



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

JULY 1985

## DEATHS IN DETENTION



## PEOPLE PROTEST

# SECHABA

## JULY ISSUE 1985

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## **Murders Amidst Talks of 'Reform'**

These days P W Botha talks less about 'reforms.' He is interested in the maintenance of 'law and order.' In the course of the maintenance of 'law and order' more than 108 people have lost their lives in the area of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage alone. Many more have been injured, detained and arrested.

At least four people have been killed in detention since March. They are Bheki Mvulane of Katlehong and trade unionists Andries Raditsela of Brakpan, Siphon Mutsi of Odendaalsrus and Mohammed Allie Razak of Newclare. A fellow-detainee of Mvulane says:

"I saw a White policeman in Katlehong Police Station fling Bheki against the wall, and when he crashed on the floor another officer trampled him on the head. He collapsed and never gained consciousness."

Bheki was hospitalised — the family became aware that something was amiss only when he failed to appear in court with the rest of the accused on March 7th. He died on March 29th. The police version is that Bheki did not die in detention but in hospital!

Andries Raditsela, Transvaal Vice-President of FOSATU, was arrested on May 4th. On the same day he was taken to Baragwanath Hospital by police vehicle. On May 6th he was released from Baragwanath Hospital, and on the same day and at the same place — Baragwanath — he died. Attorneys acting for the family say police arrived at their Johannesburg offices and seized a document relating to investigations concerning his death — a statement by a key witness.

It has now been revealed that at least 50 unidentified bodies were buried in a secret mass burial attended by police at Zwide cemetery near Port Elizabeth. These bodies were buried in ten mass graves. The coffins were brought to the cemetery by a hearse with a Cape Town registration number, a Toyota and a police Landrover. Zwide cemetery caretaker Lawrence Mshumpela had not been issued with burial orders — 50 people buried without his knowledge. The police were there at the burial. There is also an incident of the discovery of the body of a man secretly buried in strife-torn KwaNobuhle.

What about the disappearances which are increasingly becoming common? COSAS leader, Eddie

Jabu Maluleke of Meadowlands, and Sharpeville's Francis Tehleho Korotsoane have disappeared. So have PEBCO's leaders in Port Elizabeth: Siphon Hashe, General Secretary; Qaqawuli Godolozzi, President, and Champion Galela, Organising Secretary. These incidents are reminiscent of the disappearance in 1981 of Siphon Mthimkhulu, a Port Elizabeth student leader who went missing after being released from detention. When he came out of detention he was paralysed — in a wheel chair.

There is a pattern in all these detentions, secret mass burials, killings in detention and disappearances. The aim is repression of internal resistance — maintenance of 'law and order.'

This is connected with another aspect, namely destabilisation and attack on the front line states. On May 22nd the Ministry of Defence of Angola issued the following communique:

"... at 17.30 on Tuesday 21st May 1985, a South African sabotage unit was surprised by a FAPLA patrol when attempting to destroy the Malongo oil installations in Cabinda.

"As a result of the prompt action of the Angolan armed forces, two soldiers of the South African army were killed and another, also a South African, was captured. The following military equipment was seized:

- One 'Sincal' short wave radio set
- Two A-84 ultra-short wave radio sets
- One radio signalling set
- One walkie talkie
- Three 9 mm pistols
- Three sterling guns with silencers
- Sixteen contact mines
- Two incendiary bombs
- Nine rucksacks
- Ten canteens
- Four packages containing assorted highly powerful explosives
- Large quantities of medicines

"As can be seen, South Africa, while simulating the withdrawal of its troops from southern Angola, is now attempting new military adventures in the north of our country, giving the lie to its propaganda ..."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

If there is any doubt about Pretoria's aggressive stance, intentions and activities internally and externally, these are some of the facts.

# THE FREEDOM CHARTER IS OUR LODESTAR

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Criticism of the Freedom Charter has lately been coming from a Committee calling itself the 'National Forum' and launched by certain individuals in South Africa as an organisational opposition to the United Democratic Front (UDF). At its founding conference, the National Forum adopted a number of resolutions as well as a "Manifesto of the Azanian People," which is meant to be an alternative document to the Freedom Charter. As reported by the *Rand Daily Mail* of the 13th June, 1983:

"... a separate bid for unity has been started by the National Forum Committee, made up largely of Black Consciousness groups ... The National Forum, according to Mr Mkhabela of AZAPO, is not an organisation but only a committee intended to facilitate joint discussions among Black groups."

At the end of this National Forum Conference (there have been others ever since to ratify the 'Manifesto') the conference adopted the "Manifesto of the Azanian People" (which we shall hereafter refer to as the Azanian Manifesto), identifying "racial capitalism" as the real enemy of the oppressed people of South Africa, and pledging to work for the establishment of an "anti-racist, socialist Republic." Readers of the South African press will remember how even *The Pace* magazine issue of September, 1983 (a magazine that does very well in promoting showbiz but which dismally fails to give one a good political portrait of South Africa) commented about the "historic" significance of the adoption of this Azanian Manifesto:

"The oppressed people now have two documents setting out what the struggle is all about; the Charter on the one hand, and the Manifesto, which follows the Black Consciousness line, on the other."

One cannot help marvelling at the inability of this magazine to comprehend the significance of the Freedom Charter in the history of South Africa.

After 30 years of the adoption of our Freedom Charter, it is timely to examine its relevance in South Africa, and equally to examine some aspects of its latest critics and to evaluate the worth of their "alternative" Azanian Manifesto.

## Congress of the People

If *The Pace* magazine (which announced the adoption of this 'Manifesto' with the air of historical importance) imagines that the Congress of the People that adopted the Freedom Charter in 1955 was something similar to the National Forum Conference that was held in Hammanskraal from Saturday the 11th to Sunday the 12th June 1983, then it needs to research the historical facts thoroughly, and correct its distorted vision of history.

What were the circumstances, conditions, preparations and level of mass participation in the adoption of the Freedom Charter as different from the adoption of the Azanian Manifesto?

Probably little is known today of the Congress of the People, and most certainly the vast majority of the leaders of the Anti-Freedom Charter trend, who make up the advocates of this Manifesto, either do not remember this historic event or have hardly worried themselves to assess its historic magnitude in the liberation struggle.

During the 1953 Queenstown Conference of the African National Congress the National Executive Committee was instructed to make immediate preparations for the organisation of a mass assembly of delegates elected by people of all races in every town, village, farm,

factory, mine and kraal — to be known as the Congress of the People, whose tasks should be to work out a Freedom Charter for all the people and groups of the country. To this end the National Executive Committee was to invite the whole Congress movement as well as other democratic organisations to obtain their co-operative support in creating a truly representative convention of the people of South Africa.

According to the document entitled, *Congress of the People* that was annexed to the report of the National Executive Committee at the Tongati Conference of March 21st 1954 (where Chief Luthuli was banned and banished):

"The South African people's movement can be proud of its record of unbroken struggle for rights and liberty, but never before have the mass of South African citizens been summoned together to proclaim their desire and aspirations in a single declaration — a Charter of Freedom.

"The drawing up and adopting of such a charter of freedom is the purpose for which the Congress of the People has been called. Never in South African history have the ordinary people of this country been enabled to take part in deciding their own fate and future. Elections have been restricted to a small minority of the population; franchise rights, particularly in recent times, have been threatened and curtailed. There is a need to hear the voice of the ordinary citizen of this land, proclaiming to the world his demands for freedom."

Indeed, the Congress of the People finally became the biggest single gathering of representatives of the people's grievances ever known in South Africa. But we are rushing an issue here. First, how was this Congress of the People organised?

### **The Country Made Aware**

Firstly, the whole country was made aware of the coming Congress of the People, and various organisers were given the task to imbue the masses of the oppressed people with the feeling of the tremendous importance of such a gathering. A zealous campaign of printed propaganda was launched, side by side with hundreds of meetings and house-to-house canvasses, as well as group discussions. The main

purpose of this activity was to get the people to speak for themselves, and to state what changes must be made in South Africa if they are to enjoy freedom. "LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM," said one popular leaflet:

"And of the happiness that can come to men and women if they live in a land that is free. LET US SPEAK TOGETHER OF FREEDOM. And of how to get it for ourselves, and for our children. Let the voice of all the people be heard. And let the demands of all the people for the things that will make us free be recorded. Let the demands be gathered together in a great Charter of Freedom."

The leaflet called on all who loved liberty to pledge their lives to win the freedom that would be set out in the Freedom Charter.

Every demand made by the people at these gatherings, however small the matter, was recorded and collected for consideration by the Congress of the People for inclusion in the Freedom Charter. In this way, the Freedom Charter became, not only in principle but also in actuality, the charter of the people, the content of which has its source in their homes, in the factories, mines and rural reserves. The task of the organisers of the Congress of the People (who were called Freedom Volunteers) was not to write the demands on behalf of the people, as the Azanian Manifesto was manufactured in Hammanskraal, but to collect them and to enlighten the people on the radical changes that such a campaign could make in the South African situation. By sneering at the Freedom Charter and calling it an ANC, or even a Kliptown, document, some people forget that the Charter was, in fact, produced not by the ANC but by the people of South Africa. The ANC only adopted this Charter as its policy document as advised in a Presidential address by Professor Z K Matthews, then acting on behalf of Chief Luthuli, who was banned and confined to the Lower Tugela district:

"I shall therefore not say anything about it (the Freedom Charter) at this stage except to remind you that the Freedom Charter was drawn up, not by the African National Congress but by the Con-

gress of the People, and it is therefore necessary for you to ratify the Freedom Charter and to make it part, if you so desire, of the policy of the African National Congress."

