

MAY 1985



SECHABA

official organ of the african
national congress south africa



THE PEOPLE IDENTIFY WITH
UMKHONTO WE SIZWE
PEOPLE'S ARMY

SECHABA

MAY ISSUE 1985

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Front cover: a funeral at Zwide Township near Uitenage, of a victim of police shooting

Back cover: student protest

EDITORIAL

NO TO THE SADF! YES TO UMKHONTO WE SIZWE!

March 21st, Sharpeville Day. 17 and then 19 people dead in Uitenhage, the police reported. But Rev. Mxolisi Daba, an Anglican clergyman from Uitenhage said at least 45 and not 19 people died when police opened fire. We shall never know the exact figures.

All the same, it happened. People were leaving Langa location for a funeral in KwaNobuhle. Police told the people to get out of the cars and buses. They threatened the people with guns. The people decided to walk. There was a boy riding a bicycle in front of the procession. A shot was fired through his head, and his brains were on the road. No warning was given. Then it happened.

People were shot while on the ground, so that "they do not make a claim." The fire brigade came to hose down the blood. The police then scattered some stones and put them on the ground where bodies were. There were no journalists; no cameramen allowed. The area was in a virtual state of siege — policemen mounted roadblocks. These policemen, it is said, were not equipped with "standard riot control" equipment such as tear gas or rubber bullets, but only shotguns and rifles. But the problem is that tear gas itself is a highly toxic drug which can be converted to cyanide in the human body, and can kill.

The people reacted. For two days the town's Black work force was conspicuous by its absence from work and no buses were seen in the townships. The stayaway was complete. 17 000 pupils stayed away from 15 primary and two secondary schools. There were other tragic incidents: people either escaping from hospitals or dying in their homes because they feared arrest if they sought treatment at the hospitals.

Le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, lied in parliament, saying the police shot in "self-

defence" because the people were carrying stones, half bricks, petrol bombs and other missiles. Since when do people carry stones and other weapons in a funeral procession? Justice Donald Kannemeyer, local judge who constitutes a one-man commission, has already heard from Lieutenant John Fouche, the commander of the contingent that opened fire on a funeral procession in Uitenhage, that Le Grange's account to parliament was inaccurate; no petrol bombs were thrown and the police were never surrounded.

The South African Defence Force and the South African Police reflect the violent system of apartheid. After the vulturous behaviour of the members of the Koevoet, the "anti-insurgency" unit operating in Namibia, and the arrest of SWAPO leaders on Catholic Church property, they arrested our trade union leaders after last November's stayaway; arrested the UDF leaders and killed 18 people in Crossroads during mid-February. Now Botha's Gestapo police treat funeral processions as battle formations, and African residential areas are turned into some sort of shooting range. This is why our people in Port Elizabeth say it loud and clear: No to SADF; Yes to Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Make no mistake, the anger of our people is overflowing; the growing frustration, the bitterness of the Black community has made them so impatient that they are saying: We are not prepared to wait any longer; we do not want half a loaf, we want the whole bakery.

In this Year of the Cadre, let us sharpen and shorten our spears; let us prepare for the washing of the spear. Our embattled people say: No to the South African Defence Force, Yes to Umkhonto We Sizwe, the people's army.

Monopoly Capitalism, Racism and Mass Media in South Africa

By Pallo Jordan

"The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production, so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are on the whole subject to it."

Marx and Engels, *The German Ideology*.



November 1984 marked an important anniversary in the annals of the oppressed Black majority in South Africa. Though it was, by any standard one might employ, an historic event, it was not observed inside South Africa — not by the journalists, nor by the press. It was the centenary of the first secular newspaper in an indigenous African language, *Imvo Zabatsundu* (Black Opinion), whose first issue came off the press on November 3rd 1884. That the centenary of *Imvo* passed us by more or less unremarked inside South Africa testifies to the reverses press freedom has suffered over the last century, specifically with regard to the access the colonised and oppressed have to the media.

This article will be examining an important dimension of press freedom, the ownership and control of the press in South Africa, which has over the past century served no less than has action on the part of the White minority state to stifle a free press in our country.

No African Language Daily Paper

A casual reading of statistics on the press and radio in South Africa might well leave one with the impression of a country well-endowed with a variety of daily newspapers, periodicals magazines, radio and television programmes. This appearance would be reinforced if comparisons were made between South Africa and other countries in the developing world. With a population of approximately 30 million, South Africa boasts 22 daily newspapers — 15 of these printed in English and 6 in Afrikaans (Cape Dutch). There is not a single one in an African language. 20 weeklies come on to the streets every Sunday. Of these, 14 are in English, six are in Afrikaans. There are two bi-weeklies in the African languages.

The English language press enjoys by far the largest daily circulation, numbering some 949 033 copies on an average day. The circulation of Afrikaans newspapers is much smaller, some 187 745 copies per day.¹ Recent surveys indicate that something in the region of 63% of the adult White population purchases a daily newspaper. The equivalent figure amongst Blacks (Africans, Coloureds and Asians) is a minute 13.8%. The explanation for this startling discrepancy is the relatively low rate of literacy amongst Blacks, itself a result of the racist policy of apartheid, the gross racial bias of the South African dailies, and the price of newspapers.

It is evident from readership surveys that the English language press is more widely read, drawing readers from both the official language groups amongst Whites and almost

all the Black readers. The Afrikaans press on the other hand is read almost exclusively by the White Afrikaans-speaking community.

Weeklies in both official languages enjoy a wider circulation. Some 1 232 199 copies of English weeklies are sold, and approximately 525 742 Afrikaans weeklies. The additional leisure time available to readers probably accounts for the increase in numbers of people willing to buy papers at the week-end.

What these bald facts disguise and conceal are the meaningful facts that can be arrived at only by asking the following questions:

- What purposes do these mass media serve?
- Who controls and owns all these media?
- How much variety does this multiplicity of media in fact express?
- Do these media in fact assist in informing, imparting knowledge to and helping the average South African in understanding his country, the continent to which we belong, and the world we live in?

At present the South African newspaper industry is exclusively owned and controlled by Whites, and consequently reflects White attitudes and tastes. Even those newspapers aimed at a Black readership are in fact owned by Whites. With the exception of two religious weeklies published in Natal and one religious community paper published in Cape Town, there is not a single Black-owned newspaper in the country. The control and ownership of the press exactly replicates the existing distribution of economic and political power in our country. The White minority, which monopolises both political power and the land and wealth of South Africa, has effectively denied the Black majority access to this most powerful social instrument — the press.

The Voice of the Few

Ownership of the press is firmly in the hands of a few powerful capitalist monopolies. The South African press, more than any other in the world, can justifiably be described as the voice of the capitalist class.

But still the unwary observer could go away with the assumption that at least within the White community, who comprise 17% of the

total population, the variety of newspapers reflects a certain pluralism, a diversity of viewpoints and a healthy debate. This, too, is an extremely deceptive appearance.

The largest press monopoly is the Argus Group, which owns 14 newspapers, seven of which are dailies. It has 37 subsidiaries and associated companies attached to it. Every major South African city is 'blessed' with a daily produced by the Argus Group. These are:

- *The Star*, Johannesburg.
- *The Cape Argus*, Cape Town.
- *The Daily News*, Durban.
- *The Friend*, Bloemfontein.
- *The Diamond Fields Advertiser*, Kimberley.
- *The Pretoria News*, Pretoria.
- *The Sowetan*, Johannesburg.

The Argus group has nine directors, four of whom are nominated by the Mining-Finance houses. It is the largest shareholder in the Central News Agency (CNA), the principal distribution outlet in South Africa, and also has a controlling interest in the South African Press Association (SAPA), the official press agency. The largest investors in the Argus Group are set out in the table below:

TABLE I

Company	Percentage Holding
Standard Bank Nominees (Associated with JCI)	20.83
Argus Pension Fund	14.91
Standard Bank	10.05
South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN)	6.04
South African Mutual Insurance	6.53
CNA Investments	3.16
JCI Associated Companies Official Pension Fund	2.07
JCI Employees' Pension Fund	1.69
Anglo-American Corporation Pension Fund	1.18
Sharestock Nominees (Associated with AAC)	1.15
GEOC Nominees (Associated with Nedbank)	1.13
Barclay's National Nominees (Associated with AAC)	1.10
Liberty Life	1.09

Second to the Argus Group comes the South African Associated Newspapers Ltd (SAAN), which owned five newspapers before the *Rand Daily Mail* was closed down, and now owns four, and has ten subsidiaries and associated companies attached to it. It publishes:

- *The Cape Times*, Cape Town.
 - *The Evening Post*, Port Elizabeth.
 - *The Eastern Province Herald*,
Port Elizabeth.
 - *The Sunday Times*, Johannesburg
- and, until it was closed down in March 1985,
- *The Rand Daily Mail*, Johannesburg.

The SAAN and the Argus Group on close examination are seen to be an interlocking conglomerate. Three Argus directors sit on the board of the SAAN. The largest investors in the company are set out in Table II.

TABLE II

Company	Percentage Holding
Argus Group	39.39
Barclays National Nominees (Associated with AAC)	20.96
Baileys Nominees	8.21
Robinson & Co Ltd Sixty Six Marshall Street Nominees	4.10
Baronetcy Nominees	3.64
NED Equity Finance	3.44
Colonial Mutual Life	1.43
Mulholland	1.18

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company has for years been a self-conscious mouthpiece of the mining industry. Lindsay-Smith, an historian of the South African press, has written:



South African community newspapers

"It has been the policy of the greater part of the daily press, not omitting the Argus Group, that *ipso facto* whatever is best for the gold mines is best for South Africa as a whole ...

"Before the publication of any items bearing upon the mining industry, it has been the general policy of one group of newspapers to submit such items in question to the mining industry and, should they clash with mining policy, they are either scrapped or altered in such a way as to be inoffensive."²

The Afrikaans (Cape Dutch) language dailies are shared almost equally between two press giants, Nasionale Pers Beperk and Perskorporasie. Though the Afrikaans press started from small beginnings, with much of capital to finance it scraped together from the savings of the Afrikaans-speaking petit bourgeoisie, it has today evolved into a vast business empire. This section of the press has always been firmly linked with one or other faction within the ruling Nationalist Party, and amongst its directors can be counted a number of prominent politicians, including former cabinet ministers. P W Botha himself, until recently sat on the board of Nasionale Pers while a former Minister of Transport, B. Schoeman, has a seat on the board of Perskorporasie.

