.

The Stellenbosch revolt in fact has just revealed the level of collusion between the regime and White academics in general. Following their defections, charges and counter-charges of conservatism and reformism, it has become clear that, even in their wildest dreams, at their most left-ward swing, Afrikaner academia is dreaming about some form of apartheid and an interpretation of National Party policy in one way or other.

Academics from the English-speaking section of the Whites pride themselves of being outside the racist mob that gouges eyes of detainees, kills unborn babies, crushing skulls, carrying out street executions all in defence of apartheid. In truth however the English, like business as a whole, are crossing their fingers that Botha carries out the grisly acts of barbarism in the townships and gets over with the job so they can enjoy their lives.

The Left Shades Within the Whites

The academics of the English-speaking world for their part are split on the traditional left and right lines. With the left, further split into the left that is generally with the Blacks and the liberal left and the hard left or extreme left. For their part, the White left dominates the political and intellectual discussion outside the liberation movement. While the genuinely radical are shot, detained and jailed by the regime, the liberal left stands aloof, pontificating, writing thousands of books on the solution of the South African conflict. The curious thing about this group is that they are not sure if they really want majority rule or "racism as it exists all over the world." Their main line

of activity is to write. Many times they are the opinion makers, setting the pace of political discussion. Their influence is by far out of proportion to their real political size. They are trapped by an overwhelming fear of and contempt for Blacks.

The sudden discovery of working class politics by the remnants of the Black Consciousness movement was a godsend for left, White academics, that part of them that believes they are more radical than the liberation movement. They can now comfortably try to discredit the national liberation movement, its leaders and its programmes, supposedly for not being revolutionary enough and not being from the working class. They spread prejudice against the movement, knowing that there is no way ANC leaders, in jails and exile and even the movement working underground can put its side of the story effectively. The ideas of this stratum of White opinion is increasingly infecting young Black intellectuals who are outside the movement. Partly because these groups have more resources and control a big part of the left of centre legal newspapers. Interestingly enough, while charging the ANC with 'bourgeois nationalism' they are not joining the Communist Party of South Africa. These 'new revolutionaries' will always oppose the broad national liberation movement and its mass organisations. They would want the debate to be in books and seminars knowing that Blacks cannot legally tower above their academic and financial resources. This ANC-is-not-radical enough campaign complements Botha's campaign that it is too radical. It is not surprising that they share and popularise the nonsense stories about the ANC created by the sick minds who make up Botha's disinformation department.

This group is conducting a love-hate affair with Black Consciousness. They would want the people to join them in rejecting their leaders who are in jail and in exile. Apparently they ought to follow them, reading more books and speaking refined English, their main form of struggle being workshops, conferences and seminars on working class politics.

The most dangerous development of late is the attempts of the regime to kill, detain, and sentence to jail leaders of the democratic movement while giving freedom to organise Trotskyite organisers to spread confusion. Obviously the

enemy is not slow to realise the advantages of organised confusion.

The ANC Extends a Hand of Friendship

At the beginning of this year the National Executive Committee of the ANC made a call to the Whites to abandon apartheid and support the struggle for a genuine democratic South Africa. None of the Whites-only political parties welcomed this call or tried to take advantage of it to use whatever little room there is to develop friendship with the national liberation movement and through it the Africans of South Africa. Their reaction is similar to the response of successive racist regimes and England during the colonial times who ignored deputations and repeated pleas for peaceful negotiation on the problems of South Africa by ANC leaders.

Perhaps in a way the South African Whites have given their answer to this call in the form

of their enthusiastic participation in Botha's election. But also the election, and this is the only way it can be seen from the perspective of the national liberation movement reflects our failure to register militarily our opposition to apartheid in the daily lives of Whites. What Botha had managed to do, with the help of a few crude gimmicks, is to tell them that the struggle is a distant event that can only come to them if they vote for someone else. Botha is still able to carry out such crude manipulation thanks to the fact that he is still the only one the Whites hear. That is why he is so devoted to blocking all ANC information from reaching the Whites. The lesson from the elections therefore is that we must make the Whites experience our political and military struggle in all areas of their lives. Experiencing the struggle here means giving Botha battle in what he tries to keep as his exclusive constituency.



"THE ROAD AHEAD!!"

CHURCHES IDENTIFY WITH PEOPLES IN STRUGGLE

100 representatives of churches in South Africa and Namibia and the world community, together with representatives from the ANC and SWAPO, were present at a Consultation in Lusaka in May 1987, to "consider an appropriate response to the worsening situation in Southern Africa and the region." President Tambo was one of those who addressed the gathering. After the Consultation, the organisers issued the following statement:

We, representative of churches, trade unions, women's, youth and anti-apartheid groups from South Africa, Namibia and other parts of the world, met in Lusaka, Zambia, May 4th — 8th, 1987 at the invitation of the Programme to Combat Racism of the Council of Churches under the theme, "The Churches' Search for Justice and Peace in Southern Africa."

The Context

We have met together 18 months after leaders of churches around the world committed themselves to the implementation of the 'Harare Declaration.' In Lusaka, we have reviewed the activities undertaken since Harare. Churches, countries and regions recorded varying degrees of progress in implementing the Declaration. During the period following the Harare meeting the situation in South Africa has considerably worsened. In the last 11 months more than 20 000 opponents of the apartheid regime have been detained, among them Black children as young as seven years of age. The emergency powers of the South African regime have placed the country under virtual martial law. During the same period, South Africa's detention, killing, and violent oppression of the Namibian people has also escalated. Our meeting was especially significant because of the opportunity it afforded us for discussions and exchange of views with the liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia.

