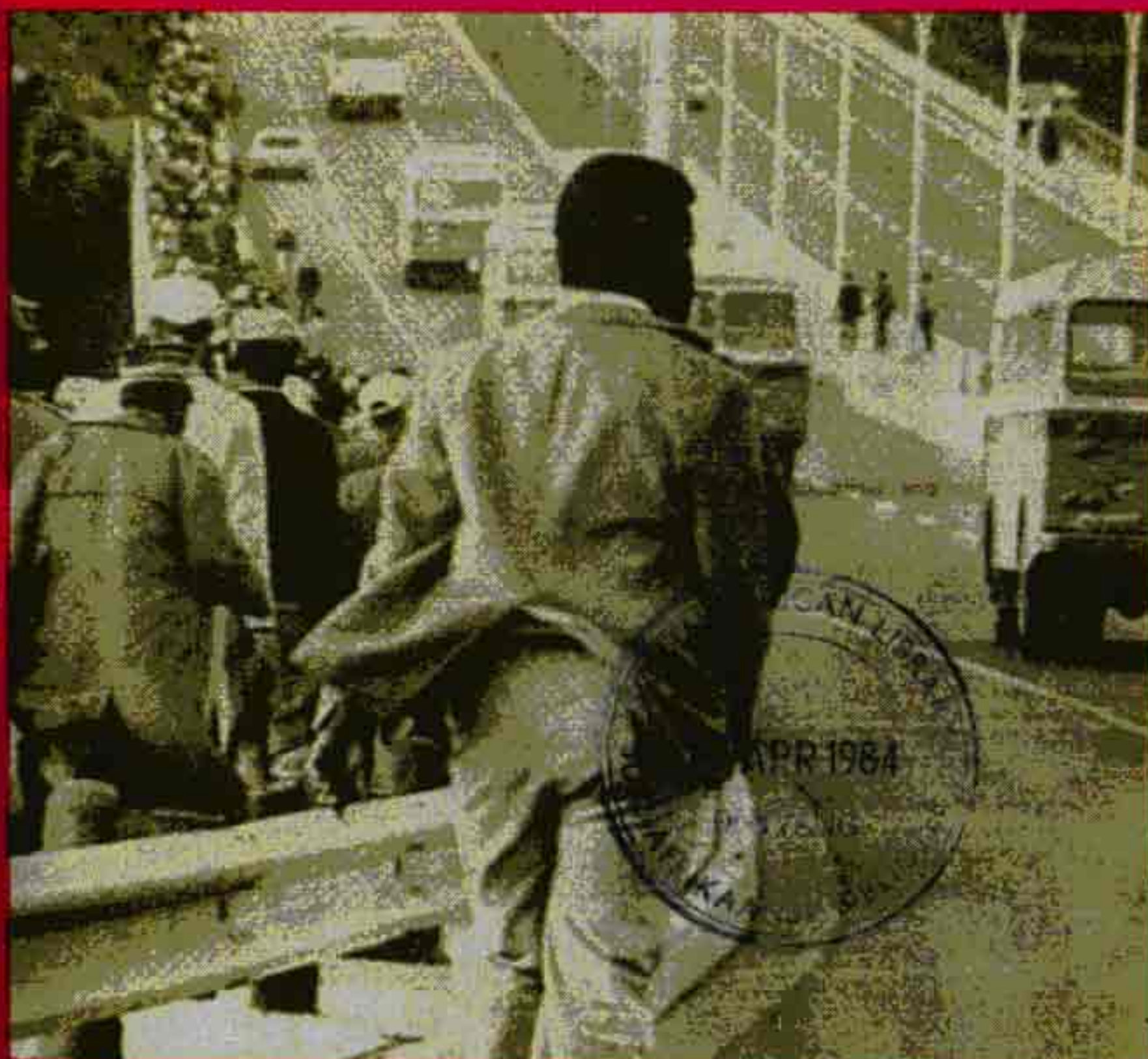


DECEMBER 1983



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



**CISKEI -  
the Bus Boycott  
continues**

# SECHABA

## DECEMBER ISSUE 1983



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LONDON N1 9PR UNITED KINGDOM  
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### CONTENTS

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EDITORIAL: THE CRISIS IN THE CISKEI	1
CISKEI – THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES By Nyawuza	3
SOUTH AFRICA – THE CRISIS OF POWER A DISCUSSION ARTICLE By Alex Mashinini	10
THE WAR IN SOUTHERN AFRICA By B. N.	15
ANC INTERNATIONAL	25
INDEPENDENCE, UNITY AND ANTIIMPERIALIST SOLIDARITY By Mavis Nhlapo	27
HEALTH IN NAMIBIA	30
POEM: REFUGEE WOMAN By Lewis Nkosi	32

*Caption, front cover:*

*The picture on the front cover shows the bus  
boycott in the Ciskei, as workers stream  
across the B S Vorster Bridge. The photo-  
graph was taken on the 20th July, 1983.*



# The Crisis in the Ciskei

The Corporation for Economic Development, formerly the Bantu Investment Corporation, which owns 50% of the shares in the Ciskei Transport Corporation — the other 50% is owned by the Ciskei 'government' — is concerned about the crippling effects of the more than three months old bus boycott in Mdantsane, East London.

The Ciskei authorities have tried unsuccessfully to crush the boycott by police shootings, detentions without trial, arrests of sus-

pected curfew breakers, deployment of vigilantes against the boycotters, and repression of trade union activity. This has brought about increased action, rather than submission.

The bus boycott is nearly total, with workers from the Ciskei township of Mdantsane — Mdantsane is the second biggest black township in Southern Africa after Soweto — preferring to travel to work on trains run by the South African Railways, or walk.

The South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) has been banned in the Ciskei. Although SAAWU is not involved in organising the bus boycott, the Ciskeian authorities banned the union and detained its officials. The President of SAAWU, Thozamile Gqwetha, is the only official of the organisation in the Ciskei not in detention — he is in hiding.

This banning means that the black trade union movement is in a trial of strength with the Ciskei authorities. It also means that the union cannot operate legally in the Ciskei; its supporters are liable for persecution and this will make it very difficult to operate in South Africa; it further means an attempt to stifle or destroy trade unionism in the Ciskei.

It should be remembered that no officials of SAAWU were informed about this banning; nor does anybody know where and when it was gazetted. The East London branch of the union got to know about it from the press reports.

This crisis in the Ciskei has all the markings of growing popular resistance to the Bantustan system in general and to the notion of Ciskei as an 'independent' state in particular.

It should be remembered that the Ciskei holds more detainees than the rest of South Africa put together — the latest count was well over 350. More than 90 people have been murdered in the course of the bus boycott. The unemployment rate in the Ciskei is 40%.

In this climate of poverty and unemployment, the Ciskei Transport Corporation chose to raise bus fares. A bus boycott was called

in an attempt to force the fares down again, and a Committee of Ten was elected to co-ordinate the boycott.

Sebe's response was brutal; eight of the committee were detained, commuters were forced on to buses at gun point, and many were shot in the ensuing incidents.

The conflict escalated, and soon the police and army lost control. A new force — the thugs of the ruling Ciskei National Independence Party — emerged to fill the vacuum. These are the vigilantes. These thugs run a campaign of terror against the residents of Mdantsane; the attacks on civilians have become routine; they are using the Sisa Dukashe Sports Stadium as detention barracks, where brutal acts of torture are carried out. Where is the outcry?

Ciskei is laying bare in all its evil horror the evil that is apartheid, for thousands of honest, decent people have to pay a terrible price for this revelation. Union members in East London say that, apart from regular beatings and arrests of workers, there has been a number of mysterious 'disappearances' of people in Mdantsane. Where is the outrage?

Four Eastern Cape trade unionists were detained in South Africa at the request of Ciskei authorities for offences allegedly committed in the Ciskei. They were handed over to Ciskei police because they were Ciskei citizens. This is one proof of mutual co-operation between the respective police forces.

Most of the union's members in that part of the Eastern Cape work in East London — which is in South Africa — but live in Mdantsane, thirteen miles away, in the Ciskei. Thus they may legally belong to the union while at work but be prosecuted for being members when they 'cross the border' at night. SAAWU had a membership of 80 000 in 1980.

SAAWU has been engaged in a bitter fight with both the Ciskeian and South African authorities for at least three years over the organisation of workers. The racist government operates a manpower centre which provides businesses with contract labourers. Because the racist regime negotiates the contracts, it opposes the efforts of SAAWU to organise the workers.

The Ciskeian authorities have always been intolerant of SAAWU from the outset of its operations in that homeland. SAAWU members and officials have been operating under constant intimidation, harassment and detention. The Ciskei authorities have, on various occasions, detained the leaders of SAAWU and accused them of furthering the aims of the African National Congress. But so far none of the leaders have been convicted of any of the charges, and have always been released.

SAAWU has now been accused by the Ciskei authorities of complicity in the current bus boycott in the Ciskei.

The situation surrounding the union and its relationship with the Ciskei and South Africa is complicated. While the Ciskei sees the union as an organisation that allegedly furthers the aims of the ANC, racist South Africa has to recognise its de jure position as a union. When racist South Africa relaxed the labour laws the idea was to introduce a measure of control on unregistered black unions. It will be difficult for racist South Africa to ban the trade union, while it seems impossible for the Ciskeian ban to be effective.

