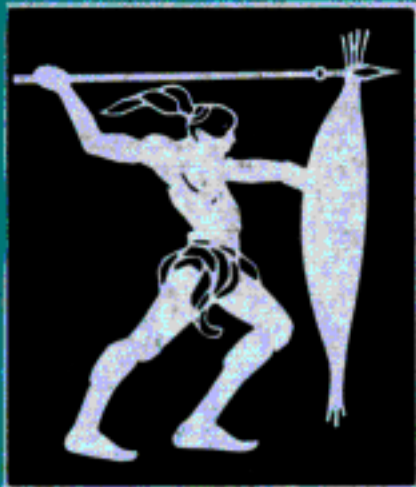


MARCH 1982



SECHABHA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS 1912-1982



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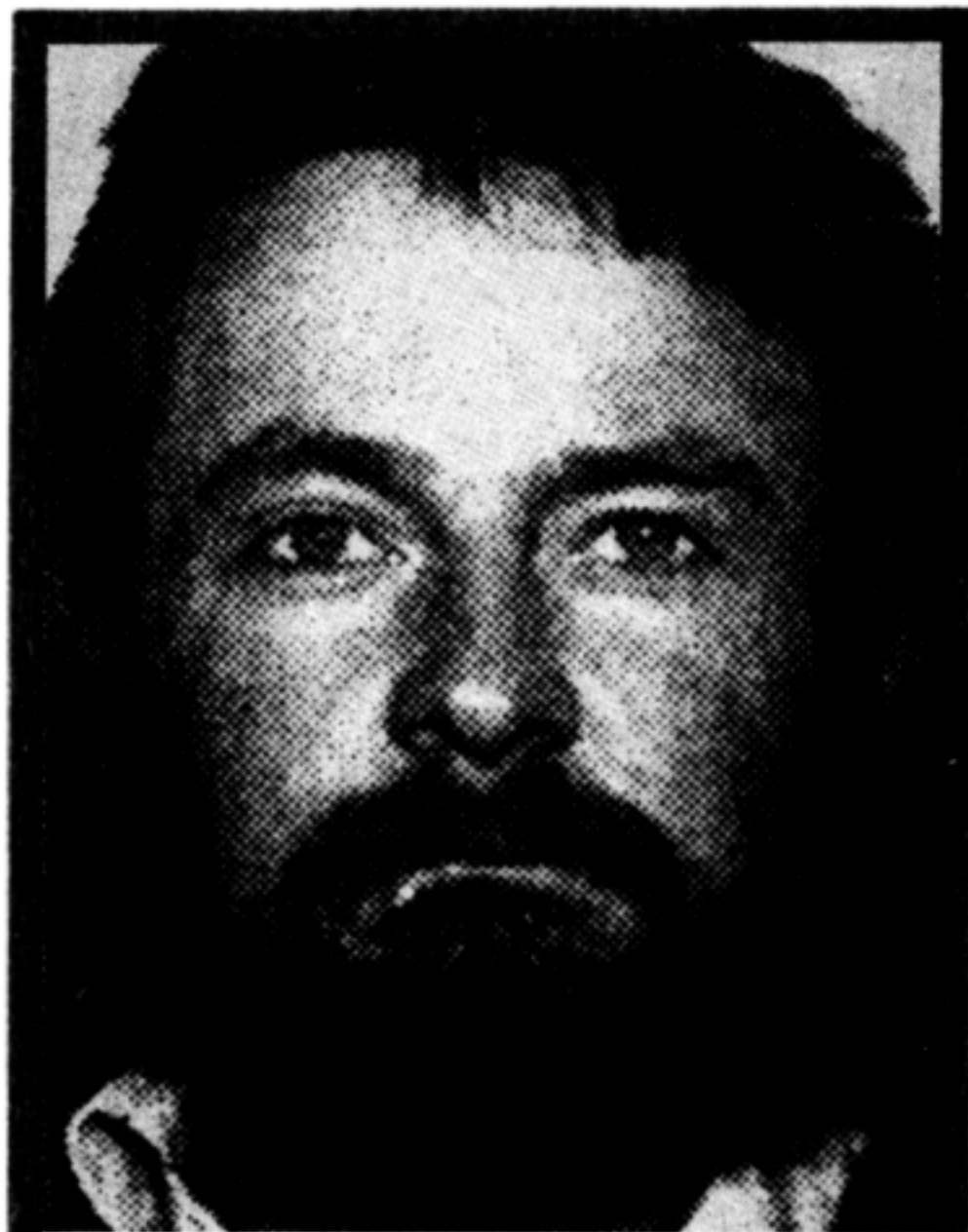
Editorial: FIGHT APARTHEID MURDER

This month's editorial consists of a statement issued by Comrade Alfred Nzo, ANC Secretary General, after the murder of Dr Neil Aggett in Security Police detention.

The apartheid regime is escalating its brutal repressive measures against the democratic forces in the country confronting its decaying despotic rule. A few days ago a leading trade union worker, Dr Aggett died in detention under circumstances similar to those of trade unionists and political activists such as Lawrence Nzanga, Steve Biko and many others who were murdered in police detention cells.

As part and parcel of these fascist repressive measures are the brutalities that are being perpetrated by the Venda bantustan puppets who are vainly hoping to curb the growing resistance of the masses in opposition to the hated separate development policies of the apartheid regime.

In the Venda bantustan, following an attack on the Sibasa police station by a unit of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the bantustan administration resorted to indiscriminate arrests of innocent people subjecting them to brutal torture. Recently, the Venda bantustan regime, on instructions from Pretoria, has decided to prefer murder charges against three Ministers of the Lutheran Church, Rev. A.M. Mahamba, Rev. P.M. Mphosiwa and Rev. N. Farisani and the fourth to be accused under the same charge is R. Tshikororo. The murder charges arise from the attack on the Sibasa police station. Reverend Farisani is at the moment fighting for his life suffering from serious injuries he sustained during



Dr Neil Aggett



interrogation and torture whilst in detention after the attack on the Sibasa police station.

These insane acts of brutality, have further inflamed the anger of the vast majority of the South African population against the apartheid regime. On Thursday, 11th February, thousands of workers in almost all the principal industrial areas of South Africa stopped work for a brief period in answer to a protest call by a united trade union movement of the oppressed and super-exploited workers following the murder of Dr Aggett. This mighty demonstration of solidarity was joined also by the youth, the Christian community and other democratic sections of the South African population. The masses of the people, acting in revolutionary unity, are calling a halt to the trail of fascist barbarism which has already accounted for the brutal assassination of revolutionaries such as Griffiths Mxenge, including Joe Gqabi and many other South African revolutionary fighters murdered by the agents of the apartheid regime on the territories of independent African states.

The African National Congress in paying tribute to the martyrs of our struggle, calls upon the international democratic community to act in solidarity with the masses of the people of South Africa by intensifying world-wide actions aimed at the all-round total isolation of the apartheid regime in the economic, trade and diplomatic fields, including implementation of the oil and arms embargoes.

In a spirit of revolutionary working class solidarity, the Australian workers are planning a series of actions against the apartheid regime to show solidarity with the South African workers in the aftermath of the murder of Dr Aggett. This revolutionary initiative should snow-ball throughout the world as a fitting response of organised labour to the brutalities of the fascist apartheid regime.

We call upon the international Christian community in particular the world Lutheran Christian community to demand the immediate release of the three persecuted Lutheran Ministers in the Venda bantustan. The demand for the release of all political prisoners in South Africa and Namibia should also be raised with renewed vigour.

The 70th anniversary of the ANC was commemorated all over the world. In Dar es Salaam, Lusaka, Budapest, New York and many other centres and capitals of the world meetings were held to commemorate January 8. It is impossible to report all these meetings. We cannot give all the details even about those meetings we report. We shall confine ourselves to a few examples.

To all our friends and comrades who rejoiced with us, organised and attended these meetings, we express our gratitude and appreciation — Siyabulela. It is on such occasions that one really knows who is a genuine friend or not. This international solidarity with our people — which is growing in direct proportion with our actions inside the country — is of great significance for our struggle. It stems from the fact that we are confronted with the same enemy — international imperialism. We are in the same trench fighting on the southern flank of the same battleground.

Back to our theme. In Moscow a meeting was held at the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences to celebrate this day. Speeches were made by comrade An. A. Gromyko, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, Vice Chairman of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee and Director of Africa Institute; P.I. Manchka, Doctor of Science (History) and Luis Dokin Paulo de Castro, Ambassador Extra-ordinary and Plenipotentiary of Angola to the USSR. The ANC delegation led by comrade T. Mbeki, member of the National Executive Committee, blessed the deliberations.

In the GDR a seminar was held at the Karl Marx University, Leipzig, on January 7, 1982. The Rector of the University,

WORLD IS WITH US

Professor Dr. Sc. L. Rathman made the opening remarks and he was followed by comrade Kruger, Secretary of the GDR Solidarity Committee, then comrade Scholz from the Central Committee of the S.E.D. Professor Brehme dealt with aspects of apartheid in the context of international law and comrade F. Meli, editor of Sechaba, traced the history of the ANC and told the audience about the tasks of the ANC today — 70 years after its formation. Comrade Emvula, SWAPO Chief Representative in the GDR, dealt with aspects of ANC-SWAPO relations in their common confrontation with the forces of racism in the southern tip of Africa.

On January 8, Comrade Anthony Mongalo, Chief Representative of the ANC in the GDR organised a reception for the ambassadors accredited to the GDR. It was like a mini-United Nations. Also GDR Party and Government officials as well as representatives of mass organisations and trade unions attended. Comrade Herman Axen, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the SED and Secretary for International Relations on the Central Committee attended. The Deputy Foreign Minister Comrade Neugebauer and his assistant comrade Willerdig were also there.

Comrade Kurt Seibt, President of the GDR Solidarity Committee presented the ANC with a book, *Fanal am Kap* written by Alfred Babing and Hans-Dieter Brauer. The book is the first ever to be written in the GDR on the history of the ANC.

In Austria, the Anti-Apartheid Movement organised a week of solidarity under the theme "70 Years of the ANC". Meetings were held in various towns and a speaking tour of Garz, Insbrook, Salzburg, Linz



Comrade Ruth Mompoti at the 70th anniversary Rally in London, January 8.

and Vienna was organised. Meetings and discussion groups were addressed by comrade Tony Seedat, Chief Representative of the ANC in the FRG and Comrade Ruth Mompoti.

The Delegation took the opportunity to meet with aid-giving organisations which resulted in the donation of aid for the



Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College as well as other projects.

During the week, the delegation was informed about the honour bestowed on comrade Nelson Mandela by the Dr Bruno Kreisky Stiftung Fur Verdeinste um die Menschenrechte and met with those responsible for this tribute to Nelson Mandela. In depth discussions were also held with functionaries of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.

In Sweden the celebrations started on December 19 and concluded on January 16. But for the purposes of this report we shall concentrate on the events around January 8.