Perskorporasie owns five newspapers and has 53 subsidiaries and associated companies attached to it. Its base of operations is in the Transvaal province, where it publishes most of its papers. These are:

- *Die Vaderland*
- *Die Transvaler*
- *Hoofstad*, Pretoria
- *Die Nataler*
- *Rapport*

The controlling interest in Perskorporasie is the Dagbreek Trust Beperk, followed by Vaderland Beleggings. The corporation came about through the merger of two firms, Afrikaanse Pers and Voortrekker Pers. Available data indicates that the largest shareholders in Afrikaanse Pers were:

TABLE III

Company	Percentage Holding
Vaderland Beleggings	44.66
Dagbreek Trust Beperk	14.74
Murray & Roberts	
Staff Pension Fund	4.60
South African Mutual	.36
Barclays National Nominees	2.83
Liberty Life	.35
Standard Bank Nominees (Associated with JCI)	2.58
Sharestock Nominees	1.67
Volkskas Nominees	1.62

Nasionale Pers Beperk is based in the Cape Province and owns four Afrikaans dailies. It has recently acquired one newspaper and two magazines aimed at the Black community. There is not much data available on the actual distribution of shares within the company, but one may gain some insight into it by looking at the associations of its board of directors.

TABLE IV

Board of Directors of Nasionale Pers Beperk

Director	Other Companies Associated With
P J Cillie (Chairman)	
P L La Grange	SANLAM
D P De Villiers	Chairman of SASOL (State-owned oil corporation)
A D Wassenaar	Gencor, Federale Mynbou, Federale Volksbeleggings
J H Malherbe	
M J de Vries (Advocate)	Founder member Urban Foundation.
D P de Villiers	

Nasionale Pers owns the following newspapers:

- *Die Burger*
- *Oosterlig*
- *Die Volksblad*
- *Die Beeld*
- *City Press*, a recently acquired 'Black' newspaper.

In addition to these, there are 18 subsidiaries and associated companies attached to the company.

Unlike its English language counterparts, the Afrikaans press has always been unequivocally partisan, making no pretence of being an impartial courier of news. Before the recent split in the ranks of the ruling Nationalist Party, both the Perskorporasie and Nasionale Pers papers were virtual house organs of that party.

Broadcasting

Until 1977, the state-owned South African Broadcasting Corporation had a total monopoly over the air waves in South Africa. Since that time two independent radio stations, controlled by the major press companies, have begun broadcasting.

The SABC broadcasts in the two official languages, English and Afrikaans, plus seven African languages, on its internal service. Its international service, Radio RSA, broadcasts in English, French, German, Portuguese, Swahili, Tsonga, Bemba, Ndebele, Shona and Lozi. Since 1948 the chairmanship of the SABC has been an explicitly political appointment. Consequently, the service has become an unashamed propaganda outlet for the ruling Nationalist Party.

Surveys indicate that 97% of the White population has access to radio.

The comparable figures for the Black population are as follows: Coloureds — 87%, Asians — 89% Africans — 65%.

The South African television service is less than ten years old and the majority of its audience is White. Poverty, the absence of electricity in the Black areas and a lack of interest in the programme content has thus far limited Black audiences to approximately 40% of the total TV audience.

60% of SATV viewing time is taken up by locally produced material, broadcast in English and Afrikaans on alternating days. A second TV channel in the African languages is almost completely dominated by locally produced material. The effects of state censorship, the narrow-minded puritanism of its governing body, have made for a rather stodgy fare of tame 'family entertainment.' As a result when the puppet government of BophuthaTswana decided to set up its own studios, thousands of TV viewers in the Transvaal province (which surrounds the greater part of BophuthaTswana 'territory') adapted their sets to receive its signal.

Content and Policies

On reading a South African newspaper (with the obvious exception of the Black-orientated papers) one is immediately struck by an anomaly. In a country where the White population make up 17% of the total population, one could easily gain the impression that the opposite was the case, from the evidence of the press. The South African media faithfully reflect the dominant interests that control it. The reference point of all articles is the Whites. This is also greatly assisted by dominance of Whites in the profession of journalism. At present there is one White journalist to every 1 171 head of population and one Black journalist to every 51 961 head of population. This disproportionate representation of Whites is the result of state policy, which deliberately restricts Black opportunities for education, and the racist employment practices of the White-owned press, where Black journalists are the last hired and first fired.

Monopoly capitalist control over the media, compounded by racist policies, has effectively deprived the Black majority of any access to the mass media. All the formerly Black-owned newspapers — like *Imvo Zabantsundu* and *Ilanga Lase Natal* — are now the African language house organs of White monopolies. The smaller Black-owned papers have all disappeared over the past 100 years.⁴ The internal information order in South Africa thus reflects and underlines the political relationship between White and Black, that we have

previously characterised as colonialism of a special type.

Using the Whites as its reference point, the South African press inevitably has cast the conflicts that divide South Africa in terms acceptable to the Whites. all the major newspapers (again with the exception of those aimed at a Black audience) are committed to White domination. As the basic causes which divided White South Africans recede into the past, and, in response to the racist regime's new strategy for survival, there has begun to emerge a consensus on the need to preserve the basic structures of White domination against the onslaughts of the liberation forces.

Advertising Revenues

In all capitalist countries advertising revenues can make or break a newspaper. Few editors and newspaper publishers are willing to risk the loss of such revenues by offending the powerful business interests on which their papers depend. The most recent available figures indicate that 38% of South Africa's advertising revenues goes into newspapers; 12% goes into radio, and TV has already begun to attract an ever-growing slice. The business elite has not been loth to exercise this inordinate power to whip newspapers and their editors into line. During 1980, the liberal editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* was sacked



A child newspaper seller at five o'clock on a winter morning

because the directors of SAAN claimed the paper was losing money under his stewardship. He was replaced by Tertius Myburgh, a man more committed to the broad direction of state policy and supportive of views held in the boardroom of SAAN.

There is a great deal of formal co-operation between the White racist state and the press, despite differences on a number of peripheral issues. This began in 1961 when the Newspapers Press Union, the association of the publishing companies, decided to set up a "Board of Reference," that imposed a regime of self-censorship on the press to save the regime the embarrassment of having to legislate. In 1968 the Board of References adopted the name South African Press Council. In recognition of such co-operation the racist regime has consistently exempted members of the Press Council from the more odious provision of its censorship laws.

The South African Press Council consists of three members, who serve a three-year term. Its chairman must be a retired judge and the additional two members are appointees of the newspaper proprietors. Its task is to administer a Code of Conduct, drawn up by the proprietors, to which all participant newspapers voluntarily adhere. After ten years of opposition to the Press Council and its Code of Conduct, in 1971 the South African Society of Journalists (at the time an all-White body) capitulated and recognised both.

The Press and the Police

A second level of co-operation between state and press was negotiated with the South African Police in 1964. The agreement reached at the end of these negotiations committed the press to:

- submit to the police any information concerning a crime or State security which the press obtained independently of the police — that is, to become police informers;
- to accept the right of the police to advise the press about the publication or non-publication of sensitive information relating to state security;
- to divulge to the Commissioner of Police

the identity of any police officer whose words have been quoted by the press, even after undertakings of confidentiality.

The third level of co-operation is a less formal arrangement, whereby the Central News Agency, the distribution chain dominated by the Argus Group, ensures that no publications or articles offensive to the racist regime appear on its shelves. To fulfil its side of this bargain, the CNA regularly excises portions of foreign newspapers and other publications, and refuses to handle any journals that may offend the sensibilities of Pretoria.

Despite all these, the Pretoria regime has still found it necessary to pass stringent censorship laws to protect itself and its repressive agencies from exposure and criticism. The supine attitude assumed by the monopoly-controlled press, far from discouraging further repression, has given the racist regime *carte blanche* to act with absolute impunity in the full knowledge that it will meet no resistance.

Monopoly control and ownership of the press correlate directly with the system of White domination and exploitation. The prerequisite for a truly free press to emerge in South Africa is the destruction of both the racist state and the economic interests it serves.

Inside South Africa itself, we have already opened up the vital second front of the battle. Under the inspiration of the victories registered by the liberation forces of our region during the last decade and the growing momentum of the mass political struggles and armed actions of the ANC inside our country, the democratic forces inside South Africa have launched a number of organs of democratic opinion. These take the form of community newspapers, the trade union press, student publications and even video tapes and film. There are at present at least 15 community newspapers, distributed in various urban centres. The democratic trade union press, numbering about six irregularly produced newspapers, also forms part of this alternative media for democracy. The students publish a number of small, yet very informative, newspapers which continue to appear despite constant harassment by the state.³

Seedlings of the Future

The democratic press, which has grown out of the mass movement, is complemented by the underground media of the ANC and its allies. Despite the hazards of underground distribution, it is evident from any source one may consult that the ANC's voice is heard loud and clear in South Africa and that that voice commands authority amongst millions of South Africans of all races. •

These are the seedlings of a future non-monopoly press, dedicated to serving the cause of the people, social progress and peace. For these seedlings to grow into maturity requires the overthrow of the apartheid regime, the uprooting of the colonial structures on which it rests and the re-ordering of economy so that it serves the people rather than a handful of monopolists. This will be the greatest single contribution that the ANC and the South African people can make to the emergence of a new regional information order.

Only under a people's government, based on the principles enshrined in the Freedom Charter, will the stifling grip of racism and monopoly interest on the South African media

be broken. Such a democratic state will ensure that:

The Doors of Learning and Culture Shall be Open to All.

References:

1. Audit Bureau of Circulation Figures, published in *The Financial Mail* of 17th February 1985.

2. Lindsay-Smith, *The Press in South Africa*.

3. At present, these are some of the democratic papers produced in South Africa: *The Eye*, Pretoria; *Speak*, Johannesburg; *Ukusa*, Durban; *Grassroots*, Cape Town; *Umtshonyama*, Eastern Cape; *Spiked*; *Ilizwe laseRhini*, Grahamstown; *Izwi laseTownship*, Johannesburg; *UDF National News*; *Muslim News*, Cape Town; *UDF Regional News*; *JODAC News*, Johannesburg; *Saamstaan*, Western Cape; *Civic News*, Cape Town; *CAHAC Speak*, Cape Town; *Lansdowne Speaks*, Cape Town. All these are community newspapers. There are at least seven student publications and six trade union papers. All tables based on Robin McGregor, *McGregor's Who Owns Whom*, second edition, 1982.



