

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (SOUTH AFRICA)

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICA (1981-1983).

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L U S A K A
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AMANDLA! --- POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

CIA SAID TO FIND SOUTH AFRICAN REBELS STRONGER, WEIGHING NEW TARGETS

A Washington lobby group that has previously obtained sensitive classified documents says it has been given a U.S. intelligence report that warns that the African National Congress, the main guerrilla group operating in South Africa, is gaining strength and is weighing a more militant strategy involving attacks on white civilian targets.

A second document made available to The Washington Post by Trans-Africa, a black American lobby group on African affairs, suggests that the white-minority government in South Africa is deliberating suppression of reliable reports of successful guerrilla attacks to protect white morale.

That report is contained in what Trans-Africa describes as a copy of a page from the April 15, 1982, National Intelligence Daily, a highly classified compilation of current intelligence information from the CIA, the Defense Intelligence Agency, the National Security Agency and other intelligence sources.

It is circulated by the CIA director, as head of U.S. intelligence, to a limited number of senior policy makers in the White House, the Cabinet and elsewhere in Washington and to certain military commanders overseas.

The daily summary said Pretoria was considering new and stricter limitations on publicizing terrorist attacks because "the ANC benefits from press coverage of its attacks." That, in turn, the summary said, "will strengthen the militants in the ANC who want the group to engage in spectacular attacks against whites!"

Supporting that assessment is what Trans-Africa Director Randall Robinson said was an extensive CIA report on the outlawed nationalist group. Robinson, who said the report came into his hands in April, refused to make portions of it available for publication. He said they dealt with specific personalities and bases of the ANC.

Separate CIA spokesmen, making what each called the agency's "usual" response to press queries, refused last week to confirm or deny the

existence or the reported contents of the excerpt from the intelligence daily as well as the CIA report. In both cases, the spokesmen initially asked for details of the documents and responded several hours later.

Yesterday, a man identifying himself as George Schwegmann, from the CIA's Office of Physical Security, telephoned to inquire about the page of the April 15 intelligence summary. He said he had been advised by the agency's Department of Public Affairs of the copy. He was told that it no longer was in the reporter's possession.

Other sources in a position to be aware of the authenticity of the documents declined to challenge them. In May 1981, Trans-Africa leaked to the press classified State Department documents on Africa policy that U.S. officials later acknowledged to be valid.

The forecast in the alleged CIA report is for "more persistent and widespread racial unrest" in South Africa as the ANC moves against whites' "lives, property and security" to force them to face up to the need for change. The authorities are foreseen introducing more repressive measures and mounting further military operations against the groups' installations in neighboring states.

The report, a chronicle of the group from its beginnings in the early part of this century through its current and considerable revival after the suppression of the Soweto riots of 1976, echoes widely accepted assessments within academic and business circles here of the ANC's burgeoning strength.

In its review of the ANC's major sabotage operations of the last two years, the report cites "improved efficiency and coordination" of the groups' operations between 1980 and 1981, and an increase from 10 to 40 in major attacks against government and economic targets in that period.

"It is clear," the report said, that the ANC "could have inflicted a large number of white casualties if had chosen to do so".

Pointing to changes in the group's operations, the report says that "terrorist teams are now beginning to remain (in South Africa) for longer periods of time, sometimes carrying out several assignments before finally leaving".

It estimates that the ANC has 1,000 to 2,000 active members, meaning those living outside South Africa who have received military training, and perhaps 2,000 to 3,000 others inside South Africa who secretly

belong to the banned organisation.

The growing power of the militants in the group's leadership, most of whom joined in a major influx after the Soweto riots, "may lead to ... changes in the group's strategy," the study says, noting that many younger members have objected to what they considered to be the "careful" approach of the more traditional leaders to military operations inside South Africa.

While it predicts "increasing success" for the ANC in filling the vacuum in leadership in South Africa left after the death in custody of black activist Steve Biko, and the failure of the government to implement meaningful reforms, the study judges that the group will pose a "serious threat to white control" in South Africa only if it develops "an effective underground political organisation" inside the country.

The ANC has "a long way to go before it can claim a significant political network" inside the country despite polls showing it as the most popular black movement among South Africa's 20 million blacks.

THE WASHINGTON POST - 3 NOV. 1982

U.S. SENDS ENVOYS TO BOLSTER POLICY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

With negotiations for Namibian independence from South Africa stalled over the issue of Cuban troops in Angola, the Reagan administration has undertaken a series of high-level diplomatic contacts designed to salvage its southern Africa Policy.

The contacts include an unpublicised visit to Africa in September by Central Intelligence Agency Director William Casey, Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker's trip to Paris and London last month, and a coming African tour by Vice President George Bush.

Administration strategists believe that visible progress toward ending the impasse over Namibia, also known as South-West Africa, is necessary to protect U.S. interests in the region and to blunt rising criticism from both conservative Republicans and foreign governments.

"There's stirring on the left and stirring on the right," said one State Department official. "The Europeans are saying if you guys hadn't interposed the Cuban issue Namibian independence would move forward. And our own right wing believes that we haven't taken UNITA into account."

The future of UNITA, the pro-Western guerrilla movement fighting the Angolan government, was raised in a secret letter last month to National Security Adviser William Clark by members of the conservative

The countries of Southern Africa are embroiled, at the present time, in an undeclared war launched by the Pretoria regime. Whether it be in Mozambique and Angola, Lesotho or Zimbabwe, Botswana or Zambia, Seychelles, Mauritius or Madagascar, the apartheid monster is involved in a deliberate campaign of aggression and destabilisation.

During these campaigns of murder and pillage, our people have been slaughtered in cold blood and have even had their bodies desecrated.

The enemy has stated the purposes of this aggression quite clearly, when it has repeatedly proclaimed its intention to act against these countries so long as they allow the ANC to be present within their territories. Clearly, therefore, the peoples of Southern Africa are having to pay the supreme sacrifice, as they have done and are doing in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the region, because they are refusing to bow down to the demands of the enemy to have the ANC and SWAPO of Namibia uprooted and expelled from this region.

The offer made a few days back by the racist Prime Minister Botha to the independent states of Southern Africa, for these states to sign non-aggression pacts with apartheid South Africa, constitutes part of this offensive designed to impose Pretoria's will on these states. Botha is the persistent aggressor. No African country has fired a single bullet across its borders into South Africa. And yet Botha is inviting the targets to sign a non-aggression pact with the aggressor. If he believes in non-aggression, why does he not stop aggression? If he believes in aggression, how will a non-aggression pact stop him?

During the past year, this regime has been encouraged in its counter-offensive by the criminal activities of Zionist Israel against the people of Lebanon and Palestinian refugees in that country and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the PLO. After repeated raids, aggression into Lebanon during the course of which the Zionist Israeli troops mercilessly butchered both the Lebanese and Palestinians and sought to destroy whole cities, the Zionist ultimately occupied virtually the whole of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon.

Apart from anything else, the Pretoria regime used this experience to prepare the white South African population for similar campaigns of terror against the peoples of Southern Africa, as happened and is

to set a Namibian independence plan into motion, "we will need a credible Angolan commitment for a parallel framework of Cuban withdrawal."

Crocker and other Reagan advisers say a resolution of both issues is necessary to achieve regional stability, and they see stability as the most effective barrier to expanding Soviet influence.

The trips by senior officials are designed to win support for that policy by offering both political and economic inducements. The vice president's good-will journey to seven African nations, focusing on economic issues, is the flip side of Casey's security-oriented consultations, while Crocker's European talks centered on breaking the Namibian deadlock.

Although the CIA refuses to comment on Casey's trip, U.S. sources say he consulted intelligence chiefs of key African countries such as Nigeria, Zaire, Zambia and Mozambique.

In South Africa, he reportedly met with Prime Minister P.W. Botha, and Foreign Minister Pik Botha as well as Defense Minister Magnus Malan and top military officers.

During those talks, South Africa urged that the current negotiations be broadened to encompass the issue of infiltration across its borders by the African National Congress, an outlawed organization that enjoys wide support among blacks. In exchange for a ban on an ANC guerrilla presence in surrounding countries -- including Angola, where the movement has important training facilities--South Africa hinted it would curb its own military actions.

American officials are treating the ANC question warily, saying privately that while there is sympathy in Washington for South Africa's security problems, the United States cannot afford to "touch" the issue at this critical point in the Namibian talks. Instead, Washington is addressing Pretoria's concerns by improving bilateral relations. It is relaxing restrictions on exports to South African government entities including the military and police.

