


SEPTEMBER 1985



**SECHABA**  
official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

## RESISTANCE & DEFIANCE



**A FUNERAL DURING THE  
STATE OF EMERGENCY**



**SECHABA and other ANC  
publications are obtainable  
from the following  
ANC addresses:**

**ALGERIA**

5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi  
Algiers.

**ANGOLA**

PO Box 3523  
Luanda.

**AUSTRALIA**

Box 49 Trades Hall (Room 23)  
4 Goulburn Street  
Sydney NSW 2000.

**BELGIUM**

9c Rue de Russie 1060  
Bruxelles.

**CANADA**

PO Box 302  
Adelaide Postal Station  
Toronto  
Ontario M5C-2J4.

**CUBA**

Calle 21a  
NR 20617  
Esquina 214 Atabey  
Havana.

**DENMARK**

Landgreven 7/3 1301  
Copenhagen K.

**EGYPT**

5 Ahmad Ishmat Street  
Zamalek  
Cairo.

**ETHIOPIA**

PO Box 7483  
Addis Ababa.

**FRANCE**

42 Rue Rochechouart  
Paris 75 009.

**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC**

Angerweg 2  
Wilhelmsruh  
Berlin 1106.

**FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

Postfach 190140  
5300 Bonn 1.

**INDIA**

Flat 68  
Bhagat Singh Market  
New Delhi 1.

**ITALY**

Via S. Prisca 15a  
00153 Rome.

**MADAGASCAR**

PO Box 80  
Tananarive.

**NIGERIA**

Federal Government  
Special Guest House  
Victoria Island  
Lagos.

**SENEGAL**

26 Avenue Albert Sarraut  
Dakar Box 34 20.

**SWEDEN**

PO Box 2073 S-103 12  
Stockholm 2.

**TANZANIA**

PO Box 2239 Dar es Salaam.  
PO Box 680 Morogoro.

**UNITED KINGDOM**

PO Box 38  
28 Penton Street  
London N1 9PR

**UNITED STATES**

801 Second Avenue Apt 405  
New York NYC 10017

**ZAMBIA**

PO Box 31791  
Lusaka.

**LISTEN TO:**

**Radio Freedom**

**Voice of the African National Congress  
and Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army.**

**Radio Luanda**

short wave: 30 & 40 m. bands  
medium wave: 27.6 m. band  
7.30 p.m. daily.

**Radio Lusaka**

short wave: 31 m. band, 9580 KHz  
7.15-8.00 p.m. Monday to Friday  
10.05-10.35 p.m. Wednesday  
10.30-11.00 p.m. Friday  
7.00-8.00 p.m. Saturday  
8.00-8.45 p.m. Sunday, 17895 KHz.

**Radio Madagascar**

short wave: 49 m. band, 6135 KHz  
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

**Radio Ethiopia**

short wave: 31 m. band, 9545 KHz  
9.30-10.00 p.m. daily.

**Radio Tanzania**

Short wave: 19 m. band, 15435 KHz  
Sunday, Monday, Wednesday, Friday,  
8.15 p.m.  
31 m. band,  
Tuesday, Thursday & Saturday,  
6.15 a.m.

Published by the  
African National Congress of South Africa  
P.O. Box 31791, LUSAKA, ZAMBIA  
Printed by the Druckerei 'Erich Weinert',  
2000 Neubrandenburg, G.D.R.

# SECHABA

## SEPTEMBER ISSUE 1985

### CONTENTS:

#### EDITORIAL

The State of Emergency ..... 1

**FRATERNAL MESSAGES TO CONFERENCE**..... 4

#### WHY WE CALL FOR SANCTIONS

By Neva Makgetla ..... 9

#### CENTRE PAGE:

We Pledge to Defeat the Murderers..... 16

#### PRETORIA'S PLAN TO DESTROY CABINDA GULF OIL

By Zoyisile Mati ..... 18

**ANC INTERNATIONAL** ..... 23

#### APARTHEID-FREE ZONES

Solidarity in Britain

By George Johannes ..... 24

#### THE FREEDOM CHARTER IS OUR LODESTAR, Part 3

By Comrade Mzala ..... 28

**BOOK REVIEW** ..... 32

#### Annual Subscriptions:

USA and Canada (air mail only)	\$12.00
Elsewhere	£6.00

#### Single Copies:

USA and Canada (air mail only)	\$ 3.00
Elsewhere	£0.50

Send your subscriptions to:

Sechaba Publications

P.O. Box 38, 28 Penton Street, London N1 9PR

United Kingdom

Telephone: 01-837 2012

Telex: 29955ANCSAG Telegrams: Mayibuye

Donations welcome

Front cover. This picture was taken at the funeral in KwaThema, on 23rd July, of 15 victims of police shootings.



---

## EDITORIAL

---

# The State of Emergency

It was only this year that Botha promised to release Nelson Mandela if he "stopped being violent." Before even the year ended, Botha was very violent.

The regime had sentenced Moloise to death, and thereafter Payi and Xulu. It arrested the UDF leadership, charging them with "treason." The regime has killed over 500 people since November last year and has wounded and maimed many more; people have disappeared without trace; some have been buried 'secretly' in the presence of the police. There have been cases of 'mysterious' murders, and recently Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge was murdered in her home — the Reverend Mcelisi Xundu missed death by millimetres. Murder squads have emerged in South Africa, and many anti-racist and anti-apartheid fighters (including Bishop Tutu) are on the death list or 'hit list' of the agents of the regime.

This is to say nothing of the activities of the army, police and security forces — they simply invade and occupy residential areas of Africans, looking for 'subversive' literature, and after a month or so of search they come out with pornographic literature! Week-ends are no longer a period of relaxation for the workers — away from work, escaping police searches for passes, work permits, taxes and so on. Week-ends are days for burying people killed by the police and army.

This is to say nothing of millions who die of diseases, hunger, malnutrition, cold and abandonment; those children who die before they reach the age of one; those mothers and wives who know no other life except loneliness because their husbands are in the mines, far away, and only come home to die of T.B. and mine phthisis and/or other related diseases, such as 'industrial diseases' (losing a leg, arm or head in the mines). What about the 3½ million people forcibly removed from their

homes? And those poor Indians and Coloureds, victims of the Group Areas Act, who have nowhere to live? What about broken families and homes? — broken because of the apartheid system? There are millions and millions of people in South Africa waiting — literally waiting — to die. Some even have no patience to wait — they commit suicide. Because of apartheid.

### The State of Emergency is No Solution

It is at this time and in the midst of such problems that apartheid South Africa came with a solution — the state of emergency. What the state of emergency means is that now we can expect more 'disappearances' and less information about them, because the press is forbidden to report anything; we can expect more brutality because the police and the authorities are now legally indemnified — they are above the law, and cannot be taken to court. Apartheid has long declared war on our people and their ideas. Now it is declaring war on the international community. The international community, which has a right to know what is happening in South Africa, is denied that right. South African journalists are not allowed to report on anything except what the Ministry of Defence "deems fit" for publication. The international community is being denied the right to know. Apartheid politicians have always said that they are "protecting" the South African and Namibian people from the ANC and SWAPO — and by implication from the rest of humanity. This is what the state of emergency means. Can the international community allow this to happen, or, to be more precise, to continue?

When the ANC decides to challenge, and indeed to change, this situation, it is accused of being 'violent.' We expected that this accusation would come from the Bothas, Reagans and



Margaret Thatchers. But when Gatsha Buthelezi joins them the problem assumes a new dimension.

During the state of emergency a new problem arose. The London *Times* of August 9th, 1985 reported:

"Last night, gangs of up to 1 000 strong, mainly of young Blacks, were roaming the townships, burning and looting homes, shops and government offices, and attacking everyone in their path.

"Indians were the prime target ..."

The article went further:

"The Indian township of Inanda was worst hit as young Black gangs embarked on a rampage of arson and looting. President Botha said yesterday there were no immediate plans to extend to Durban the state of emergency, which covers 36 districts."

And Gatsha Buthelezi adds:

"It grieves me that members of a certain political organisation, plus the external mission of the African National Congress, are promoting this Black-on-Black confrontation. It is hogwash to present this kind of political thuggery as the Black political struggle."

There are too many problems here — two sides of the same coin. The African youth who are "roaming the townships, burning and looting homes, shops and government buildings and attacking everyone in their path" leave Botha cold — he says there are no immediate plans to extend the state of emergency to Durban. Not that we are for the state of emergency. We just want to point out the inconsistency. When the Whites and the 'system' — the *status quo* — are threatened, then the state of emergency is necessary. When Blacks kill Blacks, all is normal.

### **Buthelezi Sows Discord**

We expected this talk from the racists, and paradoxically enough from Gatsha Buthelezi. But what we did not expect is for him to go further and accuse the ANC of being behind this "Black on Black confrontation." He conveniently 'forgets' that he — more than anybody else — has been beating the drums

of chauvinism for quite a long time. Buthelezi's 'big tribe' chauvinism fertilises the soil on which he sows the seeds of hatred and confusion, inflaming passions, spreading the obnoxious bacteria of tribalism and chauvinism. He has been terrorising — in a literal sense — anybody who differs with him, although he claims to be a 'leader.' Who is he leading? Gatsha Buthelezi has for a long time been reminding everybody — especially the Indians — about the 1949 incidents, when Africans and Indians killed each other, incited by the racists. He has gone on record as being one of 'our' greatest tribalists, saying that one of the problems in Natal (a Zulu area) is the presence of "Xhosa lawyers" who have run away from the miserable conditions in the Transkei and Ciskei. Two of these "Xhosa lawyers" have since been murdered, namely Griffiths Mxenge and his wife, Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge.

The struggle of our people — especially in Natal — has been shaking the fence on which Gatsha Buthelezi has long been sitting. Now he has fallen on the side of the people's enemies, on the side of the Pretoria racists, where he belongs. The people will deal with him, especially when he tries to stand up on the wrong side.

The apartheid system is cruel. Apartheid is not just separation of people 'according to races.' It is inequality. It is suspicion. It is ignorance of each other, and ignorance of the common interests. It is jealousy. It is hatred — of everything that is not 'mine.' It is bigotry. It is everything that is inhuman and anti-human. One student from Lesotho said at the Youth Festival in Moscow:

"I don't understand why they have the word 'peace' in their vocabulary."

The combination of these objective and subjective factors makes the situation of Africans, especially in Natal, more critical and desperate. The incidents taking place in Durban are connected with frustration and desperation — with the hope and despair of the Africans in that part of the country.

The ANC is the organisation that is destin-



ed, and called upon, to intervene in that situation. This is not only because it is the oldest, most democratic and most respected and most adhered-to organisation in the country. We are now talking of the people within the country — the workers, peasants, the people from gaol, the mothers, sisters and brothers; everybody.

### **The ANC Is Democratic**

The ANC has a democratic approach to everything — the recent ANC conference proved and displayed that. What is more, the ANC's non-racial philosophy, and the fact that the ANC is the only organisation in the country (and not outside it, as Gatsha Buthelezi always claims) which has the capability of challenging and facing the enemy. The ANC is already confronting the enemy in the field of battle — militarily. All the talk of Gatsha Buthelezi about his 'non-violent stance' is hot

air, because he is very violent when it comes to confronting unarmed UDF members, students of Ngoye University and ministers of religion, such as Reverend Xundu.

