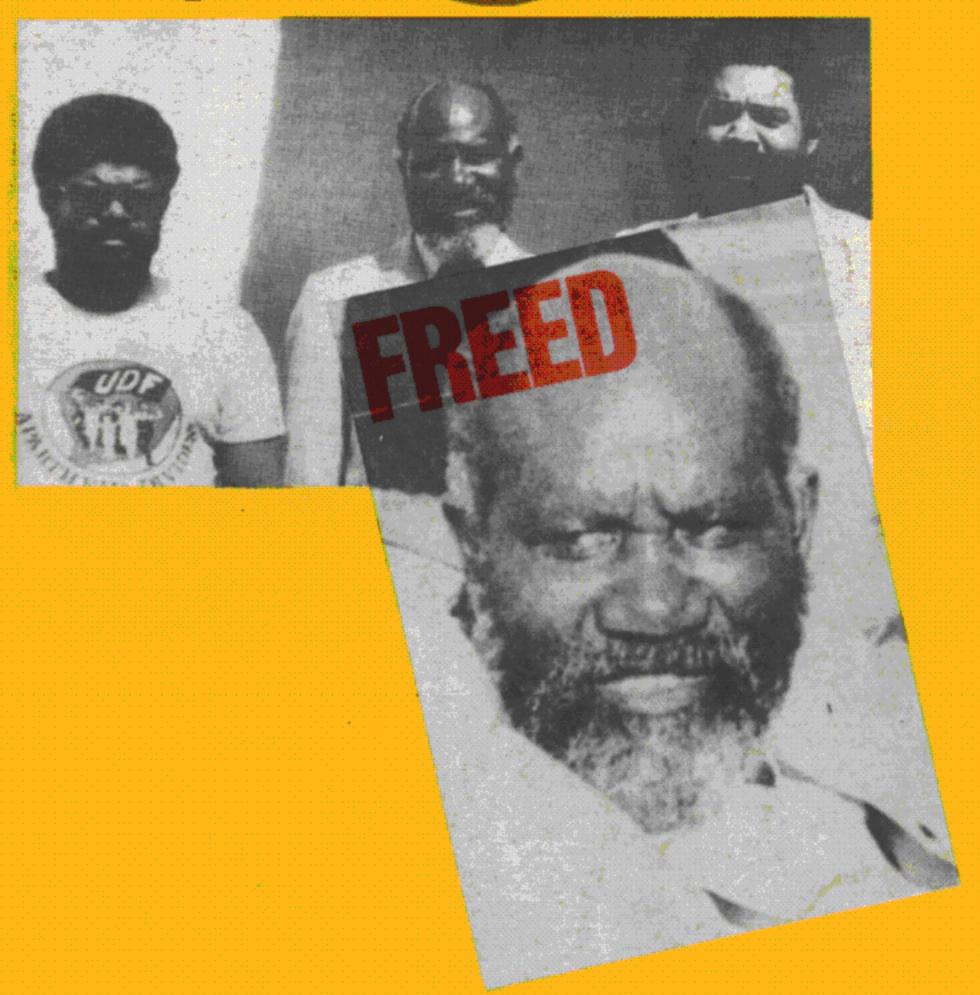


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SECHABA

JUNE ISSUE 1984

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EDITORIAL

Pretoria's Dirty Tricks

In April the government-owned propaganda mouthpiece, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), threatened to cause economic havoc in neighbouring Lesotho unless Leabua Jonathan's government signs a non-aggression pact, even though it is an established fact that Lesotho can never threaten South Africa. The SABC said that Lesotho:

"... has distanced itself, apparently as a matter of deliberate policy, from the current initiatives. It remains aloof from the actions to strengthen regional security by acknowledging the sovereignty of governments acting accordingly against subversive movements that seek shelter within its borders."

It is clear that the reference to "subversive movements" is to the ANC, though the Lesotho government has repeatedly stated that there are no ANC bases in Lesotho. The Botha regime claims it is forced to act in "self defence."

It should be remembered that one and a half million people pass through the border posts between the two countries every year, and these include the main source of income for Lesotho - the 140 000 migrant workers who are employed in South Africa. They also include transporters of the vast quantities of food imports from South Africa, without which - according to the broadcast - "the Basothos would succumb to the worst famine in their history." The broadcast added that the Highlands Hydro-electric Scheme from which South Africa would obtain water from

Lesotho would have to be abandoned. South Africa is helping Lesotho develop this hydroelectric scheme.

Whilst we were still shocked by this news, the London Guardian of April 28, 1984, reported that the racist South African Prime Minister, PW Botha, had called on Britain to take action against the ANC, which has offices in London.

This came after some lengthy discussion in the South African newspapers and on South African TV - discussions sparked by an editorial in the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily newspaper, Beeld. The British Ambassador to South Africa, Ewen Ferguson, was forced to reply in an open letter. He was walking a tight-rope because the British policy on refugees "gives rise to difficult moral and practical problems." Asked by the Rand Daily Mail if British authorities would prosecute the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, if he was suspected of conspiring in Britain to commit "murder and violence" in South Africa, the spokesman for the British Embassy said:

"Yes, if there was evidence which could stand up in court. Until then he is innocent until proved guilty. That is the rule of law."

Racist South African is blackmailing Britain on the IRA: what would be the attitude of Britain if Pretoria were to be used as the nerve centre of the Irish Republican Army's "terror attacks" on Britain?

There was a long diatribe about a need for distinction between political asylum being granted to a refugee leaving his country for 1 political reasons, and political asylum for members of an organisation like the ANC, "whose declared objective it was to overthrow the South African Government through acts of terror." The problem here is that racist South Africa is not qualified to speak about "political asylum" or "refugees" or any of those categories.

But why this enthusiasm to get the British Government to expel the ANC from Britain or to have the ANC expelled from any Western country? Why at this time? Is racist South Africa preparing to sign a non-aggression pact with Western countries which have allowed the ANC to open offices? Is opening an ANC office in Western Europe or for that matter anywhere, tantamount to encouraging commission of "acts of terrorism?"

Racist South Africa has been very active in Western Europe. The racist Prime Minister, P W Botha, is preparing to visit West Germany and then Britain in June. One can guess what is going to be discussed. Anti-ANC propaganda has been stepped up sharply in South Africa — recently a radio documentary purporting to expose the links between the ANC London office and "world terrorism" was given an award in an annual ceremony in South Africa. This is the rationale behind alleging that Britain is "providing an infrastructure for ANC terrorism."

There is another aspect to this problem. Apartheid South Africa wants to discredit the ANC internationally, and therefore break the international isolation of apartheid. They are even using international sportsmen and sportswomen to this end. The scandal surrounding Zola Budd's being granted British citizenship in a period of a few weeks is a case in point. The minimum period of residence for citizens of non-Commonwealth countries to qualify for British citizenship is five years. In other words, Zola Budd is going to run for South Africa under the British flag!

Whilst all this was going on, British TV transmitted, on May 8, a documentary, The British Desk, which looked at the activities of South Africa's intelligence operations in Britain. These operations are conducted by the information section at South Africa 2 House, the South African embassy in Trafal-

gar Square.

Eschel Rhoodie, the former Head of the South African Department of Information, says the South African Government appointed him to "do a major propaganda effort" against the Anti-Apartheid Movement. He reveals that the apartheid regime, without parliamentary knowledge, gave him at least 60 million pounds for this. Two unnamed Labour MPs were bribed to the tune of £2 000 a year to pass on information on the plans and activities of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Arthur McGivern, a former "evaluator" for the BOSS reveals that BOSS gathered a "lot of stuff" in Britain about Ruth First's activities in Britain, before she was assassinated by a letter bomb in Maputo. And Gordon Winter, a self-confessed BOSS agent, admits:

> "My assignment in Britain was to monitor South African exiles, members of the African National Congress ... to send information back to Pretoria."

Says Winter:

"Just about any South African activist in London is on those files, and I photographed them."

He infiltrated the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), gained access to NUJ files, submitted names to Pretoria and "I damaged many British journalists."

There are also cases of burglary, breakins, theft and bombing of ANC offices, illegal arms deals and export from Britain to South Africa of parts of machine guns; the rightwing Club of Ten was secretly founded to the tune of £500 000 to carry on pro-apartheid propaganda in Britain; there were schemes to buy the Guardian and the Observer, and much worse.

All this is cause for concern. This is international terrorism. We only hope the British Government will also take the activities of the South African Embassy in Britain into consideration in its renewed concern about diplomats misusing their diplomatic immunity and abusing their position.

Peace is Incompatible with Racism and Coloniali/m

Final Communique of the Front Line States Summit

The Front Line States' Summit Meeting was held in Arusha, Tanzania on Sunday 29th April 1984 to consider the recent developments in Southern Africa. The Heads of State and Government present were: President Eduardo dos Santos of the People's Republic of Angola; President Quett Masire of the Republic of Botswana; President Samora Machel of People's Republic of Mozambique; President Julius K Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania; President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Also in attendance were Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress; Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo of Namibia.

The leaders stood for one minute of silence in tribute to the late Edward Moringe Sekoine, whose very valuable and practical contributions to the liberation struggle of Southern Africa will be greatly missed by the Front Line States and the Liberation Movements.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of Liberation Movements reaffirmed their total and unqualified commit-

ment to the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia against colonialism and of the people of South Africa against apartheid. They reasserted their conviction and that of the Organisation of African Unity, that the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism is essential for the security of all the independent states of the continent and in particular of the Front Line States.