Black Sash protest against the closure of two newspapers by the regime in 1980

THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION AND PEACE

By Bribri

On May 8th, 1945, in Berlin, representatives of the Nazi high command signed the act of unconditional surrender, and within a few days the long agony of the war in Europe came to an end. On September 2nd, 1945, representatives of the Japanese high command also signed the act of unconditional surrender, and the Second World War was over. It was a war which began on September 1st, 1939, when Hitler's forces launched an unprovoked attack on Poland. Within a few days Britain and France had declared war on Germany, being bound by a promise to come to the aid of Poland if she was attacked.

At that stage neither the Soviet Union nor the United States was involved. But having occupied most of Europe, on the morning of June 22nd, 1941, Hitler hurled 190 divisions across the border with the Soviet Union, confident of obtaining victory before the end of the year.

On December 7th, 1941, Japan, which had signed an anti-Comintern pact with Nazi Germany in 1936, launched a surprise air attack on the US naval base at Pearl Harbour, bringing the United States into the war. Italy was involved from 1940 by virtue of her adherence to the anti-Comintern pact in 1937.

In essence the origins of the Second World War are to be found in the policies of imperialism, which had been striving with might and main ever since 1917 to wipe out the gains of the Russian Revolution and preserve the world under capitalist domination. When socialism threatened to take over Germany in the early thirties, the German capitalists and their foreign friends — the bourgeoisie of the US, France and Britain — built up the Nazi Party of Adolf Hitler as a force for the 'defence of the free world against communism.'

Hitler's advent to power in 1933 opened up an era not only of savage repression against all progressive forces in Germany but also of aggression directed against the independent states of Europe.

Nazism: Naked Chauvinism

Hitler's appeal to the German people was based on naked chauvinism and racist extremism in terms of which the people of so-called Aryan origin were proclaimed the 'master-race' and all 'lesser breeds' destined for subjugation or, in the case of Jews, Communists, gipsies, homosexuals and other non-conformist elements, including anti-fascist activists, forced labour and death in the notorious concentration camps. The western powers watched Hitler's actions in silence, believing his promise that his ultimate aim was to march against the Soviet Union and wipe the 'scourge of communism' from the face of the earth.

Austria and Czechoslovakia were swallowed up with hardly a murmur of protest from Britain, France or the US. When it was Poland's turn, the western allies still refused to join with the Soviet Union in taking firm action to halt Hitler in his tracks, something well within their combined capacity at that stage.

Throughout the 1930s the Soviet Union had been calling for collective security measures to halt the spread of fascism in the world. It was not only Hitler who was on the rampage. In 1936 the fascist Franco launched his counter-revolutionary attack on the democratically elected republican government of Spain, while in the same year Italy under Mussolini completed the conquest and annexation of Abyssinia. In July 1937 Japan invaded northern China, beginning a process of con-

quest which ultimately brought under her control the territories of Malaya, Burma, Indonesia, the Philippines and other territories totalling in all 3.8 million square kilometres, with a population of 150 million.

Faced with a war on two fronts, and with the western powers unwilling to enter into any binding agreement, the Soviet Union in August 1939 signed a ten-year non-aggression pact with Germany. It did not last ten years, but it gave the Soviet Union nearly two years in which to strengthen its economy and its defence in preparation for the war she realised was inevitable.

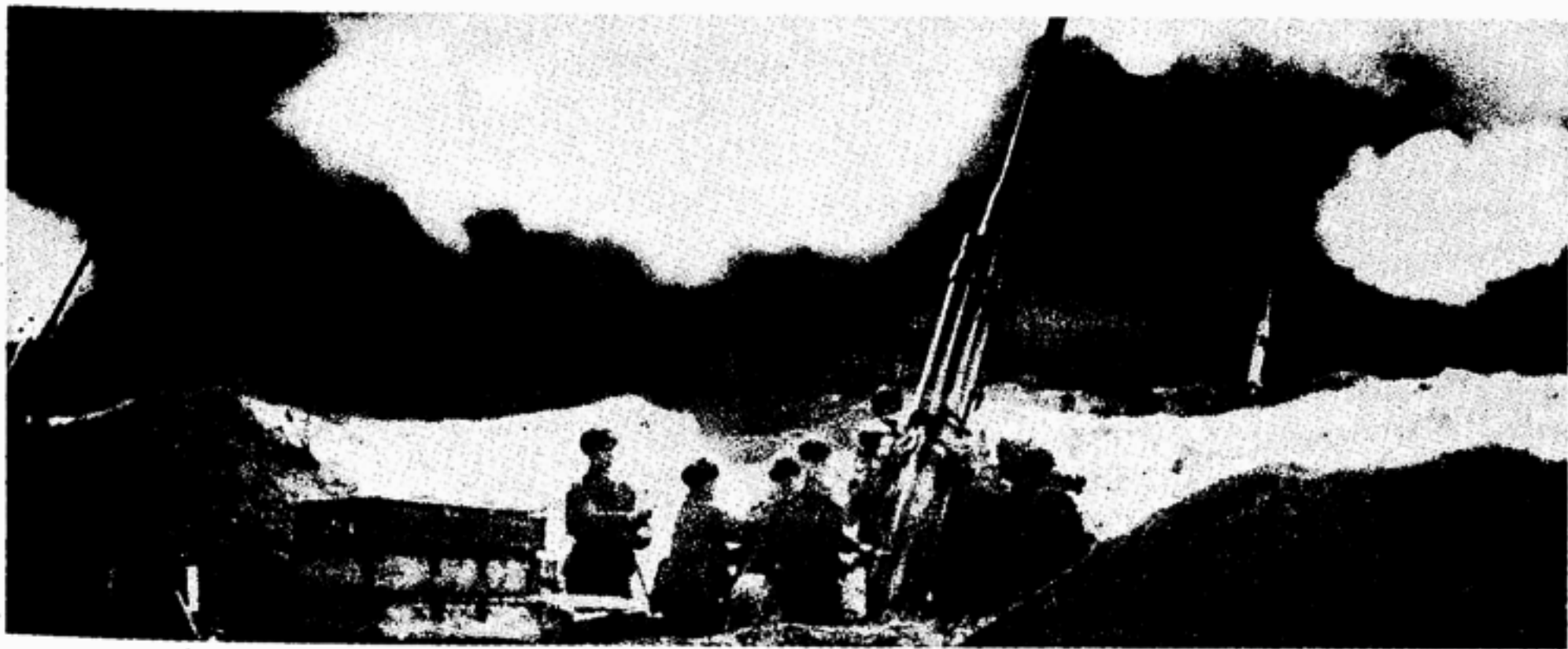
Fascist Offensive in the West

The Soviet-German non-aggression pact gave the western powers their first inkling that Hitler could not be trusted to turn east, and had now instead secured his rear in preparation for an offensive against the west. Thus, when Hitler attacked Poland, instead of remaining passive, as they had done hitherto, Britain and France were forced to declare war, realising that their own vital interests were at stake. Thus were the fascist and imperialist powers caught out by their own devious stratagems. Thus had the policies of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism led directly to war, even if it was not the war they wanted.

The perfidy of the fascist powers eventually brought the Soviet Union and the United States into the war on the side of Britain and

France, and the grand coalition was created which eventually led to the defeat of the forces of fascism in Europe and Asia. But even in the conduct of the war, the strain of anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism, though muted, was by no means eliminated from western thinking. Most of the fighting against Hitler's forces was left to the Red Army, and the western powers delayed the opening of the second front in Europe until the last possible moment.

The story is graphically told in figures. Of the 50 million people who were killed in the Second World War, 20 million were Soviet citizens. During their invasion of Soviet territory the Nazis destroyed 1 740 towns and cities and 70 000 villages, leaving ashes and rubble in their wake. 25 million people were made homeless and the economy and infrastructure of the western Soviet territories were totally wrecked. The cost of the war in money terms was two and a half trillion roubles. By contrast, the United States made a profit of 52 billion dollars from the war, and lost only 340 000 soldiers, while not a bomb fell on the American mainland. The Soviet armed forces destroyed 507 German divisions plus 100 divisions belonging to Hitler's allies, while the remaining western allies between them destroyed no more than 176 divisions. Germany lost ten million men on the 'Russian front' — three-quarters of its total losses in the Second World War.



The Soviet Union built up its military power during the war.



Soviet dead in the 1939-45 war

The Role of the Soviet Union

One makes these comparisons today because there are forces in the west which have consistently tried to play down the Soviet contribution to victory in World War Two. It has not gone unnoticed that while the western powers were eager to commemorate the 40th anniversary of the landing of the allied forces under General Eisenhower in Normandy on June 6th, 1944, they were by no means so enthusiastic about commemorating VE day on May 8th this year. The Normandy landing was, after all, a purely western operation, while of VE day it would be necessary to say something nice about the role of the Soviet Union. Britain's Margaret Thatcher at first planned to do nothing about May 8th, but was eventually forced to revise her plans because of widespread public protest, especially from those who took part in the war and were not prepared to forget the gigantic battles of Stalingrad, Moscow, Kursk and Leningrad and so

many others in which the Red Army, to use Churchill's phrase, "tore the guts" out of Hitler's armies.

Nor is it possible to avoid thinking that had the Americans, for example, suffered on their own territory anything comparable to the losses of the Soviet people during World War Two, their whole approach to the problems of war and disarmament would be totally different today. In the American consciousness, wars are things that happen somewhere else. The whole 'Star Wars' concept of President 'Strangelove' Reagan is based on the same misconception — that America can be protected from damage even though Europe is burnt up in a nuclear holocaust. Hitler suffered from similar delusions of invulnerability, but was eventually forced to commit suicide in his Berlin bunker. There is no bunker deep enough to save Reagan and Weinberger should they ever choose to press the nuclear button.

Pretoria Friendly to Reagan

For us in South Africa the war has a special significance. Speaking on television shortly after coming to office, Reagan called South Africa a "friendly country" and asked:

"Can we abandon a country that has stood beside us in every war we've fought?"