We began our meeting on the ninth anniversary of the Kassinga Massacre, remembering the 800 Namibians, mostly women and children who were killed by the South African army in their refugee camp in Angola. A few days prior to the meeting South Africa attacked Livingstone, Zambia, killing four innocent persons, yet another reminder of South Africa's policy of destabilisation and aggression against the Front Line States.

We have heard the moving testimony of the victims of apartheid. The cruel reality of life in the townships of South Africa and the horrors of occupation in Namibia have been brought home to us in the most graphic terms. Anguish, suffering, unimaginable pain and heroic resistance are the hallmarks of the struggle against injustice in Southern Africa. Against such a background our duty to ensure that the resolutions that follow are translated into early action is in no doubt.

The Theology

It is our belief that civil authority is instituted of God to do good, and that under the biblical imperative all people are obliged to do justice and show special care for the oppressed and the poor. It is this understanding that leaves us with no alternative but to conclude that the South African regime and its colonial domination of Namibia is illegitimate.

We recognise that the people of South Africa and Namibia, who are yearning for justice and peace, have identified the liberation movements of their countries to be authentic vehicles that express their aspirations for self-determination. We as churches also recognize and repent of our failure to work as vigorously as possible for the implementation of the Harare Declaration as a basis for bringing the present regime in South Africa and Namibia to an end. We again commit ourselves to the Harare Declaration, and so

to work for the removal of the present rulers who persistently usurp the stewardship of God's authority.

The Challenge

1. We call on the Churches and international community to recognize the overwhelming material sacrifice and suffering of the people of the Front Line States in combating apartheid and the destabilizing influence of the Pretoria regime in the region. This necessitates an immediate and enhanced programme of aid and assistance to the Front Line States through the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference and other agencies in order to reduce their dependence upon South Africa and to enable them to continue to support both refugee victims of apartheid and those movements actively engaged in the struggle for liberation.

2. We affirm the unquestionable right of the people of Namibia and South Africa to secure justice and peace through the liberation movements. While remaining committed to peaceful change we recognise that the nature of the South African regime, which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours, compels the movements to the use of force along with other means to end oppression. We call upon the Churches and the international Community to seek ways to give this affirmation practical effect in the struggle for liberation in the region and to strengthen their contacts with liberation movements.

3. We affirm that the end to the conflict in Namibia and the attainment of self-determination by the Namibian people lies in the implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978). We therefore condemn the attempt by the United States, in collusion with other members of the Western Contact Group and with the minority government of South Africa, to bypass this resolution by linking the independence of Namibia to extraneous issues such as the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola. We recognize the willingness of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the people of Namibia, to enter into an immediate ceasefire on the basis of UN Security Council Resolution 435. We call upon the churches to mark the tenth anniversary year of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 with a programme of action to end the colonial domination of Namibia. We fur-

ther call upon the churches to observe May 4th as a World Day of Prayer for a free Namibia.

4. We urgently call upon the Churches in countries which, through economic and political cooperation with South Africa and Namibia, support the apartheid regime, to exert increased pressure upon their governments to implement sanctions, and upon banks, corporations and trading institutions to withdraw from doing business with South Africa and Namibia. We especially call upon the international community not to engage in newly devised deceptive forms of disinvestment which maintain the status quo, but instead to apply immediate and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa and Namibia.

5. We note with gravest concern the growing number of those imprisoned, tortured, on trial, under sentence of death, and bereaved as a result of the actions of the apartheid regime. We call upon the Churches, especially those outside Namibia and South Africa, to respond with prayer and increased efforts to publicise and meet with material assistance the needs and concerns of those who bear this particular burden of apartheid.

6. We condemn the censorship of the media and the concerted campaign of misinformation directed by the apartheid regime and its collaborators against the opponents and victims of apartheid. We call upon the Churches and the international community to take steps to secure the freedom of information about and within South Africa through their own, and if necessary, new mechanisms, thus ensuring the fair and objective reporting of events in the region.

