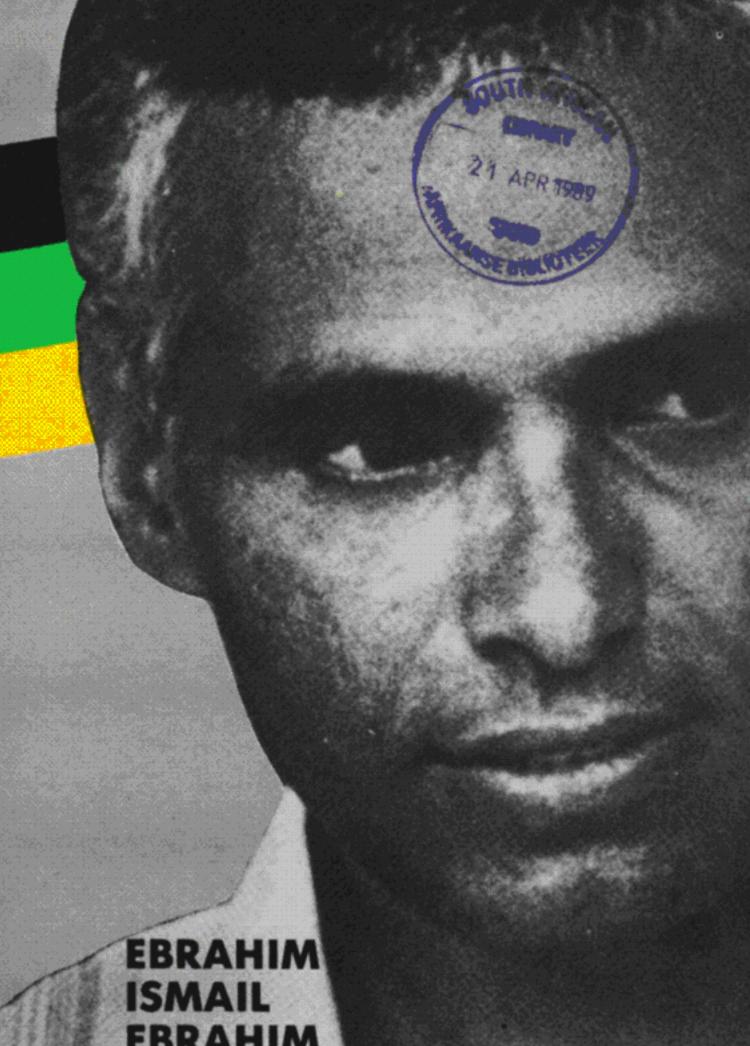
MARCH 1989



SECHABA official organ of the african national congress south africa



EBRAHIM

MARCH 1989

ISSN:0037-0509

SECHABA

Volume 23 No 3

CONTENTS:

EDITORIAL
Heroes, Not Criminals
OUR TYRANT STILL OCCUPIES THE THRONE
Speech by Mendi Msimang
ANC INTERNATIONAL
USSR — Japan — UK — India
CENTRE PAGE
Release All Detainees!
JUDGES AND JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA By Kader Asmal
By Kader Asmal
ASPECTS OF ARMED STRUGGLE
ASPECTS OF ARMED STRUGGLE By Tebogo Kgope
REVIEW ARTICLES
The Octopus Shifts Its Grip
Change in the Balance of Power
OBITUARIES
Irene Mkwayi
John Gaetsewe

Graphic design by Hylton Alcock

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

Voice of the African National Congress And Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army

Radio Lusaka

Daily 7.00 pm:

Wednesday 10.15-10.45 pm:

Thursday 9.30-10.00 pm:

Friday 10.15-1045 pm:

Short wave 31mb 9505 KHz

Sunday 8.00-8.45 am:

Short wave 25mb 11880 KHz

Radio Luanda

Monday-Saturday 7.30 pm:

Sunday 8.30 pm:

Short wave 31mb 9535 KHz

and 25 mb

Radio Madagascar

Monday-Saturday 7.00-9.00 pm:

Sunday 7.00-8.00 pm:

Short wave 49mb 6135 KHz

Radio Ethiopia

Daily, 9.30-10.00 pm:

Short wave 31mb 9595 KHz

Radio Tanzania

Monday Wednesday Friday 8.15 pm: Tuesday Thursday Saturday 6.15 am:

Short wave 31mb 9750 KHz

The above are South African times

EDITORIAL HEROES, NOT CRIMINALS

The end of 1988 saw the end of the 'Bethal' trial, where the ANC underground and Umkhonto We Sizwe were in the dock. Judgment in this trial was given in December 1988, after 16 months in court, and sentence was passed in January 1989. Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim and Acton Mandla Maseko were found guilty of treason; Maseko was sentenced to 23 years and Ebrahim to 20. Simon Dladla was found guilty of terrorism, and sentenced to 12 years.

There had been four land mine explosions in the farming areas of Breyten and Volksrust in late April 1986, and an arms cache had been found in Roodepoort. According to evidence later led in court, Maseko and Dladla had crossed from Swaziland earlier in the month and planted the mines, and had then gone on to Johannesburg where they had recruited two other men. On June 22nd, all four were stopped at a police road block in Edenvale. Maseko was found to be armed, and they were arrested.

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim was not captured in South Africa. In December 1986, he was kidnapped at gunpoint from the house in Swaziland where he lived in exile. His kidnappers tied his hands (they had the rope ready), searched the house, and then drove Ebrahim, in his own car, gagged and blindfolded, to a border post, where he was handed over to two other captors. These placed him in handcuffs and leg-irons and drove him to Pretoria in a convoy of two cars that kept in radio contact all the way, delivered him to security police headquarters (a sign over the door said, "Police Museum") and left. The police later made the unlikely claim that these men were not policemen, merely publicspirited citizens, whose names and addresses they had not happened to record.

Ebrahim, Maseko and Dladla were

brought to court on August 3rd 1987. Maseko and Dladla were charged with laying the land mines, and Ebrahim with making the plans and giving the orders.

Ebrahim refused to acknowledge the right of the court to try him. He carried an Indian passport and had been taken by force from Swaziland. There was some argument over whether he should be returned to Swaziland, but this was overruled and the trial proceeded.

There were other arguments in this case, and strange developments. One argument, a familiar one in South African political trials, was over whether confessions taken in the duress of detention and torture are admissible as evidence. There was a need for reliable evidence on the policy and structures of the ANC, and this led to argument over defence witnesses. The defence wished to call the two who had been arrested with Maseko and Dladla, but they were being held under Section 32, and the judge ruled that if they were to be questioned by a magistrate it would constitute access, which the law forbids. Three possible witnesses for the defence had been murdered — Paul Dikeledi, murdered in Swaziland, was one of them — and one was claimed as a witness by the state as well, and the state claimed the ANC had killed him. The truth about all this never came out in court.

If the purpose of a trial is to get to the truth, the state did little to further the cause of this one. Truth would have remained shrouded in secrecy altogether had it not been for the dedication and determination of the legal team for the defence, for South Africa produces some brave and honest lawyers. They did not succeed in unveiling all the mysteries, but they managed to illuminate some matters.

The urgent need for light in the darkness

led to an unusual development, when the defence applied for evidence on the policy and structures of the ANC to be taken from the ANC itself. The application was successful, the trial was adjourned, and the legal teams travelled to London, where Jacob Zuma and Ronnie Kasrils of the National Executive Committee gave evidence under commission. When these proceedings were reported in the South African press, it was the first time the voice of the NEC of the ANC had been publicly and legally heard in the country since the ANC was banned.

The state had called four witnesses, known to the press (the anonymity was to protect them) as X1, X2, X3 and X4. The defence said it found many fabrications in their evidence, and Ebrahim said later that evidence had been given against him by people he had never seen before. The claims the state was making about Ebrahim rested mainly on the testimony of X1. It became known that he had also used the name, 'September,' and shortly before the trial the Ministry of Law and Order had paraded him, under the name of 'Glory,' at a press briefing in Cape Town.

The defence denied that Ebrahim had had a military function in the ANC. X1 said Ebrahim had been head of the military structure in Swaziland. He described a meeting with Ronnie Kasrils and Ebrahim in December 1984, where, he said, Ebrahim had given military orders. In London, Ronnie Kasrils produced his passport to prove he had been in London in December 1984, and that the story was therefore untrue. Jacob Zuma testified Ebrahim was not involved in military work in Swaziland, and said it was unthinkable he could have given a military command.

In the end, the court believed the witnesses, and found Ebrahim to have been 'probably' a member of the Swaziland Revolutionary Political-Military Council of the ANC, so Ebrahim was sentenced on what the judge saw as a probability. Before he was sentenced, Ebrahim said in court:

"I wonder in the future whether freedom fighters should bother to even stand trial ... the testimony of secret witnesses of despicable character, who would sell their own souls for a sixpence, was preferred over the testimony of respected leaders of our people"

All three of the accused in the trial are mature men. Acton Mandla Maseko and Simon Dladla are highly trained and experienced soldiers, with years of dedicated service behind them.

Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim came into the freedom struggle while hardly more than a child. He joined the Natal Indian Congress during the Defiance Campaign of 1952; represented his branch at the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955 and at the Potato Boycott Conference in Johannesburg in 1959; was active in political campaigns till the early sixties. He joined Umkhonto We Sizwe when it was formed, (though one friend and comrade from that time has since commented that while he is 'dynamite' as a politician, he wasn't cut out to be a military commander). He spent the years from 1964 to 1979 in gaol on Robben Island. After his release, he continued with political work, first in Durban and then in exile.

He told the court:

"Finding us guilty is merely a statement that the state considers the struggle for democracy, equality, justice, peace and a non-racial society to be ... reprehensible and requiring suppression by judicial and other means."

One issue raised by the trial was that of the sovereignty of states bordering on South Africa. This is not the only time the South African security police have put themselves above the law and snatched prisoners illegally from neighbouring countries; not the only time the agents of the regime have behaved like bandits, violating the frontiers of smaller neighbours, 'destabilising' those without the military strength to resist. The Pretoria regime is not restrained by any considerations of morality, or even of international law.

Another issue was the policy of the ANC on 'violence,' which was explained again, this time by Zuma and Kasrils. It needs to be said again that men like Ebrahim, Maseko and Dladla are heroes, not criminals, and that the violence in South Africa has not been created by fighters for freedom, but by the regime itself.

OUR REVOLUTION IS NOT YET WON, OUR TYRANT STILL OCCUPIES THE THRONE

By Mendi Msimang



Comrade Mendi Msimang, ANC Chief Representative in the United Kingdom and Ireland, delivered this address to the National Summit of the Historic Black Churches in Washington DC on January 10th 1989.

African Americans — greetings from the African National Congress! We are truly honoured to be asked to be with you today. Long ago, your ancestors and mine came from the soil of the same continent. And now, here we are, you and I. You are citizens of a great country, with the wars of independence and the emancipation of slavery and the mighty struggle for civil rights behind you. No doubt, you still have a few problems left!

