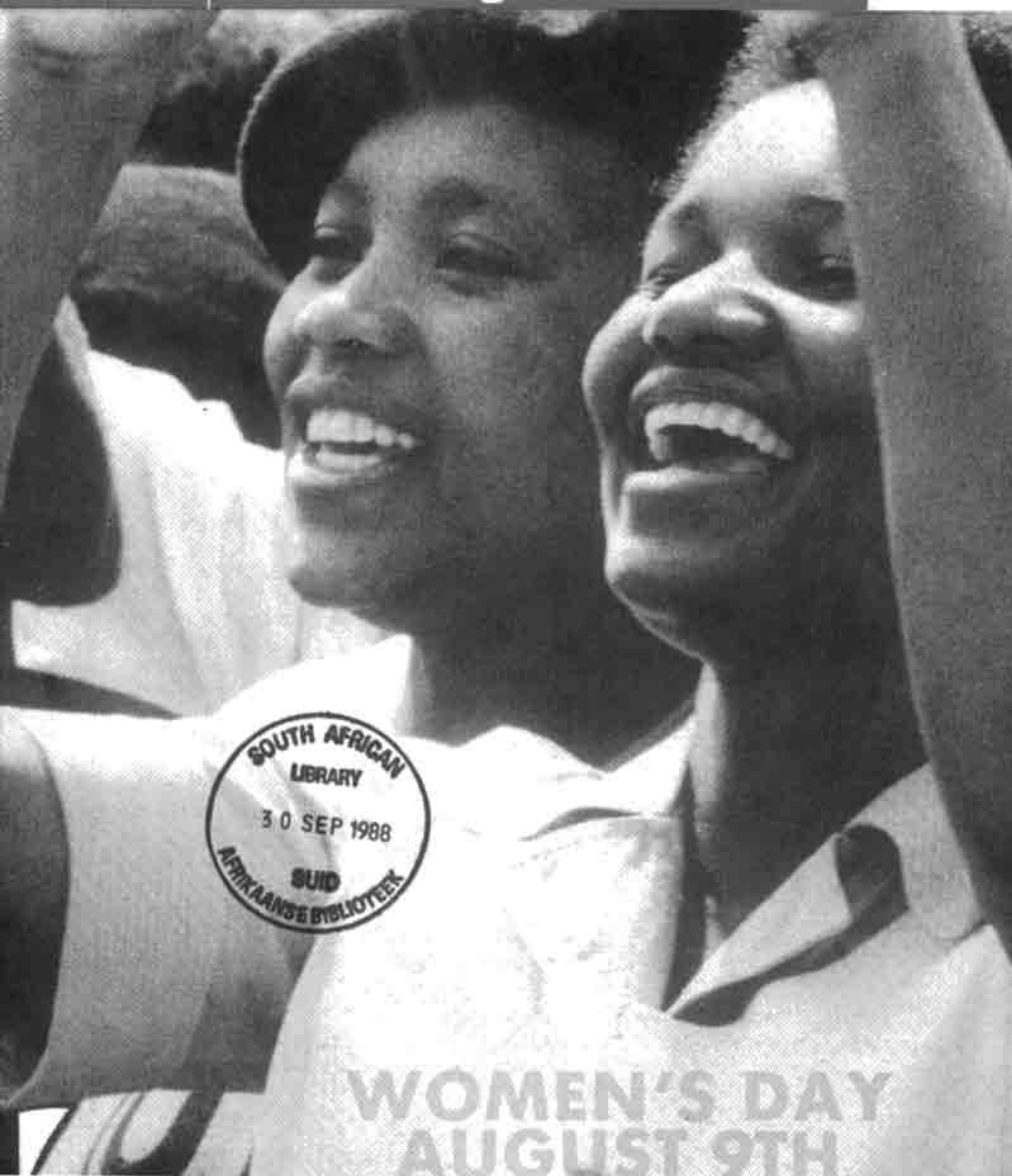




# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

AUGUST 1988



WOMEN'S DAY  
AUGUST 9TH

# AUGUST 1988

# SECHABA

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## CONTENTS:

### EDITORIAL

The Armed Struggle Continues..... 1

### PEACE AND SECURITY IN OUR REGION

Speech by O R Tambo ..... 2

### PRETORIA REGIME ATTACKS THE PRESS

By Bronwen Kaplan ..... 8

### THE MESSINA TWO — CAPTURED FREEDOM FIGHTERS

By Jean Middleton ..... 12

### CENTRE PAGE

Women in the History of the Struggle ..... 16

**ANC INTERNATIONAL** ..... 18

### ZOLA BUDD BANNED

By Sam Ramsamy ..... 22

### PEOPLE'S WAR AND NEGOTIATIONS

By Alex Mashinini ..... 25

**LETTER TO THE EDITOR** ..... 30

**BOOK REVIEW** ..... 32

## LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

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

### Radio Lusaka

Daily 7.00 pm:  
Wednesday 10.15-10.45 pm:  
Thursday 9.30-10.00 pm:  
Friday 10.15-10.45 pm:  
Short wave 31mb 9505 KHz  
Sunday 8.00-8.45 am:  
Short wave 25mb 11880 KHz

### Radio Luanda

Monday-Saturday 7.30 pm:  
Sunday 8.30 pm:  
Short wave 31mb 9535 KHz  
and 25 mb

### Radio Madagascar

Monday-Saturday 7.00-9.00 pm:  
Sunday 7.00-8.00 pm:  
Short wave 49mb 6135 KHz

### Radio Ethiopia

Daily, 9.30-10.00 pm:  
Short wave 31mb 9595 KHz

### Radio Tanzania

Monday Wednesday Friday 8.15 pm:  
Tuesday Thursday Saturday 6.15 am:  
Short wave 31mb 9750 KHz

The above are South African times



because they are no longer wanted.

Stomachs distended to the point of bursting; eyes protruding sightless from deep sockets; legs so thin you wonder how they ever managed to support a body that is itself covered by scabs and festering sores; all this is the result of man-made conditions that condemn millions to a life of hunger, homelessness, disease, ignorance and absence of protection from cold, heat, rain and the parching winds of the winter's end.

When we speak thus, we talk of the South African and Namibian child who is a victim of malnutrition and kwashiorkor because the robber barons of the glittering city of Johannesburg and the well-fed White politicians that make policy, of the beautiful city of the ironically named 'Cape of Good Hope', have decreed that this should be so. We talk of the Angolan and Mozambican child who cannot grow up healthy in mind and body and mature into adulthood, because the robber barons of the obscenely opulent city of Johannesburg and the immaculate generals of the flower-spangled city of Pretoria have decreed that this should be so.

Within South Africa, the apartheid economic system is predicated on the impoverishment of the Black majority and the enrichment of the White minority. Sitting at the top of the pile are huge corporations owned by a handful of immensely wealthy White businessmen whose purpose in life is to further enrich themselves without any regard whatsoever to the welfare of the masses of our people. Continuously in search of profits, they seek the domination not only of South Africa but of the rest of Southern Africa as well.

## **Front Line States: Economic Independence**

The notion advanced by the Pretoria regime in the past, of a so-called constellation of Southern African states, had, among other things, the objective of ensuring this economic domination of our region as a whole. Big capital and the apartheid state had the aim, which they have not abandoned, to replicate throughout Southern Africa

the mercilessly exploitative economic relations they have imposed on our country and people.

The hostility of the apartheid regime to the SADCC derives from this, and reflects Pretoria's determination to ensure that the independent states of our region do not succeed in reducing their dependence on racist South Africa. The Botha regime would like to ensure that the rest of our region continues to rely on the South African railways and harbours for the movement of its imports and exports. We must therefore expect that this regime will continue to view as inimical to its interests the development or re-opening of the various rail routes that link the countries of our region to the sea, including the Tanzanian-Zambia railway Line, the Beira Corridor and the Benguela Railroad.

Needless to say, the racists also expect that the more economically dependent free Africa is on South Africa, the easier it would be for these countries to submit to Pretoria's political and military domination, precisely to ensure the continuation of the apartheid system within South Africa. Consequently, it should be clear that the questions of the economic independence and progress of the liberated countries of our region cannot be separated from the struggle for the emancipation of the people of Namibia and South Africa.

In this regard, we need to emphasise the point also that the development and defence of our region are inextricably bound together. South African aggression against the independent states of our region is an established reality. Some of the targets of this aggression are precisely those elements in the social and economic infrastructure which the rest of the world is assisting the SADCC countries to build.

It would therefore seem only natural that what has been constructed at such enormous cost has to be defended against those who do not want to see the peoples of our region develop, namely the Pretoria regime.

## **Pretoria's Aim Is to Subjugate**

This region is truly at war. Virtually no coun-



try has escaped the deadly forays of Pretoria's army of aggression. In Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe, and even further afield in the Seychelles, as well as Namibia and South Africa itself, hundreds of thousands of lives have been lost, thanks to the wilful campaign of state terrorism launched by the racists, designed to transform the independent countries of our region into client states.

Many of us present here are undoubtedly aware of the extent of destruction sustained by the independent countries of our region as a result of Pretoria's continuing campaign of aggression and destabilisation. The documents distributed to the participants here contain many facts and figures of those who have died, been displaced and reduced to helpless and starving beggars as a result of this campaign.

Beyond the statistics lies a tragic story of human suffering of massive proportions. Merely to meet the current needs of the millions who have borne the brunt of Pretoria's criminal policies requires enormous resources. To help develop our region so that it actually reduces its dependence on racist South Africa obviously necessitates the transfer of resources on a scale which recognises the special needs of the peoples of Southern Africa, which derive from the political situation in our region.

## **Sanctions Are Where Our True Interests Lie**

We also need to reiterate the point here that the peoples of Southern Africa have firmly rejected the attempt of some Western powers to set against each other the demand for sanctions against racist South Africa and the need to provide development assistance to the independent states. This is clearly an attempt to avoid the imposition of sanctions which the peoples of our region recognise as an important weapon in the struggle to end the apartheid system and therefore eliminate

the source of violence, war and instability in Southern Africa.

Black Africa and Black South Africa are aware of the impact of sanctions against apartheid South Africa on them. On this we do not need to be lectured. We were as aware of the impact of sanctions on us when we called for them in 1959 as Zambia and Mozambique were aware of the impact on themselves of the sanctions they imposed on rebel Rhodesia. We appeal that the newly-found and rather strangely expressed sympathy for our peoples should not be used to defeat precisely the objective we seek to achieve, and to give justification for the continuation of policies that are directed against our emancipation. It would be useful that we were credited with at least a modicum of intelligence, enough to enable us to determine where our true interests lie.

Everything the apartheid regime has done points to its extreme sensitivity to the threat of effective sanctions. Arguments to the contrary cannot be sustained by any evidence. The notion that economic sanctions would force White South Africans into a laager is also not supported by experience.

It is perfectly clear to us that effective sanctions would reduce the capacity of the Pretoria regime to maintain the apartheid system, continue the colonisation of Namibia and carry out wars of aggression against independent Africa. In his budget speech about three months ago, Pretoria's Finance Minister openly admitted this, stating that the reality of sanctions has obliged the regime to scrutinise the affordability of its programmes.

