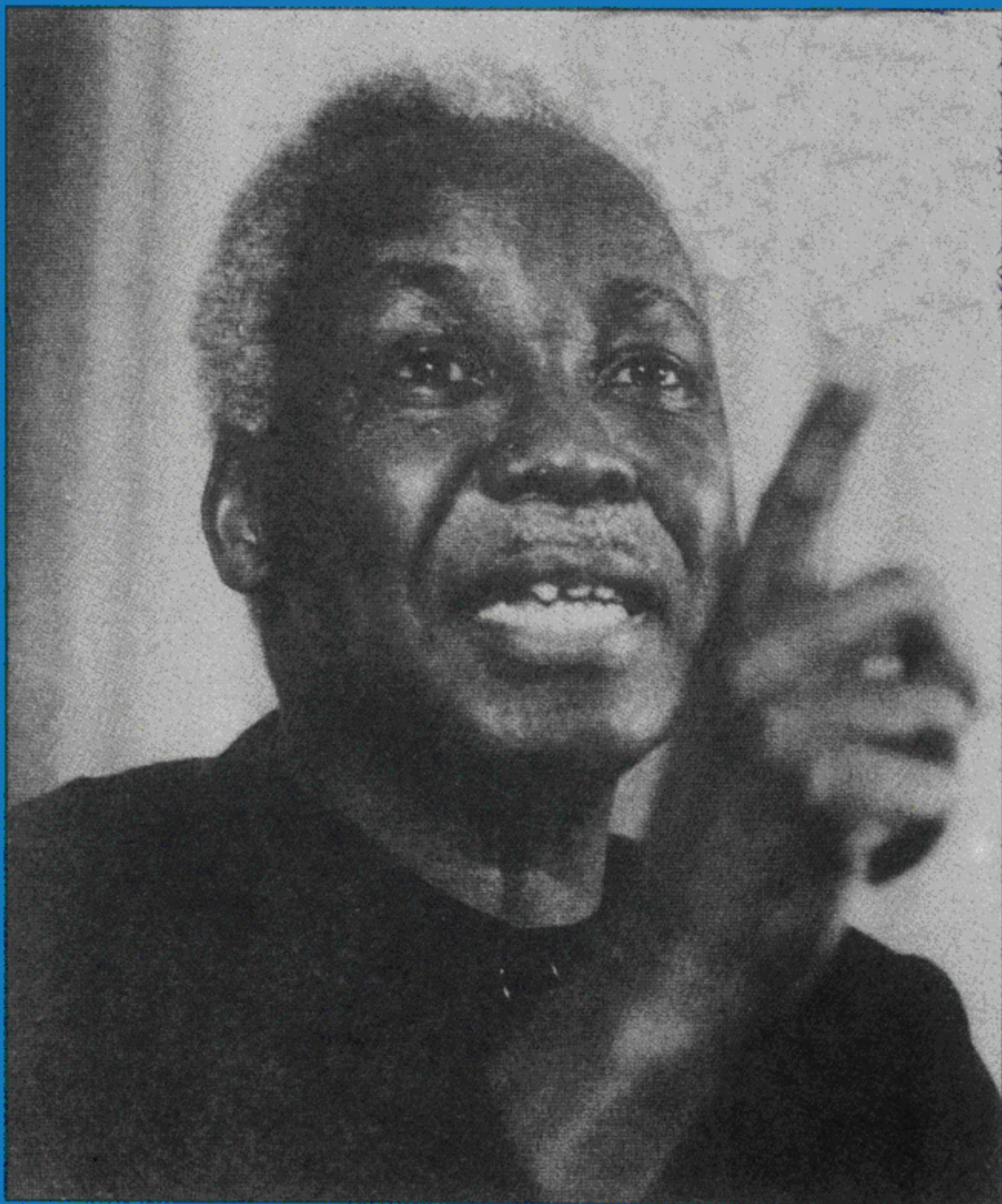


JANUARY 1988



# SECHABH

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



MWALIMU JULIUS NYERERE  
CHAIRMAN, CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI



# SECHABA

## JANUARY 1988

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# EDITORIAL

## STOP LAWAAI KAMP REMOVALS



Over the last 18 months the more than 2 000 people of Lawaaikamp in George, Southern Cape, have been living under pressure and anxiety.

They are to move to Sandkraal. Each and every household in Lawaaikamp is faced with no choice, but to move, if not today, soon. Lawaaikamp has to be cleared for Coloured housing: Lawaaikamp has been declared a Coloured Group Area whereas Coloured and African people lived together shoulder to shoulder for the past 40 years. They all grew up together — now they have to separate.

Racist ideology takes precedence over the interests of the people. People are torn up from their homes and dumped elsewhere. It all looks like a chess game. The local authorities have become the new sites of power for exerting control over people's movements. This becomes relatively easy under the conditions of the State of Emergency.

The racist regime has used every trick in the book to intimidate the people into moving to Sandkraal: they used bulldozers, demolitions (Municipal officials accompanied by South African Police, Casspirs and dogs); notices and deadlines (written and verbal); banning and cancellation of meetings; services neglected (taps and streets not repaired, garbage not removed); increase in service charges (higher than Sandkraal); intimidation (pre-dawn visits from security police, civic members questioned and their documents removed; closure of the creche, mysterious fires,

double talk and denials from authorities and offers of R1 000 to move.

These tactics could not work because Sandkraal is a sickplace — people live in the damp and all get sick; water is trucked in; ground is badly drained; the slopes are steep and people have to re-erect self-built shanties.

What is more is that the people of Lawaaikamp want a free choice: to remain in Lawaaikamp or to move on a genuinely voluntary basis to Sandkraal, and if they choose to stay to be able to upgrade Lawaaikamp. Lawaaikamp must be declared an open area as opposed to a Coloured area. This is a basic human right: the right to freedom to stay where people want and have lived legally for years; their right to participate in the decisions and planning which govern their lives.

Even the people's attempts to form their own organisations have been suppressed. The people of Lawaaikamp formed the George Civic Association to express and articulate their aspirations. This Association which was democratically elected by the inhabitants of Lawaaikamp is authorised and has a mandate from the people to speak on behalf of the inhabitants of Lawaaikamp, on all matters concerning or affecting them — but the Town Council does not recognise the Civic Association.

Lawaaikamp is one example — there are many such examples throughout the country. This is an attempt to divide the people, to break their morale and resistance and to destroy them as a people. **This Must Stop!**



# **OUR COMMON VICTORY IS ASSURED**

**ADDRESS BY  
MWALIMU JULIUS K NYERERE,  
CHAIRMAN,  
CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI  
at the opening of the  
ANC CONFERENCE, ARUSHA,  
1st December, 1987**

**This year we are celebrating the 75th Anniversary of the ANC. We celebrate its continued existence despite all the efforts to destroy it. It became an illegal organisation 27 years ago. But it still lives inside South Africa as well as in exile. It still leads the struggle for the freedom of South Africa, and for freedom in South Africa.**

With pride in our common struggle I pay tribute to all those who have worked for freedom and human equality within the ANC, and in co-operation with the ANC, from 1912 until today. There have been, and there still are, great leaders of the Organisation, people whose names are an inspiration to all the opponents of apartheid inside and outside SA; such men and women are so greatly feared by the leaders of apartheid that it is illegal to quote their words or even to mention their names inside the

country. And there are millions — yes, millions — of people who have participated in the struggle against racism and whose names are known only to those with whom they worked and struggled — and too often died.

It is because of the resistance, and the active opposition, of all these people that the struggle for justice is still able to continue. Not all the might, the ruthlessness, viciousness and inhumanity of the South African racists has been able to subdue the ANC or defeat the cause for which it stands — human equality, justice and freedom. It is because of these efforts, and these sacrifices, that victory is coming — victory over apartheid. And victory over organised inhumanity against people for being the colour they were born.

Victory will not be achieved today, nor tomorrow. But it is certain. There is no longer any possibility of defeat for the freedom struggle in South Africa; there is no longer any room for doubt about victory over apartheid.

We have cause to celebrate the 75th Anniversary of the ANC. We have not yet achieved victory. But we know that we shall do so. And we know that every day of the struggle brings that victory nearer.

## **The Struggle is Inside South Africa**

Throughout these long years the struggle has been waged inside South Africa, by the people of South Africa. It has waxed and waned. There have been very many setbacks, until sometimes the faint-hearted despaired, and occasionally even the courageous retreated for a time into sullen resignation. But never was the flame of resistance extinguished. Always new people came to pick up the torch of freedom from those whose strength had been exhausted, and to carry it forward.

**It is still inside South Africa that the struggle is being waged — and must be waged. No one from outside can bring real freedom to a Nation or a People.**

The struggle is carried on by all sorts of people, by all kinds of means, and



everywhere — in the town, on the farms and the mines, and in the so-called homelands. There are traitors, and compromisers, in South Africa as in every other struggle for freedom. But the vast mass of the people continue to resist. They refuse to acquiesce in their condition. They insist on surviving despite all that apartheid can do to them, and does to them. They keep alive the flame of freedom, and spread knowledge of it.

They resist openly when and where it is at all possible; they resist secretly where open opposition is to invite defeat. They organise, and reorganise when the organisation is infiltrated or discovered. They defend the latest victims of apartheid, and by their solidarity help them to endure. They commit sabotage. They strike; and they support armed struggle from among the people and with the people's backing.

Never has there been such a long-drawn-out active struggle; never such apparently unending endurance as that of the South African people. We outside that country sometimes fear for them, and wonder how much longer they can carry on. But they do. On behalf of all Tanzanians I pay tribute to them, as well as to their organisation, the African National Congress.

## **Support Must Come From Outside**

We have among us today a few people who have come to Arusha from inside SA, and who will go back. Some are known to us all. Some do not want to be known. With humility as well as pride we welcome all of them. They are the front line fighters, who bear the brunt of the struggle. Every day they risk their lives, and daily they see — and share — the suffering of the people whom they love.

But most of us here live outside South Africa — in freedom, and spared the daily experience of racism. It is our job to give support to the struggle inside South Africa. We have to play our part by acting to weaken the forces of apartheid. We must help to strengthen all those who organise, or who, by whatever means, participate in opposition to apartheid inside South Africa. And we must help those who are engaged

in the armed struggle against apartheid.

All of us, in our own countries, have our own problems to contend with — sometimes very desperate problems. We, in Africa in particular, have to maintain the struggle for justice, for equality and for freedom within the independent countries of our continent. We have to fight for greater economic independence and — at the moment — even for economic survival in a hostile world. The Front Line States also have to defend their own nations against the military and economic aggressions with which apartheid seeks to strengthen itself. As we succeed in these endeavours we do, ourselves, inflict defeats on apartheid. For the leaders of the racist state rejoice in our difficulties and our setbacks; they mourn, and try to prevent, every advance in freedom and justice made by the peoples of independent Africa.

But whatever our problems or our own difficulties, or our advances or setbacks, nothing can excuse us from actively supporting the struggle against apartheid. We must be active in opposing it, by every means within our power. For the apartheid regime could not long survive if it was deprived of all external support, and all external acceptability.

## **What Does This Involve?**

*Ndugu Chairman,*

In this gathering of anti-apartheid activists from all over the world, it is not necessary for me to spell out the need for material as well as political, diplomatic, and moral support for the South African struggle. It is not necessary for me to spell out, once again, the arguments for international sanctions. All such questions, and how practical action can be taken to promote them, will be discussed in this Conference — in Commissions and Plenary Meetings. They will be discussed between the ANC — the people who know their greatest and most urgent needs — and external friends who know best how to strengthen and expand support for the struggle in the circumstances under which they operate.