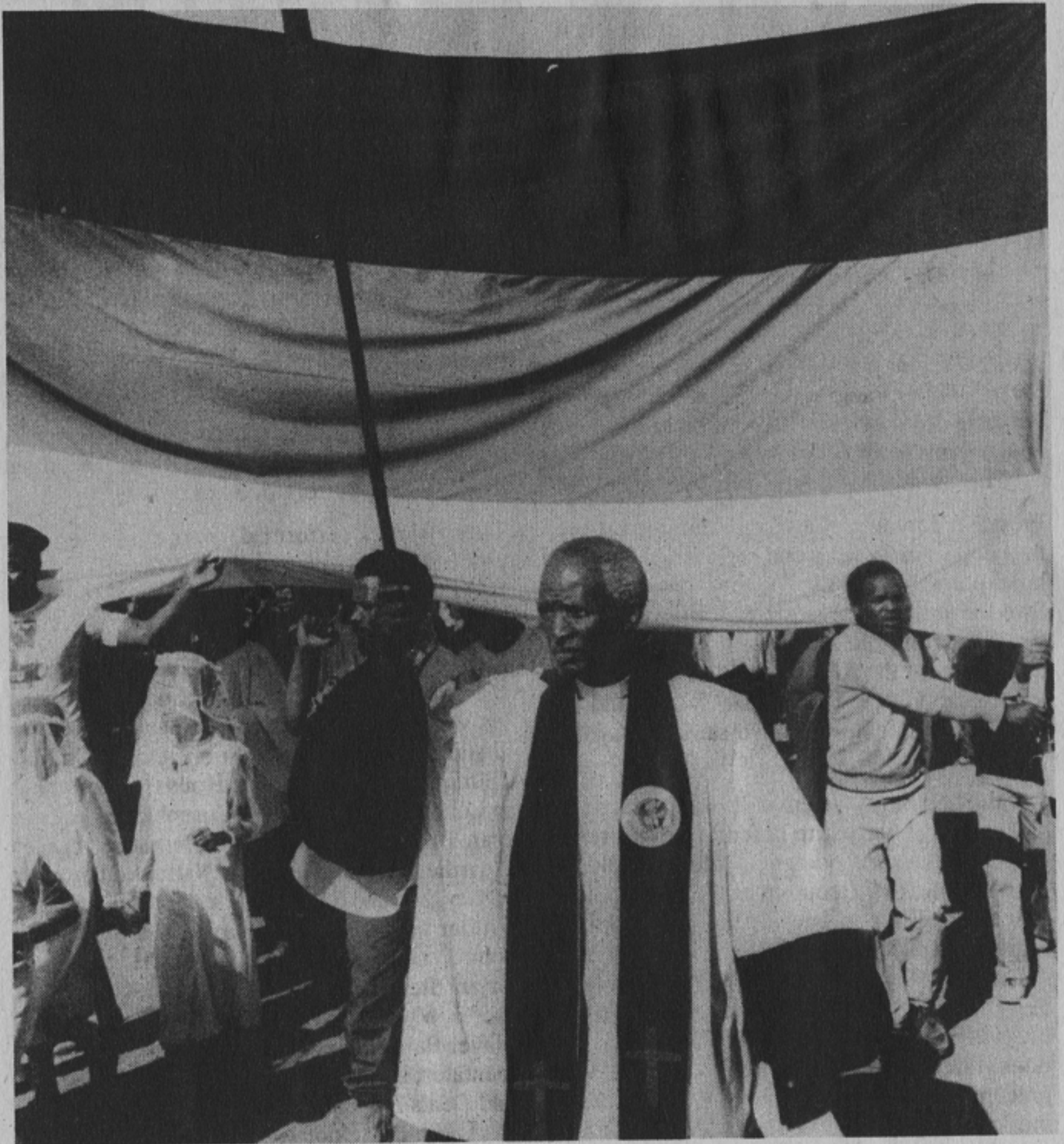
7. We recognise, at this crucial time in the history of Southern Africa, the need for unity of purpose and action on the part of all those concerned with the process of liberation in the region, not least amongst the churches themselves, whose failings in this respect are a cause for repentance. We see the suffering that results where unity is not present. We commit ourselves to further the cause of unity in our own churches, and in our ministry to the movements for liberation operating to bring an end to the illegitimate regime in South Africa and Namibia.

8. We call upon the World Council of Churches, in the light of the Harare Declaration and the previous resolutions, to establish, with urgency, a mechanism whereby the progress of member

Churches and others in implementing the Harare Declaration and these resolutions can be monitored, and through appropriate advice and encouragement, made more effective. Special attention should be given to the implementation of economic sanctions. This monitoring process should occur at national, regional and international levels. We recommend that further meetings of churches, liberation movements and others be held within eighteen months to review the results of the monitoring process.

In the past we have often failed to move from resolution to practice. We recognise that it is God's imperative that we be God's obedient instrument in the struggle for justice and peace in Southern Africa. We pray for God's grace, and covenant together to accompany our brothers and sisters in Namibia and South Africa on their journey to liberation.

May 8th 1987.



ANC INTERNATIONAL

NORDIC COUNTRIES GIVE SUPPORT

Much moral and material support has come from Sweden to the ANC, SWAPO and the Front Line States, and an act passed by the Swedish parliament, prohibiting trade with South Africa and Namibia, is due to come into effect this year.

President Tambo at May Day Rally

President Tambo was an honoured guest at this year's May Day rally in Stockholm, held by the Social Democratic Party of Sweden, addressed by the Swedish Foreign Minister, and attended by about 43 000 people. The ANC banner was carried by a member of the ANC, and many people in the crowd carried small ANC and SWAPO flags.

President Tambo said:

"... May Day is ever so often, and may yet again be, a bloody day in South Africa. For the workers of our country, however, May Day is May Day, and, bloody or not, it will be observed as such, for we are an integral part of the international working-class movement — whether the apartheid regime knows it or not.

"That is why our struggle is your struggle."

President Tambo spoke of the friendship between the peoples of Sweden and of South Africa, and he expressed deep thanks and appreciation to Sweden and to the Nordic countries in general for supporting the ANC call for humanitarian assistance for the ANC and SWAPO, economic assistance to the Front Line States and the SADCC and comprehensive sanctions against South Africa. He went on to say:

"... the apartheid system still has the capacity, and can be expected, to defend itself by resorting to levels of violence which could be catastrophic for the country and all its people — Black and White — and for the peoples of the region of Southern Africa.

"We wish to urge it upon the Group of Seven, the EEC and the Commonwealth countries; upon the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations, that the situation in South Africa has the potential to confront humanity with a crisis of incalculable proportions. The time to act is now."

Swedish Communists' Campaign Week

At the end of January this year, the Communist Party of Sweden held a campaign week for the ANC. 209 000 Swedish crowns were collected from small Communist Party groups throughout the country, and from ordinary Swedish working people in works, building sites, hospitals and so on, and were sent to Comrade Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC Chief Representative in Sweden, for ANC funds.