Delegates to the Congress of the People subsequently came from all the four corners of our country. They came on foot, in buses, in trains — yes, the whole trip to Kliptown near Johannesburg took place in an atmosphere of a great political demonstration. Freedom processions greeted delegates in every town they passed through. As the call of the National Action Council had said:

"Where possible, Freedom trains should be arranged to carry delegates, but where funds are not available for this, delegates should band together on a Freedom March, even though it may take some days for them to reach the Congress."

Our people gathered together in Kliptown to speak of freedom. Of the total of 2 884 delegates, 721 were women. There were 2 186 African delegates, 320 Indian delegates, 230 Coloured delegates, as well as 112 Whites. Hundreds of delegates were prevented from coming by the action of the police.

"There were several wonderful things about the Congress of the People,"

said Professor Z K Matthews:

"The first is the fact that it was held at all. Here for the first time was a Congress which brought together people drawn from all sections of the population to consider and give expression to their vision of the South Africa of the future. The sponsoring organisations issue a challenge to any other group of organisations including the Nationalist Party to convene a similar conference and whether they could evoke an equal or better response from the people of South Africa."

It was not the National Forum Conference, but instead the founding of the United Democratic Front, that evoked in the decade of the eighties a response from the people of South Africa that was equal to the Congress of the People in 1955. As *Ukusa* reported (Vol. 2, No. 40, 1983):

"The meeting on August 20th to launch the United Democratic Front (UDF) is being describ-

ed as a day of unity. Over 15 000 people from all over the country and all races came together under the banner of the UDF in Rockford, Cape Town, to reject the Government's new apartheid policies. A national executive of the UDF was elected from amongst 2 000 delegates representing community, worker, student, religious, sporting and political organisations. The delegates represented hundreds of organisations from Natal, Transvaal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Orange Free State and the Border region."

Was it not Karl Marx who wrote in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur, as it were, twice? Indeed, even in South Africa, the dead of the Congress of the People rose up again in the eighties — as Marx correctly had remarked in the same work:

"The tradition of all the dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living. And just when they seem engaged in revolutionising themselves and things, in creating something that has never yet existed, precisely in such periods of revolutionary crisis they anxiously conjure up the spirits of the past to their service and borrow from them names, battle cries and costumes in order to present the new scene of world history in this time-honoured disguise and this borrowed language."

Thus Dr Allan Boesak donned the mask of Professor Z K Matthews, for although the former could freely express himself on the recent conditions that prevail in our country and the necessity for change, his language was always translated back into the gathering in Kliptown, for in great historical events the new perform the tasks of the time in the costumes and traditions of all dead generations.

On the other hand, no sooner had the National Forum Conference been announced to the press, than it was rejected by four organisations that had been tricked into participation in it. This rejection of the National Forum came about immediately the participants started criticising the Freedom Charter and calling it all manner of derogatory names, even suggesting to the delegates that it was an antique piece ready to be deposited in a museum. The article in the *Pace* magazine spelt this out clearly (pp.24-25):

"... Since 1958 (sic) the Freedom Charter has generally been regarded in Black politics as the 'Constitution of the People' although there has always been a measure of dissent ... but this changed dramatically when in the fashion of the Congress of the People, the National Forum Committee called all the oppressed people to a meeting in Hammanskraal ... There have been documents before, but none ever caused as much of a storm and threatened to widen the gap between two political schools of thought among Blacks as the Manifesto is doing ... Even the rift between the student organisation AZASM on the one hand and AZASO and COSAS on the other, seemed to widen further as they were forced to take sides. COSAS and AZASO declared their commitment to the Charter while AZASM stood for the Manifesto. In fact, organisations which support the Manifesto do not even regard the Charter as an alternative. As far as they are concerned, it is already in the archives and not worth a debate."

This criticism of the Freedom Charter at this Conference (as already pointed out) led to the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU), the General and Allied Workers' Union (GAWU), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and the Azanian Students' Organisation (AZASO) dissociating themselves from the National Forum and issuing to the press the following statement, which was printed in *The Sowetan* of the 24th June, 1983:

"We reiterate our uncompromising commitment to the historic Freedom Charter as the only democratic document drafted in the history of the liberation struggle. The Charter stands out from all other alternatives for change in South Africa, not only because of the manner in which it came into being, but also because of the demands reflected in it. It can, therefore, never be substituted without the will of the majority. Any attempt by an individual or group to discredit or undermine it can only be seen as an act of betrayal to the aspirations of all the people of South Africa."

It is noteworthy that the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress saw the need to address the people of South Africa and to warn against this anti-Freedom Charter trend, which poses as a super-

revolutionary and 'socialist' phenomenon. In the June 26th statement of the same year, the NEC said:

"We further call on the struggling people of our country to be vigilant in the face of the determined efforts of those who, while posing as socialists, champions of the working class and defenders of Black pride, seek to divide the people and divert them from the pursuit of the goals enshrined in the Freedom Charter. Through their activities, these elements show hatred for the Charter and for mass united action, no less virulent than that displayed by the Pretoria regime."

The organisers of the National Forum Conference will most probably tell us that they were organising a forum for discussion and to create unity of the oppressed people against the Botha Constitution and the Koornhof Genocide Bills. There is not the slightest doubt that any attempt at unifying the oppressed people for a determined struggle against the fraudulent constitution and death bills is a good thing. No one is arguing against the fact that the building of unity is and remains the paramount task for all politically conscious South Africans irrespective of their ideological persuasion. But the banner of 'Unity' must not be a false signboard; the cry for unity must not be made to conceal disuniting activities and intentions, which, it is hoped, the masses of our people will not be able to see.

Now, at the height of the efforts to form a united front of lovers of freedom and democracy to oppose the Botha constitutional fraud, when the masses of our people were rallying around the Freedom Charter, when everyone was moved by the desire to preserve people's unity against oppression and to demonstrate the political strength and the moral prestige of our freedom struggle in the formation of the United Democratic Front — at this very time, the National Forum Committee suddenly, without the slightest apparent need, called for a conference to adopt some "Manifesto of the Azanian People." Can such an effort be called unity?

As for the critics of the Freedom Charter, for them to flout the decisions of a truly

representative historic Congress of the People, which drew up the Freedom Charter, and equally to disregard the overwhelming democratic opinion of the mass movement at present taking shape in South Africa, for them to dissociate themselves from those solemn demands for people's democracy, is to advocate, at best, opportunism and, at worst, functionalism.

### **The Freedom Charter, a Uniting Force**

The Freedom Charter is a statement of aims, it is a definition of the goals of our liberation movement, it is the sum total of our national democratic aspirations and the new democratic life that we need. On the basis of the Freedom Charter are founded the corner-stones of our principles of freedom and democracy. The Freedom Charter attempts, as Chief Albert Luthuli said in his autobiography, *Let My People Go*:

"to give flesh and blood meaning in the South African setting, to such words as democracy, freedom, liberty. If the Charter is examined it will be seen that freedom means the opening up of the opportunity to all South Africans to live full and abundant lives in terms of country, community and individual."

The defeat of the racist regime of South Africa depends on every fighter for freedom grasping fully the meaning, significance and purpose of the Freedom Charter. The Charter is no patchwork collection of utopian demands, it is no jumble of reforms clothed in socialist rhetoric, but a uniting force of all the people struggling for democracy and for their national rights; it is therefore a mirror of a South Africa yet to be won. Its ten clauses expose our national oppression by a racist autocracy and our national exploitation by foreign imperialist interests. Since its adoption in 1955, the Freedom Charter has crystallised the ideological trend of the progressive movements in South Africa.

It is a revolutionary document indeed because its implementation is impossible without the complete dismantling of the whole State of White supremacy and the political and economic foundation on which it is founded.

Approached in a proper spirit, the Freedom Charter is indeed a uniting force for those who want liberation in South Africa. It is with this reason in mind that Nelson Mandela wrote in an article, *Freedom in Our Lifetime in Liberation* of June 1956:

"Few people will deny, therefore, that the adoption of the Charter is an event of major political significance in the life of this country ... Never before has any document or conference been so widely acclaimed and discussed by the democratic movement in South Africa. Never before has any document or conference constituted such a serious and formidable challenge to the racial and anti-popular policies of the country. For the first time in the history of our country the democratic forces, irrespective of race, *ideological conviction, party affiliation* or religious belief have renounced and discarded racialism in all its ramifications, clearly defined their aims and objects and united in a common programme of action." (my emphasis)

Yet for the advocates of the Azanian Manifesto this political stand of the Freedom Charter is not revolutionary enough, for they, as the masters of the theory of socialism, want to bring about a socialist workers' republic in "Azania"! Says the general secretary of Azapo in the October issue of *Drum* magazine:

"The problem with the Charter seems to be that it is co-optable by the capitalist structure. The Manifesto of the Azanian people is socialist. The Charterists have a block ... they get into a dead end street."

Yes, it is true, as we shall demonstrate in greater detail later, unlike the Azanian Manifesto (which pretends to be socialist), the Freedom Charter is not a socialist document but a national democratic document. The Freedom Charter is based on the historic realities of our country, and one of those realities is that all Black people, workers and non-workers, are nationally oppressed and are consequently involved in a national democratic revolution. The Freedom Charter thus asserts the necessity for the creation of a people's government as a principled alternative to racist apartheid rule.



Political struggle is not a game of rag dolls. What appears to be rag dolls to our anti-Freedom Charterists are actually people, men and women struggling against Pass Laws, Group Areas, Bantu Education, land dispossession, fascist brutality, low wages, super-exploitation, and so on; in short, fighting for national freedom and democracy. To ignore this, to favour only the production of slogans that correspond more with one's fancy than concrete reality, would be childish playing at politics, and irresponsibility.