The United States has reassured South Africa that it will not recognize the Angolan government until Cuban troops leave. In eight meetings with Angolan officials -- the most recent between Secretary of State Shultz and Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge on Oct. 5 -- the United States has pressed for the phased withdrawal of the estimated 15,000 to 20,000 Cubans.

Without firmer assurances against South African raids, Angola has so far been unwilling to take the "leap of faith" U.S. officials say is necessary to conclude an agreement. Following Crocker's latest discussions with French and British negotiators, the State Department is considering new proposals, including a potential "third force" to replace the Cubans, security and economic assistance guarantees and formal U.S. recognition.

The French are tentatively planning to dispatch envoys to the Angolan capital of Luanda to pave the way for another visit by U.S. delegation.

(WASHINGTON POST 11.03.82.)

ANC POLITICAL MOBILISATION AND ITS GROWING SUPPORT INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA.

After five years as Soweto's political supreme, Dr Motlana believes his support and influence is collapsing. And he believes the support of other moderate leaders is disappearing along side his. "People are fast becoming disillusioned with the leadership of those who say peaceful change is still possible". The words would sound more comfortable coming from a radical critic of the moderate Soweto doctor, who shot to fame as the head of the Black Parents Association in 1976. But they are Motlana's own. "We live within the system and are part and parcel of it. We become despised because of our links with it. The only people who appear to buck the system are the African National Congress".

Motlana himself is no stranger to ANC activity - in his youth more than a decade before the organisation's banning in 1960, Motlana worked as an ANC organiser and he is one of many leading black figures in South African who trace their political lineage back to the earlier, unbanned ANC.

From Chief Buthelezi (who claims allegiance with the 'founding fathers' of the movement) to his arch-rivals, the Black Consciousness organisations (who claim allegiance to the 'pure' African nationalism of the ANC Youth League of the 1940s), all look to the ANC as their political alma mater.

But it is not to these 'earlier' ANCs that Motlan has seen his support slipping away. It is to the ANC of the Freedom Charter, of sabotage acts against Sasol, Soekmekaar police station and the Voortrekkerhoogte military base. And to a growing movement inside the country which broadly defines itself as 'democratic' and, without directly aligning itself with the organisation - an unwise alignment to openly admit, given the severe penalties it brings - advocates

the policies laid out in the Freedom Charter. While many may find suggestions of growing support for the ANC difficult to digest, some statistics seem to bear out Motlana's contention.

+ A recent survey carried out by the Star newspaper throughout the country put the question to hundreds of black South Africans: "If you could vote candidates to Parliament today, who would you vote for?" Cut any way - by language, job category, age or geographically - the ANC came out well ahead of its rivals, both banned and legal. No matter how unpalatable, such support is significant given that the ANC has spent 20 of its 70 years officially non-existent in South Africa.

+ At the funeral of one of the three ANC gunmen killed during the Silverton siege, a senior policeman was asked to estimate the number of mourners. "Man, after 10,000 we just stopped counting," he replied.

+ Only five weeks ago, former Robben Island prisoner and Durban attorney, Griffiths Mxengo, was buried in the Ciskei. "It wasn't a funeral, it was like an ANC gathering," the Tribune was told afterwards. Estimates of the crowds there varied from between 10,000 and 20,000.

Joe Paahla, President of the Black University Student Organisation, Azaso, explains the upsurge of student radicalism -- and that of growing numbers of black trade union members:

"As we have seen, notably in Zimbabwe, the more intransigent the ruling group, the more people identify with the organisations which appear likely to prove a match for that intransigence." He believes practical experience too is teaching workers in South Africa a new and radical attitude towards the status quo. "When there is a strike, it is not the company's officials who come in to control the workers, it is the police - the government's police. And the workers begin to realise that to improve their working conditions and their wages, they also need to change the political situation in this country."

Paahla, a 25-year-old Durban medical student, who took over Azaso as it was breaking its ties with conventional Black Consciousness (BC), believes the new mood of militancy is also partly a result of the failure of BC organisations to "deliver the goods". "After the banning of 19 BC organisations in October 1977, people looked back to review what they had achieved. What they saw was that the BC

organisations has achieved less mass mobilisation with their pure, ideological political stance than the Congress organisations had in the 1950s when they organised around more basic issues like bus fare increases, removals and the pass laws."

The largely successful campaign to boycott the South African Indian Council elections bears him out. Instead of merely advocating a boycott, Anti-SAIC Committees in both the Transvaal and Natal conducted their operations almost like elections campaigns, canvassing door to door and speaking to almost every voter in many constituencies. "We were very unsure of the response when we started in June." Dr. Essop Jassat, chairman of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, said this week. "We were amazed by the reaction. After 20 years of political vacuum in the Indian community, and without a political organisation to guide them, the people showed they could do the right thing."

The campaign organisers posed, as an alternative to the SAIC, the Freedom Charter, a blueprint for a future South Africa, endorsed 26 years ago by the then-legal ANC and white, coloured and Indian congresses. M.J. Naidoo, vice president of the Natal Indian Congress, which spearheaded the Anti-SAIC Campaign in Natal, believes that even the campaign's clearly successful result might not give a clear demonstration of radical black opposition to apartheid. In a society where advocates of certain political attitudes were prohibited from mobilising support, those allowed to operate could gain an unrealistic level of support, he said. "In Rhodesia, Muzorewa carried the day in the first election. He got well over 50% of the vote. One would have thought, well, that's the attitude of the people. But a year later he was swept off the face of Rhodesia - but only when people felt safe enough to vote openly. The same situation applied in South Africa. I'm satisfied that if the ANC was given the sort of freedom to participate in elections that Mugabe and company had, they'd sweep the board."

Young Soweto students, too, bear witness to the climbing support for the ANC policies. Since 1976, many have looked to them as the "vanguard of the struggle" but today they deny this: "Today we realise that our struggle must be based on the working classes, not on intellectuals," said one veteran of 1976 and, more recently, of the Anti-Republic Day activities of last year. Among the men he looks to today for leadership are former law partners Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo.

Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment on Robben Island and was first leader of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe. Tambo - referred to by some students and his colleagues as "The President" - is the ANC's president and is credited with leading the reconstruction of the movement after its virtual destruction by the authorities in the early Sixties.

White South Africa, unused to the startling frankness of many township conversations, would be even more shocked by the students' attitudes to that 'arch-villain' of the South Africa political scene, the Communist Party. A student said that homeland independence and township community councils had taught him and millions of others to be less suspicious of socialism and its class interpretation of society's ills. "The Matanzima's and the Sebes taught us it was not a black-white thing, it was not only whites exploiting and oppressing us. We looked for an explanation and found it in a class analysis of society." The young man, son of a factory worker father and a street vendor mother, is not alone.....An indication of the feeling of some is given by their adaptation of the old ANC song "We will follow Lutuli." The names now sung in place of Lutuli's are those of Tambo, Mandela, Joe Slovo, Marx and Lenin. The singers are young and idealistic - but never naive. Even the youngest remembers his baptism of fire on the township streets in 1976. Their voices - like those of the followers of Mugabe and Nkomo in what was once Rhodesia - are seldom heard by their white compatriots.

One who has heard is Ton Vosloo, editor of the Government-supporting Johannesburg newspaper, Beeld. "The day will come when a South African government will have to sit at a negotiating table with the ANC," he wrote last year.

(SUNDAY TRIBUNE - 10.1.82)

In the nine months to December, the guerrilla army Umkhonto We Sizwe, was responsible for the vast majority of more than 50 attacks and sabotage actions - a marked escalation on previous levels. And the year saw a remarkable mobilisation around the Freedom Charter, the ANC's 'minimum programme' in protest to the 20th Anniversary of the Republic and the ethnic South African Indian Council elections. There has also been continuous change in the ANC.

Since it laid down its roots in 1912, it has undergone several changes. Now it has emerged as an internationally respected revolutionary black nationalist organisation. It heads an alliance with the South African

Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions, through which it is developing a significant guerrilla capability.

Both before and since its banning and near decimation in the Sixties, the ANC has tried to bring together different race and class groups in a common alliance for the overthrow of the existing order. It appears to be a matter of policy that potential allies in this quest should not be alienated, and the result is the development of a strategy interlocking mass action, worker action and armed struggle.

