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NYERERE & TAMBO IN THE FRONTLINE

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Cover Pic:

*President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania with ANC
President Oliver Tambo*



EDITORIAL

Drought and the Spirit of June 16th

Recently Dr. Nak van der Merwe, racist Minister of Health, was quoted as saying that responsibility for the high death rate among black children suffering from malnutrition should be shared by those people who breed uncontrollably. He mentioned two things that are responsible for this state of affairs, that is high death rate, namely little food and too many people: "People cannot simply continue to multiply uncontrollably", he said.

He was responding to the statement made by Professor Allie Moosa, head of the department of paediatrics at the University of Natal who maintained that the deaths of three or four black children every hour were intimately tied to the socio-political situation. Instead of responding to this charge or doing something about starvation, the Minister started pointing fingers at the victims!

Before we put the record straight let us state the simple fact that poor families are prone to be large and unless something is done about the socio-economic conditions in the country, little can be done to keep the birth rate down and if a man or woman knows that his only hope for old age is his

own children, with the high mortality rate menacing, he will plan to have more children.

The truth of the matter is that about 2.1 million black children in South Africa, excluding the homelands, suffer from malnutrition. Hunger is not only very widespread but often very severe, frequently causing illness and even death. Malnutrition often begins before birth. Death in the womb is disturbingly common in our black children. Even those born alive are often already stunted.

Malnutrition in South Africa is not the result of shortage of food but of widespread poverty: there are "surpluses" in maize, wheat, fruit and sugar and in dairy products but people are unable to buy the basic food they need.

The reason for this high infant mortality rate is the wholesale breakdown of family life against a background of universal poverty. This in turn, is a result of rural impoverishment, huge unemployment, chaotic and inadequate social services, migrant labour and squatter policies which negate any attempt to find a livelihood.

The present crippling drought has 1



Four to a cot at Jane Furse Hospital

brought thousands of (especially rural) families to the brink of starvation. The combined effect of crop failure and the retrenchment of many migrant workers as a result of economic recession has worsened the situation. The wilted, scorched crops, dying trees, dried river beds and bone thin cattle, donkeys and goats are a common sight. Dams have dried up and boreholes that are yielding any water are rapidly drying up. Women have to fetch water from miles away — in many cases undrinkable water.

Water shortage is affecting even the few medical facilities that do exist in the remote rural areas. Many clinics are completely without water. Two clinics attached to the Helene Franz Hospital in Bochum in the north-western Transvaal have to fetch water daily from hospital! Jane Furse Hospital

which serves a community of 180 000 in Sekhukhuneland, was recently without water for 72 hours! This hospital, in the Sekhukhuneland area of Lebowa, a former mission hospital and now one of Lebowa's hospitals, bears evidence of drought-related distress: admission figures for kwashiorkor and malnutrition have doubled in the past year; the malnutrition ward is packed with children and their mothers — babies lie side by side on cots meant for one child while their mothers sit on benches or on the floor between the cots; the mortality rate for "ordinary" childhood illnesses such as measles is very high because of low resistance caused by chronic malnutrition; gastro-internal diseases, including typhoid — also endemic in the areas — has increased over the past month.

Gazankulu has lost R15 to R16 million

worth of stock. Five cattle per village are dying each day in the Ciskei. Conditions are so serious that the Fort Cox Agricultural College has decided to sell all its stock. In Onverwacht (where some cynics say health services are as good as in Houghton) 4 000 graves have been dug in the four years of the area's existence — sixty per cent of these graves are for children. The Subiaco Clinic, Tholongwe in Lebowa, which serves a community of about 25 000 people just south of the University of the North, is where children from the surrounding areas end up when they are almost dead with kwashiorkor, a disease caused by lack of protein. Since January this year, the clinic has had an average of one kwashiorkor death a week. Before the drought there were between 5 and 10 deaths a year. The typical symptoms of kwashiorkor are the peeling off of the skin; swollen limbs, undersize, lethargy, distended belly and sparse ginger-hued hair.

More than 16 000 people have been treated for cholera in South Africa in the present outbreak of the disease. The epidemic has claimed the lives of 42 people, the latest death being reported in Kwa Zulu, where 2 520 patients are being treated. In Natal, 22 people have died and 2 996 cholera cases have been proven. In Northern and Southern Transvaal seven people have died and 523 cases recorded. In KaNgwane three people have died and 75 cases have been reported.

In Port Elizabeth the number of measles cases has been rising over the past four months. The death toll from measles or its complications which result in pneumonia, gastro-enteritis, encephalitis and tracheo-bronchitis came to 124. In the first four months of this year a total of 1 064 cases was reported — this was more than 3½ times the number reported during the whole of last year. The victims are Africans and Coloureds.

This is the reality of South Africa today. It is true that the drought has made things worse but it is not the cause. The

critical situation is going to get worse as long as the drought and apartheid continue.

We can understand the racist mentality of the Minister of Health who blames the poor for having large families. We can understand why this issue has been dropped from the front pages of the bourgeois press and relegated to news reports when another African child dies. But what we cannot understand is the attitude of *The Sowetan* which commented on this issue and came to the absurd conclusion:

“Desperate and hungry people are easy prey to incitement and social unrest. We do not believe we can afford any social disruption now that the recession has created such an atmosphere of bitterness and despair across the social scale.”

(*The Sowetan*, 28.4.1983)

It is true that there are some voluntary organisations such as Operation Hunger set up by the Institute of Race Relations in 1980 to raise funds for the destitute or Imqualife (Improved Quality of Life started as a one man operation in 1963) or World Vision which are doing marvellous work in this regard. But acceptance of their help is different from depending on them.

When our people's anger is overflowing, when our people are fighting back with more determination, to talk the language of *The Sowetan* is to be out of step with reality. The changing and continually growing needs and demands of our people force us to talk the language of the people of Soweto — as distinct from *The Sowetan*; the language of June 16th; the language of struggle, sacrifice and dedication.

This is more relevant today — under these straitened circumstances — than ever before. The fires of Sasol, the attacks on Paulpietersburg, the sabotage of Koeberg — these are the signposts which show us the way out of drought and apartheid. Let us mobilise our people for greater deeds!

ANC HONOURS

KARL MARX



This is an extract from a speech delivered by Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, at an International Conference of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party (SED) to commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx. The theme of the Conference which was held in Berlin on April 11 – 16, 1983 was "Karl Marx and Our Times – The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress".

Comrade Erich Honecker,
Distinguished delegates,
Dear comrades and friends:

Since the birth of Karl Marx 165 years ago and his death a hundred years ago, the world has undergone a profound transformation which has turned into reality the vision which he and his comrade-in-arms, Friedrich Engels, upheld and projected.

Yet the occasion of these anniversaries has provided an opportunity for the forces of reaction to proclaim, for the umpteenth time, that Marxism is dead. In our country, South Africa, these forces have trotted out

their own forensic philosophers with a mandate to produce a brand new certificate to be presented to the people through the state mass media, once more proclaiming the death of Marxism.

Whence this queer medical proceeding? The answer of course lies in the fact that these certificates, which are supposed to be scientific documents describing objective reality, are weapons which the opponents of Marxism use in the vain hope that, through repetition, a falsehood will change into its opposite.

This conference demonstrates vividly how far the subjective wishes of the imperialists, their scribes and think-tanks have parted company with the objective world.

The social practice that we can see with our own eyes in this, the land of birth of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, confirms the vitality of the ideas put forward by Marx and Engels and developed by V.I. Lenin. Nothing that the reactionary prophets of doom say or do can reverse this social reality which has, through struggle

and the correct application of Marxist-Leninist teachings, been implanted deep into the soil of vast expanses of our universe.

On behalf of the African National Congress we wish to extend our sincere thanks to the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the SED, Comrade Erich Honecker, the Central Committee and the SED as a whole as well as the people of socialist Germany for giving us the opportunity to be present at this important conference to share views with representatives of millions of people to whom Marxism is a living tool and a lodestar pointing the way to a world free of exploitation of man by man, free of national oppression, the threat of war, of hunger, disease, ignorance and backwardness.

As early as 1864, at a time when our own forebears were still locked in heroic wars of resistance to save our country from enslavement by European colonial powers, Marx pointed to the historic relationship between the struggles for national liberation and the emancipation of the working class. Thus in his open letter to Abraham Lincoln he characterized the American Civil War as one fought "for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world." He further observed that: "While the working man (in the U.S.) allowed slavery to defile their own republic they were unable to attain the true freedom of labour or to support their European brethren in their struggle for emancipation."

In the same year, in his address to the Inaugural Meeting of the First International, again speaking about the American Civil War, Marx said:

"It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes, but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working classes of England that saved the West of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic."