Perhaps the protagonists of the Azanian Manifesto are sincere socialists and not "ideologically lost political bandits" as Zinzi

Mandela called them — however, their probable sincerity is not the point. We know of a lot of socialists in South Africa who have great respect for our Freedom Charter, and equally (if not more than anybody else) who fight for its realisation. The point is, why do the 'socialist' gentlemen of Azania scorn a democratic programme for a people's republic? Why do they (for the sake of socialism) want to skip the national democratic revolution, skipping the political interests of the people as a whole?

*(Parts 2, 3 and 4 of this article will appear in the August, September and October issues of Sechaba.)*



*Today, the aims of the Freedom Charter are the focus of many political meetings in South Africa.*

# COUNTERING APARTHEID PROPAGANDA

The Commonwealth summit in New Delhi in 1983 decided that concrete steps should be taken in countering apartheid and/or pro-apartheid propaganda. It was in the realisation of this New Delhi mandate that the Commonwealth Secretariat (based in London), jointly with the United Nations Committee Against Apartheid, organised a workshop on this theme on May 20th-22nd. More than 100 people representing Commonwealth countries attended this workshop. In this short report we shall not be able to recount all their ideas, suggestions and recommendations. We shall try and summarise some of them.

In his keynote address, Shridath Ramphal, the Commonwealth Secretary-General, outlined the history of relations between the Commonwealth and apartheid South Africa since 1957, when Ghana became independent. This automatically led to South Africa's expulsion in 1961, and this led to the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977, and down to the decisions of the New Delhi Summit of 1983.

"The decision to launch a Commonwealth initiative against South African propaganda is therefore part of a long struggle against apartheid,"

he said.

Donald Trelford, editor of *The Observer*, dealt with aspects of the language of apartheid propaganda:

"Bad thoughts provoke bad language,"

he said. Apartheid language is bent and twisted to find ways to defend the indefensible:

"Mealy-mouthed phrases are invented to describe the reality, because the truth is too brutal for people to bear ... Political language about South Africa has to consist largely of such euphemisms, question-begging and sheer cloudy vagueness ... (this leads people to turn) instinctively to long words, Latin phrases and other exhausted idioms. The politics of South Africa are a mass of lies, evasions, folly, hatred and schizophrenia, and

the first victim in all this is the language itself. Too often the media tamely take their cue from the South African authorities and fail to translate their evasive circumlocutions into the language of everyday life."

The Muldergate scandal, he said, did not mean the abandonment of the aims and contents of apartheid propaganda:

"All that was denounced was the failure to keep accounts, and the misuse of some of the money. The clean-up ordered by Botha afterwards related only to this financial abuse, not to the lies and secrecy. These go on."

The fact that Pik Botha, the Foreign Minister, is now also the supremo of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, which has a monopoly of television and radio services, tells the whole story.

## Western Collaboration With Apartheid

Kader Asmal was emphasising the point of Western collaboration with apartheid, when he said:

"... the problem of the media's reaction to and representation of apartheid is a problem for the West ...

"The principal issue is not even South Africa's capacity, either through 'Muldergate'-type operations or the open advertising in Western papers of the spending of millions of pounds lobbying against disinvestment campaigns or in support of Botha's 'reform' policies. The heart of the issue is that relations with South Africa are seen as that of the normal process of relations between states and journalists."

The implications of apartheid propaganda in West Africa were dealt with by Cameron Duodu, a Ghanaian journalist based in London. There are many problems for journalists in independent Africa. There is apartheid's drive for markets, landing rights and a foothold in the expanding African industrial base; contacts between Pretoria and African governments; technical difficulties of producing newspapers, the inexperience of African jour-

nalists and their dependence on Western news media and agency — besides their lack of knowledge and understanding of apartheid and appreciation of the difficulties and successes of the liberation movements.

This has led to some pessimism among some African journalists: the liberation struggle is unwinnable! or 'disappointment' with the liberation movements: the Africans in South Africa have 'allowed' a minority of Whites to dominate them!

Duodu says these problems have led:

"Most journalists (to) think it is enough merely to attach 'apartheid' to every mention of South Africa, and that it is even better if the word, 'racist,' comes before 'apartheid' — 'racist apartheid South African police today opened fire on rampaging Africans who rioted during a funeral,' or 'racist apartheid South African police today said a Black trade union leader, who died in detention, fell in his cell and knocked his head on the concrete floor.'"

The problem here is that adding 'racist' and 'apartheid' does not solve the problem, because images such as, "rampaging Africans who rioted," and a Black trade union leader who "knocked his head on the concrete floor" of a detention cell are nothing but apartheid propaganda.

Duodu made a concrete point:

"I suggest to the liberation movements that whenever their representatives travel to African capitals, they should find time to go and talk to media men, at their places of work, rather than wait to be interviewed in their hotels. It is at the news desk that the problem is. A chat with the editor himself may not yield any great dividends, whereas a man-to-man talk with the chaps on the desk will open their eyes, get them to look up background material more often, and thereby improve coverage of the struggle."

Comrade Nathan Shamuyarira, Minister of Information of Zimbabwe, dealt with the distortion of African news that stems from what he called the "fly-in-by-night correspondent," and said Zimbabwe prefers a resident correspondent:

"The continuing negative images of independent Africa, and the support of the South African state, are not mistakes, but choices of policy made by the news-makers."

He reported about the attempts of SADCC to free itself — even in the field of information — from dependence on Pretoria. He talked about the destabilisation manoeuvres of Pretoria, for example, Radio Truth and/or Radio Venda:

"beamed at a tribal section of the Zimbabwe population, and other clandestine radio stations, stationed and operated inside South Africa but beamed to various SADCC countries. The official Radio RSA has an extensive external broadcasting service that distorts and slants news about Africa, and especially the OAU and the Front Line States. In Zimbabwe, we have warned the South Africans that we are going to reply positively to their information aggression. We plan to establish an external service of the Zimbabwe broadcasting corporation in the next financial year. It will be beamed to the broad masses of South Africa and Namibia, and provide a link between them and the progressive peoples and organisations who support them. We are willing to join hands with any member of the Commonwealth on this project. The broadcasts will be prepared by the liberation movements of South Africa."

These, and many more concrete suggestions, were made by people like General J Garba, Chairman of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Abdul Minty of the World Campaign Against Nuclear and Military Collaboration with South Africa.

The most controversial paper at this Commonwealth workshop was the study by Donald Woods, former editor of the East London *Daily Dispatch*. The ANC and other anti-apartheid movements expressed their concern about the way Donald Woods presented his case, about inaccuracies and misinterpretation, and therefore misrepresentation, of the history of the ANC and its policy. The paper which was presented to the workshop by the ANC put the record straight, and we publish it here.

# APARTHEID PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE

*This was the paper presented by the ANC to the Commonwealth Media Workshop on Countering Apartheid Propaganda, held in London on the 20th to the 22nd May, 1985.*

## **Perspective on Propaganda**

The Pretoria regime considers propaganda as a vital weapon in its efforts to secure internal and external support for its policies. The perspective was set out by the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, Hertzog, when the state broadcasting network for Africans, Radio Bantu, was established:

**"The radio is the only way to get through to the Bantu and to reach his soul. It has an important role to play in the creation of good relations and goodwill between white and black ... The establishment of Radio Bantu is an even greater security measure for the country than the police force, and for that reason the whole population must help put it on a sound footing."**

*(Die Transvaler, 4.3.64. Our emphasis)*

Today, the regime's propaganda reaches the furthest corner of our country. Dozens of publications with a total print order of millions are produced annually in all languages. Radio Bantu, which is part of the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), broadcasts for over 700 hours weekly in at least seven African languages. Its message is specific: emphasis on language and separate identity, focus on Bantustans and the advantages of separate development in contrast with the 'tribal conflicts' and 'oppression by majorities' in independent African countries, the dangers of 'communism' and of 'the Cubans in Angola'.

The message beamed to whites on different frequencies is also tailored, and according to one of the SABC's annual reports:

**"Because of the dangerous times we live in, the television service made a point of stressing the need for spiritual, economic and military preparedness'.**

The regime's accumulated experience over many years in targeting audiences defined as significant groups in terms of apartheid policies domestically is utilised in its external propaganda which is pursued with systematic purpose, skilful packaging and strategic planning.

In 1974, as the fall of Salazar heralded the impending victories of Frelimo and MPLA, the Minister of Information told the all-white parliament:

**"My department will not remain on the defensive — we have now gone over to the offensive. We are now equipped with an area map, so to speak, on which we can intelligently base our strategy, a map which shows up enemy strength and weaknesses and their respective positions."**

The implementation of this strategy in propaganda initiatives within South Africa and across the borders is most clearly discerned in the expansion of South African broadcasting over the next few years. In 1974, there were four all-day services in African languages inside South Africa and Namibia. By 1977 there were eleven. In Namibia, the Damara-Nama Service and the Herero Service became all-day services and the areas they covered were in-

creased, and a new Kavango Service was set up. Within South Africa, in the north-east Transvaal, the Tsonga and Venda services became separate and each, together with the North Sotho and Tswana services, became all-day services. Within the Zulu service, there was an expansion of programmes in Swazi and Ndebele. South African border areas and the southern African region emerged clearly as the target area. A Lozi service aimed at eastern Caprivi and Zambia was established, the Portuguese service was expanded and a special weekly programme in Tsonga was aimed at southern Mozambique.

The growing ascendancy of the military, of which PW Botha is the civilian voice, has led to even greater stress being laid on propaganda. It has been the oft-stated belief of Magnus Malan and other army chiefs that their victory will depend on 'winning the hearts and minds of the people,' with only 20% of the ultimate victory being provided by military measures.