Further, they reiterated that the root cause of the problems in South Africa is apartheid itself; apartheid is the cause of Africa's hostility to the South African racist regime and of the existence of South African and Namibian refugees. None of these things is caused by the Front Line or other States neighbouring South Africa. Apartheid has been condemned in categorical terms by the United Nations, and by the leaders of Europe, America, Australasia and Asia as well as by Africa. It cannot be made acceptable by the use of South Africa's military power and economic strength, nor by the use of mercenaries and traitors.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements discussed the understanding reached by the 3

People's Republic of Angola and the Pretoria Regime, and they hoped that South Africa will honour its commitment to withdraw its troops from Angola. This withdrawal will constitute an opportunity for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. They welcomed Angola's reaffirmation of its continued commitment to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo. The Heads of State and Government expressed their support for the Angolan actions against the externally supported armed bandits who are causing death and misery to the Angolan people and destruction of the economic infrastructure of the State.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements exchanged views on the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and the South African Government. They expressed the hope that the South African Government will live up to the commitment to cease its acts aimed at the destabilisation of Mozambique through the use of armed bandits, and gave their support to the Mozambican actions aimed at the total elimination of these vicious bandits. They expressed appreciation of Mozambique's commitment to continued moral, political, and diplomatic support for the ANC in the struggle against apartheid and for majority rule in South Africa.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements declared that the immediate objective for Namibia is and must be the rapid implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, in order that Namibia may attain full and internationally recognised independence on the basis of self-determination by all people of that country. They reiterated the continuing role of the UN Security Council and Secretary General in the implementation of Resolution 435. The leaders of the Front Line States again reaffirmed their support for Swapo as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

For South Africa, the objective of the

Front Line States and Liberation Movements is the abolition of apartheid by whatever means are necessary. The Leaders present again reiterated their strong preference for apartheid to be brought to an end by peaceful means. This can be achieved only through a process agreed upon in free discussions between the present South African regime and genuine representatives of the people of South Africa who are unrepresented in the present government structure of that country. A prerequisite for any such discussions would be the unconditional release from prison, detention, house arrest or 'banning' of Nelson Mandela and all other political leaders. Difficult as this step may be in the eyes of the present South African Government, there is no way to peace in Southern Africa except through discussions between the South African Government and the African people of South Africa.

To avoid any misunderstanding, they stressed that the phrase 'African People' includes all those who have been classified as being citizens of the so-called independent homelands in South Africa; the denial of their South African citizenship is not recognised in international law, nor by any independent state apart from South Africa.

The alternative to free negotiations within South Africa aimed at the ending of apartheid will inevitably be continued struggle against that system by other means, including armed struggle. This struggle is being waged and will be conducted and led by the people of South Africa themselves, on their own initiative and within their own country. However, their struggle is, and is seen by Africa to be, a struggle for the freedom and security. of all the peoples of this continent, and for the human dignity of all men and women regardless of colour. It therefore receives, and will continue to receive, the full support of the peoples and the nations represented by the Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States.

Involved in this struggle for the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism



Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, Julius Nyrere of Tanzania and President OR Tambo of the ANC, at the Front-Line Summit in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1982.

is the consolidation of the freedom and the security of the states which have already achieved independence. To that end, and in the light of the difficult circumstances which do from time to time confront such states, the leaders of the Front Line States and the Liberation Movements reaffirmed their understanding of steps which are taken for this purpose by states which are fully committed to the liberation struggles. They also reaffirmed their commitment to the internationally recognised boundaries in Southern Africa as these were defined when the free states achieved their political independence.

The Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements condemned without reservation the open and the covert aggressive actions of South Africa directed at the destabilisation of African states, and those aimed 5 against refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa. There is no excuse in international law or civilised practice for these actions. The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements also repeated their rejection of the attempt to link the freedom of Namibia with any Angolan Government decisions relating to its security requirements and its internal political structures.

The political and the armed struggles being waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa led by Swapo and ANC respectively, are taking place inside those two countries. The struggle is between the people of Namibia and the occupying power, and between the people of South Africa and the apartheid regime. Therefore, the strategy of the Liberation Movements is that of internal struggle, firmly based on the people's will and determination.

As the denial of human rights, and the ruthlessness of the oppressor, has made it impossible for many active leaders of the Liberation Movements to live and work inside their own countries, it has been necessary for both Swapo and ANC to have an external wing. The international implications of the problems with which the Liberation Movements are contending also require international diplomatic and political activity, together with offices and representatives in other countries.

The Front Line States reaffirm their recognition of these external operations of the Movements, and reassert their intention to give shelter to them. The Front Line States also reaffirm their right and duty under international Conventions to accord hospitality to refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa. They appeal to the international community for diplomatic and economic support and protection as they carry out these international responsibilities.

The Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements represented at the Arusha Meeting, in reasserting their commitment to the struggle for freedom in Namibia and South Africa, also draw attention to the burden they are carrying on behalf of the world conscience and the international condemnation of colonialism and apartheid. They therefore appeal for active participation in the struggle by all other nations, other organisations and institutions, and all people who accept the principles of human dignity and equality.

In particular the leaders of the Front Line States and Liberation Movements appeal for political, moral, material and diplomatic support to be given to the Liberation Movements. They appeal also for concrete support to be given to the efforts of the Front Line States aimed at the consolidation of their independence and their fragile economies, as these are of direct relevance to their ability to play a constructive role in the search for peace and freedom in Southern Africa.

For the Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements repeat a truism: Peace is incompatible with racism and colonialism. Man is so constituted that men and women will die for freedom and human dignity if they are prevented from the peaceful pursuit of these basic human rights. Neither military might nor devious political machinations, whether directed against the peoples inside Namibia and South Africa or against the free States of Africa, can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality.

The struggle will be long and hard.

It will be carried on until final victory.

A luta continua.

INTERNATIONAL

ANC REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES THE UNITED NATIONS

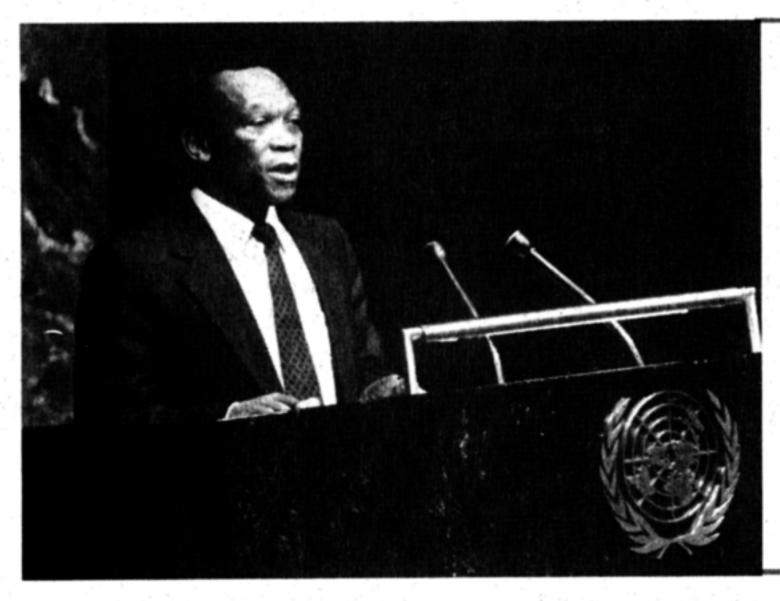
The Director of the International Department of the ANC, Comrade Mfanafuthi Makatini, addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 18th November 1983. He spoke in response to Resolution A/38/L.15, which rejects the new constitutional arrangements of the Pretoria regime as being intended to divide the people of South Africa, and welcomed "the united resistance of the people of South Africa against these constitutional manoeuvres."

Comrade Makatini recalled that it was nearly ten years since racist South Africa was suspended from the United Nations. Suspension, he said, had been decided on only after decades during which the regime had defied numerous resolutions calling on it to permit the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights.

The African Group at the United Nations had taken the initiative in sponsoring the resolution, and Pretoria had reacted instantly by declaring that, "the majority of these countries do not know the meaning of democracy, have little knowledge and understanding of the United Nations Charter," and that the new constitution is "entirely consistent with the promotion of the central principle of the Charter."

Comrade Makatini commented, "The P W Botha regime has once again forwarded proof of the fact that it lives in the past and remains as adamantly hostile to the cause of black liberation today as its predecessors were to the abolition of slavery in 1883 ... Their statement also proves that the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter have a different meaning to them, and that there can never be a true meeting of minds between them and those in this hall who truly subscribe to the principle of racial equality and non-racial democracy.

"The facts before us are that the so-called new constitution does not deal with the fundamental issue confronting South Africa, namely, the need to transfer power from the minority to the entire population regardless of race. What we have witnessed these last few weeks and months has been a glaring example of the pattern of apartheid political process in which Whites proposed, Whites debated, Whites differed, Whites consulted and Whites decided. However, we refuse to dignify the monstrous subject matter of the racist referendum with the term 'new constitution,' and a discussion of its provisions. For throughout history new constitutions have embodied the spirit of liberty and a new socio-economic order expressing the hard-won sovereignty of people liberated from bondage."



Comrade
Makatini of the
ANC addresses
the General
Assembly of
the United
Nations
(UN photograph 162953)

Comrade Makatini asserted uncompromisingly that, "the racist regime's so-called constitutional proposals are designed precisely to restructure apartheid rule and racial tyranny." To show the real attitude of the Pretoria regime to the United Nations Charter and to the 'new constitution,' he quoted a statement made a few months ago by the Pretoria Minister of Constitutional Affairs, who said, "the Africans are not adequately developed to comprehend the complex democratic process."

"This is the rationale," he continued, "for forcibly removing millions of African people from their urban and rural dwelling places and herding them to the barren, poverty-stricken so-called homelands and having them stripped of South African citizenship, while the qualification for naturalisation for white immigrants is reduced from five to two years, all in the bid to make South Africa a white man's country in which the Blacks can only remain as migrant and temporary sojourners for the exclusive purpose of ministering to the needs of the Whites."

The Regime Has Never Changed

He quoted from statements made over thirty 8 years by three prime ministers of racist South Africa, J G Strijdom, J B Vorster and P W Botha, to show that the regime has never changed in its "firm opposition to one man, one vote in South Africa." He went on to say that it is "the progress made by the ANC in the unification of all the democratic forces under its leadership," and "its truly non-racial strategy" that has forced the racists into changing their declared position, and that this pretence of change was intended "to split this fighting alliance" of Africans, Coloureds, people of Asian descent and white democrats, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.