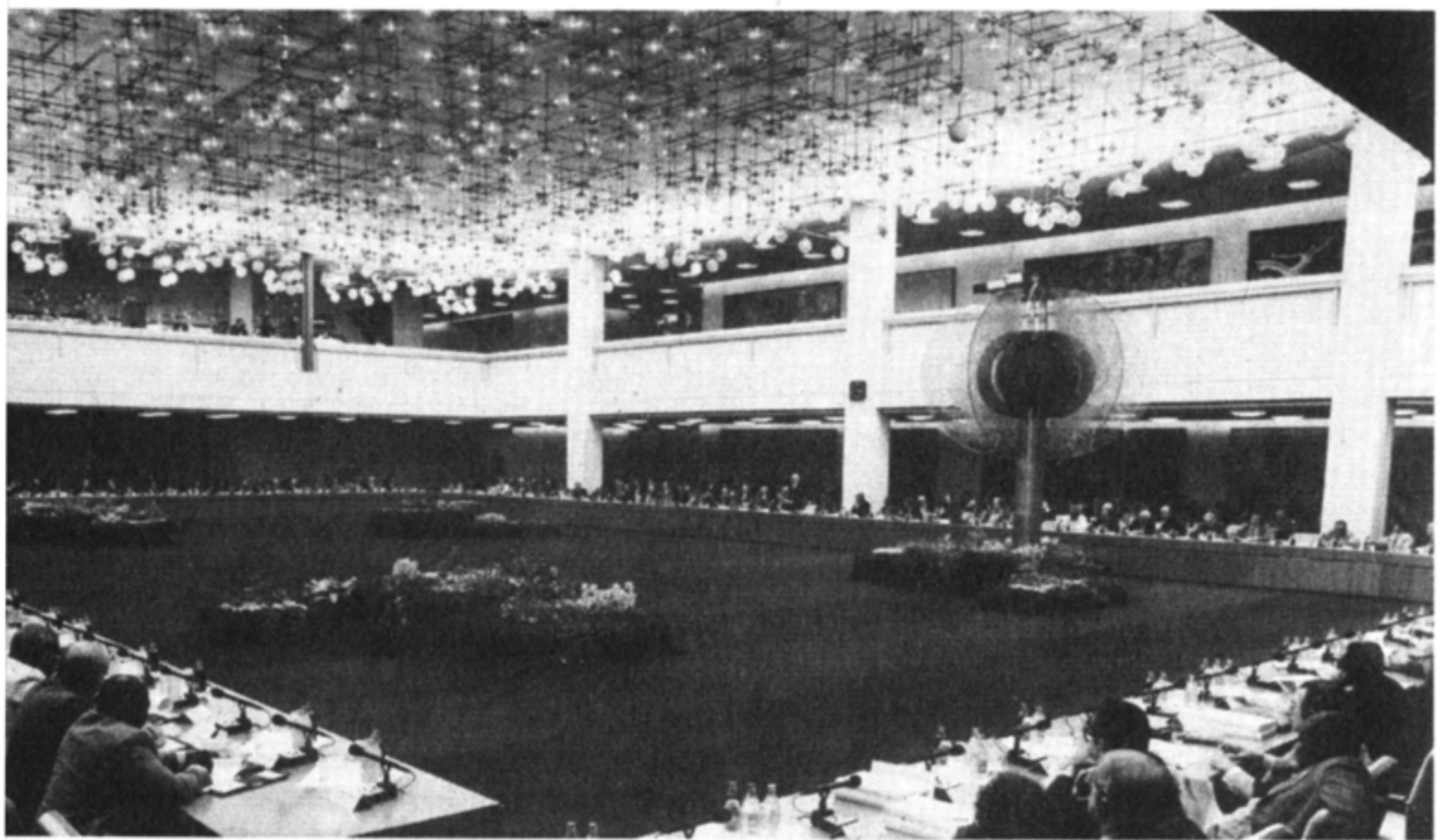
To this day, the alliance between the forces of socialist revolution and national

emancipation about which Marx wrote 99 years ago, remains a powerful motive force in the struggle against imperialist domination. During the present century, and especially after the Second World War, it dealt a death blow to the system of colonialism. As a consequence of the defeat of capital and the transfer of power into the hands of the working people, the national question has, in the main, been solved in the socialist countries on the basis of the complete recognition of the right of the peoples to national self-determination and adherence to the principles of proletarian internationalism.

Inspired by hostility to these results and in an attempt to guarantee its own victory, imperialism is bent on driving a wedge between the socialist and the national liberation movements. The most reactionary forces in this camp, today represented and led by the Reagan Administration, are busy propagating the myth that the struggle for national liberation is but the manifestation of a devilish plan of the Soviet Union to dominate the world.

Within this past month and addressing himself to the anti-imperialist struggles currently raging in Central America, Reagan made bold to proclaim that the Soviet Union is "the focus of evil in the modern world." This grand patron of the butchers of San Salvador, Tel Aviv and Pretoria, a war-monger who is pushing the world to the brink of a nuclear holocaust, a self-proclaimed friend of capital whose policies have forced the United States working class to depend on charitable soup kitchens for its sustenance — this representative and leader of arch-reaction has the arrogance to make this insulting statement while presenting himself as the epitome of a universal benevolence.

This rabid anti-Sovietism of course has its proponents in Pretoria where, for the past 35 years, the ruling fascist party has elevated the doctrine of anti-communism to the level of state policy. Behind this policy, described as Christian nationalism,



The Elegant Palace of the Republic – venue of the Marx-Conference



6 *Alfred Nzo next to Moses Mabhida General Secretary of South Africa Communist Party*



*From L - R.
Gus Hall, Moses
Mabhida, Brian
Bunting, Alfred
Nzo and Anthony
Mongalo*



*Alfred Nzo
ANC Secretary
General adress-
ing the
Conference*

there lies a practice of unbridled capitalist exploitation, colonial and racist oppression, fascist repression and imperialist aggression and expansionism.

As a result of this practice, the region of Southern Africa is today in the grip of an escalating war. Every day people are dying at the hands of Pretoria's marauders. The racists seek to transform the independent countries of our region into client states. The fascist regime continues to increase its military strength, including its nuclear capability.

Comrades,

The people of South Africa and Namibia are confronted with increasing oppression, repression and terror. The apartheid regime is going ahead with its programme of so-called constitutional reform which, among other things, aims at further centralizing power in the hands of the most die-hard fascists, consolidating the dominance of the military establishment over the state machinery and coopting sections of the black population for the defence and perpetuation of white minority domination. The fascists would like to liquidate the ANC and SWAPO both by military and political means.

Clearly, the fascist regime is determined to stay in power and to maintain the apartheid system at all costs. It is to achieve these objectives that it is carrying out the campaign of war and repression of which we have spoken. It is also for the same reason that this regime, together with its allies in Washington, is screaming about a non-existent threat of Soviet domination of our region.

By this means, it hopes that it can persuade the masses of our people and those of our region as a whole to turn their backs on the national liberation movement and the national liberation forces to turn against their natural alliance with the GDR, the Soviet Union and the world socialist system as a whole. Of course the forces of reaction know that if they achieved this result, which they will not, then the national liberation

movement would not be able to attain its objective of destroying the apartheid regime, transferring power into the hands of the people of South Africa and transforming our region into a zone of liberty, peace and social progress.

The apartheid regime and its allies are however forced into these desperate and hopeless ideological, political and military adventures and manoeuvres because of the growing strength, combativeness and the ideological and political clarity and cohesiveness of the forces of national liberation in our region.

The masses of the oppressed people in our country are united behind the ANC and its allies. As a result of continuous and heroic political and military struggles that the enemy has failed and will fail to stop, the balance of strength within South Africa is shifting inexorably in favour of the forces of national and social emancipation.

This process was described on the 30th January this year by a South African journalist writing in the Johannesburg "Sunday Express" in the following terms:

"A most profound realignment of our politics is clearly under way ...

The Government, having unleashed a new debate, no longer sets the terms in which it is conducted."

The journalist goes on to explain this realignment as one with the democratic forces which uphold the historic positions of the ANC and its allies on one side of the barricades and the forces of reaction on the other, led by the present ruling group. He then observes correctly that:

"On this line the battle will be fought."

It is indeed on this line that the battle is being fought and will be fought until victory is won. As Karl Marx foresaw, the unbreakable alliance between ourselves as an enchained race and the forces that have reconstructed and are reconstructing a social world, will surely overwhelm the imperialist alliance which today keeps our people in subjugation.

CHRISTIANITY

AND THE JUST WAR

In this discussion article Father Michael Lapsley, SSM, looks at the implications of the theory of just war from a theological standpoint, and how these affect young white Christian war resisters in South Africa, and concludes that "it is likely that the effect of the new legislation will be to bring more young whites with consciences directly into the ranks of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, without going to jail first."

Is there such a thing as a just war, or, more particularly, a just revolution? Those who have power, privilege and wealth in South Africa tell us that our revolution is not just. We are portrayed by the racists as godless terrorists while they portray themselves as the defenders of all that is Christian and civilised. In spite of the lengths to which the racists go in their propaganda war, the historical justice of our case is incontrovertible.

Over the ages certain arguments have emerged which provide a framework for people to examine some of the moral issues involved in war. These arguments have become known as the theory of a just war. The threat of nuclear war and the spectre of the annihilation of the world, which it brings, has brought many people to the view that in today's world it is nonsense to talk of a just war. While that is maybe true, when we speak on a global scale, it does not help us deal

with wars of national liberation which have been recently won or those which are still in process, whether they be the ones waged by Farabundo Marti in El Salvador, Fretilin in East Timor, the PLO, or, closer to home, PLAN in Namibia and Umkhonto We Sizwe in South Africa.

During recent months in South Africa, the theory of a just war has come into the public eye. South African prisons have always been overflowing with people. At present the daily average has reached 102 000. A very tiny proportion have always been war resisters. Most of them are Jehovah's Witnesses, who do not recognise the state (any state) and refuse to serve in any war. However, recently there have emerged a group who belong to what we call in South Africa, the English-speaking churches (Methodist, Baptist, Roman Catholic, Anglican, Congregational, Presbyterian). Most of them have been pacifists and have stated that they would refuse to serve in any war. But although universal pacifists, the new generation of war resisters have also spoken of the basic injustice of apartheid and of its indefensibility. These brave young patriots, whom the government labels as traitors, have already played an important role in several ways.

Whereas the apartheid regime has always tried to create 'race war' by defining human value according to pigmentation, the forces

for liberation have always pointed to the underlying system. This is not particularly convincing if in fact every single white male does join the South African Defence Force.

Already enough young white males have been avoiding the army that they have been forced to create a special unit to hunt for them. But it is Billy Paddock, an Anglican, who has brought the issues into sharpest focus. He is currently serving a year in Pretoria Central Prison. His case was clear. "I support the overall goal of freedom that the liberation movements are striving for ... because the whole system is unjust and oppressive. I refuse to do national service which is there to protect and uphold the status quo." Here was not a universal pacifist but a young white male with all the privileges that apartheid could give him, who concluded that "This side of this war is wrong." The framework he used to argue his case was the theory of a just war.

Pretoria has not been slow to realise that these young men had succeeded in reinstating the moral question which they had sought to efface from all white minds. How often I have heard from white parents, 'My son has to go to the army,' not, 'My son has decided to go to the army.' Is it right to kill to keep apartheid intact? Are we really fighting for our country or against it? Are we fighting against the 'puppets from Moscow' or against our fellow citizens who have a grievance? Even slow thinkers might have been forgiven for wondering how the 'communist hordes' came to be born in the townships of Johannesburg, Durban or Port Elizabeth, and not in Moscow or Havana. Even more disturbing for the regime has been the public articulating of historically attested and widely respected theological arguments which are theoretically subscribed to by the principal proponents of apartheid.