Their assessment holds true for South Africa and Namibia, and no less so in the regime's war to gain international acceptability for itself and its policies.

#### **Propaganda as an Instrument of Policy**

Pretoria's propaganda efforts are not confined to a general public relations exercise, but are conceived and planned like a military campaign, as one aspect of the regime's overall strategy for furthering apartheid. The particular image promoted, the proposition put forward, the specific idea being furthered at any time as well as the prioritised targets are dictated by tactical considerations, and can change dramatically as necessity dictates. To concentrate on any of these in isolation carries the danger that counter propaganda would focus on concepts and targets that may have been shifted already, changed their character or be no longer of importance.

Therefore, an *a priori* condition for any successful attempt to counter South Africa's pro-

### THE TERRORISTS EAT YOUR FOOD



### THE S.A. SOLDIER HELPS YOU GROW THEM.

*Crude SADF propaganda for 'winning hearts and minds.'*

paganda is an appreciation of the direct relationship between the regime's propaganda and its objectives, and an understanding of its strategy for survival based on continuing political assessment. Such an assessment would illuminate the propaganda objectives and relate them to specific target countries.

### **The Apartheid Regime's Current Objectives and Strategy**

A significant section of the Nationalist Party had concluded that apartheid rule could not survive unaltered long before Botha exhorted his supporters to 'adapt or die.' Since the 1970s, the regime has not been able to decisively wrest the political initiative away from the people of South Africa and the international forces mobilised in support of their national liberation struggle, amongst whom the Commonwealth has played a positive role. Rather, it has had to continuously react and respond to internal resistance and external pressure.

The sudden conversion to 'dialogue' and 'detente' in the mid-Seventies was a tactic designed to cope with collapsing Portuguese colonialism. Similarly, the so-called 'reforms' in South Africa have been a response to continuing popular resistance, the escalating armed struggle, and mounting international pressure. As the pressures have continued to intensify, the regime has sought to pre-empt for itself the role of recognised initiator and agent of change in our country. But the entire process of articulating change is a defensive stance to protect apartheid, not attack or dismantle it.

The objectives and strategy can be summarised thus:

#### ■ Inside South Africa:

The entrenchment of apartheid by:

1. Continued repression to try and undermine the people's determination to resist and destroy all democratic forces in the country especially the national liberation movement — the ANC.

2. Constitutional and other changes to rearrange power relationships in the country.

(a) The total exclusion of the African majority from the South African polity and the attempt to shift the question of their political and

economic rights into considerations of 'privileges' that may be extended to 'aliens' from the Bantustans.

(b) The transfer of effective power to an executive president with non-elective committees dominated by the military and technocrats.

(c) The creation of allegedly representative bodies with limited delegated powers which are arranged to ensure continued white domination of decision-making, but which seek to incorporate Coloured and Indian South Africans.

3. The attempted division of the oppressed in order both to weaken united opposition and in the interests of apartheid ideology, and counterposing their interests: permanent urban blacks versus rural based migrant workers; Xhosa versus Venda speakers; Coloured versus African workers etc.

4. The fostering and imposition of client black leaders between the regime and the oppressed majority: community councillors, 'chiefs' in rural settlements, Bantustan 'presidents', 'chief ministers', 'cabinets', Coloured and Indian parliamentarians and ministers.

#### ■ Externally there are two objectives:

1. Securing the rejection of the position long established in international law and the practice of the UN, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and other bodies, that the international community has a responsibility for the elimination of the crime of apartheid and that the people of South Africa are conducting a legitimate struggle for their right to self determination and independence.

2. Obtaining recognition of apartheid South Africa as the *de facto* regional power with whom the major powers and others have to treat on the basis of accepting that developments in the region are dependent on its acquiescence and solutions subject to its veto; by:

(a) Seeking by coercion and aggression to legitimise the extension across its borders of the attempt to destroy the ANC and secure the internal power base.

(b) Undermining the SADCC, preventing the consolidation of independence of countries in the region, weakening them by military,

political and economic actions and many-faceted destabilisations, thereby trying to ensure that they are unable to support our national liberation struggle or withstand being incorporated into South Africa's sphere of influence. It should be noted that the regime has not succeeded in destroying the ANC or in preventing support for its objectives, nor have the countries in the region succumbed to Pretoria — though the regime's propaganda has to some extent succeeded in masking these facts.

(c) Preventing the independence of Namibia and maintaining its illegal military occupation.

(d) Providing a base for a renewed imperialist offensive in Africa to roll back the political and economic gains of the last 25 years and firmly establish a lasting neo-colonial control over the continent.

### **Current Strategy Translated Into Propaganda Objectives**

Pretoria's propaganda seeks to throw a veil over this reality and to shift international attention away from what is happening in the country and the region, and to focus it instead on the role of the regime as the reformer in South Africa and the peace monger in the region.

In the past three years in particular, but beginning before that, the major thrust of the regime's propaganda has been on the promotion of PW Botha and his regime as determinedly engaged in the difficult task of changing apartheid — in the face of right wing white opposition and a total onslaught orchestrated by Moscow and implemented by the ANC and its allies.

This has been superimposed on the ongoing propaganda that presents South Africa as the strongest economic and military power in the region, the upholder of western values and civilisation, the staunch opponent of Communism and bulwark against its infiltration of the Continent, and the strategic ally of the west. Such a magical transformation of the oppressor and international criminal into the reformer and liberator and its consequences may appear far-fetched, but the policy of 'constructive engagement' which is based on exactly these

premises, as is the policy of at least one member of the Commonwealth. The western media generally presents this version of reality to its public.

The need to eradicate apartheid is transmuted into notions of 'change' and 'reform', and attempts are made to limit our people's struggle within the confines of a civil rights movement. An analogy with the United States was repeatedly drawn by Andrew Young in 1975/76, and recently features in the regime's own propaganda and that of its collaborators. The legal and constitutional differences between the United States and South Africa are blurred by ignoring the fact that black Americans were seeking enforcement of their constitutional right to equality, whereas under apartheid the laws and constitution are themselves the source of inequality and entrench the discriminatory system throughout society. The constitution which denies access to political power to the majority, itself has to be overthrown and the system destroyed through a struggle for national liberation.

Through acceptance of such propaganda, and considering the liberation movement as, at best, peripheral in changing apartheid, we are denied opportunities in the western media to interpret events in our country, put forward our people's perspective or argue the case for sanctions.

A corollary of the presentation of the Pretoria regime as the agent of change is the categorisation of those who oppose Botha and his reforms as 'communists', 'extremists' etc., enemies of the peaceful change inside South Africa and the disruptors of peace in the region. This fits in with the strategy of discrediting the genuine opposition and the ANC in particular. At the same time efforts are made to impose and build up the image of alternative leaders who would support the regime and give credibility to its professions of reformist intent.

By such distortions the regime tries to establish for itself the legitimacy denied it by our people, undermine the recognition of the legitimacy of our people's struggle, and simultaneously to bring the national liberation

movement within the offensive against 'international terrorism.'

The propaganda offensive is designed to bring the following immediate results:

■ 1. To deflect criticism from the regime and its policies. Focussing attention on the regime's intentions rather than on the people of South Africa and their conditions serves to limit consideration of the impact of apartheid policies on them. When the harsh brutality of apartheid does impinge, efforts are made to present them in the context of a society in which major changes are taking place and where upheavals are to be expected. The most recent illustration of this is provided by the comments of Dennis Worrall after the Uitenhage massacres, when he tried to equate those events with the 'incidents' in the United States at the peak of the civil rights struggle. There is, in any case, no longer any defensiveness about apartheid. Not only are the crude racist and theological justifications largely abandoned, but the entire basis of the propaganda is that the regime is foremost amongst the genuine (as distinct from agitational) critics of racial discrimination and brutality and has no intention of perpetuating such a system.

In this connection note the comments to this effect of Pik Botha at the United Nations, Brand Fourie in the United States, P W Botha in South Africa and Dennis Worrall in London.

■ 2. To reduce support for international action especially sanctions. Those who continue to collaborate with apartheid can argue that since the regime is 'reforming' apartheid not only are sanctions unnecessary but existing pressure needs to be relaxed by way of encouragement and in order to allow the right wing internal critics of Botha to be shown the tangible benefits of his policies.

■ 3. To pre-empt control not only of the pace of change but more importantly its content and direction by securing recognition of itself as the reformer and agent of change. Thus the new constitution which excludes all Africans from the political decision making in the country, entrenches white domination and accords perpetual subordinate roles to Coloured and Indian South Africans, was

presented and acclaimed in even the 'liberal' western media as 'a step in the right direction,' an 'exercise in power sharing,' and 'a major and courageous step forward.' It was only the total rejection of this reform manifested in the boycott of elections, and in the bloodletting in our townships since, that has led to any significant attempt by the western media to see beyond the propaganda glitter.

■ 4. To gain acceptance and support for its policies, and undermine the International Convention for the Suppression and Elimination of the Crime of Apartheid. While no longer trying to defend overt racism, Pretoria does try and aggressively sell apartheid 'separate development' ideology. Its policies and methods are put forward as the answer to multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-tribal, multi-national societies and counterposed in particular to the problems faced by ex-colonial countries in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean who have tried to develop on the basis of national unity and nation building.

This aspect of South African propaganda is particularly subversive; it presents a continuing danger to the states neighbouring South Africa which are the major targets, and runs counter to the ethos and underlying principles of the Commonwealth. In March 1961, the leader of a yet to be independent Tanganyika recognised and enunciated the ideological conflict:

"Their (South African) policies are a daily challenge to the basic concept of the Commonwealth. Neutrality is not possible ... Inevitably, therefore, we are forced to say that to vote South Africa in is to vote us out."