The strategy, and the alliance behind it, has given rise to two charges: that the ANC is communist dominated and that it has diluted the necessary black nationalist content of the struggle in South Africa through working together with liberal or left-wing whites. Portraying the ANC as a communist front must be a propaganda point for any government seeking Western support. While there is substantial support for the SACP among exiled elements of the ANC, and some dual membership, the allegation that the ANC is a communist front does not provide any useful insight into the nature of this alliance.

Each organisation has had a profound effect on the others' thinking. Through time, for example, the SACP has moved from a purely class analysis of South African society to one linking both racial and economic factors. On the other hand, the ANC has undergone a similar change in thinking from a purely nationalistic perspective.

A major factor in this intellectual convergence has been the close co-operation between the ANC, communists and trade unionists going back beyond the formation of the Congress Alliance in the Fifties. That alliance, headed by the ANC and comprising the South African Indian Congress, the Coloured People's Congress and the (white) Congress of Democrats, was, with the Freedom Charter, a major factor in the PAC breakaway in 1958. The PAC's charge was that the ANC was diluting African nationalism and coming under the control of white communists. This allegation, though still strident from some black consciousness elements and the PAC, appears to be decreasing. Membership of the ANC, like that of the SACP, is overwhelmingly African. The entire national executive committee of the ANC is composed of Africans. And, according to sources, some whites and members of other racial groups have become members of the ANC.

In as much as it is possible to gauge intentions, they, too, are overwhelmingly nationalist: that is, directed towards the mobilisation of the African majority to achieve majority rule. The role of the SACP

has been most marked in two areas: the formation of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, and in worker organisations. A number of leading communists sit on the revolutionary council, which oversees Umkhonto We Sizwe on behalf of the National Executive Committee. And it is clear that South African communists have been helpful in ensuring the ANC's access to Eastern-bloc arms.

The mood among the black working class in recent years has created a fertile ground for the development of a communist allegiance.

Many young blacks leaving the country are now said to be asking to be taken, first and foremost, into the Communist Party a generation educated through the liberal nationalism of black consciousness are now increasingly finding their answers in the Marxist-Leninist texts. According to sources, this development will not alter the basic nature of the alliance. The ANC will remain the mass movement, embracing all classes and groups, while the SACP and SACTU will continue to further their own causes.

What tensions may exist in this alliance have not revealed themselves since the mid-seventies, when a group of 8 ANC members broke away. Sources explain this absence of disruption by pointing to the development of a strongly collectivist leadership tradition in which personalities are not emphasised.

With the PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania still trying to get going to any meaningful extent, the ANC's alliance has succeeded in gaining international support where it counts - in the socialist countries and the Frontline States. But where support will count most is on the home front. As the recent clampdown on the ANC in Swaziland has demonstrated, to succeed, the ANC will have to give more meaning to its assertion that it will not rely on external bases for its operations to the extent that other revolutionary movements have.

(THE STAR, 7.1.82)

Splattered across walls, houses and shop facades in the street of Soweto and Johannesburg's Western Coloured Township is an array of African National Congress slogans. At the funerals of black leaders there is more often than not a display of the green, gold and black ANC colours and flags, and the hurried distribution of ANC pamphlets. Newspapers continually publish evidence of the dominance of ANC cadres and sympathisers in South Africa's political trials and the escalation in activities by the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe. For South Africa's black nationalist groups seeking the overthrow of South Africa's apartheid regime, is among the people, undergrounded.

And commentators, both inside and outside the country, as well as black people, have been particularly vocal recently on the ANC's increasing strength and support, Afrikaner newspaper editor Ton Vosloo of *Beeld*, omouthpiece of P.W. Botha's National Party in the Transvaal, wrote earlier this year that the ANC probably had the support of millions of blacks, and that the Pretoria regime would one day have to sit at the conference table with the ANC, which it banned 21 years ago. And a week ago South Africa's largest daily newspaper, the conservative *Star*, published the results of a survey on black opinion in three major urban areas.

The survey showed the ANC would get 40% of the vote if blacks got a vote in Parliament today, the banned PAC 10%, the major internal Black Consciousness organisations 11% and Chief Buthelezi's Zulu-based but nationally oriented Inkatha movement 21%. This means that the ANC has almost as much support as the other three organisations put together among blacks in the main urban centres. Jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela received the approval of 76% of those interviewed, while PAC leader John Pokela got the approval of 18%. Particularly interesting was the 46% vote the ANC got from the 16 and 25 years age group, from which the bulk of any guerrilla force must necessarily come, against 6% for the PAC.

In recent months there has been increased cohesion around the principles consistent with those upheld by the ANC, and a surprisingly open assertion of them. This became most evident during the Anti-Republic Day campaign in May this year when communities mobilised around the Freedom Charter, an historic document adopted in 1955 by 3,000 delegates representing a number of organisations seeking a democratic South Africa and the ANC's central policy statement. Black university students, represented by the Azanian Students Organisation, have in recent years been moving increasingly towards a position aligned to the Charter. They have now joined their younger counterparts in the Congress of South African Students who, since its inception a few years ago, have always upheld this position. Young blacks appear now to be saying that the original principles of black consciousness and solidarity with progressive whites seeking national liberation are not contradictory. It has, however, become necessary for them to distance themselves from the simplistic interpretation of black consciousness being espoused by some contemporary black consciousness leaders, for example in Azapo.

'The Freedom Charter is our guide', one student told me. A few weeks ago the Charter was adopted by the Indian community when it launched

its campaign to boycott the November elections of the SAIC — a body supposed to represent the country's 800,000 strong Indian community. As one speaker told a packed hall for 2,000 in Johannesburg's Indian township of Lenasia 'We are pro-Freedom Charter. Our answer was given over 20 years ago'.

So while groups and individuals are not saying that they are ANC aligned, possibly because this carries with it heavy penalties, it is clear that the ANC is the organising, benefitting from and marshalling these ideological shifts. The same is true of the labour movement. All the major independent black union bodies, except the one which unofficially adheres to the black consciousness philosophy, strictly follow a principled policy of non-racialism. And some display organising policies and strategies similar to those of the underground South African Congress of Trade Unions, which forms part of the national liberation alliance headed by the ANC. Many of the unions see the workers struggle on the shop floor within the broader context of the political struggle, and a number have been bruised as a result.

However groups hostile to the ANC cannot be discounted. These include Inkatha, which supports capitalism, as well as working within the present system, and those propagating a simple Africanist position with a socialist colouring, such as the PAC, the exiled Black Consciousness Movement of Azania and Azapo. Inkatha's strength has been its organising abilities. However it has shown itself to be a poor fighter of ~~the black~~ cause. It is significant that according to the Star survey, the ANC received more support than Inkatha both among the Zulu's and in Durban on Inkatha's home ground. The PAC, Azapo and the BCMA have all failed to mobilise or absorb people effectively, and, for the moment, are out of the reckoning — something the PAC leadership appears not to dispute. PAC leaders outside the country acknowledge that only the ANC is doing the fighting. And, inside the country, a number of people admitted that the ANC was now leading South Africa's liberation struggle — an observation they disputed a year ago.

(THE SUNDAY MAIL, ZIMBABWE 4.10.81)

The traffic of Johannesburg bustled below, the noise occasionally interfering with the hushed voices of some young Sowetans discussing an organisation banned when they were mere toddlers — the African National Congress of South Africa. 'There is a greater expression of impatience among the people with the way things are going'. As a result I feel the majority of people are ready for the ANC to step up their military activities', said one. His friend butted in: 'The attack on the Voortrekkerhoogte military base really showed us that the ANC is not a myth.'

Before the recent escalations in Umkhonto We Sizwe's military activities, many people thought that the ANC had effectively died, but now we know that there has been a period of planning and the leaders weren't just sitting back and enjoying high life in other countries. We need to know what type of society to expect in post-liberation times and the ANC provides a vision of this in the Freedom Charter', said another.

Their comments were illuminating for one trying to assess the ANC's prominence. If people are increasingly accepting the necessity of armed action in South Africa's liberation struggle — and recent opinion survey confirm that this is so — it is not really surprising that the ANC is commanding growing respect and support in the black community. The outlawed movement has emerged as the only organisation which, at this stage, is doing the fighting, and it clearly poses the the greatest threat to the apartheid system — an assessment with which Pretoria appears to agree.