Like almost all apartheid legislation, the recommendations of the Naude commission have been further repression in the name of further reform which was designed to mollify the groundswell of support for conscientious objectors in the churches, but more fund-

amentally to attempt to stem the tide of war resistance in the white community. Under the new legislation recently passed in South Africa a war resister who objects to fighting in 'this war on the side of the racists' is liable to six years' imprisonment. We should also note that the South African Defence Force cannot conceive of people objecting to the SADF who are not Christians, failing to perceive the degree to which their own actions create unbelief. The nature of a people's war is such that further repression simply accelerates the pace of the struggle and clarifies the options. Tomorrow, it is likely that the effect of the new legislation will be to bring more young whites with consciences directly into the ranks of the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, without going to jail first.

The Theory of Just War.

Now, let's look more closely at the theory of a just war. In its most developed form it has six conditions (though Billy Paddock managed to find eight!). We should examine each of the arguments as they apply both to the South African Defence Force and to Umkhonto We Sizwe. I quote from the summary given by J.G. Davies (1):

1. *It has to be declared by a legitimate authority.* War, in other words, is to serve public, not private, ends, and the highest authority is the one to decide this.
2. *The cause must be just.* Such a cause covers defence against aggression or against the suppression of basic rights. The situation has to be extreme to permit recourse to arms.
3. *It must be undertaken as a last resort.* Only when all other means of defending one's cause or achieving one's legitimate aims have been tried can war be deemed right.
4. *It must have just goals.* It must aim to achieve a fair and just settlement. Under

this heading wars of aggression stand condemned.

5. *The means employed must be just.* This factor relates both to the immunity from direct and intended attack of the innocent and non-combatants and to the proportion between the means and the goal. It would for example be wrong to destroy a whole village simply because an enemy were sheltering in a single house.
6. *There must be a reasonable chance of success.* This applies to success both in the military sense, i.e. the prospect of victory is relatively certain, and in relation to goals, i.e. the prospect of realising the original goals is favourable. There must also be a strong possibility that the good achieved will be greater than the evils combated.

Legitimate Authority.

South African Defence Force. The head of state, on behalf of parliament, would normally declare a state of war. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally in contravention of the United Nations and International Court of Justice. It has invaded, and occupies territories of, Angola and has violated the territorial integrity of Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Lesotho to kill and destroy lives and property. All this is in the form of an undeclared war. During the Angolan war of independence the South African Defence Force invaded Angola but tried to pretend to the South African public that it was not there.

Umkhonto We Sizwe. The problem of 'legitimate' authority is difficult in the case of a civil war. It could be argued that the declaration made at the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe was itself a declaration of war made by an organisation which over 50 years had established its moral authority and also represented, in a democratic organisation, the aspirations of the majority of disenfranchised South Africans. Also, the South African state

by its systematic oppression and dispossession of the majority of its own citizens can no longer be said to be the legitimate authority in South Africa. The General Assembly of the United Nations has recognised this point by rejecting the credentials of the South African Government delegation.

Just Cause

South African Defence Force. It is sufficient to quote from a recently jailed war resister, Peter Hathorn. "To go into the SADF is to take sides in the struggle in the country – for one is putting oneself in a situation where one could be commanded to forcibly 're-settle' people, where one could be issued with live ammunition and instructed to disperse striking workers, or to go into townships and 'put down' a student uprising. One cannot go into the army and take on the role of the soldier, the oppressor, and then protest about the system of white domination and oppression."

Umkhonto We Sizwe. Whereas the SADF is there to perpetuate the privileges of the few against the majority, to defend injustice, Umkhonto is the military tool to achieve a society in which all will be able to participate. The grievance which Umkhonto is fighting against is a tyranny which has developed over 300 years. Black objections voiced at Westminster to the Act of Union of 1910 were ignored. Blacks were not consulted when South Africa became a republic. No black person has access to constitutional means of bringing about meaningful change in South Africa. Pope Paul VI in the Papal Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* warned against the dangers of revolution, "except in the case of manifest and prolonged tyranny which attacks fundamental rights of the person and endangers the common good of the country." Apartheid is both 'manifest' and 'prolonged' and involves the denial of basic rights to 80% of its citizens 'on the basis of colour alone.'

Last Resort

South African Defence Force is an army of occupation in Namibia which can stop the

war there by leaving and implementing United Nations Resolution 435. Inside South Africa, the government continues to militarise the entire country rather than share power, privilege and wealth with all South Africans. The government has refused to make the political decision which would remove the task of the military.

Umkhonto We Sizwe. For fifty years the ANC sought by non-violent means to achieve basic rights in South Africa but met always with brutality, torture, death and increased repression. Seldom has a people been so patient before being forced to opt for armed struggle when all other methods had been exhausted. For too long the majority of the people were left defenceless. It is important to link the internals with the external and remember that it is also the failure of the Western nations to withdraw their large-scale economic investment in apartheid which makes the armed struggle the last resort of an oppressed people.

Just Goals.

South African Defence Force. The occupation of Namibia, the destabilisation of all the front-line states and the perpetuation of power in white hands. This is mystified as the 'prevention of communism' which is supposed to provide a blessing for any and every act of terror which the SADF may decide to perpetrate. Inside South Africa the word 'communism' has been devalued by the racists so much that it has come to mean anything which is not consistent with government policy. Young conscripts are told that they are fighting for their country, but the growing number of war resisters are an indication that it is the racist ideology which they are asked to defend against the wishes of the majority of South Africans.

Umkhonto We Sizwe is fighting for a non-racial democracy — the vision of a new society which is outlined in the Freedom Charter adopted at the most representative gathering which has ever taken place in South Africa, in 1955. In contrast to the racists' policy of excluding, disenfranchising and dis-

possessing, the Freedom Charter is about empowering, including and sharing with all the people of South Africa. Opposition to apartheid could so easily have taken the form of 'turning the tables' which would be understandable but not truly liberatory, nor to be considered as a just goal from a moral perspective.

Just Means.

South African Defence Force. The Catholic Bishops in South Africa and more recently the Church of the Province of South Africa (Anglican) have accused the South African occupation forces of perpetrating atrocities and controlling the war zones through 'fear and violent intimidation.' The Anglican report states: "We heard numerous allegations of harassment, torture, detentions and killings by the South African army ... Whilst SWAPO does not show mercy to informers, many of the atrocities for which SWAPO has officially been blamed are in fact perpetrated by the SADF." The memories of Cassinga, Matola and Maseru leave us in no doubt about the basic injustice of the means employed by the SADF.

Nor must we forget that the West has connived to give the SADF nuclear capability. To use against whom, except the peoples of Southern Africa? The thought of nuclear weaponry in the hands of the race-mad fanatics who rule in Pretoria should be enough to galvanise the whole world to redouble its efforts to end apartheid rule in South Africa.

Umkhonto We Sizwe. Short of national suicide, the only feasible method of armed struggle in South Africa is guerrilla warfare linked to the political mobilisation of the masses. If we look at the history of armed struggle since Umkhonto We Sizwe began, it has been characterised by immense restraint, the identification of the system as the problem, the eschewing of civilian targets and the refusal to use indiscriminate violence. This is not simply a matter of tactics but arises out of the morality of Umkhonto We Sizwe's cause and the definition of the enemy as a

system rather than a people. However, the SADF in its process of militarising the entire country is blurring the edges. Speaking at the funeral after the Matola massacre, President Tambo posed a question which effectively asked if the possession of a weapon or ability to use it defines a military base. For, if that is the definition, the racists are then using every white home in South Africa as a military base. While putting the question, which the racists have declined to answer, Umkhonto We Sizwe has continued to escalate the armed struggle against military and economic targets.

Reasonable Chance of Success.

South African Defence Force. A conscripted army which fights for the preservation of a fundamentally unjust system and illegally occupies someone else's country has both God and history against it. The chances of success for the SADF are nil in the long run, but its ability to continue to cause colossal death and destruction in the process remains, shored up by the lack of political will on the part of the beneficiaries of apartheid in Western countries, who have the power to shorten the time and lessen the cost.

Umkhonto We Sizwe. The justice of the cause of the fight against apartheid is indisputable. It would be naive to think that there was anything automatic or even mechanistic about the process by which victory will be achieved. The SADF is engaged in distributing death on a massive scale because of the refusal of the politicians to make just political decisions. Umkhonto We Sizwe, for its part, engages in armed struggle, integrally linked with the political struggles of a largely unarmed people and both united in seeking the seizure of political power to establish a non-racial democracy — to implement the Freedom Charter. It is salutary to note that many people who felt that the creation of Umkhonto in 1961 was suicidal madness, would today acknowledge the political effect of this well-disciplined army and grudgingly acknowledge that no force on earth is going to stop powerchanging hands in South Africa

because of the depth of commitment, courage and the discipline of the majority of the people. The point I am making is that different conclusions about chances of success can be made at different points of time. It is interesting to read political scientists, historians and sociologists who predicted the impossibility of a seizure of power by popular forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. At the psychological level, the armed propaganda phase carried out by Umkhonto We Sizwe has done much to destroy racist myths of invincibility in the minds of the people and has given the people a deeply renewed hope of success — 'Freedom in Our Lifetime.'

Principles Behind the Theory.

It is worth noting that the theory of a just war did not evolve in an attempt to glorify or encourage war, but rather to limit it and to decrease brutality by setting limits to what human beings may justifiably do to others. Even in our commitment to armed struggle we must never forget that we are human beings who have been forced by an evil system to have to kill other human beings and that we seek a new society where the chain of oppressor and oppressed will be broken. For me, the commitment to armed struggle is motivated by a deep love for humanity and not by hatred for the enemy, and by the desperate urgency of destroying the apartheid regime and building a new society. The arguments about a just war in South Africa emerge out of the experience of a people locked in a life or death conflict. While the arguments have been hammered out within a Christian framework, they are worthy of consideration by all people who want peace.

To locate what I have been saying about a theory of a just war in the present phase of struggle in South Africa it is useful to recall an interview with ANC chief representative at the United Nations, Johnny Makatini, published in *Moto* in February 1982 after the ANC had sabotaged the nuclear power station at Koeberg, which should be capable of making a nuclear bomb. (2)



“... but Koeberg brings us to a crossroads, a similar one to that reached in 1961 when we were forced to take up arms and engage in a limited struggle.