The letter accompanying the donation spoke warmly of the strong feelings of the Swedish Communist Party and Swedish working people for the just struggle of the ANC.

Scandinavian Jazz Musicians Give Support

Three jazz concerts, in April and May, were organised by the Action Committee for Jazz Against Apartheid in Denmark, Norway and Sweden. In a statement, the Action Committee said:

"These concerts will offer the best jazz music we have ... and we hope that the political message, which is a part of their music, will be spread out to all our supporters in Scandinavia."

The musicians performed free of charge, and the proceeds were given to the ANC.

BRITISH SPORTSMEN BOYCOTT APARTHEID

Earlier this year, world welterweight boxing champion Lloyd Honeyghan relinquished one of his world titles because he refused to accept a challenge that came from South Africa. On May 18th, at a reception at the House of Commons in London, His Excellency Joseph Garba, chairman of the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid presented United Nations citations to Honeyghan and other sports stars who have taken similar action: football players Garth Crooks, John Fashanu, Ricki Hill, Chris Hughton and Brian Stein; rugby players John Taylor and Derek Wyatt; cricketer Peter Roebuck; hockey player Bal Saini; Ron Pickering the sports commentator; sports administrator Paul Stephenson; and Denis Howell, former Minister for Sport in the United Kingdom.



Fraternal handshake: Lloyd Honeyghan with Comrade Francis Meli of the ANC.

The gathering was also addressed by His Excellency Shridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General, Comrade Francis Meli from the NEC of the ANC, Sam Ramsamy, chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, and by two of those who had been honoured — Denis Howell MP and Lloyd Honeyghan.

GDR HONOURS NELSON MANDELA

Printing, assembling and distributing *Sechaba* are among the many ways in which the German Democratic Republic shows its friendship and solidarity with the ANC and our struggle. The team that produces *Sechaba* at the Erich Weinert printing works in Neubrandenburg in the GDR

is now officially known as the Nelson Mandela Brigade. Permission for the team to use this name was granted in May, by arrangement between the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR and the ANC, and members of the ANC mission in the GDR were present at the ceremony where the title was conferred.

GDR Children Make Cards for Mandela

Bummi, a GDR journal for children aged three to six, recently printed a story about Nelson Mandela, and invited children to make cards for Comrade Nelson in prison. Over 87 000 cards were received, some in crayon, some in coloured paper. They bore messages like: "Joy to Nelson Mandela," and "For Uncle Nelson."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor

... "We pledge that we shall continue the struggle and that those who are executing our people will one day face the wrath of the South African people. South Africa's own Nuremberg Trials" will judge these modern-day Nazis, their crimes and their atrocities will be avenged." (*ANC News Briefing*, No. 36, 1986).

Last September marked the 40th anniversary of the Nuremberg Tribunal. When viewing this historical event in the light of our present times the question arises — what lessons can be drawn from the Nuremberg Trial and their relevance for today in relation to the Crime of Apartheid? Discussion on this question should be widely publicised and stimulus given to general public awareness. It cannot be over-stressed that apartheid is a crime and has absolutely no right to exist and its perpetrators must be brought to justice.

How are apartheid crimes to be assessed? In recent times individuals have been prosecuted and punished for crimes against humanity — for example the Greek fascist colonels, some leaders of the former Argentinian military junta, and a struggle is going on in Uruguay to bring killers of like stamp to justice. Their atrocities are national in character, violations of national laws. The struggle to bring all these killers to justice is, in the main, the concern of the Greek, Argentinian and Uruguayan peoples. It goes without saying that this struggle demands the support of the international community.

As an international crime, apartheid is the concern of the international community in general and the peoples of the Southern African region in particular. Ideologically and in terms of practice, apartheid crimes have a close kinship to Nazi War Crimes and crimes against humanity. In the light of this, apartheid crimes can be assessed on the fundamentals of the Nuremberg Tribunal.

Assessing apartheid crimes on this historical basis does not in any way suggest that the eventual holding of Apartheid Crime Trials will be a continuation or extension of the Nuremberg Trial. In accordance with the specific conditions pertaining to Southern Africa, common judicial procedures will have to be shaped, and existing

international norms, formulations and definitions further elaborated.

The Charter of Principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal was recognised by the United Nations General Assembly in 1948 and has become formulated and entrenched in terms of present-day international law.

Central to this Charter there are documents in international law which should provide the fundamental criteria for bringing apartheid criminals, collectively and individually, to justice. There are the United Nations Convention on the Crime of Apartheid, the United Nations Convention on the Crime of Genocide and the Definition of an Aggressor by the United Nations General Assembly, as well as the Geneva Protocol of 1924 which defines aggressive war as an international crime. What is lacking is a Charter of Principles for the holding of Apartheid Crime Trials.

The Charter of Principles of the Nuremberg Tribunal was instituted by the four main powers of the anti-Hitler Coalition — the USSR, the USA, Britain and France. This agreement was later joined by 19 other countries. But in all aspects the holding of the Nuremberg Trial was quadrilateral — that is, it was conducted by the USSR, the USA, Britain and France.

In viewing the precedent of this Charter it should be asked — who should initiate and take responsibility for instituting a Charter of Principles for the eventual holding of Apartheid Crime Trials?