In this difficult period, the ANC calls on you, the international community — especially in the United States and Britain — to intensify the pressure on your governments; put pressure on them to dissociate themselves from apartheid; to implement the United Nations resolutions on sanctions, including disinvestment and the oil embargo. This also means the non-recognition of the apartheid regime and its embassies. We call for the total isolation of apartheid. We ask ourselves what the apartheid regime has to offer the United Nations?

Why are they dirtying the corridors, seats and papers of the United Nations?

Why? Why? Why?



*Has Pretoria renounced violence? Scene at a demonstration in Durban, against the State of Emergency.*



---

---

# FRATERNAL MESSAGES TO CONFERENCE

---

---

## From the SACP

The South African Communist Party sends warmest fraternal greetings to the 1985 Consultative Conference of the African National Congress and wishes it every success in its deliberations. Your Conference marks an historic milestone along the road to liberation and will speed up the pace of the liberation forces in their forward march to inevitable victory.

The South African Communist Party has a long history of association with the ANC — an association which has now developed into a brotherly alliance. Our Party bears the proud record of having been among the pioneers of our land proclaiming the goal of a South Africa without any form of colour discrimination and exploitation of man by man. At a very early stage in our development — under the slogan of a Black Republic — we adumbrated the policy of complete unconditional national liberation which is now the common aim of the ANC, the CP and our whole liberation front.

What explains the unique and brotherly relationship between our two organisations? The answer was clearly spelt out by our General Secretary, Comrade Moses Mabhida, when he said:

"Our Party's relationship with the ANC is based on mutual trust, reciprocity, comradeship in battle and a common struggle for national liberation. Our unity of aims and methods of struggle are a rare instance of positive alignment between the forces of class struggle and national liberation."

From the earliest days communists have worked unstintingly to strengthen the ANC. The selfless work of communist and liberation giants such as J-B Marks, Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo and Bram Fischer will rank

among the most outstanding contributions to the growth and defence of the liberation movement. We mention these names (and there are many others) because they symbolise the fact that our collaboration with the ANC is not a passing formality; it is an act of love for and dedication to the objectives of freedom and true liberation. You deservedly stand unchallenged today as head of our liberation alliance. In this role, we are at your side. We are fellow freedom fighters sharing the same trench, and we will remain at your side until the flag of Black, Green and Gold is raised over the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

We are confident that your Conference will be a major step in the direction of cementing the unity of all progressive forces and raising the level of struggle among all sections of the oppressed people of South Africa.

The South African Communist Party, as the political vanguard of the working class, pledges to do its utmost to ensure that your decisions are carried into the field of struggle, and implemented.

We pledge to strengthen the alliance between our two organisations in every possible way.

Dear Comrades and Brothers: Your victories are our victories. Let us march forward side by side to freedom.

**Long Live the ANC!**

**Long Live the Alliance between the ANC and SACP!**

**Forward to People's Power!**

**SOUTH  
AFRICAN  
COMMUNIST  
PARTY**







*Comrade Nkadimeng addresses the ANC Conference in June.*

### **From SACTU**

The National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, SACTU, conveys its revolutionary greetings to the leadership of the African National Congress and its entire membership on the occasion of its Consultative Conference to be held from June 16, 1985.

This Conference is convened at a time when there is a great revolutionary upsurge among all sections of the people, who have seized the slogan of our President, Comrade O R Tambo, to make our country ungovernable. It also takes place at a time when the combination of the telling blows of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the extra-parliamentary struggles waged by the democratic forces are giving the enemy terrible nightmares.

We are confident that this Conference will chart the way forward, towards the escalation of our struggle for total and complete emancipation.

It is heartening to note that, as this Conference converges here, the whole democratic trade union movement in our country is engaged in serious talks for the formation of one national democratic trade union federation. The idea is to speak with one voice against the common enemy irrespective of their political differences. They are determined to unite around the issues which unite them in the common struggle for the destruction of the apartheid

colonial system.

We wish to reassure you, dear comrades, that SACTU, the democratic trade union movement and the entire working people of our country will redouble our efforts and stand steadfastly behind the struggle led by the African National Congress

We are confident that Conference will deliberate on the burning issues that face our revolution and examine its successes and failures guided by the slogan, **Freedom in our Lifetime.**

We call upon our comrades, both young and old, to use this Conference to close ranks. Let us unite, mobilise and forge ahead.

SACTU is proud to be part of the Congress Alliance led by the African National Congress, whose lofty aims and objects are enshrined in the historic Freedom Charter. We reiterate our firm commitment to the realisation of these freedoms.

We have no doubt that the African National Congress will emerge from this historic Conference with greater resilience and determination.

We wish the deliberations of this Conference will be crowned with success.

**Amandla! Matla!**

**An Injury to One is an Injury to All!**

John K Nkadimeng  
General Secretary



**SOUTH  
WEST  
AFRICAN  
PEOPLE'S  
ORGANISATION**

**From SWAPO**

Dear Comrades,

We salute and greet you on this occasion of your historic National Consultative Conference. The struggle in South Africa led by the African National Congress has been escalated to a point where the boers themselves have admitted that the revolutionary forces can no longer be ignored. This is absolutely a sign that the eradication of the capitalist, racist minority regime with its abhorrent apartheid policy in both South Africa and Namibia is in sight.

We congratulate you, dear comrades, for the past heroic deeds of ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and we have no doubt that ANC will continue with the noble cause of liberating the oppressed majority in South Africa. Your victory is our victory. The cordial relations based on co-operation and co-ordination of SWAPO/ANC activities has benefited both of us in our struggle against our common enemy.

The Namibian people, under the leadership of their vanguard, SWAPO of Namibia, will always be ready to support your legitimate cause as we have done in the past. Please accept our solidarity and fraternal support, and SWAPO of Namibia wishes you all the successes during your deliberations.

**The struggle continues. Victory is Certain!**

Your Comrades in Arms  
Andimba Toivo ja Toivo  
SWAPO Secretary General



*The following is a full list of organisations and individuals who sent messages of support to the Conference.*

**Heads of State, Diplomatic Missions,  
Governmental and Non-Governmental  
Organisations**

President Benjadid, Algeria; President Masire, Botswana; President Abdou Diouf, Senegal; E. Honecker, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and Chairman of the State Council of the GDR; OAU General Secretariat; OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa; OAU Group in Brussels; OMA, Angola; Ministre des PTT, Antananarive; Goshu Wolde, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Member of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ghana; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Zimbabwe; Minister of Foreign Affairs, Finland; Embassy of Jamaica; Russell Marshall, New Zealand Minister of Education; Swedish Embassy, Dar es Salaam; Embassy of Socialist Republic of Vietnam; Angola Committee of Ambassadors of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Countries; Joseph N Garba, Chairman, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid; Enugu Reddy, Former Head, UN Centre Against Apartheid.

**Liberation Movements**

Roque Rodriques, Fretelin Political CC; Farouk Kaddoumi, Secretary Al Fateh Movement, Member of the Executive Committee of PLO, Political Department, PLO; Andimbo Toivo ja Toivo, Secretary-General, SWAPO.

**Political Parties**

Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan; AKFM, Antananarivo; Communist Party of Australia; Central Committee, Socialist Party of Australia; John Langmore, MP, House of Representatives, Canberra, Australia; Socialist Party of Austria; Central Committee, Parti Communiste de Belgique; Central Committee, Bulgarian Communist Party; Communist Party of Canada;



National Organisation of Chilean Exiles in UK; Central Committee, Communist Party of Cuba; Central Committee, Workers Party of Ethiopia; Fifanampiana Malagasy; Central Committee of the German Communist Party (DKP) of the FRG; Anne Borgman, Member German Bundestag, Green Party, FRG; Social Democratic Party, FRG; British Labour Party (Great Britain); Executive Committee, Communist Party of Great Britain; L. Hickox, CPGB London Group; Morning Star (Editor, Tony Chater) Great Britain.

Russell Marshall, New Zealand Parliamentarians; Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand; Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party; Comite Central do MLSTP (Sao Tome & Principe); Democratique/Mouvement pur le Parti du Travail Senegal; South African Communist Party; Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; Communist Workers' Party of Sweden; Communist Party KPMLR, Sweden; Left Wing Communists (VPK), Sweden; Swedish Social Democratic Party; Central Committee, Communist Party USA; Democratic Workers' Party, USA; Central Committee, Yemeni Socialist Party; President of the Federal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Yugoslavia.

### **Solidarity Movements and Organisations**

Action for World Development, Victoria Branch, Australia; Afaspa, France; Africa Groups of Sweden; Africa Educational Trust (UK); African, Caribbean and Pacific States Secretariat; African Heritage Studies Association; All India Peace Solidarity Organisation; Angolan League of Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples; American Committee on Africa; American Friends' Service Committee; Anti-Apartheid, Brisbane, Australia; Anti-Apartheid Movement, Austria; AAM, Manitoba, Canada; Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, FRG; Anti-Apartheid de France; Anti-Apartheid Movement, Netherlands; AAM, UK — Trevor Huddleston, President, and Bob Hughes MP, Chairman; Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee, FRG; Arab-Palestinian Association of Canada; Associa-

tion 25th April, Angola; Australian Council for Overseas Aid; Battersea and Wandsworth Trade Union Council (UK); Bay Area Free SA Movement (USA); BOA — Belgium; Bristol University AA Group (UK); Bulgarian Committee for Solidarity with the Peoples of Asia and Africa; Campaign Against Racial Exploitation (Care) Australia; Canadian Arab Federation; Canadians Concerned About Southern Africa; Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries; CIDMAA, Montreal; Centro Informazione e Educazione Allo Sviluppo (Molise Italy); Comite Contre le Colonialisme et L'Apartheid (Bruxelles); Conipaz, Managua, Nicaragua.

Committee on South African War Resisters (UK); Cubano Movimento por la Paz y la Soberania de los Pueblos; Czechoslovak Solidarity Committee, Prague; Danish Association for International Co-operation; Denmark: Paedagogisk Medhjælper Forbund; Landsforeningen Danske Clubfolk; Socialpaedagogernes Landsforbund; Landsforeningen for Social Paedagoger; Development Aid From People to People; End Loans to South Africa (UK); Ethiopian Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Committee; Finnish Africa Committee; Finnish Peace Committee; Ghana Peace and Solidarity Council; Holland Committee on Southern Africa; Hungarian Solidarity Committee; International Association of Democratic Lawyers; International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa (UK); International Forum, Denmark; International Solidarity Foundation of the Finnish Social Democratic Party; Isolate South Africa Campaign; London Borough of Islington, Race Relations Committee (UK); Lesotho Peace and Solidarity Committee; Movimento Liberaçao e Sviluppo (Italy); Mozambican Association for Friendship and Solidarity with the Peoples; Mrap Solidarite; National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (USA); National Anti-Imperialist Movement in Solidarity with African Liberation (USA); National Committee, South Africa Action (Denmark); National Lawyers' Guild; New Zealand Defence and Aid Fund; Norsk Folkehjelp; Novib, Holland; Ospaal, Cuba



PSFO Afghanistan; Reggio Emilia Town Council (Italy, Mayor Ugo Benassi) Soviet Afro-Asian Solildarity Committee; Soviet Peace Committee; Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement; United States Out of Southern Africa (USA); Vietnam Committee of Solidarity with the Afro-Asian Peoples; Washington Office on Africa (USA); WIDF; Women's Coalition for Nairobi; World Marxist Review (Editor-in-Chief, Yuri Sklyarov); World Peace Council (Romesh Chandra, President); WREE.