Through thorough preparations by the Swedish Preparatory Committee, comprising various local parties and solidarity groups (Swedish Africa Groups) and a well conducted publicity campaign by the mass media it was possible to ensure successful commemorations.

On January 7, at a well attended press conference comrade T.T. Nkobi, ANC Treasurer General highlighted the long and arduous but principled history of the ANC. The questions and response of the journalists and the fact that this press conference was relayed on television the same day, further publicised the ANC in general and also the coming events of the celebrations.

On Saturday January 9, during the peak shopping hours, six Swedish organisations — Communist Youth, Centre Party Youth, Danish Aid from People to People, Swedish Communist Youth, Isolate South Africa Committee and Swedish Social Democratic Youth — conducted street meetings around Stockholm culminating in a long procession to deliver a petition to the racist South African ligation. The meeting was addressed by Comrade Gertrude Shope, member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. The racist ligation, besieged by hundreds of Swedish people and having been previously informed by the Foreign Ministry, was compelled to receive the

petition which demanded amongst other things, the release of all political prisoners, in particular leaders like Nelson Mandela and the treatment of captured freedom fighters as prisoners of war, the unbanning of the ANC (which the masses at home are unbanning) and an end to military incursions and invasion of independent Africa, particularly Angola.

On the evening of January 8, an impressive political rally, attended by approximately 500 people with 8 ANC flags flying majestically above the entrance of Folkets Hus, was addressed by:

1. Hadino Hishongwa, SWAPO Representative to Scandinavian countries, FRG and Austria;
2. Anne-Marie Sunboom, Social Democratic Party Rep. Deputy Mayor of Stockholm;
3. Kerstin Aner, Liberal Party Rep. Member of Parliament;
4. Sture Korpas, Centre Party Rep. Member of Parliament and member of the SIDA Board;
5. Lars Werner, Chairman of the Left Communist Party of Sweden (VPK);
6. His Excellency M. Elamin Abdel Latif Elamin, Ambassador of the Sudan representing the African diplomatic corps;
7. His Excellency Pino Quintin Machado, Ambassador of Cuba who spoke on behalf of Cuba which is a socialist country and a member of the non-aligned movement;
8. Comrade Nkobi addressed the gathering on behalf of the ANC.

The chairperson of the meeting was Per Wastberg, foreign editor of Dagens' Nyheter (Daily News), a writer and literary critic. Dagens' Nyheter is the widest circulating daily in Sweden.

It was on January 9 that a solidarity festival with a turn out of no less than 1500 people was entertained by a number of popular Swedish artists and our own Abdulla Ibrahim. Abdulla Ibrahim dedicated his performance to the heroes of Umkhonto we Sizwe. His opening song dedicated to Solomon Mahlangu kept the audience spell bound. There were many other



solidarity meetings with freedom songs and South African instrumental music provided by the Uppsala Solidarity Groups and South African artists and addressed by Comrade G. Shope.

One has to mention another form of solidarity witnessed in Sweden on January 16 — a solidarity dinner with refreshments, drinks and African dishes donated by the African Diplomatic Corps and other friendly embassies. Entertainment was provided by an Afro-Swedish dancing troupe while the South African artists rendered South African music and freedom songs.

During this whole period comrades Nkobi and Shope had interviews with almost all major newspapers. Indeed no major paper did not feature the ANC celebrations.

The magnitude of the ANC's 70th anniversary celebrations in Sweden was aptly described by one ANC supporter: They are like dress rehearsal celebrations of the ANC's Day of Victory over apartheid!

This brings us to old London. A long tradition of anti-apartheid struggle — since the days of Sol. Plaatje — as well as concerted work by the ANC and its supporters ensured that January 8, 1982 was celebrated in a fitting manner in London. More than 700 people made their way, despite snow blizzards and appalling weather conditions, to the Central Hall Westminster to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the ANC. The hall decorated with banners and posters, reverberated with the theme: **UNITY IN ACTION!**

The Secretary General of the ANC, comrade Alfred Nzo delivered the statement of the National Executive Committee (see SECHABA, February, 1982) to the meeting. He added a special call to the British people to intensify their efforts in effecting the isolation of South Africa and paid tribute to the efforts of the Anti-Apartheid Movement whose "outstanding work ... has not only had repercussions in Britain. It has inspired and guided the

growth of a world-wide solidarity front."

Chairing the meeting comrade Ruth Mompati, ANC Chief Representative in Great Britain, called on speakers who reflected the broad sweep of support for our liberation movement. They included representatives of our sister organisations SWAPO and the PLO, Congressman Savage representing the black lobby in the USA; Frank Dobson, M.P., member of the Executive Committee of the A.A.M.; Bernt Carlsson, Secretary General of the Socialist International; and (making a keynote speech) Dr. O. Muntasser, OAU representative at the U.N. in Geneva who spoke on behalf of the OAU Secretary General.

The strength of our liberation alliance, headed by the ANC, was given emphasis by the presence of comrade Yusuf Dadoo, National Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Comrade John Gaetsewe, Secretary General of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, on the platform.

MESSAGES

Besides these numerous and perhaps innumerable meetings, the ANC received many messages of congratulations on this occasion — which tended to take a form of a national birthday party. We should mention a few of these messages.

The President of AAPSO wrote that "January 8, 1912 is a significant date in Africa's freedom calendar as it marks the birthday of a great political organisation and national liberation movement" and the MPJ, the Pan African Youth Movement based in Algiers, took the opportunity of this occasion to "extend our revolutionary salutations to the heroic people of South Africa under the dynamic leadership of the ANC" while the Uruguayan Association Against Racism and Apartheid through its President Carlos Reverdito, wished that 1982 may lead to "progress towards eradication of apartheid, a shared goal of all peoples



striving against colonialism, fascism and war”.

Ibrahim Zakaria, Acting General Secretary of the World Federation of Trade Unions sent his greetings “on behalf of 206 million organised workers in all continents” and the Programme to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches assured us of their “cooperation, moral and humanitarian support, and prayers in your continued struggle against the inhuman, barbaric and unchristian apartheid system”. The National Women’s Organisation of Grenada sent its congratulations and saluted “especially Winnie Mandela and the many women of South Africa” while Cheddi Jagan, leader of the People’s Progressive Party of Guyana sent his fraternal greetings.

The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador stated:

“The ANC which has the honour of being the oldest liberation movement of the African continent, is today leading an impressive political-military struggle. Its armed fist, Umkhonto we Sizwe, is striking the apartheid regime in actions that demonstrate their growing strength. The struggle of the ANC, in which thousands of patriots are heroically engaged, has won the respect and solidarity of progressive and democratic forces throughout the world ...

“The Salvadorean revolutionaries are in militant solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia and with their vanguard organisations the ANC and SWAPO, in our common struggle against imperialism.”

And the message from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba read as follows:

“... we would like to express ... the fraternal greetings from the communists and all the Cuban people.

“The heroic struggle and the tenacity of the South African masses against the brutal apartheid regime and against white exploitation and neofascist minority which is in power in Pretoria and supported by the

United States Government and other capitalist countries has gained the admiration and support of all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world.

“On the occasion of the ANC reaching 70 years of tenacious fighting, the Communist Party of Cuba reiterates its firm solidarity with your just cause and the certainty that the South African people will win.”

And Mr Ola Ullsten, Foreign Minister of Sweden, stated that “Sweden’s moral, political and humanitarian assistance to this struggle and to the ANC will continue until the unique and abhorrent system of apartheid ceases to exist”.

Nicolae Ceacescu, Secretary General of the Romanian Communist Party expressed the conviction that the relations of friendship and solidarity established will continue to develop in the spirit of mutual esteem and respect. Similar sentiments were expressed by Erich Honecker, General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) and L. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU.

The Communist Party of Great Britain stated that: “Important campaigns have developed in support of the demand, emphasised once again by the United Nations, for comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

“Because of Britain’s investment and involvement in South Africa, this demand is of particular importance for the British people. We share a common interest in ridding South Africa of the apartheid regime ...

“An important aspect of this struggle is the fight to free Namibia from the illegal South African occupation, and we express our full support for SWAPO. We must redouble our efforts to ensure that 1982 is the year of victory for the people of Namibia. Another urgent need is to support the campaign against the South African war on Angola and Mozambique ...

On this occasion, when we celebrate your 70th anniversary, our thoughts go



out to the comrades fighting in many different ways in South Africa itself: the trades unionists, the students, those active in Umkhonto we Sizwe and all others. Our thoughts go to those held in jails of South Africa and who continue there to defy the apartheid regime. We think in particular of Nelson Mandela.

"The demand for his release and for that of all other prisoners will be stepped up in your anniversary year".

The General Secretariat of the International Organisation of Journalists stated:

"The Journalists of the African National Congress (have) proved (to be) competent and faithful servants of the cause of (their) people. There is no doubt that they will continue their cause in the future as well and they they will use all their strengths and capabilities in fight for (the interests of the people. In this fight we are on your side and we extend our assistance to you".

The Progressive Party of Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) in Great Britain assured us of their full support in the Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa as the U.N. has declared 1982.

Canon L. John Collins, President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa reminisced:

"It has also been a privilege and a pleasure for me to have been so closely associated with the African National Congress since my visit to South Africa in 1954. At that time I met Chief Lutuli, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Annie Silinga and many others for whom I have the greatest regard...

"When in 1960, the African National Congress decided that the only way to achieve freedom was through an armed struggle, I must confess that it created difficulties for me as a Christian pacifist. However, I realised that it was not for me to tell the African National Congress or any of the people suffering under Apartheid how to achieve freedom, but that my role and that of my organisation should be to

ensure, as far as possible, that those brought to Court should have independent and trustworthy lawyers and that their families and dependents should be cared for. This has been the basis of our association which has been a happy one, with mutual respect. We shall continue as best as we can our humanitarian assistance for all who suffer for their opposition to Apartheid. We shall also, through our publications, try to keep the conscience of the world alive to the issues at stake...

Let us hope that you will achieve freedom in the very near future, that the prison doors will open, and that Apartheid, which I believe to be wholly evil, will become only a word in the history books."

The Holland Committee on Southern Africa acknowledged our modest successes:

"In these seventy years the ANC has succeeded in uniting the majority of South Africa's people. It has given the liberation struggle a deeply progressive content and it has advanced the struggle to the point where the apartheid regime is now fundamentally threatened in its continued maintenance of power". The Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement expressed itself in the same vein.

The West German Anti-Apartheid Movement — in a characteristic style and fashion — sent us a whole quotation from — guess who — Bertolt Brecht:

"The Country that Does Not Need Any Special Virtues:

"A country that is administered by the people itself does not need any specially brilliant leadership.

A country where oppression is not possible does not need any special love for freedom.

If war is not necessary, bravery is not necessary either.

If the institutions are good, man must not be extra-ordinarily good.

However, he then finds the possibility to be so.

He can be free, just and brave without him or others suffering."

OAU supports your struggle – Muntasser

Below we publish the speech by Dr. O. Muntasser, on behalf of the OAU Secretary General on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the ANC.