“We engaged in a humanitarian war, expecting them to reciprocate, aware that we have to live together when it is all over, and we are therefore determined to avoid the unnecessary deepening of scars that have to be healed when we engage in national reconciliation.

“The regime did not respond and has instead engaged in the massacre of men, women and children, gunned down in their sleep; the sentencing to death of captured freedom fighters, instead of treating them as prisoners of war; assassinations of ANC cadres and leaders; killing political prisoners in torture chambers; mass removals of millions of people to the so-called homelands, where their fate is grinding poverty and death ...

“Koeberg was different, much more difficult. There's a message there. The whites must take note of the regime's incapability of providing security for everyone at all times. They should heed this, and stay the hand of the terrorist regime, and refuse to take up arms in defence of it. They should join the ANC and work for a democratic, non-racial state.

“It was no accident that the Koeberg saboteurs moved in before the reactors had been activated, thus avoiding any chance of a 'melt down' and subsequent radiation. The ANC researchers and those involved in the reconnoitre of Koeberg did their work thoroughly before they undertook this operation. We know what we were doing: there was no chance of radiation, as has been speculated in the white press in South Africa.

“Those who have expressed these fears are ignorant of the ANC and have underestimated our abilities. We can strike where we want, when we want, and still not harm civilians.

“The ANC cannot continue to ignore the pressures from people who for decades have been on the receiving end of the regime's brutality. There are those who say we should return the ball. While we still rule out indiscriminate killing of innocent civilians, the time is approaching when we must confront the armed forces which are the instrument of state power.

“To those who say we are too ambitious in taking on the mightiest army in Africa, I would point to the Vietnamese people who took on the mightiest army in the world. In this region, Zimbabweans and Mozambicans took on armies bigger and better equipped than their own.

“In addition, our strength lies with the multi-faceted struggle we are engaged in. As we intensify the armed struggle and confront the enemy, so we intensify the mass politicisation and mobilisation of the people on such issues as civil disobedience. As Victor Hugo said, there is only one thing more powerful than the strongest armies of the world put together, and that is an idea whose time has come. **Time has come for the freedom of South Africa.**”

References.

1. *Christians, Politics and Violent Revolution*, J.G. Davies, SCM, 1976, p.166,
2. *Moto*, February 1983, No.9.

INTERNATIONAL

During the last few years, governments and other organisations throughout the world have come to accept the ANC as the real representative of the people of South Africa, the only serious opponent of the racist regime and an alternative force for future power in the country. Sechaba prints here a brief account of some of the international recognition accorded, during the first half of 1983, to the ANC and its imprisoned leaders.

Front Line States Solidarity Conference.

President Tambo of the ANC and President Nujoma of SWAPO were two of the representatives at the International Conference in Solidarity with the Front Line States, held in Lisbon in March. It was attended by representatives of organs of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, 27 governments and 159 other governmental and non-governmental organisations from Africa, Asia, Europe, North America, Latin America and the Caribbean.

The conference resolved to mobilise world opinion towards total isolation of the apartheid regime, and stopping the flow of support that sustains it. It called for support for the oil embargo and the arms embargo, for an end to outside investments and loans for South Africa, and for an intensification of the sports and cultural boycotts.

It resolved to support the states of Africa and the Indian Ocean in their defence against

attacks by the Pretoria regime, and to 'expose and denounce' all Pretoria's efforts to destabilise them.

It also resolved to 'campaign energetically' for the withdrawal of Pretoria's troops from Namibia, and for immediate implementation of the United Nations plan for free elections in that country. It demanded that all political prisoners in South Africa be released, and that captured freedom fighters be treated as prisoners of war, under the Geneva Convention.

It resolved to "strengthen and extend the movements of solidarity with the people of Southern Africa through the Governments of the Front Line States, SWAPO of Namibia and the African National Congress of South Africa."

A mass meeting of over 2 000 people in Lisbon on the 27th March rose to its feet for a standing ovation when O R Tambo said, "I salute you on behalf of Nelson Mandela."

ANC Delegation to India,

President Tambo led an ANC delegation which visited India in January, at the invitation of the Indian Government, and which held discussions with the President of India, the Vice-President, the Prime Minister, the Minister for External Affairs and the Afro-Arab Heads of Missions.

The delegation called on the Indian Government to support the threatened front line 15

states in Southern Africa, and the South African national liberation struggle. It also asked for support in the campaign to isolate the South African regime, and the breaking off of the Reagan Government's support for it.

In a press statement issued in Delhi, the delegation said:

"This invitation extended to us is highly regarded ... We esteem it as an act of solidarity for our organisation and our people ... The high honour accorded our delegation is yet further testimony to the seriousness with which the Government of the Republic of India regards our liberation movement."

USSR Academic Honour for Sisulu.

In February, the Institute for African Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union awarded the degree of Honorary Doctor to Comrade Walter Sisulu, former Secretary-General of the ANC, who was captured by the Pretoria regime in 1963, and is now in his twentieth year of imprisonment. The diploma was presented by the Director of the Institute for African Studies, Professor Anatoly Gromyko, and was received by the present Secretary-General of the ANC, Comrade Alfred Nzo.

Rome and Athens Honour Mandela

In February, Comrade Nelson Rohihlahla Mandela was awarded the citizenship of the two ancient cities of Athens and Rome.

The parchment conferring Roman citizenship was presented by the Mayor of Rome, and received by Comrade Marcelino dos Santos, Member of the Council of Ministers of Mozambique. It read:

"In its session of the 11th November, 1982, following the ancient custom of welcoming to the community of Rome men who have distinguished themselves for moral gifts, high talent and nobility, with a fraternal sentiment I confer on you the citizenship of Rome.

"This is because of:

* The courageous example you set to your people and the entire world in the

struggle for human rights against the oppressor, for the emancipation of your people.

* Your having dedicated your life to the cause of freedom, thus becoming a symbol and champion of the non-violent resistance to all forms of discrimination and racist oppression in the world:

* Your suffering, your pain, your faith."

"Citizen, conserve this parchment as a sign of the spirit with which Rome today welcomes you among its most noble sons."

Jamaican Workers Honour Mandela

As part of an effort to launch a campaign urging the Jamaican government to take action against the rebel cricketers who played in South Africa, the Workers' Party of Jamaica invited the ANC for a ten-day speaking tour of Jamaica in March.

This gesture by the WPJ was a translation of words into deeds, taking concrete measures to educate the Jamaican people on the atrocities being committed by the racist South African regime against the black majority in that country.

Francis Meli, the representative of the ANC, emphasised the question of the demand for the unconditional release of Nelson Mandela and all political prisoners, especially in this year of Mandela's 65th birthday; the question of six of our comrades now facing execution because of their involvement in the armed struggle was linked with the demand that captured freedom fighters should be accorded prisoner of war status in accordance with the terms of the Geneva Protocols.

Talking about the need to enforce the all-round international sanctions resolutions which were adopted by the United Nations, he reminded his audience — at one meeting there were about 600 people — that the Caribbean Islands have been used more than once as half-way stations for shipping arms and war material, including nuclear warheads, from the United States and Canada to South Africa.

The front line states, which are struggling



Comrade Walter Sisulu's honorary doctorate is received by ANC Secretary-General Alfred Nzo.

hard to overcome the legacy of colonialism, which tied their economies to that of South Africa, are being daily subjected to intense military aggression from the South African regime. Sportsmen and cultural people who want to be of help should offer their services to the front line states instead of going to South Africa. Bob Marley's performance at the independence celebrations of Zimbabwe was an inspiring example, he said.

The support for the ANC should be coupled with the demand for the uncondit-

ional and unequivocal independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO.

The General Secretary of the WPJ, Comrade Dr Trevor Munroe, promised to take up these questions seriously, and the WPJ responded by calling its monthly workers' educational seminars **The Nelson Mandela Educational Seminars**. This was a tribute to Nelson Rohihlahla Mandela and the ANC, which he leads so ably even behind the doors of Pollsmoor Prison, and a sign of solidarity with our toiling and struggling black masses.

DISCUSSION ARTICLE

THE MILITARISATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATE

PART 2

BY W.A.

The first part of this article traced the increasing influence of the military through the 1970s, and the basis upon which P W Botha came to power in 1978. This second part attempts to evaluate developments in the organisation of state structure since 1979.

Two Cornerstones of State Strategy.

The root cause of the threat to the security of the racist state is the aspiration of the oppressed majority for social emancipation, embodied in the national liberation struggle. State security policy has never been anything more than an attempt to contain and diffuse the aspirations of the people, to effectively maintain 'racial capitalism.' The long history of the struggle has been one of interaction between the actions and reactions of oppressed and oppressor, with the initiative at any given stage fluctuating between the two forces. In the past decade, however, the balance of power has shifted significantly. The initiative now lies firmly in the hands of the forces of liberation. The reorganisation of state structure outlined in this article, and the accompanying development of state security policy, have taken place within this context.

An overview of developments in the past four years clearly signposts the path of likely

future state action. The Botha regime came to power with the expressed intention of consolidating state power and introducing socio-economic policy aimed at diffusing the political struggle. These two cornerstones of state strategy still exist, but the relationship between them has altered significantly.

During 1979-80 the catchphrase of the political and military leadership echoed time and again from public platforms was that the struggle was eighty per cent a political one, and twenty per cent military. This argument has today virtually disappeared. Political and economic rationalisations have failed to prevent the escalation of the struggle.

The eighty-twenty argument was spelt out by a military commander in a paper on rural counter-insurgency in 1979. "Development in a war zone is impossible because of the disruption and destruction that follow. Any development envisaged for a potential operational area, therefore, has to take place before the war starts. If we want to secure the loyalty, goodwill and co-operation of the local population in our border areas through socio-economic development and psychological action (the two must go together) before terrorism starts, we will have to act speedily." The war, however, was already well under way.

The state has had increasingly less leeway to experiment with strategies aimed at preventing the escalation of conflict. Its primary concern is that of defending the state against the onslaught.

Illustrating a specific example in a paper written in August 1980, Dr W Hough, Director of ISSUP, pondered that "it is for instance difficult to reconcile greater freedom of movement for the population as a political preventative measure, with the defensive measure of stricter control over population movements in an attempt to restrict terrorist movements."