### **Trade Unions**

CGT, Canada; Confederation des Syndicats Nationaux (Canada); Federation of Malagasy Revolutionary Trade Unions; ILO Area Office, Dar es Salaam; Italian General Confederation of Labour; New Zealand Federation of Labour; Organisation of African Trade

Union Unity; South African Congress of Trade Unions; TASS (British Engineering Union); Union of Electrical, Radio and Machinists, Canada; WFTU.

### **Student Organisations**

AASU Secretariat; Centre Youth League in Finland; Danish Youth Council; DGS and LAK — Student Organisations, Denmark; IUS Secretariat; National Union of Students (UK); Pan African Youth Movement; WUS Denmark; WFDY; YCL (USA).

### **Church Bodies**

Angolan Council of Evangelical Churches; British Council of Churches; Christian Concern for Southern Africa (UK); Quaker Peace and Services (UK); United Church of Canada.



*From left to right: Comrades O R Tambo, T T Nkobi and A Nzo, on the platform at the ANC Conference.*



# WHY WE CALL FOR SANCTIONS

*By Neva Makgetla*

For decades, the African National Congress of South Africa has called for economic sanctions on South Africa. The call has been supported by anti-apartheid movements in the West, which are horrified by the activities in South Africa of transnational corporations and banks. The Organisation of African Unity has also endorsed the campaign for a boycott of South Africa. Western governments and spokesmen for transnational corporations, however, generally claim that sanctions would most harm Black South Africans and the independent states of Southern Africa.

Naturally, the opponents of sanctions emphasise the potential costs to those fighting apartheid. A more realistic approach, however, would seek to assess both costs and benefits. To that end, this article first examines why anti-apartheid activists support sanctions. It then considers the potential costs to Black South Africans and the Front Line States.

## **South Africa's External Economic Ties**

Particularly following World War Two, transnational corporations and banks fostered South Africa's economic expansion. Today, about half of all foreign investment in sub-Saharan Africa is located in South Africa. For manufacturing the focus on South Africa is yet more pronounced. About four-fifths of foreign investment in African manufacturing is found in South Africa.

Foreign companies built up their South African holdings principally by reinvesting a relatively high share of their local profits, and by draining surpluses from the surrounding countries. For example, through the 1970s, US firms in independent sub-Saharan Africa reinvested about a third of their profits, on

average, repatriating two-thirds. In South Africa, they reversed these proportions, investing about two-thirds of their profits locally. Western governments supported investment in South Africa in a variety of ways. In particular, they guaranteed export finance, located potential projects through consular services, and entered into double-taxation agreements that relieved investors in South Africa of part of their tax burden at home.

Foreign investment and the associated trade had proven critical to the survival of the racist regime. Their significance follows from two aspects of the South African economy; its well-developed military-industrial complex, and its continuing external dependence.

Typically, transnational corporations have engaged in the most sophisticated sectors of the South African economy. This focus necessarily brings them into close contact with the regime's military effort. To offset the majority position of its opponents, the regime requires a highly mechanised army and repressive apparatus generally. Thus, the South African army, police and state machinery rely on advanced electronics and transport equipment.

The regime could build up its sophisticated repressive machine only on the basis of close co-operation with industry. To foster industrialisation as the foundation for its rule, the apartheid state co-operated closely with local capital (notably the mining finance houses led by the Anglo-American Corporation) and transnational corporations, through the 1960s and 1970s. State intervention to develop the military-industrial complex followed naturally from the extensive participation of South African parastatals in basic industry.



## **Motor Works Become 'Key Points'**

With the growing militarisation of South African society after 1976, the ties between private and state capital have, if anything, grown still closer. In the late 1970s, because of their strategic importance, the minority regime designated the local plants of the US auto companies, General Motors and Ford, plus an unknown number of other foreign subsidiaries as 'National Key Points,' which it would administer directly in case of revolution. GM encouraged its White personnel to join the 'GM Commando' to guard its plant in an 'emergency' situation. A secret company memorandum noted that:

"The concept of utilising plant personnel in a dual function is related to the fact that key skills, technical and managerial expertise, are concentrated in the same population group from which defence requirements must be drawn."

Because of South Africa's continuing external dependence, transnational corporations assumed key importance in the alliance with local state and private capital. Despite a level of industrialisation far higher than that of any independent African country, the South African economy still depends on imports to maintain production. The country's extensive heavy industry remains oriented toward production of consumer durables, largely for the high-income White minority, rather than providing productive machinery and equipment. In consequence, most imports today are capital goods. In this context, estimates suggest that imports of oil and military equipment, which remain secret, account for about a third of the import bill.

## **South Africa Exports Raw Materials**

South African manufacturers have been unable to penetrate international markets on a large scale, however. Instead, South Africa relies on exports of raw materials to pay for vital imports, in a pattern typical of less advanced economies. Its gold exports are most important, but it also sells other minerals and agricultural products abroad.

External dependence means that the transnational corporations supply critical inputs to

South African industry. Furthermore, transnational financial institutions supply loans to pay for imports when the gold price drops. By 1985, with the gold price languishing at about \$350, South Africa depended heavily on foreign funding to maintain the existing structure of production.

## **Transnationals Underpin Pretoria's Military Technology**

Transnational corporate support for the minority regime involves supplying the military directly, providing a general strategic underpinning, and ensuring the funds needed to maintain strategic imports and investments.

Transnational corporate provisioning of the South African military remains largely secret. Some examples have surfaced, however. They relate mostly to the sale of so-called 'grey area' goods to the military — goods that have civilian uses, but without which the army could not function.

The South African regime's nuclear programme would be inconceivable without the support of Western governments and transnational corporations. The initial reactors were supplied by the US firm, Allis Chalmers, under the US Government's "Atoms for Peace" programme in the early '60s. Until 1978, the US government supplied most of the enriched uranium required. The Koeberg nuclear station was built by a French consortium, led by Framatome, a French firm affiliated to the US company, Westinghouse. A few years ago, the ANC set off limpet mines in the Koeberg project.

To maintain the mobility of its army and police, the South African regime must import petroleum. Transnational oil companies have worked with the regime to circumvent the OPEC boycott of South Africa. Of the eight oil companies in South Africa, seven are foreign-owned (the eighth belongs to the state). In the late 1970s, subsidiaries of Mobil, Shell, British Petroleum and Caltex supplied about three-quarters of the regional demand for petroleum products.

Foreign investors in automobile production in South Africa have also proven critical to the regime's military mobility. Trucks produced



within the country avoid the UN ban on military sales to the regime. BM admitted selling trucks to the South African police and army after the UN imposed the international arms boycott.

Electrical companies support the military by supplying radar and telecommunications equipment. An affiliate of ITT, held through its British subsidiary STC, made over half its sales to the South African regime, including the police, in the late 1970s. It equipped the Simonstown Naval Base.

### **Transnational Banks Invest in Apartheid**

In 1982, South African law required financial institutions, including subsidiaries of transnational banks, to invest 15% of their assets in military and other bonds issued by the minority regime. In this way, transnational corporate subsidiaries directly financed the regime's war effort.

Probably still more important than direct ties with the army, however, is the provision of the general infrastructure and technologies required to carry out the regime's strategy. Here, too, the provision of oil deserves mention. In addition, transnational corporations have made major industrial and strategic projects possible.

A leading example of transnational corporate support for a strategic project appeared in the construction of the oil-from-coal plants, SASOL Two and Three. The regime designed the \$6 million projects to reduce its dependence on imported oil, and thus its vulnerability to an international boycott. The US Company, Fluor, built the plant. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany provided about \$1.5 billion in export guarantees. In the late 1970s, ANC guerrillas placed bombs at SASOL sites, causing damage worth millions of rands.

Transnational corporations also participated heavily in the regime's projects to expand mineral exports. For instance, the Sishen-Saldanha project, which fostered the export of a range of minerals, was possible only on the basis of co-operation between parastatals, the South African mining finance houses and a variety of transnational corporations.

### **Computerised Oppression**

By providing computers, transnational corporations, especially IBM of the US and ICL of the UK, have made a special contribution to the apartheid system. Computers have assumed growing importance in two areas. First, they make possible close supervision of the Black population. In particular, the pass laws can be maintained today only through computerisation. Second, as the economy and state have grown more complex in the past fifteen years, the minority regime has introduced computers to avoid promoting Blacks into strategic and skilled positions. Computers are now used extensively in the military and in industry, reducing the number of supervisory jobs created.

Since 1976, international loans have replaced direct ownership as the main form of foreign investment in South Africa. From the point of view of the regime, this trend has two major implications. First, it reflects the growing import requirements of the military and industry; except when the gold price soared in the late 1970s, South Africa's foreign debt has risen rapidly. Second, it increases the power of the regime and its parastatals to determine the direction of investment in South Africa. Once they have raised a loan, they are subject to little interference in how it is used. Even if the lender advances credit for a specific purpose, the loan frees South African funds to be used in other sectors, such as the military.

From the standpoint of foreign investors, South Africa's rising foreign debt reflects the international trend away from direct investment in the Third World. In the case of South Africa, the trend was aggravated after 1976 by investors' fears of a political upheaval. In a revolution, physical assets may be lost or damaged. By contrast, loans generally have a fixed term and frequently carry various government guarantees. Today, although the regime generally obtains considerably lower interest rates than most Third World countries, it finds it difficult to get maturities over seven years.

In the past ten years, a series of large investors, including the British GEC and the US



Chrysler, have sold majority shares to local capital. By retaining minority participation, the foreign companies keep a share in the profits while they continue to profit from the provision of inputs and knowhow. But they reduce their potential loss in case of a revolution, and, by claiming to have sold their South African holdings, improve their overseas image.

### **Pretoria's Foreign Debt**

Precise data on South Africa's foreign debt is not available, as banks frequently keep loans to South Africa secret to avoid a public outcry. Estimates suggest, however, that between 1970 and 1977, the country's external borrowing tripled to over \$12 billion, making South Africa one of the world's top debtor countries. After a respite in 1979-1980, when the gold price rose, foreign debt again expanded, apparently on the order of over \$1 billion a year.

Estimates suggest that in the case of the US, indirect investment — loans plus minority shareholdings, largely in the gold mines — came to about \$12 billion in 1985. Direct investment totalled only about \$2 billion.

Among the major lenders to the South African regime are the leading banks in Western Europe and the US. Barclays and Standard of the UK have about a fifth of their world-wide business in South Africa, with assets there worth close to R20 billion each. Both banks have South African roots going back to their founding. Standard, now controlled by the Midland Bank, started by financing South African gold mining and wool in the 1960s; Barclays was formed in the 1920s by the merger of three banks, one of them South African. Until the late 1970s, the Anglo-American Corporation retained a seat on the board of Barclays International. The US banks, Chase Manhattan and Citicorp, also rank among leading lenders to South Africa, though public pressure in the US forced both to impose some restrictions after 1978. In addition, the largest banks in the Federal Republic of Germany, particularly the Deutsche Bank, have managed a growing share of loans to South Africa.