## **Under Pressure The Laager Breaks**

It is also patently obvious that increasing pressure against the apartheid regime, including the pressure brought about by the actions of the international community, has resulted in the break-up of the White power structure and not its consolidation within any laager. That laager was strongest precisely during the period when the



threat of sanctions was minimal and the struggle within the country at a relatively low level. The number of White South Africans who are seeking a way out of the crisis brought about by the apartheid system has never been greater than it is today, thanks to the intensity of the internal and international struggle against the Pretoria regime.

Once more, it is being argued that economic development within South Africa and population growth will in themselves lead to the destruction of the apartheid system. Yet the point has been demonstrated over and over again that it was during the period of the strongest growth of the South African economy, during the sixties and the seventies, that the apartheid regime and the racist system were at their strongest and most vicious. To take care of the rapid growth of the African population even at that time, the apartheid regime carried out a vast programme of forced removals of the African people into the bantustans and resettlement camps. The fact of the matter is that the process of forced removals continues to this day, as does the policy of influx control.

At this point, we would also like to advise, in all humility, that it does not contribute to the ending of the South African tragedy to have senior British politicians take on board and reiterate the false images of South African reality which the Pretoria regime propagates in its attempts to justify the existence of the apartheid system. One of these is the notion that the substance of the policies of our country is determined by the jostling of various tribes for a place in the sun.

What defines the substance of the turmoil in our country is the confrontation between the forces of democracy on the one hand and those of racism on the other.

We would like to say something about the question of armed struggle. We have been urged to return to the path of non-violence and have been told that armed struggle is both wrong and self-defeating.

## **We Must Fight or Submit**

We would like to reiterate that the option

of armed struggle was imposed on us. It came, not because we had any love for violence, but because the path of non-violence was closed by the Pretoria regime. As we explained at the time, now more than two decades ago, the choice we were presented with was to fight or submit. This much has recently been conceded by a leading spokesman of the Botha regime — Cabinet Minister Stoffel van der Merwe. Over the years, and up to this day, the apartheid regime has continued to present our people with that choice. The banning of the UDF and other organisations and the restrictions placed on the Congress of South African Trade Unions, on February 24th of this year, are no different in their substance and intention from the ban imposed on the ANC in March 1960.

When it was banned, the ANC was, like the UDF and other organisations, committed to the path of non-violent struggle. We only engaged in armed struggle almost two years after the imposition of that ban, having tried very hard, even after that ban, to find ways and means of continuing a non-violent struggle. We are still banned. Mere membership of the ANC is a treasonable offence. The press is prohibited from publishing anything that tells the real truth about the ANC, its aims, objectives and activities, except to the extent that any such publication has the effect of denigrating and besmirching our organisation.

How, then, is the ANC supposed to exercise this non-violent option? When the UDF and other organisations are prohibited from engaging in any non-violent political activity whatsoever, what alternative forms of struggle remain open to them?

In the end, all we are being told is that we must submit and accept to be co-opted into Botha's apartheid constitutional schemes. Inside the country, we are prohibited from engaging in any political activity. Next we are told that armed struggle is self-defeating and we should give it up. We are also told that sanctions are counter-productive and we should abandon them as a weapon of struggle. In simple terms, we are being advised to give up the struggle, to surrender. We might, out of politeness, say, "thank you for the advice." But it is not the type of counselling that one



can seriously expect us to accept.

## **Legitimacy of Armed Struggle**

We also need to make the point here that it seems to us that special rules are being written for us with regard to the issue of armed struggle. Whereas it is viewed as perfectly legitimate for the UNITA bandits, the Nicaraguan Contras and the so-called Afghan Mujahedeen to use violent means in pursuit of their political objectives; whereas it is viewed as an honourable thing to train, finance and arm these groups even with surface-to-air missiles; for us to carry out the most controlled campaign of armed resistance is denounced sternly as terrorism and murder. A so-called principle is even elaborated especially to apply to us, namely that it is impermissible to use military means to achieve political objectives, and therefore that, in waging armed struggle to achieve our liberation, we are acting in breach of this principle.

Of course it is argued, and will continue to be argued, that negotiations are the most preferable way to end apartheid. The ANC agrees, and therefore would welcome any genuine negotiations aimed at the transformation of South Africa into a united, democratic and non-racial country in which the political and human rights of all South Africans would be assured, and in which all South Africans, without discrimination on the grounds of race, colour, ethnicity, creed or sex, and without being defined according to any of these categories, would have the right to elect a government of their choice.

## **Botha Regime Obstructs Peace**

The only obstacle to such negotiations is the Botha regime. It is neither the ANC, the UDF and its affiliates, nor the South African Communist Party. It is not SACTU, COSATU or NACTU. It is neither the South African Council of Churches, the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference, the Call of Islam, other Moslems and people of the Jewish and Hindu faiths who are engaged in the struggle against apartheid. It is not

Nelson Mandela and the other political leaders and activists who are imprisoned and detained by the Pretoria regime.

The obstacle to negotiations is neither the South African Federated Chambers of Commerce, individual White business people who have come out against apartheid, the Progressive Federal Party, the National Democratic Movement nor the thousands of Afrikaner workers who have begun to co-operate with the democratic trade union movement and other Afrikaners and Whites in general — church people, students, intellectuals, sports people and conscientious objectors — who say apartheid must be ended. It is not even some bantustan leaders who have refused to serve in Botha's National Council and called for negotiations with the genuine leaders of our people.

The obstacle to negotiations is the Botha regime, which refuses to heed the united voice of the overwhelming majority of the people of our country, both Black and White. This regime is perfectly aware of what it has to do to create a climate conducive to negotiations, including the release of political prisoners and detainees, ending the state of emergency, unbanning the ANC and other organisations, repealing oppressive and repressive legislation, and so on.

## **Pretoria Rules By Brute Force**

Its failure to implement these measures is a token of its refusal to prepare for genuine negotiations. It reflects its continuing conviction that it disposes of enough brute strength to maintain itself in power for ever, through its region-wide campaign of state terrorism. It believes that it will succeed where Hitler failed.

The entire peoples of Southern Africa are committed to the struggle to end apartheid. To guarantee permanent peace and uninterrupted development in the Front Line States means to remove the source of war and destruction in our region — the apartheid regime and the racist and expansionist system it upholds. In this year of the 25th anniversary of the Organisation of African Unity, the point has once more been re-



affirmed by our entire continent that it is the obligation of all its peoples to fight for and achieve the total liberation of Africa. This is a goal to which SWAPO, the ANC and the Front Line States are unswervingly committed.

Through its brutal repression within South Africa and Namibia and its campaign of aggression and destabilisation directed at the Front Line and independent states, the racists had hoped that they would impose a Pax Pretoriana on our region. They had hoped that the Namibian and South African masses and their organisations would be reduced to a condition of dormant subservience. They had hoped that the independent states would accept domination by an apartheid South Africa which defines itself as a regional power whose interests must take precedence over everybody else's.

Today it is clear that all these schemes have failed. Only in the last few days, within South Africa and in spite of a virulent state of emergency, we have gone through a massive political struggle in which millions of people participated. Hopefully, this historic re-affirmation of the will of our people to liberate themselves has laid to rest the bucketful of jeremiads, some of them falsely ascribed to our movement, which sought to convince everybody that our struggle has been defeated, the people's organisations smashed and the spirit of the people broken.

The mass political struggle will continue in many forms, regardless of what the racist regime does. And so too will the armed struggle — and that without any apology — because we assert our right to resist and overthrow tyranny in much the same way as the peoples of Europe asserted their right to, and actually took up, arms to resist and overthrow the tyranny of Nazism and fascism. As the people of Europe hailed the British government of the day for coming to their aid rather than denouncing them as terrorists and murderers, so do we too salute those governments which have come to our aid in the struggle to end a crime against humanity.

So do too the people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, who are themselves carrying out an intense political, military and diplomatic struggle for their

liberation. As in South Africa, Pretoria's campaign of terror only serves to strengthen the conviction of the Namibian masses that the sooner they get rid of the murderous colonial regime, which occupies their country illegally, the better.

## **Solidarity Remains Firm**

Pretoria is today engaged in renewed negotiations with the governments of the People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique. The ANC welcomes and supports these initiatives. They are Africa's reward for maintaining its unity in the face of racist terror, for persisting in its principled opposition to apartheid, for its readiness to make all the necessary sacrifices in defence of the independence and sovereignty of its peoples.

We take this opportunity to pay due homage to the African and world forces which have stood by the governments of Angola and Mozambique over the years. In this regard, we wish to make special reference to the Front Line States themselves and others, such as the Republic of Cuba, which have extended invaluable political, military, financial and diplomatic assistance to the governments and peoples of Angola and Mozambique, who have borne the brunt of Pretoria's aggression and, true to their obligations, refused to succumb to terror.

And yet the beast in Pretoria continues to live on. South Africa and Namibia are not yet free. Peace has not dawned over Southern Africa. The developmental needs of our region grow apace. We need your support today to address all these questions in action.

Accordingly, we urge you to continue to struggle for comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa. We request you to extend such support to SWAPO and the ANC as you may find within your means. We commend you for the task you have given yourselves to mobilise for economic assistance for the SADCC countries. We ask that you press the point that, in addition, the Front Line States need to have their defensive capacity strengthened so that they can repulse Pretoria's aggressive war machinery.



# THE PRETORIA REGIME ATTACKS THE PRESS JOURNALISTS FIGHT BACK

By Bronwen Kaplan

**WE BELIEVE**

**Govt warns** **IN FREEDOM OF**  
**THE PRESS.**

*We protest strongly against this action, for an attack on one newspaper is not only an attack on all other papers, but diminishes the civil liberties of all the people of the country.*

**Blacked out** **Censorship**  
**Becomes**  
**Propaganda**

Are Western journalists playing a game of appeasement with the South African government?  
**Victoria Brittain** reports on the American reporters who believe they do

Intent on crushing all opposition to its policies, the apartheid regime has, as one of its major targets, the press in South Africa. What are the implications of this policy for the South African press, for the South African people and for the ANC?

The regime has aimed its attack both at the local press and at foreign journalists, and, in curtailing the press, it has instituted a system of draconian legislation which has considerably narrowed the parameters in which journalists can operate.

The new regulations against the press came in with the recent renewal of the state of emergency, and are very sweeping. Nobody, for instance, is allowed to photograph or film any "security unrest action" without the prior permission of the police and security forces. This includes

"the damage and destruction of property and the killing and injury of people." What this regulation does not openly state, of course, is that the resistance of the people to the instruments of apartheid cannot be reported; nor can the murderous violence of the police.