This example encapsulated the state's dilemma over its survival strategy. In theory it has developed a counter-revolutionary blueprint based on the primacy of political and economic solutions. In practice it is increasingly falling back on military priorities. The last four years, the age of 'Botha the reformer,' have, above all, been dominated by increased militarisation and repression.

The past four years have seen significant changes in state structures which have led to the centralisation of decision-making, and moves towards control of decentralised execution of state power.

The State Security Council.

The first major initiative of the Botha regime was the establishment of the State Security Council as an executive body responsible for national security decision-making. The SSC had originally been set up as an informal body following the formation of Boss in 1969, and was legislated into official existence in 1972 with the function of advising the government on the formulation of security policy and determination of intelligence priorities.

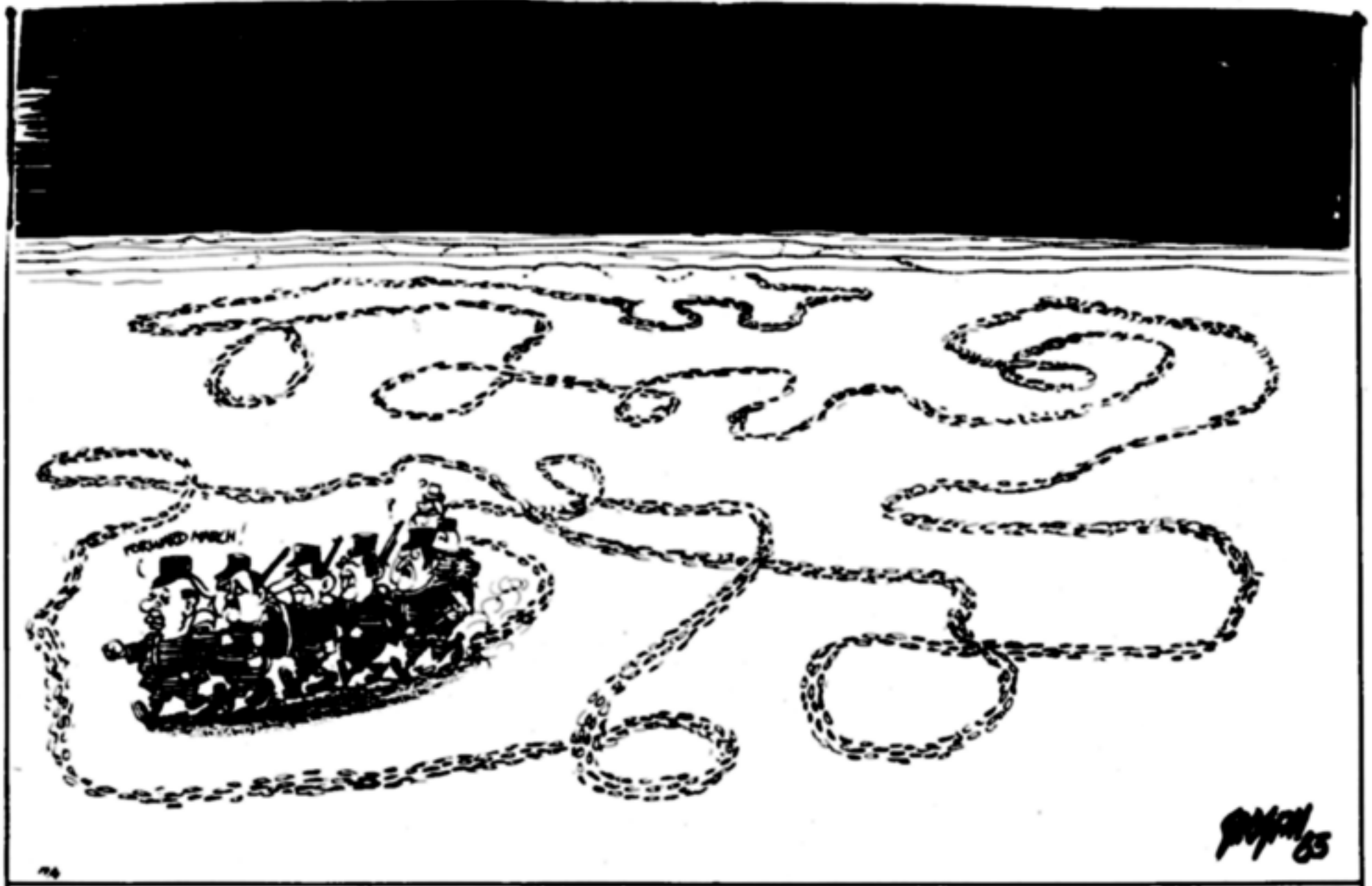
The bitter conflict between P W Botha, his generals and the Directorate of Military Intelligence on the one side and Vorster, van den Bergh and BOSS on the other meant that rather than becoming a co-ordinating body, the SSC provided a site for inter-departmental struggle, and was thus never given the importance and influence originally intended.

The growing strength of the Botha-Malan power base through the 1970s meant that even before Botha's rise to power, the military had been able to flex its political muscles through advocating the resurrection, and expansion of powers, of the SSC. This was done through capitalising on the mistakes of the Vorster regime and using public platforms, such as the 1977 ISSUP symposium, to exert pressure on a political administration faced by numerous crises, culminating in the Muldergate 'scandal.'

Speaking in 1980, General Malan threw light on one aspect of these manoeuvres: "The events in Angola in 1975/6 focused the attention on the urgent necessity for the State Security Council to play a much fuller role in the national security of the Republic than hitherto. One of its first actions following the Angolan campaign was to appoint an inter-departmental committee to go into the matter of the formulation of strategy on the national level, as well as the organisational structures necessary for the purpose ... This committee accepted as a starting point that the national security of the Republic would be undertaken by the SSC."

On Botha's rise to power, plans were already well under way for the transformation of the SSC into an executive body. According to the 1980 Annual Report of the Office of the Prime Minister, the functions of the SSC were now "more inclusive" than those laid down in the 1972 legislation that brought it into existence. Technically, the SSC became one of five permanent Cabinet Committees, but unlike the other four committees (Economic Affairs, Social Affairs, Internal Affairs and Finance) the proceedings of SSC meetings are not reported to the whole Cabinet. The SSC meets regularly on the days before full Cabinet meetings. The role of the Cabinet is thus now one of rubber-stamping decisions of the SSC taken the preceding day.

While the full membership of the SSC is secret, it is clear that the armed forces and their political representatives are more than adequately represented. Under the chairman-



ship of Prime Minister P W Botha (Minister of Defence 1966-80) the key membership of the SSC comprises four SADF generals (Malan – Minister of Defence, van Deventer – Secretary of SSC, Viljoen – Chief of SADF and van der Westhuizen – Chief of Staff Intelligence), two South African Police generals (Geldenhuis – Commissioner, Coetzee – Chief of Security Police), the head of the National Intelligence Service (Barnard) and the Ministers of Police, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Co-operation and Development, Internal Affairs and Constitutional Affairs.

Intelligence.

In any state those concerned with its security are dependent on information on the threats it is facing. The relationship between the intelligence community and the security planners is thus a fundamental one. A brief history of Pretoria's intelligence structures throws further light on the struggle for state power and its present resolution.

Until World War II no intelligence agency existed in South Africa. The military relied

on the British, and the police on its CID. (During World War II a military intelligence department was created for combat planning, but was disbanded in 1948.)

The Security Police (SP) was established in 1947, and through the 1950s, as the sole intelligence agency, assured the dominant position of the Minister of Police in state security decision-making. In the early 1960s, primarily in response to the launching of the armed struggle, the Directorate of Military Intelligence (DMI) was set up and began to operate in the same arena as the SP. Other government departments also initiated smaller intelligence operations.

Despite the flourishing of the intelligence community, the DMI and SP operated in virtual isolation from each other, often as rivals. At the end of 1963 the DMI attempted to streamline operations by proposing the establishment of a central intelligence bureau. A co-ordinating body, the State Security Committee, was created, but had no permanent staff, and was disbanded in 1966.

In its place a State Security Advisory

Council was established with a small permanent secretariat, the Intelligence Co-ordinating Section. Meetings of this council invariably ended up in unresolved arguments between the Ministers of Defence and Police. According to the 1970 Potgieter Commission on State Security, "because of their divergent approaches and backgrounds it was difficult to reach unanimity."

Forsaking co-ordination of the military and police establishments, Vorster (until 1966 Minister of Police, Justice and Prisons) and General van den Bergh, then Chief of the Security Police, secretly established Republican Intelligence (RI). Officially, RI never existed, but in 1968 van den Bergh was appointed to a newly created post of Security Adviser to the Prime Minister and in 1969 RI was transformed into a fully-fledged department of state, BOSS, with van den Bergh at its helm.

Up until 1978 BOSS attempted to maintain its hegemony of the intelligence community. However, despite professional rivalries (which exist throughout most of the intelligence world) the fundamental differences that grew up in the South African intelligence community were based on a conflict over strategic assessment that was an integral part of the political struggle being waged within the ruling class.

The development of internecine struggle through the 1970s was in fact enhanced by BOSS activities. As Chief of Security Police van den Bergh had been a ruthlessly efficient operator. As head of BOSS he became a paranoid party politician, more concerned with the increasing political influence of the military than with state security.

Following the political victory of the Botha-Malan camp, BOSS was dismantled, van den Bergh's closest advisers purged, and the National Intelligence Service (temporarily known as DONS) established under the supervision of two senior officers seconded from the DMI. While rivalry between the state's three intelligence services – DMI, NIS and SP – is bound still to exist in the field, the centralised control and co-ordination of

the three organisations was the first priority of the SSC. According to General Malan, this was done "according to sound business management principles, which included, inter alia, the effective integration of non-related sources into a total system."

The Office of the Prime Minister.

As significant a development as the establishment of the SSC has been the drastic extension of the powers of the prime minister, through the creation of executive structures within the 'office' of the prime minister. With an authorised staff of 93 professional and 239 administrative, clerical and other personnel (1981 figures) this department has, in conjunction with the SSC, superseded the role of the Cabinet through five 'planning components' – Constitutional, Economic, Physical, Science and Social Planning Branches.