The South African regime has also enjoyed official credit from Western countries. It ranks among the leading beneficiaries of export-credit programmes, reflecting its status as a market for capital goods from Western Europe and the US. For instance, in 1981, South Africa was one of the top ten recipients of the FRG government's export guarantees. It obtained guarantees worth DM4 billion, out of the FRG's total export guarantees of DM50 billion.

### **The IMF Finances the Regime**

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has also proved a significant source of financing for the South African regime. Since the IMF was founded, about half of all its loans to Southern African states have been paid out to the South African regime, with about a third going to Zambia. In September 1982, the IMF lent South Africa \$1.2 billion to overcome the balance-of-payments deficit that resulted from the fall in the gold price. The loan, the largest to any African state and approximately equal to the estimated value of military imports in that year, exceeded South Africa's quota by about a third. When other African countries have borrowed over their quota from the IMF, they have generally faced stringent conditions.

The IMF did not impose any known conditions on South Africa, however. Presumably, it felt that the regime already follows the basic IMF prescription of holding down wages and social services in order to repay foreign debt and foster investment. Even then, judging by the preoccupations of the IMF in independent Africa, it seems surprising that the Fund had nothing to say about the huge cost of South African military imports.

In sum, foreign investment and trade have provided a crucial prop for minority rule in South Africa. Given the fundamental external dependence of the economy, only foreign inputs allow the regime to meet its military and strategic needs. In addition, foreign investment serves the political purpose of giving Western governments a stake in maintaining the *status quo* in South Africa. The call for sanctions responds to these considerations.



## Possible Costs and Benefits of Sanctions

Opponents of sanctions claim that they would cause great harm to Black workers in South Africa and the independent nations of Southern Africa.

In relation to Black workers, opponents argue primarily that reducing foreign investment will necessarily increase unemployment. The Reagan administration went to the extent of funding a survey, distinguished by its biased assumptions and sampling procedures<sup>(1)</sup> to 'prove' that Black workers oppose disinvestment by foreign firms. Bishop Desmond Tutu has labelled this argument "moral humbug." Transnational corporate investors in South Africa pay their workers, at most, about a fifth of average wages in the industrialised capitalist countries, then claim that their hearts bleed for the potential unemployed.

Two factors appear important in assessing the argument that sanctions will only generate unemployment: the desires of the Black majority itself, and the actual costs and benefits of sanctions for all South Africans.

Whether the majority of South Africans support sanctions remains unavoidably unclear. After all, the apartheid system is designed to silence Blacks. Specifically, calling for sanctions may be prosecuted as a criminal offence, punishable with several years in gaol. The ANC, of course, has long campaigned in support of a boycott of South Africa. Legal organisations are more careful, but many — notably the United Democratic Front — easily the largest — have implicitly supported sanctions. Moreover, in private conversations with anti-apartheid activists from Western countries, officials of such organisations have frequently expressed open approval.



*British people call for sanctions: a rally in London, 16th June, 1985*



## **Overseas Investors and Black Workers**

The extent of potential unemployment resulting from sanctions depends on how much employment actually follows from foreign investment. Transnational corporations and Western governments tend to exaggerate the employment effect of foreign investment (not only in the case of South Africa). Direct foreign investment has focused on the most advanced sectors of the economy, which tend to be highly capital intensive, and to employ a disproportionate number of Whites. Indeed, foreign investment has provided the physical and financial capital needed to **replace** Black workers in many sectors — notably through computerisation and by providing new technologies for the mines and agriculture.

British firms remain the only major foreign employers, accounting perhaps for a tenth of total Black employment. The next largest group of investors, US corporations, employ less than 3% of the Black work force.

Bank loans to South Africa generate no employment directly. To the extent that they finance military imports and consumer goods for Whites, they hardly even create indirect employment. Where they finance equipment to replace Black workers, they actually reduce the jobs available to Blacks.

Recently, Helen Suzman, the 'liberal' South African MP, has argued that sanctions will slow economic growth, preventing Blacks from moving into more skilled and hence more powerful positions in the economy. This argument ignores the role of foreign investment both in strengthening the apartheid regime and in slowing the advance of Black workers. It ignores, too, the fact that, during the economic expansion of the past twenty years, the minority regime has made only marginal concessions in the face of growing Black militancy.

The principal potential benefit of sanctions is, of course, to hasten the liberation of South Africa. By shortening the duration of the struggle, it would save the economy from worse harm. No revolution occurs without physical damage to plant and equipment, in addition to disruptions in distribution and production.

Furthermore, the employment effects of

sanctions must be seen in the context of the extraordinarily high level of unemployment that follows from the nature of the apartheid economy — and which can only be ameliorated after liberation. Today, about half the Black population lives in the bantustans, barely surviving on inadequate land and remittances from wage-earners in the towns. In the urban areas, Black unemployment has been estimated at up to 25%. Thus, a third or more of the work force appears unemployed or underemployed. Only after liberation can the economy be restructured to ensure jobs and higher living standards for all.

Clearly, any revolution brings costs as well as benefits. For that reason, revolutions occur only when conditions have become unbearable to the oppressed. The people of South Africa have faced death to end apartheid; no wonder they are willing to endure unemployment to achieve their goals.

## **Front Line States Support Sanctions**

Opponents of sanctions argue, finally, that because independent Southern African countries remain economically dependent on South Africa, they will be harmed by sanctions. Since the Front Line States have called for sanctions, this argument appears rather paternalistic.

Certainly, sanctions would entail economic costs for the independent states of Southern Africa. In the colonial era, their economies were shaped to depend on South Africa. Even today, their exports of raw materials are shipped largely to or via South Africa; their imports of manufactured goods derive from, or come through, South Africa. Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland and Botswana also earn foreign exchange by exporting labour to South Africa. Doubtless, re-orienting these trade relationships would prove costly.

But sanctions could bring significant benefits to Southern Africa. First, to the extent that they shorten the liberation struggle, they will reduce the overall disturbance to regional trade. Second, and more important, external dependence appears to rule out long-term development to benefit the mass of the population of Southern Africa.



The negative implications of external dependence have become particularly clear in the past ten years. Independent Southern Africa does not produce the inputs it needs for industry or agriculture, or indeed most manufactured consumer goods. Thus, it relies heavily on the export of raw materials — mostly minerals plus some agricultural goods, especially beef, tobacco, fruit and coffee — to pay for vital imports. Since 1975, in real terms, the export revenues of most Southern African countries have slumped, with a disastrous impact on import-dependent industry and agriculture. In 1984, Zambia's import volume stood at half the 1970 figure.

Moreover, debt-service ratios (payments on debt as a percentage of export revenues) have risen to very high levels for most Southern African countries. In 1984, Zambia's debt-service ratio came to over 90% before re-scheduling, and 40% after it. For Zimbabwe, the figure was around 30%. In consequence, unless real export prices considerably surpassed the levels of the early 1970s, which hardly seems likely, imports would not recover for some time to come. The historic reliance on the external market to stimulate and support economic development, then, simply could not be continued.

### **Economic Destabilisation**

Dependence on South Africa, moreover, is associated with particularly high costs. The South African regime has not scrupled to exploit its economic links to independent countries in an attempt to force them to stop supporting the ANC. In addition, it has generally sought to undermine peaceful development in independent African countries, to prevent them both from supporting the liberation struggle and from providing an example for the South African population. The regime has interfered

in trade with Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Lesotho, on various occasions; and sponsored economic as well as political sabotage in almost all the Front Line States.

In sum, the costs of re-orienting the economies of independent Southern Africa away from dependence on South Africa cannot be denied. On the other hand, these countries appear to have no real prospect of development unless they begin the process of re-orienting their economies toward self-reliant development.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

All in all, it appears that when transnational corporate spokesmen and Western governments emphasise the costs of sanctions to Black workers and the Front Line States, they are merely trying to camouflage their own concern — the financial and strategic costs to themselves.

### **Reference:**

(1) The survey, carried out in August 1984 by an adviser to Buthelezi, slanted questions to emphasise the impact of sanctions on Black employment. It apparently limited its sample to direct employees of foreign companies, rather than seeking the opinion of all Black South Africans. Finally, it seems to have relied on members of Buthelezi's increasingly terroristic organisation, Inkatha, to conduct the survey. Given Inkatha's strong-arm tactics in KwaZulu and the African townships, it appears unlikely that the results would remain unbiased.

Despite the built-in biases, over a quarter of respondents supported sanctions — and these were precisely those workers who would certainly face unemployment in consequence. However, the weakness of the survey's prediction power showed in a question related to political strikes. Less than half the workers expressed a willingness to participate in a political strike; yet a few months later, a general strike won much higher levels of observance throughout the country.



# WE PLEDGE TO DEFEAT THE MURDERERS



Matthew Goniwe, a leader of his people.



Fort Calata and his family, shortly before his murder.

Fort Calata, Matthew Goniwe, Sicelo Mhlawuli and Sparrow Mkhonto, activists in the United Democratic Front, disappeared while travelling back from a UDF meeting in Port Elizabeth at the end of June. Their charred and mutilated bodies were later found near the car. The car was burned out, but the condition of the bodywork showed that it had not been in an accident.

The UDF believes that they were assassinated, and has stated that about 11 other members of UDF affiliates have been found dead in similar circumstances, while many others have disappeared and never been found.

Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge, one of the defence lawyers in the UDF Treason Trial in Durban, was gunned down and hacked to death before the eyes of her children, outside her home in Umlazi on 1st August.

We honour all those murdered by the death squads of Pretoria, and pledge ourselves to struggle for the defeat of the racist murderers.



"I see a very bright future ... These things happening around us, detentions, deaths in detention, are the kickings of a dying horse."

**Victoria Nonyamezelo Mxenge**



The funeral of Goniwe, Calata, Mkhonto and Mhlawuli in Cradock on 20th July, the day the State of Emergency was declared. The flags of the ANC and the SACP were flown at the funeral.



# PRETORIA'S PLAN TO DESTROY CABINDA GULF OIL

*By Zoyisile Mati*

It seems to be a paradox to some people, and in some Western circles, that racist South African commandos wanted to destroy the Angolan parastatal oil installation, which is jointly owned by the American company, Gulf Oil (49%) and the Angolan petroleum company, Sonangol (51%). But is it really surprising that the 'wartime allies' could be so unscrupulously callous in their anti-communist phobia as to disregard 18 American citizens working at the Gulf Oil Company in Cabinda? Can the signatories of the 'constructive engagement' policy be so shortsighted as to undermine international public opinion, in case the operation was a fiasco, as of course it turned out to be? Or do these 'comrades in arms' really want us to believe that they work behind each other's backs?

Let us look at facts of the historical growth of the South African undeclared war on Angola — which is carried on with the tacit support and protection of the USA and other Western allies.

It is a known fact that during the national liberation struggle against Portuguese colonialism (1961-74), led by the People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), South Africa openly collaborated with the Portuguese against the MPLA. They were allied with the puppets of UNITA, which, from its inception, was an anti-people and anti-MPLA front, a mere extension of the Portuguese colonial machinery, created to perpetuate colonial domination over the people of Angola and other colonies in Africa. This fact is fully substantiated by the support UNITA receives in Portugal from the government and from business, and the strained relations that exist between Portugal and the legitimate and sovereign government in Angola.

claimed to be under their control, including their so-called capital, Huambo, had in fact been given gratis to them by the racists. While the SADF was running helter-skelter south in their armoured cars and tanks, UNITA had to abandon their 'cities' and run to the bush, as there was not enough space in the armoured cars and tanks to take them along.