When the Botha regime talks of the enemy now, it talks only of the ANC. It publicly acknowledges that the ANC has a sophisticated organisational structure, and that it's guerrillas are well-trained. In April this year security police HZ asserted that at the disposal of ANC cadres were a sophisticated system of under ground shelters, elaborated hidden caches where weapons were stored and made ready for use only on the day of attack and a dead letter-box system of communication in which underground hidden post boxes were used for messages, instructions and money transfers. In 1981, which has been characterised by a marked escalation in guerrilla activities, the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto We Sizwe, has shown an ability to operate in widely dispersed areas of the country in a co-ordinated manner. In addition, ANC cadres now appear to be defending and complementing mass struggle with armed action by hitting targets in support of worker and community demands.

For example, the bomb explosions outside Durban distributors of the Sigma and Leyland motor corporations came at a time when the workers at the two motor plants had been locked in labour disputes with management. However, it is hardly the ANC's improved military capabilities alone which has the Botha regime so apparently concerned about the outlawed organisation. More important is the mobilisation which is taking place on an unprecedented scale and the widespread acceptance of ANC principles. For this is helping secure for the ANC a reliable base from which to conduct its military activities inside the country. Being the oldest movement in organised black politics in South Africa,

the ANC's past experiences as well as its apparent political and ideological maturity, are also major pluses in its favour.

Long before its banning in 1960, the ANC received ideological contributions from all sides, which were widely debated in the organisation. In the 40's and 50's, its own youth league, headed by men like Nelson Mandela and Oliver Tambo, now the ANC's president, pushed a strong Africanist line. The SA Communist Party and the South African Congress of Trade Unions also had close association with the ANC at the time. The result was the ANC adopting a class-based analysis of South Africa's oppressive and exploitative structures consistent with the primary struggle for African national liberation.

In its 'Strategy and Tactics' adopted in 1969, the ANC noted: 'The main content of the present stage of the South African revolution is the national liberation of the largest and most oppressed group — the African people'. But it added: 'It must not be confused with the classical drive by an elitist group among the oppressed people to gain ascendancy so that they can replace the oppressor in the exploitation of the masses'. By stressing that an integral part of its strategy 'involves a stimulation and deepening of national confidence, national pride and national assertiveness', the ANC's policy is compatible with black consciousness' primary principles. In addition, the ANC's strict policy of non-racialism within its own ranks has meant that the ANC has been able to embrace progressives in all race and economic class groups. As such it poses a total challenge to the South African system.

The ANC's leaders, such as Oliver Tambo, as well as the imprisoned Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki and Walter Sisulu, are regarded as both national and international symbols of liberation. This is illustrated by the support given, both inside and outside the country to the Free Mandela Campaign, the nomination of Mandela as the Chancellor of London University and the recent bestowal of the Freedom of the City of Glasgow on the imprisoned leader. The ANC is also commanding growing respect, or at least acknowledgement, in the international community. It has a presence in over 30 countries, many of which officially recognise it. And recently a number of United States multinational invited, for the first time, ANC leaders to a meeting to discuss South Africa.

But the standards which are likely to determine which group gains the revolutionary loyalties of the South African people are best expressed by Vietnamese revolutionary, Le Duan:

'A method, a form of struggle can only be reckoned as the best and most

judicious one when it fully meets the requirements of a given concrete situation, when it is wholly suited to the conditions in which it is applied when it makes it possible to muster to the greatest extent the revolutionary and progressive forces, and bring them to the battle-front, when it makes possible through exploitation of the enemy's weaknesses, and for all these reasons is likely to bring the 'greatest' successes possible, given the relation of forces prevailing at the moment'.

The African National Congress, it would appear, is applying such a method.

The Sunday Mail (Zimbabwe) 11.10.81

'STAR' APOLOGISES

The office of the African National Congress of South Africa in Lusaka has protested about the headline in an article in the The Star of June 23, 'ANC now ready to spill innocent blood.' Because of legal restrictions on banned organisations and persons we are unable to quote the terms of the telex message in which the ANC drew the matter to our attention and set out certain of its policies.

Having studied the article, however, we accept that the headline was not justified by the content and was thus not a fair reflection of ANC policies as there set out. The article said reliable sources close to the ANC saw armed action as only one facet of political struggle. It said: 'Among a powerful section of the ANC there is a distinct moral distaste for terrorism defined as the indiscriminate use of violence against civilians for political purposes. But what is clear is that the ANC now reflects a belief that there will inevitably be innocent casualties in a guerrilla war.' This was followed by further elaboration of the ANC's position on guerrilla warfare and civilian casualties. Thus our headline did not accurately reflect the main thrust of the article and we apologise for the lapse.

(Star 20.7.82)

MASSIVE EXPLOSION AS PROTESTS SPREAD

THE widespread opposition to Republic Day celebrations reached a peak on Wednesday with nationwide demonstrations and a bomb explosion in central Durban.

The bomb exploded early on Wednesday at the Defence Force recruiting office in the centre of the town, causing extensive damage. The massive blast was heard throughout the city and suburbs.

The explosion is believed to have been the work of the outlawed African National Congress (ANC).

The ANC has claimed responsibility for a series of attacks during the past week.

The ANC said it had mounted a wave of operations showing "high precision and co-ordination" aimed at disrupting the 20th anniversary of the South African Republic.

Other incidents reported on Wednesday included:

- At Wits university Brigadier Theuns 'Rooi Rus' Swanepoel, head of the Crime Prevention Unit on the Witwatersrand and in charge of the riot squad led several platoons of men into the campus to arrest demonstrating students.

+ At the University of the Western Cape close to 1 000 students raised their fists in salute and shouted "Amandla Ngawethu" as they watched flames leap from a burning South African flag.

As the flag disintegrated another flag bearing the green, gold and black colours of the banned African National Congress was raised.

The flag was hoisted against a background of banners and posters displayed on the stage, spelling out the demands in the Freedom Charter.

A number of demonstrators were arrested outside the Good Hope Centre in Cape Town, where the World Meat Congress is taking place.

At least 50 policemen were on the scene and the demonstrators, carrying placards, were forcibly removed from the area and bundled into at least eight police vans.

It is understood the protest was against the Republic festival celebrations as well as the fact that the World Meat Congress is taking place in Cape Town.

- Pupils at several black schools in the Cape Peninsula boycotted classes. By midday at least six Athlone schools were empty after pupils had either not reported for lessons or had left soon after arriving.

Some schools in Port Elizabeth closed early because of poor attendance following a call by the Congress of South African Students for the three-day protest boycott.

The Cape's regional director for the Department of Education, Mr. Philip Engelbrecht, said there was a decrease in pupils' attendance but schools were still functioning.

"Attendance figures vary from school to school but we expect things will be back to normal when classes are resumed on Tuesday"

In an interview today, a Cosas spokesman said the stayaway was just a three-day protest against the Republic celebrations and everyone would return to school next week.

A meeting in the Johannesburg City Hall was interrupted by police who said that a call had been received saying there was an explosive device in the hall.

The announcement from Wits students representative council president, Sammy Adelman, was greeted by jeers and no one got up to leave.

The meeting was addressed by Mr. Joseph Mavi and Revcl Nkondo. More police reinforcement were drafted into the area and part of the President Street was blocked to traffic.

Riot police with dogs moved pedestrians from the area and at least one arrest was made.

A boycott started at the University of Durban-Westville and the Medical College of Durban (Wentworth) spread to the University of Fort Hare. Students at Wentworth marched around the campus, singing freedom songs.

A member of the Medical Students' Representative Council said their offices had been raided by police, who removed pamphlets and a printing machine. All was quiet at the UDw campus following the cancellation of lectures by the rector on Monday.

In Springs, Security Police confiscated thousands of pamphlets urging black factory workers to stay home on Republic Day.

A police spokesman said two black youths had been detained after being found in possession of the pamphlets, urging workers to strike.

More pamphlets were seized in Durban when Security police searched the offices of the ecumenical agency - Diakonia.

Meanwhile, Andrew Boraine, Nusas President, was detained under Section 22 of the General Law Amendment Bill.

(SOWETAN, Friday, May 29, '81)

PRESTIGE OF ANC HAUNTS REGIME

Hundreds of terrorists have been infiltrating into the Republic since 1976, and more are still training or waiting in the neighbouring countries for opportunities to slip across the border. They are well trained and their tasks have been well defined. Most of the terrorists - they call themselves freedom fighters - are South African blacks who fled the country to undergo training before returning to South Africa. Once they are back in the Republic, they operate from secret bases, some in remote hiding places, others on the outskirts of our cities and even in the townships. Large quantities of arms, ammunition and explosives have been smuggled into the Republic and are stockpiled at these bases and other secret caches in the country. More and more black women are being recruited and trained to back up urban terrorists. They are used to ferry weapons, ammunition and propaganda material - often concealed under their dresses to give an appearance of pregnancy - across borders into South Africa. They are also responsible for setting up safe bases and attending to domestic needs of terrorists. They have to try to ferret out police informers and anyone else opposed to the ANC. Women are also used to smuggle large sums of money into the country, and they are expected to help the men supplement the finances they receive from overseas. Like the men, women are also trained in blowing up targets such as railway lines, police stations, post offices, power stations, bridges, etc.

The ANC worked for the establishment of international boycotts, arms embargoes and the total isolation of South Africa. The strategic aim of the ANC as set out in its publication Current Tasks in our Struggle is the forcible capture of power from the white minority regime by the combined revolutionary forces of the black majority under the banner of the African National Congress. Another captured ANC document, which is being distributed in the country proclaims: "We are at war. The revolution has started. The time to fight at all levels, using all methods, has come".

(NATAL MERCURY, 19.2.81)

COUNTERING SUBSERVISION

The systematic programme of sabotage in South Africa is getting worse. Natal, at present, is bearing the brunt, with damage to

fuel depots, railway lines, official buildings- the latest incident being at Paulpietersburg in Northern Natal. But recent incidents have occurred elsewhere in the country.

It requires no genius to conclude that the African National Congress is at work as never before. Military and security chiefs have warned of a stepped-up campaign. The belief has been expressed in military quarters that, after escalating for five years or so, the campaign will subside. No wonder. The ANC has managed to gain a firm foothold in the thinking of the black masses. The 1976 Soweto unrest produced thousands of young recruits who are returning to this country to commit violent acts. The independence of Zimbabwe, following that of the former Portuguese territories, has been a major spur to black nationalists' resolve. It is not uncommon for funerals and other events to be marked by ANC colours, ANC songs and ANC propaganda. This is done openly, in the presence of the security. The Buthelezi commission's attitude surveys showed powerful support for an organisation which, legally does not exist. What is to be done?

Although subversion, of its own, is unlikely to shatter the powerful South African state, it is a critically dangerous element in a picture of growing instability - marked by the financial and military cost of S/W/Namibia, labour unrest and an economic showdown.

One way how not to handle the problem of ANC activity is to pretend that the mass of black South Africans do not exist politically. That causes blacks to despair and to turn to violent answers. The exclusion of blacks from the President's Council, and the failure of the council to recommend a national constitutional future involving them, plays into the hands of those who seek extreme solutions. Africans are fobbed off with ~~spurious independence~~ as Pretoria's statelets, or "national statehood" which makes a mockery of the idea of statehood. The rest, the harassed non-homeland Africans, are offered some crumbs at local level, but their political aspirations as South Africans are ignored.

That is not the way to deal with ANC subversion. Only a programme involving the African masses meaningfully in the central political process will head off the slide to violence in South Africa. Ultimately, the constitutional future must be agreed not only with coloured and Indian South Africans, but with the recognized leaders of the Africans. That includes the ANC, which must be bargained

with, or fought. The former is preferable.

(CAPE TIMES. 4.6.'82)

...KHONTO WE SIZWE -- THE SPEAR OF THE NATION

There was a marked drop in the number of sabotage acts in South Africa in 1982, but the ANC managed to continue its strategy of 'armed propaganda' -- most notably at the Koeberg nuclear power station. From a peak of 55 in 1981, the number of attacks dropped to 23 in 1982. However, it was also the year in which two of the most significant attacks took place -- the bombing of the President's Council building in Cape Town and the attack on Koeberg. These were the most spectacular since the raids on Sasol installations at Secunda and Sasolburg in June, 1980.

The armed propaganda tactic has involved attacks on economic targets such as rail depots, power stations and pipelines, and targets that symbolise white authority such as the President's Council building and various administration board offices.

In the wake of the South African Defence Force attack in Maseru, fears were expressed that the ANC would switch its attention to soft targets such as shopping centres. Professor John Barrat of the Institute of International Affairs said the ANC's strategy was receiving a lot of approval internationally. The organisation would tend to lose support if tactics were changed. 'It may take a long time for them to achieve their objectives by sticking to hard targets, but from their point of view this has been the most productive course of action', he said. Professor Barratt added that the drop in the number of attacks could be attributed to more effective police action. However, the ANC seemed to be going for fewer targets with higher priority.

Apart from the two Cape attacks, acts of sabotage have been concentrated in the Transvaal and Natal. There were at least three gun battles between police and insurgents in the areas which adjoin Swaziland. The 1982 attacks include:

- + January 6: West Rand Administration Board offices in Orlando East blasted.
- + March 20: Commissioner's Court in Cape Town's Langa township bombed.
- + April 25: Explosion on a water pipeline over the Umlaas River in Natal.
- + May 21: Offices of the Port Natal Administration Board in Pinetown blasted.
- + May 24: Water reservoir main at Chesterville in Durban blown up.
- + May 28: Several explosions damage petrol storage tanks at Hectorspruit in the Eastern Transvaal.
- + June 2: Large attack at Paulpietersburg in Natal. Four bombs explode at a nearby mine, one at a fuel depot and one at a station.
- + June 3: Two electricity pylons over a railway line at Dube in Soweto blown up.
- + June 4: A bomb in a lift of the President's Council Building in Cape Town kills a young engineering student, Michael Younghusband.
- + June 6: Blast damages a grain silo at Vryheid, Natal near Waterval-Onder in Eastern Transvaal, injuring the driver and his assistant.
- + June 28: A series of bombs explode at Scheepersnek in the Northern Transvaal, damaging an oil pipeline.
- + July 5: Water pipeline near Dunnotar on the East Rand blasted.
- + July 28: A bomb explodes in a telephone booth outside Port Elizabeth's new law courts.
- + November 8: Five explosions at a petrol depot at Ikuze on the Natal north coast.
- + December 18: Four explosions rock the Koeberg nuclear power station, forcing the commissioning of certain sections to be delayed.

(THE STAR. 31.12.'82)

EXPLOSION IN A MAGISTRATE'S COURT

An explosion rocked the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court building today only 200m from the Witwatersrand police HQ John Vorster Square. Bomb Squad experts sifted through the debris and the immediate area was sealed off by scores of policemen. The explosion happened at 1.30a.m. on the Bezudenhout Street side of the court building. Broken glass was lying in the street. It is not known what type of explosive was used.

Intensive investigations are under way, according to a police spokesman. At 8 a.m. today the court building was still closed to the public, and all telephone lines to the building had been cut. Police in camouflage uniforms, uniformed policemen and traffic inspectors manned roadblocks and no members of the public were allowed near the blast area. Pressmen were kept away and no photographs of the building were allowed.

(THE STAR 31.12.'82)

KOEBERG "FIRE"

An Eskom spokesman today dismissed claims by the military wing of the ANC that it was responsible for the recent fire at Koeberg nuclear power station. The claims were broadcast in a "Radio Freedom" programme over the powerful Radio Ethiopia transmitters last night. The spokesman said there was no hint of sabotage at the power station and added that the fire, which caused damage estimated at thousands of rands, was caused by an electrical fault. It was extinguished by special Eskom fire-fighting teams. The ANC claimed responsibility for several sabotage attacks in the Cape area in the past year.

(STAR 21.7.'82)

BOMBING OF THE ANC LONDON OFFICE

A 101lb bomb wrecked the offices of the militant black nationalist African National Congress in London yesterday only hours before the start of a mass rally through the capital organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

Last night as anti-terrorist squad officers hunted for a man seen leaving the scene of the explosion, international leaders of the ANC claimed that the attack was launched by the South African Department of National Security.

The blast, which injured a research official residing at the building, came after a 30-day conference at Wembley on Southern Africa attended by Sir Shridath Rupphal, the Commonwealth Secretary General, at which the unofficial tour of English cricketers came under attack.

The explosive device was placed at the rear floor of the ANC offices, and went off at 9.00 a.m., devastating the back of the building and breaking

windows of buildings 100 yards away.

Mr. Vernet Lbatha, the research assistant, was in his third floor flat and was forced to escape over the neighbouring rooftops.

Anti-terrorist squad officers, led by Commander Michael Richards, and forensic science experts sifted through the debris supported by a helicopter which surveyed the surrounding area, and sniffer dogs which checked for further devices. Det. Inspector Cole of the anti-terrorist squad said: "There is no way of describing this device from what is left of it. The rear of the building is practically destroyed. It was a hefty bomb and we think it was placed rather than thrown. We are looking into any connection with the anti-apartheid rally

(TIMES, UK. 15.3.'82)

The bomb blast which wrecked the London offices of the ANC on Sunday was a dramatic demonstration of the growing violence of the conflict in South Africa. It also underlined the position of the ANC, the oldest-established nationalist movement, as the leader of exiled opposition to white-minority rule. Whoever may have been responsible for the bombing -- inevitable South African agents or sympathisers are seen by the ANC as prime suspects -- there is no doubt that the organisation is regarded today by South Africa's intelligence and security services as the most formidable of the black led opposition movements. In spite of being outlawed for the past 29 years in South Africa, the ANC has also enjoyed an upsurge in public demonstrations of support within the country.

The ANC colours, banners and slogans have been paraded blatantly in front of the security police at recent funerals of **radical black and white sympathisers**. Such demonstrations of support for the movement have followed a steady increase in the tempo of violent demonstrations against the apartheid system, including bombing of public buildings and sabotage of installations.

There is evidence of increased anxiety in the white community over the ease with which ANC insurgents now seem able to leave, operate in and enter the country. Major General Cotzee, the Security police chief,

noted last year that 'the terrorist onslaught against South Africa had increased dramatically over the past few years. The terrorists are succeeding in inflicting damage on selected targets', he said.

The movement's Secretary General, Mr. Nzo, warned in London last week that foreign sportsmen playing in South Africa were entering a war zone....

(FINANCIAL TIMES UK 16.3.'82).

TRANSVALER COMMENT ON THE BOMBING

The British government, with full knowledge of the ANC's terrorist activities against the Republic, nevertheless allows them to operate from the British capital. The British government must therefore expect that it is setting up a target for undesirable **violence**.

(The Star quoting Die Transvaler
19.3.'82).

APARTHEID'S DESTABILISATION POLICY

Last month's raid by apartheid commandos into the Kingdom of Lesotho, in which 42 people were massacred, signalled a new stage in South Africa's aggression against her neighbouring states. Although there are continuing terror raids against refugees, civilians and economic targets in both Angola and Mozambique, this was the first large-scale, direct attack by the South African army against one of its small, almost defenceless, neighbours. The raid was a dramatic demonstration of the mounting aggression of the apartheid regime but also revealed the use of relatively new elite murder units for this kind of operation.

Ominously, the murder raid served as a warning of similar future incursions. In fact, within a week of the raid, apartheid regime spokesmen were threatening strikes against all Southern African states which give sanctuary to ANC members. This pattern of increasing aggression against its neighbours is an inevitable outcome of the militarisation of apartheid. South Africa, over the last two decades, and due to Western support, has become a massive military power. Military spending has grown from R44-million in 1960 to a staggering estimated R3,2-billion in the current financial year.

The number of troops under arms at any one time grew from 11,500 in 1960 to an estimated 250,000 today. In fact, the total strength of the armed forces is estimated to number over 500,000. There is conscription for all white males who now do two years' national service, followed by a 35-year commitment to the SADF. All white males between the ages of 18 and 55 are now liable for call-up. Increasingly, too, black men and white women are being recruited into the apartheid military. Apartheid South Africa has become a military state, with generals and military intelligence chiefs acting as P.W. Botha's closest advisers.

The growth of this military might has been accompanied by the creation in recent years of elite special force units, similar to the British SAS, America's Green Berets and white Rhodesia's Selous Scouts. These special units serve as a key element in South Africa's overall arsenal of aggression. Before looking at some of these forces in more detail it is worth emphasising the real and continuing threat that South Africa's conventional forces pose to the whole of Southern Africa.

South African military forces now permanently occupy part of Southern Angola, they have 100,000 troops illegally occupying Namibia in an attempt to defeat the liberation struggle of the Namibian people led by SWAPO. South Africa would dearly love Cuban troops to pull out of Angola, as it would then be in a better position to carry out an Israeli-style raid on Angola, right up to the capital Luanda, which of course it failed to do during its invasion of Angola in 1975/6.

And recently the apartheid regime has been massing thousands of troops on the Mozambique border, raising the likelihood of a massive conventional attack on that country. In addition the apartheid regime has, for several years, been training and directing the activities of various counter-revolutionary groups throughout Southern Africa: Unita in Angola, INR in Mozambique, former Nuzorewa dissidents and other groups in Zimbabwe, various gangs in Zambia and the LLA in Lesotho.

But perhaps the most sinister of all are the apartheid army's own elite forces. In Namibia these units have operated for some time, terrorising and torturing civilians, carrying out terror and sabotage acts in Angola. There are several SADF 'special units' in Namibia, the Reconnaissance Commandos, Koevoet, and various units composed of mercenaries, like the 44 brigade.

The apartheid army now has a General Officer Commanding special forces. He is responsible directly to the overall chief of the SADF and does not fall under the normal military chain of command.

The attack into Lesotho is believed to have been carried out by the same elite unit which carried out the murder raid into Mozambique in January, 1981 in which 13 ANC members were murdered at Matola and three more captured. - namely 1 Reconnaissance Commando, based in Durban. This special force, known as the Recces, consists entirely of hand-picked members of the permanent forces, and selected mercenaries, mainly from elite Nato units, many of whom are British and US citizens. This commando unit includes specialists in the local languages of the area they are attacking. In both the Matola and Maseru raids, the attackers blackened their faces and hands. Members of the unit are known to flaunt their extreme racist and right-wing view - two of the attackers at Matola had swastikas painted on their helmets.

The Apartheid military is now establishing bases for Reconnaissance Commando units near borders of its neighbouring states, precisely to step up these raids in the future.

(MORNING STAR (UK). 5.1.'83)

DESTABILIZATION STRATEGY AGAINST ZIMBABWE

South Africa was accused of constantly violating the border with Zimbabwe. The Security Minister, Mr. Emmerson Mnangagwa, claimed South Africa had established a "Matabele Brigade" commanded by a Colonel Breytenbach who sent bandits into Zimbabwe. The Minister named a number of camps which he said had been set up by South Africa, including one at Phalaborwa, where he said thousands of men were being trained. Mr. Mnangagwa said occasional violations of Zimbabwe air space also took place. But he said that South African aircraft, since he warned of this last October, were no longer flying at low levels. "They now fly very high, but we are taking measures to protect our air space." Mr. Mnangagwa said the camps in South Africa where dissidents were being trained were Spacer Camp, Madibo Camp, Ntabi Camp and Phalaborwa. Some of the bandits had been captured and others killed on their return to Zimbabwe, he said. He claimed that some had been instructed to operate as members of Zipra, the former guerilla army of Mr. Joshua Nkomo.

(THE STAR 3.1.'83)

DESTABILIZATION AGAINST MOZAMBIQUE

'Every time we celebrate a national holiday, they park their Jeeps and armoured cars up there', said a young lieutenant in the Mozambique army, gesturing to the hills on two sides of the border town of Ressano Garcia, with 5,000 people. "They do it to harass us, as a provocation". The officer's complaint underscored the delicacy of relations between black-ruled Mozambique and white minority governed South Africa, especially at this frontier post where the Maputo government accused South Africa late in November of massing troops for an invasion. The build-up followed an attack by guerillas of the ANC on South African military installations at Komatipoort on November 22. The Government of President Machel and the ANC say ANC insurgents do not use Mozambican territory as a jumping off point for attacks into South Africa. But Mozambique does give ANC supporters refuge and officials in Maputo, just 45 miles from the frontier, say they are concerned that Mozambique may become a target for Pretoria's commandos. (THE TIMES UK 4.1.'83)

ANC ATTACKED IN LESOTHO

A series of bomb blasts damaged the houses of two refugee members of the African National Congress in Maseru shortly after midnight yesterday. The bombs -- police believe there were three -- went off within seconds of each other at the home of Mr. Tomba Banzi. It is understood that Mrs. Banzi was seriously injured, and is being treated at the Queen Elizabeth II hospital in Maseru. It is believed Mr. Banzi escaped injury, although the house was extensively damaged. The roof was blown off in the explosion and three cars parked outside were damaged. The bombs blew out the windows in the neighbouring house belonging to another refugee, Mr. Tembi Hani who is a senior member of the ANC in Lesotho. Nobody was hurt. Police believe the bomb was meant for both men. It was the second blast at Mr. Hani's home. Two years ago, a bomb slightly damaged his house and injured a man who allegedly placed the device.

(RAND DAILY MAIL, 3.8.'82)

The Lesotho Foreign Minister, Mr. Mooko Molapo, has said South Africa offered to curb the Lesotho Liberation Army -- in return for his country expelling ANC men. This is the first time that Lesotho has confirmed that a "deal" was proposed when Mr. Molapo met his South African counterpart in Cape Town on August the 19th.

If Mr. Molapo is accurately reporting Mr. Pik Botha, the South African Foreign Minister, it would also be the first evidence that South Africa admits to allowing the LLA to operate from its soil.

According to Mr. Molapo, Mr. Botha said: "There would be no LLA if you removed all South African refugees from Lesotho". "My response was that Lesotho is a sovereign state and in the exercise of our sovereignty, we can grant people asylum. As signatories to the UN Convention on Refugees, we cannot accept being asked to refuse people who seek asylum," said Mr. Molapo. He objected to the offer being called a "deal" or "trade off". "We don't trade in human beings. What Mr. Botha said was "If you want to do something about the LLA camps, you must do something about the ANC." He said South Africa particularly wanted Lesotho to expel an ANC man, Mr. Hani (Tomba Hani is the ANC Chief in Lesotho). When I pushed Mr. Botha to tell me of one incident of hostility perpetrated by people in Lesotho against South Africa, he spoke of ANC leaflets that were printed in Lesotho and exhorted South African people not to go to work on a certain day. It was the first time I had heard about these pamphlets. I came back to Maseru and investigated the matter, and subsequently established that the allegation was in fact correct. The pamphlets were printed in Morija, and we told the ANC it was a violation of their asylum conditions." Mr. Molapo said one should distinguish between refugees and freedom fighters. Lesotho would continue to grant asylum to refugees provided they did not use the country for a springboard for attacks against their home state.

(THE STAR 4. 12. '81)

U.S. DOCUMENT ON APARTHEID CONTROL

Sabotage blasts took place in South Africa in January and February this year and the press was unaware of them. Repairs were done in secret to avoid publicity, according to a United States Government intelligence document marked 'top secret'. The document says the South African government is considering even stricter Press restrictions in the belief that Press reports benefit the banned African National Congress. The Reagan administration's official analyst comments that reduced Press coverage will "strengthen the militants in the ANC who want the group to engage in spectacular attacks against the whites". The daily intelligence summary is prepared by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA) and the National Security Agency (NSA) for security-cleared American officials dealing with defence, intelligence and foreign policy. It was leaked to the Press by the director of the Black American policy

lobbying organisation Transafrica, Mr. Randall Robinson.

The sabotage incidents are mentioned in the section on South Africa of the April 15 daily summary of intelligence around the world. The report says the South African government is apparently "attempting to conceal the extent of terrorist activity in the rural areas". Under the heading "comment" the analyst adds: "The attacks probably were carried out by members of the ANC operating out of Botswana". Colonel Chris Coetzee, head of the Police Liaison Division, said last night he was unaware of the alleged blasts. "There is no way we could have kept an incident from the Press. We notify the Press of any attack but normally we do not advertise the extent of the damage", he said.

(RAND DAILY MAIL 21.7.82)

QUOTATIONS FROM ROBERT S. McNAMARA, FORMER U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE
FOR DEFENCE AND HEAD OF THE WORLD BANK.

Henry Kissinger, as Secretary of State, answered that question in part in a speech he made in Zambia in 1976. He said: "The world community's concern with South Africa is not merely that racial discrimination exists there. What is unique is the extent to which racial discrimination has been institutionalised, enshrined in law, and made all pervasive".

".....unless they are fundamentally resigned, they will eventually lead to a catastrophic racial conflict that will have serious ramifications throughout the Western world, and most especially in the United States."

".....And if a rising tide of violence engulfs both whites and blacks in South Africa -- and, particularly if the Soviet Union chooses to help wage a war of liberation directly, or by proxy, against the white regime -- then the United States will be confronted with a very dangerous set of dilemmas in trying to decide how to react". (From page 2, paragraphs 2, 3, and 4 of Robert S. McNamara's address "The Road Ahead", delivered at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, October 21, 1982).

".....If South Africa fails to deal justly and effectively with its own internal racial problem, that failure will only result in immense damage to our society, but it will impose heavy economic, military and political penalties on other societies in the Western world as well, and particularly on the United States". (Page 3, paragraph 1 of the above statement).

"Although black Africans outnumber whites 4 to 1 in South Africa, white university graduates outnumbered black Africans 75 to 1". (Page 6, paragraph 2 of the speech referred to above).

"The weakness of the Government's programme is twofold. The pace at which it addresses the pressing social and economic needs of the blacks is far too slow, and it fails to confront the issue of political participation. Nowhere does it begin to advance towards what former British Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, has called the only ultimate solution: "The granting of full political rights to the non-white population of South Africa - a universal franchise at the national level".

AFRICA'S RESPONSE - COMMUNIQUE OF FRONTLINE HEADS OF STATES

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and the Presidents of SWAPO and ANC (South Africa) met in Maputo, the People's Republic of Mozambique from the 6th to the 7th March, 1982 to analyse the current situation in Southern Africa.

The Frontline States Summit noted the ever increasing aggressiveness of imperialism perpetrated by the racist regime of South Africa, its instrument of aggression in the region. The invasions and military aggressions, the utilization of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa.

These manoeuvres are aimed at increasing our dependence on South Africa, forstalling the harmonious application of our development plans and delaying at all costs the independence of Namibia and preventing the liberation of the South African people.

The occupation of areas in the southern part of the People's Republic of Angola by the Pretoria racist forces and the attempt to promote the UNITA puppets aims at creating an international precedent which could be made applicable to any of the countries in the region. The African peoples have the right to expect a vigorous reaction from the international community which should condemn and demand the immediate cessation of this intolerable violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of a member state of the OAU and the United Nations.

The Frontline States Summit noted with satisfaction that as a direct response to the ever increasing acts of repression and crimes committed by the Pretoria regime, the peoples of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO are intensifying the liberation struggle in the country and that in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC the people through strikes and armed actions are vigorously rising against Apartheid.

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States decided:-

- + to reinforce their coordinated action of defence in order to stop the racist regime of Pretoria from continuing its acts of military aggression and economic sabotage against the free and independent states of the region and force it to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola.
 - + to reinforce their bilateral and regional cooperation in the diplomatic, economic, military and information fields.
 - + to intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements of SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of national independence of their peoples.
 - + To demand the integral implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 (78) in order to accelerate the withdrawal of the South African occupying forces and the holding of free and fair elections leading to real independence in Namibia.
 - + to salute the Government of Seychelles for the defeat inflicted on the mercenary band sent by the South African regime to carry out a coup d'etat in that country.
 - + to condemn the support granted by western powers to the Apartheid regime through the sale of arms, the financial and economic leverage, the transfer of technology, including nuclear technology.
 - + to undertake actions at the level of international organisation and other fora with a view to mobilizing support for the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples as well as denouncing, condemning and isolating the South African apartheid regime in all spheres.
- The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States condemn the new phenomenon employed by South Africa which consists in preparing, financing and training armed bandits to destabilise the independent Southern African countries.

The Heads of State of the Frontline States warmly congratulated the Prime Minister Robert Mugabe for having successfully foiled the attempts at destabilising peace and security in Zimbabwe.

A LUTA CONTINUA! (Maputo, March 7, 1982.)

NO! We don't want your PC plan, angry EL tells Hendrickse

The coloured Labour Party's plans to back Government reform proposals suffered a crushing, humiliating - and briefly violent - rejection here this week.

Labour Party leaders Allan Hendrickse and Jac Rabie - in East London to canvas support for their party's pro-Government decision three weeks ago - were heckled, booed and jeered as "sellouts" throughout Wednesday's public meeting.

At one stage fighting broke out between hecklers and the handful of Hendrickse supporters.

Finally, a vote of confidence in the Labour Party decision, was called by local Labour Party organiser Peter Mopp. Just over 100 of a total audience of more than 1 500 gave their support.

The angry rejection, at the first public meeting since the Labour Party decision, in a town known as one of the party's Cape strong-holds, casts serious doubts on the Labour Party's ability to win even sizable minority support among coloured voters.

Even the size of the audience - only 1 500 of a total voter population of 15 000 - indicates strong voter disapproval of Hendrickse's leadership. Past Labour Party meetings here have seen the elite flocking to cheer their leaders.