On behalf of the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, H.E. Edem Kodjo, I wish to express my deep and profound appreciation for the invitation which the African National Congress has extended to the Organisation of African Unity and for the opportunity therefore afforded to me to take part in this important ceremony today, which is the Seventieth Anniversary of the Founding of the African National Congress. On this important occasion I convey to the President, Secretary General, members of the National Executive Committee of the ANC and all other members of the organisation the fraternal and brotherly greetings of the OAU Secretary-General.

This ceremony which marks the 70th Anniversary testifies to the continuity of the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa against the forces of domination, oppression, exploitation, racial discrimination and apartheid to which the people of South Africa have been subjected for a very long period of time. The heroic and valiant people of South Africa have over the years continued to struggle against racist minority domination in their country. One of the fundamental aims and objectives of the Organisation of African Unity enshrined in its Charter is the total eradication of all forms of colonialism from Africa, and since its inception in May 1963, the Organisation has worked relentlessly towards Freedom and National Independence of the African continent. The Organisation of African Unity and Member States of the OAU will not rest until South Africa and Namibia are free from colonialism and

racial domination. Consequently, the Organisation of African Unity is seriously concerned about the explosive situation in Southern Africa.

In fact, since its establishment the OAU drew the attention of the international community to the fact that the evil policies of apartheid of South Africa constitute a grave threat to international peace and security, and on many occasions strong resolutions on apartheid and racial discrimination have been adopted, which among other things, supported the idea of organising international campaigns to explain the inhuman nature and terrible effects of the policy of apartheid.

We know that apartheid has sought throughout its infamous history to consolidate itself through the institution of repressive laws enforced with ruthlessness and the establishment of so-called "Bantustans". All this has resulted in the human degradation of the people of South Africa and has condemned them to conditions of servitude, exploitation and oppression. The repressive laws and regulations and the establishment of the so-called "Bantustans" are designed to strengthen the perfidious institutions of apartheid under whose protection the national and human resources of the country are plundered by the racist regime.

Throughout the years the OAU has called upon the international community not to accord recognition to the so-called homelands.

Despite the resolutions of the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the OAU and world public opinion, South Africa continues in its defiance and persists in violating the very fundamental principles and aspirations upon which the United Nations is founded.

The OAU is of the view that the continu-

ing political, economic and military collaboration of certain Western States and transnational corporations with South Africa encourages its determined intransigence and defiance of international community and constitutes a major obstacle to the elimination of the inhuman and criminal system of apartheid in South Africa and the attainment of self-determination, freedom, and national independence by the people of South Africa.

By increasing its military build-up and by acquiring nuclear weapon capability, South Africa constitutes a danger to humanity because of its desperate efforts to perpetuate and consolidate racist domination in South Africa as well as hegemony over the whole of Southern Africa. On various occasions the OAU has called on all those countries which have economic and trade relations with South Africa to withdraw their investments.

Because of its aggressive policy, South Africa continues its illegal occupation of Namibia and denies the Namibian people their inalienable right to self-determination, independence and dignity. The South African regime continues to commit numerous acts of aggression and subversion against the Frontline States, especially against the People's Republic of Angola, the Republic of Zambia and the People's Republic of Mozambique as well as other OAU Members in the area, namely: the Republic of Seychelles, which was invaded recently by mercenaries organised by South Africa. The international community should condemn all these acts of aggression, which threaten peace and security in Africa.

During the last conference of the OAU in Nairobi, Kenya, July 1981, the OAU Council of Ministers and the Assembly of Heads of State and Government considered the situation in Southern Africa. In the resolutions adopted on the situation in South Africa, the OAU condemned the South African racist regime for the continued pursuit of its apartheid policies, its acts of repression and brutality, including the shooting of unarmed school children as well as South Africa's unprovoked acts of aggression against independent African states. In the same resolution the OAU

called for world-wide actions by all opponents of apartheid aimed at exerting pressure on the apartheid regime, for the immediate release of leader Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners convicted under the apartheid laws. It commended the National Liberation Movements, and I quote: "particularly the ANC as well as the



UNITY IN ACTION

oppressed people of South Africa" for intensifying the armed struggle and called on all friendly countries and non-governmental organisations to increase military, financial, material and humanitarian assistance to the National Liberation Movements of South Africa in order to enhance their military capability to intensify the struggle for freedom and justice.

Similarly, in its resolution adopted on the situation in Namibia, the OAU condemned South Africa for its continued illegal occupation and re-affirmed the urgent need for the oppressed people of

Namibia to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination, freedom and national independence.

The OAU has since its foundation, emphasized the desirability of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa in accordance with Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The OAU expressed its appreciation to all states which have broken off or refrained from any relations with the apartheid regime as a demonstration of their solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa and their respect for the principles of the United Nations. The UN Conference on Sanctions held in Paris last year defined the purposes of sanctions against South Africa, and it is high time that all states apply comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against South Africa.

Let me, Mr Chairman, reiterate and reaffirm the unflinching support of the OAU to the people of South Africa in their legitimate struggle to self-determination, independence and dignity. In spite of the conspiracy against them however, the oppressed people of South Africa have risen heroically to defend their honour and dignity. The OAU has on many occasions appealed to the world community to increase moral, material and political assistance to the liberation movements in order to realize the objectives of complete liberation of South Africa and Namibia.

The OAU is not against South Africa as some people tend to believe, because it is rich or because it is more developed than any of its Member States. Africa as I said is by nature generous and the Lusaka Manifesto and the Dar es Salaam Declaration show that we do not deny even the existence of South Africa. The OAU is against South Africa because the OAU believes and fights for the principle of equality of all peoples on earth without distinction of race or the colour of their skin. Well the apartheid regime is the negation of all of these very principles. Let me say it again — racial discrimination — which is the negation of the fundamental principle of equality among men is felt nowhere more than in South Africa where millions of human beings are denied basic human rights because they are

considered legally inferior on account of the colour of their skin. Nowhere as in South Africa is the scourge of racial discrimination so deeply felt, so wounding to the soul and dignity of men, women and children.

The OAU stands for peace, is against acts of war and has a genuine desire for permanent and fruitful reconciliation. The OAU works for partnership and collaboration among its member states for the sake of social and economic progress.

A delay in the solution of the problems of the African black man in South Africa and the continuing denial of his rights by South Africa is not only bringing untold sufferings to our brothers and sisters but will remain an affront to the human conscience of the international public opinion as long as the apartheid system continues to pursue its policies despite the relentless efforts of the UN and other international organisations. We say that we condemn apartheid and shall continue so until justice, freedom and social equality reign in South Africa and, that we condemn and will continue to do so the evil doctrine of apartheid practised by the white minority in South Africa and that we shall continue to draw the attention of the international community to the fact that apartheid poses a grave threat to international peace and security. Let me recall that the General Assembly of the UN, after considering the policies of apartheid of the government of South Africa strongly condemned the illegitimate minority racist regime and in the same resolution, while reaffirming the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa appealed to all member states to provide all necessary assistance to the National Liberation Movements of South Africa in this crucial stage of their struggle.

We know that because of their negative attitude to the African and Arab peoples, collusion exists between Israel and South Africa. Israel has not only disregarded international public opinion but has continued to commit acts of aggression, acts of repression against the Palestinian people and other countries in the region. Only recently, because of their contempt for

the international community and in flagrant violation of international conduct, Israel annexed the Syrian Golan Heights, an act which was severely condemned by the OAU.

One final word, and that is to say that the Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity, H.E. Edem Kodjo, who expressly instructed me to represent him at this ceremony, conveys to the ANC leaders and all its members his greetings and his renewed best wishes for the success of their noble mission. He salutes deeply the concerted and intensified struggles by all sections of the oppressed people of South Africa to free themselves from racist domination and he wants you to know how

much wounded he felt to hear of the sentencing to death of militants of the African National Congress by the racist regime of South Africa. He also wants you to know that he hails the determined demand made by the international community for the release of Comrade leader Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners convicted under apartheid law. Let me finally express, on behalf of the OAU, our admiration for the National Liberation Movements, particularly the African National Congress, for their courageous and just struggle as well as our full and undivided support for the oppressed people of South Africa.

Venda – The reality of Bantustan “independence”



Dean Farisani

“The South African Government does not interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.”

These are the words of Mr Donald Sole, South African ambassador to the United States of America, and one would like to think that he was expressing a change of heart on the part of the South African regime in its relations with Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, Lesotho or the Seychelles. Unfortunately not.

He was in fact talking about the South African regime's relations with a place called Venda, a place which is an 'other country' in no one's eyes except the myopic eyes which blink out from Pretoria.

We, and many others less partisan about the South African situation than ourselves, have spent many words on explaining and condemning the bantustan farce. Yet the Matanzimas, Mangopes, Sebes and Mphephus of this world consistently feel it necessary to give us their unsolicited assistance in accordance with the old adage that action speaks louder than words.

As the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei raised in turn their Pretoria-sewn flags (in the case of the Ciskei, with considerable difficulty) these fledgling 'other countries' have shown by their deeds that they are nothing but ghastly mirror-images of the monster which created them.

Venda, this tiny little territory tucked away unobtrusively in the north-eastern corner of South Africa, is no exception.

According to newspaper reports, in November of last year, the Venda 'authorities suddenly went crazy. They poured the greater portion of their tiny 'National Force' into the streets of their towns, stopping just about anyone courageous enough to walk around; set up roadblocks on the few roads the South African regime graciously bequeathed them; and subsequently detained anyone vaguely thought to entertain political views left of fascist.

Among those detained, and still held, were church leaders, former student leaders and civil servants. One of these was Tshifhiwa Isaac Muofhe, a member of the Bold Evangelical Christian Organisation of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Venda. Two days after being dragged away from his wife and six-month old child, Tshifhiwa Muofhe was dead. After two post mortems, (at least one of which revealed multiple bruising and internal bleeding,) and much pressure from many sources, the Venda 'authorities' have not yet produced their promised report on Muofhe's death.

The Very Reverend T.S. Farisani, Dean of the Lutheran Church in Sibasa, despite his esteemed position in the community, did not escape the 'craziness' of Mphephu's hunting dogs. He too was detained. Some days later patients in the Tshilidzini Hospital near Sibasa saw Rev. Farisani dragging himself through the hospital corridors under police escort with a badly mauled face.

Yet another church leader, Reverend Faure Louw of the Dutch Reformed Church in Africa, soon after helping to arrange the funeral of Tshifhiwa Muofhe, was 'deported' from Venda.

The handwriting in which these acts are written is unmistakable. It was

meticulously learnt in the schoolrooms of Pretoria. Brigadier Malaudzi, Commander of Venda's 'National Force', is a former South African security policeman. He must have been a star pupil. He even parries newspaper reporters in the inimitable style of the Pretoria 'diplomats'. He told one reporter:

"Why come to Venda to ask questions? Go to Mozambique, go to Zaire. There they throw detainees into concentration camps. Here in Venda we only put them in police cells."