The chronology of South African aggression against Angola has borne testimony to the fact that, despite their open declarations that they are after SWAPO, on the contrary, it is clear that they want to bring Angola to its knees by literally destroying its socio-economic infrastructure.

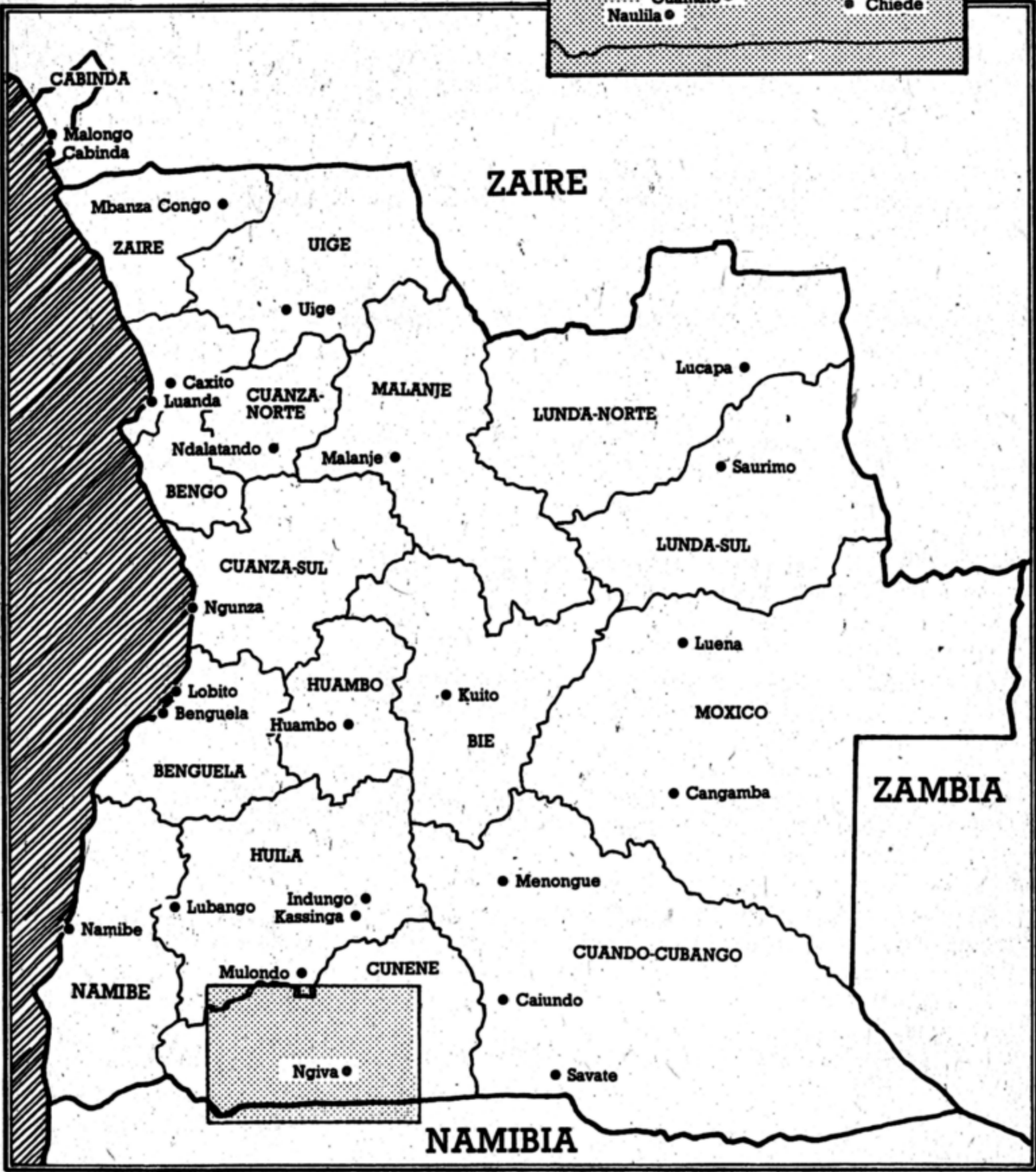
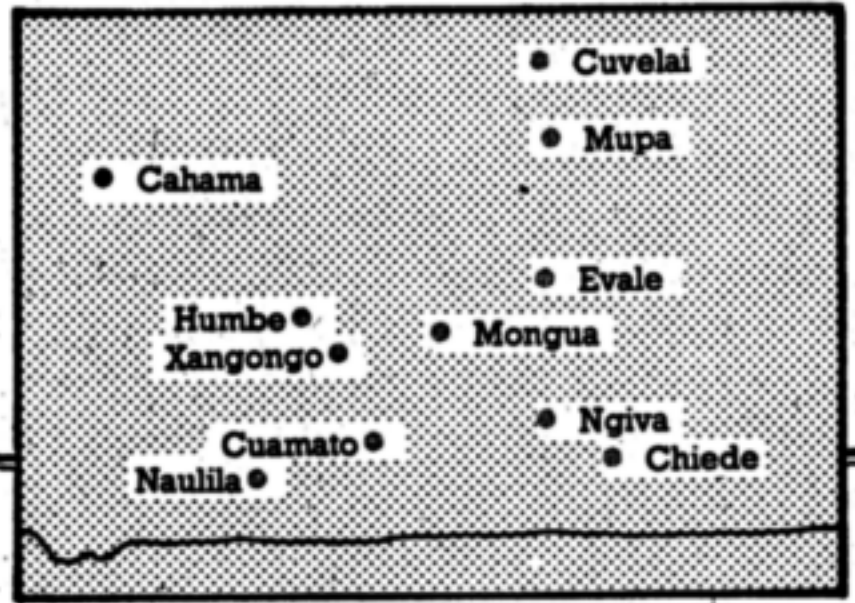
After the fall of Portuguese colonialism on April 25th 1974, the South African racist army invaded Angola, with the aim of installing the puppets of UNITA, but this plan was foiled, thanks to the heroism and valour of FAPLA, the Angolan armed forces, who were then a young guerrilla army from the dense forest of Mayombe, Malange, Moxico and so on. The South African Defence Force suffered its first ignominious defeat by an army from an African country. It is important to underline that the man who commanded the SADF across the Cunene River was P W Botha, then Minister of Defence, now South Africa's State Executive President.

## **Pretoria Pillages Angola**

The racist army was stopped by the combined FAPLA and Cuban forces at the Queveve River, only 200 kilometres south of Luanda. As the South African racists were fleeing south destroying bridges and factories, killing livestock, driving cattle into the ocean, it was discovered that those cities that UNITA had



# MAP OF ANGOLA





■ **September 1978:** The racist air force launched a raid on the city of Lubango, destroying the Madeiras de Huila furniture factory. Pretoria denied responsibility, but the Western ambassadors who toured the devastated area confirmed the raid.

■ **October 1978:** South African infantry troops moved to the Sierra la Leba mountains, where they attacked the road and railway lines linking Lubango to the port of Namibe (formerly Mocamedes).

■ **May to August of 1980:** Pretoria invaded the southern provinces of Cunene and Cuan-do Cubango in what was recognised as the largest full-scale ground invasion since 1976, and the largest military operation since World War Two. The South African racists claimed to have knocked out SWAPO's military headquarters, but the real targets had been the southern towns of Evale, Chiede, Mongua and Savate, which were left virtually in ruins.

■ **August 1980:** Saboteurs destroyed fuel tanks in the town of Lobito in Benguela province. Although UNITA claimed responsibility, the nature of the operation proved beyond doubt that it was not within the capacity of UNITA to carry out such an operation.

■ **August 1981:** 'Operation Protea' was launched, in which about 5 000 racist soldiers were involved. This resulted in the occupation of northern Cunene. The SADF attempt to move further north was halted by the fierce resistance of FAPLA, but the racists made sure before their retreat that the town of Cahama, and all neighbouring towns, remained ghost towns. They stole agricultural machinery, vehicles and livestock, and they occupied the province for about three and a half years.

Taking advantage of having destroyed the defensive positions of FAPLA, the racists transported scores and scores of their UNITA puppet groups into the interior of the country, thereby strengthening the UNITA presence inside the country.

During this same period of 'Operation Protea,' a racist commando unit attacked the Luan-da oil refinery, and subsequently caused substantial damage. There was no shadow of doubt that it was a commando unit that came

in from the sea, because parts of a white man's skull were found.

■ **August 1983:** The South African Air Force completely destroyed the town of Cangamba in the eastern province of Moxico, 450 kilometres from the Namibian border. The South Africans attacked Cangamba after FAPLA had thwarted a massive UNITA attack the previous week, after eight days of fierce fighting.

■ **December 1983:** The racists pushed against all of FAPLA's forward positions at Cahama, Mulondo, Cuvelai and Caiundo. Cuvelai was outflanked, and the racists briefly occupied Kassinga and Indungo in Huila province. In a fierce, three-day battle, the racists were not able to push FAPLA any further, because of their strengthened anti-aircraft positions, which caused the racist air force to lose at least nine planes.

■ **February 1984:** The Lusaka Agreement was signed, in which South Africa promised to withdraw all its troops by March 31st 1984, but it turned out to be the slowest withdrawal of troops in history, as it was more or less completed in April 1985. Before they withdrew from Ngiva, the provincial capital, they dynamited most of the buildings, including ordinary houses. When one looks at Ngiva today it is no different from what remained of cities like Berlin, Stalingrad and Prague after World War Two.

In May 1985, a racist commando unit of nine men, commanded by Captain Wynand Petrus du Toit, attempted to sabotage the Cabinda Gulf Oil installations. Two commandos were killed and one was captured, and the operation was a dismal failure.

### **The Economic Importance of Cabinda**

It is very important to know the economic importance of this Angolan enclave called Cabinda. What made the South African State Security Council so desperate, disregarding the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Angola, and disrespecting international public opinion? Why did they have to send this commando, their best crack unit, 3 200 kilometres away from South Africa and 1 600 kilometres away from Namibia?



The important oil installation in Cabinda is the hub of the Angolan economy; it is the biggest oil producing installation in the country. President Jose Eduardo dos Santos of Angola said:

"Had the South African commandos achieved their objective, 500 million dollars' worth of petroleum could have been destroyed ... money enough to feed the whole Angolan population daily for one year ..."

He continued:

"Angola would have been compelled to import petroleum."

Cabinda Gulf Oil produces between 170 000 to 180 000 thousand barrels of oil per day, and intends to reach 200 000 per day by the end of this year. The first contract for the exploration of oil in the region was signed in 1962 by Portugal and Gulf Oil. The wells are about 10 to 20 metres deep and are about 25 kilometres from the provincial capital city, also called Cabinda.

There exist wide prospects for the development of this area, because of the prospect of the injection of gas in the Kampala, Livuite and Takula wells.

All the wells of Cabinda Gulf Oil are maritime. In Malongo (where the South African commando unit was detected) there are only the store tanks, with a capacity of 1 675 million barrels of crude oil. In Malongo there are also oil refineries that process about 1 300 barrels a day, including diesel oil and Jet-B, for aircraft.

Had the Pretoria racists managed to succeed in their diabolical operations, they could have destroyed five tanks with a capacity of 300 barrels each, and one with a capacity of 175 000 barrels. They could have destroyed local residences where 118 North Americans live, 811 Angolans and 170 workers of other nationalities, for the residential areas are not far from the tanks.