I believe that this rests with the anti-racist democratic forces in South Africa, headed by the ANC, SWAPO of Namibia and the sovereign states of the Southern Africa region to shape an agreement instituting an Apartheid Crime Trials Charter of Principles. I have no doubt that such an agreement would be joined by many other interested countries. But in all aspects the inevitable holding of Apartheid Crime Trials should be regional and multinational — that is, they should be held in the Southern African region and be conducted by the peoples of Southern Africa.

Such a Charter would have to carry the stamp

of the international authority of the United Nations. This will give legitimacy in international law to the holding of Apartheid Crime Trials. At the same time it would oblige all countries of the world to co-operate fully with the peoples of Southern Africa in bringing apartheid criminals to justice.

The formidable and complex task of shaping

a Charter of Principles for the holding of Apartheid Crime Trials is greatly facilitated by the fundamentals of the Nuremberg Tribunal and the documents of the Nuremberg Trial. It is inevitable that Apartheid Crimes Trials will take place and the sooner steps are taken to lay the basis the better.

Arnold Selby

Dear Comrade Editor

Every revolution produces its heroes, leaders, martyrs as well as its future defendants. It is equally true that each revolution exposes opportunists, enemy agents and reactionaries who join it for selfish and individualistic purposes. The South African revolution has, so far, not only produced its leaders and heroes, but has also exposed opportunists and 'committed' servants of the enemy (the racist regime). Gatsha Buthelezi, the so-called chief minister of KwaZulu bantustan, is one of the opportunists so far exposed by the revolution currently going on in South Africa. Within the context of being the 'chief minister' of a bantustan, Gatsha organised a tribal grouping called Inkatha, ostensibly for cultural purposes.

From the very beginning of the implementation of the bantustan policies, the boers have been, and are, making Gatsha look like one of the prominent leaders of the bantustans. He has been allowed to say anything he likes about apartheid and its upholders.

It may be true that those who first mooted the idea of forming Inkatha had in mind cultural activities as its main concern. But as things are today, Inkatha has been turned by Gatsha and his masters into a tribal vigilante grouping. It has become an extension of the regime's army and the police. Inkatha vigilantes, on the orders of Gatsha Buthelezi; on behalf of the boers has committed many crimes in a futile bid to destroy the UDF. Towards the end of 1983, the students at the University of Zululand clashed with Inkatha vigilantes who were trying to force the students to end their boycott of classes. In those clashes five students were killed and hundreds of others injured. This year, 12 people, seven of them children, were murdered by Inkatha thugs at KwaMakhutha in Natal. At KwaMashu, seven

students were killed by Gatsha's Inkatha and dumped in a ditch, with their throats cut. All the victims referred to here are either anti-apartheid or related to outstanding anti-apartheid fighters.

There are several reasons, political in nature, why the regime in Pretoria, through Gatsha Buthelezi, commits Inkatha to such atrocities:

- ★ the boers want to justify their so-called Black-on-Black violence slogan;
- ★ they want to confine our struggle to the townships, and thus
- ★ prevent the struggle from spreading into White areas.

On the part of Gatsha, the atrocities are aimed at intimidating our people in and around KwaZulu bantustan into supporting his divisive and dangerous actions. He is also there by defending apartheid which monthly gives him a bulging purse through the bantustan scheme. Opposition to Gatsha in his capacity as 'commander-in-chief' of all the regime's vigilantes based in Natal is growing. The youth in KwaZulu was at one time reported to have suggested to Gatsha that a programme of action against apartheid be drawn up. Gatsha dismissed the suggestion, and threatened to take disciplinary measures against proponents of the programme. Instead the 'chief minister', with the aid of the regime, drew up a programme of action against the UDF.

It is a known fact that most members of Inkatha have been coerced into joining that enemy-manipulated organisation and are daily misled into participating in its atrocities. To try and consolidate his diminishing social base, which of course, never existed in political terms, Gatsha instructed, of late, all civil servants in his bantustan to take up Inkatha membership cards or else face expulsion both from work and the ban-

tustan itself. Students too, were threatened with either expulsion from or refusal of admission to schools, colleges and universities within KwaZulu if they did not join Inkatha. These are tactics used by self-imposed leaders on the people.

Politics teaches us that puppets, stooges, enemy agents and others of the same ilk have the following qualities:

- low political consciousness,
- love for money and luxury
- anti-communism

If Gatsha was not having a problem of political understanding, he would have known and understood the need for multinational companies to disinvest and divest from the racist economy.

He would not have drawn up a programme of action against the UDF, but against the boers. He would not have agreed to his master's orders to divide the workers of our country, by creating his yellow trade union; the so-called UWUSA. He would understand the need for workers to stage strikes, consumer boycotts, among others, as effective weapons against Pretoria. He would also understand class boycott as another weapon in the hands of students in their fight against bantu education. Low political consciousness is usually, if not always, coupled with fondness of publicity, and over-sensitivity to criticism. The enemy studies its agents thoroughly, and manipulates them according to their likes and dislikes. On a number of occasions, Pretoria tried hard to boost Gatsha's image abroad, by parading him in the west European capitals and presenting him as the 'leader of the South African people.' These capitals always refer to him as a leader of moderation, which in fact, is a courteous way of calling him a 'willing sell-out.'

The South African regime's campaign against the UDF through Gatsha Buthelezi will never succeed.

The UDF is invincible because:

- It originates from the course of development of reality.
- It corresponds to objective conditions existing in our country.
- The UDF stands for the new and articulates the demands and aspirations of the masses, as a result, it is growing and expanding.