True to its principles, the Commonwealth voted South Africa out, and that leader, Julius Nyerere, President of Tanzania, is today the longest serving Commonwealth leader.

But the insidious propaganda continues, as Pretoria capitalises on the legacy of colonialism and sows new seeds of disunity and subversion within the countries of southern Africa. Its ultimate objective is to weaken its neighbours, subvert the SADCC, increase dependence and facilitate the incorporation of



the region into a South African dominated constellation of states within which its Bantustan creations will find legitimacy.

### **Propaganda in Practice**

#### *The Instruments:*

The regime's propaganda is disseminated through a variety of outlets. Some of these are overtly official agencies, others claiming to be 'independent' put out pro-apartheid propaganda. In addition, there is a great deal of propaganda clandestinely initiated by Pretoria, through agencies which it has secretly established or funded.

#### *Department of Information:*

Since the National Party came to power it has regularly increased the propaganda budget. From R50 000 per annum in 1945, it had reached R11.8-million by 1975 and R13.8-million by 1976. Following the Muldergate revelations expenditure is buried in allocations for other ministries and in some secret accounts. For example, a pro-apartheid lobbyist in Washington and former campaign manager for Ronald Reagan, Stuart Spencer, has his salary paid by the SA Defence Force. A 'special representative' in Pretoria's London embassy, Philip Moolman, has been appointed with the responsibility of explaining Pretoria's sports policy. His work supplements that of the ostensibly independent South African Sports Office established in London last year.

By 1982 the Department maintained offices in at least 18 countries: Austria, Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, France, Federal Republic of Germany, Israel, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland, United Kingdom and the United States of America. In some countries, such as the USA, offices are located in regional centres as well as the capital.

#### *Radio South Africa and the External Service of the SABC*

The regime is spending R16 million per annum for the External Service of the SABC. It broadcasts for 210 hours per week in the following languages: Bemba, Chichewa, Dutch, English, French, German, Lozi,

Portuguese, Spanish, Swahili and Tsonga. Programmes including news and commentary are prepared and beamed specifically to target areas in all continents.

#### *South African Tourist Corporation (Satour) and South African Airways*

Both these organisations are engaged in promoting the country's policies. They participate in regular area meetings with South African diplomats to consider and assess the local political scene, and its effects on relations with South Africa, and in planning and implementing the necessary propaganda response.

#### *The South African Foundation*

Ostensibly set up by South African business interests, it maintains offices in a number of western countries, namely the USA, France, the United Kingdom and West Germany. These are often manned by ex-diplomats. The Foundation plans seminars, sponsors visits, publishes journals, advocates 'internal peaceful change' and the establishment of closer ties. Until it was displaced recently by the regime's direct efforts, the Foundation was the major promotor of the campaigns against sanctions.

#### *South African Companies and Multinationals.*

Many South African companies are themselves multinationals and operate in a number of Commonwealth countries. An important ancillary activity of these companies is making friends and influencing people. They operate in a similar way to the Foundation. They focus their attention on financial interests in the City, Wall Street, the Bourse, etc, and cultivate financial journalists and politicians in particular. Through their public relations departments they release speeches of South African businessmen about 'change', 'stability,' economic growth and publish magazines such as *Optima*. Their officials travel to schools to speak on careers, and to universities and institutes of higher learning to recruit staff. Employment and placement offices in most such establishments carry publicity handouts from these companies. In the context of careers

# THE FREEDOM CHARTER

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*that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;*

*that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;*

*that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;*

*And therefore, we, the people of South Africa, black and white together — equals, countrymen and brothers — adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes here set out have been won.*

## **THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!**

*Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;*

*All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;*

*The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;*

*All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.*

## **ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!**

*There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;*

*All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;*

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*The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;*

*All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.*

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*The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;*

*All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.*

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*Pass Laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.*

## **THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!**

*All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;*

*The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;*

*Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;*

*There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;*

*Miners, domestic workers, farm workers and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;*

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*The people of the protectorates — Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland — shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;*

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and job opportunities apartheid South Africa is promoted.

#### *Publications and Reports from Allegedly Independent Academic Institutions*

There are a number of South African organisations which claim to be independent institutions of learning. However, their research and other academic programmes are designed to fit in with state policies and objectives. A number of them have been exposed as creations of the Department of Information to give spurious academic backing to apartheid ideology and Pretoria's foreign policy. Others have willingly allowed their academic reputation and status to be used to cover state operations.

A significant part of nuclear and armaments technology has been transferred to South Africa through exchanges and scientific visits arranged under the auspices of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR). Another Institute claiming academic competence and independence is the Human Sciences Research Council, which undertakes 'research' at the behest of the regime and whose published reports and results are frequently put to its political use.

The regime uses the 'results' of allegedly independent surveys and opinion polls to further its objectives. Much was made domestically and internationally of the findings of the HSRC and other surveys which claimed to have measured significant support for Botha's reforms and the new constitution among Coloured and Indian South Africans. The overwhelming boycott of the elections revealed how false these claims were. Similarly, polls and surveys allegedly showing opposition to disinvestment among the majority of black workers are currently being used in the campaign against sanctions, without any account being taken of the fact that supporting and advocating sanctions is a criminal offence in South Africa.

#### *South African Friendship and Trade Associations in Various Countries, and Associations of Foreign Companies inside South Africa*

These associations concentrate on building up

powerful lobbies in western countries against effective international action on apartheid.

#### **Covert Propaganda Agencies**

The Muldergate scandal gave a glimpse of the scale of South Africa's covert propaganda output and the resources devoted to it. Apart from funding an English language daily in South Africa (*The Citizen*), purchases of *The Observer*, *Guardian*, *Washington Star* amongst others were attempted. United Press International and ITN were among the regular news channels that were infiltrated.

A number of international magazines were set up or funded, journalists corrupted (some unwittingly), allegedly academic institutions were set up and many existing ones given 'research grants', books were published, films made etc.

It is important to note that the 'scandal' was considered to be not so much that the regime engaged in such activities, but was concerned more with which ministers knew about the activities, to what extent parliament was misled, and who used the covert operations for personal financial and political profit. The events were skilfully exploited by PW Botha to discredit his opponents and assume power.

Under Botha covert operations and activities have not been abandoned but new procedures have been set up to regulate them. External propaganda was placed under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and thus was acknowledged as an arm of foreign policy. The funding of information projects deemed to be of a secret or sensitive nature was legitimised by the Information Service of South Africa Special Account Act 1979, which provided for funds to be channelled to a Special Account for Information Services from the Secret Services Account. According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, approximately sixty (60) of the former projects were retained. A number have since been added, and covert propaganda operations remain an instrument of apartheid policy.

While it is not uncommon for governments retaining public relations consultants and lobbyists, the manner in which the Pretoria regime uses such agencies brings them within the purview of covert operations. The preparation and

placing of advertisements is usual, but is the least of their functions. The agencies are entrusted with responsibility for planning and implementing campaigns with clearly defined political objectives. Often the fact that they are acting on behalf of the regime is concealed from the public, or South African agents are employed without disclosure.

Despite United States regulations which require agencies and lobbyists to register in whose interests they are acting, there have been attempts to operate clandestinely in that country. Most Commonwealth countries do not have similar legislation and hence South African propaganda is disseminated without indication of its source.

It is interesting to note that the regime is now using foreign advertising and public relations agencies to further its domestic political objectives: Saatchi and Saatchi were retained to plan the campaign to secure a 'Yes' vote in the white referendum on the Constitution in 1983.

### **How South African Propaganda Works**

South African propaganda is the combined product of the skilful deployment of various resources, sophisticated public relations techniques, and experience accumulated over more than two decades.

Originally propaganda efforts were concentrated on placing advertisements in the western media, particularly Britain. In 1965 approximately £100 000 was spent in two months for advertising in the British press. Increasingly, however, local and international public relations firms have been retained to plan major campaigns with identifiable immediate and long term objectives. In 1982/83 more than US\$300 000 was spent on a public relations campaign to prevent the state of Massachusetts legislating in favour of disinvestment. (The campaign failed).

Newspaper advertising is still a major aspect of overt propaganda. The 'untruths' of earlier advertisements have given way to seductive half-truths and omissions.

This external propaganda is also used internally.

Target groups of influential people such as journalists, MPs, academics etc receive per-

sonal letters and circulars from Pretoria's embassies, ostensibly providing information. These contain slanted and misleading reports and untrue statements. These targets are frequently invited to South Africa and Namibia, or their visits are 'encouraged and facilitated.' As part of the new tactics the South African regime is increasingly reaching into groups which have demonstrated hostility to apartheid and which take action in support of the struggle. Local Councils in the UK who have named streets or buildings after Nelson Mandela, established relations with the ANC and or taken active steps in the boycott campaign have been sent letters, providing 'facts' and invited to engage in dialogue with the embassy.

Bantustan leaders, urban councillors, Coloured and Indian parliamentarians and other collaborators have been incorporated into the regime's efforts to sell apartheid. They have featured in advertising, especially opposing disinvestment and sanctions and promoting Bantustan 'independence.' Some of them have been made showpiece delegates to the United Nations, sent on promotional tours to Europe, the US and the Far East, and been appointed to diplomatic missions, usually as 'information officers.'

Their views are promoted by the regime and its public relations agencies, frequently by advertising but more importantly by gaining acceptance of them as representative 'leaders' by the western media.

Artists, particularly black ones in plays such as *Woza Albert*, are encouraged to travel out of South Africa in the west, thus fostering the impression that a degree of freedom and open dialogue exists within the society. This cultural penetration of the western media has been very influential.

Disinformation through the media has been practised on a massive scale as the Muldergate scandal illustrated. Disinformation still operates within the country and externally. For instance, the use of false leaflets inside the country is also reflected outside in the way in which the struggle is both minimised and distorted. Stories are planted of ANC intentions such as massacring white civilians, and

misinformation distributed widely through forged publications allegedly emanating from the ANC.

In the region, South African propaganda radios have been used to sow confusion and undermine independent governments. In addition to the activities of the SABC and Radio RSA, South Africa's bandit instruments are provided with bases and transmitters. Renamo radio was stopped under the terms of the Nkomati Accord. However, South Africa continues to beam 'Radio Truth' into Zimbabwe and 'Voice of the Black Cockerel' into Angola. The BBC Monitoring Service makes such viciously distorted broadcasting available throughout the world, without any indication of its South African origins.

Destructive propaganda pamphlets produced in Britain against Commonwealth countries such as the Seychelles bear all the hallmarks of the anti-communist and crude slurs in which apartheid propaganda specialises. The same kind of stories and destructive negative propaganda against many African countries have been repeatedly published in specialist magazines, targeted on Africa itself.

The negative image of Africa deliberately portrayed by Pretoria is projected further by the location of most western correspondents in Johannesburg, from which base they are responsible for covering southern Africa and sometimes the OAU and other areas, and where their perceptions are influenced by the racist environment. Many of these correspondents use two passports in order to try and conceal their South African residence.

Open propaganda in favour of South Africa is a relatively new phenomenon in Africa. The book, titled *Time to Admit South Africa to the OAU*, was produced in Nigeria. Ambassador Worrall's connection with Nigeria dates back to 1962 when he was attached to the University of Ibadan in Nigeria as a research fellow.

The South African propaganda campaign for Jonas Savimbi has included flying dozens of journalists illegally into Angola for press conferences designed to confuse the issue of Pretoria's war against the government of Angola, which is partly waged through Unita.

South Africa's propaganda against the MPLA has been a crude and more open version of the negative propaganda that has been systematically fed to the western press about 'incompetent, corrupt' black governments over many years. Its propaganda efforts on behalf of Jonas Savimbi have included his much publicised presence at the swearing in of PW Botha as President, and have been designed to open the floodgates of recognition for Unita.

The regime's propaganda is a significant factor in imposing on the consciousness of the western world a negative picture of the African Continent. The predilections and prejudices of much of the western media allow such distortions of the Continent's reality to go virtually unchallenged. The acceptance of Pretoria and the 'normality' of diplomatic relations with it, symbolised by the invitations and hospitality extended to Botha last year, encourage the very image of itself that the apartheid regime seeks to promote, illustrating the political strategy of the regime as well as the integration of propaganda within it.

### Recommendations

The campaign to counter propaganda emanating from Pretoria would have to be devised on the basis of resources and facilities available. We would like at this time to make some general comments on such a campaign.

■ 1. As we have indicated in this study, South African propaganda is the product of a carefully planned strategy for the survival of apartheid. Counter-propaganda will have to be based, not merely on a monitoring of the propaganda of the regime, but, more importantly, on an on-going assessment of its political strategy. The promoting of particular images or propositions are dictated by tactical requirements. To be effective, counter propaganda will have to focus not simply on these projections, which may be transitory, but will need to deal at a more fundamental level with the regime's basic objectives.

Those responsible for the technical implementation will have to be given this political direction in order to enable them to maximise

the effectiveness of the Commonwealth initiative.

■ 2. It is incorrect to assume that the major part of Pretoria's propaganda is still directed towards Britain and the United States. Muldergate revealed the importance of Europe, and the propaganda offensive in Africa has grown enormously. The Middle East, Latin America and the Caribbean have also been recipients. The Commonwealth initiative needs to widen its target area to cover these too.

■ 3. The projection of South Africa as part of the white western world rather than a part of Africa, which it is, sometimes invades anti-apartheid propaganda. The situation is seen with the perspective of a 'liberal white' and therefore the image presented is distorted and revealed in the terminology: eg presenting aspects of our struggle as 'unrest', 'disturbances', 'violent confrontations,' South Africans as white, etc.

The regime's propaganda tries to set such parameters, within which South African society is to be perceived and projected. It therefore raises issues which are irrelevant and which should be treated as such. For example: If Africans in South Africa were better off than elsewhere in Africa; if there were more 'restrictions' on civil liberties in country A or B in Africa, than in South Africa, if South Africa had the 'freest' press on the Continent — would apartheid be justified?

Historically, the Commonwealth has set out its opposition to apartheid as an abhorrent system which violates its principles. It is on that basis that its propaganda counter offensive has to be conducted. Apart from the dissipation of effort that rebutting such irrelevancies would entail, it would effectively amount to preparation of league tables of African countries on the basis of whose citizens were 'more free,' or 'better off.' Such exercises are in line with Pretoria's propaganda efforts, and would in no way contribute to countering them.

■ 4. We hope that the Commonwealth will

not only speak in support of our people, but will provide an opportunity for us to speak for ourselves.

We suffer, with most Commonwealth countries, from the reluctance of the western media to acknowledge that our people are able to describe their conditions, articulate their aspirations and interpret developments in our country. It is a form of racism that sees 'western experts' as the only ones capable of doing so. In the case of South Africa, this is reflected in the consistent use of 'liberal' whites in preference to the journalists who are committed to the liberation struggle.

In the coverage of events in our country in March, and the debate about sanctions and disinvestment in the media, the ANC was excluded though we initiated the demand for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa. Interpretation of events in our country was confined to western correspondents in South Africa, foreign 'experts' or the London correspondents of the white-owned South African press.

### Conclusion

The African National Congress offers its co-operation to Commonwealth countries and the Commonwealth Secretariat in carrying out the New Delhi mandate. We will be pleased to assist in the process of assessing the regime's political strategy and monitoring its propaganda, as well as in the planning and preparing of material for dissemination by the Commonwealth.

We look forward to establishing closer working relations with the Commonwealth in the endeavour to achieve our common objectives.



# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## **DISINVESTMENT CAMPAIGN: PRESIDENT TAMBO VISITS THE US**

The campaign in the United States for sanctions against the Pretoria regime and disinvestment from South African industry came to a climax with the nine-day visit of President Tambo in late April. He visited Washington DC and New York, arguing strongly for sanctions, and met with a wide variety of people — Congressional leaders; Democratic and Republican congressional aides (many of whom had never heard the position of the ANC stated before); African ambassadors; representatives of Citibank, Mobil, Texaco and Exxon; a group of Black businessmen in New York, and the Open Forum, a group in Boston.

Speaking at a meeting in Washington, he denounced the killing of demonstrators in South Africa and the arrest of political activists. Of Botha's 'reforms' he said:

"Botha, faced with international pressures externally and a groundswell of resistance internally, has sought to get out of that situation by declaring reforms. The offer of reform is an attempt to gain time."

He had sharp words for the Reagan administration's policy of 'constructive engagement':

"As soon as President Reagan announced his policy, we had the first massacre since Soweto. South Africa had been looking for such an ally, and when they got it they wasted no time in attempting to repossess and recolonise the whole region."

While they were in Washington, President Tambo and the rest of the ANC delegation joined the picket outside the South African Embassy in Washington, the scene of daily civil disobedience for the past six months. He said

to those on the picket line:

"This is a great experience for me, being among people who have given us hope and joined hands with us across the ocean."

The largest meeting he addressed was in Harlem, New York, where he was welcomed by a broad grouping of activists, and where the predominantly Black audience gave him a standing ovation when he rose to speak.

In an interview with a paper in Washington, he summed up his visit by saying:

"I have found a great interest, a constructive interest ... there is a debate going on about how the US can contribute to bringing about an end to apartheid ... and we have certainly been encouraged by those who are suing for immediate disinvestment."

## **Local Action**

In the United States, local campaigns for disinvestment have led to a number of states, cities and universities withdrawing their funds from companies investing in South Africa. The city of Warren in the State of Ohio, for example, passed a resolution in February condemning apartheid; calling for disinvestment from South African industry in the city of Warren and the State of Ohio; calling on the Ohio Edison Company to cease importing Namibian and South African uranium; calling on the Reagan administration to replace the policy of 'constructive engagement' with one that "promotes human rights in South Africa," and calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners in South Africa.

Copies of the resolution were sent to President Reagan, to the US Ambassador to the United Nations and to local representatives in Congress.



## DANISH DISINVESTMENT: ANC STATEMENT

The Secretary-General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo, issued this statement at the end of May:

"The African National Congress welcomes the decision of the Danish parliament prohibiting new investment in South Africa by Danish firms and investors. This is a reaffirmation by both the Danish parliament and people of their firm and resolute commitment to the global struggle against the hated system of apartheid, as well as continued solidarity with the just struggle of the oppressed and exploited people of South Africa under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard — the African National Congress.

"This is an effective response to mounting calls for the total international isolation of the apartheid regime and for the imposition of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against



the South African racist regime.

"It is a fitting response to the escalating struggle and upsurge of the people of South Africa against the racist regime and for the destruction of the evil system of White minority colonial oppression, and the creation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, as laid down in the Freedom Charter ...

"May this important milestone serve to further galvanise the global struggle for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa."



*The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr David Lange, at a meeting with the ANC which took place during his visit to Zambia in April. Mr Lange is shown on the right with Comrade O R Tambo, President of the ANC. The ANC delegation on the left consists of (left to right); Comrades Sindiso Mfenyane, Thozamile Botha, Mashigo, Simon Makana, Reg September, Alfred Nzo (Secretary-General of the ANC) and Joe Nhanhla.*

## MADAGASCAR

*We received this letter from a correspondent in Madagascar named Randriamanantena, Director of Carrefour and founder of the Anti-Racist Press Club in Madagascar.*

March 21st, 1985. On this day, a light wind was blowing on the hills of Tsiadana, in the suburbs east of the capital. Around the corn field the leaves of bananas were waving like fans held by a tired hand, the branches of mango trees were shivering and brought about a humming almost undiscernible. In the blue sky with rare clouds the sun was shining. Nevertheless the heat will have no effect on the people gathered under the shadow of fruit trees. These people are journalists from the Anti-Racist Press Club, and its sympathisers, journalists from international news agencies and foreign newspapers, press attachés accredited in Antananarivo, and especially representatives of the ANC in Madagascar, our honourable guests.

### March 21st Commemoration

What were we doing in this place, a rather unusual one for a meeting?

First of all, we must stress the fact that it is not the first time that we have held a meeting here, in the house of an anti-racist militant. The first time, the previous year on the same date, the purpose of the meeting was to announce the creation of the Anti-Racist Press Club and to mark the International Day Against Racism. The second time, a meeting was held on the occasion of the visit of colleagues from the Canadian Radio Television. And this time, we again commemorate March 21st.

In this natural, if not savage, environment, dialogues quickly began. Items for *Carrefour* were commented on. *Carrefour* is a new newspaper, a modest weekly, the first objective of which is the struggle against racism and apartheid. The first issue is going to be introduced here. It appears on March 21st, and this is not a mere coincidence.

But let us come back to our modest ceremony; it is a way of telling things, because

the 'ceremony' will take place without any protocol. We were among colleagues and friends.

The founder of the Club who is also the director of the newspaper, briefly made a speech and then gave way to the audience. Then everybody asked questions, sometimes of the speaker, sometimes of Comrade Silver, the Chief of the ANC Mission in Madagascar.

### Support for the ANC

The latter explained the difficulty of the struggle for freedom and human dignity in his country. He denounced Botha's political and diplomatic manoeuvres inside and outside South Africa. He declared:

"The new constitution is just a lure. Pressures from international opinion are essential to us."

We, members of the Anti-Racist Press Club, also agree with the point of view of the ANC. Has not UNESCO several times asked journalists and information agents to act for the elimination of racial discrimination and apartheid? A member of UNICEF who attended the meeting also declared:

"We will put at your disposal all the documents you need for this noble cause."

An innovation at the meeting: from then on, a Brotherhood Prize will be given each year. Such a prize will be given by the Anti-Racist Press Club and the newspaper, *Carrefour*, to a movement, an association, a group or even an individual, to a literary, artistic or journalistic work which distinguishes itself by the struggle against racism and for human brotherhood. This year, it will be granted, symbolically, to four youths who have different complexions — one of them is South African — four youths who mixed their blood to save from death a member of the ANC who had a car accident. Such an attitude has a deep meaning when one knows that in the apartheid country even blood has two colours.

The meeting ended in conversations between small groups of people, a glass of beer in the hand. Everybody seemed to be happy about the meeting, and promised to do better next year.

## **The Notice of the Media**

Finally, we have to notice that governmental media have given great echoes to the meeting. A delegation including many members of the spoken and written press from the Ministry of Information, led by the Chief of Information, Marc Rakotonoel, also attended the meeting.

Moreover, we must finally stress the fact that private newspapers such as *Sahy* and *Midi Madagascar*, who were more or less hostile to this initiative in the previous days, sent representatives to the meeting. Two other papers were absent, those called by *Carrefour* the "opportunist right-wing press" and the "sectarian left-wing press." But with or without them, the struggle continues.

## **NAMIBIA SYMPOSIUM IN BULGARIA**

Sofia, the capital city of Bulgaria, gave its hospitality from the 22nd to the 26th April, 1985, to a symposium on the struggle of the Namibian people.

The symposium was organised by the United Nations Council for Namibia as part of its campaign for mobilising world public opinion on behalf of the just cause of the Namibian people, led by SWAPO. It was attended by representatives of non-governmental organisations, parliamentarians, experts, well-known

personalities and members of the liberation movements. The SWAPO delegation was led by the Secretary-General, Andimbo Toivo Ja Toivo, and the ANC delegation by the Chief Representative in London, Comrade Solly Smith.

The gathering identified the chief obstructions to Namibian independence. It condemned the plan of the Pretoria regime to instal a puppet 'government' in Namibia, and also the collusion between Washington and Pretoria, under the name of 'constructive engagement.' It also condemned what it called "the continued insistence of the Reagan Administration and South Africa on extraneous and irrelevant issues to Namibian independence, such as ... 'linkage' to the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola."

The symposium recommended the following action:

- A meeting of the Security Council should be urgently convened to impose mandatory comprehensive sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter, forcing Pretoria to implement Resolution 435.

- The Security Council should take all measures to implement the United Nations plan for Namibia as contained in Resolution 385, Resolution 435, and other relevant resolutions.

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# **INTERVIEW**

## **'What They Want is to Instal Their Puppets'**

*Comrade Andimbo Toivo Ja Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO, gave the following interview to Sechaba in Bulgaria in April, at the time of the symposium on Namibia. He spoke to Snuki Zikalala.*

**Question:** Comrade Ja Toivo, at present it looks as if the diplomatic moves towards the implementation of Resolution 435 are, for the moment, stalemated. Where do you see signs of movement?

**Answer:** This symposium by the Council for Namibia, as well as the Non-Aligned Meeting in New Delhi and the Security Council meeting which is to take place in the near future, as well as the meeting which is going to take place in Luanda in September this year are, of course, going to have positive results in highlighting the Namibian problem and getting the international community involved in solving the Namibian problem. This symposium has called for the implementation of the arms embargo

and the imposition of an effective oil embargo on South Africa. These are the important steps.

**Q.** Is it the intensification of political and military struggle that forced the racists to withdraw from Angola?

**A.** It is part of it, and I think it was pressure on the Reagan administration, especially after the massacres committed by Botha in South Africa. Of course the whole world condemned the racists. They have withdrawn part of South Africa's army from Angola so that the world should think that they are interested in pulling out of Angola. They also want to legitimise the so-called interim government, to show the world that they are solving the Namibian question. All these are the attempts of the Reagan administration to show that 'constructive engagement' is working.

**Q.** The interim government which has been set up does not differ from the Turnhalle Alliance which collapsed in 1983. Do you think that this one will last longer?

**A.** At the moment, they are going to have a second Muzorewa in Southern Africa, by the name of Moses Kajunga, but, in actual fact, it's just a continuation of the Turnhalle Alliance. The composition is more or less the same. We have no doubt that it is going to fail like the previous racist attempts.

**Q.** Do you think the USA will be content simply to see the Cuban withdrawal in Angola? Is that their main priority?

**A.** This is just a trick. South Africa and the USA will not leave Angola and Mozambique in peace as long as these governments are being ruled by their present leaders. What they want is to instal their puppets — the MNR in Mozambique and Unita in Angola. Even if Cuba and Angola agree that the internationalist forces should be withdrawn, South Africa will continue invading the People's Republic of Angola.

**Q.** What effect will the withdrawal of South African forces have on the struggle of the people of Namibia?



*Comrade Andimbo Toivo Ja Toivo  
Secretary-General of SWAPO*

**A.** The South African regime is going to concentrate its forces in Namibia. They will try to pressurise the Angolan government as they did in the past, to withdraw their support for SWAPO. I have no doubt that the Angolan government will not agree to this endeavour. But, nevertheless, we will continue with the armed struggle and also with the diplomatic and political struggle.

We are also prepared to speak to the South African government, whenever they come forward and are serious in discussing the question of the ceasefire and the implementation of Resolution 435.

**Q.** Can you tell us about the help you get from the Socialist countries?

**A.** The help we get from the Socialist countries is all-round support. Without it, and the assistance from other progressive forces, our struggle would not have reached so far. We really appreciate the international support we get, since it gives us morale and courage to fight until final victory.

# **MASS ACTION & POLITICAL TRIALS**

**By the end of June, 1985, 14 000 people had been charged in connection with the protest and resistance throughout South Africa in 1984 and 1985. One third of these were children of 16 years and under.**

The people's response to the call to make South Africa ungovernable, and to attack the outposts of the apartheid state, has brought sustained mass action in many parts of the country. Some areas have been in a state of war for periods of time. Confronted by the anger of the people, the new Black local authorities have collapsed in many areas

In retaliation, the regime has unleashed its armed forces. In the last six months over 300 people have been killed, hundreds detained without trial and over 10 000 people taken in mass arrests.

Most of these 10 000 people have appeared or will appear in political trials. Even as the army is sent to try to crush the defiant resistance, the regime continues to pretend, as it always has done, that it simply has a problem of 'law and order' on its hands, instead of a people's war against oppression.

The police, the magistrates and the judges together make up one of the principal forces in the machinery of repression. The legal system, whose unjust and repressive character is being increasingly recognised, is used to give

a false stamp of legality to violence against protesters, to detention without trial, to torture, imprisonment and execution.

In every period of mass action the number of people taken to court in political trials soars to vast numbers. During the 1960s there was fierce resistance, as the foundations were being laid for the work of collaborators in the bantustans and group areas. Over 120 000 people were convicted in political trials during that period. The uprising that began in June, 1976 was contained only by massive armed force — in three years more than 44 000 people were convicted of "offences against the maintenance of order."

## **A Repressive Judicial System**

Currently, as in previous periods, there are several kinds of political trial, but in different ways they all manifest the repressive character of apartheid's judicial system.