Though petroleum is the biggest product of Cabinda, it is not the only product found in this small enclave, that shares borders with the republics of Zaire and Congo to the north. Cabinda is also a fertile agricultural region,

abundant with coffee, bananas, palm oil, cocoa and mandioca.

After petroleum, the next most important revenue resource in terms of developed industry is the timber industry. The biggest wood factory, named 17th September, has the capacity to produce 100 000 cubic metres per year.

The province has only 110 000 inhabitants.

### **Testimony From the Horse's Mouth**

There remains no shadow of doubt that the racist commandos were in Cabinda to sabotage the Gulf Oil installations, and not to gather information about the whereabouts of ANC and SWAPO bases. The type of military equipment found in the possession of the commandos bears full testimony:

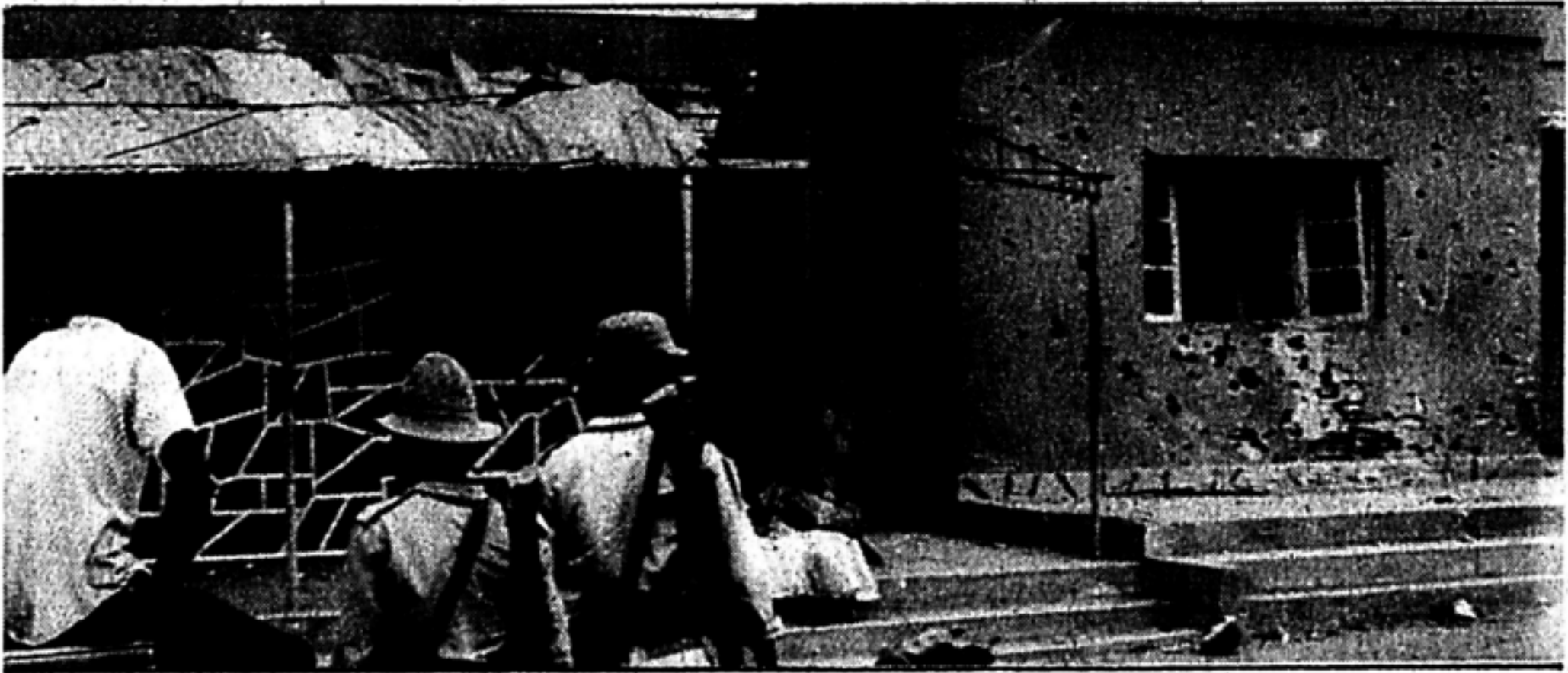
- A 'Sincal' short-wave radio set,
- Two ultra-short-wave A-84 radios,
- A 'Farol' radio set,
- A walkie-talkie,
- Two bombs,
- Nine knapsacks,
- Four bags of high-powered explosives,
- Three Sterling guns with silencers,
- Makarov pistols.

Testimony coming from the horse's mouth — Captain Wynand Petrus du Toit further substantiates the fact. During a press conference in Luanda, when a journalist asked him a direct question as to whether their mission had been to spy on the bases of ANC and SWAPO as alleged by Pik Botha and Magnus Malan, or whether they had come to destroy the Gulf Oil installations, he replied that his mission had been the latter.

Du Toit described at some length the preparations for, and the actual attempted execution of, the diabolical plan. He said that it was to be carried out in five phases.

- The first phase was the preparation, which began in January in Saldanha Bay, consisting of training in high frequency radio communication, special combat tactics and proficiency in the handling of high-powered explosives.





*Xangongo School after an attack by the SADF*

■ The second phase was the transit to Cabinda in the warship, SS Jim Fouche (Israeli made, with two 76mm calibre cannons and 6 land-to-land missiles). They travelled on the night of 14th-15th May and reached Cabinda on the night of 18th-19th May. The ship remained 100 kilometres from the Angolan coastline.

■ The third phase was the infiltration into Cabinda, which was done after some reconnaissance on the night of 20th May.

■ The fourth phase was the attack, which was supposed to have been done by three units of three men each. Two units were to place the charges in the six petrol tanks one and a half metres from the ground and 15 metres apart, and the rest of the charges were to be placed on all fire extinguishers. Before leaving they would then leave behind UNITA pamphlets and paint the streets with UNITA slogans.

■ The last phase would have been the withdrawal; in an emergency they would have withdrawn to Zaire.

But of course, as is now known, all did not end well, thanks to the vigilance of FAPLA forces.

### **Peace Is Not in the Nature of Apartheid**

What emerges crystal-clear from this fiasco by the racist regime is that Pretoria is not, as it has never been, sincere about bringing peace, stability and progress. This is in contradiction to the nature of the apartheid regime, a fact that has been stated time and time again. Today the

chickens have come home to roost.

Magnus Malan and his generals and the whole National Party were told to their faces that they are a source of destabilisation in Southern Africa. They were told this in the White parliament by a Progressive Federal Party MP named Macintosh. We are, of course, aware that there is little difference between the two parties, and this is just a quarrel between friends, but it is important to note how the disclosure of the attempted raid has widened the rift between the allies.

Another important revelation was the division within the State Security Council, which appeared to ordinary men to be homogeneous and united. We now know that there exists the clique of Malan, Johan Coetzee (who has been fired for the Cabinda fiasco, as Connie Mulder was made the scapegoat of the Information scandal) and Westhuizen of counter-military intelligence, on the one side, and the clique of Pik Botha, Louis le Grange, Louis Nel and Neil Barnard of State Security on the other. The two cliques differ over strategy and tactics in the matter of relations with Front Line States.

The Cabinda debacle teaches us that the only solution to the problems of Southern Africa is the total destruction of the apartheid regime, and this can only be achieved by giving complete and unconditional support to the African National Congress of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia.



# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## **SANCTIONS CAMPAIGN IN BRITAIN**

As part of the campaign in Britain to isolate the Pretoria regime, Comrade Johnson Mfanafuthi Makatini, Director of the International Department of the ANC, paid a two-day visit to London from 2nd-4th August, 1985.

During this time, he gave a press conference, which was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, and addressed a meeting of anti-apartheid activists. He also gave interviews to individual newspapers; was interviewed on several radio channels and appeared on television — both early in the morning, and late at night.

He told the press:

"The international community has a clear choice — to act in unison to rid the world of the crime of apartheid, to remove from our globe the South African version of Nazism; or to follow a policy of appeasement and give sustenance to the spiritual children of Hitler."

He left London for a short tour of Western European countries.

## **USSR HONOURS ANC REPRESENTATIVE**

By decree of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples was awarded on May 23rd to Comrade Alex La Guma, ANC representative in Cuba and Latin America, and Secretary of the Afro-Asian Writers' Association.

Presenting the order in the Kremlin in Moscow, B A Ashimov, Deputy Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, said the award had been made in tribute to the literary and political work done by Alex La Guma in the promotion of friendship among the peoples of Africa and Asia and other countries, and in the cause of world peace.



*Comrade La Guma receives the Order of Friendship of the Peoples of the USSR.*

In reply, Comrade La Guma said that he received this distinguished tribute in all humility, recalling that the Soviet Union this year was remembering the millions of lives lost during the Great Patriotic War forty years ago, when Nazism, racism and Hitlerite terror was defeated. Today the peoples of regions of Africa, Asia and the Americas were engaged in a similar struggle against the forces of fascism, racism and oppression, he said. He paid tribute to his martyred compatriots of South Africa, to those who have defended freedom in Namibia and Palestine, and to the heroic defenders of democratic Nicaragua. African and Asian writers have done much to promote friendship and understanding among peoples and men of letters, and would not stand idly by while the forces of reaction and war tried to push mankind towards a nuclear cataclysm. "No effort must be spared to save our planet from obliteration," he said.



# APARTHEID-FREE ZONES

## **Solidarity in Britain**

*By George Johannes*

Apartheid is based on the economic and political domination of the White minority over the Black majority. It is sustained by the use of sheer brute force of arms. Black people are daily the victims of apartheid terrorism, spearheaded by the racist army and police. To sustain the level of violence against the overwhelming majority of the population, the apartheid regime relies heavily on vast inflows of foreign capital. Its economy is based on the cheap labour system — enforced by laws passed by the racist parliament.

Racism in South Africa has been entrenched and sustained with the help of foreign capital. It is this inflow of capital that has transformed the apartheid economy into a major regional economic powerhouse. By utilising its resources, international collaboration and foreign capital, the regime has deployed its repressive army and police against its own people as well as against the people of the Front Line States. While the foreign banks and transnational corporations provide the investments, the western governments provide the military, nuclear and other technology which the apartheid regime itself cannot provide or produce. Foreign capital has provided the regime with the means to build up, sustain, finance and feed its repressive machinery, in return for vast profits — super-profits for the collaborators with apartheid.

### **Two ANC Presidents Appeal**

The struggle to isolate the apartheid regime is not a new one. As early as 1959, Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the ANC, made a special appeal for sanctions to be applied against the apartheid regime. This appeal resulted in a Boycott Movement being launched in Britain; and this was the forerunner of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. The battle

had begun. Local authorities, town councils, churches, political parties, trade unions and a host of different organisations were mobilised. In 1963 another appeal was sent to the people of Britain by Chief Luthuli, in which he said:

"Happily, the vast majority of civilised countries have shown their detestation of this foul regime. The most spectacular demonstration of this was the vote in support of the resolution in the General Assembly of the United Nations which called for sanctions against South Africa. I would remind you that the resolution called on all states to break off diplomatic relations or refrain from establishing them; close their ports to all vessels flying the South African flag, and enact legislation prohibiting their ships from entering South African ports; boycott all South African goods; refrain from exporting goods, including arms and ammunition, to South Africa; and refuse landing facilities to South African aircraft. On behalf of all the oppressed people and all freedom lovers in South Africa, I wish to make it clear that we welcome this resolution most joyfully; that we look forward to, and entreat, its most stringent implementation, and that we would encourage the most vigorous forms of action in protest against the apartheid policies which blight our country ..."