The Nationalist Party that at present rules South Africa did not, of course, stand beside the allies in the last war. On the contrary, it sided with the enemy, for reasons partly opportunistic and partly ideological. The Nationalist Party hoped that a Hitler victory would open the road to the conquest of power or at least the re-establishment of the Boer republics. The Nationalist Party was also deeply penetrated by the racist theories of the Hitlerites.

"The whole future of Afrikanerdom is dependent upon a German victory,"

said B J Schoeman, then Nationalist Party MP for Fordsburg and later Minister of Transport in the Nationalist Government. And B J Vorster, then a 'general' in the underground Ossewa Brandwag, later Prime Minister and President, said in 1942:

"We stand for Christian Nationalism which is an ally of National Socialism. You can call this anti-democratic principle dictatorship if you wish. In Italy it is called Fascism, in Germany German National Socialism, and in South Africa Christian Nationalism."

Vorster was interned for his anti-war activities, the Ossewa Brandwag being involved in all manner of sabotage and other undermining activities directed against the war effort. Hitler's theories of 'race purity' in terms of which Blacks were regarded as sub-human found a ready response in the ranks of the Nationalist Party.

However, it was not as if the Smuts Government, which came into office following the debate on the war in the House of Assembly on September 4th 1939, was free of the taint of racism.

South African Black Opinion

Qualified support for the war effort was given by the Executive Committee of the African National Congress in a statement issued on September 6th 1939. The ANC said it would support the war on condition that:

1. The Government gave "military training whereby our men shall not only be used as labourers but as soldiers," and
2. "The African people are included in the South African Body Politic and Defence Schemes."

At a meeting in Cape Town during September the Non-European United Front (NEUF), of which Mrs Cissie Gool was President and Communist Party General Secretary Moses Kotane was Secretary, passed unanimously the following resolution:

"The Non-European United Front of South Africa, realising the danger of Fascism and Nazism to the rights and liberties of the Non-Europeans of South Africa, reaffirms its determination to fight against Fascism.

"It states that the danger of Fascism in South Africa arises primarily from the fact that the majority of the people of South Africa, namely Africans, Coloured and Indians, are deprived of the elementary rights of free citizenship, and that the only effective way of defeating Fascism in South Africa is by giving the people the broadest democratic rights, based on equal rights for all, irrespective of race, colour or creed."

At the Cape conference of the NEUF towards the end of the year a resolution was moved:

"that the Government grant the Non-Europeans the right to bear arms and fight on an equal basis with Europeans ... only when we are granted definite democratic rights will we be prepared to defend the country."

At the outset of the war the Communist Party opposed participation on the grounds that the war was a struggle between rival imperialist powers, but, after Hitler's attack on the Soviet Union, declared that the whole character of the

war had been changed and called on the people to stand by the world's first socialist state. At the same time the Party's Central Committee declared:

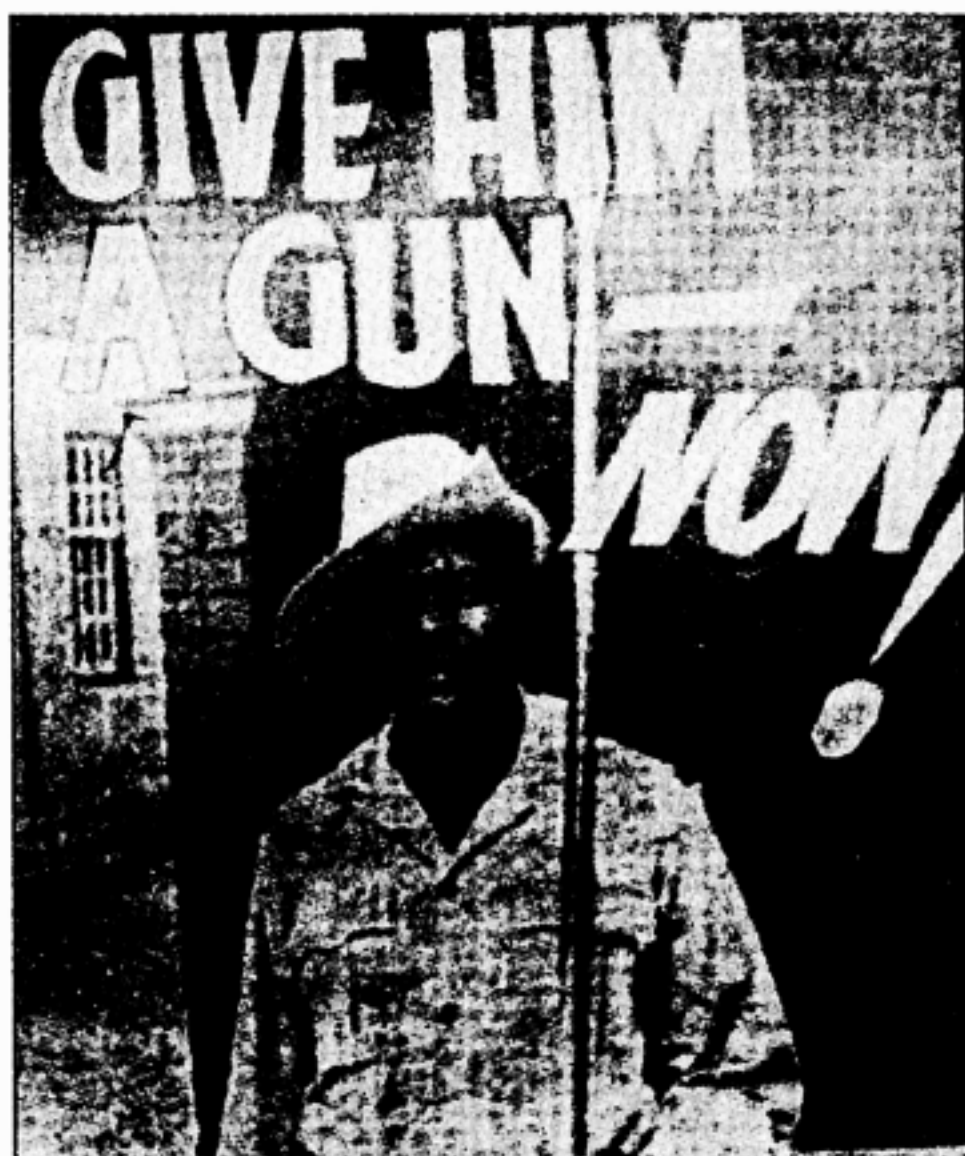
"A democratic Government is a Government that maintains and extends rights to ALL its people. Only when the people of South Africa have been assured by the Government's practical actions of the sincerity of its claim to fight for democracy can they give it their full support in the prosecution of the war ... The Communist Party therefore calls upon all workers, friends of democracy and oppressed people to redouble their efforts to organise themselves in their struggle for rights and liberties and social justice. The successful struggle for workers' rights is the only means of ensuring victory over Fascism in South Africa and Europe."

In South Africa's volunteer army, nearly 37% of South African field strength in February 1943 was Black — a total of 122 254 men — and by the end of the war a total of 80 479 men had been recruited into the Native Military Corps, but the Blacks were armed only with assegais and knobkerries and were allowed to serve only as guards, batmen, latrine diggers, cooks and waiters and later as drivers, despatch riders, stretcher bearers, medical aides, clerks and typists. The highest rank to which members of the Cape Corps could aspire was warrant officer first class, while Africans could only rise to the rank of staff sergeant. However, some Blacks, mainly Coloureds, were trained to use firearms and to handle anti-aircraft weapons, and many fought in the Middle East.

Racists Feared Weapons in Black Hands

The White racists were afraid to arm the Blacks *en masse* because they feared the weapons might be turned against them. Nevertheless, Blacks saw service in all the theatres of war and many suffered the consequences. The official figures were:

	Coloured	African
Killed	1 091	1 519
Wounded	472	770
Prisoner of War	627	1 753



A wartime leaflet, part of the campaign for Black soldiers' right to bear arms

A report in the Johannesburg *Star* in November 1977, however, listed a total of 3 153 Blacks killed.

These figures can be compared with those for the First World War, in which 5 635 'Non-Europeans' lost their lives, including 450 officers and men of the First Cape Corps, while 600 Africans were drowned when the Mendi sank in the English Channel. By contrast, only 770 Afrikaans-speaking Whites were killed in World War One, and 7 544 English-speaking Whites. Altogether, it makes one wonder at the impudence of President P W Botha in presuming to honour the dead of two world wars during his visit to France in June last year.

The War Was Not Fought in Vain

One of the aims of the Yalta and Potsdam agreements towards the end of World War Two was to ensure that the evils of Nazism and Fascism were totally eradicated and never allowed to reappear in human society. With the Nationalist Party still in power in South Africa, and fascists like Chile's Pinochet and the like propped up by western bayonets in various parts of the world, it cannot be said that this war aim has been achieved.

Was the war, then, fought in vain? By no means. Had Hitler won the war, the whole world would have been enslaved. Through the allied victory, the socialist sector of the world was preserved and strengthened, the boundaries of imperialism were pushed backward, and in the immediate post-war period, colony after colony was able to achieve independence. The whole balance of forces in the international field was shifted in favour of the common people, the masses of workers and peasants.

But now once again the world is threatened by the agents of imperialism and neo-colonialism, desperately trying to shore up the

remaining bastions of capitalism, threatening the world with the catastrophe of a nuclear holocaust, once again resorting to anti-Communism and anti-Sovietism as a cover for internal repression and external aggression. Remembering the sacrifices made during World War Two, and studying again the origin and development of the conflict, progressives everywhere — and that includes all members of our liberation movement — must stand by their friends and natural allies in the struggle for peace and social progress. The fight against war and the fight for national liberation are inextricably linked.



Moscow: The people of the Soviet Union demonstrate for peace.

THE COURTS: INSTRUMENTS OF INJUSTICE

Political Trials in 1985

Between 90 and 100 trials arising from the protest and resistance of the people have so far been tabled for 1985; some have already taken place and some are still in progress. The following is a brief account of these trials, and the approximate numbers of people involved.

The trials are taking place in the following 39 places: Athlone, Atteridgeville, Belville, Brakpan, BophuthaTswana, Cradock, Durban, East London, Evander, Germiston, Graaff-Reinet, Harrismith, Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Kimberley, Langa, Mdantsane, Middelburg

(Transvaal), Newcastle, Nigel, Oudtshoorn,

Pietermaritzburg, Pietersburg, Port Elizabeth, Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Protea, Queenstown, Seshego, Simonstown, Springs, Tzaneen, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Worcester, Wynberg, Zeerust, Zwelitsha.