The truth of the matter is that black trade unions inevitably get involved with community matters, which, by logical progression, become political matters. SAAWU's harassment gives the union its image of effective militancy in the eyes of the people.

The ban on SAAWU represents a climax in the persecution of that union and its leadership. It is a veiled threat to other unions to stay away from community struggles like the Mdantsane bus boycott.

We protest vehemently against these measures. We call upon the international community, and especially the trade unions, to voice their condemnation of this ban.

Please send letters and telegrams of protest to:

The Prime Minister, P W Botha,  
Union Buildings,  
Pretoria.



# CISKEI- the struggle continues

by Nyawuza

The enemy press has been telling us a lot about what they call a 'family feud' or a 'palace coup' in the Ciskei. They say very little about the confrontation between the Ciskei authorities and the people.

It is true that the arrest of Charles Sebe, by his brother, Lennox, created some illusions. Many thought that Ciskei repression would now ease. After all, he was the most hated and feared. His Ciskei Central Intelligence Services were brutal to say the least. But the problem is not the individuals but the system.

In this article we want to deal with the confrontation between the Ciskei authorities and the people. But before we do that let us investigate another aspect of this problem — the South African connection. We shall deal with an aspect of this connection, the security aspect, and the link here is:

#### **Major-General Taileffer Minnaar**

Minnaar came into contact with the Ciskei in 1979 when he was instrumental in training Ciskeians in Pretoria. He was appointed adviser and consultant to the Ciskei in 1979

and in 1980 was promoted to security adviser. He became Charles Sebe's right-hand man — the second most powerful man in the day-to-day security apparatus of Ciskei under General Charles Sebe.

Minnaar trained the Ciskeian Central Intelligence officers; established Ikrele le Sizwe (the sword of the nation), an 'anti terrorist squad' and the Mapasa special warfare centre at Peddie. In other words he formed a crack 32-man task force in Ciskei and established a military base and the training of troops.

By the way, the police force in the Ciskei was established by transferring Ciskeian members of the South African Police together with various white advisers and seconded officers to the Ciskeian Department of Police.

Minnaar, the former South African secret agent and a former member of the South African Bureau of State Security (BOSS) — note the contact with Charles Sebe! — worked in Britain and Central Africa; visited Israel, West Germany, Europe generally, the Far East, Central America and the US with Ciskei officials; and it is said that his Swiss bank account had been used as a funnel to pay a

third party. His last arms buying trip was to Israel with Lennox Sebe.

Then it happened. Lennox claims there were plans engineered by his brother, Charles, to assassinate him on June 16. Minnaar was arrested in July and it was subsequently revealed that he would be charged with nine counts under the Explosives Act and the Arms and Ammunition Act. His arrest was part of the Ciskei crackdown in the wake of an alleged coup plot. It is alleged that Minnaar had unlawfully in his possession grenades, an M-57 mortar, about 2 000 rounds of ammunition, an automatic pistol, anti-personnel mines, an Uzi sub-machine gun and more. A trunk containing the ammunition and explosives was in his office. It is said that this was due to lack of suitable armouries and magazines in the Ciskei.

J P Guerrer, a French citizen who is working in the Ciskei as a lieutenant in the army, said the Mapasa Special Warfare Centre for a time possessed few facilities and the armoury had been housed in a renovated cowshed.

Major Denis Eric Walter Croukamp — a Ciskei police officer — put it differently:

“General Minnaar told me that should any white contract officers be locked up the contents of the trunk should be used.”

Minnaar was arrested in Ciskei for a month and thereafter admitted to Weskoppies Mental Hospital in Pretoria because he had ‘suicidal tendencies,’ although he showed no signs of mental disorder. He spent three days in hospital and was released. On August 23, he was arrested at the gates of the hospital by the South African Security Police in terms of a warrant issued by a magistrate under the extradition agreement between Pretoria and Ciskei.

Then a legal wrangle started. Then a month later he was released on R10 000 bail

by the Pretoria magistrate. The whole thing was a big farce!

But before we forget it is instructive to know that Minnaar had close business links with a number of prominent ex-Rhodesians operating in the security field. These include, among others, Lieutenant-General Ron Reid-Daly, founder of the Selous Scouts, now head of the Transkei armed forces. Minnaar was managing director of a Johannesburg security company, Volksguard Security Pty Ltd, immediately before he went to Ciskei. His wife, Mara, worked for the same security company as sales manager. These ex-Rhodesians were directors and shareholders.

#### **Sisa Dukashe Stadium**

It has been estimated that the Ciskei Transport Corporation (also called Gompo Transport) has approximately 650 buses to transport nearly 50 000 commuters daily. Normally an average Mdantsane worker spends between two and three hours every day travelling to and from work.

Today, during these days of bus boycott and curfew, things are different. We should remember that curfew regulations stipulate that: no one should be on the streets between 10.30p.m. and 4a.m. except with written permission from the station commander of Mdantsane police station; not more than 4 people should walk together on the street or be in anyone's house during the day; all businesses have to close between 7p.m. and 6a.m.

No wonder that the *Eastern Province Herald* of August 13 reported that 700 people had been arrested for alleged curfew violations during the first week of the state of emergency in Mdantsane.

The workers suffer from the rise in bus fares and the curfew. This means they have to walk 16 kilometers from the outlying zones of Mdantsane (let us say Zone 14) to the Central Station and then travel another 21 kilometers to East London. Some workers have to take circuitous routes, jump fences



*The bus boycott – traffic police check up on cars in Settlers Way, East London, 20.7.83*

to get on to South African property (the railway line forms the 'boundary' between the Ciskei and South Africa) in order to avoid harassment from the Ciskeian authorities. This means the workers have to leave hours before the train departs in order to walk the distance. The curfew was imposed partially to frustrate these workers' efforts to reach the station in time – in other words the curfew was imposed specifically to break the boycott. It is impossible not to break the curfew, because with the bus boycott on the workers have to leave early for work and return late at night.

The curfew became an excuse for arrest of people. The prisons became overpopulated. Then people were taken to Sisa Dukashe stadium where they were tortured. The *Sowetan* (21.9.83) described the stadium as a "Nazi-German-type concentration camp" where detainees are kept, tortured and maimed. The *Sunday Tribune* (18.9.83) commented:

"Sisa Dukashe Stadium outside East London once roared as delighted fans cheer-

ed their football and boxing heroes. Now it has become a nightmare venue of terror.

"The people of giant Mdantsane – dormitory township to East London which has become part of Ciskei – used to go to Sisa Dukashe to enjoy sport; now they have dubbed the stadium's dressing rooms 'gas chambers.' "

All sports activities have stopped since the curfew was imposed; prisons are full of people caught breaking the curfew – some are taken there for days, tortured and killed.

It is the systematic torture perpetrated in the Sisa Dukashe stadium which is perhaps the most horrific chapter in the story of the recent Ciskeian excesses, says Nicholas Haysom of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand in his study *Ruling with the Whip – Report on the Violation of Human Rights in the Ciskei*. He reminds us that the Sisa Dukashe stadium has banked concrete seats around three sides of the soccer field and on the fourth side is a grandstand. Around the stadium is a high

brick wall which is manned by vigilantes with shotguns and pellet guns. Underneath the grandstand there are numerous changing rooms estimated to be approximately 7-8 metres square. The vigilantes took up accommodation in all but two of these changing rooms.

In the remaining two, the detainees are kept and there is usually no sexual division; no food; no water was provided to the detained. There was no medical attention given to persons injured there during interrogation and there was no guarantee that medical attention would be provided to a former inmate once he was handed over to the police. At times there are up to 80 people locked up into one changing room. There is no running water. The detainees are forced to defecate on the floor. The floor was at some stages littered with piles of faeces!

Who are these vigilantes? These are older middle-aged men, recruited in the main from the rural areas. Because of unemployment some of these vigilantes believe that they are being recruited for employment. They work under the supervision of the police in manning a road block and checking passes. The police and soldiers sit on top of trucks and watch the vigilantes attack people with sabres, knobkierries and sjamboks. These vigilantes at times operate independently.

The huge presence of soldiers, police and vigilantes in the township means that roadblocks are put up every morning where residents are required to produce their reference books, house permits, Ciskei National Independence Party (CNIP) cards and a stamp to prove that they voted in the last election.

Lawyers in East London and Mdantsane are handling hundreds of cases of people alleging brutality by vigilantes — some of these lawyers find themselves behind bars. The detention of Hintsia Siwisa who was instructing attorney in most of the Ciskei's political trials is an example. Two Johannesburg attorneys,

Mrs Priscilla Jana and Mr Clifford Mailer, have been banned from entering Mdantsane and surrounding districts because they could 'endanger the security' of the Ciskei or 'the maintenance of law and order.'

### **The People Fight Back**

Many people have been arrested and detained in Mdantsane. Some of these are known community leaders such as Steve Tshwete, a former Robben Island prisoner and now a prominent UDF committee member, and another former Robben Island prisoner, Lungelo Dwaba, now senior member of the hospital personnel at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane. Rev. Ernest Baartman, who has worked as a pastor at Mdantsane for nearly six years, is one of them. Douglas Rubasana, a blind trainee switchboard operator at Cecilia Makiwane Hospital is another.