Comrade Makatini said, "It is the menacing problem of the shortage of white military manpower resulting from its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, the occupation of parts of Angola, and the low-keyed but widespread war situation in South Africa itself, as well as the repeated and intended future Beirut and Grenada-types of invasions of independent African countries. It is precisely for this reason that the Pretoria regime intends to co-opt the so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian descent in order to make them liable for compulsory military conscrip-

tion ... the regime intends to deploy them for internal repression and external aggression against African states.

"The Pretoria regime's future plan is to bring the racially-constituted and raciallysegregated parliament into association with the bantustans in the form of a so-called constellation of states, for which new titles are being touted, such as Confederation or Consociation. At the same time, the illegal occupation of Namibia continues, and the aggression against and destabilisation of independent African states are being stepped up, so that these too can be cowed into becoming client states of apartheid bantustans beyond the borders."

He spoke of the acts of aggression committed by Pretoria against neighbouring independent states: the murders, the massacres, the violations of air space.

"The pretext given that the ANC has bases there has no validity whatsoever. In fact, the regime's own Chief of the Defence Force, Magnus Malan, when campaigning for the extension of the draft age from 35 to 65 years for Whites, and for the so-called winning of the hearts and minds of the Blacks, makes this point when he says, "The ANC is not waging a border war but area psychological warfare." Our bases are amongst the people of South Africa in the urban and rural areas and throughout the length and breadth of our country, which we are determined to liberate. It was from these bases that our armed combatants struck twice at the Koeberg nuclear power station, a thousand miles from any border; it was from these bases that we hit Voortrekkerhoogte, the regime's military headquarters on the outskirts of Pretoria; and it is from there that we are hitting hard targets all over the country, such as police stations, oil-from-coal plants, electric power stations, and the regime's air force headquarters in Pretoria. In any event, the regime's biglie technique aimed at justifying barbaric acts such as the Lesotho invasion and the massacre of defenceless men, women and children, is exposed by its own act of twice

invading Seychelles where the ANC does not even have an office, refugees, students or children."

War Has Been Forced On Us

Comrade Makatini told the General Assembly that it is neither the ANC nor the people of South Africa who are the aggressors in the war that is now being fought.

"No people in the world long more for peace than the oppressed people of South Africa, who have always lived under the tyrannical rule of violence, and no organisation has worked more patiently for a peaceful solution than the ANC. But the massacres to which our people have been subjected, the refusal to let them participate in any democratic process, the tribal fragmentation of our motherland into bantustans whose tribal armies are to be set against the liberation efforts, the forced removal and denationalisation of millions of black people, the hangings of our people, reaching a level of 129 in the year of 1980 alone, the continued imprisonment of our leaders such as Nelson Mandela, the prohibition of public meetings, the muzzling of activists and leaders at present exiled or under house arrest in remote areas, the frantic war preparations and full-scale militarisation, the gigantic campaign to isolate the ANC through massive dissemination of forged printed matter purporting to be by ANC and espousing intentions to kill men, women and children and strengthen the ruthless apparatus of the police state - all this has taught us one thing, namely, the apertheid regime and its policies are the obstacle to peace, security and stability in Southern Africa and to liberty, justice, peace and prosperity in South Africa itself."

The Pretoria-Washington Axis

The Pretoria regime would never be able to sustain its aggressive policy, Comrade Makatini pointed out, without the economic, military and nuclear co-operation of certain western countries, especially Israel and the United States. In particular, he accused the 9 present administration in the United States.

"The position taken by the Reagan administration in embracing the Pretoria regime ... calls for strong condemnation. Almost a hundred years ago the Berlin Conference carved our beloved continent into colonial and personal belongings; but it is no exaggeration to say that since the second world war the most calamitous development, which today poses the most serious threat to the African continent, is the Pretoria-Washington axis, publicly announced by President Reagan shortly after he took office.

"A lot has happened since then. Matola in Mozambique was attacked, and then came the attack on and occupation of parts of Angola; the attempted repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency in Angola; the continued occupation of Namibia; the linkage of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola; the assassination of ANC leaders and activists; the loan by the International Monetary Fund to help the regime subsidise its wars of oppression and aggression; the secret visits and discussions between Pentagon officials and the regime's high-ranking military and intelligence officers; the visit to South Africa by the head of the CIA; the extremely negative voting pattern on the anti-apartheid resolutions before the General Assembly and the vetoes in the Security Council; statements offering to reward the African countries that befriend South Africa and threatening to punish and even topple those that assist ANC and the South West Africa People's Organisation; the holding of hearings in South Africa and Washington allegedly to investigate the ANC-SWAPO relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic; the granting of permission to seven United Statesbased transnational corporations to provide fifty million dollars' worth of technical and maintenance service to racist South Africa's nuclear plants.

"The list is long and includes a series of violations of the arms embargo, the branding

of the liberation movements as terrorist and the subjecting of SWAPO and ANC to harassment on the question of visas, as well as demands to inspect our books and files."

Our Allies Thanked

Comrade Makatini paid tribute, on the other hand, to the independent states of Southern Africa for resisting the pressure put on them by Pretoria, to the broad masses of the people in other countries, who have come out in support of the struggle against apartheid, and to those responsible for financial, material and moral assistance being given to the ANC. He thanked those governments especially African, Non-Aligned, Scandinavian and Socialist - who maintain "close bilateral relations" with the ANC, and made particular mention of the Government of Australia, which has recently expressed its support for the sports and cultural boycott of South Africa, and has invited the ANC and SWAPO to open offices in Melbourne. He said he saw this as part of a "process that should lead to the total isolation of the Pretoria regime."

He went on, "Despite the much-vaunted military might and the repressive and oppressive character of the now desperate apartheid regime, which continues to enjoy the full collaboration of the Reagan administration and the administrations of other western countries, especially Israel, we are confident that victory over the racist minority rule in South Africa is inevitable. We have no illusions, however. We know that the struggle will be long and bloody. There is growing international support; yet it is still grossly inadequate. The long-awaited imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime, in particular, would immensely help to shorten the duration of this struggle and reduce the loss of human life."

Comrade Makatini appealed to member states of the United Nations to urge the three western member states of the Security Council to cease protecting racist South Africa by abusing their power of veto.

He concluded by saying, "We wish to declare solemnly from this rostrum that the ANC, on its part, will relentlessly pursue this struggle until final victory. In doing so, we pay a tribute to the valiant people of Namibia who, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, are waging a heroic struggle which for some years now has had a positive effect on our struggle. Now that we have embarked on the intensification of this, our common struggle against the common enemy and for a common objective, we are confident that victory is certain."

OFFICIAL VISITORS TO SOMAFCO

The first official visit from Nigeria to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College at Mazimbu near Morogoro in Tanzania took place when His Excellency the Nigerian High Commissioner in Tanzania formally handed over a number of gifts from his government. The

gifts included storage bins, electric kettles, pots, pans, crockery, dust-bins and so on, and they were very much needed and welcomed by the whole community.

Somafco also welcomed the growing bonds of solidarity and support between the ANC and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Margit Niederhuber, an Austrian antiapartheid activist, also visited the Somafco complex, and promised a donation of video facilities for showing films. Under the 'Cows for Morogoro' scheme, Austria has already provided fifteen cows for the dairy project at Somafco, to supply milk for the children.

Other visitors to Mazimbu have been members of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation in Cairo (who are also looking into projects for raising funds and material aid) and Paul Klindt, Director of the Danish Volunteer Service.



VENEZUELAN SOLIDARITY

Following on the conferring of the Simon Bolivar Award on Nelson Mandela at a ceremony in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1983, a Permanent Committee for the Freedom of Nelson Mandela has now been set up in Venezuela. The committee has already written to

Comrade Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison, expressing its support. Among other activities, it plans to hold a public meeting and a concert, to collect signatures demanding the release of Mandela, and to establish contact with other bodies identified with the same cause.

PRINCE Part 3 by David Riga

This is the third and last part of an article examining the background to the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons' Bill, and its implications.

It is now time to see how the OMSB fits into the government's general economic and political strategy. To do this it is not necessary to look in detail at the Bill's provisions. But it will be necessary to look at the four main areas of social relations which will be affected by the Bill.