CHARGES:

Treason: 2 trials, involving 30 accused (and at the time of our going to press there is news of a third trial, involving 18 people, in Johannesburg).

Subversion: 4 trials, 10 accused.

Charges of 'terrorism' and of contravening the Internal Security Act are generally combined with other charges, but some trials are for 'terrorism' alone, or contravention of the IS Act alone.

'Terrorism': 6 trials, 6 accused.

Internal Security Act: 4 trials, 6 accused.

BophuthaTswana Internal Security Act: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Illegal gatherings and demonstrations: 20 trials, 392 accused altogether.

Public violence: 26 trials, 326 accused.

Malicious damage to property: 3 trials, 6 accused.

Banned literature: 10 trials, 11 accused.

Furthering the aims of banned organisations, such as the ANC and (in the Ciskei) the South African Allied Workers' Union: 13 trials, involving 19 accused (of these, 9 trials and 11 accused are concerned with furthering the aims of the ANC).

Intimidation: 8 trials, 21 accused.

Murder and attempted murder: 3 trials, 5 accused.

Assault: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Possession of a firearm: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Contravening the Police Act: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Trespassing: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Entering a Black township without a permit: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Breaking a banning order: 1 trial, 1 accused.

Quoting a listed person: 1 trial, 2 accused.

Charges unknown or undisclosed at the time of our going to press:

6 trials, 57 accused.



The 14 accused in the Johannesburg treason trial are driven away from the court in a Casspir armoured car



Supporters salute the accused as they are driven past

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ANC INTERNATIONAL

EUROPEAN SUPPORT FOR OIL BOYCOTT

There has been a good response in many European capitals to the appeal, which the ANC and SWAPO made jointly in March, for support for the oil boycott.

The recently formed Association of West European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid (AWEPA) has called on its members to respond to the appeal, and the question of legislation enforcing the embargo is being raised in a number of West European parliaments.

Companies from the list issued by the ANC and SWAPO are the targets for action by anti-apartheid movements and trade unions.

Denmark

The transport of oil, disinvestment and the transfer of oil technology featured in a debate in the Danish Parliament in March. Danish political parties and churches and the Danish seamen's union supported a call for action. A resolution to prevent Scandinavian tankers from going to South Africa will now be discussed by the Scandinavian Foreign Ministers

France

In France, questions are being asked about the direct involvement of CFP, which has government-appointed directors on its board.

Norway

In Norway, there is a call for specific action against the shipping companies Thor Dahl and Sig Bergesen, who are transporting embargoed crude oil to South Africa.

The Netherlands

The Komitee Zuidelijk Afrika in the Netherlands is pressing for legislation enforcing the boycott. A symbolic oil tanker was burned in a demonstration outside the buildings of Transworld Oil, the company of John Deuss, and placards read: "Deuss' Oil Oils Apartheid." There were also demonstrations outside the premises of Vitol and Shell.

Spain

In Spain, where crude oil is known to have been transhipped to South Africa, meetings have been held with maritime unions in Bilbao and Barcelona. Parliamentarians have been urged to consider legislation, and safeguards to ensure that the embargo is not broken.

Stickers used in the campaign bore the slogans: "Apartheid will set fire to Africa: don't supply the petrol," and "Petrol moves the apartheid machine: cut the supply."

Switzerland

The Swiss Anti-Apartheid Movement issued a press statement pointing out that Swiss banks are involved in providing the regime in Pretoria with the resources to buy oil. It called on the people of Switzerland to show their solidarity with the people of Namibia and South Africa, by putting pressure on the Swiss government to take appropriate action.

United Kingdom

The British Anti-Apartheid Movement is campaigning for regulations making it illegal to deliver North Sea oil directly or indirectly from the British section of the North Sea to South Africa.

FRIENDS AND ALLIES

We give here extracts from some of the letters we have received in the *Sechaba* office in the past few months.

From Nigeria, a supporter writes:

"I wish you people, the Black majority of South Africa, success in your just struggling to self determination ...

... thanks for the *Sechaba* and other materials I have been receiving. I have made it a duty too to spread the materials to many here, so that the evil of Apartheid, Imperialism, Racism, championed by the US, Britain, Israel and other NATO nations, be ever condemned."

Another, also from Nigeria, writes:

"I am now fully appreciative of the activities of the African National Congress to expose that obnoxious apartheid regime ... The ANC has a tremendous, herculean task, which calls for all our attention and all our brains. I wish you the best in your struggle."

A third correspondent from Nigeria has written two letters, from which we give extracts:

"Please keep sending me *Sechaba* as usual. Very much in solidarity with the people of South Africa under the banner of ANC, SWAPO of Namibia, Front Line States and the oppressed people all over the world.

"Wishing you the best in your just struggle for self-determination ...

"Enclosed too my widow's mite of three international reply coupons as a donation to the ANC of South Africa. Hope it will help in any way possible."

This is part of a letter from Dar es Salaam in Tanzania:

"The journal as published by your organisation will be very useful for our staff members and students as well. My staff

members and students will be aware about what has been actually happening in South Africa and the role played by the ANC to counteract the oppression ... We have full support for the National Congress South Africa; please supply us more literature, especially the revolutionary life of Nelson Mandela and others ..."

Another letter comes from a student in Exeter in Britain:

"Back at home ... South African and Namibian students ... introduced the African National Congress to me and I feel as an African I share the problems. It is my duty to help in whatever way possible."

An 18-year-old girl in Detroit, Michigan in the United States writes:

"With all the talk ... there still isn't enough being done to help. I feel stripped of my dignity whenever I read about the degrading way my people are being treated in their own land. I feel myself hating the American government for not doing more, and Reagan for easing sanctions on South Africa and continuing to trade. I would very much like to help."

Another letter comes from the United People's Movement in the Caribbean country of St Vincent and the Grenadines:

"We have been following with great interest the developments of your struggles against the inhuman apartheid regime and particularly the intensification of the struggles ... against the farcical apartheid constitution.

"Let us here express our fullest solidarity with the courageous workers, youth, students, women and people of South Africa generally and our unreserved support for the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe."

TO NELSON MANDELA

*The tree has not borne fruit
But the branches are sprouting
Can you not see!
Can you not hear!*

*You cannot see
How can you?
Behind those high walls
The high fences
The watchful guards
The malignant system*

*You can not hear
How can you not
Those thunderous voices
Screaming in pain and enthusiastic
anger
The thunder*

*It is not a dream
Voices heard are angry
With your spirit
Entangled with theirs
in immortal combat*

*The tree has not borne fruit
But the branches are sprouting
To bear fruit
Where you are chained*

Nelson Mandela

Munyonzwe Hamalenga



The people gathered at Jabulani to hear Zinzi Mandela read her father's statement in February, 1985

ANC STATEMENT



OIL FUELS APARTHEID



Oil is the one resource South Africa does not have. Without imported oil, the regime's occupation army in Namibia, its aggressive capacity in southern Africa, and its repressive and military machine inside Namibia and South Africa would be slowed down. The already overburdened economy would be unable to cope effectively with the costs of implementing apartheid policies and defending itself against popular resistance.

The Pretoria regime has attempted to obscure the issues and imply that it no longer has cause to fear an oil embargo: it is able to produce oil from coal and make clandestine purchases of embargoed oil through bribery and dubious connections. There has also been a systematic attempt to exaggerate the significance of the 'finds' of oil in off-shore exploration.

The true picture is a very different one. Despite an outlay of billions of dollars of capital and a recurring annual cost of over US\$1 990-million, which exceeds the military budget allocation for 1984, South Africa remains dependent on the import of crude oil for over 60% of its needs. It continues, and has cause, to fear an oil embargo.

This was confirmed in June 1984 in a confidential report to a Parliamentary Select Committee by the South African Advocate General who was investigating allegations of corruption in the purchase of oil. He states:

"Everybody is acutely aware of the extremely sensitive nature of the information concerning South Africa's crude oil purchases and although the crude oil market has now to a large extent turned into a buyers' market **this has not reduced South Africa's economic and even military vulnerability** in this sphere. As must be clear from the current events in the Persian Gulf an over-supply of crude oil can change overnight into a critical shortage."

(Section 9.12 — our emphasis)

The regime has invested more than ten billion dollars in the construction of oil-from-coal plants (Sasol 1, 2 and 3) and associated facilities in its efforts to reduce dependence on external sources. These plants are expensive, inefficient and incapable of bringing self-sufficiency. The Chairman of the South African Manganese Corporation, Dr J P Kearney, told a scientific research conference in July 1980 that:

"although Sasol is the only oil-from-coal process presently in commercial operation, it is still wasteful and inefficient when judged by energy conversion standards".

The regime has boasted of its immunity from an oil embargo, as did the former Director of the Strategic Fuel Fund Dr D F Mostert in August 1984:

"Today I can say that we cannot be blackmailed any more due to Sasol 2 and Sasol 3 which have come on stream."

It is ironic that the international audience he tried to deceive had come to Johannesburg to discuss maritime fraud, including the case of the *Salem*.

Dr Mostert's statement was not true. Last year the production of the three plants together was in the region of 85 000 barrels per day. If there are no further technical hitches and the Sasol plants are brought to full capacity, they would still only be able to meet 37% of the country's 1981 liquid fuel consumption. The proportion is considerably lower, once one takes into account increases in consumer demand, the escalating military needs arising from the regime's war against the people in the black townships, together with its military escalation in Namibia, the continued occupation of Angola and the maintenance of an overall aggressive stance in the region.

The figure of over 60% dependence on imports represents an irreducible minimum. Over the last few years the regime has pursued policies to dampen the rate at which consumption has expanded and has channelled energy use to coal of which it has enormous reserves. The use of oil is now concentrated in those areas where it is not possible to replace it with other forms of energy. As a result there is little room for further economies and a reduction of supplies due to a strengthening of the oil embargo will have an immediate impact.