Yes, indeed. In Venda they 'only put them in police cells'. Like Ahmed Timol was 'only put in a police cell'; like Steve Biko, like Neil Aggett, like Tshifhiwa Muofhe. All 'only put in police cells'.

What is perhaps particularly interesting about this recent paroxysm of repression in Venda is the fact that it was preceded by an event which tore the hearts from the chests of Mphephu and his braggards. At least, if one is to believe the South African press. It all started on a night in October last year.

On the night of October 26th 1981 a heavily bandaged man entered the police station at Sibasa — heart of the Venda 'empire', and not many hundreds of metres away from Mphephu's palace — and proceeded to lay a charge. By way of introduction he extracted a handgrenade from his clothing and lobbed it at the attending policemen and then made good his escape. His little introduction was followed by an avalanche of rocket and rifle fire which devastated the police station and left two policemen dead and one wounded. Umkhonto we Sizwe had struck.

According to reports it was not only the police station that was devastated on that night, the Venda establishment was struck dumb. After some time of absolute paralysis they did the first thing which came into their numbed minds. They called in the racist South Africans.

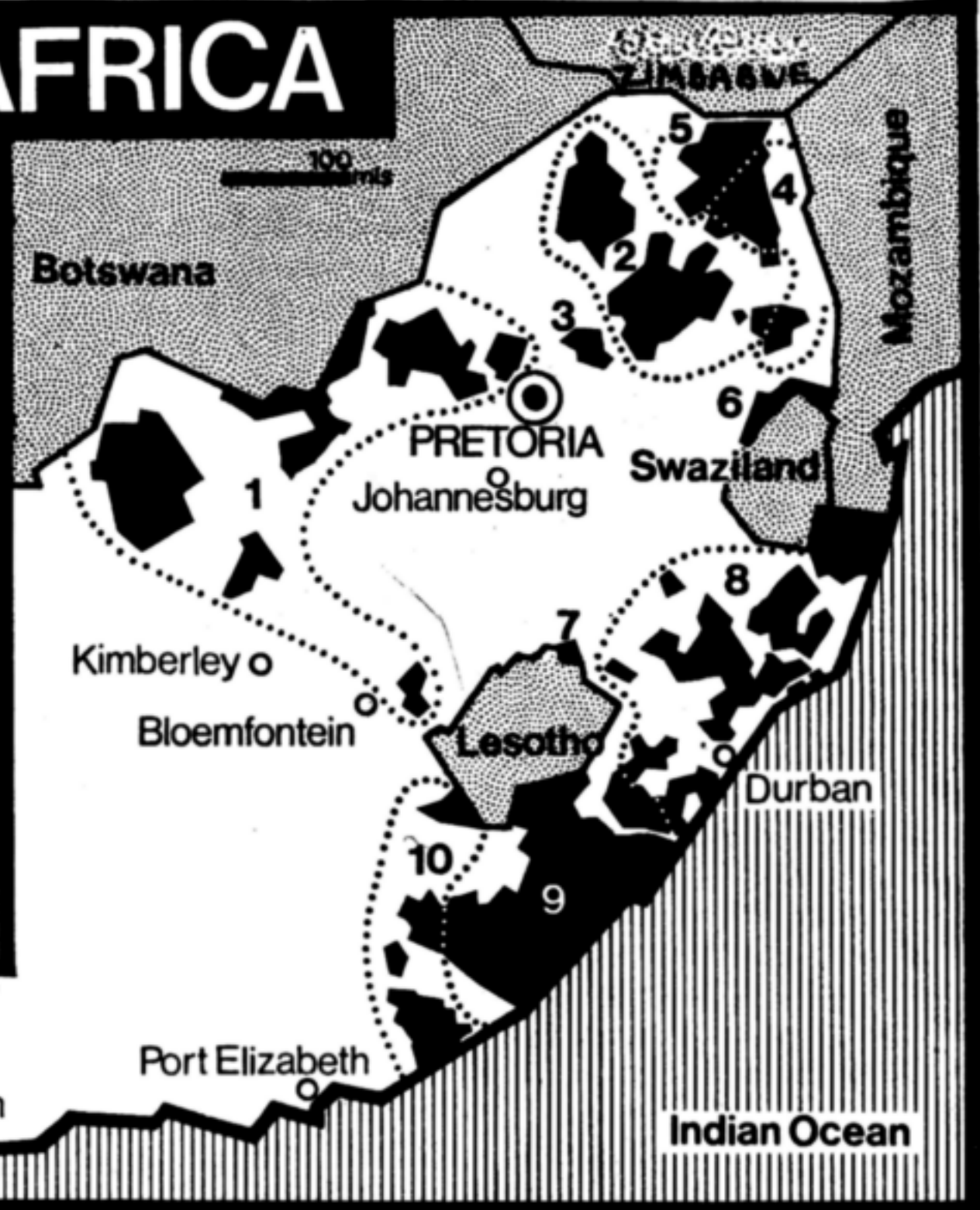
Unfortunately the racists, despite their own many experiences in this field, failed to find the culprits. So they 'withdrew', leaving behind instructions to round up and question all possible suspects.

Having partially recovered from their shock, Mphephu and co. did just that,

SOUTH AFRICA

THE 'BANTU HOMELANDS'

HOMELAND	PEOPLE
1 Boputhatswana	Tswana
2 Lebowa	North Sotho
3 Ndebele	Ndebele
4 Gazankulu	Shangaan & Tsonga
5 Venda	Venda
6 Swazi	Swazi
7 Basotho-Qwaqwa	South Sotho
8 Kwazulu	Zulu
9 Transkei	Xhosa
10 Ciskei	Xhosa



probably with a little relish at being able to put the relatively best organised part of their 'state' machinery — the 'National Force' — into operation — just like little boys playing with a new set of toy guns. And judging by the ensuing events, which we have already described, they worked on the principle that anyone who had ever so much as mouthed an anti-Mphephu word as good as fired the rockets which disintegrated their precious police station.

Umkhonto we Sizwe's attack on the Sibasa police station did many things. It demonstrated the combat capability of MK. It forcefully re-iterated the ANC's rejection of the whole bantustan fiasco. It clearly demonstrated that the puppet army headed by Brigadier Malaudzi is no match for the better-motivated, trained and equipped army of the people. It devastated the morale of the Mphephu clan.

But by no means did it precipitate or cause repression in Venda. At most it can be said that the fires that consumed Sibasa police station lit up in stark relief

the deathly face that the Venda collaborators, that all collaborators, that the whole bantustan system, has worn since the whole thing began decades, if not centuries, ago.

Venda occupies about 6,500 square kilometres in the North-Eastern Transvaal. When it received its license to repress from Pretoria in September 1979 a thin strip of its northern territory bordering on Zimbabwe was taken back by Pretoria, an obvious move which revealed at once both Pretoria's strategic conception of the bantustan scheme and its lack of confidence in its own carefully nurtured buffer states.

Venda claims a population of 500,000, though a third of these people live and work outside the territory. Yet more are forced to commute to 'white South Africa' to earn a living.

Economically Venda lays claim to 'vast potential'. Yet apart from subsistence farming in which the vast majority of the population are involved, Venda can claim no real exploitation of its 'vast potential'

other than a few farms, tiny factories and the odd attempt to tap its mineral resources — and, of course, a luxury hotel (every room of which is reported to be bugged) and the inevitable casino. But literally just down the road from Venda are the lush farmlands of the northern Transvaal and the industrial heartland of the Witwatersrand which could feed, clothe, house and employ the entire Venda population a thousand times over.

Just a few months after Venda got its 'independence' newspapers revealed that the few people who managed to find employment in Venda were being paid atrocious wages. In December 1979 the 'Post' newspaper revealed that workers on a coffee plantation partly owned by the Venda 'government' were being paid less than 1c for each metre-deep pit they dug — giving them a maximum possible income of R23 a month for men and R16 for women.

Meanwhile, back at the casino, Venda 'government' officials are reputed to be raking in a tidy profit on top of their huge salaries. This accusation comes, of all places, from the ultra-right newspaper 'Die Vaderland' which claims that those Venda officials who are not siphoning profits from the casino into their own pockets are becoming so indebted financially to the casino management (i.e. a certain Jacobus Justus de Villiers) that there is deep concern that they have made themselves open to manipulation.

Who are these 'officials' of Venda? They are a clique of reactionary, corrupt and totally inept puppets, who were so desperate to serve their masters in Pretoria as diligently as possible, that they had to rig those 'elections' that did take place in order to do so.

As far back as 1973 Mphephu's party was defeated in elections by 13 seats to 5. Mphephu (undoubtedly under the expert advice of his masters) took the nominated chiefs in the 'Legislative Assembly' on a four-day holiday. As a result, in spite of his failure in the election, he was re-elected 'Chief Minister'.

Despite this ploy, when the 'Legislative Assembly' met in 1974 a large number of

chiefs deserted Mphephu leaving him with a slim majority. Mphephu quickly closed the assembly.

In elections in 1978 the Venda opposition won 70% of the vote and 31 of the 42 elected seats. Mphephu used emergency powers given him by Pretoria to detain 11 of the successful opposition candidates and many of their supporters. He was re-elected Chief Minister.

To forestall any further problems Mphephu invented an unassailable post for himself — Paramount Chief — and so put an end to the obvious dangers which even token democracy posed to him and his masters.

This is Venda. The latest wave of repression is certainly not a result of Umkhonto's strike against the Sibasa police station. It is a continuation and intensification of the repression in which Venda was conceived, born and bred.

When Pretoria's ambassadors parry international condemnation by refusing to interfere in the 'internal affairs of another country' we can only laugh bitterly. Venda's 'internal affairs' were conceived, created, distorted and manipulated by Pretoria from day one.

Venda (they say) is a beautiful country. The whole of South Africa (we say) is a beautiful country. Its beauty, its human and material resources have been squandered and pillaged. Mphephu and his ilk have collaborated with Botha and his ilk in turning a beautiful and rich country into a wasteland of poverty, oppression and destruction.

Umkhonto's strike against Sibasa is only a start. In accordance with the directives laid down by the leadership of the African National Congress our efforts to mobilise the people under the yoke of the bantustan puppets are being daily intensified.

The people of Venda, Bophuthatswana, Transkei and Ciskei are our people. The Mphephus, Mangopes, Matanzimas and Sebes are our enemy. They will again and again face our wrath until they are but a curiosity of history talked about by a new generation in the schools of a totally liberated South Africa.

Angola's just cause

Below we publish an article on the situation facing the People's Republic of Angola by Marga Holnes of the Mozambique, Angola and Guinea Information Centre.

As the ANC steps up its struggle in South Africa — showing an impressive degree of organisation and selection of targets — the apartheid regime is doing all it can to push back the frontiers of independent Africa. Putting innumerable delays and pretexts in the way of plans for Namibia's independence, it is defying resolutions and decisions of the highest international bodies. The intransigence and procrastination of Pretoria — as well as its increased aggressiveness towards independent African states — has long been a factor to be contended with. However, an entirely new and dangerous dimension has been added to the problem with the coming to power of the Reagan administration in the United States.