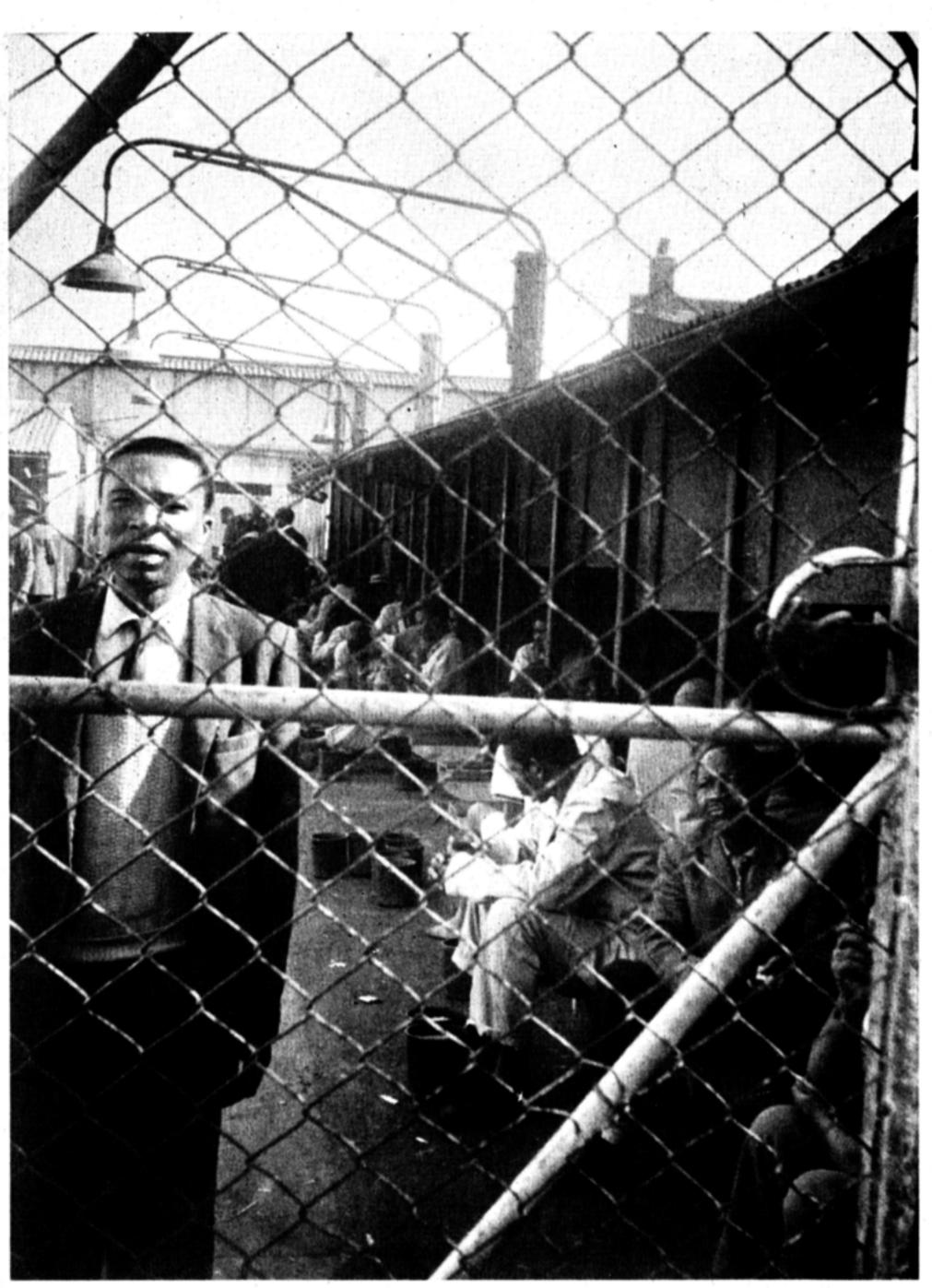
Firstly, the OMSB directly attacks Section 10 rights. Not only will it be far more difficult to gain these rights in future (and for people from TBVC it will be impossible), but even for people who do get 'permanent urban resident' (PUR) stamped in their passbooks, this right will be conditional on approved housing and a job. Children born in urban areas will only qualify if they can prove that both parents are PURs.

Secondly, the Bill gives the Minister of Cooperation and Development vast new powers to direct the flow of labour. He can declare an 'unemployment area' and stop all movement into that part of the country. He can order squatters to be removed and individuals to be endorsed out on grounds so broad as to be virtually arbitrary. The courts cannot stop him.

Thirdly, the Bill tries to shut off all loopholes and safety valves by which people in the Reserves manage to find work. The 72hour rule is abolished and a curfew from 10pm to 5am is imposed on all non-PURs. Employers who hire 'illegal' workers will be heavily fined. So will anyone who dares to give a bed or rent a room to an 'illegal resident'. The Bill tries to force the PURs to act as policemen over their own brothers and sisters in the Reserves. It will inevitably cause even more overcrowding, joblessness and starvation in the Reserves. Vast numbers of those living in shanty-towns near to urban centres depend on 'illegal' jobs to survive. Their situation will become even more desperate.

Total Control of People

The OMSB adds up to a system of total people-control on a scale greater than anything seen before in South Africa. How did this monster emerge from the 'rational' arguments of the Riekert report? Basically, Riekert aimed at solving two problems. Firstly, bottlenecks in the supply of labour-power and high unemployment among urban Africans had to be overcome. Secondly, an answer had to be found to the political threat posed by the urban Africans, especially the Section



A beer hall, that looks more like a concentration camp than a place for relaxation.

10 rights holders. If possible, the disapproval of South Africa's friends abroad, which had increased as a result of the 1976 events, had to be appeared.

Riekert's answer to the economic problem was the 'two pillar' policy — shifting the main focus of influx control onto jobs and housing. On the political front, Riekert argued that Section 10 should not be attacked and that certain concessions should be made to those with Section 10 rights. The new, tighter controls would make this 'safe'.

The OMSB adopted Riekert's 'effective control' strategy and made it even tougher. But on the question of Section 10 rights, the Bill rejects Riekert's timid approach. It has chosen to attack Section 10. And the Bill also directly contradicts the findings of the report, by extending prescribed areas to cover the 'white' countryside.

What accounts for these changes? In the first place they were due to the changed situation the South African government found itself in by the time the second draft of the Bill was released in 1982. Secondly, they were the result of a struggle between different forces inside the white 'establishment'.

The Riekert commission was set up shortly after the 1976 events and did its work at a time of semi-insurrection and mass mobilisation on the part of urban black youth and workers. At the same time, the South African economy was thrown into recession and the 1976 events had shaken the confidence of foreign investors in the future prospects of South African capitalism. It was in this context that Riekert advised concessions to urban Africans.

Token Verbal Promises

By the time the OMSB was published, much had changed. For the time being, the insurrectionary condition in the major cities had been contained. The school boycotts seemed to be coming to an end. The international situation had also changed in favour of the white regime. The Thatcher government in 14 Britain — still South Africa's largest foreign

investor — and the Reagan administration in the USA were much more pro-South African than those before them. The Reagan policy of 'constructive engagement' meant the biggest possible effort to aid and protect the South African government, in return for token verbal promises of 'meaningful change'.

A strong right-wing counter-offensive was mounted by these governments and their supporters. The South African government was one of the main beneficiaries of this change in the international climate of opinion. These changes at home and overseas encouraged the government to harden its attitude to urban Africans. But there was another side to the coin. Though the urban uprising had been contained, South Africa had entered by 1982 into a stage of incipient civil war. The government reacted to this new, long-term and potentially much more dangerous challenge in two ways.

Firstly, it decided to push ahead with a more 'radical' version of its 1977 plan for constitutional reform. The aim of these reforms is to broaden the base of the white power bloc by including Coloured and Indian South Africans as junior partners of the whites (and cannon fodder in their wars). In a second stage, this enlarged bloc would enter into a constitutional arrangement with the 'independent homelands' on the basis of formal equality.

In other words, the white government's real domination over the peoples and resources of South Africa was to be cloaked in the disguise of a confederation of 'sovereign states'. But there was a big problem — the urban Africans.

Already in October 1976, Dr G Viljoen, the National Party's chief ideologue and long-term thinker, had begun to draw the lessons of 1976 for the National Party. One of them was that the Africans living in the urban areas 'will do so for a long time'. The policy of making the locations as unpleasant as possible so as to drive people back to the Reserves had failed. Another lesson was that the locations had become so large and com-



Women left to till the soil in the Bantustans

plex that the whites were no longer able to enforce 'law and order' from outside. They needed black help.

"[Die stedelike swartmense] moet 'n vorm van selfverantwoordelikheid kry vir die handhaaf van hulle interne wet en orde en vir beheer teen boewery binne die swart stedelike gebiede. (The urban blacks must get a form of self-responsibility for maintenance of their internal law and order and for control of hooliganism inside the black urban areas.)"

This meant a departure from the principle of 'no political rights in white areas'. But national political rights were 'out' and local rights would as far as possible be on an ethnic basis. Viljoen's conclusions led first to the Community Councils Act and later to the Black Local Authorities Act. Both had the aim of winning African collaborators to help police their own people.

A leading article in an Afrikaans newspaper put this very clearly. The Black Local Authorities Act seemed likely to be acceptable to 'responsible leaders' of the 'black community', it wrote. It went on:

"Klaarblyklik sou die regering dit wensliker vind om met hulle te onderhandel as met 'n spul van meestal selfaangestelde heethoofde. (Obviously the government would find it preferable to negotiate with them than with a load of mostly self-appointed hot-heads.)"

The question the government would be negotiating with these 'responsible leaders' was the OMSB! Thus the government tried to turn recognition of the permanence of urban Africans to its own advantage. But the new situation caused serious problems for their plans for constitutional reform. Accepting that urban Africans were a distinctive social group (and not temporary strays from the Reserves), inevitably raised the question of their place in the 'new dispensation'. The myth that urban Africans were culturally bound to their 'tribal heartlands' became 15



A cargo of mine workers leaves to work in the South African mining industry.

even harder to defend.

Urban Africans are not South Africans

The dangers were clear. In April 1982 the Prime Minister told parliament that the urban Africans could never be part of a unitary South African state. 'That would mean a surrender to numbers,' he said. Secondly, the government was afraid that so long as any chance remained of urban Africans being included (eg in a 'fourth chamber'), it would be much harder to persuade more bantustan leaders to accept 'independence'.

The position of the urban Africans was also closely tied to the constitutional proposals for Coloureds and Indians. On the one hand, the exclusion of Africans from the new constitutional plans made it more difficult for collaborators in the Coloured and Indian communities to accept the proposals. On the other, the government believed that only when the reforms for Coloureds and In-

dians had been fully pushed through, would Africans accept the situation and be ready to negotiate on the confederation.

The government is aware that the path of constitutional reform is a slippery one. At an early stage they emphasised the importance of the order of steps to be taken, and the necessity of not going on to the next step before the previous one had been completed. The urban Africans are the trickiest step of all.

By the end of 1983 the government had not yet reached a final decision on this question. But a number of broad principles had come out in speeches and press articles in the past few years. There was agreement that the urban Africans would not get a 'fourth chamber' in parliament. Instead they would be represented at the level of the confederation. But how this would happen was still uncertain. A top level Cabinet committee on



the question was appointed. It has yet to report.