The meeting at Parkside Hall was a complete fiasco as speaker after speaker was drowned out by heckling and deafening freedom songs.

From the start, Mr Hendrickse and Mr Rabie were booed and accused of selling out.

HECKLED

At one stage Mr Hendrickse himself was heckled into silence while freedom songs were sung.

Both he and Mr Rabie were on most occasions inaudible as the crowd shouted them down.

When a vote of confidence was called, the vast majority marched out of the hall.

By the end of the meeting a dejected Mr Hendrickse had only a handful of well-wishers listening.

Later a gang of hooligans stoned the bus taking trade unionists from the hall.

Prominent at the meeting were a car-load of security cops.

Earlier, Mr Rabie launched a scathing attack on Dr Allan Boesak saying the NG Kerk to which Dr Boesak belonged was the only church in SA born out of apartheid. For this he was booed and heckled.

+ In Cape Town Dr Boesak has refused to take part in a debate on the Government proposals because of the presence of Labour Party national chairman David Curry.

(GOLDEN CITY PRESS 30.1.83)

MILITANTS of the African National Congress of South Africa last week marked the 21st anniversary of the launching of 'Umkhonto We Sizwe' - the people's army of South Africa.

'Umkhonto We Sizwe' - Spear of the Nation -, military wing of the ANC was born on December 16, 1961 - unleashing well-coordinated sabotage attacks against racist government installations.

Said the manifesto launching Umkhonto: "... the time comes in the life of any nation when there remain only two choices: submit or fight. That time has come to South Africa. We shall not submit, and we have no choice but to hit back by all means within our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom..."

And to mark the occasion of the start of the armed liberation war in apartheid South Africa and in response to the massacre carried out by invading boer troops in Maseru, Lesotho, a fortnight ago, Umkhonto We Sizwe bombed with meticulous precision, the multi-million dollar, French aided, top-security Koeberg Nuclear reactor around Cape Town.

Over the last two years, the South African combatants have inflicted telling blows against the apartheid regime - jolting it to its very foundation.

On June 1, 1980 the apartheid regime awoke to find that its oil-from-coal plant - built as a safeguard against tightening international isolation was blown into flames.

The regime's energy installation have remained a prime target and in April last year, £1,250,000 (about TSHs. 20,250,000) damage was incurred as limpet mines exploded on two transformers at a Durban power station.

The following month in May last year, five targets were hit within a few hours of each other. These included police stations, telephone wires and railway tracks.

Then came one of the most satisfactory operations: an attack on the South African defence force headquarters in Pretoria. Four 122mm. rockets fired from a launcher rocked the defence forces headquarters.

According to the apartheid Defence Minister General Magnus Malan, there has been 200 per cent increase in the level of armed insurrection in 1981 alone compared to the previous year.

Last week's attack on the racists' Koeberg nuclear power station has convincingly shattered the myth played up by Pretoria that Umkhonto did not operate inside South Africa but from neighbouring African countries.

And the bombing, coming almost immediately after the air-borne invasion of Maseru and subsequent massacre of South African refugees and Lesotho national convincingly pushes home the reality that Umkhonto wages war within and inside apartheid South Africa.

The fact that Umkhonto we Sizwe is a people's army inside South Africa is also supported by the not easily admitted factor that the Boers are always almost unable to apprehend any significant number of ANC combatants even long after a given operation takes place. Umkhonto swims with the broad masses, much as fish swims with the water.

Being one of the oldest liberation organisations in Africa, turning 71 on the Eve of the New Year, the African National Congress of South Africa had, before the start of the last two decades consistently followed a policy of non-violence.

Hitherto, the liberation organisations had conducted themselves peacefully at all times, regardless of Boer attacks and persecution and attempts to provoke them into violence. The massacres unleashed at Langa and Sharpville amply testify to this racist provocation.

Yet what could be called as the Gandhi philosophized peaceful resistance adopted by the South African liberation organisations had been interpreted by the Boer regime as a weakness; and the non-violent conduct of the people had been taken as a greenlight for the natio-

nalist government's violence and terror, without recourse to fear of reprisals.

This era, however, ended with the birth of Umkhonto We Sizwe 21 years ago.

In the words of the manifesto forming that people's army of the ANC: "We are striking out along a new road for the liberation of this country. The government policy of force, repression and violence will no longer be met with non-violent resistance. The choice is not ours; it has been made by the nationalist government which has rejected every peaceable demand of the people for rights and freedom".

It adds: "Umkhonto We Sizwe will be at the frontline of the people's defence. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation. Let them (racists) and their supporters who put them into power and those whose passive toleration of reaction keeps them into power take note as to where the nationalist government is leading the country.."

Indeed, this warning in the manifesto of Umkhonto - the people's army which exploded the French-supplied nuclear reactor in the very heart of the land of apartheid, is valid and very relevant to all foreign investors of the price they will have to pay for their continued investments in the apartheid state.

In spite of their staged indignation at the policies of apartheid, western countries whose multinationals propel the apartheid machinery remain, at best, accomplices in the crimes against humanity that the Afrikaaner regime continues to perpetuate.

The false sense of water-tight security over foreign investments in South Africa, for long window-dressed by Pretoria to encourage more investments has now been exposed to the full light of the day.

The ball is now right in the court of investors in apartheid South Africa. The choice is theirs. Pretoria is not invincible. It is as vulnerable as a house of cards.

ANC: 70 YEARS AND STILL GROWING

One of the oldest political parties on the African continent, the African National Congress, this week celebrated its 70th anniversary.

The ANC, spearhead of the fight against apartheid, was created in 1912 in Bloemfontein, in the Orange Free State, by a black lawyer, Pixley Ka I Somo.

The event went unnoticed at the time, even though J.T. Jabavu, the editor of the black-reading newspaper Imvo ("Ideas" in Xhosa), expressed the fear that white liberals might thereby turn reactionary.

The movement, essentially reformist at the outset, became gradually more radical to the point that its armed wing Umkhonto We Sizwe (Spear of the Nation in Zulu) claimed responsibility for some 50 armed attacks last year.

During its 70 years, the ANC has undergone diverse fortunes but appears today to have overcome its main problems. Its popularity is now very high, especially among young people.

An opinion poll carried out last year by the Johannesburg Star indicated that 40 percent of urban blacks would vote for ANC candidates in free general elections.

It has taken some 30 years for the ANC to assert itself with the succession of militant nationalists in place of intellectuals and traditional chiefs.

At the same time, the ANC moved closer to the South African Communist Party and the Soviet Union. In the late 1920s, ANC President James Gumede was the first black South African leader to travel to Moscow.

The organisation underwent its most serious crisis in 1958, when several hundred of its members, led by Robert Sobukwe, broke away to form the Pan-African Congress (PAC).

The PAC, whose leader died in 1978, stressed the ethnic character of the struggle of black South Africans.

In 1960, 69 residents of the black township of Sharpville, near Vereeniging were shot dead by police during a demonstration and the government declared a state of emergency.

The ANC and the PAC were banned and thousands of their members arrested in the aftermath of the Sharpville shootings. The ANC thereupon went into clandestinity; forming Umkhonto We Sizwe in 1961.

The arrests in 1963 of its president, Nelson Mandela, and his deputy, Walter Sisulu, were a severe blow to the organisation, which had nevertheless taken the precaution of establishing an office in London.

The head of the London office, Oliver Tambo, immediately assumed leadership.

Mr Mandela, like Mr Sisulu, was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964 and interned on Robben Island, but his prestige, as with that of his wife, Winnie Mandela, has remained great among blacks.

A banning order on Mrs Mandela has recently been extended for five years.

Multi-racial in its outlook, although most of its members are black, the ANC has a Marxist analysis of the situation in South Africa, while not neglecting the particular ethnic nature of the power struggle.

One by one, the leaders of the "Black Consciousness Movement," highly popular during the 1970s thanks to Steve Biko, who died in custody in 1977, have been going over to the ANC.

The latest to make the move is Barney Pitso, one of the founders of the Black Consciousness Movement.

According to informed sources, the ANC has training camps in Angola and a political training school in Dar-es-Salaam, Tanzania.

But contrary to claims by the authorities in Pretoria, the ANC does not appear to have military bases in Mozambique, even if one of the leaders of its military wing, white former South African lawyer Joe Slovo, spends most of his time there. - AFP

(SOWETAN 11.1.82)

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!

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