"I would urge you and your government be not deterred from any action by the excuse — often advanced by our oppressors — that boycotts and sanctions will bring us Blacks more suffering than the Whites. We have been victims of suffering long before our boycott and sanctions call to nations of the world ..."

This call of Chief Luthuli was once again taken up by Comrade President Tambo in his address to the Greater London Council Anti-Racist Day Meeting on 21st March, 1984. He stated:

"By declaring 1984 Anti-Racist Year and adop-



ting the Anti-Apartheid Declaration, People's London has become a formidable ally of all those who are engaged in combating racism throughout the world and especially in South Africa. As citizens of an anti-apartheid zone, more Londoners will be mobilised into action to isolate the apartheid regime. Many have already responded to the campaign of the Anti-Apartheid Movement by boycotting South African wines, Cape grapes and Outspan oranges; by cutting sports and cultural links with racist South Africa ... For 25 years now we have called on the world to impose sanctions against apartheid South Africa. We have made this call in the knowledge that, were sanctions to be imposed, this would immeasurably shorten the life-span of apartheid and reduce the loss of life that must necessarily accompany a struggle against it.

"We have said that the decisive centres of power in this country, as elsewhere in the western world, have refused to heed that call. Instead, they argue that sanctions do not work and should not be imposed. In that event there can be no alternative to the escalation of the armed struggle.

"We believe that the efforts of the international community should focus on removing all forms of support for our oppressors and on the total isolation of the apartheid regime. In such action, local authorities have a significant role to play, especially in countries where national governments have refused to act against apartheid.

"In the United States, three states and more than 22 cities have taken steps to break links with apartheid. In Britain, London, Leeds, Sheffield, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle and Aberdeen are among the local authorities which have already broken relations with apartheid and are co-ordinating their efforts. We have noted with particular appreciation that, as old links are broken, new ones are being forged with the oppressed people through their national liberation movements, the ANC and SWAPO ..."

Throughout the 25 years that the Anti-Apartheid Movement has been in existence, the struggle to isolate the apartheid regime internationally has escalated. The battle has been taken into the homes of people — those who refuse to buy the products of apartheid — into the offices of local councils and on to the floor of the British parliament. Many local councils have declared their areas apartheid-free zones and have adopted anti-apartheid policies or declarations.

## **The Role of the AAM**

As early as 1963, 13 local authorities had imposed a permanent boycott of South African products. By 1966 the number had risen to 54 councils, which represented almost six million people.

Every aspect of apartheid collaboration was affected by the boycotts. Banks and British companies with links in apartheid did not escape the boycott. Barclays Bank had a massive disinvestment campaign launched against it. The National Union of Students, some churches and many councils withdrew their accounts from Barclays Bank.

The massive campaigns to isolate South Africa have had tremendous political implications for the regime. Slowly, it is being throttled. But for the campaigns to have the maximum effect it has been necessary to have a properly co-ordinated campaign or organisation.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement has played a very important role. It was in 1982 that the decision was taken to convene the first National Conference on Local Authority Action Against Apartheid. 55 local councils were represented at this conference, on the 25th March, 1983. It set itself the specific aim to discuss ways in which local authorities, in their own regions, could adopt practical measures to help in the total isolation of the racist regime. President Tambo sent a message, in which he said:

"Your efforts towards ending collaboration with the apartheid regime form a vital part of our struggle to build a non-racial, unitary and democratic South Africa."

One of the most important actions of the National Conference on Local Authority Action Against Apartheid was to elect a Steering Committee of 13 local councils. It drew up and adopted a model declaration which could be adopted by councils as well as being used to advise the various local authorities on the type of action they could take to isolate the apartheid regime. Terms such as 'Apartheid-Free Zone' or 'Anti-Apartheid Authority' have become common usage in Britain. The days when apartheid could roam free throughout the length and breadth of Britain have long gone.



## **A Concerted Campaign**

Apartheid is not just being condemned through practical action but also by a concerted anti-racist and anti-apartheid campaign. Apartheid propaganda cannot easily infiltrate British schools and libraries; there are strict policies against this. British-based multi-nationals which pay Black South African workers starvation wages are being exposed, and even the British Government's policies towards South Africa have been challenged. In 1983, 42 local councils sent a joint letter to the British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, stating:

"We are writing to urge you and your Ministers to re-examine entirely the basis of British policy towards apartheid and the problems of the region as a whole. We believe that if South Africa's aggression against its neighbours is to be curbed,

South Africa is to end its illegal occupation of Namibia, and apartheid is to be eradicated, then it will require a much greater effort by the international community, in which Britain must play its full part. We hope that your government will abandon its opposition to measures designed to increase South Africa's international isolation, and, in particular, to support United Nations mandatory economic sanctions."

The campaign to isolate apartheid South Africa has gained a new momentum in the west, but particularly in Britain and the United States of America. On the 8th February, 1985, a National Recall Conference of Local Authority Action Against Apartheid was convened in London. This Conference was held in the Shaw Theatre in the London Borough of Camden. It was opened by the Mayor of Camden, Councillor Barbara Hughes, and it was addressed by representatives of SWAPO and the ANC as well as by His Excellency, Major-General Garba, Nigerian Permanent Representative to the United Nations, by Mr Enuga Reddy, Chairperson of the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, and by the leaders of the Sheffield and Camden councils. President Sam Nujoma of SWAPO and President Tambo of the ANC sent special messages.

## **Sharpeville Commemorated**

As part of its Month of Action in March, to mark the 25th anniversary of the Sharpeville

massacre, the Anti-Apartheid Movement mobilised all its groups in actions against apartheid, to boycott and isolate the racist regime.

Councillor Mike Pye, leader of the Sheffield City Council and Chairperson of the National Steering Committee of the Local Authorities Action Against Apartheid, wrote in a letter to the ANC:

"... we value our relationship with which we hope we will contribute in some small way."

On the 18th March, 1985, a cold, wet day in London, the ANC flag was hoisted over the Camden Town Hall. This small but very significant gesture of solidarity by the Camden Council marks the continuing campaign to salute the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa, led by the ANC. Councillor High Bayley of the Camden Council stated:

"The raising of the flag provided a very important symbolic start to the Week of Action in Camden, which has helped to highlight to people living in Camden the importance the Council gives to the struggle against the South African regime."

Apartheid South Africa has become a focal point of action and attention. The long list of supporters it had has now dwindled to a pathetic few. But yet, a powerful few. A recent survey of the first comprehensive actions undertaken by local authorities revealed the following:

- 121 councils in England, Scotland and Wales have taken some form of action against apartheid.
- 27 local authorities have adopted comprehensive policy statements, or declared themselves apartheid-free zones.
- 70 local authorities have implemented a boycott of South African products.
- The local authorities in the survey represented over 36 million people, or 66% of the entire population of England, Scotland and Wales.

The campaigns to isolate South Africa cannot be underestimated. They are challenging a fundamental lifeline of the existence of the regime. There remains, however, a lot still to be done.





*The ANC flag flies over Camden Town Hall, London. Comrade Solly Smith, ANC Chief Representative in the UK and Ireland, is with the Bishop of Edmonton, the Right Reverend Brian Masters.*

Already there exists a mandatory United Nations arms embargo, but it needs to be strictly implemented. A similar ban needs to be applied to nuclear collaboration. On the 7th March, 1985, the Presidents of SWAPO and the ANC issued a joint statement calling for an oil embargo against apartheid South Africa. The statement was quoted in full in the April issue of *Sechaba*. It said:

"We appeal to those who have it in their power to do so to stop oiling the war machinery of South Africa and help bring about genuine peace in our region."

It is important to appreciate the growing vulnerability of the apartheid regime to international boycott action. Apartheid is a threat to world peace, and if the international community wants to aid the custodians of peace in Southern Africa — the ANC and SWAPO — then now is the time to act.

In the words of Chief Albert Luthuli:

"Ours is a continent in revolution against oppression. And peace and revolution make uneasy bedfellows. There can be no peace until the forces of oppression are overthrown ..."





# THE FREEDOM CHARTER IS OUR LODESTAR

Part 3

By Comrade Mzala

The Manifesto of the Azanian People identifies "racial capitalism" as the enemy of the South African people. It begins:

"Our struggle for national liberation is directed against the system of racial capitalism which holds the people of Azania in bondage for the benefit of the small minority of White capitalists and their allies, the White working class and the reactionary sections of the Black middle class. The struggle against apartheid is no more than a point of departure for our liberation efforts. Apartheid will be eradicated with the system of racial capitalism.

"The working class, inspired by revolutionary consciousness, is the driving force of our struggle. They alone can end the system as it stands today, because they alone have nothing at all to lose. They have a world to gain in a democratic, anti-racist and socialist Azania ..."

What does this mean? The following second resolution of the National Forum Conference will probably give more light:

"That this National Forum notes that:

1. The struggle waged by the toiling masses is

nationalist in character and socialist in content; ..."

We in the ANC know that a nationalist struggle and the socialist struggle are not one and the same thing, and they do not belong to the same historical period. The two represent two distinct categories of the revolution.

## Nations in the Making

In history, it was the bourgeoisie that first fought and led the struggles for national consolidation against feudal seclusive principalities. Impelled by the developing productive forces, which also engendered corresponding bourgeois relations of production, the bourgeoisie brought together different nationalities into single nations around a common economic life. Nationalism, strictly speaking, has always been an ideological echo of this nation-formation process. Nations include both the national bourgeoisie and the working class of that nation. The latter, however, is exploited by the bourgeoisie of its own nation, and therefore struggles against this exploita-



tion. It is in the course of this class struggle (led by a working class Party) that the working class of all nations learn of their common fate as a class. Proletarian internationalism, and not nationalism, therefore, is firmly connected with socialism and the irreconcilable struggle of the working class against all the bourgeoisie.

Scientific socialists actually teach the working class that their enemies are the bourgeoisie, including their own national bourgeoisie. National oppression, in fact, greatly hampers the solidarity action of the workers of the oppressed and oppressor nations, who otherwise should be struggling against their common exploiters, namely the capitalists. During the era of imperialism as well, the nation-formation process continues, but under conditions of the external economic and colonising forces, hence the national liberation phenomenon is the political struggle for self-determination of these young (often called developing) nations.

So, to talk of a nationalist struggle implies, most logically, a struggle that may be against imperialism, fascism or racism, as the case may be. But to proceed and say that the same nationalist struggle is also socialist in content is to make real confusion.

We must not allow our desire for socialism to intoxicate us. The people of South Africa must be taught the bitter truth simply, clearly and in a straightforward manner: the chief content of the present phase of our revolution is the national liberation of the Black people. It is actually impossible for South Africa to make even that advance to socialism before the national liberation of the Black oppressed nation.

### **Socialist Consciousness**

The drafters of the resolution of the National Forum and the Azanian Manifesto were unable to distinguish a national democratic revolution from a socialist revolution. And to talk blindly of an "anti-capitalist" struggle at this phase demonstrates an incapacity to understand the urgent political question in South Africa, that of national liberation from the colonial state of White supremacy. To deny this in favour of abstract socialism is only a vain attempt to appear profound.