The already overstretched economy cannot build enough additional capacity to achieve self-sufficiency. Present plans provide for an increase of only 6% in the capacity of the Sasol plants by 1987. An additional investment of US\$16 — 20 000-million by 1995 would be required to bring the country to about 70% self sufficiency and thereafter the country would have to build one new plant every three years. (*Financial Mail Energy Survey*, March 1982)

Paying for the attempted survival of the apartheid system has brought the economy to crisis. Foreign debt is in excess of US\$17 000-million in 1984 representing 30% of GDP. Two thirds of the foreign debt is due to be repaid in 1985. In the past South Africa rolled over most of its debts, but with the growing international pressure for disinvestment

and the evident political instability in the country, new loans are more difficult to come by. The South African Reserve Bank is swapping gold to buttress a plummeting Rand, and in the first month of this year the gold content of the reserves dropped from 92% to 78%, with a further decline in February.

The South African economy clearly cannot make the necessary investment in further oil-from-coal plants from domestic sources. The regime has indicated that this area will be left to private enterprise, which will no doubt seek foreign collaborators.

The African National Congress and SWAPO of Namibia emphasise that an essential aspect of the oil embargo is the ending of all financial, technical or material collaboration with any aspect of apartheid South Africa's petroleum industry.

Drilling For Oil

The Pretoria regime has spent a lot of money and effort in exploring for oil on land and off shore. Many alleged 'finds' have been announced with great fanfare only to sink into total obscurity thereafter, leading the *Wall Street Journal* (23.12.80) to comment:

"They (South Africa) are inclined to get excited about any possible discovery".

In December 1984, contracts were awarded for feasibility studies on the most promising find in South African waters off Mossel Bay. The US firm of Foster Wheeler will be collaborating on the on shore plant while John Brown of the Clyde will be involved in the off-shore study.

The two fields to be investigated lie 70km and 58km off shore and at depths of 110m and 94m of water. A gas production of 4.25 million standard cubic metres is targeted to produce 20 000 barrels per day of liquid fuels such as gasoline and diesel for a period of 20 years.

Preliminary cost estimates indicate that the total development (two off-shore platforms, pipelines and on-shore processing plant) will cost in excess of US\$1 350-million over eight years. The cost data source is *UK North Sea* (July 1984) and could well increase by 30% for the South African location. Given the South

African locale and the synthetic process to be used, the costs of the on-shore and off-shore facilities combined would be over \$2-billion.

Like the Sasol plants the Mossel Bay project is not being assessed in terms of its commercial viability but instead on its possible contribution to the preservation of apartheid regardless of the cost to the South African people.

International collaboration in the Mossel Bay project will provide cover for the transfer of vital technology to South Africa, thus facilitating the proposed development and exploitation of the much larger 'Kudu' field in Namibian waters. Companies who collaborate in exploiting these Namibian assets will be further violating Decree No 1.

Who Are Pretoria's Friends and Partners?

"The struggle against boycotts is by no means over. United Nations attempts to prevent crude oil deliveries to South Africa continue. Any relaxation in respect of secrecy can help to spotlight the target and enable our enemies to identify our friends and partners who deliver to us."

(South African Minister of Internal Affairs in Parliament 9.3.83)

Despite draconian legislation providing for imprisonment up to seven years for any breach of the secrecy surrounding the procurement, production, transportation, storage, consumption or any other matter relating to oil and the petroleum industry, a great deal of information has become available about the regime's methods and its collaborating "friends and partners." This information cannot be published in South Africa but is otherwise in the international public domain. It can be culled from documents leaked from the regime's own Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs, the 'confidential' Report of the Advocate-General presented to a Parliamentary Select Committee in June 1984, the pleadings, disclosures and documents comprising the evidence in a series of cases being heard *in camera* before the South African courts and information available to the ANC and SWAPO together with the research and monitoring by solidarity groups, trade unions, newspapers and others.

Major International Oil Companies

British Petroleum (BP), Caltex, Mobil, Shell and Total have established, expanded and continue to operate refineries in South Africa. They are directly involved in the repression of the South African and Namibian people and the aggression against South Africa's neighbours by their continued supply of fuel and petroleum products to the military and security arms of the regime in Namibia and South Africa. These companies have diversified their interests in the apartheid economy and help buttress it by investment and the transfer of technology.

The oil majors have been given special incentives to secure their continued collaboration. In 1976 BP, Shell and Total were granted substantial mining concessions. Three years later the Minister of Economic Affairs told Parliament that the oil companies' participation in the highly profitable area of coal exports had been allowed:

"subject to the condition that they continue to fulfil their obligations in supplying liquid petroleum fuels." (*Financial Mail* 18.5.79)

BP, Shell and Total now control 40% of South Africa's highly lucrative coal exports.

The international oil companies have tried to hide their continued involvement behind South Africa's secrecy laws and behind claims that they have no control over their South African subsidiaries. The regime has further tried to protect them by taking over the major part of crude oil purchases through the Strategic Fuel Fund (SFF). Though crude oil is ostensibly purchased through the SFF or on contracts between oil traders and South African subsidiaries, the international companies are known to have bought directly or arranged for the purchase of embargoed crude for their refineries in South Africa. Among companies which have done so are BP, Compagnie Francaise de Petroles (CFP), whose subsidiary operates the NATREF refinery in partnership with Sasol, and Shell.

The Advocate General's report reveals the extent to which they all profited from the supply of crude oil:

"As a further incentive to international oil companies to supply their subsidiaries in South Africa with crude oil, \$8 per barrel of crude oil was paid under a subsidy scheme during 1980. For each barrel of crude oil imported by a company \$8 per barrel, adjusted in terms of oil quality, was repaid to the company." (Section 3.8)

In subsequent years a lower incentive payment was made.

Other sections of the Report show that 'strategic collaboration' began in preparation for Rhodesia's UDI. It also predates much of the legislation which these companies claim requires their subsidiaries to collaborate.

"In 1964 the creation of a fund for the stockpiling of strategic crude oil supplies was initiated by the Department of Economic Affairs in conjunction with the Industrial Development Corporation and the oil companies." (Section 4.1)

"In terms of specific guidelines that had been laid down, amounts were collected from oil companies for the fund and oil companies also received compensating amounts from the fund for the creation of storage facilities." (Section 4.3)

"The **Equalisation Fund** came into existence as a result of discussions held by the Minister of Economic Affairs with the managing directors of all the local oil companies ... during November 1978." (Section 4.10.1)

It is from this Equalisation Fund that companies are:

"compensated for abnormal costs in connection with crude oil purchased by the companies for use in South Africa." (Section 4.10.1)

The international oil companies advertise their collaboration with apartheid in the South African press and deny it to their shareholders. The evidence is plain and unambiguous, as is the need for their prompt and total withdrawal from South Africa and Namibia.

The Shipping Companies

Tanker owners, charterers and managers involved in transporting embargoed oil and products to South Africa and Namibia have done so in the full knowledge of the criminal nature of their involvement. They have attempted to disguise their ships, changed the names, maintained radio silence, declared false destinations and connived in the presentation of forged

discharge and customs certificates. Their methods have placed in jeopardy the freedom of their crews in non-South African ports and their safety in the waters near South Africa.

Governments can bring an end to this traffic by legislating to prevent their national fleets or ships which fly their flag from engaging in this trade. All governments can also deter and reduce the profits by acting against the companies and ships involved.

Oil Traders Companies and Middlemen

Two oil traders feature prominently in the Advocate-General's Report: John Deuss of the Netherlands and the American tax evader Marc Rich now living in Switzerland. The very substantial profit from the clandestine supply of oil to South Africa has proved a great attraction, and the South African courts have witnessed the battles over the spoils as the thieves have fallen out.

The Advocate-General allegedly clears South African officials of improper enrichment, yet his own Report details *in extenso* the substantial premiums that were written into the contracts and were divided among the intermediaries:

"He (John Deuss) said that part of the premium would go into the pockets of some of the people involved ..." (Section 6.4.11)

The cases in the courts reveal that middlemen were authorised to disburse substantial additional commissions when setting up the deals. There were no checks on those individuals who were the ultimate beneficiaries of this bribery.

The Report of the Advocate-General provides evidence that would stand up in any court of law, that the two oil traders, John Deuss and Marc Rich, contracted to supply the Pretoria regime with embargoed oil. Discussions over prices, premiums and terms are outlined for a three-year contract with John Deuss to supply four million tons of crude oil per annum and later an additional two million tons. The Marc Rich contract was for the delivery of seventeen consignments over one year. John Deuss and Marc Rich are known to have supplied crude oil and products under a number of other contracts with the SFF, Shell and Total.

Amongst their cargoes have been Brent crude (British North Sea) and Ekofisk (Norwegian). Both these traders are still involved in this trade.

The African National Congress and SWAPO of Namibia urge all governments to take legal action against these two criminals and refuse any further dealings with them. They should also penalise all others engaged in this nefarious trade.