Under previous regimes the Department of the Prime Minister was limited in its functions to administrative liaison between the PM, State President and Government departments. According to its own 1980 Report, "the establishment of the renamed Office of the Prime Minister with its **comprehensive and central planning function** has ensured that the RSA's development and security planning can be done at one central point and in a co-ordinated way."

The establishment of this department was linked to rationalisation of the public service in 1979 when the 39 central government departmental institutions were reduced to 22. The influence of the public service has been reduced by the upgrading of the roles of various advisory bodies such as the Economic Advisory Council, Planning Advisory Council and the Scientific Advisory Council, which are dominated by representatives of industry and academics, and which are instrumental in the formulation of state policy from within the Prime Minister's Office.

The Prime Minister's Office also has direct control over the constitutional reforms currently under formulation. The President's Council Secretariat is a component of the

Administration Branch of the PM's office.

One of the constitutional proposals under consideration is the establishment of an executive presidency. If this is adopted, little change will be necessary, for in the past four years that executive has already been created.

National Security Management.

The restructuring of the SSC, intelligence community and political executive was the first stage in the establishment of what is now referred to as the 'National Security Management System.' This stage, aimed at securing the institutions of central decision-making, was completed in August 1979.

The second stage involved ensuring control over all relevant government activities through fifteen interdepartmental committees which implement SSC directives, and the final stage the establishment of regional 'joint management centres' for decentralised execution of specific directives.

While little is known about this regional infrastructure, it can be assumed that it is closely related to the organisation of joint police-military operations, local intelligence priorities (particularly with regard to the repression of political struggle), the implementation of National Key Points legislation and other measures ensuring industrial protection, and the upgrading of civil defence infrastructures and full co-ordination of emergency procedures.

An indication of the type of activity involved in this process came to light in October 1980 in the Eastern Cape, when mass political struggle was at a high point. A 'crisis committee' was established at the regional military headquarters under military leadership, which included the divisional commissioner of police, the security and riot police commanders, the regional director of Education and Training and the chief director of the East Cape Administration Board.

The need of an ad hoc 'crisis committee' in this instance suggests that a permanent infrastructure had not at the stage been created. It can be expected, however, that



major advances have been made since then, and that developments are now taking place under the umbrella of the Area Defence system announced by the Chief of the SADF, General Viljoen, last year.

It is significant that, in the outline of state structures above, there is no reference to parliament and little even to the Cabinet. This is an accurate reflection of the relevance and organisational influence of white parliamentary politics. While white public opinion remains an important element governing the direction of state policy, the back-up to the planners is not provided by politicians, but by advisory bodies, commissions of enquiry and academic think tanks. This is further evidenced by the decision within the National Party, imposed from above, to restrict party congresses to discussions on principle, removing from them the power to influence policy. White parliamentary democracy has become an increasingly superfluous appendage in the maintenance of apartheid rule.

This applies equally to both the power bases that brought the regime to power. The captains of industry have less need for parliamentary lobbying these days, for their presence on a wide variety of influential advisory bodies – the abovementioned councils attached to the Office of the Prime Minister as well as equally powerful bodies such as the Defence Planning Committee – gives them far greater political power than the vast majority of elected politicians.

The military not only effectively control the SSC, but have their own representatives placed in every committee and department where their presence is deemed by the generals to be useful. Furthermore, with the National Party losing a significant portion of its electoral support, the military is poised to take, if necessary, a far more upfront, party-political role to maintain white unity. The proposed conscription of all white males into the Commandos in rural areas, for example, is as much a political manoeuvre – to re-channel the loyalties of the burgeoning ultra-right – as it is a security measure.

The reorganisation of state structures and its consequences has not been the result of some backroom conspiracy by power-hungry generals. Botha and his generals came to power after a bitter power struggle within the ruling party. The measures adopted by the new regime, however, had little to do with that particular conflict. The blueprints of the national security management system were drawn up at a time when the security of the apartheid state was seriously threatened. At the time of their implementation the threat had increased. Today, four years on, the threat is greater than ever before.

The role of the generals within the state as described through this article is thus best understood as a function and logical consequence of the role of the armed forces in defending the state. The influence of the military has increased drastically. The state has become militarised. The process of militarisation will increase, as it is perceived by those in power as the only remaining viable option to ensure the survival of racist rule.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

● Quo Vadis South Africa?

Quo vadis – a perennial question directed at this pariah state of the international community ever since the National Party came into power on May 26, 1948. There were then predictions that the country's economy would collapse within 3 months and that political chaos would ensue. Clearly that did not happen and that prompted several people to take up prognostic issues again. This was particularly so after "Soweto 1976". Johnson asked "How long will South Africa survive?", while those incorrigible Stanford historians put the question more pertinently: "South Africa – War, Revolution or Peace?". They went further and answered the question them-



selves: "Why South Africa will survive." These two unashamed imperialist propagandists failed, naturally, to explain why their predictions about the war in Zimbabwe turned out to be hopelessly incorrect.

The point? Of all the ironies of South African history there are few as striking as the fact that the country has in fact survived, however relative the term may be. It is ironic because the country's continued survival has been ensured by the very states who display their apparent opprobrium in international forums. It is no different now than it was in 1910, when Britain in collusion with the mining randlords and the defeated Boers, invested the white minority with total political and economic control over South Africa. Today the power of the authoritarian regime is entrenched largely by none less than "critics" of apartheid in international forums.

Nonetheless, the question *Quo vadis* South Africa, can still be validly asked. There is however a perspective which is normally overlooked and which hopefully, will be brought out here. In posing the question "where to?" one needs to look **back** before one can look **forward**. This is the only way in which the present acquires perspective. As a black South African, teaching at a tertiary educational institution — Black, not a member of any political organisation underground or otherwise, this is a perspective I'd like to illuminate.

The first point: since unification and even before white South Africans, English and Afrikaans speaking, have tried to drive a wedge between Blacks of all hues by playing on and manipulating so-called cultural and other differences. Since the National Party came into power, this has been done with increasing sophistication e.g. the present constitutional proposals which are likely to come into operation this year.

It is very different to the crude and naked racism of the fifties — in the words

of a prominent Afrikaner historian, F.A. van Jaarsveld. The extent to which this has succeeded is most evident in the decision of the supposedly anti-apartheid coloured Labour Party to, as they would argue, operate from the inside.

Now, what is the significance of this decision? That's not hard to see: the white regime has always stated unequivocally that it wanted to make South Africa safe for the white people and recently, safe for their children. By a cruel twist of fate the Coloured and Indian communities are being coopted to help them achieve that! The white vanguard will now include a "black" vanguard — what a cruel twist of fate for our children!

The logical *quid pro quo* for this fraudulent deal would be military conscription for those people upon whom this spurious democracy will be imposed. It has been on the cards for some time now. Joint decision-making in matters of common interest implies joint responsibility. What a distressing prospect! Black people will be forced to face their brothers, quite literally, in the struggle to emancipate South Africa, from opposite sides! That the Labour Party has failed to comprehend the implications and ramifications of this pigmentocratic politics is the surest way of showing their naivete, their shortsightedness.

The second point is however, indubitably encouraging. The unprecedented resurgence of political consciousness that erupted in 1976 cut deep across the colour lines that the regime had tried to draw. The youth uprising was neither a Sotho, Xhosa, Coloured nor Indian uprising. It was one borne out of a common historical experience of oppression and today that spirit continues to prevail. Individuals have been incarcerated, organisations banned and others killed. Yet it is clearer than ever that the ever spreading, ever growing ideology of liberation cannot be incarcerated, banned or quenched. It is what I call the internal dynamics of opposition to apartheid. It is an inherent force, one that needs no real

inculcation, one that thrives naturally on the injustice of the apartheid system. It is my contention that this is an important factor in the continuing struggle.

Thirdly, and most significantly: Ten years ago when I was a student on a black campus, student politics revolved around the rhetoric of driving the white fascist pigs into the sea. This is no longer the case. Even the most politically moderate now identify not only with the cause, the liberation of South Africa, but with the organisation which has become the symbol and force of that cause. This is no idle, morale-boosting remark — I was witness to it and I still am. It is the same in Johannesburg, East London, Durban and Cape Town.

Why is this so? The African National Congress' ideology of liberation expressed since the formative days of 1912 has remained unadulterated by changing times; unlike the ugly face of apartheid which started as segregation and has had mud-packs of separate development, plural development, and, recently, consociational democracy. The problem is that apartheid does not need cosmetic surgery, it has to be eradicated completely! Beneath all the mud-packs the majority of the black people still see the ugly face of apartheid and have to put up with it daily.

To the question which ideology has withstood, will withstand the test of time, must come only one answer. The unflinching opposition to apartheid — whatever face it puts on — obviates the need to labour the point.

What needs to be done now is to maintain the momentum. The struggle must continue to be extended to all spheres of what the regime euphemistically calls the "South African way of life." The battle is as much an intellectual and social one as it is physical.

Quo vadis South Africa? This is not merely a moot point of academic value. Whatever prognosis one makes, there is no

escaping the irrefutable fact that the thirst for emancipation is unquenchable.

*... let no choleric charlatan tell you
It will be by chance
Our voice in unison with our poet's
proudly says
CHANGE IS GOING TO COME.*

*(from Keorapetse Kgotsile:
Manifesto to the People.)*

I.W.

● In Reply to Buthelezi

Dear Comrade,

In the normal course of political events, people who fall on the same side of the line that divides the oppressor and the oppressed do not have to throw stones at each other. It is, however, not a normal exercise for a member of the oppressed group, no matter how honest he thinks his motives are, to go out of his way to water down, indeed, to negate or render difficult, the attempt of those who are striking out along a new road for the liberation of the oppressed and exploited people of our country.

Genuine patriots may be non-violent, but cannot be anti-violent.