Have the National Forum gentlemen taught the toiling masses in South Africa about socialism? How then has the National Forum ascertained that our people are no longer fighting for national liberation, but for socialism now?

Socialism is a science and it must be conceived as such (said Engels repeatedly). To bring socialist consciousness to the working class is not a task performed once in some meeting of zealous university students; it is, most obviously, a painstaking task for serious working class organisers. It is therefore not enough to devote one's efforts to learning by heart all socialist slogans and then call oneself a socialist, or, equally, not enough to imagine that the "toiling masses" should in all probability be struggling for a "socialist content" by now, and not for national freedom.

### **The Two Pillars of Our Revolution**

The Pretoria regime might have banned the SACP, but its history is well known by our people. Communist leaders such as Moses Kotane, J B Marks, Govan Mbeki and Moses Mabhida have always been admired by our people. And the members of the ANC fully understand why both the ANC and the SACP are two hands of the same body, why they are two pillars of our revolution.

The South African Communist Party is the party of the working class, the disciplined and advanced party that has no interests separate from those of the working people. The Communist Party inevitably works for a united front of national liberation. It strives to unite all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution (without making all such classes and peoples necessarily its members), to destroy White domination. It fights, like the ANC, to restore the land and wealth of the country to the people, and guarantee democracy, freedom and equality of rights and opportunities to all. From its founding conference in 1921, the Communist Party has demanded and fought for complete freedom and equality for the Blacks, and has led the workers and oppressed people in numerous struggles against the Pass Laws and unemployment, against fascism at home



and abroad. Such is the South African Communist Party as known by us members of the African National Congress and all honest patriots in South Africa. Members of the Party are not Russians or mysterious Kremlin agents as they have been slandered by imperialism and hated by the narrow nationalists; they are politically committed men and women in the thick of the South African revolution, who have worked hard to help build the ANC, the trade union movement and other people's organisations. As said the Statement of the National Executive of the ANC on the expulsion of the Gang of Eight:

"Let it be made abundantly clear that the policies of racialism and anti-Communism have been and still are diametrically opposed to the policies, traditions and practices of the African National Congress of South Africa. Pieces of legislation of the racist regime of South Africa, like the 'Suppression of Communism Act' were not only vigorously opposed by the ANC in 1950, but ... never in any way deterred or changed the policy of the ANC regarding Communism or its Communist members and leaders. There certainly will never be an endorsement of the 'suppression' of Communists within the ANC."

The South African Communist Party, whose members are striving not only for national liberation but finally for the destruction of the capitalist system itself, also agree with the demands of the Freedom Charter, for they are quite aware that the Black working class needs freedom from national oppression. Led by the ANC in alliance with the SACP, our people demand nothing less than complete transfer of political power to the people, which implies the immediate overthrow of racist autocracy, of the colonial state of national domination and its replacement by a state of the whole people without and against the racists and imperialists. The Freedom Charter demands such political freedom. It demands the right of the oppressed nation to self-determination.

This is the significance of the Freedom Charter in the present stage of our revolution. This is the demonstration of the correctness of the Congress of the People when it advanced a political programme that calls for, as its immediate aim, the elimination of national op-

pression. And political freedom in South Africa demands that the apartheid regime be replaced by a people's democratic republic, which is what is recognised by the Freedom Charter.

### **A People's Assembly**

To establish such a people's democratic republic in South Africa, it is absolutely necessary that the political sovereignty be vested in a revolutionary people's assembly, a constituent body of people's representatives elected directly on the basis of universal and equal suffrage, an assembly that shall have supreme authority and power to form a new constitution for South Africa. It is in pursuance of this political goal, one which cannot come about unless our democratic revolution has achieved complete victory over the apartheid regime, that our revolution is aiming at political seizure of power by the people.

The people's assembly that can have the power to create a new constitution for South Africa, and not merely to fit itself into a constitutional arrangement manufactured by the oppressor and the exploiter, can only be an outcome of a victorious mass insurrection, a conquering political and military force of the armed masses led by the African National Congress. It is this kind of assembly alone, born of a revolutionary victory by the whole people, that is capable of achieving the aims of the Freedom Charter and subsequently of defending the new state of people's democracy against racist and imperialist counter-revolution.

We need to emphasise that those who do not rely on the armed masses in their political struggle will always seek to come to terms with the racist regime, with its proposed constitutions, and such people will not accomplish the aims of the Freedom Charter, even if they most sincerely desire to.

Arguing in favour of establishing this new national order in tsarist Russia, as a necessary step before socialist revolution, a new order that would really express the will of the whole people, Lenin pointed out in *The Two Tactics*:



## **The Position of the Whites**

What is the position of the Whites? As the oppressor nation they enjoy privileges in South Africa. They monopolise nearly all political, economic, educational and social opportunities. What makes this structure unique and adds to its complexity is that the oppressor nation is not, as in a typical colonial relationship, situated in a geographically distinct mother country, but is settled within its border. The roots of the oppressor nation have been embedded in our country for more than three centuries, which makes the oppressor people alien only in the historic sense of origin.

The formation of the African National Congress in 1912 was the organisational manifestation of the urge of the oppressed nation to form an independent national state in the whole of South Africa, a matter that had been the privilege of the Whites alone. It is the form and not the essence of colonialism in South Africa that is of a special type, so that we therefore have our own version of the situation in which the Portuguese or the British nation is oppressing the Black nation. Colonial peoples are nations, too, in the sense that the world is divided into oppressed and oppressor nations and the former are not allowed the chance to develop all the characteristics or properties nations showed in their classical evolution in Europe under the bourgeoisie (hence the non-applicability of the 'nation' definition of Stalin in his colonial experience). In so far as the colonial peoples possess this right to self-determination, that is, to political separation from colonial national rule (which may not necessarily imply geographical secession), there is the colonised nation's right to independence.

This characterisation provides the theoretical foundation for the conclusion that the main content of the immediate struggle for change in South Africa is the national liberation of the Black people. This means there exists an objective "singleness of will" for the Black people, irrespective of their class affiliation, to be free from this colonialism of a special type.

But what about the Black petty-bourgeoisie, which the Azanian Manifesto calls "the allies

of the capitalist"? True, certain members of the Black middle stratum have an alliance with capital, and consequently have class aims that move contrary to the fundamental intentions of genuine national liberation (that is led by the working class and thus seeks liberation from imperialist economic powers). That is, they are obliged by their class character to reduce the role of the working class in the democratic revolution (hence it is the spokesmen of this stratum that are usually anti-Communist). But still the majority of this stratum can be won over to the aims of national liberation. National freedom in South Africa is not only in the interests of the Black workers, but also of the Black middle stratum.

"The absence of unity on questions of socialism and in the struggle for socialism does not preclude singleness of will for a republic. To forget this would be tantamount to forgetting the logical and historic difference between a democratic revolution and a socialist revolution. To forget this would be tantamount to forgetting the character of the democratic revolution as one of the whole people: if it is 'of the whole people' that means that there is 'singleness of will' precisely in so far as this revolution meets the needs and requirements of the whole people."

And he added:

"The time will come when the struggle against Russian autocracy will end, and the period of democratic revolution will have passed in Russia; it will then be ridiculous even to speak of 'singleness of will' of the proletariat and the peasantry, about a democratic dictatorship, etc. When that time comes we shall deal directly with the question of the socialist dictatorship of the proletariat and speak of it in greater detail. At present the party of the advanced class cannot but strive most energetically for the democratic revolution's decisive victory over tsarism."

The anti-Freedom Charterists, however, tell us in their Manifesto of the toiling masses that are already struggling for socialism. 'The 'masses' of the National Forum, let us not forget, want socialism here and now, they are really tired of waiting any longer, because they have been educated so thoroughly about socialism by the learned gentry that the national democratic revolution and the Freedom Charter are only wasting their time.



---

# BOOK REVIEW

---

*Political Trials in South Africa: Judicial Instruments of Repression*, Southern Africa the Imprisoned Society, (SATIS), London, May 1985, 25p.

*Torture is Part of the System: State Violence in South Africa and Namibia*, ANC, September 1984, 50p.

These two pamphlets have recently appeared detailing the nature of South Africa's 'judicial system.' The SATIS pamphlet shows how political trials form a key part of the repression of resistance to apartheid, and the ANC torture pamphlet shows how the regime extracts 'evidence' from political detainees in order to prosecute them in its courts. The two pamphlets should be read in conjunction, as they complement each other.

Supporters and apologists of the apartheid regime frequently make the claim that South Africa's judicial system has a reputation for impartiality and independence. Those detained for 'offences' against the state, they claim, will receive a fair trial and those gaoled are put away for being found guilty by due legal process of having committed serious offences.

The SATIS pamphlet exposes this myth by showing that in political trials the judiciary is subordinated to the state through the court procedures that are adopted, by the careful selection of judges and by the definition of 'evidence' accepted by the courts. It shows that a political trial in South Africa is not a forum for ensuring justice, but a political battleground where the odds are heavily loaded against the accused.

Political trials are used as a weapon by the regime to eliminate its political opponents, while at the same time giving the impression that the action taken is legitimate and has the force of law. What should be at question is the legitimacy of the apartheid courts, as they are the creation of an illegitimate colonial regime which does not have the democratic support of those in whose name 'justice' is dispensed. How can a regime that has been declared a 'crime against humanity' adjudicate over those who have taken it upon

themselves to eliminate that crime? The criminal convicts the judge.

The courts are also used to 'criminalise' anti-apartheid political activity. By claiming that there are no political trials in South Africa but only trials of people who have committed 'crimes against the security of the state or public good order,' the regime attempts to create the impression that resistance against apartheid is a criminal, not a noble, activity. All political activity outside of what it defines as 'constitutional' is regarded as treason or as amounting to treason. The only non-treasonable opposition is that defined by the apartheid regime itself, namely, 'opposition' through the segregated parliament and the various urban and bantustan structures it claims to have provided for political expression.

The torture pamphlet describes how torture and detention are used by the state to procure the 'evidence' it uses to prosecute people in political trials. The victims of torture are not only people who have been detained for alleged offences, but also those who have been held as 'witnesses' to give state evidence in political trials.

When the new Internal Security Act was introduced in 1982 it was hailed as an improvement over the Terrorism Act in that it included a number of 'safeguards' to protect detainees against torture and death in detention. Now we have seen these 'safeguards' at work over the past three years it is clear that they were added to the new law for no other purpose than to mollify public opinion on the question of mistreatment by giving the impression that detainees are held under the watchful eye of 'inspectors,' doctors and magistrates. Torture and deaths continue unabated.

In a totally closed system, where there is no one to check that the 'inspectors' have carried out their duty, no one can know what the outcome of the 'inspections' were and whether any action was taken, if it was necessary. The new law makes it easier for the security police to disguise their crimes, as they can hide behind the 'safeguards.'

KJ

---



# WORKERS' ACTION



Delegates arriving at the NUM Congress August '85. 16 500 voted for industrial action and a boycott of white shops if miners are repatriated in retaliation for international sanctions.



Pietermaritzburg becomes a ghost town. Workers stay away in solidarity with the 950 dismissed by BTR Sarmcol, Howick.