The leaders of this mass democratic movement act and make statements in accordance with their political maturity gained in the struggle against colonialism of a special type. No wonder the KwaZulu bantustan leader sought and arranged a meeting with Andriaan Vlok, the racist Minister Law and Police, where new strategems against the UDF were hatched. It was also reported at that meeting that Gatsha requested Vlok to arm Inkatha vigilantes openly. Vlok for his part assured Gatsha that no Inkatha vigilante would be arrested for actions against the UDF.

One question arises about Gatsha's request for arms, and that is: Why does Gatsha ask the regime to arm his vigilantes, while it is an open secret that Inkatha has long been armed by Pretoria? Perhaps Gatsha wants the boers to give his vigilantes uniforms. At any rate, the meeting exposed the level of connections Gatsha has with the regime, and the 'trust' Pretoria has in Gatsha, on his campaign against anti-apartheid fighters.

The regime does not only manipulate Gatsha to launch a campaign of physical annihilation of the UDF, but also orders him to make political mischief about the ANC. Gatsha chooses to forget that the ANC is an internationally recognised national liberation movement, and is at the vanguard of one of the fiercest struggles against enemy number one of Africa, whose apartheid system has been declared a crime against humanity by the United Nations. The president of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, is increasingly accorded head of state treatment wherever he goes. Everybody, at home and abroad, can see clearly that the boers are preparing Gatsha Buthelezi for a neo-colonial solution to the apartheid crisis. In short Gatsha is being made into a Moise Tshombe or Muzorewa. Unfortunately for Gatsha, he will never succeed in his stupid gamble, because the South African masses know who their leaders are.

History has no mercy for those who misread it; nor does it have sympathy for those who pretend. Gatsha Buthelezi, the 'chief minister' of the KwaZulu bantustan circus, and 'commander in chief' of the regime's vigilantes based in Natal, will learn a lesson he will never forget, if he survives.

Mahofisi

ROBERT MCBRIDE

"A SOLDIER FIGHTING FOR HIS PEOPLE"

by Claris

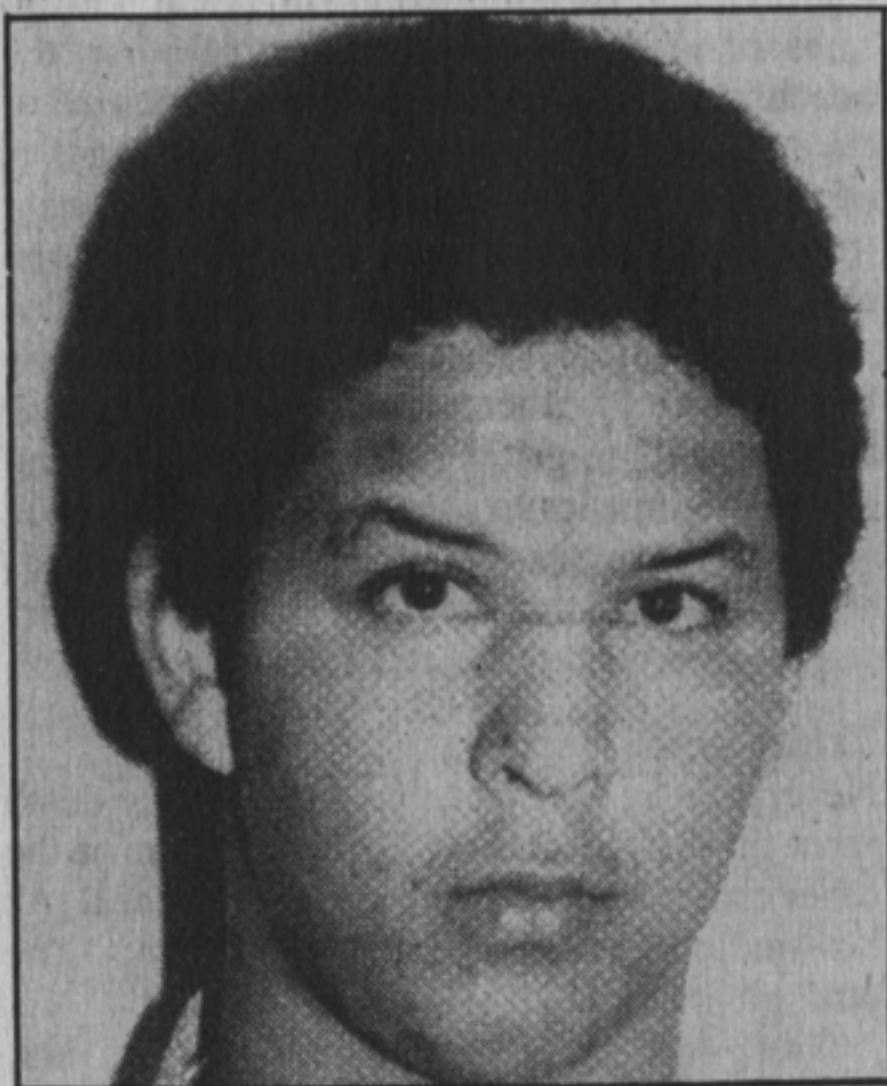
In May 1986, Gordon Webster, an ANC combatant who had been wounded in a shoot-out with police, was rescued from Edendale Hospital, where he was being held under guard. Two armed men entered the ward. There was shooting. A hospital security guard was killed, one of the policemen guarding Webster was shot in the arm, and went to hide with the nurses in the sluiceroom, while the other was shot in the thumb and ran away. Two visitors were wounded.