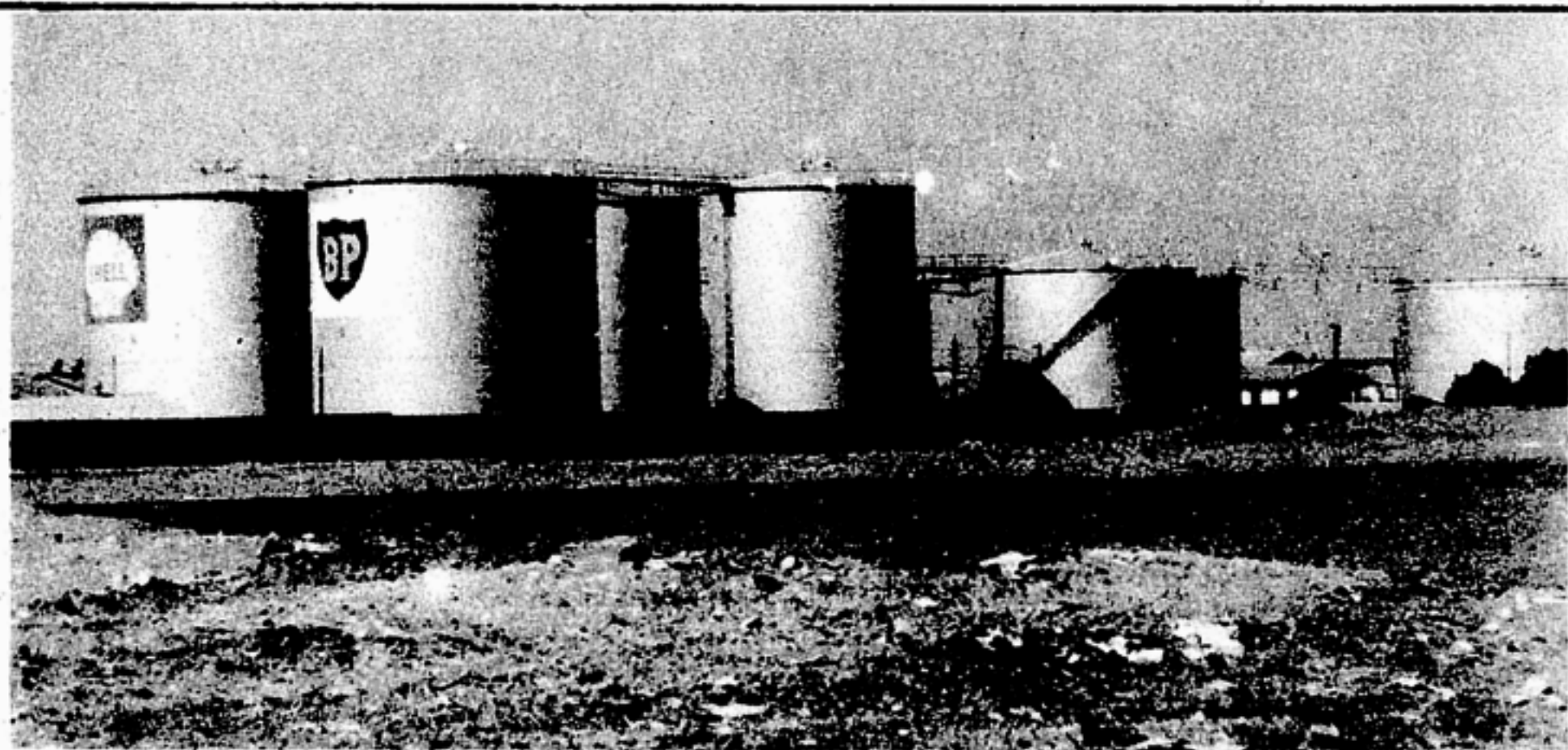
Companies Providing Technology, Capital Equipment and Finance.

South Africa desperately needs technology. The Sasol plants, which the regime claims as its own achievement, require a great deal of foreign technology. The list of collaborators reveals the extent and scale of the support given to apartheid South Africa by the Federal Republic of Germany, France, United States

and other countries. South Africa still needs and seeks technology, finance and equipment for research and production of fuel alternates and substitutes such as ethanol and methanol and for its exploration programme. Those who have invested and collaborated in strengthening apartheid's petroleum industry have brought funds, technological expertise and managerial skills. Each is vital and must be encompassed in the oil embargo. All must be stopped.

Stop Oiling the War Machine of South Africa and Help Bring About Genuine Peace in Our Region.

This is part of a press statement put out by the ANC and SWAPO in March, at the time of the appeal to the nations of the world to support the oil embargo.



South African occupation of Namibia: BP storage tanks at Walvis Bay



STOP

APARTHEID

EXECUTIONS!

By Justitia

As the people's rejection of apartheid has expressed itself in ever more open revolt, the regime has sought desperately for weapons of retaliation. Increasingly it has turned to the legal apparatus: 1985 sees not only more people facing treason charges than at any time since 1956, but also an intensification of the use of its ultimate judicial weapon, the death sentence, against those heroic members of the opposition, combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe.

On 26th February, enemy of the people Judge Kriek sentenced to death two young patriots of Umkhonto we Sizwe, Siphon Bridget Xulu, aged 25, and Clarence Lucky Payi, aged 20. They had been in the hands of the infamous security police since June 7th 1984.

The two cadres were charged with the killing of youth activist Ben Langa in May 1984. A former member of the South African Students' Organisation, Langa was alleged at the trial to have been an informer for the South African security police, responsible for the arrest of at least two comrades.

The ANC is convinced that the agents of the Pretoria regime put out false information aimed to discredit Ben Langa. When the real truth emerges it will be shown that the ultimate responsibility for the death of Ben Langa lies with the Pretoria regime. It is certain that the trial of Payi and Xulu had the predetermined purpose of eliminating two MK comrades who had fallen into the hands of the enemy.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

Langa's death came at a time of heightened political tension in Pietermaritzburg. A close friend and political associate of Langa's, Benedict Martins, was one of three accused in a treason trial which was attracting wide-ranging local attention and community support. Alongside Martins stood Sithabiso Mahlobo, an MK combatant, and student Duma Gqubule, son of the vice-president of the South African Council of Churches, Simon Gqubule.

The trial and the detentions which preceded it affected the local community deeply. Edendale Hospital was functioning without three of its doctors, one of whom, Mvuyo Tom, became a hero of the case when he was sentenced to three years in gaol for refusing to testify. The leadership of the DCO Matiwane Youth League had been decimated, with the regime seeking to eliminate those not in detention by any and all means. When the defendants made their first court appearance, shackled in leg-irons, the community rallied round to support them, singing and chanting in solidarity with those on trial, and at least two arrests of supporters were made.

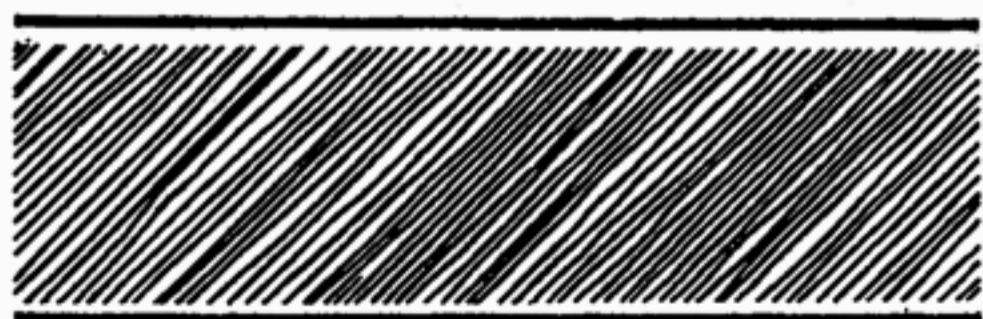
Daily in the court room, the people heard the state's allegations, as the arch-terrorists accused the people's army of 'terrorism.' A vivid statement from Mahlobo, a proven combatant charged with carrying out two daring attacks on the old and new supreme courts in Pietermaritzburg, told of how he was assaulted during interrogation. On some days the public were refused entry to the trial as the state used a cloak of secrecy to mask the source of its evidence against the defendants. Mahlobo was sentenced to 20 years and Martins to 10 years; only Gqubule escaped a gaol term.

The militancy of Xulu and Payi had been forged at an early age by a life of apartheid deprivation and injustice. In 1981, when still only 15 years of age, Payi placed himself at the service of the people by volunteering for military training. Some six years earlier, Siphso Xulu's education had been interrupted when the spark of rebellion ignited at Soweto spread to the Transkei bantustan. He was recognised as a young militant and, after the protest, was refused entry to the school he had been attending, the Osborne High School in Mount Frere.

A formative influence, and a clash with the repressive legal apparatus of the state, came in the turmoil which rocked Sobantu, near Pietermaritzburg, towards the end of 1982. Conscious youth stiffened the resolve of their parents not to pay rent increases imposed by the illegitimate Drakensberg Administration Board. The protest was savagely suppressed, resulting in the death of at least one youth, Graham Radebe, aged just 17 years. His funeral, one of the first to be restricted under the 1982 Internal Security Act, was turned into a massive demonstration of defiance under the direction of over 3 000 young mourners. Xulu, at that time living with his grandmother in Sobantu, was one of those arrested.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★

On 26th January, when the legal preparations for judicial murder had been completed, Judge Kriek fulfilled his prescribed role and sentenced Xulu and Payi to death. The two comrades, who had been sustained throughout the trial by their own political commitment and the support of the local community, were able to face the sentence with defiance, and even contempt. Saluting the packed court with a cry of *Amandla!* Xulu and Payi sang and danced their way into court after a short adjournment. As the men were taken away, a large crowd outside the court chanted ANC slogans.



P W Botha Misbehaves on American TV

By Nyawuza

The recent developments in the Eastern Cape, to be more precise, in Langa and KwaNobuhle in Uitenhage and 25 miles south in Port Elizabeth, have attracted a lot of interest internationally. Many journalists and photographers were not allowed to enter the area. When Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Reformed Churches and a leading personality in the UDF, tried to enter the area, the police stopped him.

There seem to be two reasons for this public interest in the developments in KwaNobuhle (meaning the Place of Beauty).

■ The most publicised talk that P. W. Botha is a man on the verge of bringing about 'changes' and 'reforms' in South Africa, that is, 'moving away' from apartheid — whatever that means. These recent events have shattered that image of Botha. In any case there was an element of illogicality in the whole thing. How can Botha, a slave-owner and slave-driver, suddenly and willingly decide to 'free' the slaves? Surely it is the slaves who have to bring about change in South Africa.

■ These events took place on March 21st, which the United Nations calls International Day Against Racism, in commemoration of the massacres of Sharpeville, and Langa in Cape Town, in 1960. Ironically, 25 years later, to the day, the same thing happened in Langa, this time in Uitenhage. Surely the Boers should have had some common sense, to know that this date is written in the memory of the Black people and the international community. The problem with the Boers is that their historical memory is so selective in its recall, and this explains their capacity to observe and distort our past and neglect everything that they don't like.

All the same, it happened on March 21st. Our people were commemorating the 25th anniversary of Sharpeville. They were solemnly re-dedicating themselves to the struggle; they were thinking about their worsening conditions, their loss of South African citizenship, the inflation, unemployment, rise in bus fares, and rents, GST, detention and the lot. To be more exact, they were going to bury those who had been killed by the police.

The American ABC television might have had this in mind when they showed a series of TV films on South Africa to the American public. Whatever their reasons were, they however showed a live debate between Bishop Tutu and 'Pik' Botha, the Foreign Minister. We were reminded that 'Pik' is an Afrikaans shorthand for 'penguin.' 'Pik' Botha claimed that South Africa had a universally acknowledged independent judiciary and that those arrested were brought to court and charged in the same way as in any "other democratic country." He further claimed that the courts decided on questions of bail and that Mandela would be "free" now if he had renounced violence.