It is now common knowledge that Chief Buthelezi identifies with the tendency that outrightly opposes, not just differs with, the revolutionary violence of the masses as they are led in combat by Umkhonto We Sizwe, the armed wing of the people of South Africa, under the political direction of the African National Congress. Were he simply non-violent, but not anti-violent, that is, going against the just liberation war of our people,

one would probably not have taken the pains of raising the following political arguments, because, as he may well be aware, the members of our organisation have never felt that there needs to develop polemics between genuine patriots who either believe in non-violence as a strategy for change or who just do not believe in the feasibility of the violent contribution and those who believe. This is particularly so since there may be numerous people within the African National Congress and in South Africa in general who feel that their contribution in the liberation struggle cannot go beyond the non-violent limits, and such people enjoy the same esteem by our organisation as those who have attacked Sasol or Voortrekkerhoogte.

To engage, however, in an exercise of watering-down and positively negating the revolutionary violence of our embattled masses, is to take a stand on the side of our violent colonisers. This is ignoble, this is a dishonourable stand, quite similar to the one taken in 1879 by the 2 500 villains in Zululand who constituted the African Native Contingent, and supported the British infantry and cavalry led by Chelmsford against the entire Zulu army led by Cetshwayo and his generals such as Buthelezi's grandfather, Mnyamana, Tshingwayo, Mavumengwana, Sigcwelegcwele, Dabulamanzi and others. It would have been more honourable for those men to have stayed in their homes with their families, to rather remain totally non-violent, completely uncommitted, than to commit themselves to the side of the English invaders against the just war of the African people. This piece of history, from which Buthelezi also claims to draw inspiration, is meant to illustrate that today's Botha and Malan are a continuation of the old Sir Bartle Frere and Theophilus Shepstone.

The land we fought for, the freedom and dignity we lost, we have not yet regained. What the British colonisers did in Zululand subsequent to the battle of Ulundi, burning villages, massacring people, seizing cattle and plundering kraals, the present South African government continues to do

in Soweto and Crossroads, where it has become a common sight to see small black bodies writhing in pools of blood in the dust, South African Police bullets tearing holes in both bones and flesh of the screaming and defenceless school children. Every black South African knows from experience that the racist regime in South Africa rules by force, just as it conquered us by force. Umkhonto We Sizwe is thus logically carrying on from where Makanda, Sekhukuni, Maqoma and Bambatha left off; its combatants draw inspiration from our heroic ancestors and seek to honour them by proving, right in the field of combat, that what they fought for was not in vain — surely, if they were to wake up today, this is where their contribution would be. For Buthelezi to go out of his way, however, not to be satisfied with the golden silence, but actually to advise against revolutionary violence, is it not to spit on the graves of our forebears? To ridicule the serious endeavours of Umkhonto We Sizwe combatants in the face of such brutality by the South African Defence Force against our people, is it not to take sides, whether wittingly or unwittingly, with the murderers of Vuyisile Mini, Ahmed Timol, William Khanyile, Ruth First and Joe Gqabi?

The choice of violence is not the choice of the oppressed, it is the choice of those who create a mammoth military budget, those who have established pistol clubs for the 'madams' for target practice when they are through from hairdressing sessions, those who have launched a full-scale war on neighbouring Lesotho, Mozambique and Angola.

His fears are completely unfounded.

Although I may not be competent to comment on behalf of our movement concerning the cache of arms and ammunition said to have been discovered in Zululand near his Bantustan capital, Ulundi, and over which he has raised the hue and cry about the ANC's intention to kill him, to me as a member of the African National Congress, his fears and all the noise he is making have no foundation.

Firstly, Ulundi is in South Africa, just

like Johannesburg, Durban or Cape Town, and if (provided that this is true) someone decided to hide his arms there, I do not know why Buthelezi should particularly think of this place as belonging to the KwaZulu bantustan and not to South Africa, or is he, of late, contrary to his previous utterances, recognising and accepting the KwaZulu bantustan? From the sheer point of view of logic, it does not necessarily mean that because the arms were found hidden near his Bantustan capital, then that either his capital or himself was going to be destroyed. Furthermore, in the same line, as part of oppressed South Africa, KwaZulu, may have the kind of military target whose attack by our armed people may hasten their liberation. KwaZulu bantustan is not a liberated zone, it is still part and parcel of oppressed South Africa, where thousands of our people still rake through rubbish bins in search of salvation from starvation.

Secondly, our organisation has never had it in its programme to kill Bantustan leaders, not even those who have gone to the extent of actually endorsing the balkanisation of our country, professing to be 'independent.' Why then should we start with Gatsha Buthelezi? Lest he forgets, the African National Congress is motivated by very noble ideals, it genuinely opposes the racist oppressors of our people and their terrorist murder squads, and 'cannot therefore itself be a terrorist organisation as the racists, and now he himself, have joined to slander it. Our revolutionary war of liberation is being fought in the open, not in dark corners like a Mafia; it is being fought directly by the oppressed people, not by foreigners who might mistake the identity of our enemy; the armed attacks that have been conducted by Umkhonto We Sizwe, the ANC has openly and officially acknowledged, much to the satisfaction of our people. In this way, then, Umkhonto We Sizwe, even by its choice of targets, has lived to the manifesto of 1961, which stated:

"Umkhonto We Sizwe will be at the frontline of the people's defence. It will

be the fighting arm of the people against the Government and its policies of race oppression. It will be the striking force of the people for liberty, for rights and for their final liberation!"

Our political line, our military line, is very clear, and our people understand them. What then makes him think that the ANC would like to kill him for? What is really frightening him? We would like to know. Is he feeling guilty about something, and is his conscience troubling him?

The people are with us

Without the support of the oppressed South African people, the ANC and Umkhonto would not be there. The victories of Umkhonto, which would be too numerous to tell, are the victories of the embattled South African people, our bedrock and our lifeblood.

There were times when the racists like Vorster and Kruger used to boast in their racist parliament that they had broken the back of the ANC. Where are Vorster and Kruger today? But the ANC has outlived them, it is they and not us whose backs have been politically broken. Similarly, in the Sunday Times of 13th March, 1983, in which he launches his attacks on us about the intention to kill him, he refers to the 'London-based ANC,' or to the external mission of the ANC. But the ANC is right there within South Africa, in Paulpietersburg and Vryheid, in Mkhuze and Pietermaritzburg. Certainly, he is not one of those who imagine that Umkhonto launches its missiles poised somewhere in the neighbouring countries, which would then be flying across the plains and over the buildings of South Africa to strike at the President's Council building in Cape Town and the military recruiting offices in Durban. The MK combatants are as linked to the masses of our people as the waves are linked to the stormy sea, without which they would not be there. Anybody who reads newspapers in South Africa, who reads about

numerous trials of ANC men and women right among the people where some of them are found by the police, will see the ridiculous nature of the reference to the 'London-based ANC;' for sure we may have offices in London like everywhere else, but Mkhuze, Vryheid and Paulpietersburg are not London suburbs by any means.

The history of Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and our neighbouring Namibia is showing irrefutably that no matter how militarily strong the oppressor can be, he cannot, however, withstand the might of an organised people and the might of their armed offensive. To preach to the people that this is not possible in South Africa, to attempt to sow despair, is not only a misreading of history but also to confuse one's own political impotence for that of the masses. Indeed, from his Bantustan platform, the horizons are limited, he cannot see historical possibilities – on the contrary, the masses of our people have wider horizons, a far-reaching insight, concrete historical possibilities. The examples of our neighbours, with whom we have been under the same oppression not so long ago, fires our people's own imagination and wakes their traditional anti-colonial courage; look to the FRELIMO, MPLA or SWAPO in the South African context. It is here, then, that the ANC comes to offer tangible programmes of action to the people, showing them the only bitter road to liberation, through struggle. The ANC does not fight on behalf of the people as their saviour, but fights with them, leading them in small and big battles in everyday life. This is no rhetoric, but fact! This fact may not be obvious to those who expect us to show our presence by calling for mass rallies, address meetings, parade streets with pins on our berets – no, the times have changed. The sign of our political strength will be shown on the day of liberation, when all our people shall cry out for the time-tested, sacrificing and uncompromising leadership of Mandela, Tambo, Sisulu, Mbeki and other national and historical leaders.

Conclusion

Our people's victory over the arrogant Pretoria regime will come irrespective of the position Buthelezi adopts with regard to our people's armed struggle. The organised violence of the masses will finally blast Pretoria into terrified submission, and all our enemies and opponents alike will be as stunned as Victorian England was with the victory of the Africans in 1879. Our people have, more than in 1879, combined throughout colonial South Africa, irrespective of ethnic affiliation, under the African National Congress, and, moreover, they have broken the enemy's monopoly over modern weapons. Therefore, to preach despair under these circumstances, to be terrified by non-existing intentions to kill him, to claim that the "ANC is jealous of Inkatha," etc, is not only to be petty and childish, politically speaking, but also it is to demonstrate hollowness and backwardness, historically speaking.

–Comrade Mzala

● Making a history of our struggle

Dear Comrade,

Permit me to thank you or the person who wrote recollections of Nelson Mandela. This is a real improving article about the leadership of our movement. This must not only end up with members of the leadership. There are also members of the movement who were party to creating this. I think some of them because of security *Sechaba* cannot use their names.

I would like to say in this region these articles will be of great importance to ANC

and cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe to know more about the leaders' participation in making the movement more radical. Through you I would also ask that all the old stalwarts of the movement give their profiles about their participation in the movement. This will help in making a history of struggle. We have also started with some interviews. We might send the material to *Sechaba* and you will see how best to publish the material.

I have discovered that we have a rich history of struggle from some members of the movement which other people do not know of. I hope we will have more of these articles in future.

With great love from all the comrades in the region.