That is the serious business which is being combined with this Anniversary Meet-



ing of celebration. And such a combination of business and rejoicing is essential. For, while victory is certain, if the struggle is maintained, victory has not yet been achieved. And the enemy is adopting new tactics in the face of the national and international forces which are increasingly ranged against apartheid. The enemy seeks to make us relax our efforts, and to divide all those who fight apartheid or oppose apartheid.

## **Abolition, Not Reform**

It is a long time since members of the South African minority government spoke openly of their belief in the racial superiority of the White man and the racial inferiority of the non-White people of South Africa. They no longer talk publicly of educating Black children for the subservient role allocated to their race. There are still White South African politicians who make such statements. But such things are not said by the official spokesmen of the South African racist regime. Even those members of Botha's government who are said to be 'hard line' do not talk in these terms now. The language of apartheid is becoming more sophisticated and the linguistic crudities are no longer being used — at least in public.

The Bothas in government now claim to be opponents of apartheid. And this process of refining apartheid is being taken further. They have introduced a 'Tri-cameral' Constitution, which incorporates people whom they classify as 'Coloureds', and others whom they classify as 'Indians'. They have repealed the Mixed Marriages Act; they have allowed the establishment of legal Black trade unions; and they have changed the Pass Laws once again. And so on. So we are told these are 'reformists', and 'moderates' who need to be supported in their opposition to the 'extremists' in the White community on their political right. We are told by the Reagans and the Thatchers of this world that we should abandon the armed struggle, — which they call terrorism — and support the government in its reforms. With our leaders in jail, and thousands of men, women — and even children — in detention, we are told that we

should negotiate with the apartheid government to get more reforms.

Let us be quite clear. I do not believe that any genuine supporter of freedom and justice in South Africa likes the armed struggle. For almost fifty years the ANC remained committed to peaceful means of struggle. They organised demonstrations, processions, passive resistance, and educational campaigns; they suffered under racism without hitting back. They resisted without harming their enemies — only enduring their own imprisonment, torture and death, and the ever-increasing oppression of the South African people. Despite all the provocations, they held to this policy of non-violent struggle for almost five decades because the leaders and members of the ANC understood the evils of war. And they knew it is not easy after a violent struggle quickly to build democracy and justice for all.

But the violence was there — practised against the Black people of South Africa. And their persistent calls for justice and co-operation in the creation of justice, were ignored or mocked. The ANC demand for a chance to work peacefully towards political and economic progress for all the people of South Africa was met by ever increasing violence and oppression. And the ANC, together with other nationalist organisations, was banned; those leaders who could not escape were arrested. President Reagan is not likely to be aware of this history of the ANC. Mrs Thatcher has no excuse not to be aware of it.

The ANC was therefore forced to take up arms. All other avenues of struggle were closed to it and to the non-Whites of South Africa in 1960. I believe that the ANC will joyfully abandon the armed struggle once the need for it has gone. For the ANC is a movement fighting for freedom and justice, not a movement of thugs seeking to replace one racial tyranny by another. Unfortunately, the need for the armed struggle is not over yet. If a reform lightens the burden being carried by the oppressed people of South Africa, then we welcome it. If a change in the laws made by South African Whites makes it possible, without entrenching apartheid, to have some kind of organisation which can fight apartheid,



why should we not welcome that change? COSATU, and the South African Miners' Union are using their organisations to fight apartheid. They are therefore instruments of struggle regardless of the fact that they could become legal organisations only after the apartheid regime decided to change its laws about trade union organisation. And when any prisoner is released undefeated — as Comrade Mbeki and others were released last month — we rejoice in their freedom and their continued courage.

All such events mark a little victory for the anti-apartheid movements — internally and externally. They hearten us. For we know that they have occurred as the apartheid regime seeks to relieve the pressure it is now coming under, and to reduce the embarrassment felt by its friends as they continue to support it. But these events must not be allowed to deceive us.

All that these so-called 'reforms' amount to is an amelioration in the conditions of the prison house which is apartheid. The inmates of the prison house — that is, the people of South Africa — remain prisoners. Apartheid was there long before Mandela and his colleagues were jailed; they were jailed by apartheid. And apartheid will not come to an end when all our jailed leaders are released by apartheid. The repeal of some of the more crude laws of apartheid may make life a little easier for the victims of apartheid, but apartheid itself will still be there, ready to re-impose those laws, and put the leaders back into jail, at any time.

Inside or outside a jail, the improvement of a prison diet, or a reduction in the prisoners' isolation, can make prisoners 'breathe better'; but they are still prisoners. Apartheid has to be abolished, not reformed. No attempt to make the people feel less oppressed under apartheid is a substitute for its **total abolition**. There can be no such thing as 'apartheid with a human face.' That would be a contradiction in terms, for apartheid is based on the denial of man's common humanity. Apartheid with any face or any colouring or any flavouring is totally inhuman and has to be totally abolished. You cannot change the nature of a beast by dressing it up!

Apartheid will not be defeated until the

government of South Africa is made up of representatives of the people of South Africa — all the people.

## **By Armed Victory, or by Discussion?**

Exactly how, and when, apartheid will be defeated we do not yet know. We only know that it will happen, and that until it does the struggle must be continued on all fronts. For the armed struggle is not an alternative to political struggle, any more than the political or economic struggle can at present replace the work of the freedom fighters.

We are fighting a strong, well-organised and determined — as well as ruthless — enemy, who has strong external allies. We have to use all means of struggle against it, and take advantage of any opportunities for advance which occur on any front. It is the combination of political, economic and military struggle which will bring us to victory. In the end, therefore, we shall get to the position where discussions and negotiations can take place, and will have to take place, with the apartheid authorities. But those discussions and negotiations can only take place between the people's genuine leaders — as free men and women — on the one side, and the apartheid authorities on the other. Negotiations between prisoners and prison authorities are not really about fundamentals, and cannot be about fundamentals. Yet the negotiations have to be about fundamentals — that is, about the abolition of apartheid, and how the succeeding non-racial authorities will take over effective political power. Anything else is a snare and a delusion. Nothing else could bring a chance for democracy and freedom for the South African people.

Such negotiations are not possible yet. But there will come a time when the South African racist government and its institutions of military power have accepted that racial government is no longer possible. Then they will accept the necessity to have discussions with the free leaders of the free people's organisations about how the transfer of power takes place. This we know,



and in their heart of hearts the intelligent ones among them also know. All these 'reforms' are merely attempts to confuse the forces ranged against apartheid, and to avoid the inevitable. Until those negotiations are held and concluded and a government of people sits in Pretoria, the tasks of the ANC is to continue the struggle. And the task of non-racialists everywhere is to support them.

## **Political Power is only the Beginning**

Political power for the people of South Africa is the key to a non-racial and democratic future for that country. It will be achieved. But its achievement will only be the beginning. It will not by itself transform the social and economic conditions. For the racial, economic, and social structures which have been built up will not fall down, and all the effects of decades of racialism and oppression will not be wiped out, when the people take possession of political power through their representatives.

Nor will those who — internally and externally — now support apartheid on that day suddenly become supporters of democracy and equality and justice. There will be those among them who will try to cause, and will encourage where they do not have to create, chaos and lawlessness and acts of angry revenge. And there will be many — inside South Africa and even among those outside South Africa who do not like apartheid — who will complain when democracy and justice for all does not exist the day after a representative government takes over the reins of political power. And the people themselves, after all their years of suffering, will be impatient for radical change — for relief from the desperate conditions in which they live — even while their young government is still struggling to create and use new and democratic instruments of government.

These things we must — all of us — recognise now. We must intensify our efforts to abolish apartheid. Those of us outside South Africa must continue to fight for sanctions against apartheid; we must in-

crease our practical support for the Freedom Fighters and the others inside South Africa who fight against the regime. But as we do so we must not try to pretend that the struggle for justice and democracy in South Africa will end on the day when the apartheid government is replaced by a government of the people. For that new government will have urgent need of our support and understanding, especially in this early years.

I say it again: changing the structure of political power in South Africa is the first task. Building justice and human respect and democracy in a society which has for more than 75 years been based on oppression, domination and racial discrimination, is the second task. And it will not be an easy task.

We, the external opponents of apartheid, must not shrink from that harsh reality and its implications. For the evil of apartheid is not solely that it is racism practiced by a tyrannical government. The evil consists also in what has been done to the basic structures of the society. In a highly sophisticated economy, comparable in many ways with the economies in the developed countries, every aspect of human life has — since 1948 under the doctrine of apartheid, but also long before that — been organised on the basis of racial privilege.

A non-racial government must be established, and we must help the people of South Africa as they struggle to get it. But we must continue to support them as they begin the task of overcoming decades of educational, economic, and social disadvantage for the majority. We must continue to support them when they have to defend their new freedom from racism against the racists who refuse to accept it.

People all over the world will join the South Africans in their rejoicing when apartheid is defeated. For that will mean that the struggle to build a just and democratic society in South Africa can at last begin.

**May that day come soon.**

**In the meantime — A Luta Continua!**

**A full report of the Arusha Conference will be carried in our February 1988 issue.**





# THE BLACK MIDDLE CLASS AT THE CROSSROADS

by Siphon Pityana

**The past eleven years since the Students' Uprising of 1976 have seen a steady growth of the urban African petty bourgeoisie. This has been brought about by a multiplicity of factors. These range from the apartheid reform strategy, to economic growth and corporate support from local and international capital.**

This gives the debate on multi-class alliance in the struggle against apartheid greater importance. While capitalists would make us believe that the growth of this class confirms their view that the growth of the capitalist economy would undermine apartheid and result in Black advancement, 'economists' would make the point that this demonstrates apartheid's ability to make concessions to the petty bourgeoisie within the parameters of apartheid ideology, thus encouraging this class to grow both in size and strength. This, in the view of the 'economists' points at the fallacy of the strategy of class alliance in the struggle against apartheid.

In this article we argue that the petty bourgeoisie does not have a predestined role, but rather their role is determined by the balance of belligerent forces in a given historical conjuncture. Central to our discussion however, is the view that the democratic forces should identify the influence they have in determining the political position held by this class and utilise it to the fullest extent in our advance to people's power. The recent PUTCO-

SABTA case will be referred to, as a case study.

## Growth of African Petty Bourgeoisie

Following the Students' Uprising of June 1976, a convergence of views between the state and White local capital emerged. This is best summed up by the Chairman of the Urban Foundation, Justice Steyn:

"Urban distortions and their exploitation played a significant role in the tragic events of 1976. The elimination of these distortions, or at least their amelioration must be close to the heart of every thinking South African. I cannot see any thinking businessman declining to participate in South Africa's future through Urban Foundation (UF). His dividend will be the emergence of a Black middle class and greater stability in our urban societies"

*Financial Mail 11.3.77*

The emergence of the African bourgeoisie element was perceived as a means towards political co-option of the urban African petty bourgeoisie for the purpose of purchasing stability in conditions of unchanged political and economic order. Whether this strategy has succeeded in co-opting this stratum into the enemy ranks remains a contestable issue. However, what is undoubtedly clear is that it has succeeded in facilitating its growth.