The official line was that urban Africans would be represented 'through their homelands.' This had been proposed by Viljoen in 1977 in an article, Waarheen Met did Stadswartes? (Whither with the Urban Blacks?) Viljoen wanted urban locations 'linked' to their corresponding 'homeland', possibly as separate constituencies. This would be a solution for the ethnically zoned locations. In the case of Soweto 'and some others', a different solution would be needed. They could become 'inter-ethnic city-states', or the bantustan governments could be given extra-territorial rights.

Ethnicity and Total Strategy

In 1982 the Prime Minister told Natal Nats that urban Africans would be represented through their 'homelands' except in the case of Soweto 'and possibly one other area' where special arrangements might be made. He did not say what these would be.

An alternative plan being pushed by some verligte journalists such as Dr Wimpie de Klerk is for a national council representing urban Africans to have a place in the confederation. But this would violate the 'sovereign states' idea. Whatever course is chosen (probably the 'official' one), the OMSB has a crucial and even sinister role to play in making it possible.

In the article mentioned above, Viljoen warned that urbanised Africans would become more and more 'detribalised' unless steps were taken to strengthen links with the 'homelands'. But, he comforted his readers, population increase and urbanisation up to the year 2,000 offered a 'God-given opportunity' to plan African settlement so that it assisted white political plans rather than hindered them. Decentralisation must be not only economic but 'political-demographic' in content. New urban areas must be ethnically pure and sited so as to link up with ethnic 'homelands'.

The OMSB is intended to make these plans possible. Because urban residence will not be tied to a given prescribed area, the Minister will be able to move people to new, ethnic locations. He could do this by manipulating jobs and houses. He could even do it by ministerial order. People who have lived in Soweto for generations could be forced to move to planned new locations north of Pretoria on the grounds that they were 'ethnic Pedi' or 'ethnic Tswana'. This is the political meaning of 'increased mobility between prescribed areas'.

But this is not all. The NP planners realise it will probably be impossible to deal with all urban Africans by sorting them into ethnic batches. Therefore, the OMSB also aims to undermine the political strength and self-confidence of urban Africans by making their position much more uncertain. As was shown in part one of this analysis, Co-operation and Development officials had found that Section 10 rights gave those who held

them the feeling that they could not be touched. Under the OMSB, this feeling will disappear. The government hopes it can reduce the urban Africans to an insecure and docile community. Then it will be possible to force on them some kind of meaningless representation at confederation level, without risking an embarrassing refusal.

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So much for constitutional reform. The second part of the South African government's reaction to developments after 1976 was the so-called 'total strategy'. Here too the OMSB has a vital role to play. 'Total strategy' combines a mish-mash of ideological formulae borrowed from international reactionary circles and real 'made-in-South Africa' measures of population control and coercion.

The OMSB is a vital step in the process of concentrating power in the hands of the executive branch of the State. This is a key element in 'total strategy'. Vast new powers given to the Minister of Co-operation and Development put an end to embarrassing possibilities of Africans going to the courts (as some of the Nyanga squatters did). And these powers will now cover the entire territory of South Africa, including the 'white' countryside.

The new powers are openly political, as in the case of the Minister's right to summarily 'remove' squatters who he thinks aim to 'canvass support for change or repeal of any law'. But even the seemingly 'economic' measures to do with 'unemployment areas' have a political side to them, as we have seen in regard to Section 10. The importance of the OMSB to the government's constitutional reform and 'total strategy' - the two arms of its post-1976 strategy - is very clear. But the Bill did not emerge without a struggle. This struggle (not yet over) involves various factions and interest groups inside the state apparatus and in the white camp. The strange story of how the Bill was drafted tells its own tale about this inner turmoil.

New Committees Formed

When the Riekert report was published, the

government issued a White Paper stating its reaction to the report's proposals. Then, in December 1980, a draft Bill was published and launched at an extraordinary press conference. Amazed journalists heard the Minister of Co-operation and Development, Piet Koornhof, try to make out that the Bill meant the end of passes. But each time he tried to explain why this was so, he was publicly and flatly contradicted by the Co-operation and Development officials sitting beside him.

It soon became clear that the officials were right and the Minister wrong. The Bill made the position of urban Africans worse. Bowing to the storm of protest that followed, the government withdrew the Bill and referred it to a special committee, the Groskopf Committee to be revised. The Groskopf Committee (with two African members) took as its guiding principle Riekert's reference to the most effective use of labour resources. According to leaks in the press, it took the view that 'a person who wishes to live an urbanised life and is able to maintain himself and his family in an urban environment should be entitled to do so'.

Not surprisingly, the report was never made public. When the OMSB was finally published, the black members of the committee denounced it as a deviation from their recommendations. Again, opposition was widespread. The government announced that the Bill would be referred to the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Constitution, along with the Black Community Development Bill.

This committee (which had already made big changes to the Black Local Authorities Bill) included the Ministers of Justice and of Law and Order (security affairs). It also included Colin Eglin, Helen Suzman and Nic Olivier, of the Progressive Federal Party. Another curious development followed. At first the government said the Select Committee would act as a Commission while parliament was not sitting, so as to speed up the discussion of these important Bills. But short-

ly afterwards, it let it be known that the OMSB would be last on the agenda and would probably not be discussed before 1984.

The Four Trends Within the White Bloc

This complicated and still unfinished process shows the extent of the struggle around the Bill. The most important thing to note is that the factions for and against do not fit simply into the pattern of white bloc versus the popular organisations. Within the white bloc there are four main 'players'.

First, the officials of the Department of Co-operation and Development. These gentlemen are first of all interested in protecting their own jobs and power, and secondly in guarding the 'heritage of Verwoerd'. They are said to be strongly pro-Conservative Party. Because of the enormous complexity and scope of the pass law system, they are very hard to displace.

During September 1982, Afrikaans newspapers close to the Prime Minister accused Co-operation and Development officials of trying to sabotage the government's policies. In an obvious attempt to discredit the hardline officials, it was said that funds meant for 'homeland' investment were being eaten up by 'administrative costs'. Towards the end of 1982 it became clear that Co-operation and Development officials had begun to implement provisions of the OMSB that were not yet law. Applications for Section 10 rights were being delayed, obstructed or refused. Instructions were given that no contract workers should be allowed to change jobs, even if they had already found a new one. They would have to go back to the Reserves, where the chancesof getting another job were virtually zero.

Secondly, big businessmen and farmers. The businessmen are afraid that the Bill's 'draconian controls' will make 'rational economic planning' impossible. They are afriad of protest strikes. They are afraid that pass raids will now take place on the factory floor during working hours, instead of at workers' homes in the middle of the night. And they consider the prospect of being

fined R5,000 per illegal worker 'an outrage to the public conscience'.

The farmers are worried (as always) that any new controls in the rural areas will reduce the pool of surplus labour and thus mean higher wages. A spokesman for the SA Agricultural Union said the OMSB would create 'an impossible situation' and warned that farmers would be forced to mechanise thus causing unemployment.

Thirdly, the security forces. According to a report based on 'informed sources', the state security organs had a big part in drafting the Bill. This influence was exerted in the Cabinet Committee on Constitutional Development, on which the departments of Defence and Law and Order, as well as the NIS and security police are represented. The need to 'combat urban terrorism' was reported to be behind the curfew provisions and wide ministerial powers in the Bill. Even before the Cabinet Committee saw the Bill, the report stated, it was likely to have been vet-

ted by the powerful State Security Commit-

tee. We have already seen how the OMSB fits

into the 'total strategy'.

Fourthly, the government itself, which has the task of reconciling the demands of the various factions. Within the leading group of 'reformers' or 'modernisers' two tendencies can be found. Their differences reflect different functions rather that different outlooks. The 'ideologists' tend to think in political terms and are trying to find a political solution that will safeguard white domination and at the same time provide 'safety valves' in the form of 'participation' by black South Africans. The most important figures in this group are Gerrit Viljoen, Chris Heunis and lately FW de Klerk. The 'security chiefs', Louis le Grange and Magnus Malan, on the other hand, believe in the need to control the reform process by strong administrative action (coercion). The Prime Minister has a foot in both camps.

While ruling circles are divided, opposition to the OMSB outside the white power

bloc is exceptionally broadly based.

THE ELOFF COMMISSION HAD NO COMPETENCE

STATEMENT BY BISHOP TUTU

In our May issue we published an article on the Eloff Commission, which was appointed by Pretoria to enquire into the affairs of the South African Council of Churches. Here we print a transcript of the verbal reply made by Bishop Desmond Tutu, General Secretary of the SACC, to the findings of the Commission.

When I appeared before the Eloff Commission, I said I did not wish to impugn the integrity of the Commissioners. I want to reiterate as vehemently as I can what I then went on to say and it is this: That Commission had no competence at all to sit in judgment on the SACC and its member churches. I said then and I want to repeat for all to know that no secular authority, not even the government of this land, has any authority to sit in judgment on the churches about how to be Church and how to fulfil their Godgiven mandate to work for the extension of God's Kingdom of justice, peace, reconciliation, compassion, laughter, joy and goodness, and to serve our Lord Jesus Christ by serving those he has called the least of his brethren.

The Commissioners Are Not Theologians

I want to agree wholeheartedly with the honourable Commission on at least one point. They have little understanding, as they declared, of theological verities. And how, in the name of everything that is good, could they be expected to make a judgment that would be even remotely fair if they had little

or no theological expertise? The whole matter of our existence, the raison d'etre of the Council, is theological through and through. The Commission did not boast a single professional theologian in its membership, and how could it be expected to pass fair judgment on an organism and organisation whose every reason for existence is theological from beginning to end? It really was like asking (speaking respectfully) a group of blind men to judge the Chelsea Flower Show.

No one can understand why we exist as a Council and why we do and say the things we do unless they understand our theological, biblical justification for doing so. We are not and have never before been inspired by an ideology, political or otherwise. It is not politics that impels us to speak up against the vicious and iniquitous policy of forced population removals, exemplified so aptly today by the forced uprootal of a stable and settled community in Mogopa, something that has outraged the world.