Webster was wheeled out on a trolley, and through a gap that two other men had cut in the fence outside. While hospital workers shouted encouragement and sang songs, he was put into a car and driven off. He was never recaptured.

The hero of this daring and well-planned operation was Robert McBride, aged 23, a student teacher from Wentworth near Durban. He is now in the death cells, sentenced for another operation carried out a month afterwards, a car bomb on the Marine Parade in Durban, that killed three people in a beachfront bar.

McBride's trial was one of a series of trials showing the level of revolutionary consciousness in the Coloured community of Natal. Giving evidence in February, Jeannette Apelgren, whose sister was accused with McBride, told the court that since the Coloured Labour Party had joined the tricameral parliament, Coloured people recognised the ANC as the only avenue through which their protest could be registered.

Of those who worked with McBride, one, Greta Apelgren, was with him in the dock. Four gave evidence in court. Two have been tried and sentenced — his father, Derrick McBride, who went with him into the ward, got 12 years, and Arturo du Preez 15½. At the end of 1986, Gordon Webster's two brothers, Victor and Trevor were charged with assisting him after his escape, but the charges were later dropped.



The trial of McBride and Apelgren opened in February 1987 before a judge and two assessors in the Pietermaritzburg Supreme Court. They were charged with the murder of the hospital guard and the three in the bar. There were also charges of 'terrorism', furthering the aims of the ANC, helping a guerrilla to escape and concealing him.

State Witnesses

Of the four 'accomplices' who gave evidence, all had been held in detention, Jeannette Apelgren since June 12th, the beginning of the state of emergency.

One, known to the court as Witness A, admitted that he was giving evidence to avoid imprisonment. He said that he, McBride and Webster had tried to blow up an electricity substation and failed, but he had not helped to free Webster. Witness B said he had been at the meeting where the rescue was planned, but had changed his mind about taking part. Witness C admitted he was co-operating with the police because he feared being hanged, for he had taken part in Webster's escape and in the planting of the Marine Parade bomb, and under cross-

examination he admitted he had persuaded McBride to use a hotel as a target. The judge refused him immunity from prosecution.

McBride admitted helping Webster to escape, sheltering him in Durban and later taking him to Botswana. He admitted loading a car with 50 kilos of explosives and detonating it on the beachfront outside the bar. He was acquitted of the death of the hospital guard, but found guilty of the death of the three in the bar. The judge found there was no evidence that Greta Apelgren had known beforehand of the car bomb, and so she was acquitted of those charges. Both were found guilty on other counts, including assault and intent to do grievous bodily harm, arising out of the injuries to the two policemen.

One of the two assessors filed a minority judgment, accepting that there were extenuating circumstances in the case of McBride.

Triple Death Sentence

Nevertheless, McBride was sentenced to death three times over, and to a further 82 years on the other charges. He was given leave to appeal. As he was led from the court, he shouted, "The struggle continues."

Greta Apelgren was sentenced to five years, of which all but 21 months was suspended, for helping Webster to escape (she had been in the rescue car) and reconnoitring targets for action.

Counsel for the defence argued that the action of planting the bomb on the Marine Parade was "out of character." It was pointed out that though McBride had taken part in a number of previous operations, none of these had involved loss of civilian life. McBride admitted that at the time of the EPG visit he had placed a bomb but had not detonated it, his intention being simply to get maximum publicity for the ANC and prove it could reach any target, no matter how secure. He told the court that he had planned the Edendale Hospital operation outside visiting hours, to avoid civilian casualties, had wanted to go back when he found there were visitors there, but had found himself faced by a policeman. He said he had used his gun only when he thought the policeman was trying to shoot him.

He said the Marine Parade bomb had been meant as a protest at the state of emergency, which had been declared two days earlier, and he had wanted a massive explosion, too big for the authorities to conceal. Afterwards, he had felt

"bad" and "scared" because he knew he had gone against ANC policy regarding civilian targets.

Greta Apelgren's brother told the court that McBride had been deeply distressed at the 'Trojan horse' killings and at the massacre in Langa, and had seen the state of emergency as a declaration of war against the oppressed people of South Africa. He said McBride saw himself as "a soldier fighting for his people."

The Real Terrorists Still Walk Free

McBride's case has some parallels with that of Andrew Sibuyiso Zondo, who placed a bomb in a shopping centre at Amanzimtoti at the end of 1985. McBride (who was described by one court reporter as being of "serious mien") seems to be a thoughtful young man, as Zondo was, horrified and angered at what was happening in his country. Like Zondo, McBride was persecuted by his guards while he was being tried — Zondo was beaten up every night by the warders in gaol, and while McBride was awaiting sentence, the policemen with him taunted him by dangling a noose in front of his face.

It is appropriate to recall that, in January 1986, when President Tambo was asked by the press to comment on the Amanzimtoti explosion, he replied that there was nothing in ANC policy or strategy that called for attacks on civilians, but added:

"... the South African situation is one of violence. There is a war going on there ... hundreds have been killed. Massacres have been perpetrated against civilians: Mamelodi, a massacre. Uitenhage, a massacre. Botswana, a massacre. Queenstown, a massacre ... The whole of South Africa is beginning to bleed."

Robert McBride is on death row now, but those who shot four children in the 'Trojan horse' massacre have not appeared in court. No charges have been brought against those who have murdered UDF activists or petrol-bombed their houses. Those who perpetrated the massacres in Mamelodi, Uitenhage, Botswana, Queenstown, Lesotho, Kassinga and uncounted other places have not been brought to book. The real terrorists are still walking free.