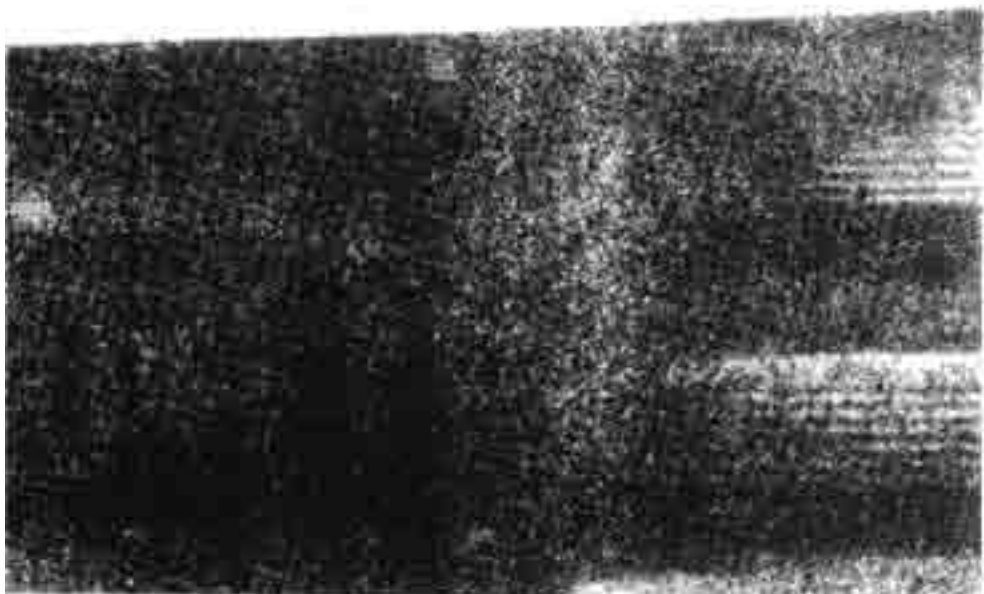
The press is also banned from making "subversive statements." These are defined as being statements calculated to encourage members of the public:

■ to take part in actions "resisting or opposing ... an official of the republic ... or the





Free  
the  
NEW  
NATION!



security forces";

- to take part in a boycott action of any kind;
- to stay away from work, or to strike;
- to attend a restricted gathering;
- to take part in the activities of, or to support, an illegal organisation;
- to support "alternative structures" (such as street committees, education committees, etc).

News agencies are also under the whip. The international wire services are exempt from the new regulations, which are aimed at curtailing the activities of the small, but vigorous, regional agencies. These have been badly hit. In future, all agencies, and the names of all the staff of these agencies, must be registered with the Director-General of Home Affairs. He can de-register the agency or refuse to register individuals when he deems it necessary.

### Reporting Restricted

This move is aimed at agencies that depend for their news gathering on freelancers and occasional stringers. Thus, somebody who has witnessed something on the spot, and who could have been employed by the agency to write it up, is no longer allowed to do so unless registered as a member of staff. The effects of this on reporting out-of-the-way events is obvious. The penalty for contravening the registration law is severe — a fine of R20 000 or a ten-year gaol sentence may be imposed.

These new restrictions mop up any area that is not already covered by existing regulations. They have already been used to attack and disable individual newspapers and magazines, such as *New Nation*, *New Era*, *South*, *Saamstaan*, *The Indicator*, *Work in Progress* and the *Weekly Mail*.

The regime has attempted to contain these publications by a convoluted system of "warnings" aimed at specific articles, to which the Home Affairs Minister, Stoffel Botha, objects. He enjoys unlimited discretion to suspend publication for up to three months. Alternatively to suspension,



the editor can accept the installation of a full-time censor on the premises.

Stoffel Botha's targets, of course, are those publications which, in the words of *New Nation*, "write about the aspirations and desires of the voteless majority." He describes them as "media terrorists." Some refer to them as South Africa's "alternative press."

Both descriptions are disputed by the journalists involved. They say that the phrase "alternative press" implies that they are marginal and not mainstream. In reporting the events that they do, they point out that they alone are reporting the real, the mainstream, news. These reporters also explain that newspapers don't make the news they report, they merely report on it.

But it is not even the way that events in South Africa are reported that is at issue here. It is, in fact, the events themselves that have forced the regime to take such drastic action against the media. The thousands in detention, the children who are tortured, the vigilantes, the boycott movements, the strikes and stayaways, the overall reality of South Africa today can all be reported factually and without bias. The bias lies in the facts themselves. Thus the solution, as the regime sees it, is not to remove the bias from the news, but to remove the news itself. To some extent, it has achieved its aim. Internationally, it has even had some success.

## **Brutality Exposed By Television Cameras**

There is no doubt that in 1985-86, anti-apartheid feeling ran very high in Europe and America. This was when television news was showing daily the battles in the townships, the actions of the police and security forces, and the mass resistance of the people. It was being transmitted, not because of political bias on the part of the television channels, but because it was gripping and dramatic footage of the kind that no discerning editor could ignore.

The fundamental, constant brutality of the apartheid system was exposed as never before. South Africa's western allies and apologists failed miserably in interviews as

they attempted to defend the actions of the regime. Viewers began to ask questions, and demanded answers. Furthermore, they began to demand action, and the sanctions campaign really began to take off. There must have been general relief in western government circles when television coverage and news reporting were severely curtailed.

Britain is an example of this. Since Michael Buerk of the BBC was expelled from South Africa, reporting on South Africa in the British press, with a few honourable exceptions, has been very careful. This has resulted in reportage that is, at its best, uneven and without continuity and, at worst, a rehash of the interpretation of events given out by the regime.

This moribund state of affairs does not apply to some of the press inside the country. Instead of narrowing the perspective, the publications referred to earlier have widened the definition of journalism and reflected the vivacity of the struggle.

*New Nation*, whose three-month ban only recently elapsed, is a prime example of this new journalism. It is published by the Catholic Bishops' Printing Company, and its small staff operates collectively. It ran into trouble from the start, when its editor, Zwelakhe Sisulu, was detained without trial in 1986. He has not been released. Nevertheless, the *New Nation* gained strength, confidence and readership. Because its writers are part of the community struggling for freedom, the reporting cannot help but reflect it. But *New Nation* goes beyond reporting hard news. It is aware that it is providing a voice to the voiceless. Its features include *Learning Nation*, a literacy campaign described by *New Nation* as "the right to bridge the deficiencies of apartheid education." Its history pages and book reviews have gone a long way in putting right the distorted view of South African history that people are taught.

## **The People Know About Their Own Suffering**

The *New Nation* does not see itself as a radical newspaper. When it was finally banned, the *New Nation* placed in the



*Weekly Mail* a full-page advertisement, explaining its position. The statement ended:

*"But the government needs to be warned that the flow of information cannot be suppressed for ever — even in the most repressive societies.*

*"They need to know that we do not need press reports or "outside agitators" to inform us of our oppression, the indignities to which we are subjected or our lack of opportunity.*

*"Nobody needs to tell South Africans they are suffering. Every time a person is detained, every time an organisation is restricted, every time a newspaper is banned, they are made aware of that."*

Acting editor Gabu Tugwana went further when he stated:

*"In fact, the New Nation in its current form would have no place in a truly non-racial, democratic society. Ironically, it is the existence of Botha's apartheid government that necessitates its existence."*

The first issue of *New Nation* that came out after the ban elapsed was sold out in minutes. The issue was described by the *London Independent* as "making few concessions to government pressure." As Tugwana said:

*"We've tried our level best to take all precautions to avoid government action. But unfortunately we can't publish the type of message the government wants to hear. We can't help that."*

It is clear that the *New Nation* remains the vanguard of courageous reporting in South Africa. How much longer it can last will remain to be seen.

## **Suitcase Printing?**

Other community publications have received the same treatment, particularly *South* and *New Era*. In an interview with the *Star* of May 16th 1988, the editor of *South*, Rashid Seria, predicted:

*"... the development of a 'suitcase press' which would print news using primitive equipment that could be carried in a*

*suitcase ... We are either going to be forced out of business or the country will see a situation where publications are going to flourish underground, as happened in the fifties."*

In fact, there are few illusions about the impact of this assault on the media. Of the banning of *New Nation* Tugwana said:

*"Don't underestimate what the government did. The other papers got the message. Coverage of the townships disappeared ... By closing us down the government definitely achieved their immediate goal."*

Fighting the legislation has resulted in the formation of the Save the Press Campaign, drawn from all parts of the community. It includes journalists working for the established press, including some from women's magazines. The journalists have also formed the Association of Democratic Journalists, with the initiative of:

*"... protecting media workers and journalistic practice from (being) hindered in meeting their journalistic response to society."*

On the face of it, the situation for the press in South Africa can only deteriorate. It is clear that the regime is using the silencing of the press to denigrate the successes of the people's struggle. It is also engaged in a pathetic attempt to distance the ANC from the people. This is not possible. As Zwelakhe Sisulu explained in an interview shortly before his arrest:

*"The ANC exists in South Africa. It is laughable that the government believes that the ANC is still banned ... I would say that the ANC exists because the majority of the people support their ideals. They also support the Freedom Charter and Nelson Mandela. I don't think you can be more supportive of the ANC than that."*

Of course, our press will be free to tell the truth only when the other freedoms have been won. We can expect no mercy from the regime. It is out to crush the ANC by all possible means. With the media almost in its grasp, it is up to us to spread our message.



# THE MESSINA TWO



## CAPTURED FREEDOM FIGHTERS

By Jean Middleton

On April 5th this year, two more soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe were sentenced to death. They were Mthetheleli Zephaniah Mncube, aged 28, and Mzondeleli Euclid Nondula, aged 25. Their comrades had been shot dead. All should have been treated as prisoners of war.

Mncube and Nondula were tried by Judge de Villiers and two assessors in the circuit court at Messina in the Northern Transvaal.

Mncube got three death sentences. He was found guilty of laying mines that had led to the death of a passenger in a cement truck in November 1985; also of the killing of two policemen after he had been arrested in December 1986. Nondula was sentenced to death no less than six times, for placing land mines that led to the deaths of six members of the De Nysschen and Van Eck families in December 1985. Both men were also given 25 years each for attempted murder and treason.

The two were first arrested early in 1987, and held in detention under Section 29 of the Internal Security Act till they were brought before a magistrate in July.

On December 26th and 27th 1986, local police and commandos were looking for five alleged guerrillas who had been seen near Messina on Christmas Day. On the 26th, the police shot three men, and later testified that one of them, hiding among the rocks, had tried to throw a grenade.

### **Brave and Resourceful Soldier**

A few minutes after these killings, they found Mncube. He tried to escape, but they caught him and took him prisoner, forcing him to strip to make sure he was unarmed. He was handed over to Warrant Officer Gerber and Sergeant Nel of the security police, who tied his hands with shoelaces and loaded him into the back of a Buffel van with the bodies of his three dead comrades, and their rifles. This brave and resourceful soldier had not given up the fight; while the van was being driven along the road, he succeeded in freeing his hands enough to take up one of the rifles and shoot both security policemen dead. He then escaped.