More and more, we see Pretoria serving as the armed wing of Washington policy. And more and more we see the issue of Namibia's independence — next in line on Africa's decolonisation agenda — confused with what the US regards as its strategic interests in the area. As a result, the issues in the region are made to appear very complex.

They are simple, however. Namibia is illegally occupied by South Africa, and its independence is a matter of urgency. Years of negotiations involving the so-called western Contact Group (the US, France, Britain, Federal Germany and Canada), the African Front Line States, SWAPO and South Africa itself resulted in Security Council resolution 435/78, the UN plan providing for a ceasefire, the phased withdrawal of South African troops, a UN peace-keeping force and free elections supervised by the UN.

Now we see the US administration seeking to link the withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia with the

withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola. This makes nonsense of the decolonisation process. It is Namibia that needs to be decolonised, whereas Angola is a sovereign state. Any attempt to link these two entirely separate questions is gross interference in the internal affairs of Angola.

Moreover, Angola is being made to bear the brunt of South African aggression in Southern Africa. Thousands of Angolans have been killed, wounded or made homeless as a result of South African armed operations inside the country. The losses and destruction in Angola are greater than in Namibia itself, where SWAPO is conducting armed struggle against the South African occupation forces.

Angola has had to allocate more than half its national budget to defence, and national reconstruction programmes in that newly-independent country have been seriously set back as a result of the war. In a statement last month, the Political Bureau of the MPLA-Workers' Party stressed the need for austerity and full involvement in development tasks.

The enormous sacrifices the Angolan people are having to make are the price they are paying for their support for the Namibian people, led by SWAPO. It just so happens that Angola shares a border with Namibia. Indeed Africa supports SWAPO. The UN and the OAU support SWAPO. Angola is simply fulfilling its international obligations in respect of Namibian independence. Angola has no border with South Africa. Angolan troops are not fighting in Namibia. They are simply defending their country against the illegal invasions of South African forces from illegally occupied Namibia.

The situation has worsened since the massive armed invasion started in August last year, involving more than 11,000 racist troops and large quantities of heavy Centurion tanks, armoured cars, heavy artillery, massive overflying by jet fighter

bombers and the use of poisonous gas and napalm. Angola's southern Kunene Province, bordering on Namibia, has been devastated and administrative, economic and social structures destroyed. FAPLA, the Angolan armed forces, have fought heroically, succeeding in taking back occupied towns and making it impossible for South Africa to secure the buffer zone it has been trying to create in southern Angola. All eye-witnesses are agreed that the South African army is no match for the Angolan troops. Their sole strength is their powerful air force, the planes that swoop down from great heights and make their deadly lightning attacks on everything seen moving on the ground. So although the Angolan armed forces have developed enormously since independence in 1975, acquiring a powerful defence capacity and modern technology, South Africa's blitzkrieg has had devastating effects.

There is little doubt that the massiveness of this invasion was related to the change of administration in the United States. Just as Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State in the Ford administration, gave the go-ahead for South Africa's invasion of Angola on the eve of independence in October 1975 — as leading South African officials themselves have stated — there is every indication that a similar green light was given by Washington this time.

It is not only that the US was the only country to veto the Security Council resolution condemning the invasion. The US has been increasing its political, economic and military support for South Africa, as well as for the South African-backed Unita puppets. Perhaps most significantly, they appear to be obsessed about the presence of Cuban troops in Angola. Those troops are not threatening South Africa in any way. They are not fighting with SWAPO in Namibia. They are not even fighting in Angola. Indeed, the Angolan armed forces have been able, on their own, to contain the racist advance in Kunene Province. In addition to training the Angolan armed forces for purposes of defending their country, the Cuban troops in Angola serve as a kind of reserve force, in the event that Angola were to feel the threat to its

sovereignty so great that it would invoke Article 51 of the UN Charter, allowing for 'individual and collective self-defence' when under attack.

Yet the US administration is trying to make the presence of Cuban troops in Angola appear to be an obstacle to Namibian independence. This cannot be because the United States, in principle, is against all foreign troops in countries. There are American troops all over the world, even in Cuba itself where they are still stationed at Guantanamo base, against the will of the Cuban government. It may, of course, be that the US administration simply fears little Cuba for becoming the first socialist country in the Americas and foiling every US plot to thwart its independence.

However, the only plausible reason one can find for US persistence in harping on the Cuban presence in Angola is a desire to see Angola militarily weakened. The Americans would like to see a newly-independent African country made more vulnerable to the armed aggression of the most powerful military machine in Africa, in the hands of a regime condemned by the whole world for its vicious racism and fierce internal repression at home and its aggression abroad.

By supporting South Africa as a 'bastion against communism' and trying to present the Angolan people as mere pawns in some kind of giant international East-West chess game, the Americans are showing total contempt for African aspirations to independence, peace and progress. They forget too that in the eyes of Africa and the world, South Africa is precisely a bastion against independence, peace and social progress.

In a joint statement signed in Luanda on 5 February this year, the Foreign Ministers of Cuba and Angola, Isidora Malmierca and Paulo Jorge — referring to 1975/76, when Cuba's armed forces helped the Angolan armed forces to drive out the South African invaders — said: 'South Africa's invasion of Angola would have been a serious danger to states in the region and, in fact, to all of independent Africa. Cuba's internationalist help to the Angolan people in resisting the South African invaders was therefore a valuable



Victim of South African bombing of Lubango, Angola, 26 September 1979.

Identity documents of S.A. soldier, killed by Angolan troops in South African attack on Cuamato, Southern Angola.



contribution to the African peoples' struggle against colonialism, racism and apartheid.'

The statement notes that the presence of Cuban forces in Angola has been made the subject of 'slandorous and malicious propaganda by the imperialists, particularly the Americans who are shamelessly trying to link it with the Namibian independence process as a way of impeding the implementation of resolutions already adopted by the United Nations'.

Recalling that in October 1975, 'the United States government launched the South African army against Angola', the statement continues: 'In less than twenty days, South African troops had advanced more than 700 km inside Angolan territory. Meanwhile, from the north foreign regular forces and mercenaries were advancing threatenly close to the capital. It was at that moment that President Agostinho Neto requested Cuba's military cooperation'.

The statement goes on to reveal that 'only one month after the expulsion of the racist South African troops (March 1976), the governments of Angola and Cuba agreed on a programme for the progressive reduction of those forces on 22 April 1976. In less than a year, the Cuban military contingent was decreased by more than a third, but this process was halted as a result of further external threats to Angola.'

In May 1978, South African forces attacked deep inside Angola, killing more than 600 Namibian refugees — mostly women and children — at Kassinga. At the same time, there were paratroopers from NATO member countries on Angola's north-east border. All this 'meant a grave threat to Angola and made it imperative that the Cuban military forces remain with the material needed to ensure its security and territorial integrity'.

In mid-1979, the statement goes on to reveal, the Angolan and Cuban governments 'agreed to start to carry out a further programme for the gradual reduction of Cuban forces'.

Intensified South African aggression again halted this process. Indeed, in September 1979 there were large-scale racist attacks against Kunene and Huila provinces. It was in that month that South

African planes bombed and partially destroyed the Madeiras da Huila furniture factory in Lubango and landed troops on the Serra da Leba highway in Huila Province, machine-gunning the occupants of cars driving back to Lubango from Mocamedes on a Sunday afternoon. A stretch of the Lubango-Mocamedes railway was blown up and bridges destroyed. In Kunene Province, villages were attacked and schools and shops destroyed.

The Angolan-Cuban statement emphasises: 'This shows that the implementation of the programme for the gradual reduction of Cuban forces in the People's Republic of Angola has on several occasions been hampered by constant and criminal acts of aggression against Angola'.

It goes on to say that the presence of Cuban forces 'caused by the external aggression perpetrated by racist and fascist South African troops, in close alliance with the United States of America, constitutes an absolutely sovereign and legitimate act by both countries and, therefore, is in no way related to the problem of Namibia'.

It points out that the strict fulfilment of UN Security Council resolution 435/78, leading to 'the establishment of a truly independent government and the total withdrawal of the South African forces of occupation beyond the Orange River, which will substantially decrease the dangers of aggression against Angola' would lead the Angolan and Cuban governments to study the resumption of the programme for the withdrawal of Cuban forces over a period of time agreed upon by both governments'. The withdrawal of the Cuban forces would take place 'on the sovereign decision of the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, once there is no longer any possibility of aggression or armed invasion' and 'the Government of Cuba will fulfil without any hesitation any decision taken by the sovereign Government of the People's Republic of Angola on the withdrawal of the said forces'.

It is important to quote this statement at some length. Not only does it reveal the persistent efforts of both Angola and Cuba to reduce the number of Cuban troops in Angola, and the way South African



Sirs, please, you must know that my name is always spelled like this . . .

aggression has hindered this, but it clearly establishes that the troops will go on Angola's sovereign decision. Sovereignty is the key word here. Cuba and Angola — both members of the Non-Aligned Movement — respect each other's sovereignty. The United States, allied with the Pretoria apartheid regime, respects the sovereignty of no

country. But those bastions of reaction in the world are making a sad mistake if they believe they can set back the clock and halt the independence process, particularly in Southern Africa, where complete freedom is merely a question of time.

The National Security Doctrine by Ngqungqushe

Indignant liberals recently editorialised their regret that the chief of the fascist South African Defence Forces (SADF) "went beyond his proper function as a military officer" by supporting Botha's so-called reform programme. The SADF they said "should be above the political battle" while at the same time calling on them for a "massive infusion of manpower into the national service system to safeguard life and property against the growing threat mounted by urban guerrillas".

These mouthpieces of the white opposition representing 'liberal' monopoly capital are caught up in a contradictory situation. On the one hand supporting massive militarisation to protect 'life and property' — in other words the existent economic order i.e. apartheid monopoly capitalism. On the other hand they see the need to formulate some sort of appeasement to provide a 'political future' for the African population.

In order to achieve an 'appeasement', the liberal idea is to have a strong 'apolitical' military/police apparatus to halt or contain any radical revolutionary forces which threaten their plans for reforms and 'evolutionary' social change within a capitalist liberal-democratic state.

But these liberals have missed the boat. They have been blinded by the illusion of democratic institutions in South Africa for a long time. The charade has now been finally played out with the whites-only parliament well and truly relegated to its real nature, a mere decoration. Real power now resides in the State Security Council and with the military institution.

Total Strategy

Structural changes to the fascist apartheid state have been far reaching since Botha took power. These changes were necessary as part of the regime's preparation for intensified military action in defence of apartheid. They involve increased centralisation of government and the widening of military control over the whole state apparatus.

To popularise the rise of the military, the regime has played on the term 'total strategy' which reflects their policy spelt out in the 1977 Defence White Paper: "the resolution of a conflict in the times in which we live demands interdependent and co-ordinated action in all fields — military, psychological, economic, political, sociological ...".