**While in 1962 there were 7 850 recorded businesses in African townships, by**



Africa's Transport sector, PUTCO. The deal was an attractive one because PUTCO's assets are not only in bus passenger transport, but also engineering, 16 property companies, Electronic Commodities, and 43,3% stake in Commander Insurance Company in Bermuda. The total value of PUTCO's assets was estimated at R200m in 1987. In the past few years the company had net losses of R19,6m. Although both British Petroleum denied involvement in the deal, the *Financial Mail* argues that the deal was going to be financed by an off-shore oil company committed to promoting Black business. It is also indicated that the regime had shown willingness to pose no obstacles to the deal. Again in this instance the convergence of interests between the regime and local and international capital is apparent.

SABTA, in seeking to purchase controlling interests in PUTCO, considered the matter only in economic terms. Responding to claims by the right-wing groups that the deal was financed by the ANC, SABTA spokesperson responded thus:

"SABTA wishes to place on record once more that it is interested in the acquisition of PUTCO only from an economic point of view".  
(*Cape Times* 14.8.87)

This was a most unfortunate situation precisely because there is no sector of South African economic or social activity that is not politicised by apartheid. Whilst the desire by the African petty bourgeoisie to make a breakthrough into the highest positions of the capitalist system are understandable, these have to be always considered in the context of the struggle for liberation. SABTA would have been in an untenable position, on the side of the oppressive forces in the struggle in the transport sector had the deal succeeded.

## Politics of Transport

Transport in South Africa is pivotal to the effective implementation of a separate development system. Whilst apartheid seeks Black labour, it aims at keeping Blacks away from the residential areas adjacent to their place of work. This is done primarily through the Group Areas Act.

The effect of such a policy has been to provide cheap and low quality housing in areas away from work and low quality subsidised transport to ensure that African labour has access to its work places.

**The transport sector has seen all forms of resistance in opposition to price hikes.** The arguments put forward by the democratic movement whether in the 1950s or in the 1980s is consistent. It is the refusal by this community to finance perpetuation of their own oppression. The masses believe that the apartheid regime has to heavily subsidise transport, exactly because it serves the purpose of keeping Blacks far from their work places, and consequently places great demand on this service and therefore high prices are understandable. This steadfast refusal by the masses to accommodate bus fare increases is accompanied by Pretoria's commitment to reduce subsidies to the transport sector, preferring to transfer this responsibility to the Regional Service Councils. Such a big corporation as PUTCO would, in African hands, just as in White hands, play an important role in effecting this transport strategy of the regime's Regional Services Councils and it serves that of the regime presently.

Although it would be incorrect to make generalisations on the basis of this particular case, lessons, can still be drawn from it. Firstly, the petty bourgeoisie, in its as well. Secondly, this stratum, like others, has to realise that co-option into the economic, but social and political factors as well. Secondly this stratum like others, has to realise that co-option into the regime's apparatus is not only through its political organs, but also various social and economic structures too. Thirdly, the co-opting structure is not the regime exclusively, but also international and local capital whose prime objective is to fend off the sanctions call and to prolong the exploitative status quo. **International capital is playing an increasingly crucial role in influencing political positions of the African petty bourgeoisie.** Evidence of this can be seen in the pressure placed on this group to oppose sanctions and canvass for a capitalist post-apartheid South Africa.



1980 these rose to 40 000 and 60 000 in 1984. The membership of NAFCOC rose from 2 000 in 1975 to 15 000 in 1986.

In 1986 the African petty bourgeoisie was boasting of such corporate projects as the African bank which was set up in 1975. This started with a capital of R1m by 1981 it had grown to R17,913,000. Afribank Insurance Brokers was set up in 1976. This marked what appeared to be the invasion of Black capital into the financial corporate capital.

Enthusiasm from sections of the Black petty bourgeoisie sparked such comments as comparing with the rise of Afrikaner capitalism against the domination of South African economy by British bourgeoisie. They thought they could draw hope from the success of Afrikaner capital, taking advantage of the regime's reform which ended regulations which prohibited partnership, limited areas of activity for Black capital and many other such restrictive measures, such ventures as a Black chain supermarket which started in 1979 with a capital sum of R500,000 and currently has three operations, two in Transvaal and one in Natal, these include a construction company, African Development and Construction Company, and numerous other such organisations.

**Financial assistance is proving less difficult to come by. Local capital is convinced that they have a valuable ally in the African petty bourgeoisie.** They believe, those who taste and enjoy the fruits of a free enterprise system will firmly adhere to it, even in the face of strong pressure from the democratic masses. On the other hand international capital is establishing strong links with this stratum, by helping with loans.

This is a useful area of activity for foreign capital especially in the face of increasingly growing pressure for disinvestment from their various countries. In 1986 alone a sum of R5 billion from various financiers was made available to help create thousands of new small businesses. The essential point, however, is that the growth of this class is only relative, and it remains small in size. Its power and significance should neither be exaggerated nor underestimated.

## **Co-option Into State Apparatus**

It is the stated position of the regime to co-opt this stratum in its socio-economic and political programme whose sole objective is to extend the life of the apartheid system. The extent to which the regime has succeeded in co-opting individual members of this stratum into its programme remains unclear. Available evidence shows very little sign of success. Although it is true that some sections of this class have participated in such structures as the community councils and various other government-created institutions, it is equally true that there are those who have participated and still are participating in the organs of the mass democratic movement. That participation in government institutions as individuals is perhaps less dangerous than the participation of organised section of the petty bourgeoisie. In this regard the position taken thus far by NAFCOC on the question of participation in the National Statutory Council is commendable. It does, however, fall short of the general preconditions of the democratic forces for engaging in negotiations, that is:

- Unbanning of the ANC and all other organisations.
- Repeal of all the political proscriptive laws.
- Return of exiles to allow consultation within the wider democratic movement.
- Unconditional release of all political prisoners.

The same cannot be said about the earlier decisions by SABTA (South African Black Taxi Association) to purchase PUTCO. In this case, if the deal went through, the political implications would have been serious. SABTA would have been indirectly co-opted into social and economic structures that enhance the regime's policies.

## **PUTCO/SABTA Case**

In August of this year the 45,000 members strong SABTA was making a serious bid to buy 52.5% controlling interest of one of the most powerful corporations in South



## Role of the Petty Bourgeoisie

**The African petty bourgeoisie like the rest of the nationally oppressed masses have to be an integral part of the struggle for socio-political and economic emancipation of our people from the barbarous apartheid system.**

They can only extract concessions from the regime, but their real freedom lies with the destruction of the apartheid system. Indeed their political positions, if originating from the international capital will show less appreciation of the feelings and aspirations of the oppressed masses. In its search for a solution to the problems of the various sections of the community, judging it with suspicion, the petty bourgeoisie has to consider the possibility that it is preoccupied with its own exclusively economic class interests at the expense of serious participation in the day-to-day struggles of the mass democratic movement.

It is imperative for the mass democratic movement, however, in acknowledging that this class will not in any inevitable way be part of the anti-racist and anti-apartheid forces, to ensure that it utilises to the fullest extent its influence to draw this stratum into its ranks. The positions taken by this stratum presently perhaps reflect the balance of forces in the present conjuncture. Although it would be wrong to place too much emphasis on NAFCOG which represents only a section of the petty bourgeoisie, its positions perhaps helps us appreciate the point made.

**The African petty bourgeoisie has been the beneficiary of the struggle for liberation.** It was drawn to the negotiating table of the apartheid's minister of Banks, Administration and Development in 1976 after approximately seven years of snubs by the regime. It is no accident that this happened during that period. The regime was desperate to consult with Blacks who were not placing demands it was unwilling to address. NAFCOG provided just this kind of avenue. It did not matter that NAFCOG was not representative of the Black majority, after all the regime knew where to find the true representatives of the oppressed masses. NAFCOG's demands

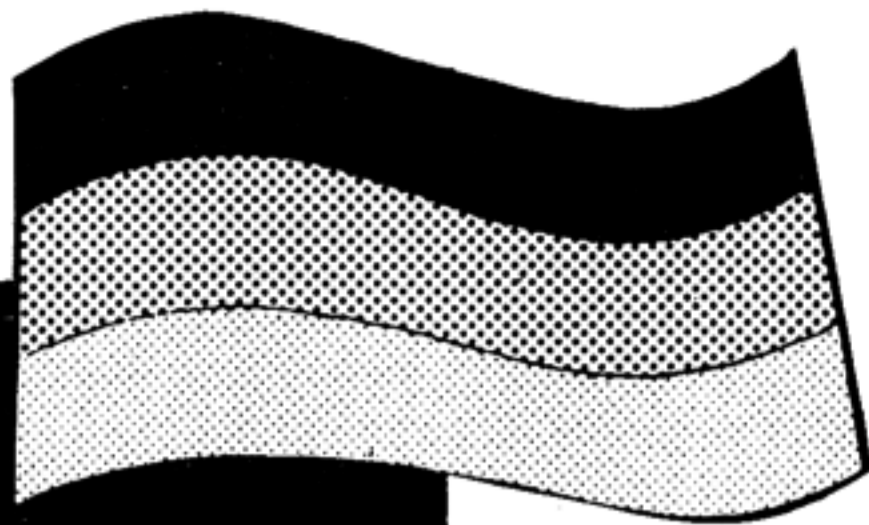
were predominantly economic and in the interest of its class.

The regime during this period though shaken by the students' uprising nevertheless still had the upper hand. The liberatory forces were very weak. In the last three years however, the situation has changed dramatically. The regime is facing the worst socio-economic and political crisis in its history. The divisions within the ruling bloc are apparent. Not only has the Nationalist Party seen splinter groups leave the Party, it is facing growing division within what remains of it. The once powerful White labour support has dwindled in the face of TUCSA's death. Local and international capital is more often than not at odds with the pace of regime's reforms. Imperialist allies are divided on their support for the regime. On the other hand the revolutionary forces have enjoyed a period of consolidation and advance. The formation of COSATU, UDF and various other such structures including SAYCO and COTRALESÁ (Congress of Traditional Leaders) are all signs in this direction. The success of the state of emergency cannot be underestimated. Its limitations, however, are only too apparent. **The emergency has affected organisation, it has nonetheless failed to destroy the democratic forces.** There is consensus within the revolutionary forces that there is great scope for advance despite the emergency. During this era NAFCOG demands have also assumed a political character. This is in recognition of the irreversible tide against apartheid.

It is the duty of the mass democratic movement therefore to use its influence to mobilise these forces into the ranks of the liberation forces. Presently they, through NAFCOG appear to have a programme different from that of the mass movement. They must be mobilised to place their demands within the context of the people's charter, the Freedom Charter. This social group must be made to come to terms with the leading role of the working class in our struggle. It would however, be mistaken for our movement to assume that the African petty bourgeoisie is a natural enemy in our struggle. They must not be won over by the regime. They are part of the nationally oppressed Black majority.



# ANC INTERNATIONAL



## **NELSON MANDELA HONOURED**

**On November 11 1987 Karl Marx University, Leipzig, honoured Comrade Mandela by awarding him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (honoris causa) in recognition of his achievements and merits as a theoretician, uncompromising leader of the South African liberation struggle and a dedicated humanist.**

The award was received on behalf of comrade Nelson Mandela by President O R Tambo who said, among other things:

*"We are gathered here on the occasion of the conferment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (honoris causa) on Nelson Mandela, who is unable to be here to receive this great honour in person. Nelson Mandela, a most popular national leader of the people of South Africa, an outstanding champion of national liberation and peace — this great fighter is a symbol of our people's resilience in the struggle for freedom and peace. In honouring Nelson Mandela, you honour the people of South Africa. You honour all of southern Africa and all of Africa.*

*In doing so you express not only your solidarity and support for our just struggle but also that of the people of your great country, the German Democratic Republic.*

*It is my singular privilege today to represent my friend, brother and partner in struggle and to receive this prestigious award in his name and on his behalf. I know that he in turn regards this great honour as belonging to the fighting masses in our country. The Karl Marx University, which has been in existence for an incredible 400 years is a striking example of how the objectives of academic institutions are determined by the nature of society. Today your institution is not only raising the academic and intellectual calibre of your students, which include many from Africa and other continents, but you are striving to create in each student a new person.*



*Like so many other academic institutions in the German Democratic Republic, the Karl Marx University is in the forefront of the struggle for peace, freedom and justice. The quest for truth and knowledge has not become an end in itself but has also become an instrument for the creation of a new society".*



## **MBEKI INVITED TO BONN**

**The organisers of the Second International Teachers for Peace Conference, which is taking place in Bonn, Federal Republic of Germany in May 1988 have invited Comrade Mbeki to join their Committee.**

The invitation arrived while he was still on Robben Island. The Advisory Board includes personalities and educationalists from 30 countries including the UK, USA, FRG, France, Australia, USSR, GDR and other socialist countries.

One of the main items on the Agenda will be to mobilize teachers, students and pupils into action against Apartheid. Comrade Mbeki is now expected to attend the Conference as guest of honour. This is a copy of the letter which was sent to comrade Govan Mbeki.

*26th October, 1987*

*The Prison, Private Bag, Robben Island*

*Dear Mr Mbeki,*

The Second International Teachers for Peace Congress will take place in May 1988 in Bonn, the capital of the Federal Republic of Germany. One of the main topics will be the mobilisation of pupils, students and teachers for concrete action and support to abolish Apartheid in South Africa.

We hope, as well, to put some pressure on governments like ours in the FRG who are still unwilling to support the call for an International boycott of the South Africa Regime.

During the preparatory process of the Congress, all participating countries were asked to nominate well-known teachers and educators from their countries. Your name was suggested to us.

We would be very honoured to have you in our midst. Your life as a student, teacher, writer, journalist, Secretary of the African Workers Association and leader of the African National Congress is an inspiring example of the fight for Human Rights and Peace. That you, and many of your comrades are still in prison is a stimulus for us to do everything in our power to end apartheid.

We are going to inform all our colleagues about your biography and how proud we are to be with you in the same spirit.

With all best wishes in solidarity,  
Yours sincerely,  
Dr. Lutz van Dick





## **WORLD ACTIVISTS CALL FOR SANCTIONS**

The Second Workshop on Southern Africa and Sanctions Against South Africa and Namibia was held at Sigtuna, in Sweden, on November 19-22 1987, organised by the Isolate South Africa Committee and Africa Groups of Sweden, with financial support from the Swedish Government.

The ANC delegation was led by Comrade Steve Gawe, and the SWAPO delegation by Hidipo Hamutenya, who gave the vote of thanks at the end on behalf of both delegations.

The Workshop took place about two days after the meeting of the Frontline States at Luanda, which ended with a communique in which the Frontline States condemned South Africa's invasion of Angola. In that communique the Frontline States gave full support to the FAPLA forces, saying "their victory is ours." The International Workshop welcomed this communique, and they sent to the United Nations and to the European Parliament messages urging comprehensive mandatory sanction on South Africa on the basis of demands by the liberation movements.

The international delegations included representatives of anti-apartheid movements in the Nordic countries, the Federal Republic of Germany, Netherlands, Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, United States, Canada, United Kingdom, Republic of Ireland, Japan, New Zealand and Australia.

International Organisations were also present: Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation (AAPSO), Association of West European Parliamentarians Against Apartheid (AWEPA), Namibia Communication Centre, UK Shipping Research Bureau — Netherlands and the World Council of Churches, Switzerland.

On the opening day there were Ambassadors from some of the Frontline States, and two representatives of the Frontline States were present throughout

the workshop, namely TV Mosele of the Botswana Embassy in Stockholm and Ms Mary Chipala of the Zambian Embassy in Stockholm.

A communique issued by the workshop on 22nd November condemned "in the strongest terms South Africa's invasion and ongoing occupation of part of the People's Republic of Angola and expressed its unwavering solidarity with all the peoples and countries of Southern Africa against which South Africa is directing its aggression".

## **GERMAN ARTISTS DONATE PAINTINGS TO THE ANC**

103 West German Artists, mostly from the Rhine Area, have donated 120 works of art for exhibition and sale in solidarity with the peoples of South Africa. All proceeds from the sale of paintings will go to the ANC.

## **INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS "CULTURE AGAINST WAR - SCIENCE FOR PEACE"**

This International Conference was attended by scientists from all over the world, took place in Hanover, FRG, 27-29 November 1987. The ANC guest speaker made a strong appeal against the misuse of science by the apartheid regime, and also exposed the supply of arms by countries such as the FRG, to the Botha regime which are used against the people of South and Southern Africa. (These include military helicopters, UNIMOGS trucks Submarine plans and technology.) He also described how indigenous culture was destroyed in order to maintain power by the regime, but how today, culture has become a weapon in the hands of the oppressed in the struggle against apartheid.

## **MALIBONGWE IN GERMAN**

The second edition of the book "*Malibongwe*", a collection of poetry written by women in the ANC, has been published in the FRG. ■



# VIGILANTES

## THE MYTH OF BLACK ON BLACK VIOLENCE

by J. Mathebula

In recognition of, and as a direct response to, the growing crisis afflicting South Africa, particularly since June 1976, the upper echelons of the SADF put forward what they term 'total strategy' against 'total onslaught,' to counter the growing revolutionary ferment in the country.

That 'total strategy' against 'total onslaught' is an attempt by the SADF military top brass to apply the 'low-intensity war' doctrine to the South African situation can be seen from the similarities between the two concepts. In 1977, P W Botha, then South African Minister of Defence, issued the Defence White Paper, in which the concept of 'total strategy' against 'total onslaught' was defined in these words:

"The process of ensuring and maintaining the sovereignty of a state in a conflict situation has, through the evolution of warfare, shifted from a purely military to an integrated national action. The resolution of a conflict in the times in which we now live demands interdependent and co-ordinated action in all fields-military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, technological, diplomatic, ideological, cultural etc".

It is through the application of this concept that the SADF military top brass hopes to maintain government control where it still exists, restore it where it is in danger of or has already been, lost to the popular and revolutionary forces and finally



*Vigilante groupings at the formation*

establish it firmly in those areas where it has been deficient or lacking.

What we are witnessing today in South Africa with the breeding and use of right-wing vigilante groups and secret death squads against the liberation and entire democratic movement is clearly an attempt by the SADF generals to wage "total war at the grassroots level."

Within this plan, the SADF military top brass also hopes to relegate the direct use of SADF soldiers to a lower level or employ them as a back-up force to the police in order to portray their occupation of Black townships, villages and schools as 'peace-keeping.' However, the strategy of the apartheid regime of 'winning the hearts and minds' of the Black population is showing deeper contradictions every day that passes. As a result thereof, the apartheid





of UWUSA, the Inkatha union

regime finds itself in a situation where it's like a gentleman fool who, after taking his bath and putting on his best suit rushes out to keep an appointment with his lady, only to trip over his shoe string just when he is about to give her a welcome kiss.

The use of extra-legal violence in the form of vigilantes and secret death squads against the popular democratic movement in SA is most certainly one of the 'civilised' and 'scientific' methods of counter-revolutionary warfare which the military strategists of the apartheid regime have learnt directly from both the Pentagon and CIA and through their military collaboration with Israel and the fascist military juntas of Latin America.

Craig Williamson, the former South African police spy, infiltrated into NUSAS and the now defunct IUEF in the 1970s, left us in no doubt about the above when he declared that:

"If the state wishes not to be reformist they (the Security Forces) could maintain *the status quo* as has been done before in places such as Argentina under the

rule of the fascist military junta."

Soon after writing the above words, Craig Williamson was forced to swallow his words and admit that:

"The politics of maintaining ... power through force and violence is sterile. This country has a political problem which cannot be solved militarily".

The above statement, besides contradicting the first one, is far from representing any conversion to revolutionary politics on the part of Williamson, and is a clear indication of the impact which the mass political struggle, in combination with the armed struggle carried out by Umkhonto we Sizwe has had on the political thinking of even the most diehard supporters and agents of the apartheid regime. The very fact that this former South African intelligence officer can, without batting an eyelid, still declare that he does not "regret that (his) past has landed some ANC members in jail" should not lead us into the illusion that somehow he had been converted to revolutionary politics.

In some cases, the South African Security and Secret Intelligence Services have not hesitated to use the vigilantes and secret death squads to cook up incriminating evidence against the liberation and entire democratic movement by employing CIA dirty tricks such as the so-called Black propaganda operations and many others. According to the US Senate Select Committee to study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church Committee) report, such operations, usually carried out in combination with or, as a supplement to, the methods of direct repression by the security forces, are designed "to give the impression that they are sponsored by an indigenous opposition force or a hostile power rather than by the US."

## **AWB Members 'Detained' in Top-Class Hotels**

The discovery of arms caches containing, among other weapons, four AK-47 automatic assault rifles, a Makarov pistol,



# THIS MUST STOP!



ADMINISTRATION BOARD AREAS AND BANTUSTANS





# THIS MUST STOP!



ADMINISTRATION BOARD AREAS AND BANTUSTANS



19 AK-47 magazines, several AK-47 parts and a Soviet-made Oerlikon missile on three farms, one of which belongs to the family of Eugene Terre'Blanche, in the Cullinan, Delmas and Ventersdorp districts in early 1982, for whose possession 9 members of the AWB were arrested and secretary, Jan Groenewald and former member, Jacob Daniel Viljoen were found guilty and sentenced to two, three and four years imprisonment respectively falls in neatly with the above CIA logic. The sentence on all three, who are all former members of the SA Security Police and with Eugene Terre'Blanche having served as a bodyguard to the former SA Prime Minister, John B Vorster, was suspended for five years. Before passing the sentence the judge, Henk Van Dyk, found the men to be 'civilised and decent people' and declared that:

"The fact that they are in possession of these articles was an unfortunate concurrence of events (and that) the community would certainly not expect me to send them to jail".

The sentence passed on all three, and the above words, are a clear indication of how apartheid justice tolerates right-wing terrorist activities inside SA, the detention of all the AWB members, including Andries Terre'Blanche, Eugene's brother for merely a week in a top-class Pretoria hotel shows how the apartheid authorities not only treat the perpetrators of right-wing terrorist activities with soft gloves but also encourages them. Had they been White or Black opponents of the apartheid regime from the left the accused would have been fortunate to spend 180 days in solitary confinement and suffered severe interrogation and torture in the Pretoria Central Prison or any other of the regime's dungeons and if found guilty, sentenced to a term of not less than five years effective imprisonment.

When told about the detention of the AWB members in the top-class Pretoria hotel, a spokesman for the Detainees' Parents Support Committee could not believe his ears and suggested that:

"If they were kept in a hotel they have set a precedent and we want all detainees to be offered the same treatment.

Past practice has been very different".

The impunity with which secret death squads can operate against radical and other opponents of the regime is also shown by the revelation made by one Arnold Van Der Westhuizen, a businessman, during a trial in the Cape Town Supreme Court in 1979. On this occasion Van Der Westhuizen, who together with Brian Hack, President of the Conservative Student Alliance (CSA), and David Beelders were being accused of carrying out a series of right-wing terror attacks against Beyers Naude, Colin Eglin and the property of the Christian Institute, the Black Sash, the SA Institute of Race Relations and the PFP, astonished the public when, among other things, he revealed to reporters the name of a person involved in the murder of Richard Turner, five right-wing organisations with military wings, right-wing access to SADF weapons and plastic explosives and the involvement of the then Bureau of State Security (BOSS). Van Der Westhuizen went on and declared to the reporters that "right-wing terror is very profitable," having earned R25 000 during the first three years of his involvement and further promised that he could make R200 000 if he continued to take part in such activities. It was hardly surprising that, as Van Der Westhuizen himself revealed, BOSS turned out to be the main paymaster and organiser of right-wing terrorist activities inside the country.

## **They Pose as ANC Members**

Amongst the numerous 'black' propaganda operations which have been carried out by or under the supervision of the SA Security Forces, the cold-blooded murder of ten schoolboys from the Pretoria township of Mamelodi by members of the Imbokhotho vigilante group in strife-torn KwaNdebele in June 1986 is one of the worst incidents since the present country-wide popular revolt started in September 1984. On this occasion a member of the Imbokhotho vigilante group posing as an ANC representative set up the schoolboys for killing by luring them away from their



homes in Mamelodi with a promise of safe passage to leave the country for military training abroad. After leaving the schoolboys for a while in a 'safe' house in KwaNdebele, the 'guide' returned with a group of gunmen armed with AK-47 automatic assault rifles. The gunmen burst into the house firing their automatic rifles and after killing the schoolboys in cold blood set them on fire. Afraid that with the imminent downfall of the Impokhotho vigilante group, some of the weapons would fall into the hands of the residents, the police launched a pre-emptive raid on the homes of some of its members and recovered them.

Previously, the SA Security and Secret Intelligence Services had successfully used the same tactic on 25 and 26 June 1985 in KwaThema and Duduza on the East Rand when they managed to infiltrate an enthusiastic group of young Blacks belonging to COSAS and supplied them with booby-trapped hand grenades and a limpet mine. The hand-grenades and limpet mine, which were not equipped with time-delay mechanisms and were therefore ready to explode when the safety pin was released, ended in killing eight of the group's members and injuring several others when they tried to use them. Some of the people killed and injured had been on a hit list of 10 people to be eliminated.

The hit lists have been prepared separately by a group of policemen and local businessmen in Duduza.

Two months later, a former Duduza community councillor and businessman, Steven Namane, and his brother David, were named as having been among a vigilante group which attacked activists and was responsible for the brutal torture and death of Alexander Pilane. This emerged during a trial in the Pretoria Supreme Court involving seven members of the vigilante group charged with attempted murder, possession of hand grenades and a bomb, and of malicious damage to property.

Commenting on the booby-trapped

weapons, a former Rhodesian Army officer pointed out that the weapons could have been intercepted, tampered with to ensure that they exploded in the hands of the would-be users and then allowed to be smuggled to the township activists and further added that this "is a very efficient (and cheap) method of eliminatng your terrorists and at the same time discovering their identities."

The increasingly widespread use of fire-bombs by the police and secret death squads against leading activists and members of the democratic movement as well as potential opponents of the apartheid regime in recent months is yet another instance where an unpopular government appropriates a weapon or method generally associated with a popular revolt to use it in its so-called Black propaganda operations against its opponents. Among the many victims of this police and secret death squads action is the Rt. Rev. Simeon Nkoane, the Suffragan Bishop of Johannesburg East, whose home in KwaThema, Springs, was twice petrol-bombed by Sgt Sithole, a detective and three other policemen on June 21th and 26th 1985.

The attacks followed the strong condemnation which the bishop made against police action at the funeral of Patricia Sonto Thabela, another petrol-bomb victim in Duduza, Nigel, through an urgent telegram sent some weeks before to the State President, P W Botha, and the Minister of Law and Order, Louis Le Grange.

Because of the irrefutable evidence which he gave against him, Patrick Mahlangu, who was staying in a back room on the Sergeant's property had to leave KwaThema out of fear for his life. Ironically enough, the Reverend Nkoane was later, to stop a march by scores of Leandra youth, who intended to get rid of the police and informers in the township with an assortment of weapons they were carrying. This was in December 1986.

The increasing use by the vigilantes of the 'necklace' method, a technique generally used by young opponents of the apartheid regime's agents and collaborators is not fortuitous.





It constitutes one more clear example of an attempt by the apartheid security forces to portray the murderous activities of these right-wing terrorist groups as a case of so-called Black-on-Black violence.

The use of AK-47 automatic rifles, Makarov pistols, hand-grenades and limpet mines supplied by the apartheid security forces, fire-bombs, 'necklacing' and other weapons and methods which have come to be generally associated with the popular revolt by the vigilantes and secret death squads against real or potential opponents of the apartheid regime is intended to throw scorn and ridicule upon, as well as raise doubts about, and create confusion around, the liberation and entire democratic movement. What is more, it clearly reflects some other counter-insurgency methods of warfare widely practised by the US troops in Vietnam called the National, Civil or Home Guard, against democratic forces in those countries.

## **They Mimic US Imperialism**

No wonder that amongst the many names which the vigilantes and secret death squads use, the Green Berets, the Marines, the A-Team, Omega, Rambo and Volkswag are the most preferred. While the above names are all associated with the US special units for external aggression, US sponsored counter-revolutionary groups and the ideological diversion campaigns of US imperialism the last one, which when translated from Afrikaans means National Guard, bears a striking resemblance to and at the same time gives a memory of the brutal activities carried out by the US, Latin American and Caribbean countries' machinery for internal repression, variously called the National, Civil or Home Guard against democratic forces in those countries.

It is worth noting that the SA security forces have since long ago been using the

32 Battalion, itself founded by one Colonel Carpenter, a veteran of the Vietnam War who works as a mercenary for the SADF, and paramilitary vigilante groups such as the Home Guards against the civilian population of both southern Angola and Namibia to test the effectiveness of their so-called Black propaganda operations.

The highly disproportionate numbers of Black troops deployed in Namibia vis-a-vis the overall troop strength of the SADF also reflects yet another dirty trick which the apartheid military strategists have learned from their counterparts in the CIA.

It is a little known but historically important fact that many, if not most, of the



*Vigilante thugs on the rampage*



'special' warfare units trained at Fort Bragg in the US, could hardly speak English and that during the Vietnam War, the US Army would send a disproportionate number of Blacks and Latinos to fight the Vietnamese patriots. According to official statistics issued by the US, Department of Defence in relation to the Vietnam War:

"Blacks were more likely to be (1) drafted (30 per cent out of 19 per cent); (2) sent to Vietnam, (3) serve in high risk combat; and consequently, (4) kill, be killed or wounded in battle."

The SADF has lost no time in making use of this dirty trick. For instance, although Blacks represented a mere 5 per cent of the SADF troop strength during the late 1970s and early 1980s, they nevertheless constituted 20 per cent of all the troops deployed in the "operational areas". And according to figures cited by Gen. Magnus



Malan at the end of 1985, 16 per cent of all the soldiers deployed in the "operational areas" of Namibia are Blacks. To drive the point home Major Errol Mann, officer commanding the Caprivi Battalion once remarked to a press briefing session in February 1981 that "the best people to fight Blacks with is with other Blacks ... they are very good in the bush". The training and arming of 6 000 Black council policemen called 'Law Enforcement Officers' over the past two years to be put on duty in townships is part of the apartheid regime's strategy to use Blacks as cannon fodder against the liberation and entire democratic movement inside the country.

The recent announcement that the apartheid regime is to recruit and give a three-week training crash course to a new force of 6 000 'special' Black constables, most of whom will surely be drawn from the ranks of the vigilantes and the unemployed, forms part of this strategy. This is in addition to the fact that about 50 per cent of the 48 000 members of the SA Police is composed of Blacks, that is excluding the distinctively clad police forces of the 10 bantustan territories. Of the above percentage, about 40 per cent are Africans and 10 per cent are Coloureds and Indians. The use of Blacks and Latinos as cannon fodder by both the US Army and SADF for the most dangerous missions against the democratic and revolutionary movement reflects, as indicated above, one more dirty trick which the apartheid military strategists have inherited from the CIA.

However, when the objective of their mission is to engage not only in direct and open repression against but also to tarnish and smear the image and prestige of the democratic and revolutionary movement, some right-wing terrorist groups such as the so-called Society of Young Africa are quite prepared to cynically use names of revolutionary leaders like Castro, Mugabe, Machel and Arafat as their code-names. As the above incidents indicate, the apartheid security forces are fully drawing upon the experience of the US Army in Vietnam and elsewhere to use the so-called Black propaganda operations to combat the liberation and democratic movement in South Africa.



## **The Myth of 'Black-on-Black' Violence**

In South Africa, the apartheid regime has on many occasions also made attempts to deny the key role which various state bodies, mainly the administration boards, the bantustan authorities and security forces have played and continue to play in fomenting the emergence, and encouraging, protecting, as well as justifying, the operations of the vigilantes and secret death squads. In the case of SA, the most favoured tactic used by the illegal and criminal regime in denying the connection between its state apparatus on the one hand and the vigilantes and secret death squads on the other is to portray their emergence as having been spontaneous and their murderous activities simply as a case of "Black on Black conflict".

It would undoubtedly be a grievous, if not fatal, mistake on the part of the liberation movement and the entire democratic and progressive movement inside SA and its supporters outside to fall into the enemy trap and believe that the vigilantes and secret death squads have emerged independently of the state apparatus and are carrying out their murderous activities without the control, and guidance of the apartheid security forces.

The emergence and portrayal of the nefarious activities of the vigilantes and secret death squads as just a case of "Black on Black conflict" are of a great propaganda value to the racist regime as it uses them to hide and/or minimise the extent of repression carried out by its own security forces against the popular and democratic movement.

It is on the basis of attributing most of the deaths occurring in the on-going upheavals inside the country to the so-called Black on

Black violence that the apartheid regime seeks not only to hide the links and relationship between its state apparatus and those right-wing terrorist groups, but also intends to absolve its security forces from the horrendous crimes resulting from their operations.

Most dangerous for the liberation movement is that after breeding, encouraging, supporting and protecting the murderous activities of the vigilantes and secret death squads the apartheid regime and its allies point out each 'Black on Black' death as their reason for refusing to accede to the legitimate demands of the democratic majority in SA.

Secondly, the murderous activities of these right-wing terrorist groups are of great advantage to the apartheid state, as the criminal regime employs them as an instrument to blunt the sharp edge of the liberation and entire democratic movement inside SA. This becomes more so in a situation where its own security forces can ill afford to further damage their already tarnished image amongst the residents inside the country and the regime's allies abroad.

As expected, the illegal SA racist minority regime has, under cover of the State of Emergency, already tried to pass off the operations of the vigilantes to the outside world as simply a case of 'Black on Black violence', in which most of the deaths are supposed to be not the result of the brutal repression carried out by its own security forces but of this new phenomenon on the SA political scene.

For instance, the SA Bureau for Information claims that about 60 per cent of Black deaths occurring during the upheavals between September 1984 and January 1986 were caused by the repressive actions of the security forces. In contrast, the same source claims that the above figure dropped to about 33 per cent during the first six months of 1986. The Bureau for Information goes on to claim that since the State of Emergency was re-imposed on June 12th, more than 75 per cent of the 175 deaths which have occurred during the most recent upheavals, particularly at Crossroads and in KwaNdebele, were caused by Blacks killing each other. This juggling of



figures by the Bureau for Information is obviously intended to hide the fact that most of the more than 450 township deaths between September 1984 and the middle of 1985 were the result of direct repression carried out by the apartheid security forces, and not of the so-called 'Black on Black' conflict.

But even if, for argument's sake, we were to concede and accept the above figures, issued by the Bureau for Information, this does not in any way stop us from laying the blame for the many deaths and sufferings of our people as a result of the murderous activities of the vigilantes and secret death squads squarely at the door of the illegal SA racist minority regime. After all, the bantustans authorities, administration board officials and community councillors, the ones who are charged with the implementation of government policy and have used their powers to foment, encourage and direct the criminal activities of the vigilantes and secret death squads under the protection of the security forces, are all office bearers of the apartheid state.

## Slander and Distortions

Not content with the juggling of figures, the Bureau for Information has in addition laun-

ched a virulent campaign of disinformation involving the production and distribution of booklets and fake pamphlets against the liberation and entire democratic movement. Amongst these is the publication of an expensive and anonymous booklet entitled *Face to Face with the ANC* in September 1986. The publication appears in the format of an international news magazine to attract the attention of readers. It has been revealed that the 68-page publication was printed by Derek Butcher and Co. of Maitland, Cape Town and the apartheid regime intended sending its entire print order abroad. This is in addition to the publication of another booklet, entitled *Talking with the ANC* by the Bureau for Information in June 1986. The two publications constitute an attempt by the apartheid regime to slander and misrepresent the ANC and its alliance with the SACP by quoting its statements out of context and telling gross lies against it.

After refusing to give an interview to a team of newspaper men from *The Cape Times* Derek Butcher, the owner of the company failed to confirm in a telephone conversation with them whether it is true or not that the publication was printed at his works. However, Mr Butcher did try to defend the apartheid regime's 'right' to



Residents of Crossroads under attack from vigilantes supported by the security forces



publish and distribute anonymous booklets inside and outside SA against the ANC, even if such an action, by not mentioning the publisher and printer contravenes several laws. As if this was not enough, Mr Butcher went on to tell the journalists that if they publicise this information, they will be putting the lives of 200 people — his employees — at risk because according to him, the ANC will come and bomb his factory.

It is obvious that the publication of these and several other anti-ANC booklets and postcards since then, some of which were secretly funded by the SADF forms part of the apartheid regime's broad strategy to portray the ANC as a reckless "terrorist" organisation manipulated by the SACP. Outside SA, the illegal SA racist minority regime's broad strategy to, among other objectives, sow divisions between communists and non-communists within the liberation movement is continued and complemented by the US. Congress commissioning of a McCarthy-style anti-communist witch-hunt into the ANC in an attempt by supporters of the apartheid regime on Capitol Hill to brand the ANC as a terrorist organisation and make the US sanctions legislation, inaptly called the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, appear more even-handed.

The investigation was expected to bring out a report on the activities of the SACP in SA and its role within the liberation movement as led by the ANC by the end of 1986. The Bill commissioning the investigation into the ANC also requires the US Attorney-General to submit a report on the nature and extent of ANC support within the US with the final aim of victimising its supporters and curbing its solidarity work there.

The fact that the report, which has been submitted by President Reagan to the US Senate on the ANC and SACP was prepared by the CIA. The Defence Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency can only serve to confirm the fears and suspicions of the SA national liberation movement that the Reagan Administration, in spite of its hypocritical declarations condemning apartheid, intends continuing its collaboration with the illegal SA racist minority regime on intelligence matters.

Though the recently enacted sanctions legislation against SA stipulates that "no agency or entity of the US may engage in any form of co-operation, direct or indirect, with the armed forces of the government of SA", it at the same time makes it clear that the US, by allowing "activities which are reasonably designed to facilitate the collection of necessary intelligence", will continue exchanging vital intelligence information on the SA national liberation movement and the neighbouring countries with the apartheid regime.

The serious danger which the exchange of such intelligence information between the US and the apartheid regime can pose to the liberation movement can today be understood if we remember that Comrade Nelson Mandela's capture by the racist authorities 25 years ago came about following a tip-off from the CIA and that the counter-insurgency methods employed by the SADF owe a great deal to the US Army's combat experience in Vietnam and Central America.

It is in the light of this background that we see and interpret the US Senate ordering of the probe on the ANC as nothing new but rather a continuation of the Denton Commission on Security and Terrorism and of an old and discredited tactic by successive US Administrations to manipulate the political thinking of ordinary people in support of the interests of the US ruling circles and those of their allies. This dirty tactic in psychological warfare has been practised by successive US Administrations from as long ago as 1928 when Edward Bernays, formerly a consultant for the US delegation to the Versailles Peace Conference and later a hired-hand of the notorious United Fruit Company, wrote in a public relations manual that:

"The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organised habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic (read capitalist) society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country ... it is the intelligent (and rich) minorities which need to make use of propaganda continuously and systematically." ■



# JMC's CENTRES FOR CONTROL AND REPRESSION

**Through the collaboration of major western countries and Israel the apartheid military juggernaut is reputed to be the largest and best equipped defence force in Africa.**

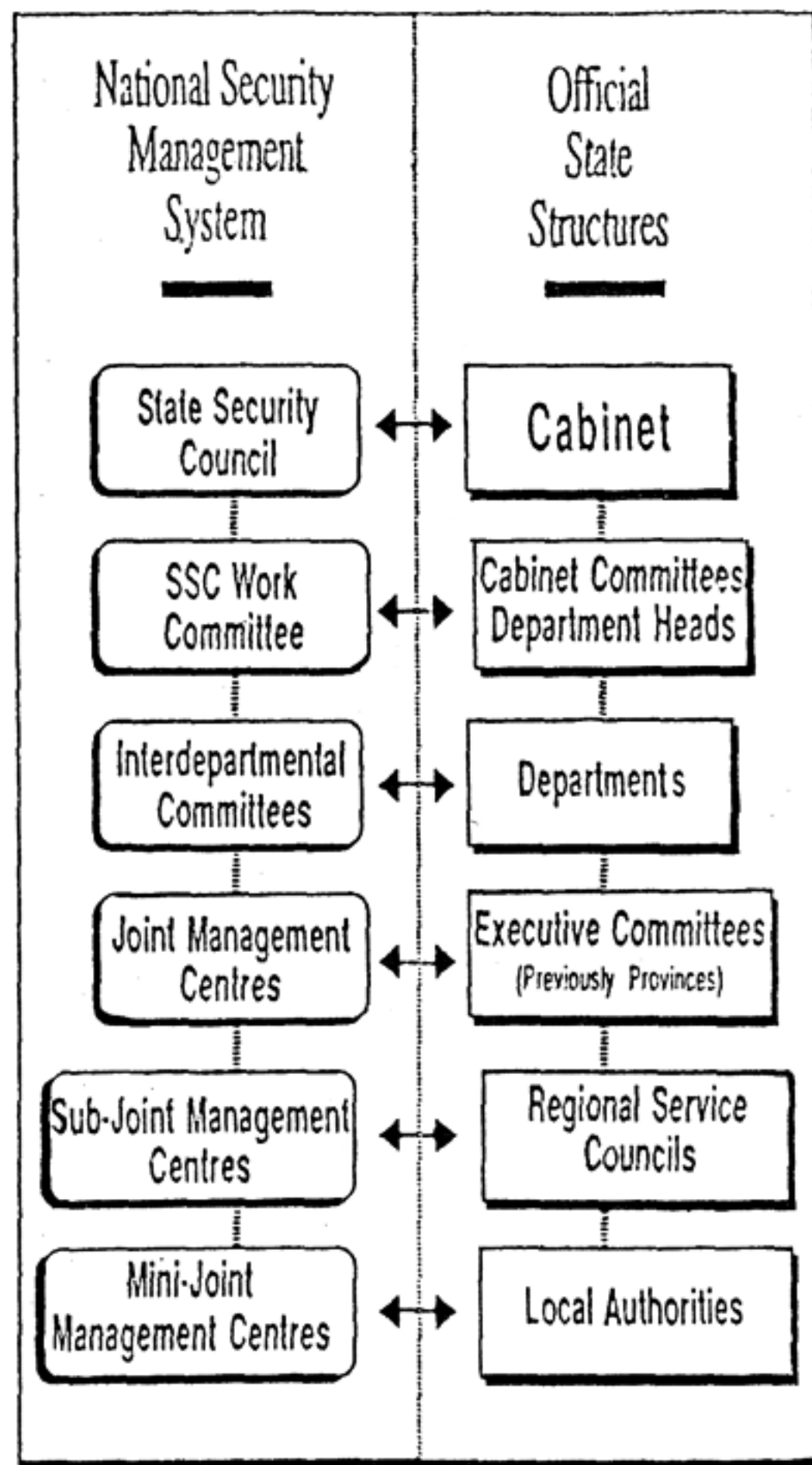
It is estimated that about 430 000 predominantly White persons (Permanent Force, conscripts, Citizen Force and Commandos) are in a state of actual or potential mobilisation.

Official defence spending has rocketed from R44m in 1960-61 to an astronomical sum of R6.6 billion in 1987 (30% increase on 1986.) This does not account for spending through the Special Defence Budget or other secret accounts, nor spending in Bantustans or Namibia; nor costs carried by other departments: for example, Treasury has to meet some of the Intelligence costs, the Department of Community Development carries costs of SADF housing.

The SADF is backed by a huge police force (55 000) and other paramilitary forces (mercenaries, kits-konstabels, etc).

**This awesome monster has created a secret elaborate network to co-ordinate and direct government and state activities at every aspect of South African domestic and foreign life.**

Even Colin Eglin (leader of the PFP) was recently forced to concede that the National Security Management System (NSMS) was a "very sinister political development". It is remarkable that it has taken White SA so long to realise this. Already in the 70s the concept of Total Strategy was being used to give philosophical and political justification for military rule. In 1977 P W Botha (then Minister of Defence) when introduc-



ing the Defence White Paper said:

"The resolution of the conflict in the times in which we now live demands inter-dependent and co-ordinated action in all fields military, psychological, economic, political, sociological, technological, diplomatic, ideological, cultural etc. We are today involved in a war whether we like it or not. It is therefore essential that a total national strategy was formulated at the highest level".

He of course avoided announcing that the highest level would be under the control of the military security establishment. The militaristic nature of apartheid's strategic policy is reflected by understanding of the National Security Doctrine (NSD). MH Louw (ex-director of ISSUP) succinctly outlined this when he stated that:

"NSD deals with war, and war as a brand of politics ... which must have a philosophical basis for punitive intent, violence and extermination of life ... NSD is a trilogy of foreign policy, military policy and domestic policy. We must mobilise through its mechanisms and resources a capability (power, leverage or violence) for effective resistance. This means a capacity to withstand challenges to our own territorial integrity and political and economic social order as well as to exert pressure on other, mostly weaker, states, to make behaviour consonant with our interests".

The essence of this philosophy appears in almost all major statements uttered by the military-security establishment. The NSMS is the instrument to achieve this objective.

**The National Security Management System (NSMS) consists of elaborate structures and committees whose members and activities are cloaked in secrecy. It has effectively become a "government in the shadows".**

Since everything from schooling to rent

and consumer boycotts are considered potential security problems, the NSMS has very wide jurisdiction. A spokesman said:

"The lack of a classroom is not a security matter, but lack of proper facilities or sufficient facilities can become a security problem. Nobody can tell a department that they must build a new school, but from a security point of view you can tell them that if you don't, there is going to be a problem".

## **The NSMS has five tiers.**

### **State Security Council (SSC)**

This is the most powerful and important section. It has largely taken over the Cabinet's task of executive and strategic decision-making. Its membership consists of:

- President PW Botha, chairman.
- Gen. Magnus Malan, defence minister.
- Gen. 'Jannie' Geldenhuys, chief of the SADF.
- Lt-Gen. Andre 'Cat' Liebenberg, army chief.
- Lt-Gen. Denis Earp, air force chief.
- Vice-Admiral Glyn Syndercombe, navy chief.
- Lt-Gen. Kobus Niewoudt, chief of army medical services.
- Vice-Admiral 'Dries' Putter, director of military intelligence.
- Lt-Gen. van der Westhuizen, SSC secretary.
- Roelof 'Pik' Botha, foreign minister.
- Adriaan Vlok, law and order minister.
- Chris Heunis, minister of constitutional development and planning.



■ Barend du Plessis, finance minister.

■ HJ 'Kobie' Coetsee, justice minister. Coetsee, a former deputy minister of defence, a special adviser to PW Botha on intelligence and security matters.

In addition, the SSC includes the top officials from the five departments named above, plus Dr JP Roux, Director-General of the State President's department.

Other officials are:

■ Dr Lukas Neil Barnard, director of the National Intelligence Service.

■ Hennie de Witt, police commissioner.

■ Major-Gen. Johann van der Merwe, chief of security police.

■ Andre Bosch, director of security legislation.

Any other cabinet members or department heads or key industrialists can be co-opted for particular sessions, eg. Fred Bell (ex chief executive of Armscor) presently heading a covert sanctions-busting committee has participated in several SSC discussions. It has a secretariat with a full time staff of about 100 persons, 89% of these come from the military-security establishment and 11% from Foreign Affairs. The secretariat co-ordinates the country's entire security system (including intelligence).

### It has four Branches

a) **Strategy** — formulates strategic objectives and monitors implementation of policies by executive departments.

b) **National Intelligence and Interpretation** — interprets national information from DMI, NIS, Security Police and Foreign Affairs. On basis of this strategies are formulated for the cabinet.

c) **Strategic Communications** — deals with psychological warfare and dis-information.

d) **Administration** — deals with administrative tasks.

The Secretariat is headed by Lt-General PW Van der Westhuizen (former head of Department of Military Intelligence).

### 2) Work Committee of the SSC

This body determines agenda of the SSC and makes recommendations to be put to the Cabinet by the SSC. It meets regularly and reports on implementation of previous SSC decisions.

It has 13 inter-departmental sub-committees.

- Manpower
- Security Forces
- Civil Defence
- Transport
- Security
- National Supplies and Resources
- Government Funding
- National Economy
- Telecommunications and Electrical Power Supply
- Science and Technology
- Community Services
- Cultural and Political Affairs

Military-security personnel predominate in all 13 sub-committees.

### 3) Regional Joint Management Centres (JMCs)

(GBS — Gesaamlike Bestuursentrum)  
Presently 11 regional JMCs conforming with the Defence force command boundaries. There are plans to reduce this to nine to conform to Economic Development Areas. Each regional JMC has about 70 full time officials representing all government departments excepting Justice. Headed by senior members of army and police, and membership limited to armed forces and civil servants. Overall responsibility for JMCs is in the hands of Roelf Meyer, (Deputy Minister of Law and Order, in the Nationalist Party.)

### 4) Sub-JMCs

These operate at level of 57 planned Regional Service Councils — "Super municipalities" (multi-racial structures being established in major population areas). Consists of city officials and local police and military commanders. ▶

## 5) Mini-JMCs

Estimated that there are over 400 of these structures. They have approximately 1 500 sub-committees. These structures operate at level of local authorities (town councils etc). A wide range of people serve on these bodies eg. fire chiefs, postmasters, civil defence officers, councillors, leading members of business sector and interest groups etc.

### **Each JMC, sub- or mini-JMC has three Committees**

#### *a) Intelligence Committee ("Gik-Kom")*

This assesses all information, rumours etc. and gives it to JMC as "facts". It is considered to be the most important committee. They deal with local intelligence matters eg., how many stones were thrown that day; lack of schooling and other amenities; how many meetings were held, who attended and who spoke. They are also responsible for building detailed information on "important community figures".

All information from police, military and NIS at local level pooled in this section.

#### *b) Political, Economic and Social Committee ("Pes Kom")*

Deals with problems such as rents, services etc and is supposed to take action to prevent these issues from becoming grievances. A spokesman explained that they "divide things between welfare and security. If people in the welfare area can prevent a crisis, it does not become a security matter. If they don't it will invariably become a security matter ... So what often happens is that the mini or sub-JMC will bring matters like that to the attention of people concerned in local government departments or national government departments".

#### *c) Communications Committee ("Kom-Kom")*

This committee carries out disinformation while keeping residents "informed". Through control of media they extol benefits of "peace and stability", Black councillors and other stooges are lauded and opposition forces are discredited. Many of the false pamphlets, leaflets etc. emanate from this section. These three committees at regional and local level dovetails with three similar branches of the

SSC at central level.

It is now absolutely clear that through this vast labyrinth structure the military-security establishment is in total control of every aspect of South African life. The terms of reference of the JMCs are to:

"... ensure the necessary co-ordination on security matters at regional and local levels through the departments concerned. General Piet van Westhuizen (current SG of the SSC) candidly outlines the JMCs' tasks to be the 'lowering of the revolutionary climate; the prevention/defusing of unrest, and combating terrorist and other revolutionary actions.'"

The JMCs consider almost all matters as potential security matters and therefore within jurisdiction of the National Security Management system. Operating under the overall direction of the SSC and its network of structures the JMCs are very important components of the regimes counter-insurgency strategy. General Geldenhuys (head of the SADF) said that JMCs were specifically set up in response to "unrest" developing in certain areas. Another spokesman commented that "they are really the people on the ground level. You can't handle all the security from Pretoria".

The JMCs' tasks are very wide and far reaching, eg., they draw up lists of local grievances, make suggestions re improvement of facilities, keep records of all key personnel and dignitaries especially activists, they identify potential "flashpoints" and take action to defuse them. The basic idea is to neutralise activists and "win hearts and minds" by providing services such as water, sewerage, clinics, electricity, housing etc. Gathering of information is a very important aspect of their work. This network is being re-organised by Charles Lloyd (of Namibia fame). He is head of the newly created post of internal security covering Black townships.

Reporting is upwards-mini-JMC to Sub, Sub to Regional JMC, Regional JMC to SSC etc. For example the JMC responsible for the Witwatersrand coincides with the Witwatersrand command of the SADF. Four sub-JMCs (East Rand, Johannesburg, Soweto and West Rand) report to it. In turn Alexandra is one of several "minis" repor-



ting to Johannesburg.

JMCs have tremendous powers, for example if a department rejects a JMC recommendation, it will be referred to the SSC or one of its many working committees. The issue will then be taken up with a director-general or at cabinet level. Over the last few years JMCs have increasingly intervened in everyday activities. For example in August 1987 the leaking of a secret document "Strategy for the collection of area rental and service charges" exposed comprehensive plans of the Johannesburg JMC to break the rent boycotts in the Vaal triangle. The plan involved business sectors, ex-development boards, community councillors and security forces. It recommended creation of local "collection action groups", eviction of boycotters, use of computers to build information banks and "weekend camps" for youth where they would be "educated" to convince their parents that the rent boycott was wrong; in Cape Town the JMC considered that the Residents Association in Atlantis township was a "local threat" and initiated a strategy against the Association. This involved the distribution of food parcels, the organisation of sporting events etc. The Communications Committee produced pamphlets, newspaper coverage etc. to publicise this. The Social, Economic and Political Committee ensured that the collaborators in the Coloured Management Committee were given credit for this; in the Cape Flats principals of all secondary schools had to attend meetings of JMCs, where they had to draw up lists of chief grievances at schools; Alexandra mini-JMC was set up in 1986. Initially it concentrated on law and order. At the same time the regime announced plans to spend R90m-R116m to upgrade Alexandra by 1990. The Alexandra Joint Management Committee (which oversees this initiative) has a Security Committee that meets daily. This is dominated by police and military. However, the Political, Economic and Social Committee (Whites) is composed of local officials under Alexandra's administrator, Steve Burger. The Communications Committee chaired by representative of the Bureau of Information. It is not surprising that the National Head of Planning and Research of the Bureau of Information is Major General

PJ Groeneveld a top military intelligence operative. Roelf Meyer-Deputy Minister of Law and Order recently claimed that "normality" had been achieved in Alexandra and went on to say that "the military are no longer needed for security purposes and are playing a supportive role to assist other government departments towards the development of townships". In Port Elizabeth Rev. Maqina, founder of vigilante group Ama-Afrika and strongly believed to be an agent provocateur (key participant in the "UDF-AZAPO" conflicts in Eastern Cape) is a leading person in the Port Elizabeth mini-JMC. It is composed of 27 Whites and 6 Blacks. Maqina has created a "Black Crisis Centre" which receives extensive funds in the battle to win "hearts and minds". One of its main sponsors is the JMC supported organisation "Action for Peace and Prosperity"; the 14 day brain washing youth camps which have been established nationally also a JMC initiative.