He walked at night and hid in the bush during the day, when the temperature was 33 degrees. With virtually no food or water, he was recaptured about a week later, within ten kilometres of the Zimbabwean border, starving and severely dehydrated.

A fifth man was shot dead on the 27th by a commando corporal.



Nondula was not part of the group of five, which was presumably why the state did not try to prove common purpose between him and Mncube. He was arrested separately in Bophuthatswana. The South African police claimed they had arrested him on January 2nd 1987, when he was handed over to them at the border by the Bophuthatswana police, who had held him as a suspected member of the ANC. He was interrogated continuously for days. Later, in court, the police claimed he had shown them places where mines had been laid in 1985 and 1986, and the court accepted a confession he was supposed to have made to a magistrate in Groot Marico. He was not examined by a doctor, but after interrogation was forced to strip naked for photographs — to show he was unmarked, the police said.

## **Police Claim "Humane" Treatment**

Mncube, too, was convicted on the basis of a statement he was alleged to have made in detention; a Lieutenant de Lange said he had "willingly" pointed out several places to him, and identified footprints.

The police claimed both men had been treated "humanely," but the defence asserted that they had been tortured, and argued that the statements they had made in detention were therefore not admissible as evidence.

It was claimed that Mncube had been beaten and kicked, that police had trampled on his stomach and then made him eat his own excrement; that he had been thrown, chained, into a thorny bush; that he had been given no food or water.

A picture taken of him the day after his arrest showed his face was swollen. Giving evidence, Warrant Officer Franken said he had looked like that when he was arrested. There was no photograph to prove this, and Franken was contradicted by Major Linden of military intelligence, who said the injuries had not been there when he first saw Mncube on January 3rd. The photograph also showed that parts of Mncube's hair were missing.

In fact, the trial offered more than one insight into the methods of the police, their contempt for all ethics, for the rule of law, for the laws of evidence and for the truth. When the defence complained that it had been unable to get hold of the police notebooks from the time of the arrests, a Captain Strydom said that the Beit Bridge security police keep no records of arrests and that members are not required to keep personal notebooks; that the only records kept are vehicle log books. The state made the astonishing claim that the police notebooks, if produced in court, could prejudice the state case; and the judge refused to issue what he called a "blanket order" in support of the defence application.

Again, the defence reported that while the trial was in progress a certain Warrant Officer Venter, against whom it was later to allege gross misconduct, had been acting as the bodyguard of the judge. The judge said Venter had travelled with him in the car once or twice, but he would not have allowed it if he had known Venter was to be a witness in the case.

## **Medical Attention for Prisoners**

The evidence of a Dr Pistorius, doing his military service with the SADF, cast light on the kind of medical attention available to detainees in South Africa. This young man said he had examined Mncube soon after his arrest, and had seen no marks of assault on him, though he had seen scratches, which he hadn't asked Mncube about: "I took it as accepted," he said. He said he had found Mncube "calm and cool," and had been satisfied that his mental state was normal, but under cross-examination admitted he had given no test to confirm this. He couldn't have done — it seems he didn't ask Mncube anything at all; for he also admitted he hadn't asked the prisoner's name, age and medical history, nor for an account of other injuries or complaints: "I told him I'm a doctor from the army and I'm going to examine him. I did not speak to him again," he said.

At first, Mncube and Nondula faced 41 charges altogether, but during the trial three were dropped — high treason, par-



icipating in terrorist activities and distributing banned publications. Among the charges against Nondula were 22 for the attempted murder of the 22 survivors of the explosions, and lengthy evidence was led from some of these survivors.

## **Propaganda Trial**

The case for the prosecution and, indeed, the whole trial, with its multiple charges and ultimately its multiple sentences, was clearly constructed to dramatise the land mine explosions of two years before. The prosecution presented a picture the regime wishes to project, of the sufferings of the beleaguered White farmers, and the state's concern for them; one witness, G J de Villiers, claimed the farmers lived under "perpetual tension."

Reporters from all over the country crowded into the court room. Security precautions were massive and conspicuous. The accused, their legs chained, were transported to and from the court in a convoy of police vehicles. There were dogs and metal detectors, and a police helicopter hovered above the court. Roads were closed off. Spectators were given body searches, and police demanded that Black spectators show their pass books.

Their bearing in court, what they said and what was said about them, all marked Mncube and Nondula as impressive people, of substantial courage, political awareness and political commitment. The indictment stated that Nondula had been arrested on his way back to South Africa, having been instructed to make contacts there and form political and military groups. Two renegades, formerly ANC members, who gave state evidence, testified that they had known both men — they said Mncube had been known as 'Caesar' and Nondula as 'Gaba' — and one of them said he had known Nondula as a political instructor in Angola.

## **Firm, Principled, Defiant**

The statements and actions of the accused men were firm, principled and defiant. Both

denied all charges on the grounds that, as they were soldiers under military orders, such charges could not apply to them. Mncube stated that he should have been treated as a soldier when he was captured.

After judgment was given, the argument in mitigation took the form of a political statement, emphasising the guilt of the regime, the justice of the cause Mncube and Nondula were fighting for, and the right of captured freedom fighters to the status of prisoners of war. Among the witnesses called here by the defence were the Reverend Frank Chikane of the South African Council of Churches, Professor John Dugard, director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand, and Mncube himself.

Mncube told the story of his life: of poverty, deprivation, racial discrimination. He said he had left South Africa in search of a better education, but once in Mozambique had joined the ANC and then Umkhonto We Sizwe. He said he was proud of being a member of the ANC, and that if he were released he would carry on with its mission. He said he was a trained and disciplined soldier; not a violent person, but one who had been forced to kill, especially the two soldiers in the truck. He blamed the violence in South Africa on the regime, and said his mission was to end it; that if he was a murderer, so were members of the SADF who had attacked the ANC in other countries, but who had not been brought to court.

Nondula declared he concurred with everything his comrade had said.

In 1985, when Norbert Buthelezi, Robert Dumisa, Wilfred Maphumulo and James Maropeng were charged with being members of Umkhonto We Sizwe, they demanded prisoner of war status and refused to recognise the court, saying, "This is not a people's court." Likewise, Mncube said he did not recognise the laws of South Africa, the court that was trying him, nor the judge. When, at the beginning of the trial, he was offered *pro deo* counsel, he refused, saying these were "government lawyers."

Professor Dugard pointed out that, as a trained soldier subject to his military commander and to military discipline, visible, wearing uniform and openly carrying arms,



Mncube fell into the category of combatant as defined in the Geneva protocols, and was therefore entitled to be treated as a prisoner of war.

A Major Oosthuizen, testifying that ANC guerrillas always wore blue or green overalls, had confirmed the argument about uniform. Also, the state had accepted a certain type of footprint as belonging to the kind of footwear worn by guerrillas. The traitor witnesses had confirmed Dugard's argument by saying that the objectives of Umkhonto We Sizwe were installations and military and police personnel — military objectives, in fact.

It is overwhelmingly clear that the Messina region, where the land mines were laid and where Mncube and Nondula are supposed to have operated, is a war zone, and that all people present there are involved in this war.

In a carefully researched article in *Sechaba* of May 1986, J K Mathebula dealt with this question. He argued that the regime itself had heavily fortified this area of the Transvaal, partly to defend the border against Umkhonto We Sizwe but chiefly to be ready to mount attacks on Zimbabwe. He pointed out that the roads in that part of the country had been renovated to allow for movement of troops, and in some cases had been converted into aircraft runways; that the Promotion of Density of Population in Designated Areas Act stipulated that all White farmers in the area must undergo military training, be members of the local commandos and be under military orders; that even White teachers were being trained to train White school children in military tactics. He wrote:

*"As for the explosion of land mines planted by the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe in the north-western Transvaal, in which some farmers and their relatives, as well as soldiers, lost their lives and others were injured, it is only detractors of our struggle ... who dare accuse the ANC of killing 'poor innocent civilians.' They know very well that it is the regime that took the first step towards obliterating the distinction between the civil and the military, when it deliberately decided to declare those areas military zones, and proceeded to*

*incorporate the White farmers into its military defence and security network."*

What he said was borne out in the Messina trial. Captain Bester testified that the area near Messina and Beit Bridge was known as the Soutpansberg Military Area, and was patrolled regularly; Warrant Officer Reynecke defined as a military area, "any area where military patrols are carried out." The witness, J V Raal, a local farmer, was also a corporal in the local commando; the witness, De Nysschen, another farmer and one of the survivors of the land mine explosions, said all local farmers were in the commandos and were trained in the use of arms.

One state witness spoke of a "low intensity war." The Johannesburg *Sunday Times* of May 5th 1988 commented that the existence of this war, formerly a military secret, had at last been revealed to the South African public because details of it had been used as evidence in open court.

## **Prisoner of War Status**

Mncube and Nondula are trained soldiers, and were carrying out their duties in an operational area during time of war. There is therefore no moral or legal reason why they should not be treated as prisoners of war.

All captured soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe are entitled to this status. Of all soldiers they have the finest cause — they are fighting, not to subjugate other countries, but for the freedom of their own. The African National Congress has signed the Geneva Protocols and undertaken to give prisoner of war status to captured enemy soldiers; the apartheid regime should acknowledge reality and do the same.

It should be forced to do so by the indignation and the campaigning of the South African people and the people of the world.

At the time of our writing this, two other acknowledged soldiers of Umkhonto We Sizwe are also on death row: Robert McBride and Senele Masuko.





# WOMEN IN THE HISTORY OF OUR STRUGGLE

From the beginning, women have played their part in the South African freedom struggle: in the Bantu Women's League of the early days, in the ANC Women's League and the ANC Women's Section, in the trade unions, and side by side with men in all the liberation organisations.

The names of many leaders are recorded, and we show pictures of some of them on this page, but we remember always that the strength of the movement has lain in the courage and militancy of thousands of women over the years, and most of their names will never be known. These women made the numbers in the great anti-pass demonstrations. As workers, they stood firm in the strikes. They gave out leaflets; walked from house to house organising; took the risks of illegal political work. They worked unselfishly, seeking no glory, taking for others in prison; they went to prison themselves. Some gave their lives. Because of them, our struggle swelled and grew.

Today, on August 9th, we honour them and remember them with pride.





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## THE ARMED STRUGGLE CONTINUES

There has been a lot of speculation recently. The western press suggests that the ANC has "started on a new course." They even suggest that the ANC is replacing mass political work with "terrorism" — the ANC is about to ditch the masses.

Nothing is further from the truth. What is being neglected is that in South Africa there is a war going on, and in a war situation formulas are not very useful. The question of armed struggle, with all its rigours, remains permanent in our thinking.

War is a difficult matter. It is not playing a politics game. What is happening in South Africa today is just the beginning, the signs of bigger things to come.

When thousands of Blacks — including children — have been massacred in the past few years, we are now being told that the ANC is using "terrorism." It is these double standards that worry us.

The second world war ended half a century ago. The victims were civilians. We are not suggesting that in South Africa there is a world war going on. We are far from saying that more civilians will be victims — but if that is the price we have to pay, we are prepared to pay it. We are prepared to pay any price for our liberation.