At this historic conference, when you recall the epics of your past, and in this month, when you recall the 60th anniversary of Dr Martin Luther King, we count it a great privilege that you should invite us to discuss with you the struggle in Southern Africa. Our revolution is not yet won, our tyrant still occupies the throne, our people have no rights at all.

This is a church conference, and I am a politician, not a preacher. But I am told that a good American sermon has an introduction, three points, and a conclusion.

You have had the introduction. For my three points I shall speak about:

- The nature of our struggle,
- The violence of our struggle,
- The legitimacy of our struggle,

And in conclusion we must consider your response.

It has often been noted that the nature of our struggle is really a matter of faith. Apartheid Pretoria asserts that its policies and practices are to preserve Christian civilisation upon the African continent. We believe such claims are patently false: Christianity has to be liberated from this corrupt caricature that masquerades in its name.

Fallacious Theology

23.4 of our population adhere to Jewish, Muslim, Hindu. Buddhist, Confucian or traditional religion, or specify no religious adherence: they show no sign of being converted to apartheid Christianity.

20.4% belong to African independent churches; 23% to the main line Protestant churches which are members of the South

African Council of Churches (SACC); 9.5% are Catholic; 7.5% belong to smaller Christian groups (Orthodox, Mormon, Seventh Day Adventist, Salvation Army); and all of these specifically reject the claim of the regime that its policies represent Christian truth.

15.9% of the population belong to the Dutch Reformed Churches, but nearly half of these are members of the Black 'daughter churches' which maintain, with the endorsement of the world Reformed Church community, that the moral and theological justification of apartheid is heretical, a direct negation of Christianity.

Thus, the apartheid policies are accepted by only 8.3%, belonging to the White Dutch Reformed Churches.

The ANC totally refutes this imposition of a fallacious theological authority for the oppressive apartheid regime. Religious people are not called to protect the White South African way of life, but to reject it.

When the South African constitution talks of an almighty God who has blessed and protected those who have killed and conquered to enforce a racist supremacy, it is promoting an idol which does not exist. When people thank God that guns have a longer range than spears, that god is a false image. The Kairos Document states:

"The god of the South African State is not merely an idol or false god, it is the devil disguised as Almighty God — the anti-Christ."

In the ANC we recognise that many of us were born into a situation of religious antagonism and exclusivity, a type of spiritual apartheid, from which we have been painfully liberating ourselves. South Africa has left behind the missionary era, when many equated Christianity with a form of ecclesiastical colonialism.

No one denies that devout exponents of apartheid may display charitable personal attitudes: tyrants can be charming persons. It is their practice of injustice that is wrong, their promotion of oppressive policies enacted by violence that is evil, and their claim to do it in the name of God that is blasphemous.

Pretoria has constantly attacked the ANC for being ungodly and irreligious, as is seen in P W Botha's letter to Archbishop Tutu of March 16th 1988:

"You are no doubt aware that the expressed intention of the planned revolution by the ANC/SACP alliance is to ultimately transform South Africa into an atheistic marxist state, where freedom of faith and worship will surely be among the first casualties."

This is simply rubbish: ridiculous, fallacious sloganism. The ANC is a liberation movement (not a political party) which has always recognised that the liberation struggle takes place in a religious context, and is specifically committed to religious freedom.

When the people formed the African National Congress in Bloemfontein in 1912, South Africa was a predominantly Christian country and their commitment to a united quest for a liberated society was fired by their faith.

From Rev John Dube, the first President, who opened the ANC in prayer, to SM Makgatho, Rev ZR Mahabane, Rev WB Rubusane, JT Gumede ... right down to Chief Albert Lutuli, Oliver Tambo, and Nelson Mandela today, our leadership has been strengthened by religious conviction. OR Tambo said in May 1987:

"Our founders were church men and women. Throughout our 75 years that link has never been broken."

Today, the ANC embraces within its membership a wide variety of believers. The varying symbols and practices through which we focus our faith bring to our culture a wealth of values which enrich us all, and display a unanimity of theological, ethical and political priorities which confirm and guide our struggle to a liberated South Africa.

From the beliefs and experiences within its own ranks, the ANC knows that adherents of all faiths have contributions to make to the concept of justice and peace, and the practice of democracy, from which caring and competent communities are emerging to comprise our new society. O R Tambo said:

Ours is a national liberation movement which contains within it different philosophical and religious tendencies, but all of which adhere to a common resolve to bring about a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa on the basis of the Freedom Charter ... As in the past, we shall resist all attempts to inject any anti-religious notions into our midst."

The Freedom Charter, devised and accepted in 1955 after a nation-wide consultation, is the main focus of ANC policy. It declares that:

"The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organise, to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children.

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief, shall be repealed.

Only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthright, without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief."

This commitment to religious pluralism in the Freedom Charter has two aspects. It is a political statement that democracy preserves religious freedom, and a theological statement that religious pluralism is essential for democracy.

When he was awarded the Nobel Prize in Oslo in 1961, Chief Lutuli said in his lecture:

"I also, as a Christian and patriot, could not look on while systematic attempts were made in almost every department of life to debase the God-factor in man, or to set a limit beyond which the human being in his Black form might not strive to serve his creator to the best of his ability. To remain neutral in a situation where the laws of the land virtually criticised God for having created men of colour was the sort of thing I, as a Christian, could not tolerate."

I quote Shaikh Abdul Hamid Gabier:

"The Freedom Charter, to which the ANC is committed, provides the surest guarantee of the preservation of our Din and culture in a liberated South Africa."

And I quote from Professor Lourens Du Plessis, speaking in Dakar in 1987:



Religious leaders kneel to pray during a march in Cape Town, February 1988

"The Freedom Charter still remains the basis of the ANC programme. It gives me hope. On the basis of this remarkable expression of the aspirations of the people of South Africa ... the ANC perception of the struggle provides room for me and other Afrikaners who despise apartheid to also make a particular contribution."

The faith which underlies the Freedom Charter supersedes the false claims of religious apartheid, and the Charter ends with a declaration to struggle together until liberation is wrought: for faith grows in action:

"These freedoms we will fight for side by side throughout our lives until we have won our liberty."

The Maulana Farid Esack said in Cape Town in August 1984:

"They did not ask us if we were Muslim or Christian when they declared Constantia White. They did not ask us if we were Hindus or Muslims when they tear-gassed us; nor do they enquire about our religion when they kill our children on the streets. Side by side apartheid has sought to dehumanise us, and side by side we shall work to destroy it and create a new South Africa."

Our struggle is a matter of faith; our faith is confirmed in our struggle.

The Violence of Our Struggle

Violence rules Southern Africa. It is a function of government by coercion instead of government by consent, and the system is bound by it. It cannot establish the apartheid policy except by violence. It cannot counter the liberation struggle and the Freedom Charter except by violence. It cannot answer the moral appeal of non-violent resistance except by violence. It cannot prevent justice being done except by violence.

Millions have suffered under racist rule from structural, social, judicial or military violence. Infant mortality, preventable disease, starvation, poverty, deliberate homelessness, industrial and agricultural neglect, detention, imprisonment and the calculated killing of thousands throughout the subcontinent verges on genocide. The blood lies warm across Africa today because apartheid is a killing culture.

The liberation struggle is not an academic debate in gracious surroundings, but gas and guns and bloody guts, dogs' teeth in your children's legs and electrodes on their testicles. Apartheid is violence unto death in the name of Jesus Christ.

And it goes on. Do not be misled by the talk of reform: repression is as strong as ever today. The South African Catholic

Bishops' meeting with the ANC in Lusaka recognised that apartheid cannot be reformed, but must be ended in its entirety.

Talk of releasing Mandela from prison conceals the hundreds now being consigned to prison. The Sharpeville Six were saved from the gallows because of the threat of sanctions, but the judgment in the Delmas trial makes any quest for peaceful political change into treason. "If these four men have committed treason," says Archbishop Tutu, "then I have committed treason as well." Pik Botha shook hands with Chester Crocker in Brazzaville on the day his colleagues were banning four more organisations at home. The brutality never stops.

Those who denounce the ANC for 'practising violence' or being 'a terrorist organisation' forget that for nearly 80 years our struggle has used non-violent direct action against the apartheid regime. It did not stop when the Passive Resistance Campaigns were crunched after the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, but continues today at a higher level than ever. Boycotts of schools, shops and buses abound. Last month the regime's Soweto City Council wrote off R167 million lost by the rent boycotts; despite fearsome repression, 1988 saw the greatest three-day national strike in South African history; sit-ins and stayaways continue; bans on peaceful funerals, meetings and marches are defied; there is persistent non-co-operation with officials appointed by the regime, rejection of the South African Defence Force and the South African Police, and continuous defiance of the Special Branch and its tactics of intimidation and destruction. Church leaders, gaoled whilst marching in peace to protest to the State President, are committed to making non-violent action work.

Injustice Breeds Violence

The ANC has deep sympathy with those who find the use of force difficult; it causes us much anguish too. The addition of the strategy of armed struggle to liberation tactics came after 46 years of non-violent endeavours. All peaceful means had been exhausted, the appeal for a National Con-

vention rejected, and the existence of the ANC as a passive resistance organisation summarily banned, before military methods were used.

When the ANC speaks of turning to armed struggle as a last resort, it means we have tried every sort of non-violent resistance and found it blocked by violence. The pursuit of peace means that warmongers who cannot be won by conversion must be restrained by compulsion. (Many of those who criticise the ANC for taking up arms have not tried anything.)

After World War II, Christians in many colonial countries found that, because violence was a structural function of oppressive societies, the removal of such regimes was the only way to secure justice and peace. Political and economic systems which established the rich and exploited the poor had to be changed to remove both the injustice and the violence which ensured it, and this was brutally apparent in South Africa, which defined and defended oppression on racist grounds.

Christians, Jews, Muslims, Hindus and agnostics in the ANC were in the forefront of those who debated this question, and when the ANC was banned in 1960 they could no longer escape a decision. Nelson Mandela told the court in 1963:

"At the beginning of June 1961, after a long and anxious assessment of the South African situation, I, and some of my colleagues, came to the conclusion that, as violence in this country was inevitable, it would be unrealistic and wrong for African leaders to continue preaching peace and non-violence when the government had met our peaceful demands with force. This conclusion was not easily arrived at. It was only when all else had failed, when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to us, that the decision was made to embark on violent forms of political struggle, and to form Umkhonto We Sizwe. We did so, not because we desired such a course, but solely because the government had left us with no other choice."

Criminals and fascists and tyrants have to be restrained, and when persuasion fails to reform them force is necessary to remove them. Oppressors who exterminated those who sought justice and peace had to be removed from power, and, like the struggle to remove the Nazis, this necessitated the use of arms.

The bland statement that "the Church does not agree with violence," requires closer examination.

The ANC has great respect for those who hold deeply 'pacifist' beliefs yet commit themselves to the liberation struggle by taking non-violent action against the regime. But those who use an appeal to pacifism to cloak their racism, imperialism or cowardice, or use their rejection of armed struggle as an excuse to avoid the struggle altogether, are supporting the regime. In the judgment of Mahatma Gandhi, if cowardice is the only alternative to violence, it is better to choose violence.