Dr Lawrence Dunuba 'Dubs' Msauli is well known in Mdantsane — he is not somebody who, when you mention his name, people ask 'Dr Who?' *Imvo Zabantsundu* reported that he is being charged for murder and theft of a pistol belonging to a Ciskei policeman. This is typical *Imvo* reporting.

The truth of the matter is that the Ciskei soldiers have been harassing people in various ways. They would demand liquor from the people — if there is none they would demand to be taken to a shebeen. It so happened that they did the same with 'Dubs' who took them to a shebeen and when they were drunk he grabbed their pistols and killed one of them, the other one escaped. He is reported to have said, "Ndiyibulele enye yezi zinja" — "I have killed one of these dogs."

He was arrested and before long we heard that he was in hospital. There have been many such cases of people being admitted to hospital at various stages of their detention — some with bruised faces, swollen eyes and cuts on their lips. Another detainee, Sabata, suffers from fits as a result of assaults he was subjected to when he was detained.



The hospital does not have the facilities to treat this particular problem. The failure to hospitalise some of the detainees, or the refusal by prison authorities to give proper medical treatment, is one of the disturbing features. Children are kept in detention for longer periods because they still bear the marks of assault perpetrated on them when they were arrested.

Nicholas Haysom, in the book already cited, says:

“What is surprising about the developments in the Ciskei is not so much the extent to which the Sebe regime has gone to impose its will on the Mdantsane community, but the resilience and strength of the community’s resistance to him. Given the scale of the harassment, inconvenience, the extensive violence, the nearness of death, other communities would have buckled to an authority that appears to know no bounds in imposing its will. But it appears that the conflict has precisely assumed this dimension for the people of Mdantsane, a clash between the Sebe regime, desperate to show that it and it alone calls the shots, and a people who have begun to identify every unpalatable aspect of their daily lives with the ruling regime and particularly their Life President, Lennox Sebe.”

The very fact that the bus boycott – in its fifth month – is between 80 and 90 per cent successful tells the story. The bus company states that for the past twelve months it lost R6 000 000, a loss primarily attributable to the boycott. Spontaneous stoning of the buses by angry commuters has added to the extensive damage and financial and material losses.

The firms, too, are losing. The factories have to operate with 50 per cent of their staff. The major form of transport used as an alternative to the buses has been the trains. While the vigilantes and the police have con-

trolled the streets the trains have been controlled by the commuters. While the buses have been empty people have packed themselves into the trains. People hang on the sides, they stand on the couplings, they lie on the roof.

The imposition of the emergency regulations, the extensive public repression in the townships, and the refusal of the South African authorities to allow the people to meet in East London to discuss the boycott has meant that the trains have become the venue of meetings – freedom squares or liberated zones. These trains carry an estimated 15 to 17 thousand people a day to East London and back to Mdantsane – a distance of 13 miles each way. Haysom writes:

“People sing freedom songs as the train leaves the station at Mdantsane. Singing continues until the train reaches its final destination, apart from periods when announcements are made, meetings announced, new developments in the boycott discussed ... Union members encourage their fellow passengers to join unions ... Unions recruit members from the passengers.

“Train carriages are the only public space that the commuters control. It is apparently dangerous to be a CNIP supporter in such a carriage. Persons caught tape recording the freedom songs and speeches of commuters are thrown out of the moving carriage ... The trains stop between the railway lines. Commuters are greeted at the stations by loud hailer which announce “passengers can board freely. No one will point a gun at you.”

Petrol bombs have been thrown at the homes of known supporters and followers of Sebe. Lennox Sebe himself – after declaring himself “Life President” – ran for sanctuary into East London, South Africa, leaving his bantustan leaderless.

The ANC, with its characteristic sensitivity to local grievances, attacked the Ciskei 'consulates general' in Johannesburg and Pretoria. This resulted in the Ciskei 'consulate' being kicked out of its plush offices in Johannesburg. Graham Lindhoff, spokesman for Anglo-American Property, owners of the 50-storey Carlton Centre office block, confirmed:

"It will take time to renovate the offices, because they were completely gutted in the explosion."

This explosion, which ripped through the sixth level of the block, completely destroying the office of the Ciskei 'Consul-General,' was followed two weeks later by another one, this time in Pretoria.

It is said that tenants have complained about security risks posed by the presence of the Ciskeians in the plush offices, and the second explosion, in Pretoria, confirmed that the ANC means business. The posting of guards and dogs outside the Ciskei offices has made things worse rather than improving them.

### **School Boycott**

It all started at Wongalethu High School, when a student was shot dead. The authorities gave instructions that all those dead should be buried during the week (and not on weekends) and there should not be more than 100 people.

The student from Wongalethu was buried on a Monday and some students did not go to school. Instead they went to the funeral. They were arrested. The students told the principal that they wanted to be released, and that he must do something about it. He called a parents' meeting and told the parents to plead themselves for the release of their children. This was the bone of contention.

The students went on strike, demanding the release of their fellow students. This has

been happening since July. Those students who do go to school have a rough time; their uniforms and books are burned and petrol bombs are used against them. Some schools in Mdantsane have been set alight. The demand of the students is the release of their leaders. They also sympathise with their parents, who are on a bus boycott, harassed by the police, soldiers and vigilantes – tortured, detained, maimed and killed.

### **SAAWU**

The effect of the curfew on workers is great; before the curfew was introduced, workers using trains would get up at three in the morning to have time to walk to the station to catch the first train at four-thirty. Now things have changed. The workers arrive late for work and this affects production and makes the employers nervous – the slogan, 'business as usual' becomes meaningless.

There are numerous road blocks and spot searches of commuters – even South African reference books are demanded, although Ciskeians are supposed to be 'independent' of South Africa. Citizenship cards and CNIP cards are demanded. If a person does not have these documents or has not yet paid taxes to the Ciskei authorities or has not made any financial contribution to the erection of a statue to Lennox Sebe, he is either arrested or assaulted.

The Gompo Transport (the Ciskei authorities are a shareholder) resorted to placing full-page advertisements in the local newspaper, the *Daily Dispatch* (during the 1952 Defiance Campaign the people called it the *Daily Disgrace*), calling on employers in the East London area to persuade their workers to use the buses. They were worried about one thing: production targets were not met – the suffering, brutality, murder and harassment of the workers was irrelevant to them.

These advertisements were supplemented by an airborne campaign in which loads of pamphlets were dropped from a Ciskei gov-

ernment aeroplane, calling on workers to use the buses.

Since the curfew there have been dismissals and evictions of workers, especially SAAWU members. Since the banning of SAAWU things have become worse. There are door-to-door searches. The door is banged upon, and when it is opened, the occupants are assaulted and the house ransacked in search of anything that will connect the occupants to SAAWU.

If the people are found to be connected with SAAWU they are taken to Sisa Dukashe Stadium for further interrogation and torture. The residential qualifications of SAAWU members are being investigated. People wearing SAAWU T-shirts in the streets are beaten up and detained. There is a continual harassment of SAAWU offices in East London; they are visited at least once a week by the security police. SAAWU officials and their families receive many death threats. These death threats and threats of arrest have led SAAWU officials not to sleep at home for many months.

We once again appeal to the international community to assist:

- with medical and legal support from doctors and lawyers in the area. The only lawyer in Mdantsane who helped the citizens — Hintsisa Siwisa — is himself in detention.
- in giving education and funds.

As far as funds are concerned, we should remember that SAAWU is paying people's rents (Ciskei police are visiting families of breadwinners who are in detention to check whether they have paid the rent), subsidising funerals of people killed, and also paying for people's transport costs. The need for funds for and solidarity with SAAWU is more vital now than ever before.

The bus boycott has unified the people more than ever before, and the membership

of SAAWU is increasing. Workers pack SAAWU offices and the SAAWU complaints office service continues to operate at full capacity. It is noteworthy to remember the words of the SAAWU constitution:

*"Trade unions must unreservedly reject any attempts to sow disunity among the workers, on the basis of colour or nationality, or any other basis ..."*

*"The future of the people of South Africa is in the hands of its workers. Only the working class, in alliance with other progressive-minded sections of the community, can build a happy life for all South Africans, a life free of unemployment, insecurity and poverty, free from racial hatred and oppression, a life of vast opportunities for all people."*

*"But the working class can only succeed in this great and noble endeavour if it itself is united and strong, if it is conscious of its inspiring responsibility. The workers of South Africa need a united trade union movement in which all sections of the working class can play their part unhindered by prejudice or racial discrimination. Only such a truly united movement can serve effectively the interests of the workers, both the immediate interests of higher wages and better conditions of life and work."*



DISCUSSION  
ARTICLE

SOUTH  
AFRICA—  
THE  
CRISIS  
OF POWER

by Alex Mashinini



*"... the revolutionary ferment amongst all sections of the black oppressed majority has reached unprecedented heights and has plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of political and economic crisis." (President O R Tambo, 71st Anniversary statement).*

A date has been set already for the holding of a national (white-only) referendum in South Africa — an apparently crucial point in Botha's 'reform' policy — in which the white electorate will be expected to decide on 'power-sharing' with the Indian and so-called coloured communities, within the framework of the President's Council.

One cannot help but perceive the vigour with which the establishment media, both at home and abroad, will propagate this unheard-of political swindle. Already, talk of a 'break-through' in the history of South African constitutional politics is circulating, supportive, obviously, of existing and frequently used statements such as 'swing to the left' on the part of the ruling class.