The ANC has friends all over the world. Some are closer to the ANC than others.

Others are distant admirers of the ANC. Some of these distant admirers are complicated friends. They stand on the cliff, seeing an Alsatian chase a half-naked African (half-naked because he has no money to buy clothes).

These friends, when they see this spectacle, scream out, "Oh! That dog is going to tear that man to pieces!" When the African turns round and stabs the dog to death, they scream, "Oh! What a beautiful dog that was!"

In South Africa, we, the oppressed, are not standing on the cliff. We are being chased by the Alsatian. We have no time to be admiring an Alsatian. We are not just dying for liberation. We have decided to kill for liberation.

We expect the international community to respond, and respect our decisions and demands. People support us, not because of our actions internationally (though these are important), but because of what we do inside the country. For people to support us effectively they must know us. To know us they must accept our policies. We have decided on armed struggle, and armed struggle is there, with all the problems.

We expect the international community to be in line with the thinking and actions of our people.



# ANC INTERNATIONAL



*Anti-apartheid demonstrators in Tokyo, May 15th 1988.*

## **Japan: ANC Office Opened**

The ANC now has offices in close on 40 countries around the world: in Africa, Asia, Western Europe, Eastern Europe, Canada and the USA, the Caribbean and Australia. These offices are co-ordinated from our head office in Lusaka, Zambia.

The ANC also has full-time observer status and active participation in 11 regional, continental and international organisations, including the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Peace Council and the Organisation of African Unity.

Now that the ANC has now opened an office in Tokyo, with Comrade Jerry Matsila as Chief Representative, there are ANC offices in all the Group of Seven industrial countries, of which Japan is an important

member. Japan is a major trading partner of the apartheid regime, and occupies a central place in our international mobilisation for mandatory and comprehensive sanctions.

The ANC representation in Japan draws huge attention, and the question of apartheid has returned to public debate. On May 15th, thousands of Japanese took to the streets of central Tokyo, demanding total trade boycott, sanctions, and the release of political prisoners. Almost all major political parties, trade unions, religious and anti-apartheid groups have pledged overall support for the ANC in our struggle for national liberation. Many Japanese politicians, mayors and activists in the anti-apartheid movement remember the visit of President Tambo in 1987. The film, *Cry Freedom*, also made a big impression in Japan.

The office opened officially on May 25th,



Africa Liberation Day. A press conference was attended by over 50 local and foreign correspondents in Tokyo, representing almost all fields of the media. There was consequently immense coverage in the newspapers and on television and radio.

These were among the points made at the press conference:

■ The ANC office will articulate the plight of the oppressed majority, and the people's aspirations as embodied in the Freedom Charter. It will explain what the apartheid system means, how it operates and how it is maintained, so that Japanese people understand how it is to be discriminated against on grounds of race, nationally oppressed and exploited. The Japanese public and the entire Far East in general will have to be informed about the true history of our struggle, as against the distorted version propagated by Pretoria.

■ Children are in prison — and new-born babies increase the prison population as they remain with their mothers. Thousands of patriots remain behind bars. Great leaders of our people remain silenced. The demand for Nelson Mandela's release echoes round the world. A voice as big as that of Mount Fuji is needed in Japan — *Let the Children Go! Set Mandela Free!*

■ The notion that business is business and not politics is unacceptable to the democratic majority in South Africa. We are trampled upon daily in the name of business and trade. The South African situation is extraordinary, and extraordinary decisions are needed. We call for rethinking from the Japanese government and from business corporations. Business corporations must disengage from apartheid or else share responsibility for its crimes. *Cut links with apartheid!*

## **Netherlands Call for Sanctions**

Over 50 000 protesters marched in Amsterdam, capital of the Netherlands, on June 11th, in the largest anti-apartheid demonstration in Dutch history. The demonstration, organised by Broad Platform Against Apartheid (BOTA), ended in a vast rally, with speeches and cultural performances.

Dick Dolman, Chairman of the Dutch parliament, addressed the rally, criticising apartheid policies in the strongest terms.

Dr Allan Boesak, who spoke in fluent Dutch and made a deep impression on the demonstrators, urged sanctions, saying that KLM, the Dutch airline, should fly to Harare, Maputo and Botswana instead of to Johannesburg, and that Shell, the Dutch-based multinational, should withdraw from South Africa:

*"We cannot allow Shell to continue to fuel the Casspirs that are sent into the Black townships. We cannot allow Shell to fuel the planes of the South African Defence Force, which is attacking Angola and Mozambique to kill innocent civilians in those Front Line States."*

Speaking on behalf of the ANC, Comrade Pallo Jordan talked about the recent massive three-day stayaway in South Africa, saying that the people of South Africa will continue to resist, that they will crush the forthcoming elections in South Africa, and that the ANC will continue to resist. He called upon the people of the Netherlands to put an end to the collaboration with apartheid of Dutch firms like Phillips and Shell.

The role of Shell was mentioned in many of the speeches.

Comrade Andimba Toivo ja Toivo, General Secretary of SWAPO, stressed that the South African government still refuses to obey UN Resolution 435, and is using talks with Angola and the Cubans as a strategy for buying time.

The demonstration was also supported by the President of the Dutch Federation of Trade Unions, by representatives of the Dutch Council of Churches and of various political parties, by the mayor of Amsterdam and the Dutch actor, Jeroen Krabbé.

## **UK AAM Demands Mandela's Release**

To mark Nelson Mandela's 70th birthday, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement has launched its Nelson Mandela Freedom at 70 Campaign. Ismail Ayob, legal adviser to the Mandelas, was present at the launch, and brought with him a video message



from Winnie Mandela.

The President of the AAM, Trevor Huddleston CR, issued a statement, saying:

*"The message of our campaign is simple. Nelson Mandela must be free — and with him all South African and Namibian political prisoners. We want to so focus our efforts that through our concerted action we achieve our objective."*

Part of the campaign was the huge Nelson Mandela 70th Birthday Tribute put on by Artists Against Apartheid at Wembley Stadium in London on June 11th; a ten-hour concert televised in over 60 countries.

The next day, in the greatest anti-apartheid event ever seen in Scotland, the Nelson Mandela Freedom March set off from Glasgow, and, at the time of our going to press, is still proceeding through Scotland and England to a rally in London.

## **Archbishop Huddleston's Birthday Honoured**

A central hall in London was packed to capacity to celebrate Archbishop Trevor Huddleston's 75th birthday on June 13th 1988.

Tributes, telegrams and messages came from all over the world, honouring this great supporter of the liberation struggle of the oppressed people of Namibia and South Africa. Abdul Minty, Honorary Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, read brief extracts from some of the messages. There was also a videoed birthday message from Winnie Mandela.

Two special guests were President Tambo of the ANC and the Secretary-General of SWAPO, Andimba Toivo ja Toivo. Other distinguished guests sharing the platform included three British MPs — Robert Hughes, David Steel and the leader of the British Labour Party, Neil Kinnock.

Archbishop Huddleston's links with South Africa began in 1943 when he was sent there as a parish priest to Sophiatown, Pimville and Orlando. He spent 13 years in South Africa. Comrade Tambo, outlining the role and current plight of South Africa, paid tribute to him. Comrade Tambo became a close friend of "Father" Hud-

dleston, as he is popularly known, and deeply valued his relationship with him. Trevor Huddleston also became a close friend of Mandela and many others in the liberation struggle during the Defiance Campaign of 1952. Since Nelson Mandela's imprisonment he has never stopped campaigning for his release.

In 1955, alongside Dr Yusuf Dadoo, leader of the Transvaal Indian Congress and later Chairman of the South African Communist Party and Chief Albert Luthuli, President of the ANC and Nobel Peace Prize winner, was awarded the Isitwalandwe Medal, the highest order of the ANC, at the historic Kliptown Congress of the People. He said that his Medal was the only material possession that he really treasured.

His powerful and controversial book, *Naught For Your Comfort*, had tremendous impact and inspired many people who read it.

In 1956, his order, the Community of the Resurrection, recalled him to England, and so he narrowly missed being one of the accused in the Treason Trial.

In 1960 he was appointed Bishop of Masasi in southern Tanzania (then Tanganyika) where he became a close friend of President Julius Nyerere.

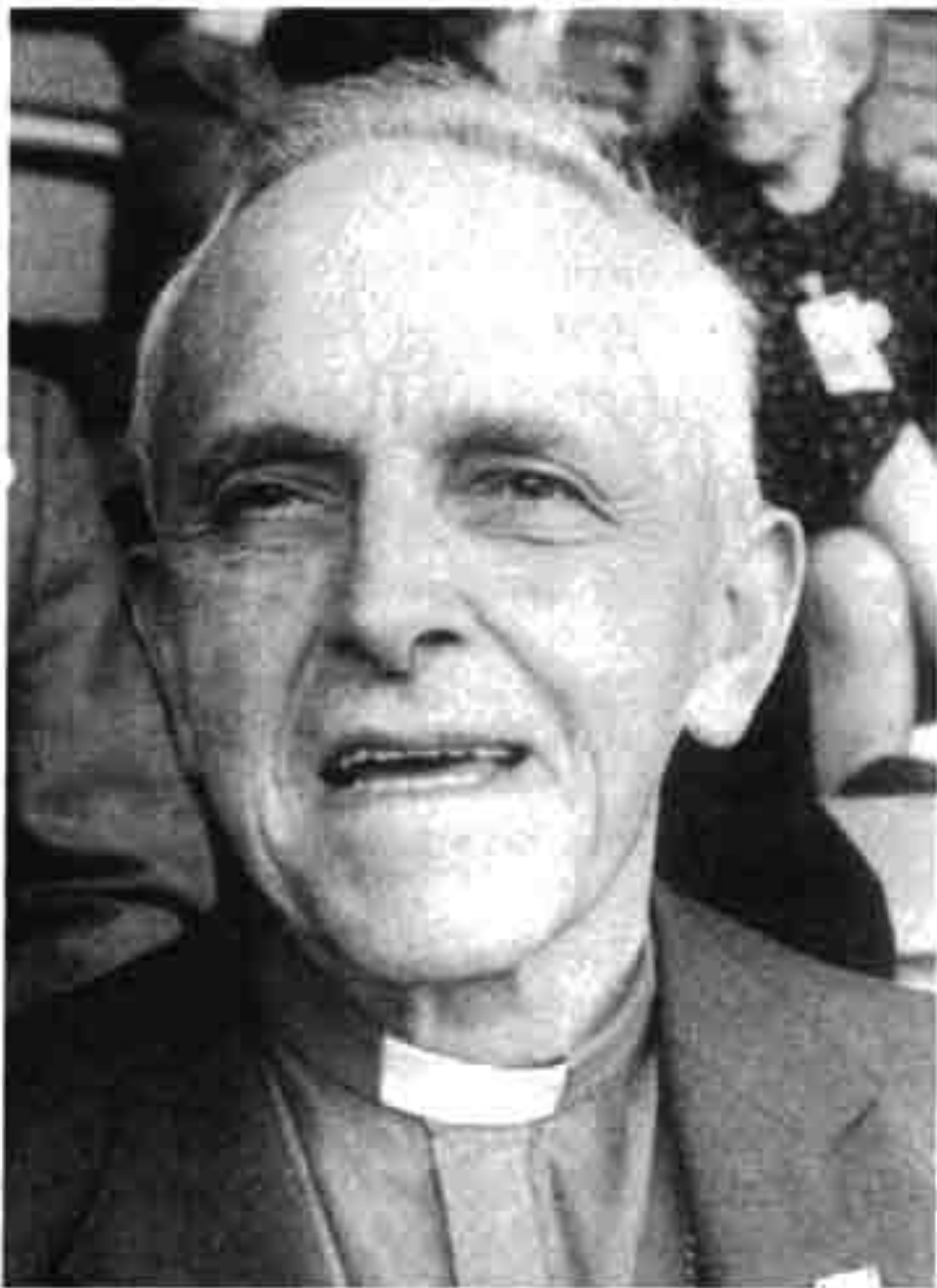
In 1978 he was appointed Archbishop of the Indian Ocean, based in Mauritius. Sir Shridath Ramphal, Secretary-General of the Commonwealth countries, said, "He was the parish priest of the global village." This was because of Father Huddleston's view that religious differences could be overcome by uniting in a spirit of world peace.