"Total strategy" provides the rationale for military control over the strategic sector of the economy — the military-industrial complex. As General Malan stated: "Total strategy should encompass the state, the private sector, diplomacy, commerce, industry and organisations like Armscor, the Council for Scientific and Industrial research and the Human Sciences Research Council".

State Security Council

The streamlining and rationalisation of apartheid policies is being initiated, developed and controlled by a highly centralised military-controlled power base. The embodiment of this power lies in the State Security Council (SSC). The SSC

has become the major decision-making body within the whole state apparatus thus reducing the status of the Cabinet. More important is that the whites-only Parliament has become a mere decoration, serving mainly as a talking-shop where SSC decisions are rubber-stamped.

This increase in executive power for the racist Prime Minister and the military is reflected in the composition of the SSC which comprises the following key members:

Prime Minister — P.W. Botha, ex Defence Minister.

Minister of Defence — Gen. M. Malan, ex Chief of SADF.

Chief of the SADF — Gen C.L. Viljoen.

Minister of Police — L. le Grange.

Commissioner of Police — Gen. M. Geldenhuys.

Minister of Justice — H. Coetsee, ex Dep. Defence Minister.

Chief of National Intelligence Service — N. Barnard.

Minister of Foreign Affairs — R.F. Botha.

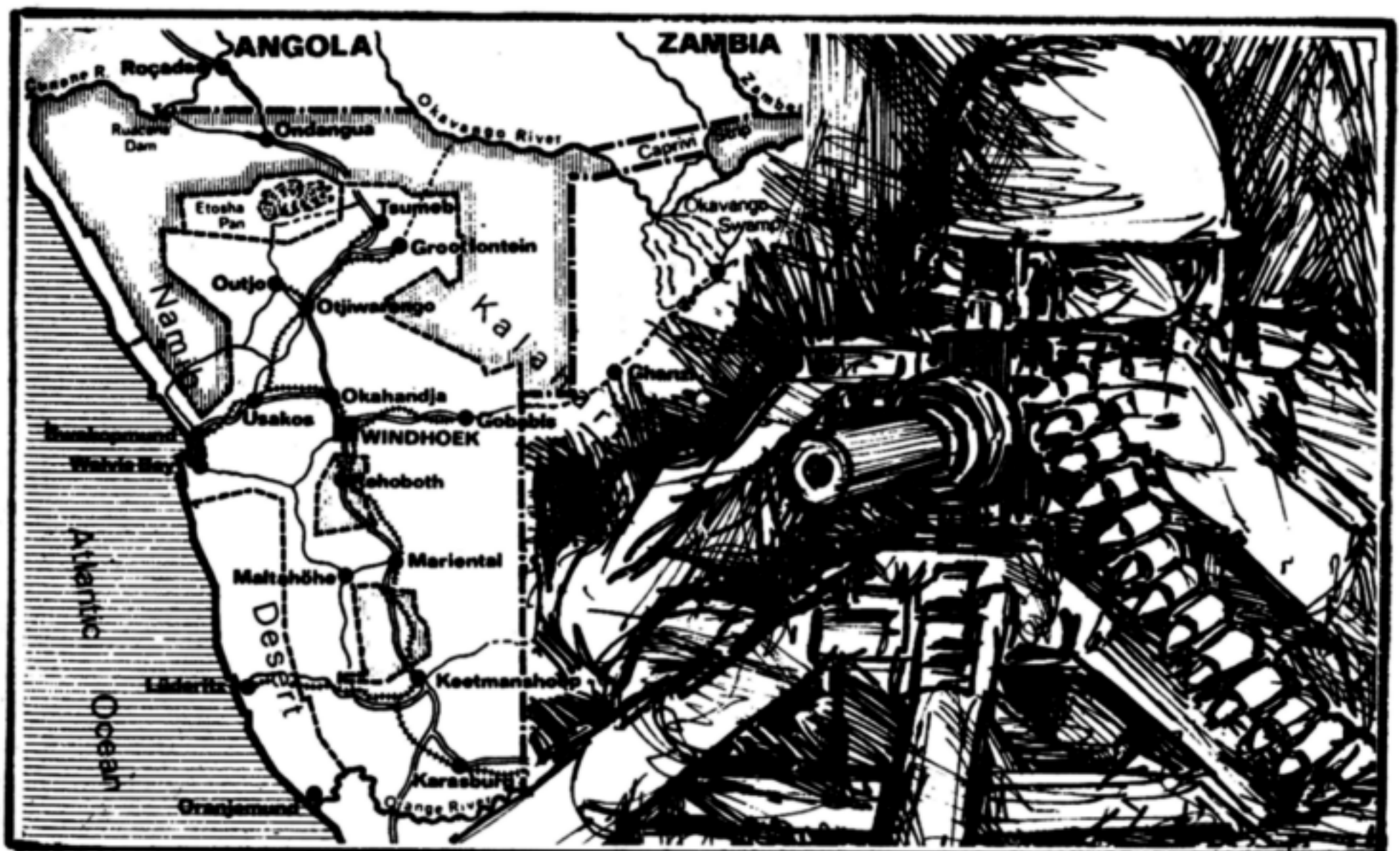
Secretary of the State Security Council — Gen. A. van Deventer (SADF).

The composition of the SSC shows the role of the military/police security apparatus in the political decision-making process. The generals are also the vital force behind the whole restructuring of the state. General Malan outlined the component parts of the 'Management Mechanisms of the National Security System' as follows:

- a) the State Security Council, headed by the Prime Minister;
- b) the work committee of the SSC;
- c) the security planning branch of the office of the Prime Minister;
- d) a number of interdepartmental committees; and
- e) a number of joint management centres, as well as the Department of National Intelligence to provide the essential strategic background.

National Security Doctrine

What is the purpose of the above structures? A. Mattelart, a theorist who has studied the phenomena of militarisation and the National Security State in Latin America provides some insight:



"This National Security Doctrine, which presides over the break-up of the democratic and republican state, thus reversing the balance of power established by the constitution, is concretely expressed by the hegemony of the military-police machinery within the entire state apparatus. The executive power is transferred to the state National Security Council upon which the intelligence agencies, and the so-called 'political' police, such as the Chilean DINA are directly dependent. These agencies answer only to the Head of State, and their mission is based on three objectives: 1) to coordinate the activities of the other intelligence branches of the Security Forces 2) to carry out arrests that are related to internal state security 3) to provide the Head of the Security Council with information on every aspect of daily life that is necessary for planning, development and national security. In point of fact, this last clause legitimises the power of control which the State intelligence apparatus exercises over the other State organs. Legislative power, if not simply abolished becomes a mere decorative element. The judiciary system can only handle unimportant cases, since exceptional jurisdiction protects the order defined by national security. The changeover to a new state of law, which has since become classic, is precisely what justifies or attempts to justify, the expressions of 'State of War', 'State of Emergency' etc. This extra-constitutional legislation eliminates or controls political parties, the press and trade unions, and abolishes all basic social, civil and political rights."

This theory, developed out of the experience of Latin America has obvious relevance to South Africa.

The Reasons behind Militarisation

What brought about the need for increased militarisation of the South African state? Addressing the Institute of Strategic Studies in Pretoria in 1980, General Malan said. "The events in Angola in 1975/76 focussed the attention on the urgent necessity for the State Security Council to play a much fuller role in the national security of the

Republic than hitherto. One of its first actions following the Angola campaign was to appoint an interdepartmental committee to go urgently into the matter of formulation of strategy on the national level as well as the organisational structures necessary for the purpose."

This tells us a number of things about National Security. First it was required as a response to the dramatic regional shift in the balance of power against the fascist regime; with momentous victories of the national liberation struggles in Angola and Mozambique and later Zimbabwe; the defeat of the fascist expeditionary force in Angola at the hands of MPLA and Cuban forces. In occupied Namibia, the seventies were marked by a wave of strikes and escalation of the armed struggle led by SWAPO. In South Africa the 1970's was a period of mounting black working class struggle culminating in the 1976 uprising and the launching of the urban guerrilla campaign by Umkhonto we Sizwe, military wing of the ANC.

The inadequacy of the police and judicial repressive machinery in attempting to implement the fascist policies of ruthlessly suppressing the black majority had already begun to emerge in the decade of the 60's. UNITY IN ACTION, an ANC publication states:

"The South African fascist regime was on the one hand constantly strengthening its defences and extending its horizons of economic domination and political influence well beyond our borders. On the other hand the regime was desparately striving to demoralise, divide and weaken our people, to intimidate and corrupt them into submission, while trying to stamp out and prevent the growth of a revolutionary movement in the country by every means at its disposal.

"The enemy's basic vulnerability was the reason for its utmost 'vigilance' and justification for its aggressiveness. Its discovery in Rivonia of large-scale and advanced preparations for armed struggle and its disastrous contact with ANC fighters in Zimbabwe in 1967 were for him a frightening revelation of the danger he

faces. Both events stung him into panic stricken preparations for war on all fronts and at all levels. The racist government's perspective and preoccupation with the fear of insurrection and guerrilla warfare, coupled with the hysteria that gripped the fascist regime during the post-Rivonia period and the armed clashes in Zimbabwe accelerated the counter-insurrectionary tactical needs of the fascist regime. The enemy was afraid of the revolution; he had seen the writing on the wall". (p.58)

The role of US imperialism in National Security also needs to be stressed. General Malan himself underlined the importance of "a resolution of the National Security Symposium held in 1977", which provided the theoretical impetus for the application of the National Security Doctrine to South Africa. This was the first symposium of the Institute of Strategic Studies at the University of Pretoria (ISSUP). ISSUP is a government think-tank set up in 1974 "to ensure both the security and constructive role of South Africa" and in doing this to "document strategic questions, conflict strategies, co-operative and negotiating strategies, the role of violence, arms and arms control, military technology, alliances etc.". It also has "specific regional interests including Southern Africa, the Southern Atlantic and Indian Ocean regions."

Of the eight speakers at this symposium, two were US Army Colonels. A Colonel Barber who "held a variety of posts during his Marine Corps service, primarily in operations and training intelligence and psychological operations. Served as Psychological Operations Officer in Vietnam.", and a Colonel Katz, who "who responsible for work in the military use of psychological methods in the US Army, and worked for the US Information Agency in Vietnam."

Another important speaker was South African Lieutenant-General Dutton who was then Chief of Staff, Operations responsible for Namibia. (He is now South African Ambassador to fascist Chile).

Analysts of the Latin American situation have looked at the various forms of military states imposed in that continent, and have come to the conclusion that Military Forces

in Latin America are dependent on basic theoretical nucleae such as the Pentagon, as well as French and Brazilian Generals who have written theoretical works on National Security.

The historical experience of the United States led to the elaboration of the National Security Doctrine. The post-war US Security Act of 1947 put this doctrine into practice. In order to prevent demobilisation from creating the same crisis situation of the pre-war years, the military-industrial complex decided to maintain the high pressure achieved by exceptional war-time mobilisation. National Security justified war-time institutions and made their war priorities the same as peace priorities. The Bill provided for "integration of foreign policy with national policy, the integration of our civil economy with military obligations, ... for continual advance in the field of research and applied sciences."