Internationally, some western governments have already taken positions on this issue. The United States Under-Secretary of State, Mr Lawrence Eagleburger, called these 'reforms' an "important development," (1) while the British Consul-General and director of trade promotion, Mr Collin Brant, said, "We recognise that there are no quick or easy solutions to the problems here (in South Africa) but everything will go well if everybody does his duties — i.e. if the oppressed submit and the oppressor continues to rule." (2)

In parliamentary circles in South Africa, a picture is always given of a 'life and death' struggle between forces of 'change' and those advocating the maintenance of the status quo, a struggle which, we are told, is about to decide the fate of future developments in that country.

But one fundamental and universally acknowledged proposition should be unam-

biguously stated. That is: in a situation such as that in South Africa today, where a system of direct representation in the governance of the country is a legislated right and monopoly of a single section of the population, a tendency will be that of an irretrievable movement to the right, and never to the 'left.' This is the logic of undemocracy! Inversely, the proposition holds that the destruction of the present political order and its replacement with a democratic one which will ensure equal participation of all sections of the population, remains basic on the agenda for the resolution of the conflict in that country.

### **The 'Reforms:' Their Impact on White Politics**

The 'merits' and 'demerits,' the forces which gave birth to different aspects of Botha's 'reform' policy, the 'total strategy,' the constitutional proposals, the structural changes in government departments, the findings and recommendations of the Wiehahn and Rieckert Commissions, and so on, and the resulting split in the ranks of Afrikanerdom have been extensively dealt with in the literature of the liberation movement, and by political analysts and observers interested in that area. (3) What this article will confine itself to is the cumulative impact these 'reforms' will have on the South African parliamentary system, white unity in general, and Afrikaner nationalism in particular.

This does not, by any means, suggest the pre-eminence of white politics in the South African conflict, which is a conflict between forces of apartheid, economic exploitation and oppression on the one hand and those of freedom, justice and equality on the other. On the contrary, to single out these points will help dispel, among other things, some uncertainties on the outcome of the coming referendum.

Some politicians confront us with a situation that, given the combined or separate

opposition of the Conservative Party, the Hersigte Nasionale Party and the Progressive Federal Party to Botha's constitutional proposals, and the fact of the outcome of the recently held by-election in which the Conservative Party of Dr Treurnicht made considerable strides in gaining the Waterberg constituency, thereby threatening other strongholds of the Nationalist Party — a prophecy is made on this basis that should Botha suffer defeat in the referendum, two alternatives are unavoidably feasible. These are, a motion of no confidence in Botha, resulting in his step-down, and/or the calling of an early general election in which it is hoped that a right-wing opposition coalition stands a good chance of ruling. This conviction is based on the conviction that, should the forces which brought the Nationalists into power in 1948 be properly mobilised, history will definitely repeat itself.

It is therefore in the light of these illusions and confusion that a proper analysis of this issue, and of the nature and consistency of contending parties in parliamentary circles, becomes imperative.

Bourgeois political analysts characterise the South African political terrain as that of a conflict between the rational economic base and the irrational political structures, which hamper and distort the former.

According to this theory, the state, the Nationalist Party and the Afrikaner are collapsed into an identical whole — the volk — and used interchangeably and conceived of as a monolithic entity, inseparably bound by common culture, tradition, language, interests and aims.

This approach fails to see or deliberately ignores the nature of the South African state as capitalist, with its inherent class differentiations — a factor which explains the widely diversified and disparate responses of classes and groupings to the erratic and contradictory movement of the political system and to the mode of production upon which it rests.

Logically, therefore, we are made to believe that it is solely and only on this solid block, that the nature and pace of reforms and change are determined.

The internal conflict between the 'verligte' and the 'verkrampste' in the Afrikaner Nationalist party is thus projected as a decisive pivot about which the whole political structure revolves.

While it is true that the mobilisation potential of social categories as common language, tradition, culture, interests and so on, were successfully manipulated and used by Afrikaner leaders to achieve 'republicanism' and white supremacy, it would, however, be wrong to treat of this historical fact as immutable and stagnant.

### **The Movement of Social and Economic Forces**

Since the advent to power of the Nationalists in 1948, dramatic changes of a cumulative nature have taken place in the social as well as the economic positions not only of the volk — which now has the monopoly of managerial and supervisory positions in industry and the civil services — but also of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie, which has made impressive inroads in the control of the private sector of the economy. (4)

Thus today, contrary to the previously held and isolationist positions of the Afrikaner bourgeoisie, we see greater integration with non-Afrikaner business, both domestic and foreign. (5) The state, too, in undergoing change, has achieved a greater measure of autonomy. Its role as a 'guardian' has drastically diminished, while its other role as an interested party has increased substantially, controlling, according to estimates, 50% of the country's fixed investment. (6)

Here, the role of small Afrikaner business (the present economic backbone of Afrikanerdom's right wing elements) whose expansion depends on the perpetuation of the status quo, on unreformed apartheid, is not

under-estimated. But the significance of their role, and hence their influence on the political management of the country, depends to a large extent on the resistance they offer to the process of greater concentration and centralisation of capital, which is currently dominating economic development in South Africa today.

These factors explain the positive response of the state to big business in having apartheid reformed, in which it is hoped that the resultant political stability will create favourable conditions for the expansion of the economy, both inside the country and externally.

It therefore came as no surprise when the Associated Chambers of Commerce (ASSOCOM) in its congress supported the constitutional proposals. The Federated Chamber of Industries (FCI) also "applauded the government's commitment towards power-sharing," and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut has also "given its support" at its 38th Annual Congress. (7)

### **The Centralisation of Political Power**

The process of the autonomisation of the state and its merger with influential sectors of the economy has facilitated the emergence of a major development in South Africa — that of centralisation of government and the extension of military control over government and strategic sectors of the economy. (8)

Of outstanding importance in this regard is the introduction of the Security Management System, structured and called the State Security Council.

Its members are the following:

Prime Minister ... P W Botha  
Minister of Defence ... Magnus Malan  
Chief of SADF ... General C L Viljoen  
Minister of Police ... L Le Grange  
Commissioner of Police ... H Coetzee  
Minister of Foreign Affairs ... R F Botha

Head of NIS ... N Barnard

Secretary ... Lt-General A van Deventer

No serious political thinker can afford to ignore the sweeping powers of this highly centralised military clique, which has literally usurped the process of decision-making in South Africa.

Added to this development is the creation of an unknown number of sub-committees which are operationally attached to the SSC. One of these is the Defence Advisory Board — an influential body on economic policies in whose executive sit directors of South Africa's big enterprises.

Thus, with this picture in mind, some general trends can be detected and some speculations (though tentative) be made.

It has become inescapably clear that the powers of both Parliament and Cabinet have been drastically reduced, making mockery of any parliamentary opposition in South Africa. Botha's 'reform' policy has therefore "moved in the opposite direction to genuine accommodation — decidedly against expanding the scope for effective participation, even for whites." (9)

While it appears that Botha's 'commitment' to his 'reform' policy will antagonise his following, it should be stated at the same time that the magnitude of this antagonism cannot as yet be determined. But it is, however, a statement of fact that the present social and economic position of the larger section of the volk and the extent of their urbanisation have undoubtedly weakened the bonds of ideology and ethnic unity. (A great deal of research work is needed on this issue.)

In the light of this background, it can be safely deduced that the extent to which the already existing split in the ranks of Afrikanerdom will be carried further by the coming referendum will be determined partially by the degree of bonds of common volk solidarity.

This factor does not, in any significant 13

way, attach importance to the action-reaction ratio as a determining factor in the referendum, for this, as indicated elsewhere in this article, has been negotiated by the military takeover.

Finally, it can be stated with a measure of certainty that the South African ruling class, in alliance with big business, is fast approaching the era of totalitarian military rule "even for whites;" that the real holders of power — faced with a revolutionary onslaught from the oppressed majority and the increasing economic problems whose resolution is not envisaged at least at this stage — will commit itself more to moves which will ensure not only the survival but also the growth of high profit returns than to its common 'interests' with the volk.

The coming referendum should be viewed, therefore, as one of the last exercises of 'democracy' by the whites of South Africa, marking the beginning of an end to illusions about parliamentarianism in that country.

The issue at hand, therefore, is not whether or not Botha will gain a majority vote for his constitutional proposals in the

coming referendum, but rather that the will of big business and that of the military clique will be fulfilled in that country ... **this is the end-result and logic of militarism!**

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# The war in Southern Africa

by B.N.

*An International Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa was held in Lisbon, Portugal, in March 1983. The conference adopted this paper, which was prepared by the ANC.*

For more than twenty years now the entire southern African sub-continent has been the theatre of a bloody conflict of enormous proportions. Tens of thousands of lives have already been lost, and people maimed, injured and displaced, with all the consequent suffering this entails. With the continuation of the conflict has been the resultant destruction, wanton and deliberate, of material wealth created by human endeavour. The end of the conflict is as yet out of sight, though its outcome is predictable even now. Its import stretches far beyond the confines of the region, due to the opposing interests of the forces ranged against each other.

Twenty years ago colonialism, British

and Portuguese, allied with white supremacy rule in South Africa, controlled the political destiny of the African majority whilst safeguarding the region for the economic exploitation by local and international capital operating through the multinational corporations. The aim was to maintain the region as an enclave of white domination and super-profits to this side of eternity.