It is not a political philosophy that makes us declare apartheid to be wholly immoral, unbiblical, evil and unchristian; it is not politics that makes us say that Bantu Education is designed to be inferior and an abomination, a system intended to turn blacks into perpetual serfs no matter how much more money is being spent on it; it is not politics that compels us to condemn the migratory labour system which forces married men to live unnatural lives for eleven months of the year in single-sex hostels helping to

destroy black family life, not accidentally, but by the deliberate policy of a government that declares itself to be Christian; it is not politics that says we cannot remain silent when such a government dumps God's children in arid, porverty-stricken bantustan homelands making them starve, not accidentally, but by their deliberate government policy.

The Church Is Not Answerable to Pretoria
No. my friends, no. South Africa, we a

No, my friends, no, South Africa, we are constrained by the imperatives of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. Until my dying day I will continue to castigate apartheid as evil and immoral in an absolute sense and I will burn my bible, as I have promised before, and cease to be a christian if anyone can prove to me that I am wrong in my view about apartheid. This Commission did not have the theological nor the moral competence to pass judgment on us on that score. We are not answerable to a secular authority, not even the government of the land, to give an account of how we have sought to obey the injunctions of God in this matter. We are as a Council answerable first and foremost to God alone and then to our member churches. To the latter we have given adequate reports on a regular basis of our stewardship and to our donor partners, and they alone have the right to call us to book - not the government of this land or any other land. We have said that this Commission was totally superfluous. If we have contravened any laws of this land, then we should have been charged in an open court. This government has a formidable phalanx of draconian legislation on the statute book which they could use. In any case they have not been known to be bashful about passing new legislation to deal with awkward customers.

And I want to challenge them even now on the basis of the findings of their own Commission to bring charges against us for having contravened any of their laws and to make those charges stick in an open court. That a former employee of the Council, a man who helped to develop this Council into

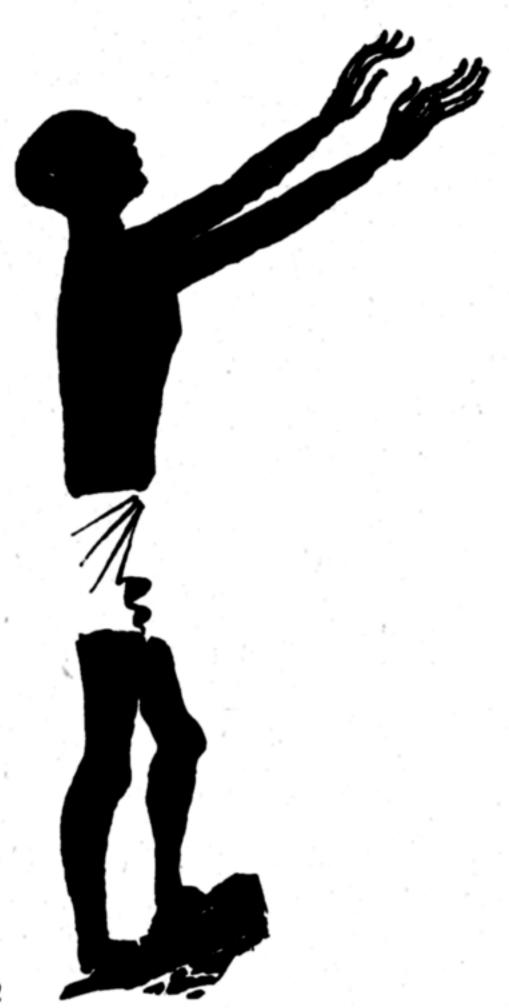
this impressive instrument for good in the hands of God, was found guilty in a court, does not discredit the Council. If that were so certain, banks whose officials were guilty of fraud would have to be similarly condemned. Recently a member of the South African Defence Force was found guilty of malfeasance in dealing with a certain SADF fund. That conviction was not used to malign and discredit the SADF and have it accused of being criminal. Equally, therefore, if Councilemployees or officers should be convicted of



criminal offences, that should not be used as a stick with which to beat the SACC, for it is mainly the SACC that is being criticised in this report, it is the SACC that must therefore be brought to court, arraigned and convicted. I challenge the government to do that.

The Commissioners Are All White

This Commission had no competent theologian. What is more, it was sitting in judgment on an organisation which was largely (i.e. 80%) black. Was there a black commissioner among them? He was invisible to



me. The perspective of the Commission was an entirely white perspective. With due respect, all the Commissioners are people who benefit daily from the vicious socio-political dispensation which we want to see changed. They have spoken like Whites threatened by the fear that their privileges would disappear or be significantly modified if we were to have a more just and more democratic set-up in South Africa. Have any one of them or their families been part of the three and a half million Blacks uprooted in the forced population removal schemes; have they lived in squatter resettlement camps such as Winterveld and Onverwacht? Have their wives been arrested and harassed having to sit in the cold winter rain with plastic covering that the police callously destroyed at Crossroads? Have their homes been demolished at 2 a.m. as happened only recently in Bekkersdal; have they had to pay school fees for a travesty of an education with overcrowded schools and underpaid and ill-trained teachers?

What do they know about starvation in the homelands as a personal experience; what do they know about being stopped on the way to work and being thrown into a police van because your pass was not in order; have they been in solitary confinement or detention without trial; have they been banned without a chance to know the charges facing them or being granted opportunity to defend themselves and to cross-examine their faceless accusers? Or have any of those they hold dear suffered these indignities: have they walked with their children past recreation parks and when their children said, "Daddy, I want to go and play on the swing," Daddy, feeling thoroughly emasculated, being forced to reply, "You cannot play there," and the child says, "But other children are playing," and you have to tell them, "No, darling, it is not for children of your skin colour." What do they know of that humiliation and anguish?

What do they know of living in a matchbox house in a drab ghetto even when they could afford to live elsewhere more salubrious? What do they know about being declared an alien in your own motherland because those who at the moment wield power say you are no longer a South African but the citizen of a spuriously independent spawn of apartheid you have never seen before in your life? What do they know about the agony of a mother whose children have gone into exile and she does not know where, and whose husband is serving a life sentence for having the audacity to think that he was a human being, and who has not had a contact visit with her husband for twenty-one years of his incarceration? Have they visited a resettlement camp or a black ghetto?

They have a vested interest to keep things as they are, with a white minority enjoying the vast privileges of their whiteness, benefiting from the oppression and exploitation of Blacks. Have they asked black people who have received legal assistance when facing serious charges? Have they asked the families of political prisoners who have had virtually their only support from the SACC what they thought of the SACC? Have they asked the high school and university students who have received the opportunity of an education only because of a grant from the SACC, what they thought of the SACC?

I refer to the thousand new high school students each year who have obtained SACC bursaries to go to government schools. I refer to the hundred new university students each year who have obtained SACC bursaries to enable them to go to university. Have they asked even one of those what they thought of the SACC? Have they asked the old people who received blankets to protect them against the winter cold from the SACC what they thought of the SACC; have they asked those who got clean water supplies, self-help project grants, help with growing their own food, through the auspices of the SACC what what they thought of the SACC? I can say almost without fear of contradiction: "No." If they have spoken to blacks it will have been with stooges who would say what they thought their white masters wanted to hear.

My dear friends, have they asked striking workers whose families received relief assistance from the SACC what they thought of the SACC? - No, because virtually all the blacks would say, "The SACC has helped us keep body and soul together, the SACC has given us hope, the SACC has helped us get an education. The SACC has helped us believe in a God who cares about injustice, about unemployment, about harsh laws, about vicious population removals."

My dear friends, these are the activities that the Commission has considered subversive, confrontational, etc. With respect may I say that is unadulterated and arrant nonsense. I told the Commission that they should tell those who appointed them that I myself did not fear them. I have said it before and I say it again that those who think that they have immense power today must take a lesson from history.

I warned them that if they took on the SACC then they must know they are taking on the Church of God, and other tyrants before them have tried to destroy the Church - Nero, Amin, Hitler, Bokassa and so on. Where are they today? They have bitten the dust ignominiously. I warn the South African government again - they are not gods, they are mere mortals who will end up as mere marks on the pages of history, part of its flotsam and jetsam. I am not afraid of them. The worst I said that they could do to us when their disgraceful efforts to discredit us have failed as they have, is to kill me, but who said death is the worst thing that can happen to a Christian?

They are unscrupulous and ruthless men, as we can see from their treatment of those they uproot and what they do to those they have at their mercy when they detain them without trial. The late and unlamented Mr Jimmy Kruger, by innuendo and suggestion (very much as was done before the Eloff Commission in the 'e' truths and guilt by association tactics produced by General Johann Coetzee), tried to link the SACC with 23

fomenting violence and so-called terrorism. I repudiated his silly allegations then, and challenged him to debate the workings of the SACC publicly; he failed to take up my challenge. Then Mr Le Grange, now Minister of Law and Order and successor to Mr Kruger, made some quite asinine remarks about how our self-help projects were exacerbating a tense situation and he, too, I dealt with gently and I hope effectively, suggesting he need a course in elementary logic, because he really was saying much that was mindboggling nonsense; then Mr PW Botha spoke at Rand Afrikaans University at a Republic Day rally, accusing the SACC of using its vast funds for subversive purposes.

The Commission's own auditor stated before the Commission that the financial affairs of the Council since we appointed Mr Stevenson had improved remarkably — why was this fact not mentioned prominently? They claim that I have little ability to control vast funds. That is a gratuitous insult. I was not appointed for my financial skills. In any large organisation the head is not expected to know everything; he appoints those with the necessary skills. Does the head of, for example, the SADF have financial ability? — if he has why are the SADF finances in such a mess?