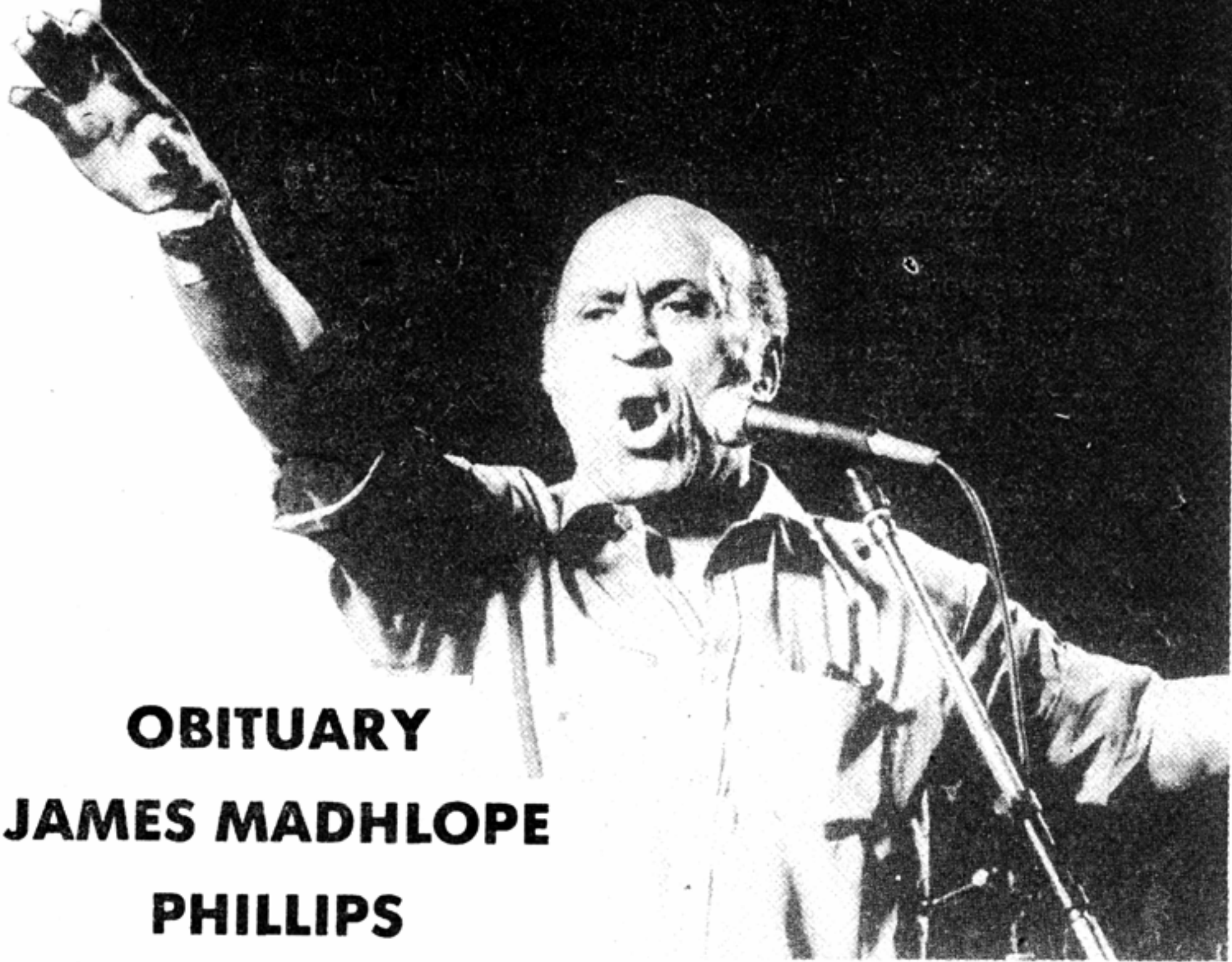
The military are effectively in control and are continuously tightening their grip. Their ambitions are candidly reflected by a spokesman who said:

"There is no denying a lot of influence is being created by the military because we military people are in the system and we are proud of it".

However, he lamented that there were still some curbs on the militancy and that in some areas they were still outnumbered. (sic).

**The distinction between military and the politicians in South Africa is blurred. The silent military coup accords with the perceived interests of the majority of the South African White population. To defeat the regime it is necessary to understand all aspects of the National Security Management System and work out means of countering it. The regime is incapable of winning the "hearts and minds" battle and will increasingly resort to state terrorism to achieve its objectives. The way forward is to intensify our all round struggle. To achieve this we must build the greatest unity of forces and make the JMCs unworkable.** ■





**OBITUARY**  
**JAMES MADHLOPE**  
**PHILLIPS**  
**HE SANG**  
**FOR FREEDOM**

**The African National Congress and the liberation movement suffered a grievous loss when one of its most outstanding members in the cultural field — James Madhlope Phillips — died suddenly on 22nd October 1987.**

James, the people's artist, was born into a working class family on 11th December 1919 in the vibrant ghetto of Sophiatown — the Harlem of Johannesburg. The early death of his father brought great hardship to the family. He worked as a waiter and garden boy for his education in Lovedale. Later he worked in the garment industry and soon became a leading trade unionist. By 1940 he was elected chairman of the Gar-

ment Workers' Union of the Transvaal.

In 1941 he was a founder member of the Transvaal Council of Non-European Trade Unions, the first independent Black trade union centre in the country, which later was to transform itself into SACTU. At the time he was also the treasurer of the Transvaal Affiliate of the African People's Organisation, the organisation founded by the illustrious Dr Abdur Rahman (the grandson of a slave) in the Cape in 1902.

Also in 1940 James joined the Communist Party of South Africa. His reputation as one of the gallant defenders of the party's weekly platform on the Johannesburg City Hall steps became well known. James was amongst those who physically warded off the fascist attacks of the Ossewabrandwag and the Grey Shirts. More often than not the fascists retreated with bloody noses and cauliflower ears.

Midst his multi-organisational activities



James also found time to follow his one great passion — singing (the other one was weight lifting). He sang freedom, socialist and labour songs. On numerous occasions he was accompanied by one of South Africa's distinguished pianists Bruno Raikin.

The post-war years brought increasing and crushing hardship on the oppressed working people. Amongst the worst affected were the African mine workers. They were paid no more than 2 shillings and 3 pence per shift (12 1/5p) working on Sundays at normal rate and without any annual paid leave. They were herded into compounds and barred from contact with city workers. At work they were subjected to ruthless indunas/boss boys and White miners who frequently assaulted them.

Periodically there were spontaneous retaliations by the workers in the form of counter defence or industrial action. Coming to their aid and under much harassment and police surveillance was the African Mine Workers' Union founded in the early 40s by the legendary J B Marks and others. In 1946 the Union decided the time had come for a show-down with the mining barons who refused to budge at repeated representations made for improved working and pay conditions.

On Monday 12th August 70 000 workers laid down tools for their demands which included a ten shilling rise (50p) per shift, two weeks annual paid leave, and better and safer working conditions. As a back-up the union had set up the Mine Workers' Strike Fund with James as the chairman. When the strike took place (as described in *Sechaba* by James at the time of the 40th anniversary in August 1986) the police opened fire and brutally assaulted the workers. Eight were killed and over a thousand injured. Within a week the strike was smashed and the entire union leadership and the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party were arrested. Progressive opinion was outraged. Dr A B Xuma, the President-General of the ANC bitterly summed up the situation: "When our people ask for bread, they get lead."

The great miners' strike led to a renaissance in the ANC. It accelerated the demand of the ANC Youth League for urgent action. Members of the Native

Representative Council resigned in protest over the killings. The outcome was the emergence of a new and dynamic leadership of Sisulu, Tambo and Mandela which radicalized the ANC.

For his involvement in the strike James was given a suspended sentence, which didn't deter him from continuing his political work within the Congress movement. He was to play a valuable part in the launching of the 'Defiance Against Unjust Laws Campaign' in 1952. For this he was arrested with other campaign leaders and accused of 'having incited the people to sing' and again given a suspended sentence.

In 1950 the Nationalist Party introduced the Suppression of Communism Act and through this far reaching act they set about initially to smash the progressive trade union movement and the Communist Party. It did not matter whether the would-be victims were communists or not, what matters was whether they had a track record of being anti-Nationalist. One such person was Solly Sachs, the General Secretary of the militant and anti-fascist Garment Workers' Union. He fought the disruptive activities of the fascists, the Dutch Reformed Church and their newspapers like *Die Transvaaler* and *Die Vaderland*. The other marked man was James. The government slapped stringent banning orders on him and Sachs. The garment workers, Coloured, Indian and White displayed seething anger at a protest meeting of many thousands on the Johannesburg City Hall steps. The police hid in the City Hall and fascists mingled in the angry but peaceful crowd. Suddenly the police pounced on the people and the fascist set to work. Skulls cracked, limbs smashed and blood spouted in an orgy of violence. The victims were mainly working women.

James was now prohibited from taking an active part in the union which he helped to build, and whose chairman he had been for 13 consecutive years. The banning order made life difficult for James. He could not find employment, nor give or go to any concerts, or attend meetings, and was denied association with his colleagues in the trade and liberation movements he was helped to leave South Africa illegally and made his way to England in 1954.



In England he found work in the garment industry as a cutter. He set up home in the 60s with his first wife Maud and their home became virtually the ANC meeting place long before an office was set up. Just like his father's home had been a regular meeting place for the founder members of the ANC. At their home in London refugees arrived for food, shelter and care: J B Marks, Robert Resha, Dan Tloome, Alf Hutchinson, the Tambo family, and many more found shelter there.

In his spare time he undertook benefit shows for progressive and trade union organisations and always supported the causes of the oppressed. Be it concerts for 'The Campaign for Colonial Freedom', a fundraising for Vietnam or the 'Free Angela Davis Campaign'. The examples are endless.

In the mid sixties the ANC sent James to do a course in trade union studies in the German Democratic Republic. Whilst in the GDR he travelled widely entertaining workers. Together with the American singer, Perry Friedman, they set up the 'Hootenanny Club', the cradle of the GDR song movement, which is well known today as the Oktober Klub.

In 1970 James took part in the successful show 'South Africa 70' at the Unity theatre. Subsequently he together with a number of fellow congress members like Barry Feinberg, Ronnie Kasrils, Pallo Jordan, John Matshikiza, Billy Nannan and others formed 'Mayibuye', the cultural unit of the ANC, which read poetry, sang and did short sketches on life in South Africa, touring Britain, Ireland and the Continent raising funds for the ANC throughout the 70s. All this cultural work had to be fitted into a tight schedule as James and most members of Mayibuye had to hold down full time jobs at the same time to earn their living. He was then working for *Soviet Weekly* in London. James was helped in keeping his schedules and scripts by his second wife Andrea, who also acted as his secretary.

In 1980 when James was in his early 60s he bounded out with a new burst of energy. Having long realized the importance of the cultural work for the movement and the rich history contained in the people's

songs, he started skillfully training choirs in West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Wales and the United States to sing the SA liberation songs in the indigenous languages of the people of SA. At the same time he taught them the history of the people's struggle putting each song into its historical context. Thus the message of the liberation movement was relayed to tens of thousands of people.

Recordings of the liberation songs were made in the Netherlands and Germany. Some of these recordings made their way to Brandfort, where Winnie Mandela was exiled, and later blared out in her Orlando township home.

As mourners arrived at the Golders Green Crematorium they heard the voice of Paul Robeson, who had always been an inspiration to James, singing 'The Ballad of Joe Hill', who was an American labour leader. Before Joe Hill was executed he sent out a message 'Don't Mourn, Organise!' 61 years later the heroic children of Soweto sent out the message which echoed around the world 'Don't mourn, mobilize!'

It was in this spirit that the vast crowd of Congress members, Anti-Apartheid activists, Communists, Labour party members, members of solidarity organisations, representatives of choirs from Holland, Germany and the USA, artists and writers, and friends, came to bid farewell to a much beloved artist, singer, socialist, labour leader and liberation fighter. Tributes were paid by comrades Mzwai Pilliso, Brian Bunting, Barry Feinberg and Paul Joseph who spoke as a family friend. Poetry and songs were presented by comrades Wally Serote, John Matshikiza and Nathan Dambuza. The service was officiated by comrade Steven Gawe.

At the time of his death James was working on the compilation of a history of the South African Liberation movement in song, as well as his memoirs, and it's hoped that both works will be completed in due course. James leaves two daughters and a son and two grandchildren.

The ANC dips its revolutionary banner in honour of a dear and outstanding comrade.



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# STOP PRETORIA'S HANGMAN

Pretoria is once again about to judicially murder  
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STAND BY  
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