Bishop Tutu replied, accusing 'Pik' Botha of misleading people, and making a false analogy, because in the UDF trial the Attorney-General produced a certificate which was final and therefore the court was not allowed to consider the question. The UDF is, by the way, a non-violent organisation, and its leaders are now facing a charge of high treason. This makes utter nonsense of the claim that Mandela is in gaol because he refused to renounce armed struggle. 'Pik' Botha also said that in South Africa everybody could vote. Bishop Tutu picked him up again, on the

grounds that he was misleading the public — Tutu is a South African national but can only vote in some mythical 'national state,' and even on his passport it is stated that his nationality is "unidentifiable."

The Botha/Tutu debate was shown on SABC. Chris Heunis was asked to appear with President Tambo. He refused and asked to appear alone and not debating with anyone. So the interview was dropped.

President Tambo appeared in debate with Connie Mulder and together with Dr Boesak and with Buthelezi of KwaZulu. The programme was not screened in South Africa.

Winnie Mandela talked about the release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, while Dr Motlana explained the brutality of forced removals. He talked about Mogopa and Pachsdraai. There were also interesting shots of Emgwali and Crossroads.

The Percy Qoboza/Beyers Naude/Otto Krause interview was charged with emotions reflecting the conflict in South Africa. Otto Krause, a journalist with an Afrikaans paper and a supporter of the regime, had some problems in his attempts to lecture Percy Qoboza, an African, about how the Africans feel. Qoboza could not take it. Beyers Naude, an Afrikaner, tried to appeal to Otto Krause, but the two Afrikaners were on two different and opposing planes.

Connie Mulder proved himself a buffoon, while accusing the racist regime of going "too left" with its reforms. He was advocating, he said, a "revolutionary" solution to the South African crisis. This was not a play with words — it was simply stupidity. Buthelezi did not have much new to say except quarrelling with everybody and justifying his position.

The anticlimax came when P W Botha was interviewed. He talked a lot about nothing — meaningless statistics. Botha laughed happily when he told the American journalist that the Boers and Azapo were united in their attitude

against Senator Kennedy because Kennedy was using the South African situation for "American elections." When the American journalist replied that the American elections were over, there was no need to do that, Botha replied stupidly:

"You Americans have elections all the time. You have many elections."

What comes out of the programme is that the Boers live in the past. They do not understand the changing times we are living in. They do not (or pretend not to) understand the feelings and aspirations of the Blacks in South Africa. Their racism comes out clearly when they talk about independent Africa — everything, including the coups, is reduced to "ethnicity," a term they do not understand:

"ethnicity is not just between Black and White, it is to be found everywhere in Africa,"

said Connie Mulder.

They regard themselves as an "African nation" and the problems they have face the whole continent. They say the Africans in South Africa have a higher living standard than the Africans on the rest of the continent — a debatable thesis. Even if this were true, the Africans in South Africa do not want to be compared with other people in other countries; **we want to be compared with the Whites inside the borders of South Africa.**

The racist regime is not in a position to defend apartheid. The regime wants investments but not "interference." The regime is vulnerable and sensitive to external pressure. We only hope this television series will strengthen the anti-apartheid campaign in the United States and will contribute to the implementation of the United Nations resolution on total isolation of that regime. P W Botha is not fit to rule that country. He must be isolated because he misbehaves.

Tsamaea ka khotso, Ntate Mokgatle!

In March 1985 Comrade Monyadioe Moreleba Naboth Mokgatle was buried in London. All those who were there said: *Lihambile iqhawe lamaqhawe*.

Monyadioe Moreleba Naboth Mokgatle (or Ntate Mokgatle as he was popularly known) was born in Phokeng in the district of Rustenburg, Transvaal, on April 1st, 1911. Like all African boys in the countryside he looked after cattle, attended school and church and later went to look for work on the neighbouring White farms and towns, and in 1930 left the town of Rustenburg for Pretoria. It was the first time that he found himself inside a train, and he had not been to a "European city" as large as Pretoria before, and was not used to houses or places with numbers on, and all this seemed very confusing to him.

"Tribal and rural life was behind me, and before me was a long period of urban life with complications, trials, webs of pass law restrictions, colour discrimination and uncertainties ..."

wrote Ntate Mokgatle in his book, *The Autobiography of an Unknown South African*, published in 1971.



Monyadioe Moreleba Naboth Mokgatle, 1911-1985

1930 was the year of depression. Many Africans were out of work or could not find any; some of them were thrown out of their jobs to make room for White workers; hard manual jobs like working on the railways, road-making, digging trenches and sweeping streets, which were considered suitable for Africans only, were taken away from them and given to Whites; the authorities even incited White families to boycott factories, bakeries, butcher shops, laundries and so on, which kept on employing African labour instead of White labour. Notices appeared in the windows of many places stating that the work done there was only by White labour.

There were other problems such as getting work, or a stamp on his pass for tax, a permit to stay and/or work in Pretoria. This is how Naboth Mokgatle was introduced to Pretoria. It was a harsh introduction to the Black working class of South Africa.

Mokgatle's first job was at the wage of fifty shillings (£2.10/-) a month. When he protested to his employer about something or other he was told; "Shut up, do as you are told, or else I'll call the police." The police listened only to the story of the employers.

In November 1930, Mokgatle went to visit his mother's cousin who lived in another area of Pretoria, at Bantule. On his way between Marabastad and the Indian Bazaar (at the end of Boom Street) he saw a large gathering of people with police nearby. Out of curiosity he went to see what was happening. It was a joint open-air meeting: the ANC, the ICU, the Radicals and the Garveyites — the last of whom were followers and admirers of Marcus Garvey. The theme was the burning of the passes by the Africans on December 16th 1930. Hertzog's government, and especially Oswald Pirow, who later prosecuted in the 1956 Treason Trial, were the main targets. On December 16th, 1930, Mokgatle, together with a number of unemployed Africans, burned his pass amid the singing of the African national anthem: *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika*, and the flames which swallowed Hertzog's and Pirow's effigies. This is how Mokgatle was introduced to ANC politics.

Mokgatle had other problems to solve. In the process he asked himself questions he could not properly answer: why was the college called Pretoria Technical College when, because of colour discrimination, not all the children of Pretoria were admitted to it? Why did the White students of this college buy food from African women when their parents looked down on African women and regarded them as no equals of theirs?

The ANC in Pretoria was revived by ANC leaders from Johannesburg, R V Selope-Thema, Mvabaza, Sikota, Kumalo and others. That was the period of the emergence of the *Bantu World*, the 'African' newspaper owned by the Chamber of Mines in Johannesburg and edited by Selope-Thema. This was also the period of the rise of Nazism in Germany, a development which forced Mokgatle to compare the treatment of the Jews to his. What about the barbaric attack on Ethiopia by Mussolini's hordes?

It was at this time that he met Archie Levitan and Chekonovsky, people who introduced him to Lenin, the October Revolution; told him about the Communist Party of South Africa, the need for African trade unions and night

classes to combat illiteracy amongst the Africans. They told him about the need to strengthen the ANC. He also met Lee, Miss Kahn, Sam Woolf, George Findlay, Franz Boshoff and other "well-known Communists in Pretoria." He says: "I became a Communist at heart, but not officially; I carried no card." It was only later that he joined the Communist Party, attended its annual conferences and became a member of the Pretoria District Committee (and even its chairman) until the CP was dissolved in 1950. He also attended the Party school in Johannesburg, where he met people like Harry Gwala, Edwin Thabo Mofutsanyane and others. As a full-time secretary of the Distributive Workers' Union, he worked with other trade unionists such as J B Marks, Gana Makabeni, Daniel Gosoni, Dan Tloome, Stephen Tsefu, David Koza, James Phillips and many others. The list looks like a political *Who's Who*.

Bannings, arrests, police harassment and deprivation made life impossible for Ntate Mokgatle. In 1954 he received an invitation to attend an international conference of the World Federation of Trade Unions in Rumania. He left South Africa at 43, without a passport — only an affidavit he typed himself — no luggage, no visa, no medical certificate, and with only three shillings and three pence in his pocket. He had problems on his way — he never reached Rumania and instead went to Britain; he could not go back to South Africa.

Since then he lived in Britain with his family, which joined him later. In Britain he was not only an inspiration to the young Black South Africans who came much later than he; he was also a mine of information on the political developments in that country. In him was embodied part of the history of the ANC, the Communist Party and trade unionism. In his background, experience and life style he was a precursor of what was going to happen later.

It is for these reasons that we say: *Tsamaea ka khotso, Ntate Mokgatle!*

FM

המועצה הישראלית למען שלום ישראל פלסטיני

المجلس الإسرائيلي من أجل السلام الإسرائيلي الفلسطيني

THE ISRAELI COUNCIL FOR ISRAELI-PALESTINEAN PEACE

The following letter, on the letterhead of the Israeli Council for Israeli-Palestinian Peace, was received by Comrade Thabo Mbeki, head of the Department of Information and Publicity of the ANC.

Dear Mr Mbeki,

... Our organisation has, for a long time, been trying to create a direct contact with the representatives of the Black population of South Africa, and make known to them our opposition to the Israeli government's policy of supporting the Pretoria regime. We support the demand for the creation in South Africa of a democratic regime, based on the principle of 'One person one vote.'

Our own organisation and several other organisations and persons have regularly carried out acts of protest. In the last 15 months I can mention the following acts which were carried out in Israel:

- A picket outside the Dan Hotel in Tel-Aviv, where the founding conference of the South African and Israeli Chambers of Commerce took place;
- Another picket, outside the South African Embassy, to protest against the executions of ANC fighters;
- A demonstration in Ashdod, a port city on the Mediterranean, during a ceremony concluding a twin-city agreement between Ashdod and Port Elizabeth in South Africa;
- The solitary act of Yo'av Karny, a newspaper correspondent, who came to a lecture by the South African Ambassador, seized the microphone, and read a song describing the killing of the Soweto children in 1976.

Besides these, a constant attempt is being made by the various organisations involved, ranging from the Communist Party to various left-wing and liberal MPs and journalists, to influence Israeli public opinion against the apartheid regime. I'd like you to print this letter in one of your publications, so that your readers may know they have firm allies within Israel ...

Yours,

Adam Keller.
Editor, *The Other Israel*,

Tel-Aviv,
Israel:
4.2.85.

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