He finally returned to Britain, officially to retire, but became the President of the AAM and Chairman of the International Defence and Aid Fund.

Archbishop Huddleston has been particularly concerned for the children in South Africa. Last year he was the convenor of the Harare Conference on Children of South Africa.

Dear Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, we salute you on your 75th birthday. May a later birthday be celebrated in the free and democratic South Africa for which we all yearn. What a wonderful birthday present that would be.





*Left: Archbishop Huddleston*

*Below: the start of the Freedom March in Glasgow on June 12th, with Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo of SWAPO, Archbishop Huddleston, President Tambo of the ANC, the Rev Allan Boesak, Bob Hughes MP, Chairman of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, and others.*





# ZOLA BUDD BANNED

By Sam Ramsamy

The activities of South African athlete, Zola Budd, masquerading with a British passport of convenience, were, at last, checked by the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) in April of this year. Sam Ramsamy, of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee, recalls the details of this episode in the history of our campaign to isolate South Africa in the field of sport, and discusses some of the political alignments involved.

Zola Budd was granted a British passport in April 1984 under most devious circumstances. The right-wing British Government of Mrs Margaret Thatcher processed Budd's passport application in a record time of ten days. This was condemned as a deliberate attempt to undermine the international boycott of South African sport. The pro-South-African British Amateur Athletics Board (BAAB) welcomed Budd with open arms, immediately permitted her to compete in Britain, and selected her for the Los Angeles Olympic Games.

African countries initially gave Zola Budd the benefit of the doubt. As they expected her to cut off her links with South Africa and remain permanently in Britain, they did not protest at her participation in the 1984 Olympic Games.

However, immediately after the Games, Budd returned to South Africa and she remained there till December 1984. A month earlier she announced through *Die Volksblad*, an Afrikaans-language newspaper in Bloemfontein:

*"For a couple of reasons I have decided to stay in South Africa, and it is mainly because I enjoy my athletics here much more. It was always important for me to enjoy my athletics, and I hope in the coming years to mean something to South African athletics. The experience in Britain was instructive, but I choose rather to stay in South Africa."*

This announcement greatly disturbed South African sports administrators, who had hoped that Budd's participation in international athletics would help propagate their activities abroad. The president of the Orange Free State Cricket Union, Ewie Cronje, said her decision was a setback for

everyone who had striven to improve the sporting image of South Africa in the rest of the world. The pro-regime English-language newspaper, *The Citizen*, said South Africans had hoped that:

*"for her native land and its athletes she would be able to continue to show the world, not only what a sensational athlete she is, but how disgraceful it is to bar other athletes from South Africa from having the same opportunity to participate in international competition."*

South African sports officials tried to coerce her back into international athletics. Athletics officials called for a "friendly ban" on her, and provincial associations were asked to stop her competing in South Africa. An official of the BAAB was immediately rushed to South Africa to persuade her not to compete there.

## Move to Circumvent the Ban

A deal was made whereby she would live in South Africa but retain her British citizenship and commute to selected race meetings overseas. This was a sinister move to circumvent the international ban on South African athletics. Ever since then, Budd has been a willing agent for the propapaganda machine of apartheid South Africa.

Thereafter, protests against her international participation began to intensify. The British Anti-Apartheid Movement organised demonstrations at several venues where she was competing. She was banned from participating in the 1986



Commonwealth Games held in Edinburgh in Scotland. Several countries, including Hungary, Sweden and Norway, refused to invite her to competitions. But British athletics officials ignored all protests, and continued to allow her to compete under British colours. She continued to reside in South Africa and began expanding her links with South African sports officials. All her *de facto* advisers and coaches were South Africans. She even had the audacity to become involved in several race meetings in South Africa.

## Known as a South African

In 1987 Budd's coach, mentor and adviser was Fanie van Zijl, a former South African athlete, who, as Mayor of Randfontein, had said of her in 1985:

*"She may be a British athlete, but the world knows her as a South African. Zola has given this country the best publicity possible, publicity that in monetary terms is worth millions of rands. In view of this, I would ask everyone in the country to support her, because she is helping South Africa."*

*"We must unite and use our contacts and friends overseas to assist the athletes, we must get them other passports, like Zola did, so they can show the world what South Africans can do ... An athlete's career lasts five, maybe ten, years. So what, if they relinquish their citizenship for that period? They will still be South Africans, who can come home when their careers end."*

The matter came to a head in March of this year, when Budd was included in the British team to compete in the world cross-country championships in Auckland, New Zealand. The New Zealand anti-apartheid movement, Halt All Racist Tours (HART) called on its government and its athletics association to ban Budd from competing. HART threatened massive demonstrations if she was allowed to compete. The Supreme Council for Sport in Africa (SCSA) called on all African and friendly countries to boycott the event if the IAAF allowed Budd to participate. The African Amateur

Athletic Confederation (AAAC) said that her involvement in South Africa was a breach of the IAAF rules. The IAAF immediately asked the BAAB to withdraw her from any further competition pending a meeting of its Council in London on April 14th.

To save face and retain her credibility, Budd announced that she would voluntarily withdraw from the event in Auckland, but maintained that she was "innocent of breaking any rule whatever." This cynical piece of manoeuvring was generated to give the impression that she had made a great sacrifice to save the cross-country event from mass withdrawals, but one British newspaper, *The Guardian*, appropriately headed a story on her withdrawal, "Budd Jumps Before She Is Pushed."

At the IAAF Council meeting in London in April, the president of the IAAC, Lamine Diack, who is also the Deputy Speaker of the Senegalese National Assembly, presented a detailed list of Budd's activities in South Africa. Budd herself also submitted an affidavit about the time she had spent in South Africa during 1987. The meeting decided unanimously that she was in breach of the principles of the IAAF rules, and the Council asked the BAAB to suspend her from international competition for at least one year. The IAAF Council also stated that it was:

*"... not satisfied by the manner in which the BAAB has regulated the conduct of their athlete, Zola Budd."*

It implied that Britain could be suspended from further international activity if the Board did not take appropriate measures against Budd.

## Raw Right-Wing Nerves

This was obviously too much for the British Board and the British right wing to take — it was as if a raw nerve had been touched. Misleading information, that Budd would be asked to give evidence to the Council before any decision on her was taken, exacerbated the situation further. So when the decision was announced without her being



called to answer questions (apparently she had waited for ten hours at the London hotel where the meeting was held) the IAAF received the full wrath of the British right-wing press.

The IAAF was accused of being "blackmailed" by the African countries. One British official even stated that the IAAF had been indulging in "banana republic politics."

More surprising was the fact that the British Board pretended they had not been warned that Zola Budd's residence in South Africa might be in breach of the rules of international athletics. Sadly, the IAAF office in London made no attempt to correct this misinformation. Nor was the press told that the IAAF Council does not, as a rule, call in athletes to explain their conduct. This explanation had to be given by IAAF member countries. However, the British Board, a member of IAAF, was given the opportunity to explain Zola Budd's conduct.

## Not An Innocent

The banning of Budd inflicted a real pain on the White South African community, that yearns for international sports contacts. Not surprisingly, White South Africa joined in the condemnation of the IAAF decision. Budd was portrayed as an innocent young girl who had fallen prey to:

*"... a savage desire to sacrifice this waif of a girl in the fires of a consuming hatred of South Africa."*

The overwhelming majority of the Black British community supported the decision to ban Budd. So did parliamentarians of the British Labour Party. Labour MP Diane Abbott, one of only four Black parliamentarians in Britain, said that Budd, far from being a poor little girl, was:

*"... in fact a walking, talking and running public relations stunt for apartheid in Southern Africa."*

Conservative MP Robert Adley also supported the ban, saying:

*"She is anything but an innocent waif. She has consistently cocked a snook at*

*Britain. She has abused her British passport, which she has used to merely further the political and pecuniary ambitions of her sponsors. She is South African."*

In May, the situation was further hyped when Budd decided to return to South Africa, claiming nervous exhaustion. Her return, carefully planned by her advisers, evoked great sympathy. African sports leaders and anti-apartheid campaigners were viciously attacked from some quarters for unjustly hounding "a helpless girl," and forcing her to quit international athletics.

But the motivating factor behind her departure to her native South Africa was not nervous exhaustion. She had long contemplated instituting legal action to reverse the IAAF decision. The legal advice she obtained a day before her departure indicated that any court action would be extremely lengthy and complicated, and she was not assured that a ruling would be in her favour. A few days earlier, some newspapers had published photographs of her being formally presented with a bunch of flowers during an athletics meeting in South Africa. This evidence conflicted sharply with her affidavit given to the IAAF. In this affidavit she had stated that she was on a bicycle at a road race when she was unexpectedly presented with a bunch of flowers by a small girl.

There is no doubt that Zola Budd did suffer from nervous exhaustion. But that was brought upon her by herself and her many advisers — both South African and British. Budd wanted the best of both worlds. As a thoroughbred Afrikaner of the Dutch Reformed Church, she knew full well the significance and ramifications of apartheid. She also wanted the exposure and financial benefits of international athletics, which apartheid could not offer.

She tried walking the tightrope. She cleverly avoided condemnation of apartheid by elevating the abhorrent system to a respectable political philosophy. The tightrope was too long for her to sustain. She was forced to return to her nest in Bloemfontein. The question is whether this return is permanent or temporary.



# PEOPLE'S WAR AND NEGOTIATIONS ARE THEY FIRE AND WATER?

By Alex Mashinini

This article is a further contribution to the debate on the political and military struggle in South Africa, and the question of state power.