I said then that he was a liar and that he knew that he was lying. I want to reiterate those statements, using their own Commission to support my statements. The Government has lied about the SACC. But we are not surprised. They generally lied without batting eyelids, as shown in the Information scandal, as shown in what they told the country about their first incursions into Angola. If they are so concerned about financial probity, when are they appointing a commission to look into the financial administration of the SADF, which has received scathing reports from the Auditor-General for two years running and which in one year has lost inexplicably more funds than the SACC will hope to use in a decade?

Why are they so coy about all the shod-

dy underhand things concerning the Salem affair, which has cost this country about thirty million rand? Why have they not made public in South Africa what is common knowledge about this affair in other lands? They won't do these things because they cannot stand the light of day and the searching scrutiny such as that to which SACC has been subjected for two years.

The SACC Operates Openly

Let me say again we in the SACC operate openly and above board. We do not act clandestinely. Not even their master spy, Lieutenant Williamson, with whom I had extensive conversations overseas when I did not know that he was a Government agent, could say that I have any other view than that I am opposed to violence. I have said before and will say it again - I support the ANC wholeheartedly in its aim to work for a truly democratic and non-racial South Africa; but I do not support its methods. I have never hidden the fact that I meet with the leaders of the liberation movements when I go abroad. It is one of the first things I announce when I return to South Africa. How are we going to persuade them to come to the negotiating table if we have not kept in touch with them? Whether the Government and Whites like it or not, I won't have the South African Government dictate to me who my friends are going to be. The ANC and the PAC have a long history of working peacefully for change, and it was this Nationalist Government that banned them in 1960, forcing them to opt for the armed struggle.

Our operation is transparent and above board. We have said before that we did not hide even unpalatable truths from our donor partners and our member churches, not even when we received an audited report about material irregularity. Can the Government match that kind of transparency?

We do not use the methods of the government as revealed in the Information scandal. I have offered myself as a go-between

the government and the ANC to suggest posibilities of a negotiated settlement because, stop kidding yourselves, one day Whites must negotiate with the ANC among others. I do not have a brief for the ANC; Ton Vosloo, former editor of the Beeld, has said as much.

It will not do for Whites, nor for their government, to fulminate when I say that those they call terrorists are our brothers and sisters, our fathers and mothers, our sons and daughters. Nothing can change that biological fact. If my brother should commit murder, that will not alter the fact that he is my brother. White South Africans must know, whether they like it or not, that, just as much as they have their 'boys' on the border, so the black community too has their boys on the other side of the border. That is not sedition. That is not treachery. It is stating just a plain truth.

The SACC seeks to place before the public facts relating to important aspects of South African life, so that they can make informed decisions.

We are accused of being separated from out membership and of relying heavily on overseas funding, when ten cents per member would raise large sums internally.

The Commission Chose To Ignore The Evidence

The Commission, respectfully, shows its woeful ignorance of many things in this assertion. None of our churches can claim that, as individual denominations, their Synods and assemblies are not often viewed by the person in in the pew as remote from them. All churches complain of a gap between the leadership and their rank and file membership. This is conventional wisdom in all our churches. But all our major churches, through their leaders, testified before the Commission. It is surely to run in the face of facts to say we are separated from our constituency when an Archbishop Hurley, an Archbishop Russell, a President Mgojo of the Methodist Church, the General Secretary of the United Congregational Church of Southern Africa and its chairman, the General Secretary of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, the presiding Bishop of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Southern Africa and other church leaders came to testify for the SACC. Why should they have inconvenienced themselves to such an extent for a body they thought to be of little consequence? The Commission chose to ignore a vast body of evidence which contradicted what some powerful people wanted said about the SACC.

All our member churches receive substantial assistance materially and in person from their overseas partners as a matter of



course, so the SACC is not peculiar in this matter. The Commission knows very little about the theology of the nature of the church. Because we are churches, as our overseas partners testified before the Commission last March, they regard it as a privilege to share with us in our ministry.

We are members of the Body of Christ, and there is a mutuality in our relationship 25 that the Commission appears to know nothing about. There is a give and take which are part and parcel of being what it means to be a church. Can the Commission point to any self-respecting overseas church that supports the white Dutch Reformed Church? Is this purely accidental? Why did such high-powered delegations from right round the world come to testify about their fraternal relations with the SACC and be keen to see these maintained and strengthened, whereas the NGK has its membership suspended from the World Alliance of Reformed Churches?

We want to point the Commission to the fact that the white Dutch Reformed Church has often given substantial subsidies to her black sister churches. Is the fact that these churches have not been able to be selfsufficient evidence of a distance between them and their members?

We have been accused of fomenting unrest. We must point out that the Gospel of
Jesus Christ is subversive of evil, and the
Church will always confront evil to work for
real reconciliation. But has the Commission
ignored the fact that we served as mediators
helping to end a long drawn out strike in
Cape Town? Have they forgotten my intervention to try and save the life of a policeman at Mr Mxenge's funeral in King Williams
Town? Have they forgotten how I have tried
to stop stone-throwing at Regina Mundi on
June 16th last year?

Have they forgotten our appeal to President Rene, which helped to secure the release of those condemned to death in the abortive coup? Have they forgotten our attempts to bring peace on the black university campuses and in black schools? All this evidence was before them. They chose to ignore it. But this Commission was a thinly veiled part of the government's strategy to vilify and discredit the Council. They are part of a blasphemous act to put the Church and Christ on trial, for our faith believes that all life belongs to God, not just the spiritual aspect. And at the very time that we are under attack so viciously and maliciously at home, the SACC has been

nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize, testimony to the fact that some in the world think we are a powerful instrument for justice and peace.

We may act confidentially, but our policy is we do and say nothing by which we would not stand if it became public. The police intercept our mail, our telexes and several of our documents, as became evident when General Coetzee gave evidence before the Eloff Commission They wasted valuable time because they speculated hopelessly wrongly about what we said, wrote or did.

Charge Us — And Let It Stick! We repeat our offer to the authorities:

- a) If we have contravened any of your multifarious and hideous laws, charge us and let it stick.
- b) If you want to know what we are planning to do, stop trying to bribe SACC staff to spy for you. Ask us, and we will tell you.
- c) I am willing to provide you with advance copies of my speeches if you will observe my embargo.

But know that I will always condemn apartheid as evil and unchristian. Know, too, that nothing you can do will stop liberation coming to this country, for all its people, black and white. We shall be free, whatever you try to do. We are committed to justice and peace and reconciliation, and are opposed to all forms of violence.

I want to pay a warm tribute to our legal team, led by Advocate S Kentridge, including Advocates Unterhalter and P Solomon, and our attorney, Mr O Barrett of the firm Bowens. I am deeply grateful to the leaders of our member churches and overseas partners for their prayerful and other support, and I want to express my admiration for my SACC colleagues for their joyous commitment and conscientious application to duty during a difficult time.

OUT OF PRISON

BUT NOT YET FREE

Herman Toivo Ja Toivo

The front and back covers of this issue show Herman Toivo Ja Toivo, leader of the Namibian liberation struggle, who was released from Robben Island on 6 April 1984, after eighteen years' imprisonment by the apartheid regime. The Pretoria government, illegally occupying Namibia, never had any legal right to imprison him. In 1968, at the time he was tried with 36 others, a United Nations resolution was passed denouncing as illegal the arrest, deportation and trial in Pretoria of these men, calling it a "flagrant violation" of the international status of Namibia.

Herman Ja Toivo was a founder member of SWAPO. He was born in 1924 in Ovamboland, and, working in Cape Town during the 1950s, became leader of the Namibian contract workers in and around the city. In 1958 he was arrested and deported back to Ovamboland for despatching to the United Nations a tape recorded message appealing to the UN to come to the rescue of the Namibian people.

The Ovamboland People's Organisation, forerunner of SWAPO, was formed in 1959, and SWAPO itself was formed in 1960. In 1966, soon after the beginning of the armed struggle in Namibia, Herman Ja Toivo was arrested, with the 36 others. He spent almost a year in solitary confinement before being brought to trial under the Terrorism Act, which had been introduced to deal with freedom fighters in Namibia, and had been made retrospective to 1962 to cover the trial of the 37.

In his address at the trial, Herman Ja Toivo reminded the court that during World War II he had worked as a guard at a South African ammunition dump:

> " ... when it became evident that both your country and my country were threatened by the dark clouds of Nazism I risked my life to defend both of them ... But some of your countrymen when called to battle to defend civilisation resorted to sabotage against their own fatherland. I volunteered to face German bullets, and as a guard of military installations, both in South West Africa and the Republic, was prepared to be the victim of their sabotage. Today they are our masters and are considered the heroes, and I am called the coward."

He told the court that Namibians had always regarded South Africa as an intruder in their country, and went on to say:

"Many of our people, through no fault of their own, have had no education at all. This does not mean to say that they do not know what they want.

"A man does not have to be formally 27

educated to know that he wants to live with his family where he wants to live, and not where an official chooses to tell him to live; to move about freely and not require a pass; to earn a decent wage; to be free to work for the person of his choice for as long as he wants; and finally to be ruled by the people that he wants to be ruled by, and not those who rule him because they have more guns than he has ...

"Only when we are granted our independence will the struggle stop."

When, after his release, he was asked how it felt to be free, he replied that he was merely out of prison.

Billy Nair

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Billy Nair was released on 27 February 1984, also after serving twenty years on Robben Island.

He was active in the Defiance Campaign against Unjust Laws in 1952, was one of the accused in the Treason Trial in the 1950s, was detained during the State of Emergency in 1960 and detained again in 1963 under the 90-day detention law. He was a leading member of the Natal Indian Congress (NIC), secretary of the Natal branch of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) and former secretary of the Durban Clothing Workers' Union.

He was met outside the Durban prison from where he was released by family, friends, supporters of the NIC and a large contingent of journalists and security police. A few nights later, six hundred people attended a reception party for him, and sang freedom songs. Addressing the gathering, he expressed his desire to continue being involved in the struggle, and declared his support for the NIC and the United Democratic Front.

Since his release, in interviews with the press and on the radio, he has repeatedly stated that the only solution to the crisis in South Africa will be by direct negotiation with accredited leaders of the African people,

such as Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Moses Mabhida.