The National Security Doctrine is therefore primarily a war doctrine. The traditional role assigned to the military as an 'apolitical' instrument of the state ceases to exist. The Doctrine allows the military to gain paramountcy and control of the whole state apparatus.

There is a strong line of continuity between all of the fascist military regimes in different parts of the world. Their emergence is in keeping with the ongoing crisis of the world capitalist economy. Their existence is dependent upon imperialism which is faltering in the face of the ascendancy of popular movements and national liberation struggles in various parts of the globe. The militarisation of the State should be considered as a violent phase in the attempt to ensure the survival of the imperialist monopoly capitalist system.

Pages from History:

Our National Anthem

Writing in the Voice Weekly (April 8-14th, 1981) Motlhabi Mutloatse commented that there is confusion in South Africa over the national anthem Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika. Not only that. He also remarked about what he called "a disgusting development — its debasement by some of us indigenous people of South Africa."

In short, treating it as if it was a pop or disco tune, to be danced or drunkenly sung to as soon as meriment, or, "the waters of immortality had run amok in our blood systems".

"And for this, the gods of Africa are surely going to punish us — and thoroughly too."

This alone makes it imperative for Sechaba to investigate — albeit briefly — the origin of Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika and the role it has played (and continues to play) in the process of national unity. In this year of Unity in Action there is more reason for that because the acceptance and adoption of Nkosi Sikelela by the ANC as a national anthem meant the strengthening and reinforcement of what we call a loyalty of a new type.

Another reason for our concern is given by Mutloatse in the said article: "Let alone the fact that our disrespect for the Sacred Hymn of the Dispossessed Owners of our Homeland, South Africa is making its composer, Enoch Mankayi Sontonga turn in his grave at Brixton Cemetery, Johannesburg, where he is believed to have been buried."

Who was Enoch Mankayi Sontonga?

Born in Lovedale, Cape Province, in 1860 Enoch Mankayi Sontonga left school at an early age and went to live in

Johannesburg where he was employed in various occupations. He was a christian and endowed with a wonderful voice; fond of music and made good use of it in church. He wrote both the music and the words. His compositions were sung in church and concerts to help the church raise funds. "His songs became very popular in the whole of Johannesburg and later throughout the country", writes T.D. Mveli Skota. This is confirmed by D.D.T. Jabavu who says Sontonga "had a gift for song, and constantly composed pieces, words and music, for the use of his pupils at public entertainments" (Sontonga was a church school master at Nancefield, now Pimville Zone Seven).

In 1897 he composed Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika which was publicly sung in 1899 at the ordination of the Reverend M. Bowen — a Methodist priest. Sontonga is said to have composed Nkosi Sikelela just opposite Musi High School in Pimville. It was in Tonic Sol-fa. He had just founded a church choir in the African Presbyterian church to sing in the church to which he belonged.

The occasion was one of wide joy but the composition was inspired by a depressed heart and the refrain testifies to a somewhat melancholy strain, says D.D.T. Jabavu. The Blacks around Johannesburg were, at the time, far from happy by reason of straitened circumstances and because they felt they were not getting a square deal from powers that be. We should remember that this was just before the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) in which the interests of the Africans were totally disregarded.

Those days Nkosi Sikelela was commonly sung in African schools. Sontonga's choir

under his conductorship travelled as far as Durban. Rev. John Langalibalele Dube, founder of Ohlange Training Institution and also Ilanga lase Natal newspaper (later to be the first ANC President-General) was so captivated by Sontonga's songs, especially Nkosi Sikelela, that he asked for permission to make use of them. This was readily given. That was way back in 1903. Dube's choir popularised Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika in Natal.

Sontonga died in Johannesburg in 1904 — virtually unsung. His grave is situated at the now all-white Brixton Cemetery. But before he died Sontonga had written a number of pieces in Tonic Sol-fa on odd sheets of paper and eventually collected them into an exercise book, with a view to printing them. This valuable exercise book got lost soon after his death "because a friend took it from the widow and disappeared with the original version of the anthem. And it has since not been unearthed".

The legendary R.T. Caluza played his role in popularising Sontonga's songs (including Nkosi Sikelela) through fundraising concerts. But it was S.E.K. Mqhayi (1875-1945), imbongi yesizwe jikelele (the national poet) who added 7 stanzas to the national anthem with the result that the Xhosa lyrics, with the exception of the first stanza (which was Sontonga's) was Mqhayi's version was published in 1927. This was done, according to DDT Jabavu, "with true poetic ability". Mqhayi, according to A.C. Jordan in his *Towards an African Literature* was "a man destined to carry the literary tradition into its second phase. Journalist, poet, novelist, biographer, essayist and translator Mqhayi has done more than any other writer to reveal the beauty of Xhosa. He dominated the Xhosa literary field until his death in 1945 and for many years was the model for everybody who tried to write in the language ...

"His contribution to Southern Bantu Literature is easily the largest and most valuable that has hitherto been made by any single writer."

A look at Mqhayi's version of Nkosi Sikelela leads one to the conclusion that our forefathers sang with dignity; the lyrics is flowing and the song is a plea,

full of humanism and love of people, their well-being and welfare. It is against everything inhuman and anti-popular; a prayer for the people of Africa.

The ANC National Anthem

The song originally intended as a hymn began to be sung in all provinces, gaining recognition as the people's national anthem. The first verse (Sontonga's) has survived as the basis of the popular national anthem.

The ANC adopted it in 1925 as its national anthem and all organisations and churches followed suit. It was also at this time that the ANC adopted the black, green and gold colours as national colours. The status and dignity of our national anthem has grown: today the song has become a national anthem of many countries in Africa north of the Limpopo. This is a tribute and monument to Enoch Mankayi Sontonga.

Inside South Africa the song is not only sung in one language — in fact there has developed an adaptation acknowledging the unity of our people. An English translation can only be literal and loses the poetic and melancholic rhythm of the song — this prayer for the people of Africa.

Today Sontonga's Nkosi Sikelela is closely associated with and symbolises the struggle of our people for a democratic South Africa. It can be heard at protest and solidarity meetings, conferences and worker support concerts throughout the country. People stand at attention, all activity comes to a halt as a sign of respect. They raise their fists throughout the song's duration and at its ending the people chorus slogans such as "Amandla", "Maatla", "Power to the People". After all, that was what Sontonga had in mind when he composed the song.

In conclusion of his article *Mothobi Mutloatse* makes an appeal:

"... anybody with more information on the history of Sontonga, and the composer of the Sesotho lyrics of Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika, only has to drop me a line, and then I'd come running. God bless us all in Africa ..."

SECHABA repeats the appeal.

U.S. Writers fight for ANC's cause

by Anton Mberi



Writing on the American Writers Congress and the cause of Southern Africa in the Daily World November 20, 1981 (organ of the CPUSA), Anton Mberi states that:

In the midst of the opening day's bedlam and excitement a Black caucus was held. Called by the Black Writers Union, a small, New York based organisation, it was to serve as a vehicle for the Congress' Afro-American delegates to meet and coordinate their concerns and interests prior to the Congress' moving into full swing. Although the majority of Afro-American delegates had not yet arrived at the time of its convening, it was here the problem that would surface on the floor of the plenary

session devoted to Resolutions adoptions on Sunday, two days later, began.

Many concerns were discussed at this caucus meeting, but one particular question dominated the caucus' work — the question of the "language and spirit" contained in the Southern African Resolution submitted to the Congress as a whole by Wesley Brown and June Jordan. This resolution, to be called the Brown resolution here, arose out of their joint work with the Conference in Solidarity with the Liberation Struggles of Southern Africa, held at Riverside Church, in Harlem, simultaneously with the American Writers' Congress.

The Brown resolution called for the American Writers' Congress to extend

material aid and support to the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO); to join with the Congressional Black Caucus in condemning and opposing U.S. involvement in Southern Africa supportive of apartheid and colonialism; to boycott writers and publishers who, through word or visitation, give support or credibility to South Africa's apartheid regime; and finally, called on all Congress delegates and participants to work with the ANC and SWAPO, and the International Committee Against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa. Thus, recognising the main forces participating in the South African and Namibian liberation processes.

The Congress had exchanged delegations and solidarity statements with the Riverside Church Conference, welcoming ANC and SWAPO members to the Congress during its Keynote Address program. Several Congress delegates shuttled back and forth the entire weekend between Congress and Conference. In other words, working links and expressions of common cause were established between the Congress and the Conference, some of them prior to the opening of both events ...

I had attended the opening session of the Conference, but returned in time to be a part of the caucus meeting at the Congress. It was here, at this meeting Amiri Baraka, poet and playwright, B.J. Ashanti, a local poet, both members of the Black Writers Union, along with a few others from their group, set out to sever these links and expression of common cause with the ANC and SWAPO in the Southern African liberation process.

Objecting to the "sectarian" mention of the ANC, in the context of the South Africa's liberation struggle, they sought to change the "language" and "spirit" of the Brown resolution through a caucus resolution, that omitted all organisational names other than the American Writers Congress. But this was only after Baraka could not win, due to this writer's interjections and objections to the inclusion of the Pan African Congress (PAC) name alongside that of the ANC, as if both shared

equal roles and recognition in the South African liberation struggle, an assumption far from the truth.

In Substance, they were really arguing against and rejecting the internationally recognised, leading role of the ANC, not the PAC, in this process. A fact even the pro-apartheid forces in the U.S. government and South Africa have been compelled to accept. The position and role of the ANC in South Africa is akin to that of the PLO in the Palestine liberation process.

The PAC's role can best be equated with that of UNITA and the FNLA in Angola; one of serving neo-colonial interests and designs. Indeed, there is grave concern in the world and South African liberation movements that the PAC will play the same role, if it is not already doing so. in South Africa, in collusion with imperialism and apartheid. There is ample proof that suggests this. (See Henry Winton's Strategy for a Black Agenda, the chapter on South Africa) ...

Unable to win support in the caucus for their insistence that the name of PAC (Pan African Congress), which serves imperialism's interests, be included alongside that of the ANC (African National Congress), Baraka, B.J. Ashanti and associates moved to eliminate any reference to ANC. With the passage of the caucus resolution, Baraka and associates succeeded by removing the names of all organisations mentioned in the Brown resolution from its wording.

The caucus passed the following resolution: "Be it resolved that the American Writers Congress fully support the liberation struggles of Black and other (meaning Coloreds and Asians in South Africa, and SWAPO in Namibia) oppressed peoples of Southern Africa, and that we join the Black Writers Union in adopting the resolution on Southern Africa as previously submitted (the Brown resolution)". The caucus resolution nonetheless reflected the overwhelming sentiment for support of Southern African liberation. The problem for most of the participants was lack of information about the roles of ANC and PAC in the South African setting, and this

was used by Baraka and associates to achieve their anti-ANC aims.