The past two years or so have seen a new phenomenon in the development of the liberation struggle in South Africa. There have been talks about talks, talks about negotiations, talks about post-apartheid South Africa and many more talks. To be indifferent to these developments, we believe, would be to fail to prepare ourselves for any eventuality.

In his interview given to the UK *Observer* of March 3rd 1967, Joe Slovo said:

*"I believe that the transition in South Africa is going to come through negotiations. In fact, I venture to guess that within six months of mandatory international sanctions being introduced, Botha or his successor will be sitting round the table."*

It appears that these developments have obliged the liberation movement to adjust certain of its tactics and forms of struggle to adapt to this increasingly changing political terrain. The conditions of struggle are changing continuously, and they are fluid and difficult to observe.

A relatively new concept, that of a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict, has already won itself a prominent position in the political vocabulary of the country. This concept (not to be confused with that of a process of negotiations) has already entrenched itself and is destined to play an increasingly important role in South African politics.

To understand this concept we should not discard as irrelevant other concepts, which have an important role to play in shaping the outcome of the conflict in our country. It would therefore be wrong to treat this concept in isolation.

## South Africa: a Stalemate?

The thesis has been put forward of a stalemate in the South African conflict; one said to be providing favourable material conditions for the warring parties to cease all hostilities and begin a process of negotiations. It is suggested that such concepts as armed struggle, people's war and so on are becoming increasingly irrelevant, and will have to be abandoned. It is argued that should the 'reality' of a stalemate be ignored by the warring parties, hostilities will be prolonged and can lead only to a futile war of attrition entailing untold loss of lives, and that this 'obvious' political irresponsibility should be rejected and condemned on moral grounds.

To us, who are engaged in effecting the democratisation of our country, the most important questions here are: Are these new developments peripheral? If not, are they making it justifiable and necessary to review some of the building stones of our political and strategic line? Above all, are there irreconcilable contradictions between such concepts as people's war and a negotiated settlement, between the armed seizure of power on the one hand, and, on the other, our strategic objective of the transfer of political power from the racist White minority regime into the hands of the democratic majority?

## The Philosophical Conception Of Revolutionary War

It is important to study the positions of the



liberation movement on our philosophical conception of armed struggle and the use of revolutionary violence.

The national liberation movement headed by the ANC has, from the very foundation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, seen and employed revolutionary violence as a means, and force as an instrument, to reach its goal. It is therefore necessary to put more emphasis on the relationship, the dialectic of means and ends, in our revolutionary war. That is, we should always guard against the tempting tendency to treat means and ends in a war situation as identical. Means are determined by conditions (either negative or positive) under which the ends can be achieved.

If, therefore, we removed those conditions which were responsible for making the use of force unavoidable, and still achieved our end goal, any recourse to force and violence would appear irrelevant and amount to a deviation from revolutionary practice, and must accordingly be avoided.

Therefore, in our situation, given certain conditions under which the transfer of political power into the hands of the democratic majority can be achieved by means other than prolonging the revolutionary war, for the vanguard movement to be indifferent to such possibilities would amount to a dereliction of duty.

But practical politics is more complex than a mere formulation of principles.

## **Seizure and Transfer Of Political Power**

Two concepts are closely related to those of means and ends in revolutionary warfare, and are more often than not regarded as identical, thus carrying a potential to confuse the thinking of many people. They are the armed seizure of power, and the transfer of political power.

The transfer of political power appears as, and actually is, the final act, the crowning event, in the liberation struggle. It simply tells us that transfer exists; it is not necessarily associated with the methods and means used.

On the other hand, the concept of the

armed seizure of power denotes precisely how political power is to be achieved — to be seized by force of arms — but it does not tell us exactly what is to be done with this seized power. The seizure of political power does not necessarily entail its transfer into the hands of another class, or classes, of society. The example of a military coup can serve to illustrate this. Alternatively, it can imply that, once seized, political power can be transferred into the hands of another class, or classes, of society.

The ambiguity of this concept does not lie in the fact that people cannot always tell what is to be done with this seized power. On the contrary, it is because it indicates simply the methods and the form through which political power is seized.

We can, therefore, conclude that the concept of the armed seizure of political power is functional to the means used — that is, armed means — to seize power; and that the concept of the transfer of power represents the end goal towards which the whole political effort is aimed.

This brings us to a major conclusion: that political power can be transferred from one class or classes of society to others either peacefully or by force of arms, or through the combination of both!

## **The Concept of a Negotiated Settlement**

To tackle the concept of a negotiated settlement, we shall assume the prior existence of armed hostilities between the warring parties. A negotiated settlement is a condition in an armed conflict in which:

■ The warring parties both come to realise that total defeat of the other side is impossible, and that prolonging armed hostilities will have consequences that serve as a deterrent from continuing — a sort of stalemate.

■ The losing side realises that it is futile to prolong armed hostilities, and succumbs to the superior weight of the stronger side. For obvious reasons, we shall not consider an analysis of the latter condition.

Victory in any armed conflict means ab-



solite victory:

- The total defeat of the armed forces of the enemy.
- The subjugation of the will of the enemy to that of the victorious side.
- The conquest of the territory of the enemy.

Since we are confronted with conditions under which absolute victory is impossible, conditions in which both sides must necessarily make compromises on certain positions, we can conclude that the outcome of any negotiation that can be successfully conducted must end up in partial victories for warring parties. Both sides would have failed to defeat each other absolutely, and would have to be content with partial victories.

As we have already said, practical politics is more complex than mere formulation of principles.

It must be emphasised that the concept of partial victory should be positively appraised, for the crux of this field of politics, the real art, lies in the ability of politicians and political movements and parties to transform these partial victories into absolute victories, without resuming armed hostilities.

It is in the light of this that we in the national liberation movement should approach the concept of a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict.

## **Negotiated Settlement And Social Emancipation**

If we believe that the transition in South Africa will have to come through negotiations, and if, more or less, we subscribe to the condition of a 'stalemate' then it is imperative not only to address the question of the technicalities of the negotiation process, but also (and this is of fundamental importance) to begin to exercise our minds on the question of partial victory (the inevitable result of any successful negotiated settlement of the South African conflict) and the art of transforming this into absolute victory.

This alone will enable us to effect the democratisation of the country and the

social emancipation of the downtrodden masses of our people.

In order to live up to the expectations of the majority of our people, the national liberation movement will have to delineate and identify major areas of activity into which to throw itself body and soul:

- Intensifying and escalating the people's war.
- A programme of political education calculated to take our people beyond any outcome in the South African conflict.

We shall begin with the last point, which will lay the basis for examining the first.

The national liberation movement maintains that the people as a whole, the mass democratic movement, should participate actively in shaping their own destiny. From this position is derived the national democratic character of our struggle, which aims at achieving mass participation.

One major consequence of this would be that the demands made by the masses in successful political liberation would create a basis for greater democratisation of the country and the implementation of measures aimed at securing the social emancipation of the majority of the people.

## **Negotiated Settlement: Some Problems**

The major problem is that a negotiated settlement of the conflict will inevitably lead to a partial victory, and so impose some limitations on our programme of social emancipation. In practical terms, this means that the concept of partial victory implies the *de jure* abolition of apartheid, and says less about its *de facto* abolition.

This is because the apartheid system has, over the long history of its evolution, developed its own momentum, and has created conditions of extreme inequality among South Africans. Its *de jure* abolition, the achievement of political power, does not mean its *de facto* abolition. In conditions of a negotiated settlement, this extreme inequality will continue to exist for a considerable length of time.

Therefore, we should not expect that complete social emancipation will be



## **PRESIDENT TAMBO'S ADDRESS TO "WAR ON WANT" CONFERENCE**

# **PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT IN OUR REGION**

The British-based charity, War on Want, has in the past given financial assistance to the Front Line States after destructive military attacks by the racist regime. In June, War on Want held a conference in London, entitled, "Peace and Development in the Front Line States." President Tambo was invited to give the opening address, and his statement was delivered on his behalf by Comrade Mendi Msimang, ANC Chief Representative in the United Kingdom and Ireland.

We would like to take this opportunity to pay homage to the far-sighted leaders of our region, who, eight years ago, decided to establish the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference, the SADCC. This has not only become an important instrument in the struggle against underdevelopment, but also a source of pride which reinforces the confidence of the peoples of our region in their ability to shape their destiny together, in solidarity with one another and as equals, a successful expression of the exercise of the right to self-determination.

We are greatly encouraged that War on Want, representing the ordinary British people, decided to focus on Southern Africa during this year. This confirms the view of the millions of beleaguered people of our region that there are in this country staunch supporters of our cause, firm allies against racism, apartheid and war, on whom we can depend regardless of what their government and the City of London might choose to do or not do about these questions. We thank you most sincerely for

your continuing concern and involvement in the struggle to end the apartheid crime against humanity, and will make certain that our own people are aware of your invaluable solidarity.

### **Human Suffering**

Those of us who come from Southern Africa know the true meaning of mass abject poverty. We have seen with our own eyes, and perhaps experienced personally, what it means to go without food and to wake up from sleep that has been tormented by nightmares deriving both from hunger and the knowledge that the new day was as much without hope as the last. We have seen the frightened and pleading eyes of both the young and old, reduced to an animal condition by want and deprivation. We are familiar with the tragic spectacle of children, mothers and fathers rummaging through refuse heaps in search of morsels of food that have been thrown away



achieved through a negotiated settlement.

Now, the question that sharply arises is: what are the prospects that this *de jure* abolition of apartheid can be transformed into *de facto* abolition? Do possibilities exist to use the achievement of political power to effect measures for social emancipation within the framework of the unfolding democracy?

If the degree to which the masses are involved in the struggle for political power are to determine the extent to which they make far-reaching demands for social emancipation, then it is of fundamental importance that an infrastructure of democratic transformation is created now, within the womb of the moribund apartheid system and within the process of the struggle to destroy it. This would serve as a basis for proceeding with measures for social emancipation in post-apartheid South Africa.

## Popular Organs of Self-Rule

It is therefore imperative to look once more into the strategy of creating popular organs of self-government throughout our country.

The experience of the past four years has identified the creation of popular organs of people's power as one of the main strategic achievements in the unfolding liberation movement. The ferocity with which the Pretoria regime moved, and is still moving, to stifle this phenomenon out of existence is an acknowledgement of the extent to which our liberation struggle has progressed in undermining and eliminating the power base and structures of apartheid domination.

The state of emergency, which has resulted in considerable setbacks in this area of revolutionary activity, has created new, challenging and difficult conditions under which the organs of self-rule must be renewed where they were crippled, commenced where they had not yet taken off, and finally consolidated and strengthened throughout the country. This is one of the most pressing imperatives of our times.

There are several lessons to be drawn from these experiences: above all, that the creation and existence of these popular organs should not be seen in isolation and

as divorced from the strategy of a people's war. They are not to be seen only as a product of the struggle, but as a potentially powerful instrument, with which we may achieve two major effects:

■ They should be engaged as instruments to effect the destruction of moribund organs of apartheid domination. This means, above all, that they should be seen, and made to function, as political organs. Therefore, whatever activity which may be called into being by their existence should be understood in relation to, and be subjected to, their political function.