Curnick Ndlovu

Curnick Ndlovu was released on 27 September 1983 from twenty years behind bars. He was sentenced under the Sabotage Act with Billy Nair and 16 others in the Pietermaritz-burg Supreme Court in February 1964. He was one of the Umkhonto freedom fighters responsible for sabotaging electricity pylons in Natal during 1962 and 1963, and he and Billy Nair were the only two who admitted to being members of the Natal Regional Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe. He and Billy Nair both received twenty-year sentences, and the others were given sentences of from five to 16 years.

In the 1950s, when Curnick Ndlovu was working as a railway workers, he became secretary of the Natal Railway Workers' Union, assistant secretary of SACTU and an executive member of the KwaMashu branch of the ANC. He was also secretary of the KwaMashu Residents' Association, which fought successful campaigns to improve living conditions in the township.

Because his release was unannounced and five months early, no one was waiting outside the prison in Durban when he came out. He caught a bus home to KwaMashu, where he was met by his surprised and delighted wife. Word of his release soon spread, and he was given a rousing welcome.

David Kitson

David Kitson was released in Johannesburg on May 10 1984, seven months early, from a twenty-year sentence.

He was born in 1919, and fought in World War II, He trained as a mechanical engineer and spent eight years in Britain before returning to South Africa in 1959.

In October 1964, after some months in solitary confinement, he was brought to court with Wilton Mkwayi, Laloo Chiba, S R (Mac) Maharaj and John Matthews, and charged with sabotage, furthering the aims

of communism, and joining the National High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe.

The charge sheet alleged that he had served on the Regional High Command of Umkhonto We Sizwe, and on the logistics committee of the National High Command; obtained illegal possession of a firearm which he had handed over to Wilton Mkwayi; obtained the ingredients for explosives; assisted illegal radio broadcasts and purchased parts required for transmitters, and assisted in the publication of illegal documents and pamphlets.

Interviewed on his release, he called for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners.



Revolutionary greetings in the name of the struggling people of South Africa and the front line states.

The 'rebel' West Indian cricketers have finished Part Two of their parasitic tour of South Africa on a 'victorious' note, by beating the all-white South African team 4-2 in the one-day series and 2-1 in the one day matches.

They now find themselves returning to the cricketing wilderness of their own countries. These cricketers must be seen as mercenaries, Judases, traitors, and supporters of apartheid. They have sold their dignity and black pride for a few thousand rand.

They have caused the majority of us in the West Indies to hang our heads in shame. The 'rebels' continue to perpetrate the most shameful transaction in the history of West Indian sports. At least three of the 'temporary' whites have been further recruited and contracted by Natal and Transvaal. These honorary whites are bedfellows of racism and apartheid. I know that one day history will prove to them and their co-conspirators that they are being used by their enemies against their own black brothers and sisters.

At this point I would like to congratulate Clive Lloyd and Michael Holding (among others) who resisted, and turned down lucrative offers to play cricket in South Africa. They have demonstrated to their colleagues, their countrymen and the world that they cannot be bought and that they will not support apartheid.

While our cricketers fleece a few hundred 29

thousand more dollars from the sweat, tears and blood of the toiling masses of South Africa, Comrade Nelson Mandela and thousands of others are languishing physically in the gaols of Pretoria and Robben Island. However, they will continue to inspire the ANC militants and millions of anti-apartheid workers throughout the world, because they stand for an end to the exploitation of man by man; they represent the aspirations of the oppressed and exploited masses; they fight for a liberated, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

I believe the collaboration with apartheid sport is like a cancer, and if it is not arrested it will cause a serious illness in world sports. In 1976 the African states withdrew from the Montreal Olympics in protest against New Zealand's collaboration with apartheid sports. The result was the Gleneagles Agreement. However, after the above agreement, a number of 'rebel' teams toured South Africa — England, Sri Lanka and the West Indies.

There are also individual sportsmen who have been going to South Africa, and South Africans participating in sports in other countries, in the fields of cricket, boxing, rugby, golf and lawn tennis, to name a few. It can be clearly seen that the Gleneagles Agreement is not working; it does not have any teeth. It is obvious that some of the signatories to the agreement are not serious about it. Governments allowed sportsmen to go to South Africa and then called them 'rebels.' The sports associations have not been innocent in this collaboration with apartheid. The penalty for touring South Africa, meted out by the different sports associations, are not equal. For example, sportsmen have been banned from representing their countries for three years, for twenty-five years and for life, while for others there is no penalty. Who are the supporters of apartheid sports?

The governments of this region, with the possible exception of Guyana, and Grenada (under the leadership of the late Maurice Bishop) were not firm enough in their condemnation of the rebel tours. If they had warned the cricketing association and the people of the real consequences of the rebel tours, these tours would not have taken place. Governments are elected to govern — not sports associations — and it is those governments which allow their sons and daughters to establish sporting contact with racist South Africa who are responsible for the failure of the Gleneagles Agreement.

At the beginning of the 1983 West Indian 'rebel' tour to South Africa, here in Jamaica the people asked for information about apartheid, and their appetite was whetted by the mass media, print and electronic. This was supplemented by rallies held by progressive forces to educate and mobilise the people. There was also an ANC lecture tour which further informed the people. Comrades, the process of collaboration with apartheid can be stopped if we act jointly and collectively.

It cannot be stopped when some of the signatories to the Gleneagles Agreement covertly support apartheid sports, and when some of us conceal our sure and underhand support for apartheid by deliberately misinforming the masses, by deception and parliamentary hypocrisy. Let us act jointly and collectively. The struggle continues! Victory is certain.

Long live Nelson Mandela.

Long live Oliver Tambo.

Long live the ANC.

Long live Umkhonto We Sizwe.

Yours faithfully in comradeship, L.V. Thomas, St Andrew, Jamaica. February 5th 1984.

Dear Comrade Editor,

I take up my pen to write you these few lines. I have been a reader of Sechaba for a long time. Now I would like you to explain me one thing.

I have noticed now in speeches, articles, interviews etc. in Sechaba, that I am called 'so-called Coloured' (sometimes with a small 'c'). When did the Congress decide to call me this? In South Africa I was active in the Congress Alliance and was a member of the Coloured People's Congress, not the 'socalled Coloured People's Congress.' When we worked for Congress of the People and the Freedom Charter we sang, 'We the Coloured people, we must struggle to exist ...' I remember in those times some people of the socalled unity movement refer to so-called Coloured people, but not our Congress. The old copies of Sechaba do not show when it was decided to make this change, or why. Maybe governments, administrations, political and social dealings over centuries called me Coloured. But clever people, the ethnologists and professors of anthropology and so on did not bother to worry about who I really am.

Comrade Editor, I am confused. I need clarification. It makes me feel like a 'so-called' human, like a humanoid, those things who have all the characteristics of human beings but are really artificial. Other minority people are not called 'so-called.' Why me? It must be the 'curse of Ham,'

In the meantime, I remain, respectfully,

Your, Capie (Alex La Guma)

P.S. Was Paul Peterson a so-called Coloured?

(Paul Peterson was the nom de guerre of Basil February, an ANC cadre who died fighting in Zimbabwe in 1967-68.)

[Editor's note:

As far as I can remember there is no decision taken in our movement to change from 'Coloured' to 'so-called Coloured.' All I know is that people at home — like Allan Boesak at the launch of the UDF — have been increasingly using the term, 'so-called Coloureds' I suspect that what you have noticed is a reflection of this development.

Not long ago, Sechaba reviewed Richard Rive's book, Writing Black, and in that review we said:

"Our strive for unity should not blind us from seeing the differences which if ignored can cause problems exactly for that unity we are striving to achieve. It is not enough to say the so-called Co-oureds or to put the word Coloureds in inverted commas. A positive approach to this problem needs to be worked out because we are dealing with a group of people who are identifiable and distinguishable."

In other words, what we were saying in this review is that a discussion on this issue is necessary, and I think your letter may just as well be a starting point for such a discussion. Any comments on this issue are welcome.]

Poem:

(In 1913, the African women of the Orange Free State threw off their shawls and confronted the authorities over the question of imposition of passes on them. This poem was published by the newspaper of the African People's Organisation, an organisation of coloured people, on June 27th 1913, and was dedicated to these demonstrations. The name of the author was given as 'Johnny the Office Boy.'

The women of old Waaihoek, by Moroka's grave they swore That the inhuman Council should rule the roost no more. By Moroka's grave they swore it, and named the massing day, And bade their messengers go forth, to summon their array.

Too long have they submitted to white malignity;
No passes would they carry, but assert their dignity.
They vowed no more to fawn or cringe, nor creep to the tyrant's power;
But to proclaim their womanhood, their inherent God-given dower.

On the sixth day of June they trooped in numbers fast, Till Bloemfontein and suburbs did hear the battle blast. In all that godless town there was no heart so bold But sore it ached and fast it beat when that ill news was told.

At noon the women's army, right glorious to behold, Came waving big knobkerries that they aloft did hold. Six hundred voices sounded a peal of warlike glee, As the chicken-livered whites from the women's sight did flee.

The Magistrate stood trembling, regardless of his fame, "The Council and the Mayor," said he, "alone must share the blame." Then forthwith to the Town House six hundred stout hearts went, Demanding to their grievances the Mayor his ear shall lend. In the absence of His Worship, the Deputy. shoulder high, Counselled the women to keep the peace, and to be patient, try.

A lion-hearted (?) constable collared a woman tight, But as six hundred sticks went up, he dropped down dead in fright. When excitement was at breaking point, an old dame did declare, "Our object has now been achieved, so to your huts repair."

The battle is now over, but long years after this,
Old women to their piccanins will tell the tale, I wis!
With pride and with laughter will the story long be told,
How the brave women of Waaihoek fought in the accursed days of old.

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AMANDLA NGAWETHU MATLA KE A RONA

Toivo ja Toivo with prison guards