The 'winds of change' of the decade of the sixties, fanned by the mass movements for national liberation on the African continent, forced Britain into the process of decolonisation. Zambia, Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland gained independence in rapid succession. A new alliance of reaction ensued – racist South Africa, Portugal and Ian Smith's Rhodesia (today Zimbabwe), with South Africa as the linchpin, fully backed by the NATO Alliance.

The irresistible force of armed revolution finally buried British and Portuguese colonialism on the African continent and

brought into being the independent states of Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe.

Racist South Africa stood alone as the only obstacle to the completion of the southern African revolution.

During this period, the racist-capitalist system in South Africa and Namibia came under increasing attack from the forces of revolution headed by the ANC and SWAPO. The turn to armed struggle by these movements in the early sixties completed the generalised armed conflict which has characterised the southern African sub-continent since.

In the face of the radical shift in the balance of forces in favour of national liberation over these decades, the South African racists, actively supported by imperialism, began their systematic programme of militarising the South African state in order to maintain the system of power and profits accruing to the white minority and international capitalism.

### **South Africa's Military Build-up**

*The SADF.* Military spending in the Republic has sky-rocketed over the last two decades; from R72 million in 1961 to R3000 million in 1981. During this period, defence expenditure has been claiming a growing proportion of the budget allocations; for example, the March 1982 budget increased defence expenditure by another 8 per cent over the previous year. Over the same period, the operational Defence Force has grown from 12,000 to over 200,000 whilst total strength has increased from 79,000 to 515,000.

The police force, always an integral part of the Defence Force, increased in strength from 26,000 in 1961 to 72,000 by 1981. Conscription into the military for white South Africans has been compulsory since 1967, but with the growing liberation struggles in South Africa and Namibia, the period of service has risen steadily. Current legislation before the white parliament will mean that conscripts will serve a compulsory two

year period in the Defence Force in a full-time capacity. This will be followed by annual alternating services of one and three months over an extended period of 12 years. Compulsory military training for all whites up to the new upper age limit of 55 is now being proposed together with the conscription of Indian and Coloured South Africans.

*ARMSCOR.* Since the Sharpeville massacre in March 1960, and the growing demand by the international community for a mandatory arms embargo through the UN Security Council, the apartheid regime began effecting a two-pronged strategy.

The first relied on the purchase of the most sophisticated land, sea and air-based weapons and systems, together with the supportive technology, licences and patents, and technicians and experts with specialised skills. The second, and concurrent strategy, was the development in South Africa of a military-industrial complex to ensure weapons self-sufficiency insofar as possible. The former objective began to be realised with the active collaboration of the NATO countries primarily, the latter, through the establishment of the South African Armaments Corporation — ARMSCOR. In the five years since the UN arms embargo was implemented, some R630 million has been spent on increasing ARMSCOR's capacity. Its assets include 8 wholly-owned subsidiaries with 15 major factories, and capital valued at R1550 millions. Whereas ten years ago, only a third of South Africa's armaments were produced internally, today it is claimed that over 90 per cent of the SADF's requirements are met through ARMSCOR. Around this state-owned monopoly has grown up a vast military-industrial complex. Fifty privately-owned companies are the main contractors to ARMSCOR; some 400 others are involved in the manufacture and supply of components, while another 1000 firms supply arms-related parts. ARMSCOR itself employs some



*This picture demonstrates the militarisation of the South African racist state by showing Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, in the uniform of a colonel of the South African Air Force. He is accepting the gift of a picture of a Mirage jet, on behalf of the men of No 3 Squadron, a Mirage unit.*

28,000 workers and it is estimated that the related companies in the network employ over 100,000 workers.

Not only has ARMSCOR become the major supplier of weapons to the SADF, but it is an active agency in the international arms market as a seller. By the end of 1982, the director of ARMSCOR revealed that the corporation's projected goal over the next few years was a five-fold increase in exports — a target estimated by him to be between R100 million to R150 million.

Another aspect of the corporation's 'development' strategy was the switch to more sophisticated weapons development and production, particularly specially-tailored armoured vehicles, heavy weapons, artillery, aircraft, radar equipment and naval craft. The

results so far have been the development and production of the Olifant battle tank and the G6 155 mm self-propelled gun.

*South Africa's Nuclear Build-up.* There can be very little doubt today that the South African regime disposes of nuclear weapons capability together with a sophisticated delivery system. In September 1979 United States and Soviet satellites identified a nuclear explosion in the South Atlantic near South Africa, and later evidence has substantiated the Pretoria regime's responsibility. It is noteworthy in this respect that a British television documentary suggested that the device may have been exploded by a system supplied by the Space Research Corporation of Vermont on the US-Canadian border.

Since 1965, the South African regime has embarked on a deliberate programme of nuclear development. Together with Namibia, South Africa possesses some 17% of the world's known reserves of uranium. Without the active collaboration of the Western countries particularly West Germany, the United States, Great Britain and France, this programme would never have got off the ground. Massive financial, technical and technological assistance was made available. Scientists and engineers, trained in the Western countries, with expertise in the field, entered the services of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), entrusted with the responsibility of developing the country's nuclear industry. Today, South Africa has two nuclear research reactors, a uranium enrichment plant, and two nuclear power reactors at Koeberg near Cape Town.

The dividing line between military and civilian use of nuclear power is a spurious one at best, and South Africa's claim that it is motivated in its development by the latter has been widely disproved by the 1979 explosion. At no stage has the regime been willing to open its enrichment plant to inspection by the International Atomic Energy Agency, nor has it shown any interest in signing the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

*The Militarised State.* Perhaps the most striking feature of the South African state as it is constituted at present is the predominant influence and presence of the military within the decision and policy-making organs.

Since the coming to power of P W Botha, the former Defence Minister, and his appointment of General Magnus Malan as Minister of Defence, the role of the all-white parliament has been systematically eroded. Botha, as Prime Minister, and widely tipped to be the new President under the proposed constitutional changes, will dispose of powers which will be all-embracing and outside the control of the white power structures func-

tioning at present. Whilst the vast state apparatus has been drastically trimmed, a number of key cabinet committees have been created, falling under the Prime Minister's office. Major policy and decision making is now vested in these committees. Rule by the whites-only parliament has now been replaced by rule through cabinet committees.

At the centre of the cabinet committee system is the State Security Council (SSC), which is responsible in the final analysis for all major policy and decisions. Seven of the nine-member committee making up the SSC have either served or are at present serving in the SADF. This concentration of political power in the hands of the military represents a *de facto* transformation in the South African state into a military dictatorship with far-ranging powers in all aspects of the functioning of the apartheid system – political, military, economic, ideological, social and cultural. State functioning, including foreign and internal policy, is guided by the doctrine of 'total strategy,' first enunciated in the Defence White Paper of 1977 when P W Botha was still Defence Minister. The drift to dictatorship by the military was underlined by General Jack Dutton, the South African ambassador to Chile:

"... the requirements for the application of total strategy would appear to favour a system of unified command, joint central planning ... Conventional organisation in democratic systems do not as a rule lend themselves to these procedures."

None would argue that the present racist system in South Africa is democratic, but Dutton's statement underlines the dominance of a military solution to the growing crisis afflicting the apartheid system. Given the maturing of the revolutionary situation in South Africa and Namibia, coupled with the steadfastness of the Front Line States in support of the struggle, 'total strategy' clearly implies

that white domination is incapable of being maintained in its old political shell.

Not only has South Africa armed itself to the teeth with both sophisticated conventional weapons and a potential nuclear strike capability, but the restructuring of the state means that the way has been cleared for the establishment of a military dictatorship, should the necessity arise.

*South Atlantic Treaty Organisation (SATO).* The idea of establishing a complement to NATO in the southern hemisphere has been canvassed for decades. Central to this strategic conception of imperialism has been the Pretoria regime and the reactionary states of Latin America. Moves to create such an alliance of reaction, with close ties and integrated within the NATO network, continued to gain strength with the growing struggles for national and social emancipation in southern African and the Latin American countries. That informal links exist between Pretoria and a number of fascist regimes in Latin America has long been known.

In April 1982, however, the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* disclosed for the first time that SATO had indeed been in existence for the last thirteen years. The Treaty states, it was revealed, comprised South Africa, Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. What was equally revealing was the fact that both Taiwan and Israel were part of the "South Atlantic Pact."

The scope and character of the collaboration between SATO members can be gauged from the military and economic ties that have evolved among them. The arms trade between Taiwan and South Africa has been increasing; Israel's co-operation with the Pretoria regime in the military and economic fields has been documented on innumerable occasions; visits between the high-ranking military officials of the Treaty states has increased over the last few years; and collaboration between South Africa and Argentina during the conflict over

the Malvinas Islands disturbed even the NATO countries, since Britain is one of the key members of the Alliance.

There is increasing evidence that the SATO states may extend the increasingly informal political, military and economic links between themselves and several other Latin American and Asian states, including South Korea, Chile and Bolivia. Not only are these regimes the most reactionary in the world, but the very existence of SATO and its proposed extension to include other fascist dictatorships and extreme right-wing regimes increases the threat to world peace and security.

South Africa, it must be noted, is already in part integrated with the NATO alliance at the level of information gathering and communications systems, through the Advokaat electronic surveillance system.

### **The Violence of Apartheid**

In the ultimate analysis, the system of white supremacy rule in South Africa relies for its perpetuation on the use of violence, whether judicial, administrative, or, as has been the overwhelming instance, physical violence, against all those seeking to change or destroy the system. In inter-state relations with the Front Line countries of southern Africa, the apartheid state has resorted to open acts of war to intimidate, subvert, destabilise and dissuade these countries in their support for the national liberation struggles in Namibia and South Africa.

This foreign policy doctrine was succinctly stated by M H Louw, an ex-director of the Institute of Strategic Studies at Pretoria University (ISSUP).

"National Security doctrine is a trilogy of foreign policy, military policy and domestic policy ... We must mobilise through its mechanisms and resources a capability (power, leverage or violence) for effective resistance ... this means a capacity to withstand challenges to our

own territorial integrity and political and socio-economic order, as well as to exert pressure on other, mostly weaker, states, to make their behaviour consonant with our interests." (our emphasis).

Internal repression and external aggression has become the cornerstone of the apartheid state's policy to maintain white domination. Over the last decade in particular, the extremes to violence has escalated.

Since 1962, more than 50 persons have been murdered during detention by the South African security police. Arrests, detention without trial for indefinite periods, torture and murder of opponents of the apartheid regime, actual or suspected, has become the most notable feature of the racist state's repression. ANC cadre Solomon Mahlangu was executed in April of 1979, and this marked a new stage in the apartheid state's policy of repression. Today, more cadres are awaiting execution in Pretoria Central Prison, the death row of the regime.

Unarmed men, women and children have for long been the targets of state violence, not only in South Africa and Namibia, but within the independent states of the front line. Sharpeville, Soweto, Kassinga, Matola and recently, Maseru, were the sites of the massacres of innocents. Each one was deliberately planned and executed.

These overt acts of aggression and violence, however, do not give the whole picture. Within Namibia and South Africa countless millions of people are daily ground down in poverty, want and destitution. The bantustans have become dumping grounds for the aged, the under-employed and unemployed. Malnutrition, poverty and disease is rampant in these backwaters of apartheid South Africa. Currently, more than two and a half million black workers are unemployed. The life-span of the African people is amongst the lowest in the world, and infant mortality

among the highest. Apartheid is a crime against humanity.

The undeclared war against the Front Line States is an extension of the South African state's 'total strategy' of repression and violence. Political and economic blackmail has become the basis of Pretoria's foreign policy. None of the Front Line States has escaped the aggression of the white supremacist state. As an illustration of the war being waged against these states, Angola is instructive. According to President Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the South African army has caused material damage in Angola estimated at ten billion dollars since 1975. Substantial areas of southern Angola have been, and continue to be, occupied by South African racist troops and bandits of UNITA. During 1981 alone, South African military operations involved 95 ground operations, 75 concentrations of men and war materials on Angolan territory, 1651 reconnaissance flights, 161 bombing and strafing raids, and 64 heliborne troop attacks.

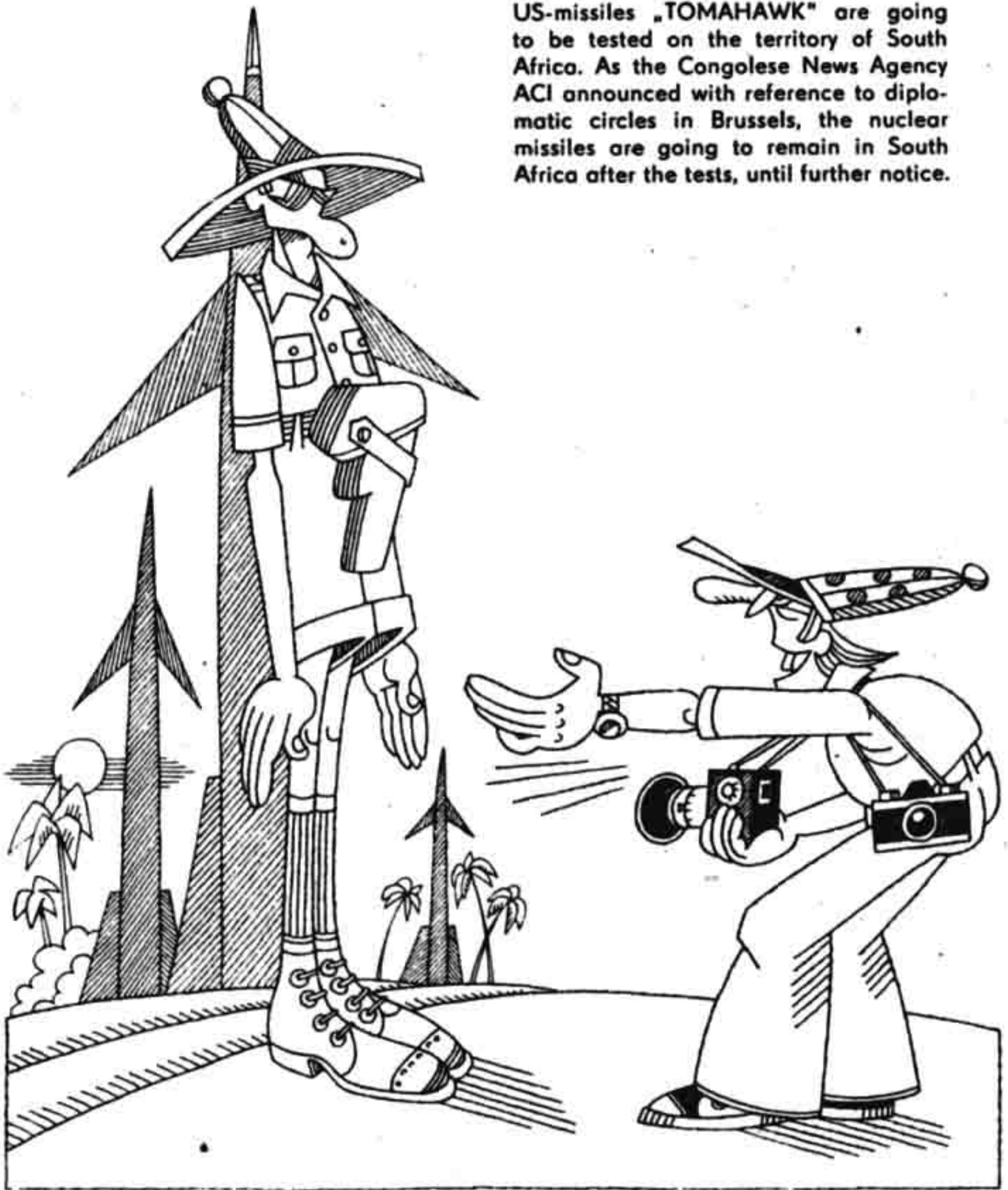
In Mozambique, South African troops acting with the counter-revolutionary MNR, itself funded, trained and directed by the racists, caused extensive damage to the Beira oil depot and continue attempts to destabilise the country economically and subvert it politically.

The government of Zimbabwe has made it known that armed bandits are being trained and infiltrated into the country to organise counter-revolution and violence against the people and the state.

The Maseru massacre was the latest of a series of acts of aggression against the government and people of Lesotho by the South African racist and reactionary elements within and outside the country.

In all these instances, a definite policy pattern has emerged. Arm, train, fund and direct counter-revolutionary elements to cause as much political and economic havoc as possible. Complement these with raids, in-

US-missiles „TOMAHAWK“ are going to be tested on the territory of South Africa. As the Congolese News Agency ACI announced with reference to diplomatic circles in Brussels, the nuclear missiles are going to remain in South Africa after the tests, until further notice.



„Place yourself in front of it:  
You really look like a peace angel!“

Rauwolf

vasions and occupation by the South African racist army itself. Whatever the cost, stop the support from the Front Line States to the ANC and SWAPO and to the fighting peoples of the unliberated regions.

Clearly, the South African regime has been in breach of the United Nations Charter on innumerable occasions in its bloody and undeclared war against the peoples and governments of the Front Line States. It has breached the peace and poses a threat to international security and peace.

The issue which further underscores the racist regime's intransigence and flaunting of international norms is that of Namibia. With the active collaboration of the Contact Group — the USA, Britain, France, West Germany and Canada — the South African racists have stubbornly refused to comply with the relevant UN Security Council Resolutions for an end to their illegal occupation and the transfer of power to the elected representatives of the Namibian people through UN supervised and controlled elections. On the contrary, an estimated 100 000 racist troops continue to occupy Namibia, and acts of aggression against the civilian population have assumed the proportions of genocide. Backed by the US primarily, the South African racists are now demanding that Namibia's independence be linked with the withdrawal of the fraternal troops of socialist Cuba from Angola. At the same time, frantic efforts have been mounted towards a unilateral declaration of independence by South African surrogate forces in Namibia without genuine recourse to the people. This is the latest move to stop SWAPO from coming to power with the backing of the majority of the Namibian people through UN controlled elections.

#### **Western Collaboration with Apartheid**

For well over two decades the international community has condemned the policy and practice of the South African regime as constituting a threat to international peace and

security. Today, it is a proven fact that the regime is indeed in breach of international peace and security.

Despite this, the major NATO countries, and international capitalism in general, have continued to support and collaborate with the Pretoria racists in a variety of ways, not least of all in the military and nuclear fields. A case in point is the recent decision by the Reagan administration to supply the apartheid nuclear development program with quantities of Helium 3, which is used in the production of thermo-nuclear weapons. Under its policy of 'constructive engagement', the US administration has, in addition, cleared the way for the sale of high-technology computers normally used for nuclear research and development. This decision by the Reagan government is clearly intended to pave the way for far more extensive collaboration with the Pretoria racists in the field of nuclear weapons research and development.

In spite of the UN Security Council imposed arms embargo against South Africa in November 1977 the Western countries have continued their collaboration with the South African regime in a variety of ways. This is most notable in the case of servicing Pretoria's present armoury. All weapons systems and war machines sold to the regime before 1977 continue to be serviced and maintained through the supply of technical expertise, up-dating technologies and spare parts. Nationals and companies operating from the Western countries have continued to supply the South Africans with weapons, weapons control systems, telecommunications, radar and electronic systems, including computers.

In addition, Pretoria's ARMSCOR has since its creation, depended on, and continues to receive, foreign funds, patents, licences, transfer of technology, machinery, tools and components, as well as the expertise of foreign nationals vital to its research and development programme. Much of the trafficking



in the armaments sphere is carried out by subsidiaries of companies based in the West.

The continued assistance which the Pretoria racists receive from the Western countries rests on the unwillingness of many of these countries to apply the embargo in a comprehensive manner and to legislate for its implementation against foreign nationals and companies based in their countries.

The most urgent task of the international community in the field of military and nuclear collaboration with the South African regime is to make the current embargo much more comprehensive and to ensure its implementation through national legislation in each country.

A more comprehensive embargo must include an embargo on oil and oil-related products. South Africa relies on the import and purchase of crude oil to meet some 25 per cent of the country's energy requirements. A substantial portion of this goes towards fuelling the racist war machine. Any reduction in the supply of oil to South Africa will have a direct bearing on the regime's military strike capability, not only for internal repression (motorised units and rapid troop movements), but equally for the conduct of the undeclared war against the Front Line States (airborne invasions, tanks, armoured vehicles, troop carriers, and naval assault and support units).

Military and nuclear collaboration by the Western countries cannot be seen in isolation from the extensive economic relations maintained by these countries with the South African racists. South Africa's dependence on Western-supplied finance capital and investments and loans has been well established. These have played the most crucial role in the maintenance of the system of white domination and exploitation of the black majority. The transnational corporations (TNCs) have profited immensely from the exploitation of black labour in South Africa, and in the process have directly been respon-

sible for the strengthening, not only of the South African economy, but the apartheid system as a whole.

Currently, some 2 000 foreign companies operate in South Africa. Total foreign investment is estimated at 25 billion dollars. 65 TNCs from 11 countries are directly involved – 22 from the USA, 19 from Britain, 11 from West Germany, 3 from France, 3 from Japan, and the others are based in the Netherlands, Belgium and other capitalist countries. A South African commission (the Franzen Commission) has put the contribution of the TNCs to the aggregate South African production at almost 40%. Not only are these TNCs playing a dominant role in the production process of the country, but are situated in key sectors of the economy – in the petro-chemicals, electronics, and computer and information technology sectors, in the automotive and motor vehicle industries, in transport, heavy engineering and capital goods sectors, and in the mining industries.

Profits are the highest in the world, because of the degree of exploitation of black labour power and the conditions and wages of these workers. The average rate of return on capital is of the order of 18% to 20% per annum. No wonder that the *Business Week* (20.10.1980) could enthuse that "United States companies are finding that their South African holdings are among the most profitable – estimated pay-back for many companies is just five years – and that opportunities for expansion are irresistible." No wonder that some 450 American companies, an equal number of French and West German companies and 650 British companies, to name only the majors, are deeply entrenched in the South African economy.

Without the continuing co-operation and involvement of foreign capital, South African racism would be incapable of resisting the tide of national liberation mounted by the peoples of South African and Namibia under the leadership of the ANC and SWAPO.

**Comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions against racist South Africa need to be pursued with greater urgency and vigour**, given the escalating violence and repression being resorted to by the regime.

At the same time, it is the one sure way that the international community can influence the duration of the conflict between oppressor and oppressed in southern Africa, at a time when the armed revolutionary struggles in South Africa and Namibia are maturing rapidly.

### **Conclusions and Programme of Action**

The generalised repression and violence of the apartheid regime has never gone unopposed by the oppressed and exploited people. Since the early sixties this opposition took the form of armed struggle by the South African and Namibian people organised by the ANC and SWAPO. Today, armed revolution has come to be accepted by the majority of the peoples of these countries as the only way out of the poverty, exploitation, humiliation and bloodshed of apartheid. The struggle for national and social emancipation in South Africa and Namibia is the most burning issue confronting the progressive states of the front line in southern Africa, on the African continent and in the world community.

Without the destruction of the apartheid monster, peace, genuine independence, non-racialism and democracy cannot be realised in the region. What is more, the apartheid state, by its policy and actions, is already in breach of international peace and security, and continues to act in defiance of the international community.

More than ever before, the time has come to act decisively against the Pretoria regime and its international allies, the trans-national corporations, and their political representatives.

The African National Congress therefore calls on the international community, on all governments, on all the mass movements —

trade unions, anti-apartheid movements, church, women's, youth and student organisations, national, regional and international — to fight for and support the growing calls for:

1. Mandatory and comprehensive economic sanctions under Chapter 7 of the United Nations Charter.
2. A more comprehensive arms embargo to include any form of nuclear collaboration with the Pretoria racists, together with the appropriate measures, legal, administrative and otherwise, for enforcement of such an embargo.
3. Mandatory oil embargo through the United Nations Security Council and the unilateral imposition and enforcement of such an embargo by individual countries or groups of countries pending a Security Council resolution.

Success in these measures may not mean the end of apartheid, but will go a long way in shortening the duration of the conflict, and establishing the basis for peace, national liberation and democracy in Southern Africa, sooner rather than later.



# INTERANGAL

## **International Support Organisation Meets**

Thanks to the hospitality of the Finnish Africa Committee, the Extended Secretariat of the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA) met in Helsinki, Finland, from the 30th September till the 2nd October, 1983.

The meeting was addressed by Moses Garoeb, Administrative Secretary of SWAPO, Francis Meli of the ANC and Ambassador Vaz Contreiras representing the People's Republic of Angola. It was attended by representatives from anti-apartheid and solidarity organisations, as well as from the national liberation movements of Southern Africa. Altogether, there were fourteen countries represented.

The meeting strongly condemned the use of Namibia "as a springboard of aggression against the neighbouring independent states, particularly the People's Republic of Angola," and declared that "the policy of linkage, invented by the Reagan Administration, seeks to put a puppet regime in place in Windhoek to secure the interests of imper-

ialism in Southern Africa." It commended SWAPO's co-operation with the Secretary-General of the United Nations, and demanded the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola, and the implementation of UN Resolution 435.

ICSA was first formed in 1977, at the World Conference Against Apartheid in Lisbon, and over the five years since then, it has struck telling blows against the apartheid regime. With scant resources it has organised conferences, workshops and meetings, mobilising international opinion for the cause of the struggling people of South Africa and Namibia. At the meeting in Helsinki, the liberation movements re-affirmed their support for the important historical role the organisation has played.

The Extended Secretariat took the opportunity of re-examining and re-evaluating its role within the international solidarity movement. Ways and means were examined to help ICSA to continue, to help it to develop in a more dynamic and effective way, as co-ordinator of support organisations, and also to secure the necessary funds.

Following from these deliberations, ICSA decided on the following future programme:

1. To co-operate with the US Continuations Committee to assess international developments and prepare for the mass Conference planned to take place in 1984 in Berkeley, California.
2. To convene a Conference of Solidarity with the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, in defence of the Front Line States and for peace in the region, to take place in May 1984 in the Federal Republic of Germany.
3. To set up a delegation to visit Brazil to consult over the possibility of convening a Latin American Solidarity Conference.
4. To explore the possibility of holding another ICSA session in 1984.
5. To look into the possibility of convening a solidarity conference in France.
6. To organise fund-raising delegations to seek concrete support from other countries.

#### **Dadoo Honoured at Meeting in India**

A meeting to honour the memory of Comrade Yusuf Dadoo, Chairman of the South African Communist Party and member of the Politico-Military Council of the ANC, was called by the National Council of the Communist Party of India in New Delhi on the 3rd October, 1983.

Comrade Moosa Moolla, Chief of the ANC Asian Mission, was in the chair, and the meeting was addressed by two members of the Central Executive Committee of the CPI, Comrade N K Krishnan and Comrade M. Farooki.

Speaking on behalf of the National Council of the CPI, Comrade Farooki said that Comrade Dadoo had not only been a leader of South African communists, but of

the international Communist movement, and he had connected the South African liberation struggle with the struggle of the international working class against imperialism.

#### **British Theatre Writers Boycott Apartheid**

A meeting called by the Theatre Writers' Union and Writers' Guild in Hammersmith, near London, in October 1983, was addressed by Francis Meli on behalf of the ANC and Ethel de Keyser on behalf of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The meeting adopted the following resolution:

"We ... reaffirm our total opposition to the system of apartheid in South Africa and declare our support for the struggle of the people of South Africa for a free and just society.

"In solidarity with that struggle and in response to the call by the ANC (SA) and the United Nations General Assembly (Resolution 35/206 adopted on 16th December 1980) we refuse to allow our work to be performed in apartheid South Africa."

# **INDEPENDENCE,**

# **UNITY AND**

# **ANTI-IMPERIALIST**

# **SOLIDARITY**

**by Mavis Nhlapo**

The Second Pan African Youth Festival took place in the People's Arab Libyan Socialist Jamahiriya from the 22nd to the 31st August 1983. Under the slogan, "Independence, Unity and Anti-Imperialist Solidarity," delegations from 27 countries of Africa participated in the ten-day festival of arts, music, sport and politics. These included delegations from the ANC, SWAPO and the Polisario Front, who were full participants, as they are members of the Pan African Youth Movement, the organisers of the Festival.

Various other delegations from outside the African continent were also invited in the capacity of observers. These included delegations from the Young Communist Leagues of the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, Cuba, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, the People's Republic of China and from the World Federation of Democratic Youth, the International Union of Students, and several other progressive youth movements.

## **Aims of the Festival**

The aims of the festival were clearly reflected in its slogan: 'The Unity of the African Youth in the Struggle for the Complete Decolonisation of the Continent, and for Solidarity with the Youth Struggling Against Imperialist Manoeuvres in Africa.' This was indeed an appropriate slogan, considering the escalation in the struggles of the people of Namibia, South Africa and the Western Sahara on the one hand, and the struggles being waged by newly-independent Africa against neo-colonialism and under-development on the other. The holding of the Festival in Libya, a country that has fallen victim to America's aggressive policies, and that is constantly facing the threat of an American invasion, was indeed a victory over attempts by imperialism to isolate the country.

The political aspect of this Festival was divided into five main forums. These provided an opportunity for the exchange of views on ways of working together towards the mobil-

isation of the youth for the achievement of its unity in action for political, economic and socio-cultural progress. The Festival also focused on developing the huge cultural wealth of Africa, and the role the youth can play in the struggle to establish a just and fair new international economic order.

### **Solidarity**

A special forum of solidarity was organised to run throughout the Festival, during which meetings were held in solidarity with the authentic national liberation movements on the continent – the ANC, SWAPO and the Polisario Front. There were also meetings of solidarity with the Arab peoples, in particular the peoples of Lebanon and Palestine; a meeting dedicated to solidarity of the African youth with the progressive and democratic forces for freedom and peace the world over; and a special day of solidarity with the peoples of Latin America and Asia, who are subjected to barbarous imperialist aggression and the threat of genocide.

At a time when the world is facing the threat of a nuclear holocaust, and the imperialist camp is refusing to accede to the demands of the people for complete disarmament, it was appropriate that the Festival dedicated a session to world peace, security and international co-operation. An added aspect to this particular discussion was the focus on the struggle for the suppression of all foreign military bases in Africa, and all attempts to set up new ones.

### **Political Forum**

Out of the fierce and sometimes heated debates, it became possible in the end to achieve unanimity on all questions presented for discussion. On the situation in Southern Africa, the final declaration of the Festival strongly condemned the oppressive and exploitative system of apartheid colonialism, particularly the regime's entrenchment of the Bantustan policy. It further denounced the forced re-

moval of entire populations by the regime, and condemned the so-called constitutional reforms, which are "aimed at consolidating white domination and cunningly deceiving international public opinion." It further reiterated the "firm support of the African youth for the struggle of the National Liberation Movements in Africa" (ANC, SWAPO and the Polisario Front).

In the same vein, the declaration strongly condemned the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist regime, and demanded the unconditional implementation of Resolution 435, while condemning manoeuvres aimed at imposing so-called internal solutions to the problems of Namibia. The complicity of the Western 'contact group' in delaying Namibian independence by connecting it to the question of the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola was also labelled as a "flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country."

Pretoria's attempts at economic strangulation of the countries of the sub-region were denounced, and the acts of intimidation, criminal incursions and aggression against the Front Line States were also condemned.

As the Festival had addressed itself not only to problems of the youth in Africa, but also to problems elsewhere in the world, the final declaration re-affirmed the support of the youth of Africa for the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO. It further denounced the re-establishment of diplomatic relations by Zaire and Liberia with Zionism – the "twin brother of apartheid"

The 'Tripoli Appeal,' issued at the end of the Festival, embodied the spirit of African unity, solidarity and commitment to the struggles waged by peoples of the continent against under-development, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. This document was also unanimously adopted.

### **An African Cultural Explosion**

Every evening, right through the Festival, the city of Tripoli exploded into a variety of African cultures, expressed through song, dance, traditional poetry and many other activities, that took place at different centres in the city. All delegations appeared at different venues to make presentation to mixed audiences of local people and guests. Our own Amandla Cultural Ensemble, which was part of the 92-strong ANC delegation, took the audiences to the townships and ghettos of our country and back to the era of traditional song, dance and poetry.

Most participants remarked that they had never before experienced such a variety of arts, signifying the richness of African culture. The evenings were artistic extensions of the political statements made during the day, for performances were in line with the objectives of the Festival. Unity, independence and anti-imperialist solidarity were messages contained in the presentations. Besides the organised performances, there were impromptu shows around the university campus, where most of the delegates were housed.

Several sporting activities had been selected for the occasion. Delegations participated in football, basketball, volley-ball, swimming, cycling, tennis and other sporting activities. Although these were performed with a high spirit of competition, it was clear that delegations viewed these activities as a means of developing friendship and fraternity among the youth.

### **Thank You, Libya!**

The successful outcome of the Festival must be attributed to, among other things, the determination of the leadership of the People's Arab Libyan Socialist Jamahiriya to ensure that this grand meeting of the youth of Africa achieved the results for which it was convened. The appreciation of the participants at the Festival was expressed through



the final communique of the Executive Committee of the Pan African Youth Movement. As another symbol of appreciation, the participants joined the people of Libya in commemorating the 14th anniversary of the First of September revolution that ushered in the era of the masses in that country.

Our delegation's assessment of the Festival was summarised by Comrade Welile Nhlapo, head of the ANC Youth Section and leader of the ANC delegation to the Festival:

"It was a tribunal with imperialism, the Reagan administration in particular, in the dock — tried, condemned and declared target number one of the venom of African youth. The energies of the African youth were harnessed for the bitter struggles ahead. The enemies of the continent have been identified, and should be defeated. We cemented our unity of purpose, and lit the path we shall travel to secure a bright future for Africa. Through struggle we shall consolidate unity, independence and anti-imperialist solidarity." 29



# Health in Namibia

Over a hundred people attended an International Seminar on Health in Namibia, which was held in London over the week-end of the 14th-16th October, 1983. It was organised by the London-based solidarity organisation,

the Namibia Support Committee, in co-operation with the SWAPO Department of Health and Social Welfare.

The health of the people of Namibia has been undermined by decades of colonial ex-



exploitation and the poverty that arises from it, by decades of inferior apartheid health services, and now, by the ravages of war. Because they are undernourished, children in Namibia die of diseases like measles, which are not killers in communities where children are adequately fed. Sick people in the countryside die because clinics and hospitals are far away. Diseases carried by contaminated water are rife. And now, there is little or no treatment for the ghastly injuries inflicted on people during the course of the atrocities committed by the South African racist soldiers occupying Namibia.

In his address to the delegates at the seminar, Dr Iyambo Idongo, SWAPO Secretary for Health and Social Services, described something of the state of health among the population of Namibia. He added that it is impossible to get exact statistics from within the country itself, for black human beings are not registered there (though beef cattle are) and the statements issued by the apartheid regime cannot be believed.

The Namibian people urgently need a health service that is run for their benefit, and because of this the aims of the seminar were to present SWAPO's plans for a health policy in a free Namibia, and to discuss what role aid agencies, solidarity groups and trade unions can play in supporting SWAPO's efforts at implementing this policy.

An important function of the seminar was to provide a meeting place where knowledge and experience might be shared between people with technical and specialist expertise, and Namibians working in SWAPO's health care programme, now in operation in refugee centres and in the People's Liberation Army of Namibia.

All at the seminar agreed that in implementing a sound health policy every feature of the social and economic order is of importance – communication and transport, literacy and education, housing, water and sanitation, agricultural policy and patterns of industrial

development. One speaker showed clearly that the diseases endemic in under-developed countries are not 'tropical' diseases, but diseases of under-development and poverty, as they are the same diseases that were endemic in England and Wales at one time. Several speakers emphasised that the solution to the problem is political – to organise an equitable distribution of food for the whole population, to provide sanitation and clean water, require political decisions.

Delegates also discussed the problem of urban-based medical services not accessible to people in the countryside. It was suggested that this could be solved by the training of village or community health workers, truly representative of the people they work among and directly answerable to the communities they serve; and here, again, the political base is important, for such a system requires democratic structures at every level.

One discussion group dealt with the question of drugs and medicines in an independent Namibia, as it will be a long time before the country is in a position to manufacture drugs for itself, and it will therefore have to rely on drugs from the large, profit-making monopoly drug manufacturers. Another discussion group explored ideas for health education for both mothers and children; and a worker experienced in health education in Latin America described certain teaching methods for children, involving story-telling and drama.

A number of organisations and countries were represented on this important occasion. Namibians studying health-related subjects in Britain and Ireland were present. The ANC was represented. There were participants from the USA and from eleven European countries; several United Nations agencies sent observers, as did the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa (ICSA). There were seventeen 'resource people,' who read papers and led discussion groups.



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