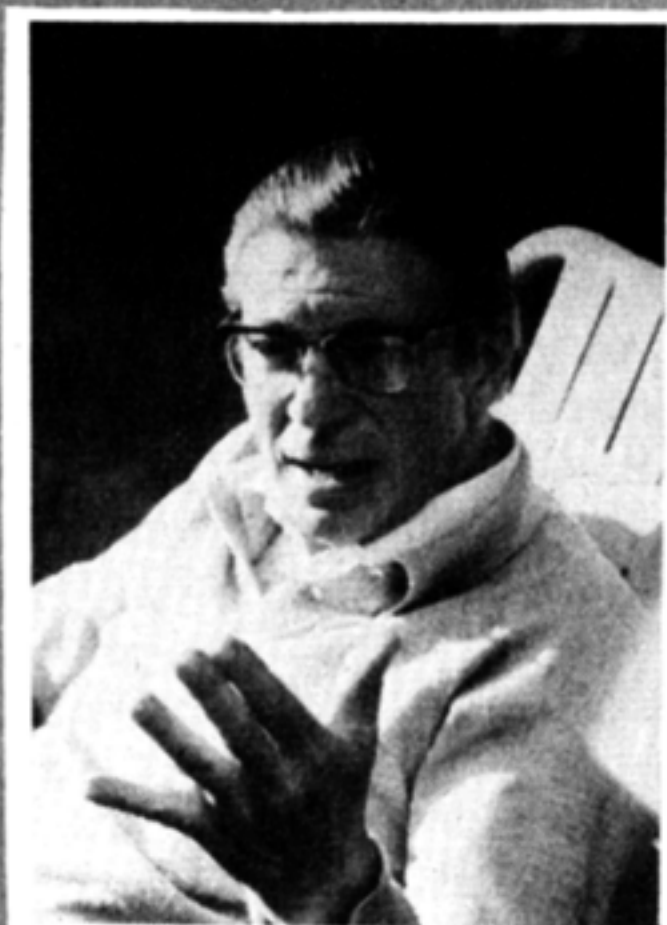
Forward to a people's war! Amandla!

Z G

• BOOK REVIEW •

The Evolution of

Beyers



Naude

Randall, P. (ed), Not Without Honour, Tribute to Beyers Naude, Johannesburg, 1982.

Church figures have emerged at different times in the South African freedom struggle.

Names such as Ambrose Reeves, Trevor Huddleston, Michael Scott, Joost de Blank, Desmond Tutu, Alan Boesak and many others are household names in South Africa. These people had a good theological training and education in Christian social responsibil-

ity. This was not the case with Beyers Naude.

Born on May 10th 1915, Christiaan Frederick Beyers Naude comes from a typical Boer family: fanatically religious (and one of their religions is apartheid) and nationalist — in the negative sense of the term. He was named after the Boer War general Christiaan Frederick Beyers, who was drowned in November 1914, while attempting to escape across the flooded Vaal River after the crushing of their rebellion against South Africa's participation on Britain's side in the First World War.

There was nothing spectacular about Beyers Naude during his school days, except that in 1936 he completed his M.A. at Stellenbosch, where Dr Verwoerd was lecturing in sociology.

“Naude would have been struck by Verwoerd's personality: an impressive and remote figure, dogmatic and rigid in his views, who lectured at great length without recourse to notes. Naude would have soaked up his master's words, like his fellow students, to regurgitate them uncritically at examination time.” (p.7)

We should remember that the nineteen thirties was the period of the rise of fascism and nazism in Europe. The consolidation of the Afrikaners and the setting up of exclusively Afrikaner institutions and organisations was an aspect of strengthening the consciousness of an exclusive Afrikanerdom through 'ethnic mobilisation.' No wonder that, in 1940, Beyers Naude joined, under oath of secrecy, the Afrikaanse Broederbond. At one time he was chairman of its cell, or division, in Emmarentia, Johannesburg.

The break with the Broederbond was a culmination point in a series of events which started in the nineteen fifties:

“By the mid-fifties Beyers Naude had not yet reached a position of rejecting apartheid in toto. He clearly did not question the broad principle of separate development, the policy whose found-

ations were being systematically laid during those years by the Afrikaner government, first under Dr D F Malan and then under Dr H F Verwoerd. At most he would have seen a need for a modification of the grosser aspects of racial discrimination, having arrived at a position somewhat similar to that arrived at by certain Afrikaner verligtes twenty years later.” (p.15)

He developed to reach positions of eminence in the Dutch Reformed Church. Then it happened. There was the Sharpeville massacre in 1960, the banning of our organisation, the state of emergency and the general international isolation of South Africa as evidenced by its withdrawal from the Commonwealth. The tensions increased between the English-speaking churches and the state, and between those churches and the pro-apartheid Dutch Reformed churches.

“By 1963 the parting of the ways had been reached.” (p.17)

But even before this there was the Cottesloe consultation of December 1960. Cottesloe is an old residence of the University of the Witwatersrand, one of the very few places where delegates of all races could meet and reside together. The consultation was initiated by Joost de Blank, the Anglican archbishop of Cape Town. He asked the World Council of Churches to arrange a meeting of its member churches in South Africa to consider the worsening situation in the country. Among the Afrikaner churches, the Cape NGK, the Transvaal NGK, and the Nederduitsch Hervormde Kerk (NHK) were members of the WCC. The bulk of the South African membership was made up of the English-speaking churches, while the Bantu Presbyterians were the only African church to be represented. The Roman Catholic Church was not a member. In September 1960 the racist regime deported the Anglican bishop of Johannesburg, Ambrose Reeves. In all, 80 representatives from the South African churches and six WCC representatives met. It is true that the

deliberations and resolutions were far from being radical, but what is important is the direction in which the church was being asked to follow.

Leading members of various churches, mostly white but not exclusively white (Rev. E.E. Mahabane was one of them) felt convinced that Christians of various races and denominations should meet together to try to work out the "implications of the Kingdom of God" for the peoples of the country. The result of all this was a meeting on August 13, 1963 in the Central Methodist Hall in Johannesburg to consider the establishment of a new ecumenical body, to be known as the Christian Institute of Southern Africa. There were about 250 people present.

Beyers Naude was elected to the post of director of the Christian Institute. This was the beginning of his problems. First with the Synodical Commission – the body empowered to take decisions on behalf of the Southern Transvaal Synod when it was not in session. They rejected his application.

"Naude now faced his final moment of choice in terms of his future in the NGK. Acceptance of the post of director of the fledgling Christian Institute would mean not only loss of his status as a minister of the church, but also the automatic loss of his position of the moderator of the Southern Transvaal Synod, and the end of any further prospects in the Church. It would also inevitably bring down on him the wrath of powerful forces in the Afrikaner community." (p.29)

Naude decided that his congregation should be the first to learn officially of his decision to become the director of the Christian Institute and "The Akte van Demissie was formally read out from the front of the church. Then Beyers Naude, officially dominee for the last time, stepped down from the pulpit and, in a gesture symbolising the stripping off of his status, took

off his robe before the silent congregation, many of whom were weeping." (p.29)

There is another angle to the story of Beyers Naude. He decided to break his vow of secrecy regarding the Broederbond. He approached a friend of his, Professor Albert Geyser, a non-Broeder, and left a number of documents regarding the Broederbond with Geyser. Without Naude's knowledge Geyser photographed the documents and gave them to a journalist. Then followed a series of articles in the Johannesburg Sunday Times starting on April 25, 1963.

The Special Branch (van den Berg) assisted by the Broederbond (Piet Koomhof was then Secretary of the Broederbond) traced the source of this expose and on November 20, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), control of which is in the hands of the Broederbond (Dr. P.J. Meyer was head of both the Bond and the SABC) interrupted its regular programmes to intervene in this expose. As far as Piet Koomhof was concerned the disclosures were part of the "Communist pattern of suspicion-sowing" and were aimed at "subverting Afrikanerdom and its holiest spiritual possessions." Then followed death threats on Beyers Naude and Albert Geyser.

The work of Beyers Naude in the Christian Institute is relatively well known. Beyers Naude was not alone. Amongst those who helped him are people like Theo Kotze, Fred van Wyk, Brian Brown, Mark Collier, Danie van Zyl, Oshadi Phakati, Manas Buthelezi, Calvin Cook, Colin Gardner, Horst Kleinschmidt, Anne Hope, Roelf Meyer, Ben Engelbrecht and Bruckner de Villiers.

The story of the Christian Institute will be properly told some day when we are free; when we have retrieved all the documents confiscated; when its leading figures are unbanned and back from exile.

The organisation itself was banned on October 19, 1977 together with 18 others. There was a tense situation in South Africa – the students' uprising and the murder of

Steve Biko on September 12 and the arrests and detention of people. At least 40 black leaders were detained. Seven whites were placed under banning orders for five years. Most of them were associated with the Christian Institute: Beyers Naude, the director; Theo Kotze, director in the Western Cape; Brian Brown, administrative director; Cedric Mayson, editor of *Pro Veritate*; and Peter Randall, former director of Spro-Cas, the project sponsored jointly by the Christian Institute and the South African Council of Churches from 1969 to 1972.

All this and much more is entailed in this booklet which is a collection of articles by Peter Randall, Peter Walshe, Denis Hurley and Charles Villa Vicencio. The authors have compressed in barely 100 pages the life and work of Beyers Naude, the Christian Institute, state versus church and black resistance in the 1970s. Not everything they say is acceptable to this reviewer. For instance Peter Randall says:

“There is a fascination about individuals who pit themselves against the might of a state, particularly when this involves a spiritual rebellion against their own community, with all the ostracism and pain that this brings. The example of Alexander Solzhenitsyn comes readily to mind, while in South Africa the name of Beyers Naude inevitably suggests itself in this context.” (p.1)

This comparison is not only false and out of tune: it is dangerous and reminds us of “centrist” positions which are against the dangers from the right as well as from the left.

Peter Walshe on the other hand maintains:

“It would be true to say that the (Christian) institute remained deeply suspicious of communism, yet its understanding of mission and its

political analysis pointed it in the direction of democratic socialism. The evolution of the institute, therefore provides yet another important reminder of the common ground that can be shared by democratic socialism and a prophetic Christianity when the latter has been galvanised by the praxis of a liberation struggle.” (p.66)

Here Walshe seems to be more autobiographical than explaining the politics and the dynamics of the Christian Institute. Indeed our liberation struggle is relegated to a role of “galvaniser”!

Let us put this differently. The history and evolution of the Christian Institute teaches us that revolutionaries make a mistake when they think that revolutionary changes can be made by revolutionaries alone. We, as a liberation movement, must work in alliance with all patriotic forces in the most diverse spheres of activity. That is even if we do not agree with them on everything.

The evolution of Beyers Naude, a powerful personality in South Africa today, shows that people can and do change. By sheer force of example he has shown that it is possible to break with the forces of darkness and the initial isolation is a necessary break which leads to acceptance by the forces of the future. In this process he has influenced many people to rethink their position in South Africa. The more we intensify our struggle the more Beyers Naudes are going to emerge. Let us widen the crack in this “granite wall”.

F.M.

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