On Sunday, at the plenary, shouting his narrow nationalistic jargon and berating the white Congress participants, Baraka demanded they pass his diluted version of the Brown resolution. Baraka's version would, as achieved in the caucus resolution, omit any mention of the ANC, SWAPO, the International Committee against Apartheid, Racism and Colonialism in Southern Africa, and the need for the American Writers' Congress to go on record as agreeing to work closely with these organisations to achieve a victory in South African and Namibia.

Rushing the mikes, followed by his associates, Baraka proceeded to dominate the floor, making it next to impossible for anyone else to clarify or identify exactly what the problem was. The chair of this session was white, the majority of the participants were white, Baraka harangued them saying that if they failed to pass his version they would, in keeping with their "whiteness", be taking a position of no-support for Southern African liberation. Bedlam ensued. The situation became further ensnared in parliamentary procedure; legitimate grievance became tangled in illegitimate aims ala Baraka.

Utilizing "white liberal guilt" tactics combined with slanders of Wesley Brown, for being "uncompromising and sectarian", and myself for being "dishonest,

manipulative and unscrupulous," Baraka and associates succeeded once again in altering the language of a resolution on Southern Africa. The first time it was the caucus, this time it was Brown's resolution.

It was true, Brown and myself, as well as others involved with linking up the Congress with the Southern Africa Conference going on at Riverside Church, refused to "compromise" the truth of ANC and SWAPO roles in the Southern African liberation process. Thus, we could not, of course, in the same breath, support PAC; it was one or the other.

Still, the American Writers' Congress passed the Brown resolution, albeit it with Baraka's diluting "word-magic" language.

Suffice it to say, the struggle in South Africa and Namibia are not characterised as "race" struggles, but as anti-imperialist and anti-apartheid. The international solidarity these movements need and are calling for must be on the same basis, anti-imperialist and anti-apartheid.

"Skin-strategies" and "character assassinations" will only serve to weaken the solidarity work we sought to begin among U.S. writers via the Brown resolution and the American Writers' Congress. Such methods, tactics and styles of work will only impede the unity the American Writers' Congress has committed itself to building among all writers. As for Baraka, it is wise to remember that this style of work is part and parcel of his "word-magic" stock in trade.

END

RACISM and REPRESSION!

Book reviews

a) Time is not on our side

Tutu, D., *The voice of one Crying in the Wilderness*, Mowbray, 1982.

This book is a collection of Bishop Desmond Tutu's statements on his — and our — struggle against apartheid and for social justice in South Africa.

In this book Tutu comes across as a very religious person, honest and dedicated to the cause of his people — the African people. He goes beyond that and sees the struggle as that of both black and white:

“The darkest hour, they say, is before dawn. We are experiencing the birthpangs of a new South Africa, a free South Africa where all of us, black and white together will walk tall, where all of us, black and white together will hold hands as we stride forth on the Freedom March, to usher in the new South Africa”. (p. 64)

His message to the Whites is reminiscent of the ANC calls during its days of legality:

“We are committed to black liberation, because thereby we are committed to white liberation. You will never be free until we blacks are free. So join the liberation struggle. Throw off your lethargy, and the apathy of affluence. Work for a better South Africa for yourselves, ourselves and for our children. Uproot all evil and oppression and injustice of which blacks are victims and you whites are beneficiaries, so that you won't reap the whirlwind. Join the winning side”. (p.43-44)

Tutu understands very well what he calls the “South African white psyche”. He relates a story about when he was flying from Durban and “one of the pretty air-hostesses” approached him to say: “Excuse me, Sir, a group of passengers would like you please to autograph a book for

them” (p.52). He was pleasantly surprised and was trying to look suitably modest when she went on to say:

“You are Bishop Muzorewa, aren't you?” The strength of the book lies in Tutu's understanding and knowledge of African deprivation which is South African reality today. He has travelled widely throughout South Africa. On one of his trips he visited a resettlement camp — this must have been in the Ciskei. He asked a little girl who lived with her widowed mother and sister:

“Does your mother get a pension or grant?”

“No” she replied.

“Then what do you do for food?”

“We borrow food” she replied.

“Have you ever returned any of the food that you have borrowed?”

“No”.

“What do you do when you can't borrow food?”

“We drink water to fill our stomachs”. (p. 108)

This is happening in a country which is boasting of exporting food.

Tutu has a feel of the changing mood of the people, especially the youth. Writing about the funeral of the Silverton heroes, he says:

“We really have a new breed of black exemplified by the young people who turned up at the funeral of the Silverton gunmen. We of an older generation are on the whole still scared of arrest, of police dogs, of teargas, of prison and of deaths. But these young people are quite something else. They have experienced it all — yes, they have seen friends, brothers and sisters die and they are no longer scared. They are just determined. They are determined

that they are going to be free, they and their reluctant cowed parents. They have, they believe, sat for too long, listening night after night to the stories of their parents' daily humiliations just because they were black. They have decided that enough is enough and so they are people with iron in their souls. They are determined with a new kind of determination. Most of them believe that the goal which they are determined to reach — true liberation in what they call a united Azania — can come only with bloodshed and violence. They say this, and that is what is so shocking, in a matter of fact kind of way, for they say their leaders have tried everything peaceful and they have nothing to show for their efforts ...

"The determination of these young people has rubbed off on their parents who are becoming more politicised by so many things ..." (p.90)

Tutu's philosophy is based on his desire to invoke the positive aspects of African tradition — ubuntu — and his deep religious feelings. He is no political predikant — he says — but a man moved by his faith and belief that God is on our side — "on the side of justice, of peace, of reconciliation, of laughter and joy, of sharing and compassion and goodness and righteousness". (p.44)

His religion is not simply metaphysical but is closer to what Latin Americans call theology of liberation. Tutu does reflect and express the anger and ideas which are current and prevalent in black thinking in South Africa. He has this to say about capitalism:

"I loathe capitalism because it gives far too great play to our inherent selfishness. We are told to be highly competitive, and our children start learning the attitudes of the rat race quite early. They mustn't just do well at school — they must sweep the floor with their rivals. That's how you get on. We give prizes to such persons, not so far as I know to those who know how best to get on with others, or those who can coax the best out of others.

"We must delight in our ulcers, the symbols of our success ...

"Capitalism is exploitative and I can't stand that". (p.100)

In this book Tutu deals with many aspects of our reality: religious, economic, social and political life. He writes on detention without trial, banned people, urban unrest, Mangaliso Sobukwe, Steve Biko etc. In his piece on "Free Mandela" he says "... there is going to be a black Prime Minister in South Africa within five-to-ten years And we need Nelson Mandela, because he is almost certainly going to be the first black Prime Minister" (p.96).

On the question of the enforcement of a black "buffer middle class" between the whites and the have not blacks; people "who will become vociferous supporters of the status quo that gives them so many privileges", Tutu is of the opinion this will change the nature and character of the struggle: "It will then cease being just a race question. It will have become a class struggle" (p.110).

Tutu's book expresses the indomitable will of our people, all of them including the religious section, to be free from national oppression and economic exploitation. The role of the Christians in this struggle is growing. Tutu is not an advocate of armed struggle, he is a man of God, a man of peace. He feels there is still room and time for negotiation. The racist government must grow. Tutu is not an advocate of armed struggle, he is a man of God, a man of peace. He feels there is still room and time for negotiation. The racist government must negotiate now with our leaders on Robben Island and in exile. He is convinced that struggle — a peaceful one — will bring about changes and calls for a united front of all anti-racists: freedom is indivisible. Blacks must unite because they are all oppressed. You are either oppressed or privileged: "You can't have a woman who is half pregnant" (p.93).

F.M.

b) Namibia: The army of occupation

Apartheid's Army in Namibia; South Africa's Illegal Military Occupation. International Defence and Aid Fund, London January 1982.

This long overdue booklet, which details the Pretoria regime's military occupation of Namibia, has been produced by the International Defence and Aid Fund with assistance from the Committee on South African War Resistance. It is the tenth publication in the IDAF 'Fact Paper' series.

Although most of the information in the booklet is drawn from the press and other published sources, it provides for the first time a detailed overall picture of the extent of the apartheid regime's military operations in Namibia. Its factual, statistical approach does not hide the horror of the racist occupation. The facts speak for themselves: Over 80% of the Namibian people subject to martial law; one out of ten Namibians driven into exile; 100,000 occupying troops making Namibia the most militarised country in the world.

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The first two chapters deal with the history of Pretoria's military build-up in the territory. As is the case in South Africa, the racist regime has always relied on military might to maintain its oppressive rule. Since 1915, when Pretoria took over Namibia from the German colonists, resistance has been brutally crushed by armed force.

But it was during the general strike of 1971/2 that the militarisation drive was most dramatically stepped up, and the South African Defence Force took over counter-insurgency duties from the SA Police. The victory of the MPLA in Angola some two years later led to a rapid intensification of the liberation struggle. The SADF responded by pouring in troops, attacking Angola, imposing martial law and building huge military bases in the north.

Today a bewildering array of military and para-military forces are deployed against the Namibian people, particularly in the 'operational areas' in the north. Two chapters of this booklet are dedicated to unravelling this complex structure, and some excellent research work has been done in exposing the strengths, tasks and command structures of the numerous army and police units. The 'special units' which are responsible for much of the torture, brutality and terrorism in Namibia and Angola are described — the 'Koevoet police unit', the mercenary 32 'Buffalo' Battalion, the so-called 'UNITA' forces which in effect function as part of the SADF, the ill-disciplined and ill-trained 'Ovambo Home Guards', and racist South Africa's equivalent of Ian Smith's Selous Scouts, the Reconnaissance Commandos. Special attention is also given to Pretoria's strategy of incorporating black Namibians into some of these units and of trying to set them up as a 'national army'. But the controlling hand of the racists is evident in all these fruitless attempts to turn the Namibian independence struggle into a civil war.

The Chapter dealing with 'The War' is the least useful, as it relies on heavily-censored press reports — apart from the occasional snippets of information gleaned from deserters from the racist forces.

However, even the skimpiest reporting of SWAPO's armed struggle shows how the People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) has been engaging in ever-more successful attacks against the occupying forces. The SADF has been able to respond only by resorting to full-scale terrorism. The growing incidence of murder, rape and torture by the South African forces is pointed out, and any attempts to win the 'support' of the local population by 'control of hearts and minds' policies have been all but abandoned in the operational areas.

The remainder of the booklet is taken up with a summary of SADF aggression against Angola and other front-line states, and an analysis of the implications of the

continuing racist military build up for any Namibian independence negotiations.

One major criticism needs to be made. The maps, which are an essential adjunct to the text are shoddily produced and in places inaccurate. However, they do not detract greatly from this otherwise highly informative publication, the necessary complement to an earlier Fact Paper, 'The Apartheid War Machine'.

To all who are interested in the liberation of Namibia this book is a useful reference work, and the descriptions of the brutal divisive and militaristic strategies of the racist forces in Namibia should be of interest of all engaged in the fight against apartheid and colonialism.

G.C.



South African Army camp in Ovamboland, northern Namibia.

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