"I would rather have blood on my hands than the water of Pontius Pilate,"

said Archbishop Trevor Huddleston.

History reveals several traditions about violence. I quote Herbert McCabe, OP:

"There is probably no sound on earth so bizarre as the noise of clergymen bleating about terrorism and revolutionary violence whilst their cathedrals are stuffed with regimental flags and monuments to colonial wars. The Christian Church, with minor exceptions, has been solidly on the side of violence for centuries, but normally it has been the violence of soldiers and policemen. It is only when the poor catch on to violence that it suddenly turns out to be against the gospel."

But there is another tradition, which has accepted the use of armed struggle for right-eousness' sake. Those who protect the poor and oppressed, stand up against tyranny, fight to preserve justice and seek peace, have been praised. The ANC hates violence, but is proud that thousands of men and women and boys and girls are willing to give their lives to defend our people against aggression.

There is a fundamental difference between force and violence, and the words should be used correctly. Force is used by legitimate rulers to restrain wickedness and vice and protect their citizens, and is quite acceptable. Violence describes the aggressive acts of illegitimate oppressors and criminals, and is repulsive.

Defence of Justice

Most churches accept that force is sometimes necessary to defend justice and withstand the violence of oppressors; so does the ANC. The Church advocates non-military force; the ANC has practised it for decades. Side by side with such strategies, the Church supports the use of military action where necessary; so does the ANC.

Neither the South African regime nor Western governments have moral or theological objections to the use of force; they enrol thousands of people to the 'Defence Force' every year. The issue is not the use of force, but the legitimacy of the user; not their militancy, but their morality.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC is extremely concerned at the recent spate of attacks on civilian targets. While the great majority of these have been mounted by the regime, on August 17th 1988, the NEC noted that:

"Some of these attacks have been carried out by cadres of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe ... and in certain instances operational circumstances resulted in unintended casualties. It has also come to their notice that agents of the Pretoria regime have been detailed to carry out a number of bomb attacks deliberately, to sow confusion among the people of South Africa and the international community, and to discredit the African National Congress. The ANC hereby underscores that it is contrary to our policy to select targets whose sole objective is to strike at civilians."

In an interview with the Afrikaans newspaper, *Beeld*, in December 1988, Margaret Thatcher spoke of the ANC and said:

"The question is how to get it to give up the politics of violence. The best approach is by offering the possibility of negotiations."

The ANC has always sought to talk rather than fight, and the regime has always responded with violence. When Lutuli and Mandela sought a round table conference in the 1950s, when Sharpeville residents sought to talk to the Bantu Education

authorities in the 1970s, and when the mourners of Uitenhage and the clergy in Cape Town sought to talk in the mideighties, the response was brutal—armed rejection. Thousands are dead today because they sought to talk to the racist regime.

No one has died by seeking to talk with the ANC. Students, politicians, businessmen, Pope and archbishops, women and men, Black and White, Afrikaner and English, Sotho and Zulu, rich and poor, the world's leaders and oppressed children... they all talk to the ANC. What is this politics of violence we must give up before they will talk to us?

The Legitimacy of Our Struggle

The South African regime contends that it alone may make decisions for our country. All must obey without question, because government is instituted of God to be the authority in matters of state. Minister J G Heunis wrote to the church leaders of Thaba'Nchu, who requested reconsideration of a compulsory removal:

"I have no doubt that you, being men of the cloth, will not object to the Government expressing its view on non-governmental institutions meddling in affairs of state. I earnestly and with reverence must request the signatories not to become involved in the matter ... which is a decision of the highest government authority in the country, but rather to confine themselves to the matter for which they have been called, namely service to the Lord."

There is international unanimity that people have the right to determine their own governments and their own future, which is enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and because apartheid violates this it constitutes a crime against humanity:

"All people have the right of selfdetermination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development."

In 1971, the International Court of Justice declared:

"To establish ... and to enforce distinctions, exclusions, restrictions and limitations exclusively based on grounds of race, colour descent, or national or ethnic origin, which constitute a basic denial of fundamental human rights, is a flagrant violation of the purposes and principles of the Charter."

By its violent subjugation of its own citizens, the South African regime violates international law and would be subject to international exclusions and sanctions were it not for the protection of the United Kingdom or United States veto on the Security Council. The Declaration of Human Rights reads:

"The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of the government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and general elections."

The only legitimate basis for the authority of any government is the consent of the people, and thus the regime has no right in international law to speak in the name of South Africa and no right to assure its own survival. This judgement is endorsed by the World Council of Churches and the South African Council of Churches. The statement made by the WCC in Lusaka in 1987 reads:

"It is our belief that civil authority is instituted of God to do good, and that under the biblical imperative all people are obliged to do justice and show special care for the oppressed and the poor. It is this understanding that leaves us with no alternative but to conclude that the South African regime and its colonial domination of Namibia is illegitimate.

We affirm the unquestionable right of the people of Namibia and South Africa to secure justice and peace through the liberation movements. While remaining committed to peaceful change, we recognise that the nature of the South African regime which wages war against its own inhabitants and neighbours compels the movements to the use of force along with other means to end oppression. We call upon the Churches in the international community to seek ways to give this affirmation practical effect in the struggle for liberation in the region and to strengthen

their contacts with the liberation movements."

The words of South African church leaders to their own White members, given in an SACC statement in February 1988, should be heeded by the whole Western world:

"To the White voters of South Africa we must say that you are being deceived by the government. Your fellow South Africans want nothing more than to live in a just and peaceful country. Your position is becoming untenable and we believe you must dissociate yourselves from this government. Apartheid is a heresy. You cannot reform a heresy. If you are to assure your future you must pull out of 'White politics' and join the real struggle for democracy."

Another question on the legitimacy of our struggle, which is frequently raised in the West, concerns our relations with the South African Communist Party and the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union. It can be answered directly by our President, Oliver Tambo:

"We must state clearly that we consider all these forces as firm and reliable allies in the common struggle for the liberation of our country and our people. Instead of being criticised and denounced for involving themselves in the struggle against apartheid, they should rather be congratulated as should people of other political persuasions, such as social democrats and liberals who have also joined the fight against White majority domination ...

The ANC ... is not in the least interested that elements of the East-West conflict should be introduced into our situation. It would therefore help a great deal if the same spirit that inspired both East and West in the struggle against Hitler Germany should once more prevail, enabling the great powers to act in concert, with the common objective of seeing South Africa transformed into a non-racial, non-aligned and peaceful entity."

No one can validate apartheid by criticising communism. Our problems in South Africa are not caused by commissars who claim to be atheists, but by capitalists who claim to believe in God. The challenge is not how to evangelise Eastern Communists, but how to liberate Western Christians.

Those who afford the South African regime recognition and claim they are 'seeking positive change' must realise this is not the way to deal with international criminals. Humanity does not ask those condemned for committing mass murder and wholesale robbery to be a little kinder; it deposes them and appoints legitimate rulers instead.

In February 1988, Dr Alan Boesak said:

"Let us no longer pussyfoot around this issue. This is an illegitimate government that deserves no authority and does not have it ... that deserves no obedience and must not get it."

In conclusion, you did not ask the ANC to come here to tell you that apartheid is wrong: we won that battle years ago. You want to know how you can help to pull the tyrant from the throne, how you can stand in solidarity and support with these people who seek to build a new society on the other side of earth.

Expose False Theology

You will not expect me to ask you to take the matter lightly. You are too nurtured in the words of Scripture, and too reminiscent of your own struggles, to imagine that 'taking up your cross' is an undemanding matter, or that 'laying down your life for your friends' will not hurt. We share together in the struggle of all God's people on earth for their inheritance.

North America is largely Christian, and the fallacies and heresies which infect the religious perceptions of many South Africans affect you too. Because apartheid is theologically false its removal is a duty upon Christian people everywhere.

The US church, the US people, and the US government, must be brought to realise that apartheid cannot be reformed but must be removed and replaced. The right-wing sects which seek to justify right-wing policies, the evil arguments which excuse racist genocide, and the heretical voices which worship the idols of anti-communism and the apostasy of affluence, must be confronted and silenced.

We need you to make it clear to every US citizen that the liberation struggle is theologically sound; that the quest for a new united nation, with a mandate to establish a free, non-racial non-sexist democratic society, can be embraced wholeheartedly by the people of faith. Let the climate of conviction become so strong that no one can claim to belong to Christ in the US without supporting the liberation struggle in South Africa! Who will take on that theological task for us?

Support Sanctions

Secondly, the tyranny of Pretoria cannot continue to exist without the support of the Western world, and the imposition of total mandatory sanctions in every sphere is the crucial political objective. Some of you have made magnificent efforts over the years to promote this policy, but we need to confirm that call. Sanctions are working.

Sanctions are designed to hit full pockets, and hit them first, and they do. Those who are squealing about sanctions are Whites, not Blacks; the wealthy, not the impoverished; those with work, not those without work. Sanctions are designed to make those who consort with the apartheid regime to tremble, and as the democratic movement grows those who are not aligned with that movement fear sanctions more and more.

The arms embargo was a vital factor in the military defeat of the South African forces in Angola. Sporting and cultural boycotts have been major elements in undermining White South Africa's ability to live with itself. Financial sanctions are proving a crucial influence in making apartheid too expensive to sustain. That is politics.

But if the political will of America is to be aroused by her politicians, it will be because the conscience of America has been aroused by her people. Who will take on that political task for us?

Financing The Struggle

Thirdly, there is the task of financing the liberation struggle. Despite divestment, US

business is making millions through the exploitation of the human and natural resources of our country. Despite the public protestations of peaceful intent, US dollars feed the political and military disturbances which plague our subcontinent.

Is it not time for you to come in on our side, by direct financial support for the work of the African National Congress? We do not ask you for equipment to assault the military might of the racist regime; we believe that is the work of God; but it is not the role of churches.

Most of our work falls in direct response to the word of the Prophet Isaiah which Jesus of Nazareth took to himself:

"... to bring the Good News to the poor, to proclaim liberty to the captives, to give the blind new sight, to set the downtrodden free, and announce that the day has come when the Lord will save his people."

To the African National Congress this vision means not only evangelical zeal, but conscientising the world to win commitment to the political objectives of liberation; it means structuring and directing the quest for a new community; it means ministering to thousands of exiles with the essentials of healthy living and an education in which struggle can emerge in true democracy; it means our schools and hospitals and settlements; it means research and training to prepare to constitute a democratic South Africa; it means enabling our people to turn the hopes of the Freedom Charter into the experience of liberated living. And that means money.

This is what we need from you, Christian comrades: theological partnership, political colleagueship, and financial solidarity.

We have always had support from Christian individuals within our ranks, but it is only in recent times that church bodies such as you have begun to reach out their hands to us. African Americans, you will understand the particular poignancy, the deep sense of gratitude and greeting, which enables me today to reach out my hands to you in the name of, and on behalf of, my leadership and the entire membership of the African National Congress and the oppressed and fighting people of South Africa.

ANC INTERNATIONAL

ANC Mission in USSR

Soviet solidarity with our liberation struggle was given further expression when the ANC mission in the Soviet Union was formally opened on January 6th. Comrade Simon Makana is the Chief Representative.