There are 'high-profile' trials, which receive extensive publicity, like the trial of leading figures of the United Democratic Front, who are charged with treason, subversion, and fur-

thering the aims of the ANC. Such trials expose the real nature of apartheid security legislation, which can be interpreted to make illegal any opposition and mobilisation of resistance.

Trials connected with the armed struggle are held under conditions of tight security and near secrecy. Frequent use is made of unknown and unnamed witnesses who, like most of the accused, have been subjected to detention, interrogation and torture.

Increasingly there are numerous trials of people said to be furthering the aims of the ANC by the way in which they have taken part in mass campaigns. Many of these cases revolve around the dissemination of material that projects the voice of the ANC.

The greatest numbers of trials, most of them hardly mentioned by the press, or even ignored altogether, involve those who have faced the forces of the regime and its collaborators in the townships. The charges they face are ones like public violence, illegal gatherings, damage

to property, sabotage, arson, murder. In some instances these cases can lead to long prison sentences, even hanging.

### **Resistance and Defiance**

What is remarkable and inspiring is that even at the heart of this powerful and violent apparatus, resistance and defiance continue.

The increasing detention of potential state witnesses is a direct result of the refusal of people to collaborate in trials. Even now, in spite of long periods of isolation, torture and threats, many prefer to go to prison rather than help send others there. In Durban recently four people refused to testify against ANC members. In one trial three people refused to testify.

Defendants remain defiant to the end, unbowed by prison sentences of many years, or even by sentence of death.

Popular support for people on trial is manifested in court rooms packed with friends and supporters, vocal in their support.

When the courts use their ultimate weapon,



*Supporters leaving the Supreme Court in Johannesburg after ANC cadre Jabu Ngobese and two others had been sentenced for treason.*

*Ngobese was sentenced to 15 years, the other two to five years.*

# STOP APARTHEID EXECUTIONS



**Save the  
lives of  
Benjamin Moloise  
Clarence Lucky Payi  
and Sipho Xulu**

the death sentence, against opponents of the regime, popular support is expressed in campaigns to save them.

Three young patriots are at present threatened with execution. A country-wide campaign initiated by the Release Mandela Campaign has demanded a reprieve for Malesela Benjamin Moloise, held on death row since June 1983 for the killing of police collaborator Phillipus Selepe. The killing was carried out not by Moloise but by a unit of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

In February, Moloise was joined by Lucky Payi and Sipho Xulu.

## **A Revolutionary Leap Forward**

These trials are taking place and sentences of death are being passed against a background of growing government crisis and a revolutionary leap forward. Since the unrest began on September 3rd last year, 109 councillors have been attacked and five killed, including a 'mayor' and two 'deputy mayors,' 66 have had their homes burned down, and 147, including the entire councils of seven townships, have resigned (in the last week of March 46 of them resigned in the wake of the Eastern Cape disturbances).

There is also the question of rent boycott. A rent increase sparked the trouble in Sebokeng in September, and since then a residents' committee has called on the 350 000 inhabitants to refuse to pay their rents until they are reduced. The council was said to be £5 million in arrears in January. Surely the ANC statement, *A Call to the Nation — The Future is within our Grasp*, was referring to this crisis when it said:

"The face of our country is changing before our very eyes.

■ In the black ghettos of the urban areas the legitimacy of authority of all types is not just under attack, it has been largely destroyed. Most of those who served white rule in so-called urban councils have suffered the wrath of the people. But many have respected the demands of the people by resigning.

■ The tri-cameral parliament has exposed its complete impotence in the present crisis and continues to be shunned. The Bantustans are universally held in contempt.

■ Well-organised stay-aways in localised areas have once again drawn attention to the potential of the organised workers to bring the ruling class to its knees.

■ The people, by their actions, are teaching black police and soldiers that there is no place in our communities for those who wear the uniforms of apartheid and who carry out orders to kill, maim and torture their brothers and sisters.

■ All attempts to tame our fighting students have failed and more and more schools and universities are becoming flashpoints for freedom.

■ The continuing street confrontations with the enemy's armed forces show that our people, in massive numbers, not only want a new order in our country but are also prepared to sacrifice life, if need be, to bring it about.

■ Fired by the heroic example of Umkhonto we Sizwe, more and more of our youth are searching for ways to organise themselves into effective combat units to defend the people, deal with the collaborators, and to hit back selectively at the enemy's armed personnel."

This resistance within our country demands an international echo, to ensure that there are no apartheid executions.



*Protest and resistance: youths stone a Development Board police van in Leandra Township*



# BOOK REVIEW



*Winnie Mandela: Mother of a Nation*, Nancy Harrison, Gollancz, £8.95.

"In common with the majority of White South Africans," writes the author in the epilogue to this book, "I lived most of my life without ever meeting a Black person socially." It shows. Throughout the book there is a distance between her and the Blacks about whom she writes — an 'I and they' situation. Evident, too, is a lack of understanding of, let alone commitment to, the liberation struggle waged for so many decades by the majority of South Africans. She states, "I have sought merely to tell the personal story of a quite remarkable woman" — a worthy enough objective. But to tell the story of Winnie Mandela without, apparently, the ability to place it firmly within the political and historical context of the struggle, renders it strangely sterile.

Of course an account of Winnie Mandela's life so far (she is only 49) is bound to be interesting and moving; even the writer's style — arch, gossipy, clichéd and lightweight — cannot change that. From the time she was "a barefoot little Pondo girl," through her schooling and further education, her marriage, at 20, to the 38-year-old Nelson Mandela, "six foot three and broadly built, immaculately dressed and self-assured; a sought-after lawyer and a hero to the people," his imprisonment for life; the many harassments, arrests and detentions to which she has been subjected, a picture of growing maturity and an unshakeable dignity does emerge. It is a pity that the author places such tremendous stress, in a romantic, Barbara Cartland-like way, on Nelson Mandela's (referred to, chummily, as 'Nelson' throughout the book) 'royal' background; on the rivalry between him and Kaiser Matanzima for the affections of the beautiful Winnie; on the lavish, rich and ceremonious marriage of Winnie's daughter, Zeni, to Prince Thumbumuzi Dhlamini, 58th son of King Sobhuza I I of Swaziland. "Winnie," enthuses the author, "was delighted with her new son-in-law, who is in banking, and happy to leave Zeni in his care."

Many historical milestones are touched upon — the Treason Trial, the Rivonia Trial, the Soweto uprisings — but with little or no interpretative comment, and really only as they affected the subject of the book. The author is obviously more at home with details of domestic circumstances, children and romance. All in all the book does not do its subject justice.

The liberation struggle has given birth to many mothers of the nation and daughters of the revolution, including Winnie Mandela. In time, for certain, their stories will be written (and sung and celebrated) with all due honour in the free South Africa their courage and indomitability will have helped to create.

PM

# OBITUARY

## **Hamba Kahle, Judson Khuzwayo**

On May 1st, the Chief Representative of the ANC in Zimbabwe, Comrade Judson Diza Khuzwayo, died after his car overturned. He was on his way to Lusaka. A staunch fighter against the brutal apartheid system, Comrade Judson Khuzwayo died while on duty in Zimbabwe, where he was remarkable in strengthening the bonds of solidarity that exist between the Party, Government and people of Zimbabwe on the one hand and the people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, on the other.

He was born on the 25th August 1941 at Adams Mission, Mbubushu District, Natal. He did his secondary education at Loram Secondary School up to Form Three, and completed his matric in Robben Island Prison.

Comrade Judson joined the African National Congress in 1957 as a student. He was arrested on the 10th June 1963 at Zeerust, and was later sentenced to ten years' imprisonment for attempting to leave the country illegally for military training.

Before his arrest and imprisonment, he was working in an insurance company. After his release on the 29th December, 1973, he worked at the University of Natal Centre for Applied Social Science.

He was detained again in December 1975 and released in February 1976. He was further detained in June until December 1976. He left the country in July 1977 through Swaziland, where he stayed until 1983. In 1983 he was appointed the ANC Chief Representative in Lesotho. In 1984, he was transferred to Zimbabwe.

Comrade Khuzwayo leaves behind his wife, Beauty, and three children. He also has a brother, Elga, and a sister, Cordelin.

*Hamba Kahle, Qhawe Lama Qhawe.*

### **Prime Minister Mugabe's Message**

The First Secretary and President of ZANU (PF) and Prime Minister, Comrade Mugabe, said in a message to Comrade Oliver Tambo that it was with profound shock and sorrow he had learned of the death. He said:

"... Comrade Khuzwayo's term of office in Zimbabwe was characterised by his selfless and untiring dedication to the cause of freedom of the struggling people of South Africa. He earned the respect of all of us who knew him in the short period of his work in Zimbabwe.

"Although Comrade Khuzwayo has died before seeing the freedom of his people, his unwavering commitment to their cause will always be an inspiration to all those who remain engaged in the struggle to eradicate apartheid in South Africa."

In reply, President Tambo said of Comrade Khuzwayo that he:

"... has joined the martyrs of our struggle, who, by their selfless dedication and sacrifice, have promoted our struggle to new heights and inspired us to greater efforts to bring about a speedy triumph of our cause."

Comrade Tambo went on to say:

"The work he has done in soldering the relations between our respective parties and people will remain a shining beacon to his memory.

"On behalf of the African National Congress, the struggling people of South Africa and the Khuzwayo family, please accept, dear comrade and brother, our undying indebtedness and appreciation of the contribution which ZANU (PF), the Government and people of Zimbabwe, and you personally, Comrade Prime Minister, are making to the cause of our freedom and genuine peace in the region.

"The darkest hours precede the dawn."

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