There is a war going on in South Africa. We demand prisoner of war status for Robert McBride and for all captured soldiers fighting for freedom in South Africa.

BOOK REVIEW

Black and Gold: Tycoons, Revolutionaries and Apartheid, Anthony Sampson, Hodder and Stoughton, London, 1987.

Anthony Sampson's attempt in this book is to unveil to the reader the extent of big business's involvement in what he sees as an unfolding "drama in South Africa." Of particular interest to the author are the headaches that the popular upsurge inside South Africa gives the regime, more especially in terms of their long-term economic interests. The tycoons know that eventually apartheid will be overthrown and a new society based on the Freedom Charter will be created.

Though not clearly stated in the book, big business is concerned about the clause in the Freedom Charter which says that: "**The People Shall Share The Country's Wealth.**" More especially because that clause specifically states that, "The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans shall be restored to the people, the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; all industry shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people."

Clearly, as Nelson Mandela wrote in 1956, the Freedom Charter "strikes a fatal blow at the financial and gold mining monopolies and farming interests that have for centuries plundered the country and condemned its people to servitude."

Monopolies in the South African economy, from mining, manufacturing, banking to the service sector, are all concerned about how to keep their businesses after apartheid is overthrown by the victorious masses headed by the ANC with the Freedom Charter in their hands. The author's stated aim about the book is to attempt to "... trace the erratic relationship between the two groups of actors in the South African drama" (p.8). On the one hand is the business community both South African and multinational, and on the other the "Black politicians."

Sampson centres his ideas in the book on perhaps three main issues: firstly, the relationship between big business and the South African regime, more especially in the post-1978 period; secondly, the extent and impact of pressures that have been brought to bear on companies with investments in South Africa in the light of the intensified international campaign for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions and finally, he discusses the contacts between the ANC and the business tycoons both South African and multinationals. All the three issues are dealt with at some length. He shows that tycoons have been forced by international campaigns for sanctions and by the popular upsurge inside South Africa to begin to think seriously about their future business operations.

The book is particularly good in its treatment of the British resistance to sanctions. Of particular interest to the reviewer, was the conduct of the Commonwealth Minisummit at Marlborough House in London in August 1986. In this meeting, Mrs Thatcher stood alone against sanctions. General Obasanjo's comments about the British Prime Minister's refusal to impose sanctions are worth quoting here: "many people around the world view your (Thatcher's) continued opposition to sanctions as founded in instinct, not logic, and as displaying a misguided tribal loyalty (to the boers) and myopic vision" (p.13).

In his treatment of the meeting in Lusaka between the ANC leadership and South African business, Sampson is keen to show that it was Gavin Relly of Anglo-American who led the business delegation. At the time the book was published, Anglo-American owned 54.1% of the stocks listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (p. 190). So what was Gavin Relly up to ...?

According to Sampson, the original group of South African business leaders who had planned to go to Lusaka were: Gavin Relly (Anglo-American), Fred Du Plessis (SANLAM) Anton

Rupert (Rembrandt Group), Chris Ball (then Barclays) and Barlow Rand's Mike Rosholt (p.193). In the event Ball, Rupert, Rosholt and Du Plessis dropped out of the group when their planned visit became known to P W Botha who is reported to have been angry about it. Anglo-American, SANLAM, South African Old Mutual and the Rembrandt Group now control about 83.1% of the stocks listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. These are the companies the Freedom Charter is clearly talking about in the quotation above.

The ANC's position comes out very well in relation to the tycoons in the book. What comes out clearly is a consistent position of the ANC's call to foreign business to pull out of South Africa. Those South African tycoons are told clearly about the clear dangers of their relationship to PW Botha's regime, their treatment of Black workers and the need for them to stop supporting Armscor (p.149).

On the whole, this is a welcome book because of its specific areas of interest. It is interesting, easy to read and may prove useful to our readers who want to know the behaviour of tycoons in revolutionary periods. However, the politics of the author that come out in the book are too problematic. For example, it is grossly incorrect to claim that the NEC of the ANC has "... many members of the South African Communist Party" and that this is after all the reason why the Soviet Union continues to support our struggle (p 161). It is also disturbing that the author refers now and again to 'terrorists' as if the ANC is a terrorist organisation. He also refers to Radio Freedom broadcasts from Ethiopia as 'bloodthirsty (pp.20, 195, 161, 216, etc. etc.). Why 'bloodthirsty'?

However, this book must be read by all comrades. The tycoons are scared of the revolution. apartheid is crumbling. Revolutionaries are winning. All these come out in the book.

TZ

KLIPTOWN BOOKS

Kliptown Books, a new publishing venture from International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, will be launched with the production of three new books in July this year. Named after the place where the Freedom Charter was adopted in 1955, **Kliptown Books** hopes to provide an effective outlet for South African and future Namibian writers who are specifically contributing to shaping the prospect for the advance of liberation from hope to reality.

Kliptown Books' first three titles reflect the wide range of literature that this publishing house hopes to present.

Escape from Pretoria, by Tim Jenkin, is a real-life political escape thriller, the true story of the break-out of three White political prisoners from Pretoria Central Prison in 1979 (£5.00).

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A Tough Tale, by Mongane Wally Serote, is the latest poem by this internationally acclaimed exiled South African poet (£3.00).

Orders should be sent to:

Kliptown Books, 64 Essex Road, London N1 8LR

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7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

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