The opening was marked by a public meeting at the premises of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Moscow. Comrade Gleb Starushenko, deputy head of the Africa Institute, was in the chair, and the main address was given by Comrade Dan Tloome, chairman of the South African Communist Party and senior member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. The main address on behalf of the Soviet

Union was given by Comrade Mikhail Pavlovich Vishinsky, the Deputy Minister of Justice.

The Soviet Union has shown its friendship and its support for our struggle by granting the ANC full diplomatic status, and so the meeting was attended by ambassadors and members of the diplomatic corps stationed in Moscow.

In the evening, there was a reception in the 'Prague' restaurant in Moscow. The hall was filled to capacity with diplomats and representatives from all walks of life in the Soviet Union. It was a powerful demonstration of support for the ANC and the people of South Africa in their struggle for national and social emancipation.



The platform at the opening of the ANC mission in Moscow. From left to right:
Comrade Vishinsky, Comrade Simon Makana, Comrade Dan Tloome,
Professor Starushenko, The Archimandrite Ashurkov Feofan, and
Comrade Dmitri Zavgorodny, African Secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity
Committee



Comrade Dan Tloome, Chairman of the South African Communist Party



Comrade M P Vishinsky, Deputy Minister of Justice of the USSR, at the opening of the ANC office in Moscow



An ANC student in Moscow chats with a leader of the Orthodox Church, the Archimandrite Ashurkov Feofan

Japanese Disinvestment Campaign

The anti-apartheid forces in Japan are increasing both in numbers and influence, and with the support of local groups Comrade Jerry Matsila, ANC Chief Representative in Tokyo, is campaigning against trade between Japan and the racist regime, and against Japanese investment in South Africa. Trade between Japan and South Africa still dominates Japan's moral positions on apartheid, and Japan is still the most important trading partner of the regime.

In a speech Comrade Matsila made in January 1989 at the International Education Centre in Tokyo, he analysed the trade and investment links.

- The Pretoria police and security forces have been supplied with automobiles by Toyota and Nissan, and, in 1988, by Mazda as well. They have also been getting a continuous supply of video cameras from the Japanese electronics industry.
- There is an increasing export of Japanese automatic office machines to the 'civilian organs of rule' in Pretoria. When western companies disinvested, Japan moved into this area of trade, and rescued apartheid from administrative chaos.
- Imports of platinum, gold, diamonds and coal from South Africa are increasing. Some of the platinum is for the electronics industry, whose products are used in millions of Japanese homes, and exported all over the world.

Platinum, gold and diamonds are also imported for luxury goods, for investment and speculation. Because the value of the yen on the world market has appreciated, platinum is within the reach of many people in Japan. In 1987, the Japanese demand for platinum for jewellery and other luxury uses was 90% of the world demand, while the demand for platinum for investment was 68% of the world demand. Speaking of the high demand for jewellery made of gold and diamonds, most of which come from South Africa, Comrade Matsila mentioned the:

"human suffering and agony experienced daily by Black people digging this gold."

■ Maize is another product that Japan has imported from South Africa in huge quantities over the past few years. It is used for cattle food, and 60 kilos of maize produce only 1 kilo of meat. Maize flour is also used in Japanese homes. Comrade Matsila said:

"Maize is our staple food. But because of the huge imports by Japan, the prices of maize continue to rise and are almost impossible for an ordinary Black person to afford ... We should take it back to feed our dying children."

It was to facilitate this trade that Japanese people were granted 'honorary White' status in South Africa. Of those Japanese who have accepted this apartheid label, Comrade Matsila said:

"Going to such shameful lengths ... and thus firmly entrenching themselves on the side of the oppressors for the sake of easy profits and an affluent life."

The ANC and the anti-sanctions campaign in Japan are making the following demands:

- Legislation to enforce meaningful sanctions.
- Banning of all indirect investments in the apartheid state.
- An end to the delivery of vehicles and instruments to South African police and security.
- An end to the De Beers advertisements in the mass media in Japan.
- A boycott of platinum, gold and diamond products, and also maize.
- Japan should also renounce 'honorary White' status in South Africa.

Mandela Concert Funds For African Children

Freedom Productions is the company that was set up by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement to administer the Mandela Concert in June last year. At its first meeting, the board of directors agreed that 50% of any surplus funds from the event would go to finance the campaigning of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and 50% to projects helping children in Africa who have suffered as a result of apartheid. By

December, the accounts of the company were showing a profit of over a million pounds.

In London on December 15th 1988, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, presented the first cheques. A total of £600 000 went to seven aid agencies involved in work with the children of Southern Africa — the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, Christian Aid, the Save the Children Fund, OXFAM, International Defence and Aid, War on Want and the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust. Ismail Ayob, the Mandelas' attorney, spoke at the ceremony, as did a representative of the ANC.

A list of some of the projects receiving assistance from the profits of the concert provides an insight into the sufferings apartheid has inflicted on children, in South Africa itself and in wars of aggression against the Front Line States.

- Many Mozambican children have been disabled in the war, and, when they go to hospital to be fitted with calipers and other aids, many must go by plane. One fund provides them with their transport costs to and from hospital, to help them eventually to a measure of independence.
- Thousands of Mozambican children have been orphaned or separated from their families by the MNR, and some witnessed their parents being killed; there is a fund to provide training in child psychiatry for those who care for these traumatised children.
- In the war in Angola, Angolan children have undergone similar experiences, and another fund helps care for them.
- Another fund provides food aid for creches in Maputo.
- The National Emergency Fund of the South African Council of Churches (set up by Christian Aid) provides help for children in detention travel costs for those visiting them, lawyers' fees, educational correspondence courses while they are detained, and medical fees on their release. It also helps families where the breadwinner is in detention.
- A project in Pinetown in Natal cares for children in need in townships where unemployment and the housing shortage have caused breakdowns in family life.

Freedom Productions expects more income in 1989.

Swiss Banks Finance Pretoria: Activists Protest

Because of the role Swiss banks play in financing apartheid, anti-apartheid activists in Switzerland feel that Switzerland is becoming a sanctions-busting country. They also believe that Swiss banks are sensitive to international pressure. In 1988, therefore, they decided to take action. They launched a campaign of publicising the violence of the apartheid regime, and launched a national appeal to boycott the three big banks — Union Bank of Switzerland, Swiss Bank Corporation and Credit Suisse. They took shares in these banks, and went to the annual general meetings to ask critical questions about involvement with apartheid, and their questions were often taken up by other speakers.

Their action was co-ordinated with action in London and other European capitals.



Tel. 01-708 4702

End Leans to Southern Africa

c/o Methodist Church. 56 Camberwell Road, London SE5 GEN

SWISS BANKS AID APARTHEID!

Already this year we have seen the Swiss Banks provide help for racist South Africa:

SWISS VOLKSBANK

SPEARSFADED A SPYSSE LOAN TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

UNION BANK OF SWITZERLAND (UBS)
RETEVED A LOAD OF SP-70m (425m) TO BASE THE
PRESSURE OF DEBT REPAYMENTS FOR THE REGIME.

When most other countries decided to ourtail new loans to apartheid South Africa the Swiss Banks refused to comply.

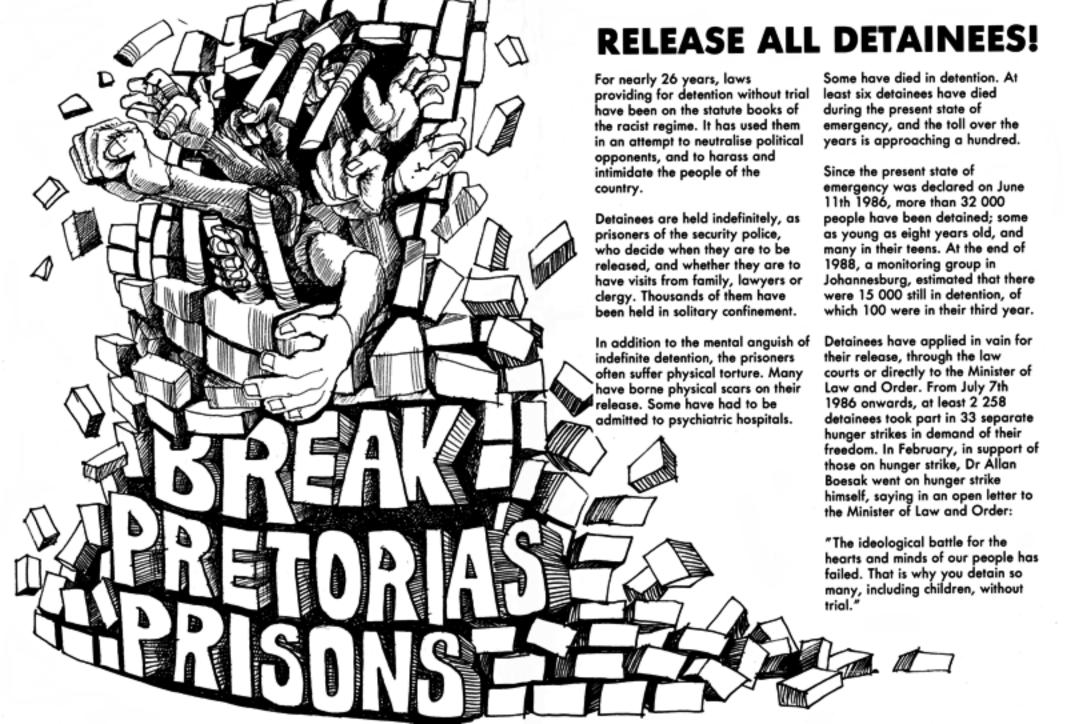
WE CALL OF THE SYIES BARRES! INVESTORS! SYIES COVERNOUT, TO PUT AN END TO THE PROVISION OF MONET FOR A RECINE THAT TORTURES ADULTS AND CRILDREN ALIES, FOR SHEETING DEMOCRACY IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

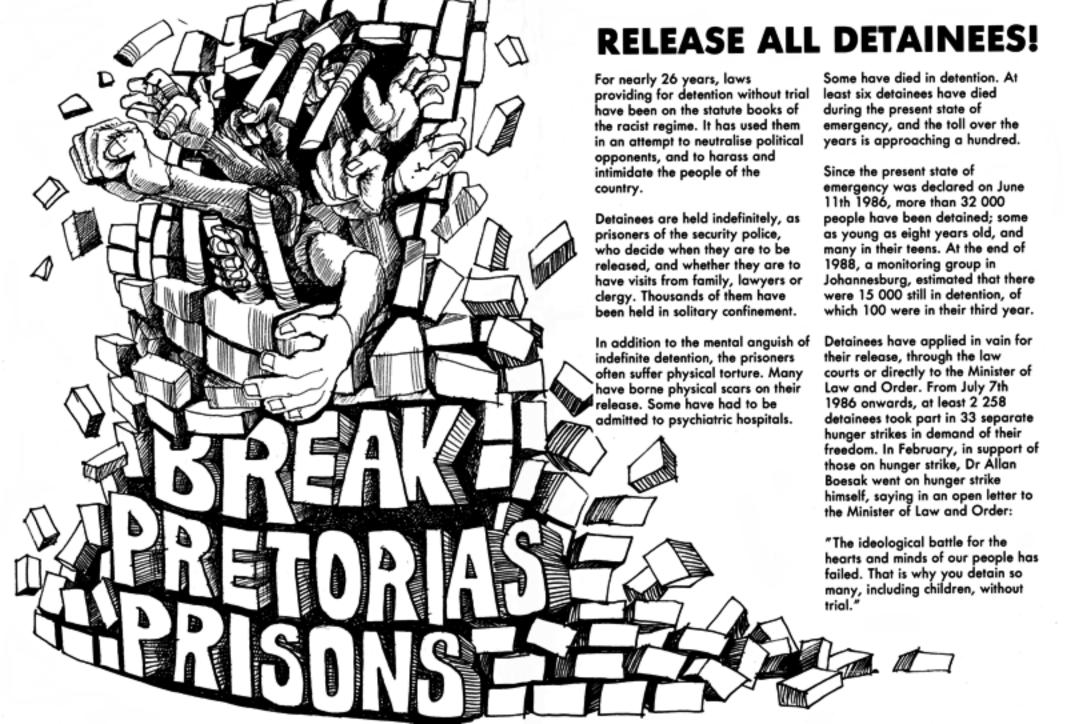
Picket: The Swiss Centre, Leissetter Square WC2 Thursday, FEB 9th 1989. - 1pm-2pm.

PLEASE BE THERE TO LEND TOUR SUPPORT!

A leaflet produced in London as part of the campaign against Swiss bank loans for the Pretoria regime

Continued on page 18 ▶





◆ Continued from page 15

Nelson Mandela Road In Indian Capital

In New Delhi, capital of India, no park, square or street is named after a living individual — except Nelson Mandela Road.

This exception was made as an honour to our cause.

The plaque was unveiled on December 10th 1988, 40th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr Narasimha Rao. Also present at the ceremony were leaders of various political parties and organisations, and members of the diplomatic corps.

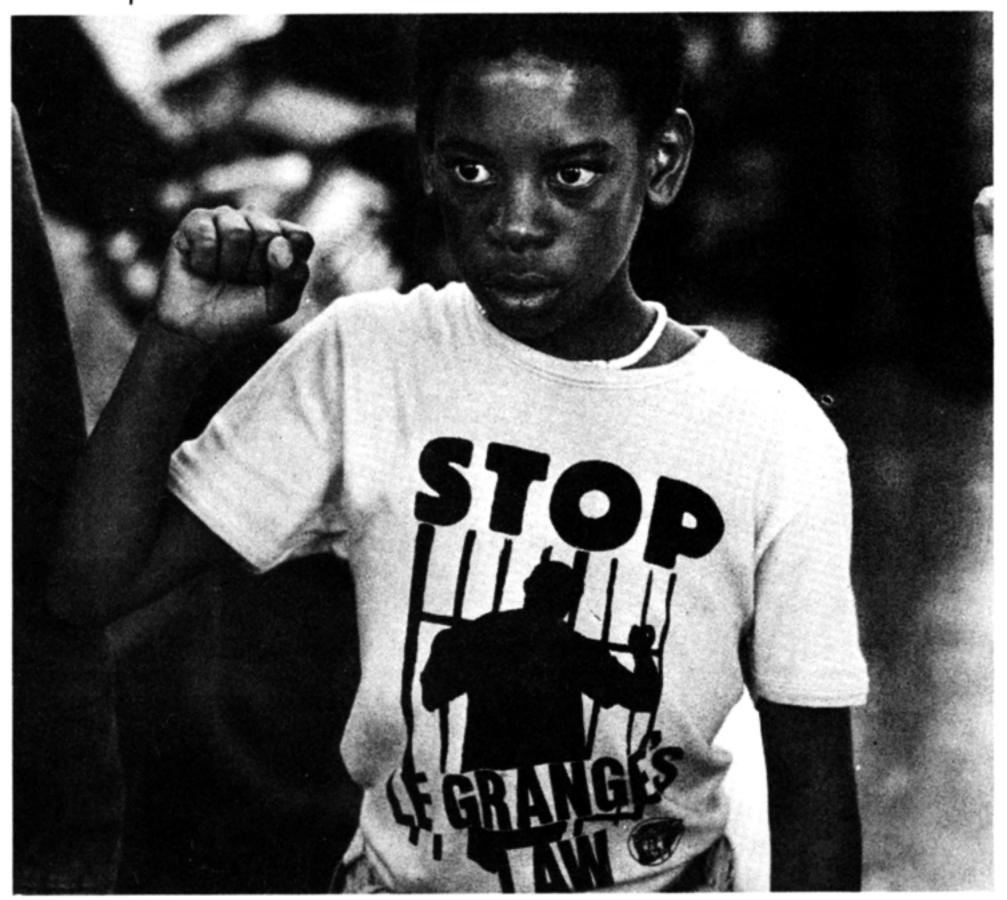


The Nelson Mandela Road plaque is unveiled in New Delhi

JUDGES AND JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Kader Asmal

There is a myth prevailing among some commentators that the judiciary in South Africa is still a force for good, and that the apartheid state has gone some way towards maintaining the notion of judicial impartiality and independence.



A demonstrator protests against unjust imprisoment in South Africa

Commentators who believe in the independence of the South African judiciary point to some decisions in recent years where a few emergency regulations were rejected, but neglect to point out that in every case the superior courts have overruled these lower court judgments. Such illinformed comments also ignore that the same 'liberal' judges who invoke the 'rule of law' have no compunction in sentencing to death young resistance fighters, even where extenuating circumstances have been shown to exist; or that the wide and ambiguous notion of 'common purpose' is utilised to sentence the Sharpeville Six to death, even though none had any role to play in the slaying of the victim.

But the issue of the role of the judges turns on more fundamental features of the South African legal system. It is not simply a debate among lawyers as to whether a statute like the draconian Internal Security Act of 1982 or the emergency regulations could be interpreted in an even-handed manner so as to protect the vestiges of human rights the accused still have, such as access to lawyers or to their families. The heart of the criticism about the role of the law turns on the question of the legitimacy of the apartheid system. The debate is therefore similar to the moral and legal questions raised about the Nazi laws and their validity at the end of the second world war.

Any legal system run in the interests of a minority and protected by its monopoly of state power must, by definition, be debased.

Clash of Aspirations

But, as with many other aspects of life in South Africa, it was Nelson Mandela, himself an attorney, who presented the case against the apartheid legal system in a heightened way, when he was charged with leaving South Africa without authority in 1962. In his defence, he contended that he could not get a fair and proper trial. He said:

"In a political trial such as this one, which involved a clash of the aspirations of the African people and those of the Whites, the country's courts, as presently constituted, cannot be impartial and fair."

His second contention was:

"I consider myself neither legally nor

morally bound to obey laws made by a parliament in which I have no representation."

In a statement as vivid as his defence at the Rivonia trial in 1964, he trenchantly analysed the substance of the notion of 'equality before the law,' and how meaningless and misleading it was as applied to Africans. Whites monopolise all the rights and privileges of the vote: freedom to travel, right to work, ownership of property.

"The White man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us."

Since the foundation of apartheid laws over a century ago, and especially since its legal entrenchment in 1948, the judges have been an integral part of a system which has robbed the Africans of their land and allocated 13% to 87% of the population.

Conscience of the Judges

The White judges have accepted and operated the pass laws under which over 12 million Africans have been sentenced from 1948 to 1985. None resigned or had a qualm of conscience in operating the Nazi laws forbidding marriage or sexual relations between the races. They have countenanced the pain, poverty and brutalisation of forced removals under which over three and a half million Africans have been forcibly moved from their ancestral homes and dumped in 'resettlement' camps. They have dispensed 'justice' in political trials where witnesses have been imprisoned until they give evidence and where evidence of systematic and persistent torture against the accused had been ignored. No serving judge, whether Afrikaans or English-speaking, has had the slightest tremor of conscience in sentencing hundreds of people to death, giving South Africa the dubious distinction of having the highest number of judicial executions in the world.

More recently, the White judges have gone even further in advancing the cause of the repressive and odious racial oligarchy. Towards the end of last year, a number of senior officials of the United Democratic Front were found guilty of 'treason' and other offences. None had participated in the armed struggle; none of them had actively campaigned for the ANC or Umkhonto We Sizwe. Yet they were sentenced to savage terms of imprisonment, because the White judge held that their mass, non-violent struggle for the transformation of South African society was criminal because it was part of a conspiracy to bring down the government. In similar vein, the court has recently rejected the plea of Ismail Ebrahim, a senior member of the ANC, that his illegal kidnapping from Swaziland tainted his subsequent trial in South Africa and his sentence of 20 years.

Complicity in Injustice

What has shocked even those who were prepared to give the benefit of the doubt to 'liberal' White judges who continue to dispense apartheid justice was the treatment of young children since the state of emergency began in June 1986. In two years, over 30 000 people were detained without trial. Over a third of these were children, and over 300 of these have been killed by the police and the army. The treatment of the children - torture, casual violence and shooting, ill-treatment, humiliating treatment - has shocked the conscience of the world. A brave judicial protest, even a resignation, would have removed the taint of complicity in a system where children, because of their revolutionary spirit and commitment, have become special targets of the apartheid war machine.

Following the defeat of the Nazis, many of their leaders, and scores of ordinary executioners of Nazi laws, were tried at Nuremburg, especially for war crimes and crimes against humanity, for which there was individual responsibility, including that of judges. It is therefore necessary to remind lawyers and others in the West that they cannot treat in an even-handed way the oppressor and the victim in a system which the United Nations and international law have characterised as criminal and illegitimate.

Prisoner of War Status

Many of the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe charged with 'ordinary' offences before the apartheid courts have not only invoked their right to be treated as prisoners of war but have also refused to plead, because, like Mandela, they refuse to recognise the validity of the racist laws which the courts have sworn to uphold.

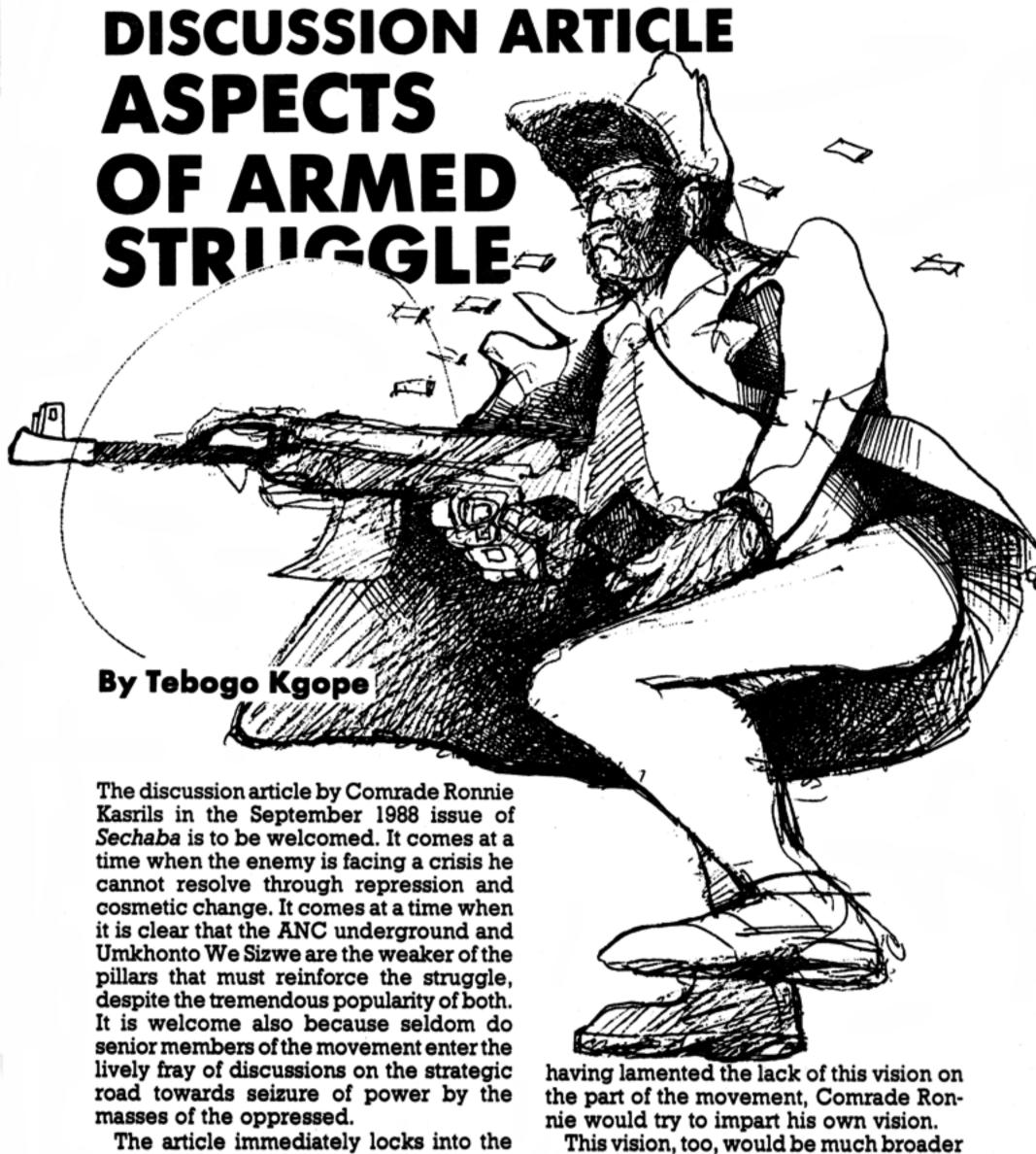
"Why is it that in this courtroom I face a White magistrate, confronted by a White prosecutor and escorted by a White orderly? Can anyone honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced?"

That cry of Mandela's was 27 years ago; but in the statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC on January 8th 1989, President Oliver Tambo still found it necessary to draw attention to the fact that, because of the Sharpeville Six, Delmas and other trials:

"the judges, magistrates and prosecutors employed to administer the injustice of apartheid have stood out clearly as accomplices of murder, abduction and torture. People, who by any civilised standard should never have been charged, have been sentenced to death so as to quench the judicial thirst for the blood of the Blacks."

The Delmas judgment is a grim portent for the immediate future, where the White courts enthusiastically embrace the strategy of the regime, to undermine the struggle by linking the UDF to the ANC.

There may be liberal White judges who may want to be fair-minded. But faced by the lawlessness of the regime, we must recognise that such judges are providing a veneer to maintain the superficial legality of the apartheid regime. Even more important is the opinion of one of the most renowned legal philosophers of our day, Professor Ronald Dworkin. He concludes that if the vast majority in South Africa are not even given a choice as to whether they consent to the constitutional rules of the society, it is doubtful whether law exists in South Africa at all.



The article immediately locks into the heart of the problem - the subjective weaknesses in our struggle - and correctly attributes them to the absence of clear policy positions as to how power is to be

won. One would then have expected that,

tor, which he gives some attention to. He says that:

than the development of the subjective fac-

"... unless we have a clear vision on how

power is to be seized, we cannot effectively address the question of what type of organs we require for such a task."

But without providing this vision, he proceeds to deal with the type of organs, or forms of organisation, as though they in themselves constitute the vision.

If, as we must agree, armed struggle is a necessary component of our struggle, it is correct that we must build the revolutionary army, as well as raise the fighting spirit of our people. But to what end? What emphasis do we give to each? In what measure will "armed struggle complement the mass struggle"? To what extent can armed struggle be developed in our circumstances? What, therefore, is the strategic goal of armed struggle in our situation? Given the high industrialisation of our country, and hence its vulnerability to certain forms of action both at the mass action and at the military level, what reasonable and realistic combination of these increases the instability of the regime? Given, on the one hand, the high political consciousness of the masses of our people and their revolutionary track record and resilience, and the stubbornness of the regime on the other, how great are the chances of a major uprising and how does armed struggle relate to such possibilities?

Role of the Revolutionary Army

Given that the "main obstacles on the way to power are the South African Defence Force and the South African Police," and that these forces are so strong, do we realistically believe that the urban and rural units will be able to inflict a military defeat on these forces?

These are some of the questions we have to tackle soberly in order to evolve a clearer vision for ourselves. Only when we have this clearer perspective can we not only determine what forms of organisation are needed, but, more importantly, their relative importance in the struggle and how they relate to each other.

This omission on his part is perhaps the reason why in the content of Comrade Kasrils' useful article there are some ambiguities and contradictions, and why some

of his assertions are actually misleading.

His assertion, for instance, that the SADF and SAP can be removed only through the means of a revolutionary army is both misleading and ambiguous. It is misleading because it is not only through armed struggle that this will be achieved but through its combination with other forms. It is ambiguous because he does not spell out what activity the revolutionary army will be engaged in. Will it be posturing and working for a stalemate, working for a decisive military defeat of its adversary? What type of military campaign, if any, will it be engaged in?

In case you begin to wonder why I say this, or whether a revolutionary army can be engaged in posturing, refer to Comrade Kasrils' article, where he says:

"History shows that a peaceful way is possible. But what is necessary to both whether peaceful or violent — is the presence of a revolutionary army."

In other words, we must build a revolutionary army, whether the struggle is going to be peaceful or violent. One can only conclude that we can build a revolutionary army to **threaten** the ruling power, because he can "never give up power voluntarily."

Of course this is an absurdity, which I am sure Comrade Ronnie never intended to put across, even though he did. Revolutionary armies are formed with the purpose of violent struggle. If in the process of their growth solutions are found which make it unnecessary for the violence to continue, it does not detract from the original intention.

The Underground is Central

Although Comrade Ronnie warns us to be on guard against a militaristic approach, he is himself in danger of thinking that way. Our aim is not for "seizure of political power through a strategy of revolutionary armed struggle" only, or even mainly. It is the seizure of power through all the means at the disposal of the masses — including armed struggle.

That Comrade Ronnie inadvertently slips into the militaristic approach he cautions

against is further illustrated by his assertion that, "central to the creation of the subjective factor is Umkhonto We Sizwe." It is not by any means central! It is the ANC underground that is central! The underground is central in the creation of MK itself! At one point, Comrade Ronnie makes the point that, "it is the underground that created MK in the first place," and at another makes a sweeping, contradictory and mistaken, if not misleading, statement. This is inexplicable except as unconscious militarism or perhaps absence of vision.

The political leadership of the ANC in the struggle must find expression in the actual arena of struggle, and not in mere phrases proclaiming its ascendancy. It is the ANC political underground that is pivotal in the generation of organisation. It is the subjective factor. It creates the subjective factors - including MK. If MK were "central in the creation of the subjective factor," that is, if MK is central in the creation of the ANC underground or leadership, it makes nonsense of the later point made by the comrade that the combat forces (MK) will be "falling, of course, under the leadership of the local politico-military committee." How can MK fall under a body which it created? I am certain that Comrade Ronnie did not intend to be understood thus. Unfortunately, his article lends itself to such interpretation, or leads to complete confusion.

Mass Action Is the Key

Armed struggle, and hence the development of a revolutionary army, will play a vital role in the resolution of our struggle, but the militant and united action of our masses is the key. It will express itself in peaceful and violent forms. It will find expression in the peaceful protest, the general strike, spontaneous violence, and organised people's armed revolutionary action. It will find expression in partial or general mass insurrection, armed and unarmed — but all violent. If the people fight with stones, it will not be because of "the absence of revolutionary organs," but because the "revolutionary organs" will encourage them to use all weapons at their disposal — including stones!

This does not detract from Comrade Ronnie's point that the advanced elements of our revolution should draw the political army of the revolution into the combat fray by arming its key elements in the process of creating a revolutionary armed people, although he did not put it quite like that. According to him, the revolutionary armed people are those conscious elements who are prepared to confront the enemy with stones and petrol bombs. Before they are armed, or arm themselves and act under the guidance of the vanguard movement, they still comprise the most militant of the political army.

What Organisational Forms?

To get back to an earlier point, Comrade Ronnie talks about the objective difficulties of an externally based army and the need to root it among our people in both town and countryside. Apart from these obvious necessities, he provides little vision on the forms of armed organisation and the rationale behind them.

These combat forces in the factories, in the urban and rural areas: how are we to organise them, and what is their realistic combat potential in the short, medium and long term? In other words, what forms of armed organisation and growth do we envisage from combat units organised in this fashion? Do we envisage that, from small underground units, they will develop to, say, section, platoon or company strength? What is the military perspective in so far as they are concerned? How is their security and continued existence and action assured? The organised advanced detachments he writes about: do they have a growth potential in themselves, apart from being leader and catalyst in the growth of the urban and rural units, and how does this growth express itself under our conditions?

I raise this question because, in the textbook concept, the organised advanced detachments would also constitute an entity organised along military lines. It is sometimes better to use conventional terms to explain concepts and phenomena where the readership is not all from the same school of revolutionary combat theory.

REVIEW ARTICLES

OCTOPUS SHIFTS ITS GRIP

to a conglomerate. Anglo now employs at least half a million people, and controls vast wealth in mining in the form of gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum; in the engineering and motor industries, chemicals, explosives, food, newspapers, even wattle harvesting. It controls finance houses.

In South Africa, Anglo is sometimes known as 'The Octopus,' and its influence and investments reach far beyond the borders of the country. As a producer and exporter of coal, it beats boycotts. It exploits the Front Line States through its investments, while, as producer of motor vehicles and explosives, it gains from the wars Pretoria wages against these countries. It has mining and industrial interests in Australasia, Brazil, Canada, Namibia, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States, which provide it with a financial base outside South Africa.

The book deals with power, and the relationship between personal power and state power. Before he retired, Harry Op-

David Pallister, Sarah Stewart and Ian Lepper, South Africa Inc: The Oppenheimer Empire, first published Simon and Shuster, London, 1987; revised edition Corgi Books, London, 1988, £4.95.

"A Kaffir Is Just a Kaffir," Consgold in Namibia, published by End Loans to Southern Africa, London, 1988, £1.50 plus postage.

South Africa, Inc. is a serious and wellresearched book that reads like a thriller. It tells the story of the Anglo-American Corporation from the days of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, who founded it, to the time of his son, Harry, and Harry's children; how power was concentrated in the hands of the Oppenheimer family in the form of directorships as company after company was added to the empire; how Anglo grew inpenheimer was probably the most powerful man in South Africa.

To the public, Harry Oppenheimer presented a 'liberal' face: supported the Progressive Federal Party, opposed the pass laws (they worked against his interests by preventing the growth of a pool of unemployed in the cities). Anglo management claims good working conditions, comfortable hostels. The truth is different. as the South African National Union of Mineworkers knows well. The basis of Anglo wealth is the crudest exploitation of the people who work for it. In South Africa, it operates within, and benefits from, the system of migrant labour; its profits are high because South African law sets standards of safety that are low; it works with the police, who are frequently brought into the mines to impose what both mine management and the regime see as 'law and order.'

The legislation protecting the De Beers diamond monopoly illustrates the partner-

ship (perhaps conspiracy is a better word) that has existed from the beginning between the mining industry and the state in South Africa. Buying and selling of rough diamonds outside this monopoly is a crime known as illicit diamond buying, IDB, and punishable with a gaol sentence. De Beers Consolidated Mines, a company first put together by Cecil Rhodes, is also part of Anglo-American, though Anglo is not anxious to admit the connection openly.

Among the multitude of companies controlled by Anglo is the Minerals and Resources Corporation (Minorco), an external investment company. The capital behind Minorco was not accumulated in South Africa itself, but in Zambia, milked from the copper mines and exported as overseas dividends. In the mining industry, the most important industry in Zambia, independence failed to bring the Zambian people control over the wealth of their own country. It did not even bring them equality of opportunity, for Anglo imported its managerial staff from abroad. Zambian law was powerless to prevent this drain of wealth and waste of human resources, and the story gives us yet another example of political power in the hands of the multinationals.

Pallister, Stewart and Lepper give background information on the attempt Anglo has been making through Minorco to take over another company first set up by Cecil Rhodes, the British-based Consolidated Gold Fields. This situation has developed since the book was published. In October 1988, the London Independent described Minorco as, "the Oppenheimer offshore piggy bank," but even as the words were written, Minorco was changing its character, becoming active, seeking power. About the time Michael Edwardes, chief executive of Minorco, became chairman of Charter Consolidated (another Anglo company) he told a press conference:

"Minorco will be against holding minority stakes unless they have strategic relevance, or unless Minorco is able actively to participate in management."

Anglo is said to be the largest producer of gold in the world, and Consgold is said

to be the second largest. Control over Consgold would give Anglo a control over world gold similar to the control it already exerts over world diamonds. Control of Consgold would also give Anglo 48% control of Gold Fields of South Africa, and, as an overseas investor, Minorco would be able to take its dividends out of the country, with the added possibility of pulling out altogether, should the apartheid economy prove to be a sinking ship. The Oppenheimer drive for growth, described by Pallister, Stewart and Lepper, has not diminished. The octopus is trying to shift to a firmer grip.

Opposing the takeover, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement issued a paper pointing out that this expansion of the Anglo empire would give Anglo political power in Britain, as well as a greater hold on the South African economy:

"South African control over such a large British-based company as Consgold would give South African interests a large say in the UK business community and the British government."

The paper rightly attempted no moral comparisons between Anglo and Consgold. Arguments like that would waste our time in blind alleys; for all mining houses in South Africa use equally brutal and exploitative methods in getting their wealth; all are equal in that their power is built on human suffering, on ruined lives. The safety record of Gencor is probably worse than that of Anglo. Gold Fields of South Africa is notable for its private security service armed and with the use of tear gas — which is available for hire by other mines in times of 'unrest.' As far as the workers and their families are concerned, there is nothing to choose between Anglo and Consgold.

"A Kaffir Is Just a Kaffir," published as part of the British campaign for disinvestment, describes conditions on a Consgold mine, the copper mine at Tsumeb, one of the three major Namibian mines. It is 100% owned by Tsumeb Corporation Ltd, 78% of which is owned by Gold Fields of South Africa, which increased its stake from 47% in April, by buying out the American company, Newmont. Pallister, Stewart and Lepper mention Newmont as 48% owned by

Anglo. An octopus indeed.

A tale is told here of Consgold shame: a sickening yet predictable account of unions repressed and their members victimised; of migrant labour and broken families; of miserable living and working conditions; of Black workers housed in areas of environmental pollution so severe that trees die; of Black women workers afraid to get pregnant because it means the sack.

The presence of Consgold in Tsumeb is as much in defiance of international law as the South African occupation has been. The pamphlet points out that Consgold is in breach of Decree No 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which forbids mining or prospecting in Namibia without permission of the Council. The power of the multinationals, greater than that of governments, enables them to flout international law.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement paper mentioned earlier touched on an important point by commenting on the proposed Consgold takeover:

"This bid reflects Anglo's concern at the state of the South African economy, which has resulted from South Africa's political crisis."

It gave the opinion that the takeover would provide:

"a bolt-hole for South African capital."

The crisis in the South African economy discourages investment. Even Gencor, which is controlled by SANLAM, that huge, diversified fortress of Afrikaner capital, has been digging its 'bolt-holes' in the form of mining interests abroad. The Minorco attempt on Consgold came shortly after a number of important strikes in South Africa. The mineworkers' strike of August and September 1987 involved 65% of the Black labour force of the country and two-thirds of the mines, and lost the mine employers R250 million; and Anglo, with its vast mine holdings, must have borne the greater part of this loss. The three-day stayaway organised by COSATU in June 1988 cost the South African economy some R500 million, and Anglo, involved in diverse branches of the economy, must have sustained more losses.

The growth of union organisation in the 1980s, and especially the phenomenal growth of the NUM, the fight for higher wages and better conditions, the increase in the number of strikes, are all a threat to South African super-profits. Anglo is not made any easier in its mind, either, because COSATU is openly opposed to private ownership of the mines after liberation. These threats are now impelling Anglo to a campaign (described in the New Nation of January 11th-18th 1989) of breaking the NUM by circumscribing its activities, victimising and intimidating its members. They have already impelled Anglo to seek, in control of Consgold, a way of extracting its capital from South Africa should the need arise.

The regime, too, has seen the writing on the wall, and is engaged in a campaign to destroy the unions. It has passed the Labour Relations Amendment Act to limit their rights and powers; in a campaign of intimidation, it has convicted trade unionists of murder for deaths in bitter fighting between union members and scabs, union members and vigilantes.

The thinking of Anglo and that of the regime are never far apart. South Africa Inc. analyses the connections in detail.

It is clear from all this that the political campaign to disable the South African economy is two-pronged. One prong is the external campaign for world-wide solidarity with the South African people, for sanctions and disinvestment. Campaigns to prevent the expansion of Anglo are part of this strategy, for power acquired by Anglo goes to strengthen the apartheid regime.

The other prong is the fight for liberation of the South African people themselves. The two between them can cause a massive withdrawal of capital from South Africa; for if investors are not urged by principle, they will be urged by self-interest. COSATU unions, and particularly the NUM, overtly support sanctions and are consciously part of the wide political campaign, the unity in action of all progressive forces. The South African working class, organised in its unions, is therefore in the centre of the theatre of struggle at present, and will remain there in the foreseeable future.

Jean Middleton

CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF POWER



Response to the South African Escalation, Cuban television video, with voice-over in English, available from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, £50.

"I can assure you of one thing: Africa's history will have one very important moment ... because the powerful South Africa clashed against a small piece of territory defended by Blacks and Mulattos — I call all Cubans Mulattos — from Angola and the Caribbean."

"There has been a total change in the balance of power. It is very important to know about this, in order to answer a question which many people have in mind. Why does South Africa want to negotiate? South Africa wants to negotiate because it is fighting a very strong force, one it never encountered before, anywhere."

This is how Cuban President Fidel Castro summarised the historic significance of the defeat of South Africa in Southern Angola in March 1988. He was speaking at a closed meeting of representatives of member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement on May 30th, and his remarks are included in the Cuban-made television documentary which tells the story of Cuban involvement in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

The film takes up the story in November 1987, when South African forces were poised to take Cuito Cuanavale, having penetrated over 250 km inside Angolan territory. The narrator says:

"If the enemy had achieved its initial objective — to take Cuito Cuanavale — it would have immediately advanced to the country's centre and east. The security and

stability of the People's Republic of Angola were seriously threatened."

Following the request of the Angolan government, the Cuban government decided on significant reinforcements to the Cuban military contingent in Angola.

Soldiers who were at that time taking part in major military manoeuvres in Cuba were asked to go as internationalist volunteers as part of this reinforcement. Since 1975, more than 300 000 Cubans have served in Angola as internationalist volunteers — doctors, teachers and technicians as well as soldiers. Reviewing events in Angola in an address to the Cuban people in July, Fidel Castro said:

"An action of this kind does not depend on techniques, on money, on resources or anything else; it depends on the human factor, and the human factor was decisive."

This is the message that comes across from the film as Cuban officers, tank drivers, pilots, advisers and cooks relate their experiences of fighting alongside their African comrades. "We do things as if we were all Cubans or all Angolans," an Angolan soldier says. Angolan, Cuban and SWAPO forces are repeatedly seen training and fighting together in integrated fighting units. SWAPO president, Sam Nujoma, is interviewed, and pays special tribute to the role of the Cuban internationalist volunteers.

The film also documents the role of women contingents within the Cuban forces. Speaking to a meeting of women in Cuba, Castro says:

"I asked myself, in circumstances such as this one, in which tens of thousands of our fellow countrymen are on the front line fighting the South African enemy, could we exclude women? Could we deny women the opportunity of also participating? This is why, comrades, the decision has been made — based on the principles on which they have always been made — to also send women's contingents on an absolutely voluntary basis to fulfil the internationalist mission in Angola. This is why you, women from Guantanamo, have had the great opportunity of going to fulfil this internationalist mission."

The film also explains the military strategy of the progressive forces. As the narrator explains:

"At first the enemy had been able to choose the area of combat — favourable to them, of course. The challenge was accepted because the enemy had to be stopped at all costs. However, at the same time, it was decided to strengthen our contingent and to move deep into the south-west front in the direction of the Namibian border. With the arrival of new Cuban troops and equipment, the correlation of forces on the scene of battle substantially changed ... Air and anti-aircraft superiority belonged to the joint forces of Angola, Cuba and the SWAPO liberation movement."

This enabled the forces of Angola, Cuba and SWAPO not only to hold Cuito Cuanavale, but to begin a drive south to the Namibian border, so outflanking the racist forces and making any retreat without negotiations an impossibly bloody one for the apartheid regime. Castro told the Non-Aligned meeting:

"When you meet a White South African, a racist, the only thing you have to ask him is, what happened at Cuito Cuanavale? What happened at Cuito Cuanavale? That's all you have to ask him."

But the film is more than just a history of that victory or even a celebration of that victory. It is also a tool for winning a broader understanding of the events which brought South Africa to the negotiating table. An agreement about Namibian independence having been signed, the South Africans have been building up their forces in northern Namibia and further arming the UNITA bandits. They will be looking for every opportunity to find ways of undoing the damage that Cuito Cuanavale has wrought on them. This film can help win a greater understanding that they must also be made to pay in full the political price of that military defeat.

Response to the South African Escalation was shown on Cuban television in three one-hour episodes, and then repeated, on popular demand.

Rich Palser

OBITUARY IRENE MKWAYI

Irene Ntombifuthi Mkwayi (nee Mhlongo) was born at Imfume Mission Station in Natal on June 6th 1924, the daughter of Amos and Ethel Mhlongo. Her primary education was at Imfume Mission Station, her higher primary education at Ifafa Mission Station, and her secondary education at Loram Secondary School in Durban. She was baptised, and became the ardent Christian we all knew Mama Irene was. She was later to become a staunch member of the Presbyterian Church.

She began general nursing at Holy Cross Anglican Mission Hospital in Pondoland, and was transferred to St Andrew's Anglican Hospital in Durban. In 1949 she decided to do midwifery at Bridgeman Memorial Hospital in Johannesburg, and then worked at Baragwanath Hospital as a staff midwife. Finally, she was employed at the Orlando Clinic until her retirement in 1964.

In 1963, while working at Meadowlands Clinic, she met Wilton Mkwayi. They immediately planned to marry, but that was not to be. Wilton Mkwayi, a hero of our struggle, was soon arrested, charged and sentenced to life imprisonment. Irene was arrested and detained for harbouring her husband-to-be, but she was never bruised by this experience — instead it made her stronger. Last year, after 23 years, the couple finally got permission for a prison wedding.

In the long years of solitude and suffering, Mama Irene gave a lot of energy to welfare work, to which she was dedicated.

She was a founder member of the Release Mandela Campaign, playing a vital role in its national consolidation. She was eventually elected first Vice-President, and she acted as President in the absence of Comrade Oscar Mpetha, who is serving a five-year sentence in Pollsmoor Prison. She was highly instrumental in the reintegration of ex-political prisoners into



society, and helped form a support committee for this purpose.

Recently, she was heavily involved in women's projects, the latest being the Lilian Ngoyi Malibongwe Project. She was extremely proud of this project, and spent sleepless nights making plans for it.

She travelled to the German Federal Republic to represent the Mandela family in an award ceremony. On her way back to South Africa, she passed through London. An interview she gave then to Sechaba was printed in the April 1988 issue, under the title, Women Are Organising, and was recently translated into French and printed in Amandla!, a solidarity journal put out by the ANC office in Paris.

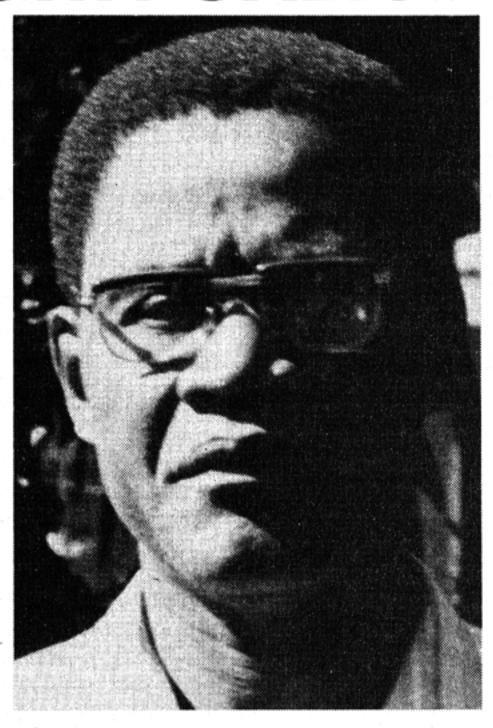
After Comrade Irene returned to South Africa, she learned she was ill. On December 9th 1988, life left the body of this great mother of a nation at the age of 64 years. Having a premonition of death, she had written the programme for her own funeral, which was held at the United Congregational Church in Orlando East. By decree of the regime it was postponed from Saturday 17th to Monday 19th November — and this, ironically, enabled Bishop Tutu, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Beyers Naude to fly to Johannesburg to officiate.

She is survived by Sipho, her son by a previous marriage, now 34 years old and a teacher, and by her husband, Wilton, who is still a prisoner.

Mama is sadly missed by the nation she gave her whole life to.

Amandla Ngewethu! Matla! Power to the People!

OBITUARY JOHN GAETSEWE



John Gaetsewe died after a stroke in Botswana in December 1988, and was buried in Francistown on the last day of the year. He was a long-standing and respected member of the ANC, and a dedicated trade unionist.

The trade union movement was the mainspring and motivation of his life, and his work in the African National Union of Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers, on the Management Committee of SACTU, and as SACTU General Secretary serve as his memorial.

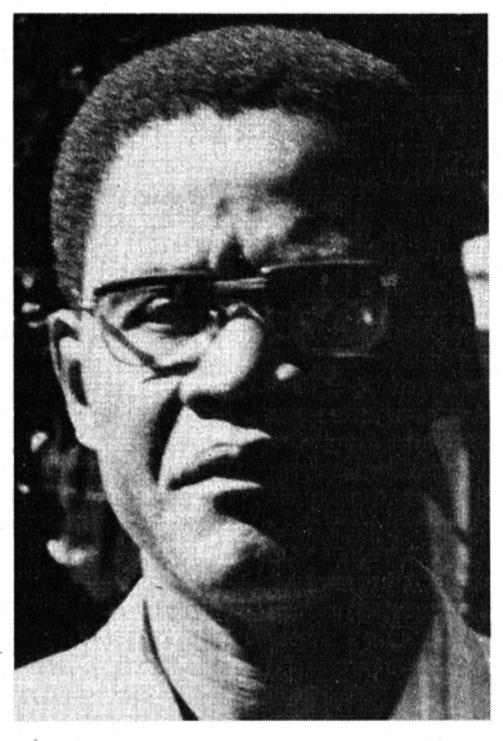
He never sought easy compromises. At a time when White workers in South Africa, organised as they were in TUCSA and in other all-White enclaves, ignored the problems of their Black fellow-workers, John attacked them. At a mass rally to inaugurate the SACTU £1-a-day campaign of the 1950s, he stated that it was not only Black workers who earned starvation wages, but that many White women workers in the tobac-

co, distributive, sweet, laundry and textile industries were also grossly underpaid, and he stressed, as he always did, the need for the unity and collective strength of all workers. It was his belief that unity was the only way forward. At a Special Conference called by SACTU on Job Reservation, John said, "Let us have confidence in our workers and not underestimate our strength." This confidence inspired those who worked with him.

His commitment was total, and he was not deterred by the hostility of employers nor by harassment from the security police who were carrying out the stated policy of the regime, of "bleeding the Black trade unions to death."

In December 1956, at the time of the mass arrests of all the leading members of the Congress Alliance, including the President and the General Secretary of SACTU and 31 other officials, John helped to keep

OBITUARY JOHN GAETSEWE



John Gaetsewe died after a stroke in Botswana in December 1988, and was buried in Francistown on the last day of the year. He was a long-standing and respected member of the ANC, and a dedicated trade unionist.

The trade union movement was the mainspring and motivation of his life, and his work in the African National Union of Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers, on the Management Committee of SACTU, and as SACTU General Secretary serve as his memorial.

He never sought easy compromises. At a time when White workers in South Africa, organised as they were in TUCSA and in other all-White enclaves, ignored the problems of their Black fellow-workers, John attacked them. At a mass rally to inaugurate the SACTU £1-a-day campaign of the 1950s, he stated that it was not only Black workers who earned starvation wages, but that many White women workers in the tobac-

co, distributive, sweet, laundry and textile industries were also grossly underpaid, and he stressed, as he always did, the need for the unity and collective strength of all workers. It was his belief that unity was the only way forward. At a Special Conference called by SACTU on Job Reservation, John said, "Let us have confidence in our workers and not underestimate our strength." This confidence inspired those who worked with him.

His commitment was total, and he was not deterred by the hostility of employers nor by harassment from the security police who were carrying out the stated policy of the regime, of "bleeding the Black trade unions to death."

In December 1956, at the time of the mass arrests of all the leading members of the Congress Alliance, including the President and the General Secretary of SACTU and 31 other officials, John helped to keep

Sechaba and other ANC publications are obtainable from the following ANC addresses:

Annual Subscriptions:

USA and Canada (air mail only): institutions \$30; individuals \$25

All other countries £12

Please make cheques payable to: Sechaba Publications c/o ANC PO Box 38 London N1 9PR

ALGERIA

5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi Algiers

ANGOLA

PO Box 3523 Luanda

AUSTRALIA

Box 49 Trades Hall 4 Goulburn Street Sydney NSW 2000

BELGIUM

PO Box 137 1040 Brussels

CANADA

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

CUBA

Calle 21A NR 20617 Esquina 214 Atabey Havana

DENMARK

Landgreven 7/3 t.h. 1301 Kbh Copenhagen K

EGYPT

5 Ahmad Hismat Street Zamalek Cairo

ETHIOPIA

PO Box 7483 Addis Ababa

FINLAND

PO Box 336 00531 Helsinki

FRANCE

28 Rue des Petites Ecuries 75010 Paris

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Angerweg 2 Wilhelmsruh Berlin 1106

GERMAN FEDERAL

REPUBLIC Postfach 190140 5300 Bonn 1

INDIA

350KP Thacker Block Asian Games Village Siri Fort Road Khel Gaon Marg New Delhi-110049

ITALY

Via S. Prisca 15a 00153 Rome

JAPAN

Square-House Shin-Nakano Room 105 4-38-16 Honcho Nakano-Ku Tokyo

KENYA

PO Box 40432 Nairobi

MADAGASCAR

PO Box 80 Antananarivo

NETHERLANDS

PO Box 16657 1001 RD Amsterdam

NIGERIA

Federal Government Special Guest House Victoria Island Lagos.

NORWAY

PO Box 6765 St Olavs Plass N-0130 Oslo 1

SENEGAL

26 Avenue Albert Sarraut PO Box 3420 Dakar

SWEDEN

Box 6183 S-102 33 Stockholm

TANZANIA

PO Box 2239 Dar es Salaam PO Box 680 Morogoro

USSR

Konyushkovskaya Street 28 Moscow 123242

UNITED KINGDOM

PO Box 38 28 Penton Street London N1 9PR

UNITED STATES

801 Second Avenue Apt 405 New York NYC 10017

ZAMBIA

PO Box 31791 Lusaka "As we leave this building to go wherever this court decides, we wish to say to our people, we tried to carry out your behests. We did our best to live up to what you expected of us as members of the African National Congress. There are countless others like us who are prepared to sacrifice their very lives to achieve the noble goal of the emancipation of our country. We shall achieve victory very soon."

- Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, statement in court, January 1989