■ As a power base of our strategy of a people's war, they should be prepared and shaped to accommodate any eventuality in the course of our liberation struggle. They should, in short, be seen as a vehicle through which our strategy of mass participation in the people's war finds its material expression.

The liberation movement should initiate a deliberate political and educational programme to address such outstanding issues as the relations between the concept of a people's war and that of a negotiated settlement of the South African conflict. This is borne out by the experiences of liberation struggles fought on the African continent and elsewhere. The fact that the outcome of any revolutionary struggle is unpredictable threatens the cohesion of the liberation forces, especially when the outcome does not fulfil the expectations of the people, who, during the course of struggle, were prepared for an absolute victory.

## The Role of People's War

The intensification and escalation of the people's war has made it impossible for the Pretoria regime to destroy the liberation movement, and (should such a condition arise) would provide a carpet on which to walk, undefeatable, to the negotiating table.

But we have introduced a new element, that of the negotiated settlement, and if we share the belief that transition in South Africa will have to come through negotia-



tions, then it is imperative to address and review the strategy of a people's war. In any closed system, once a new element is introduced, we must assume a changed relationship within the elements of this system.

But a change in any given area of activity does not necessarily imply that the whole strategic and tactical course should be changed. It may suggest a need to introduce shifts in emphasis in certain areas of activity.

We have argued that the introduction of the concept of a negotiated settlement does not affect our strategic objective of the transfer of political power into the hands of the majority, but simply identifies a possibility of how our liberation struggle is likely to arrive at a successful conclusion. If we share the belief that transition in South Africa will have to come through negotiations, surely there is no reason to panic and think that the content of our strategy of a people's war is fundamentally subjected to questioning. This is incorrect thinking.

On the contrary, what is essential is to identify those areas of revolutionary activity to which we need to shift our emphasis.

## **Economic Warfare**

We revert to the position of Joe Slovo, quoted earlier, that the transition in South Africa is going to come through negotiations. The essence of this position is that international mandatory sanctions against South Africa are identified as being able to have crippling effects on the apartheid system, to render it ineffective and to result in a build-up of certain pressures which, when unleashed, will force Pretoria to a negotiating table.

It follows, therefore, that with major Western governments stalling on the question of imposing sanctions on South Africa, we are left with no other option but to resort to measures which will have the same effects as sanctions.

Therefore we ourselves have to impose sanctions against South Africa! There is no other way in which we can address or avoid to address this question! We have therefore identified — along the continuation of the

strategy of a people's war — an area of revolutionary activity which needs most emphasis.

The first area to be looked into is that of the trade union struggle and the use of the strike weapon. As experience has shown, a sustained, country-wide general strike offers the possibility of achieving the same effect as sanctions. This, therefore, should be the aim of the democratic trade union movement inside the country. It would be difficult to see how a contrary argument or position could benefit the liberation struggle of our people.

The other area of activity which offers the effects of sanctions is in the military field, and in military terms this means engaging the enemy in economic warfare.

## **The Weak-Link Principle**

To use this form of warfare we need to act intelligently, methodically and systematically, to act in such a way that an inclining graph of our activity can be discernible. To achieve this, we need to employ the indispensable weak-link principle. That is, we should direct our campaign in a co-ordinated fashion against those centres of the South African economy which serve as its backbone; with these incapacitated, the state power (army, police and so on) would find it increasingly difficult, and finally impossible, to have the monopoly of control over strategic spheres of activity, and would succumb to the mounting pressure of the general and popular revolutionary offensive.

It appears that this campaign, successfully implemented, would have one major consequence of opening up some areas for our activity, and for our people's war to make inroads.

At any rate, throughout the whole history of armed conflicts, both major and minor, the factor of a weak and disrupted economy has always contributed largely to the defeat of the power controlling it. If a contrary opinion is held in this regard, then let us be shown an example in history of any tottering economy which has ever waged a successful counter-insurgency war against a rising nation!





## LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The Editor  
*Sechaba*

Dear Comrade

I am writing in response to the editorial, *The New Imperialist Offensive*, in the March 1988 issue of *Sechaba*.

The January 8th Statement of 1988 said:

*"We also call on the business community to stop co-operating with the regime's repressive machinery or face the consequences of intentionally participating in the vicious campaign of apartheid state terrorism."*

This call has been made again and again to the external and internal monopoly and non-monopoly bourgeoisie. I would like to base my argument on the external monopoly bourgeoisie — that is, the transnational corporations of the US, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan and Taiwan. The first three of these countries have been affected by anti-apartheid demonstrations since the uprising of June 16th 1976, and in

the fourth there have been differences within parliament concerning the question of sanctions.

This shows that all these governments and monopolies are completely aware of the demands and the continuous calls for disinvestment and comprehensive mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa. But they continue making defensive statements, like the one made by Mrs Thatcher, that sanctions will hurt those they are designed to help.

For how long are we going to hear these statements being repeated again and again without any developments? The racist regime is being supported, maintained even, by propaganda and restrictions; for example, we are called a 'terrorist organisation' and in Britain and the US there have been moves to declare us *personae non grata*. Japan and Taiwan continue to fill the vacuum left by the businesses that have heeded our call for disinvestment. Israel, too, is playing its role as a promoter of the military-industrial complex of South Africa, the state monopoly, Armscor.



These acts of co-operation with the racist regime and its repressive machinery are not made out of ignorance; they consciously aim at maintaining the terrorist apartheid state with the motive of reaping super-profits from cheap, exploited Black labour.

## **The ANC And United Mass Action**

We have seen the peoples of the countries mentioned above doing their best to force their governments to take positive steps against the Pretoria regime. There were some successes, but the governments continued pursuing their attempts to maintain the racist tyranny in South Africa. The people of South Africa, under the leadership of the ANC, have done a lot in this sphere of international mobilisation, but still much has to be done. This is one pillar of our struggle. Alone, it cannot bring about the downfall of the regime, but has to be reinforced and promoted by the other pillars.

The role to be played by the underground structures is clear — they have to play a leading role in guiding the actions of the masses and be able to explain the position of the ANC on all questions that arise. Also, concerning the questions of sanctions and disinvestment, the underground structures have to explain, and must continue explaining, even to those who have been deceived by pro-apartheid forces in the urban and rural areas alike, and mobilising them to join the democratic forces for united action in demanding comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the terrorist regime.

The masses are the decisive force in the making of history. They constitute the power that will blow the Bothas and the Malans out of position, and force perpetrators of apartheid out of the country. The role they have to play is so important that it needs thorough political and ideological work to achieve the expected results. The core of the masses is the working class, which is directly suffering under the super-exploitative schemes of the monopolies. Of all these I have mentioned, I like to come to the last and the most aimed at aspect, —

the spearhead of the people's general offensive, the armed struggle led by the people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe.

## **The Role of the Armed Offensive.**

"Sever the enemy line of communication," said the Battle Orders of December 16th 1986. For industries to continue with their productive function, they need some means of transport, telephones, telexes, posts, and so on. Without these, the industries can be rendered unworkable, thus bringing production to a complete standstill. The armed struggle waged is directed not only at the SADF, the police or other instruments of the state, but also at the economy which ensures the maintenance of these structures and their strengthening. We can deal with the morale of the enemy forces, defeating them in skirmishes, but if the enemy still has the power source for their maintenance, we cannot make them feel the blows.

The question, however, is how can this be carried through? We don't have to attack their industries directly, thus creating more enemies even in countries where we have made advances in the field of international isolation of the regime. However, the infrastructure created for these monopolies, such as the means of communication, transport, railways, bridges, harbours and airstrips, have to be frequent targets of our intensified armed offensive. This also has the advantage of carrying through our tactic of dispersing the enemy forces, spreading them all over the terrain and hitting them where they are weakest.

The transnationals must now feel the pressure from their countries not only morally, but also financially. Maintaining their investments in South Africa must become expensive and they must find alternative markets.

Comradely greetings  
Cabral

**Editor's note:** Perhaps this letter will provoke comment and discussion from other members.



# BOOK REVIEW

Federation of Transvaal Women, *A Woman's Place Is in the Struggle, Not Behind Bars*, Johannesburg, 1988.

Caesarina Kona Makhoere, *No Child's Play*, Women's Press, London, 1988.

The gaoled heroines of the South African struggle have gone largely unsung. So have those other heroines: women who suffer agony of mind and disruption of their lives because of the arrest of a member of the family — perhaps an important wage-earner, perhaps a child. Blank pages in the history of our fight for democracy remain to be filled, and these two books on women and imprisonment represent a beginning.

*A Woman's Place Is in the Struggle* describes the consequences, particularly for women, of mass detentions, mass political trials, mass imprisonment.

One section deals with the political activity of women. FEDTRAW rightly stresses that women resist and fight side by side with men in all organisations, not only in those specifically for women. There are statistics of women recently detained, and a section on women in political trials.

Some sections deal with the lives women lead in gaol, the conditions they are subject to. Very young girls, equally with grown women, are sometimes raped, or, in other ways, sexually assaulted; women who are pregnant when they are arrested sometimes carry babies to term during detention and are delivered in gaol, sometimes have miscarriages caused by torture. Other sections deal with the anguish of mothers waiting for "the knock on the door ... which will take away yet another child," the desperate anxiety of detained mothers over their children at home.

With a wage-earning man in gaol, women must struggle to support the children on their own, and still somehow scrape together the money for fares, and the time, to find out where the prisoner is being held, make applications to see him, visit him and take him food, when the security police or

the prison regulations allow it.

There is plenty of information here, and FEDTRAW claims there is plenty more that could not be published because of the emergency regulations.

*No Child's Play* is Caesarina Makhoere's personal story, told with a vivid directness that brings clearly to the reader the atmosphere of a South African women's prison. After interruptions to her education, she returned to school in 1972, and was arrested in 1976, at the age of 21. She had become involved in school protests, had seen the police shoot two of her school-mates in the school yard. She spent seven months in detention and was beaten up during interrogations at Compol Buildings in Pretoria; one of her interrogators was the notorious security policeman, Selepe, later killed by a unit of Umkhonto We Sizwe. She was brought to court in May 1977, and in October, a year after her arrest, sentenced to five years. She had to defend herself for most of the trial, because she didn't have the money to pay a lawyer.

Once sentenced, she continued fighting: refusing to work, refusing to bow to the whims of the prisons, forcefully demanding her rights. Driven beyond endurance, she had physical fights with wardresses more than once, was more than once beaten up by male warders. She spent a great deal of her time in solitary or on 'spare diet' or both.

The story has another positive side; she describes with joy and enthusiasm her contact with women comrades in gaol, their collective protest and their collective strength. She also got to know women defined as non-political 'offenders'; and taught one of them to read and write.

Women's Press timed the publication of *No Child's Play* for August 9th, and it is appropriate that *Sechaba* should celebrate our unconquerable heroines by reviewing both these books in August, the month of South African Women's Day.

*Claris*



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**WOMEN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM**