

AUGUST 1990



SECHABA

official organ of the african national congress south africa

WOMEN FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

You who have no work—speak! You who have no homes — speak! You who have no schools — speak! You who have to run like chickens from the vulture — speak! We must free our selves! Men and women must share housework. Men and women must work together in the home and in the world . . . I opened the door for you — you must go forward!

DORA TAMANA



ANC WOMEN'S LEAGUE LAUNCH, AUGUST 9, 1990

CONTENTS:

EDITORIAL 1

PEACE AMONG THE PEOPLE

Statement on the July stayaway 2

A NON-RACIAL MUNICIPAL SYSTEM

Interview with Mkhuseleli Jack 4

MK TACKLES THE FUTURE

Report on the IDASA military conference
By Gavin Cawthra 6

HOW PREPARED ARE WE?

By Freddy Reddy 11

TOWARDS A NUCLEAR POLICY

By Dennis Goldberg 12

NANA SITA

By E S Reddy 14

CENTRE PAGE

South Africa Freedom Day statement 16

OBSTACLES TO PEACE IN NATAL

Interview with John Jeffery 20

MANDELA SPEAKS

Address to the Consultative Business Movement 23

SONG 29

LETTER TO THE EDITOR 30

BOOK REVIEW

By DMS 31

Graphic design by Hylton Alcock

LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

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

Radio Lusaka
Daily 7.00 pm:
Wednesday 10.15-10.45 pm:
Thursday 9.30-10.00 pm:
Friday 10.15-10.45 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

EDITORIAL

TOWARDS THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

In the midst of all the activity generated by the new political situation in South Africa, one of the major tasks that the ANC and the mass democratic movement set themselves to achieve is about to be realised.

On August 9, a day which stands out as a reminder of the South African women's organising capabilities and firm stand in their opposition to oppressive rule, the ANC Women's League will be launched as an autonomous organisation able to make its own decisions in the struggle, within the overall policy of the ANC.

This is as it should be, because women in South Africa constitute the majority of the people but are in every sense at the bottom rung of the political, social and economic ladder. This is a situation that needs to be urgently redressed.

The ANC's policy on women was clearly reflected in the delegation to the historic meeting at Groote Schuur. Its delegation comprised all sectors of the population and both sexes. Not so with the South African regime's delegation. And, to all of us, this must be one of the issues that drives us on to ensure that women assert themselves in the political arena of our country.

Within the scope of the legality that the ANC as a whole now enjoys, we must all see to the flourishing of this pillar of our struggle, at the same time recognising that the main role must remain that of the women themselves, because the building of this mighty body is part and parcel of the struggle for women's emancipation.

Such a task demands a clear definition of roles and tasks in the past, the present and the future. A recent statement by Gertrude Shope, Head of the ANC Women's Section, puts into perspective this definition. She said: "We have never fought shy of committing ourselves to the struggle against national domination and racial oppression. Equally, we cannot afford to surrender our right to end our oppression as women. How we define ourselves will determine how we relate

to the ANC as a mother body."

The recent statement of the NEC of the ANC, entitled *The Emancipation of Women in South Africa* emphasises the importance that the ANC lays in this area of our struggle. It recognises that the issue of women's emancipation must not be seen as a by-product of any other process in our struggle but as an issue to be addressed in its own right within our organisation, the mass democratic movement and in the society as a whole. This document needs to be discussed in all areas of political work.

What, then, are the immediate tasks of the democratic forces in this regard?

The most important task we have is to ensure that the organisation that comes into being on August 9 is massive, and represents women from all walks of life, of all ages. For instance, it is generally accepted for young women to be active in the youth and leave women's issues to "mothers." This idea must be discouraged by ensuring that the energy and dynamism of young women is directed to both youth and women's activities.

The family-breaking laws of South Africa have ensured over the decades that the majority of the women are located in the rural areas. What this means is that, in the formation of the Women's League, we have one of the most dependable vehicles for the mobilisation of the rural population which, we must admit, we have not as yet mobilised in significant forces.

Again, because of the position of women in the society we find ourselves in, we cannot doubt that this organisation, like the Federation of South African Women in the fifties, will reach across the colour lines and join the hands of women of all races in the struggle for a better South Africa.

Such is the task of the women before and after August 9, 1990, and all those who have seen their resilience in the past have no doubt that they will succeed.

PEACE AMONG THE PEOPLE IS A NATIONAL ISSUE

The mass participation of the South African people in actions of defiance throughout the country was once again displayed in the national stayaway of July 2. As will be seen in the text of the statement by COSATU, UDF and ANC, the issue around the stayaway call is regarded as a regional issue by the Pretoria regime and its friends, but shown to be a national issue by the massive participation in the stayaway.

Stayaway an Overwhelming Success

There has been an overwhelming response by the masses of our people, nationwide, to the call made by COSATU, UDF and ANC for a one-day stayaway action to pressurise the government to end the violence in Natal. This massive response demonstrates conclusively that the war in Natal is a matter of extreme concern to our people. Millions of workers have been prepared to make a sacrifice to demonstrate that concern. This is something now which the government, and all our detractors, will be unable to ignore.

About three million workers countrywide decided to stay away (see attached figures) despite the massive propaganda campaign against the ac-

tion launched in the SABC and other mass media, by the government and certain other organisations. Threats by employers and a massive show of force by the apartheid security forces also failed to intimidate our people into abandoning this action.

We want to thank the membership of our organisations, and the people as a whole, for demonstrating restraint and discipline in the face of considerable provocation. Claims by the police that people were "intimidated" to stay away are absolute nonsense and an insult to the intelligence of our people. Anyone living in our communities knows who the real forces of intimidation and coercion are.

Certain organisations chose to make this mass action a test of support for the COSATU/ANC/UDF alliance. The response from our people demonstrates unequivocally the extent of mass support for the programmes and policies of our organisations. On the other hand, those organisations who chose to oppose the stayaway call have clearly demonstrated that they are totally out of touch with the feelings of the communities they claim to represent.

Furthermore, this should finally lay to rest the claim that Inkatha represents the people of Natal. Eighty per cent of workers stayed away in Natal, despite Inkatha's virulent opposition to the stayaway, and their attempt to use strongarm tactics to disrupt it.

Far more importantly, however, the stayaway has refocused attention on the demands which the residents of Natal, supported by our people throughout the country, have been making to put an end to the war in that region. This is the first time in the history of our country that there has



END THE EMERGENCY: Youths in Cape Town protest against the continuing the state of emergency in Natal

been a national stayaway in response to a so-called "regional" issue.

This clearly demonstrates that the war in Natal has become a burning national issue. The ball has been put clearly in the government's court to respond to our demands which clearly set out the steps which need to be taken to bring peace to Natal. Failure to respond to these demands will contribute to jeopardise the process of negotiations.

Our contact with the Minister of Law and Order over the last few months has failed to produce any results. We will therefore be approaching President de Klerk for a meeting on the Natal situation. His response to our demands will be assessed when the National Peace Conference of anti-apartheid forces meets in Natal on 4th and 5th August. The extent of progress towards creating peace in Natal will determine the programme of action which emerges from the Conference.

Today's one-day stayaway was the major focus of our week of action around Natal. Workers will return to work tomorrow, but this will not mean the end of the action around the Natal violence. In the next few days our people throughout the country, in the factories, hostels, villages, mines and townships will be discussing the issue of Natal, and embarking on local demonstrations of solidarity with the people of the region.

The week of action will culminate on Saturday, the 7th of July with mass marches and rallies throughout the country. If the week of action serves to impress on the South African government the urgency of taking action to bring peace to Natal, it will have served its purpose.

Breakdown of workers staying away on July 2nd

The vast majority of black workers in the main industrial centres of South Africa observed the stayaway call today. Reports from our regions, transport organisations and employers indicate a 70%-90% stayaway in all the major industrial centres, with the exception of Cape Town, where approximately 50% of workers stayed away. The estimate is that approximately three million workers stayed away, making it as big as any other stayaway in the history of South Africa.

Breakdown of estimates for major industrial centres, by region:

Natal	75%-80%
Eastern Cape	85%-95%
Witwatersrand	75%-85%
Vaal	80%
Pretoria	70%-80%
Western Cape	50%

Small towns:

A remarkable feature of this stayaway, when compared to other such actions, was the extensive participation of residents in small towns. Some examples are:

Kimberley (N Cape)	80%-90%
Jouberton (OFS)	90%
Standerton/Witbank (Eastern Transvaal)	70%-80%
Port Shepstone (Natal)	90%

45 deaths in 'quiet' Natal Easter holiday

BS - KwaZulu
Rv Craig Kotze

STAR 17-4-90
a 43-year-old man was

PEOPLES DIARY

Natal Violence to come under the spotlight

CONTINUING violence in Natal and the stance of Bophuthats-

survivors in Africa is not known

ANC branches 'will help end Natal

AFRICAN National Congress

W/In 17-4-90
BY CARMEL RICKARD

belligerent police or any other of

Natal toll rises as mood of violence grips South Africa

From Gerda B...

DURBAN — The Mass Democratic Movement and the ANC are to launch a new preconditions to negotiations.

Cosatu blames Inkatha, police for Natal roles

PIETERMARITZBURG — The Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the UDF academies

This unit refused to note complaints of casualties by Inkatha and many of its members have in the past

"We are now... To... a million... under the... military right-wing... give us a million rifles."

hat pressure... Mr. Smit... about... stepped to... potential... of when he... disordered... and gave

the state of emergency in Natal another obstacle to negotiations

DURBAN — The ongoing Natal violence has disrupted the schooling of about 60 000 pupils, according to a report released here.

The report by the National Union of South African Students (Nusas) said the bloody violence had a "devastating effect" on basic social structures.

It said the school crisis had arisen mainly because teachers and principals had been intimidated and coerced.

So far, 23 schools in the Pietermaritzburg area have been forced to close, while five others have been attacked.

The report said the hardest hit was Luthuli High at Maritzburg, where three teachers and 15 pupils had been shot last month.

Warlords

The report said security had become a priority at schools. Last month, about 1 000 students from the Edendale and Vukile schools staged a protest march on the 1st of July.

IS A NON-RACIAL MUNICIPAL SYSTEM BEING BORN IN PORT ELIZABETH?

SECHABA INTERVIEWS MKHUSELI JACK, A CIVIC LEADER IN PORT ELIZABETH

Comrade Mkhuseli, recently there have been stories in the newspapers that councillors in Port Elizabeth have voted that there should be a single, non-racial municipal system for the whole of Port Elizabeth, for both black and white. This is not going to take effect now, but the resolution, in principle, has been taken. Can you give us the background to this resolution?

Well, you may remember the formation of the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organisation in 1979. It was around the question of bad living conditions and poor social services for the community. The call centred around the question of housing and sewerage systems and, because the black local councillors of the puppet structures were not addressing these issues, the people's call was for one municipality for the city of Port Elizabeth. This was based on the fact that we realised that the dummy councils could not generate any income to improve the township, because they depended on rent. The people backed this demand with a lot of campaigns and protest struggles that led, in fact, to many of the actions that were taken by the general public, like the consumer boycott, the isolation of the puppet structures. All these actions culminated in driving home very strongly the point to the powers that be that there would be a big risk if they continued to support the black local authority system.

At this point in time, and with many a small black local authority falling apart in the Eastern Cape in places like Steytlerville, Jansenville and Alexandria, where people have engaged in boycotts to bring them down, the Port Elizabeth municipality, which is still licking its wounds from the last boycott offensive by our people, realises the danger of this kind of weapon being

reapplied. And, the possibility, judging by the mood of the people, is that it could be reapplied.

Comrade Mkhuseli, you were very heavily involved in the boycott campaign of 1985-86. Actually, you were at the head of it. It would seem that this had a very great impact on the white community in Port Elizabeth, particularly the business people. What do you think about that, in relation to the events today?

Well, in the boycott one of the strongest demands that were made to the business people was the establishment of one municipality in the Port Elizabeth area — a non-racial one. The business people expected that, and accepted that, but they wouldn't act then, because they were still feeling that they could go round it. And, as late as November last year, they were still toying with the idea of a sort of tricameral system of a municipality at local level. This was revealed at a meeting with the city council. In a workshop that was organised at the time, they put their position on this kind of a tricameral type of a municipality. We rejected that system, and said that it would never work, just like the parliamentary tricameral system that has fallen on its face.

And what about the puppet councillors, that is, the black councillors? Have they played any role, have they agreed to this single municipality system?

Well, certainly they are not going to be happy with it, but I think they are shaken by the fact that it does appear that De Klerk, in the face of the massive resistance and attack on the regime, is neglecting these puppets. Many of them are

realising that De Klerk has no time for them, and they are isolated with some of them disillusioned. I think most of them are just remaining in their posts at the moment for purposes of getting their salaries from one month to the next. I don't think they are still ideologically strongly attached to these councils, because they have seen that they are not working.

We learn that the consumer boycott, far from being dead with that big one of Port Elizabeth in '85-86, has gone on to some smaller rural areas — in some places it's not even reported. We hear from sporadic reports from one person or another coming from these areas that there is a consumer boycott. Do you think such boycotts can have any effect?

Oh yes! — there are a lot of boycotts. For instance in Kirkwood, there was a boycott when I left there, and the business community was just crying, committing itself to one municipality with the comrades there. In Bedford, in Cathcart, in Stutterheim, those are areas that have been ravaged by consumer boycotts which are very heavy. There is no doubt that the boycott weapon is being used. In other areas, and in certain parts of the Northern Transvaal, there are boycotts but the commercial press is trying its level best not to report these boycotts, to play them down.

There is this idea advanced by people like Margaret Thatcher, that sanctions don't work. That blacks are the more affected. It's the same argument when it comes to consumer boycotts — that blacks will be the more affected, therefore they would say we should not have one boycott or another. What is your view, as a person who has been involved in it? What drives the people to boycott even if they are told, "You should not boycott, because you'll be affected economically!"?

Well, it's the whole question of understanding that the eradication of apartheid goes with strong suffering. I mean, people understand that, and people are choosing to suffer because they want to achieve a certain goal. I think that if Margaret Thatcher or anybody else questions the effec-

tiveness of the sanctions, nobody can answer them better than De Klerk and his Parliament at the moment.

We don't have to answer that question any more — who is going to suffer from sanctions. We have passed the stage where we have to give arguments and answers to that. De Klerk is there in Pretoria to answer anybody who wants to know the effect of sanctions. The people **choose** the consumer boycott; they **know** that they are going to lose jobs. They **know** some people are going to suffer, but it is what they have chosen.

Many of our comrades have chosen to leave South Africa for foreign countries where life has never been good for them. Some of our comrades have gone to jail, where life has been miserable. Some of them have died. All that is suffering, a suffering that people can avoid, but because of their rejection of the apartheid system they have decided that they are prepared to go through that pain. We don't want anybody else, who has no interest in our affairs, to tell us that we are going to suffer, because we have suffered for many years.

Would you think that you are going on the same plane with everybody else in the country who is speaking about the Constituent Assembly, when you speak about a democratic municipal system?

Well, certainly, a Constituent Assembly is what we all, at a national level, are working towards — but we are also looking at issues that affect us on the ground. We are dealing with them on the basis of our various regions, but certainly we are all one in the call for single municipalities, right across the length and breadth of the country. As for the question of the Constituent Assembly, we believe that if De Klerk is a reformer and a man who is going to help, the only thing that can convince us is when he begins to also work for a Constituent Assembly. Once we reach that point, we believe we can feel safe and comfortable. But for anything less than that, I don't think we can ever consider lifting the sanctions and mass struggles against the Pretoria regime.

MK TACKLES FUTURE OF THE MILITARY

By Gavin Cawthra

For the first time commanders of Umkhonto We Sizwe — together with other members of the ANC — met with members of the SADF to put forward our perspectives on the future of security and defence in South Africa.

The meeting, in Lusaka from May 23-27, was not a formal SADF-MK meeting, nor a preliminary to a ceasefire. It was held in the context of the recent political initiatives taken by the ANC within the framework of the negotiation concept of the Harare Declaration. The question of control of the so-called 'security forces' will clearly be vital in any negotiation period — as is shown by the continuing attacks by the police on legitimate political activity.

The delegation from home included serving SADF citizen force officers, retired senior officers, commanders of the bantustan military units, SADF advisors, as well as academics and representatives of the End Conscription Campaign. Minister of Defence Magnus Malan tried to stop serving officers from attending, and refused to send an official delegation.

The ANC delegation was determined that the conference should not simply be technical, but needed to address political and moral questions. For this reason, the role of the SADF in repressing the legitimate struggle of the people of South Africa, and its destructive, aggressive actions in the region were highlighted by our delegates. This was compared with the role of MK as a people's army.



It was stressed that a new defence force in post-apartheid South Africa would have the primary role of protecting the territorial integrity of the country, and would uphold its democratic values and be accountable to the people through their elected representatives. It would be non-racial, would have a new identity and role, and would be under civilian democratic control. MK personnel would naturally have a key role to play in the new armed forces.

Our delegates argued that in an interim period of ceasefire and transition to democracy the strength of the SADF needed to be radically reduced, conscription phased out and the most tainted units, such as 32 Battalion and the Reconnaissance Commandos (Special Forces), stood down.

The conference served to put the issue of a future national defence force, and the steps that can be taken during any transition period, on the agenda of the South African people. The report of the conference, which does not represent a consensus — though there was general agreement on many issues — should form a basis for discussion by the mass democratic movement, the membership of the ANC, and other interested parties.

The conference report was unanimously agreed to by the delegates, and is reproduced here in full.



ANC international relations director Thabo Mbeki addresses the conference. With him are Venda military leader Colonel Gabriel Ramushwana, retired SADF Major-General Wally Black and MK Chief of Staff Chris Hani

Pictures: RASHID LOMBARD

CONFERENCE REPORT

The five-day Idasa-ANC conference on "The Future of Security and Defence in South Africa" was regarded by all participants as an event of considerable importance, which helped open debate and provide ideas on the nature of a future defence force in South Africa and on the security needs of the country, both in the present transition period and once a negotiated settlement is reached.

It brought together two delegations of South Africans who shared a common concern about the need for peace and security in a post-apartheid South Africa. The one delegation consisted of about 60 members and leaders of the ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe, including ten members of the ANC National Executive Committee. The other consisted of 46 South Africans from home, including SADF Citizen Force officers, former or retired officers of the Permanent Force, officers of the armies of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda, academics and researchers on military-related affairs, SADF conscripts, members of the End Conscription Campaign and church leaders. The home delegation was not homogeneous and included a range of views on the issues under discussion.

In the course of the five days the Conference topics elicited vigorous debate and some sharp exchanges. Differences emerged over questions such as the histories and roles of the SADF and

Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed struggle, the military-industrial complex and the future of units such as 32 Battalion. In general, however, by the end of the final day, delegates arrived at a high level of consensus on most of the issues relating to a future defence force in South Africa.

For example delegates expressed support for the need for the negotiation of a mutually-binding cessation of hostilities between the contending military forces, for the ending or phasing out of the present system of military conscription, for Umkhonto we Sizwe to return to South Africa as soon as negotiations permitted, and on the need for the eventual integration of the 'homeland' armies, Umkhonto we Sizwe and any other military forces, in order to form a new defence force in South Africa. In addition, there was consensus that a smaller defence force was needed and that it should be oriented towards protecting the territorial integrity of South Africa. There was also agreement that Nuremburg-type trials were inconsistent with the spirit of negotiations and should not be a factor in a future, non-racial South Africa, but that this commitment does not exonerate people from prosecution for future atrocities they may commit. There was also agreement that the transition period in South Africa should, as far as possible, be managed by South Africans themselves.

Delegates further agreed that a future defence force should be accountable to parliament, should

be politically non-partisan, non-racial in nature, and should work towards a system of recruitment and promotion on merit alone. Unanimous support was expressed for the view that a future defence force required a programme of accelerated affirmative action, but that this should be carried out with due regard to the maintenance of standards.

Three commissions sat on the fourth day of the conference:

1. Manpower Policy
2. The creation of a national defence force — what will happen to the existing military forces?
3. Internal security, the relationship with the police and the democratic process.

The reports of these commissions are attached. They do not necessarily reflect the views of all participants in the conference or of the commissions themselves, and are rather expressions of consensus or majority opinion within the commissions. While the reports of the first two commissions did not attract controversy, several of the conclusions of the third were debated. In particular, the recommendations of the third commission with regard to 32 Battalion was controversial. The majority of delegates agreed that 32 Battalion should be withdrawn immediately from Natal, and that its disbanding should be investigated, though differences remained on what the conclusions of this investigation should be.

Delegates agreed that future contact between themselves and the organisations they represent should be promoted as part of the process of reaching a just and peaceful settlement to South Africa's problems.

A. Report of Commission on Creation of a National Defence Force

There was acceptance that there will be integration of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), SADF and other forces at some time, in some manner.

1. Principles related to future, new South African Defence Force:

- a. Non-racial, open to all citizens.

- b. Primary role: protection of territorial integrity of South Africa.
- c. Will uphold democratic values of South Africa and be fully accountable to parliament.
- d. Appointments and recruitment must (ultimately) be based on merit alone.
- e. Will adhere to the Geneva Convention and all other applicable treaties and agreements that govern the conduct of warfare.
- f. South Africa shall be committed to develop a nuclear-free zone in Africa and the surrounding oceans.
- g. the new Defence Force will be a professional-type organisation with high standards of efficiency.

2. Structure

Army — conventional
— counter-insurgency (coin)

Air Force

Navy

Special Forces

- a. substantial reduction (50%) in all force levels
- b. leadership corps — professional soldiers
- c. foot-soldiers would serve on short-term basis and then be put on reserve
- d. commando system scrapped
- e. no conscription: system to be phased out

3. Steps to be taken towards integration (from now)

- a. reduction in defence expenditure
- b. reduction of Citizen Force (CF) and Commando commitments
- c. declaration of cease-fire
 - i. MK: no guerrilla actions/sabotage etc
 - ii. SADF: troops out of townships; no search and kill operations
- d. process of political sensitising (information and education) in both armies
- e. commencement in SADF of affirmative action
- f. establishment of a joint commission on integration and nature of a future Defence Force, (with SADF, MK and experts)
- g. training of black soldiers enhanced and recruitment of blacks with higher levels of education

- h. greater SAP liaison with communities
- i. reintegration of bantustan armies (linked to dissolution of homeland administrations)
- j. return of MK (timing depends on process of transition, but should happen as quickly as possible)
- k. provision of facilities to MK (with SADF assistance and facilities)
- l. promotion of senior MK soldiers into senior command and control positions of new army
- m. formalisation of armed forces of other parties (eg PAC and AWB): either integration or demobilisation
- n. integration
- o. new name, symbols, uniforms, etc

B. Report of Commission on Manpower Policy

First, discussion on name of commission: alternatives suggested were manpower, personnel, labour and personpower. Majority accepted personpower.

Commission homed in on a number of questions. Some were discarded as falling within the ambit of other commissions. The questions will be listed with answers.

1. Recruitment

- a. Present SADF, MK and other existing military forces asked to volunteer to continue serving in a new Defence Force
- b. A volunteer Defence Force was envisaged: i.e. no conscription
- c. It was felt that there would be a shortfall of personnel. This would be overcome by active recruitment and other incentives.
- d. Deracialisation. A need to promote the Africanisation of the Defence Force was seen. Merit must also be a criterion.

2. Multi-racial or non-racial

- a. The new Defence Force should be non-racial but consideration should be given to geographic realities.

3. Integration of SADF, MK, PAC, etc.

- a. The new Defence Force is not only the pro-

duct of integration of existing forces. It is seen as the start of a new Defence Force. Consideration will be given to previous rank, experience and training.

4. Political Action in the Defence Force.

- a. The new Defence Force members should not belong to any particular political party, but are entitled to their own political opinions and the right to vote according to their conscience.
- b. Political orientation. A programme of personnel orientation with the objective of promoting, within the Defence Force, a common nationalism and patriotism must be implemented as a priority.
- c. Democracy within the Defence Force. This is assured by the Defence Force being under the firm control of a civilian authority, namely the democratically elected government. Acceptance of new rules and regulations to ensure the rights and protection of personnel, etc.

5. Language Policy

- a. This would have to be the accepted policy of the state.

6. Welfare (preservation) of personnel

- a. Spiritual. Negotiations with various religious bodies to recommend what sort of chaplain service the Defence Force should have to cater for the pastoral and spiritual needs of the members. Freedom of religion is assured.
- b. Cultural. Free cultural interaction should be promoted to show its richness.
- c. Provision of social welfare protection for personnel and their families.
- d. Medical benefits for members and families.

7. Training

- a. With regard to training, and bearing in mind the need to maintain the highest of standards, systematic and intensive all-round training should be provided for all Defence Force personnel. This is in line with affirmative action and will ensure that all South Africans from whatever language group or educational level can play their part and develop to top levels of the new Defence Force. Special attention needs to be paid

to the development of female Defence Force personnel.

8. Note 1

The question of conscientious objection and /or alternative service fell away with the accepted lack of conscription.

9. Note 2

Points discussed in the text were discussed fully. Agreement was not always achieved, but the text contains the majority view of the Commission.

C. Report of Commission on Internal Security

It was agreed that:

1. The true timetable of political change will be determined by political possibilities and expediency.

2. Whatever the pace of change, there are real and serious threats to the negotiation process.

3. These threats included Inkatha, white right-wing mobilisation; and many speakers mentioned the police themselves.

4. We considered mechanisms of containing these threats, such as technical disarmament, e.g. stopping issuing gun licences, outlawing the carrying of guns and disarming off-duty police. However, political disarmament was preferred.

5. On the basis of the Groote Schuur agreement, public intervention in policing had been accepted, and we concentrated on the mechanics of this intervention.

6. The joint monitoring of security forces was discussed. The view was expressed that the role of this monitoring agency could develop into an interim administration as more and more political decisions are jointly decided and implemented.

7. It was felt that the state of emergency indemnity for security forces should be immediately revoked.

8. Both the police and the defence force have to be strictly subordinate to and controlled by civilian authority, such as a parliamentary committee.

9. Police should receive improved crowd control training with minimum force.

10. The principles underlying joint monitoring include:

a. The inclusion of as many groupings as possible,

b. must reach to the lowest possible level,

c. should have some power of enforcement.

d. The commission was unanimously opposed to the creation of a paramilitary force for internal security.

e. Politically discredited forces should never be used to control unrest.

f. Responsibility for law enforcement should be devolved to the local, popular level.

g. MDM marshals have gained much experience in crowd control. This experience should be drawn on to control political gatherings. The possibility of using returned MK soldiers in this process was raised.

h. Groupings like the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, the Police and Prison Officers' Civil Rights Union and the Democratic Party are involved and their informal monitoring should be formalised.

i. The police must be restructured. Some felt that in the short term individuals who have discredited themselves by brutality must be immediately withdrawn. It was generally felt that long-term training must reinforce democratic values.

11. It was agreed that in the future South Africa some form of internal agency must exist but their powers must be severely curtailed and subject to a bill of rights.

12. The Commission was unanimous that 32 Battalion must immediately be withdrawn from Natal.

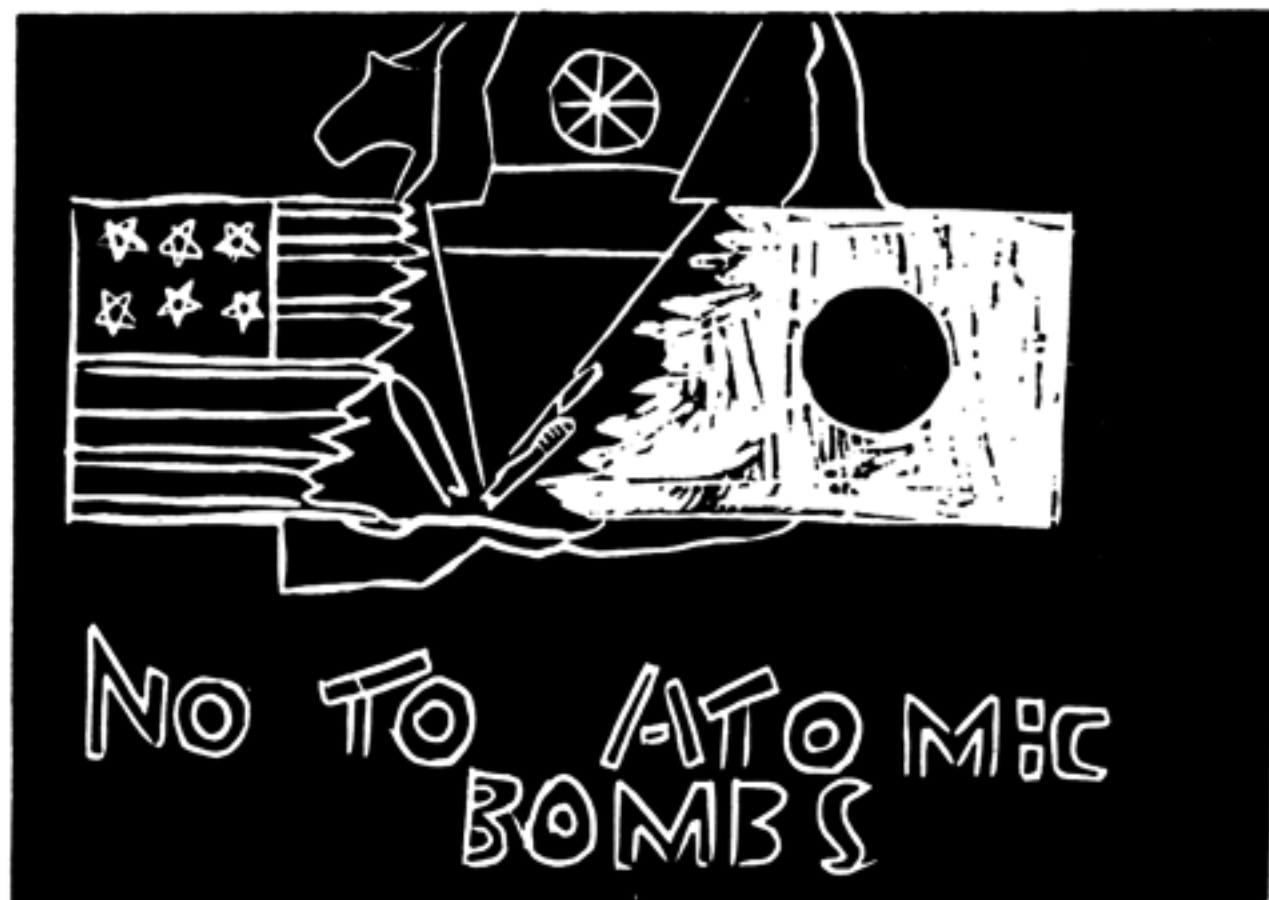
13. It was agreed that legislation should be passed to restrict the carrying of any weapons. In the long run, a process of disarmament must occur.

14. In the long term it was felt that communities must be involved in their own policing.

15. It was felt that in post-apartheid South Africa there should not be the same need for higher levels of policing than there are now, because:

a. The society will be characterised by greater social responsibility and participation

b. the social context of crime should have been addressed through the increased provision of jobs, houses and schools.



Graphic by a pupil at SOMAFCO



TOWARDS A NUCLEAR POLICY

Suggestions for a discussion by Denis Goldberg

South Africa is a nuclear power. It is necessary for us in the ANC to consider very seriously the policies we should be putting to the people of our country. This article is an attempt to get a discussion going so that we can clarify our own position.

There are a number of elements of South Africa's nuclear capability that are publicly known, and others for which there is sufficient evidence to assert their existence.

There are at least two research reactors, one at Pelindaba and the other at Faure. There is the gas centrifuge concentration plant capable of producing weapons grade fissile material at Velindaba. There is the nuclear electricity power station at Blaauwbergstrand on Table Bay supplied by the French group Framatome. This reactor is designed to produce plutonium.

With its vast reserves of coal and the existing technology, the production of electricity from coal-fired thermal plants is cheaper in capital costs than nuclear power generated electricity. The facts, that the nuclear power station is built on a geological fault, and the wind patterns over Table Bay, create a truly hazardous situation, have been well established. Why then does South Africa have a nuclear power station? The Chairman of Escom, some years ago, said that the question of unit costs of production had not been the decisive factor. The station had been built for

strategic reasons, he was reported to have said. Did he mean that a power station capable of handling a large base load was necessary? We may doubt that, for that is what large coal-fired stations are best at achieving at low unit cost. The strategic reason may have been to have a power station not dependent upon coal mined by black mineworkers who might strike for long enough to stop the working of thermal stations. South Africa is known to be eminently capable of building up strategic, dispersed stockpiles of many minerals and raw materials. This reason is therefore an unlikely one. The strategic reason was clearly to produce the plutonium necessary for nuclear weapons.

When we couple this with the boasts about their capacity to produce weapons grade material and the known links between South African and Israeli military and nuclear research both in South Africa and in Israel at Dimona, the strategic reason becomes even clearer. We must add Operation Phoenix, the joint South African-Israeli project which led to the nuclear explosion over the Southern Ocean picked up by the US's Vela

satellite in 1979.

For these reasons, as we move ever closer to meaningful negotiations, we have to be clear about so-called peaceful nuclear capacity and military nuclear capability, and how to take positions on both issues.

To start with military capability, we can say quite categorically that we cannot envisage any situation in which we would consider the use of nuclear weapons. All that we and our neighbours in Southern Africa have lived and died for would be turned to ashes in a nuclear wasteland. We would not want that. It would destroy our dreams of a future in which, as we say in our Freedom Charter, "there shall be peace and friendship." That clause of the Charter goes on to say that relations between states shall be based upon mutual respect for the boundaries and sovereignty of all countries, and that disputes shall be settled peacefully. Therefore we have committed ourselves not only not to attack any neighbour but not to initiate any warlike activity. It follows that we could not possibly envisage using nuclear weapons, which are the ultimate in destructive capacity, and not only destructive of national sovereignty but of the possibility of life itself.

What is more, we have argued with absolute correctness that the violence of South Africa against its neighbours is inherent in the apartheid system of domination internationally as much as internally. Apartheid South Africa, while never admitting to possessing its nuclear weapons, has threatened to use nuclear weapons against its neighbours, thereby leaving the inference of that possession to stand.

Since we are committed to the ending of racist exploitation of our own people, we must extend that to the people of our neighbour countries. In numerous statements we have committed ourselves to the peaceful development of the whole of Southern Africa through economic relations based on equality and regional co-operation. What we have to avoid is allowing ourselves to be inadvertently co-opted to the continuance of the present policies of the apartheid regime in backing the multinational corporations in their exploitation of Africa. We have to break out of that aspect of colonial development so that we can indeed live

in peace with our neighbours.

What is required of us is that we declare now that we would sign the Nuclear Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) at the very first opportunity. We must not allow the apartheid regime to get away with subterfuges such as declaring that nuclear facilities have been shut down and mothballed, therefore not subject to inspection in terms of the NPT.

We need to state now that we would invite international supervision of the destruction of all nuclear weapons. Our neighbours would breathe more easily in the knowledge that we have shown that we will resist to the utmost South Africa's domination and exploitation of the region.

By signing the NPT we would declare that we would not call upon our neighbours to commit themselves to never obtaining nuclear weapons while holding that threat over their heads. We would give proof in advance that we are committed to peaceful international relations based upon the equality of sovereign states.

By declaring that we would shut down South Africa's only nuclear power station we would be saying that weapons grade fissile material is not one of our concepts of strategic necessity, and we would say to the people of the Western Cape Province that we are aware of the environmental dangers of nuclear power production. We would reduce to the minimum the need to find safe storage of dangerously radioactive wastes. We would have to deal with those left to us as a terrible legacy by the apartheid state. We would, at a stroke, say to the world that the ANC and the people of South Africa, while desperately wanting to develop our resources for the benefit of our people, will not do stupidly dangerous things to try to speed up that process.

We would also win massive international support from millions of people all over the world who are committed as we are to ensuring that the risks of nuclear war are reduced to vanishing point.

All of these goals are important. We in the ANC should take the lead now by declaring where we stand and putting our policies on nuclear power and energy before the people of our country.

NANA SITA: LAST OF THE GHANDHIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

By E S Reddy

Through the life and times of Nana Sita — one of the most shining examples of steadfastness in struggle in the South African people's history — the author takes on the Group Areas Act, one of the pillars of the apartheid system which remains in place despite the widely publicised reforms by the Pretoria regime.

Among those who kept the spirit of Mahatma Gandhi alive in South Africa, long after he left the shores of that country in 1914, Nana Sita holds a special place.

Nanabhai, as he was affectionately known, came into prominence during the Indian passive resistance movement of 1946-48 and helped build the alliance with the African majority. He continued non-violent defiance of apartheid until his death in 1969, long after most militants of the liberation movement had become convinced that underground and armed resistance to apartheid had become imperative. Though they disagreed with him, members of the African National Congress and the Indian Congresses respected his views and actions — for he continued to defy apartheid, without fear and flinching at no sacrifice.

The regime had been able to suppress organised resistance in 1963-64, with the imprisonment and torture of thousands of leaders and activists, and a series of repressive laws. But the adamant defiance of Nanabhai — now old and sick — against forcible racial segregation, was an inspiration to the people. He helped keep alive the flame of peaceful resistance which was to grow in subsequent years.

When he passed away on December 23, 1969, shortly after the centenary of Gandhi, at the age of 71, the Johannesburg *Star* wrote that he had enjoyed "universal respect of South Africans,

white and non-white." *The Star*, weekly edition, December 27, 1969). *Sechaba*, the organ of the African National Congress, paid tribute to his heroic life, full of sacrifice and devotion to the struggle in which he went to prison seven times. It said:

"... in paying our tribute to a fallen freedom fighter, the African National Congress works for the day when we can remember publicly in South Africa the man who was our comrade and friend." (Sechaba, March 1970).

The life of Nana Sita deserves to be recalled now when the people of South Africa look back at their struggle — armed and non-violent — and acknowledge the contribution made to it by people of varied backgrounds and ideologies, united in uncompromising resistance against racist domination.

Nana Sita was born in Matwadi, a village in Gujarat, India, in 1898, in a family which was active in the Indian freedom movement. He went to South Africa in 1913 and lived for some time with J.P. Vyas in Pretoria, to study book-keeping. Soon after his arrival, Gandhiji, then leading a Satyagraha, went to Pretoria for negotiations with General Smuts and stayed almost two months in the same house.

Identifying himself with the indentured Indian labourers, Gandhiji ate only once a day, wore only a shirt and loincloth, slept on the floor and

walked barefoot several miles to the government offices to meet General Smuts. The contact with Gandhiji had a great influence on Nanabhai's life. He followed the simplicity of Gandhiji, and became a vegetarian, teetotaler and non-smoker. More important, he was always ready to resist injustice and gladly suffer the consequences.

He worked for some years in his uncle's fruit and vegetable business and then started his own business as a retail grocer. He was active in the religious and social welfare work in the small Indian community in Pretoria. He joined the Transvaal Indian Congress and became secretary of its Pretoria branch.

New segregation measures

During the Second World War, when the government imposed new measures to segregate the Indians and restrict their right to ownership of land — culminating in the Asiatic Land Tenure and Indian Representation Act of 1946 (the "Ghetto Act") — militants in the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, led by Dr. Yusuf M. Dadoo and Dr. G.M. Naicker, advocated mass resistance. They were able to defeat the compromising leaderships of the Congresses and launch a passive resistance campaign in June 1946 with the blessings of Gandhiji. The campaign was directed by the Transvaal and Natal Passive Resistance Councils and over 2 000 people went to jail.

Nana Sita joined the militants as any compromise with evil was against his principles. He became a member of the executives of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Passive Resistance Council. He acted as Chairman when Dr Dadoo was in prison or on missions abroad.

He led a large batch of "United Nations Day volunteers" — Indians, Africans and Coloured people — from the Transvaal in October 1946 and was sentenced to 30 days hard labour. He was released and soon after re-arrested and sent to prison a second time. Almost every member of his family — he had seven children — went to jail in the campaign. His daughter — Maniben Sita courted imprisonment twice.

Nanabhai — always wearing the Gandhi cap —

became a familiar figure in the Indian movement. His courageous spirit was reflected in his presidential address to the Transvaal Indian Congress in 1948. He said:

"Do we all of us realise the significance, the importance, the heavy responsibility that has been cast upon each and every one of us when we decided to challenge the might of the Union Government with that Grey Steel, General Smuts, at its head? Are we today acting in a manner which can bring credit not only to the quarter million Indians in South Africa but to those four hundred million people now enjoying Dominion Status as the first fruits of their unequal struggle against the greatest Empire of our times?"

It is for each and every one of us in his or her own way to answer that question with a clear conscience. But let me say that I have nothing but praise for those brave men and women fellow resisters of mine. History has ordained that they should be in the forefront in the great struggle for freedom in this colour-ridden country of eleven million people ..."

Over two thousand men and women have stood by the ideal of Gandhi and have suffered the rigours of South African prison life and they are continuing to make further sacrifices in the cause of our freedom. We at the head of the struggle cannot promise you a bed of roses. The path that lies ahead of us is a dark and difficult one but as far as I am personally concerned I am prepared to lay down my very life for the cause which I believe to be just." (Passive Resister, Johannesburg, April 30, 1948).

The Indian passive resistance was suspended after the National Party regime came to power in June 1948, but only to be replaced by the united resistance of all the oppressed people.

Defiance campaign

In June 1952, the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress jointly laun-

Continued on page 18 ►

FROM THE FREEDOM CHARTER TO A DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

We are now half-way into 1990, designated by our movement as the Year of People's Action for a Democratic South Africa. For both our country and our region, 1990 has indeed been a year of momentous developments which have brought our people to the threshold of major advances.

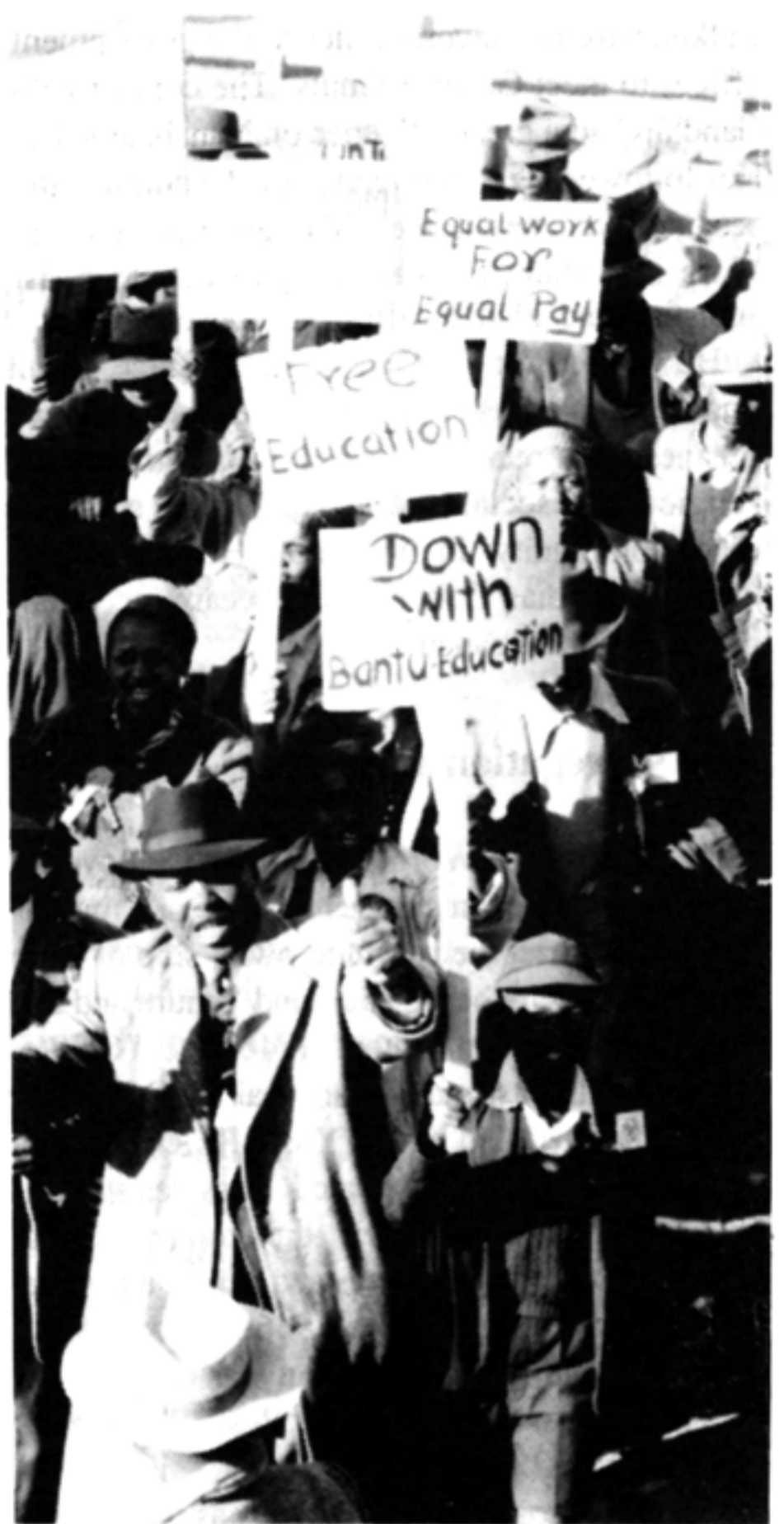
On this, the 40th anniversary of South Africa Freedom Day, we salute the people of our country in all their organised formations, and the various sectors of the Mass Democratic Movement. It is your struggles, waged against the most fearsome odds, under successive States of Emergency, that have compelled De Klerk and his colleagues to recognise the reality that their policies of repression have utterly failed.

We salute also the heroic working class whose disciplined unity in action and social vision has earned them recognition as the most powerful contingent among the liberation forces.

We salute the women, our militant youth and students, whose mass struggles in the townships, the squatter camps, the rural areas, the schools and universities, have forced the regime on to the retreat.

At no time has the strength and moral authority of our movement been greater, at home and abroad. We have marked up a series of notable gains since January, yet it remains equally true that the obnoxious apartheid system remains in place.

The history of our country and our region makes it crystal clear that nothing in South Africa will change except at the instance of the struggle of our people on all fronts. The question of political power, who wields it and how it is to



be used, remains at the top of the political agenda. It is the organised strength of the people, from the local, regional and up to the national level, the determination and thrust of our democratic offensive, that will decide the destiny of our country. The future is in our hands!

Forty years ago the ruling Nationalist Party of Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd, Vorster, Botha and De Klerk embarked on a notorious programme to stifle and suppress the voice of freedom in our country. The aim of the Suppression of Communism Act, rushed through Parliament with indecent haste, was to set in place a comprehensive repressive law that would not merely outlaw the Communist Party but also empower the minority regime to ban and proscribe any political

movement that posed a threat to racist domination.

It is that self-same Nationalist Party that has, for more than four decades, tyrannised the people of our country in an orgy of misgovernment that has violated every norm of human rights. The Nationalist Party systematically filled the law books with one repressive law after another, and reduced South Africa to a country ruled by batons, teargas, Casspirs and the gun. This is the party responsible for the mass jailings, detentions, torture and judicial murder of the most courageous sons and daughters of our people.

It is not to the Nationalist Party regime — with its proven anti-democratic record — that we owe the release of Comrade Nelson Mandela and some of the political prisoners. It is the struggles of our people, waged over 30 years with the support of the overwhelming majority of humankind, that have flung open the prison doors and won freedom for our comrades. This same struggle will compel the regime to release the other political prisoners, including those presently on death row.

At Kliptown, 35 years ago, we placed before our country and the world the vision of a new South Africa belonging to all its people, black and white. The achievement of the central objective of that vision — The People Shall Govern! — has become more urgent than ever. A united nation, not a collection of hostile ethnic, racial, tribal and cultural groups, but one people conceived in liberty and equality, remains the aim of the ANC and its allies in the Mass Democratic and other formations.

The Freedom Charter, in which we enshrined these noble goals, is unique in the history of our country as a revolutionary programme created by the mass of the people themselves. It is one of the most important tasks of all democrats to ensure that this Freedom Charter, and the ANC's Constitutional Guidelines based on it, find their way into every community and every home in our country.

While the regime mouths words of peace and reconciliation in the capitals of Europe, at home the climate of repression and state-inspired terror continues as before. The South African police, the SADF and their auxiliaries in the kits-konstabels, vigilante gangs and other paramilitary

structures, carry on their activities with impunity.

Even as we approach June 26, the vicious killings in the Natal region continue unabated. Ultimate responsibility for this violence inescapably lies at the door of the De Klerk regime, which has armed and delegated policing powers to the bantustan administration of KwaZulu. The intermittent violence that plagues other parts of the country owes much to the counter-insurgency strategy of the Botha regime which created surrogate forces to terrorise our people into submission.

Political trials and arrests continue even at a time when talks are in progress to remove the obstacles to the creation of a climate for negotiations.

The violence and provocations of the ultra-right political and paramilitary formations proceed unchecked and are in fact escalating. The criminal activities of neo-fascists and white supremacist storm-troopers in Welkom have earned not even a slap on the wrist from the regime. On the other hand peaceful black demonstrators and striking workers are regularly dispersed with violence and even gunfire by the police.

It is self-evident that the permissive attitude of the state towards them has emboldened the ultra-right. The regime cannot escape responsibility for the words and deeds of these far-right groupings. Indeed, they all appeal to the authority of the traditional policies of the Nationalist Party as justification for their actions. At this moment in time the reluctance of the regime to disarm and disband these neo-fascist paramilitary structures constitutes an additional blockage on the path to a peaceful solution.

The ANC, its allies and other democratic forces demand the right to conduct meetings, mount demonstrations and processions, assemble and consult with the same degree of freedom presently enjoyed by the Nationalist Party. We demand these as our right and not as favours to be dispensed or withheld as the regime sees fit.

The road from the Freedom Charter to a democratic constitution is through struggle. On this June 26, let us go forward determined to achieve democracy and freedom in our country, now and not later.

South Africa Freedom Day, June 26, 1990.

ched the "Campaign of Defiance against Unjust Laws" in which over 8 000 people of all racial origins were to court imprisonment.

Nanabhai was one of the first volunteers in that campaign. He led a batch of resisters which included Walter Sisulu, Secretary-General of the African National Congress. He came out of jail in shattered health.

The next year, when Dr. Dadoo was served with banning orders, Nanabhai was elected President of the Transvaal Indian Congress but he was also soon served with banning orders preventing him from active leadership of the community.

Yet, in 1960, during the State of Emergency after the Sharpeville massacre, he was detained for three months without any charges.

With the banning of the African National Congress and the escalation of repression, leaders of the ANC decided to undertake an armed struggle, taking care even then to avoid injury to innocent people. Those who believed in non-violence as a creed or could not join the military wing of the movement faced a serious challenge as even peaceful protests were met with ruthless repression. Nana Sita — with his Gandhian conviction that resistance to evil is a sacred duty and that there is no defeat for a true Satyagraha — was undeterred. Like Chief Albert Lutuli, the revered President-General of the ANC, he continued to defy apartheid — especially the "Group Areas Act", described as a pillar of apartheid, which enforced racial segregation at enormous cost to the Indian and other oppressed people.

In 1962, Hercules, the section of Pretoria in which Nanabhai lived, was declared a "white area" under the "Group Areas Act". He was ordered to vacate and move from his home — which he had occupied since 1923 — to Laudium, a segregated Indian location 11 miles away. He defied the order and was taken to court on December 10th, the United Nations Human Rights Day.

Denouncing the Group Areas Act as designed to enforce inferiority on the non-white people and cause economic ruination of the Indian communi-

ty, he told the court overflowing with spectators:

"Sir, from what I have said, I have no hesitation in describing the Group Areas Act as racially discriminatory, cruel, degrading, and inhuman. Being a follower of Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of Satyagraha, I dare not bow my head to the provisions of the unjust Act. It is my duty to resist injustice and oppression. I have therefore decided to defy the order and am prepared to bear the full brunt of the law.

It is very significant that I appear before you on this the tenth day of December, to be condemned and sentenced for my stand on conscience. Today is Human Rights Day — the day on which the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by the world at the United Nations. It is a day on which the people of the world rededicate themselves to the principles of truth, justice and humanity. If my suffering in the cause of these noble principles could arouse the conscience of white South Africa, then I shall not have strived in vain.

Sir my age is 64. I am suffering with chronic ailments of gout and arthritis but I do not plead in mitigation. On the contrary I plead for a severe or the highest penalty that you are allowed under the Act to impose on me."

He was sentenced to a fine of one hundred rands or three months in prison, and warned that if he failed to comply he would be given twice that sentence. He refused to pay the fine and spent three months in prison.

The next year, as he and his wife, Pemi, continued to occupy their home, he was again taken to court and sentenced to six months in prison.

The authorities charged him and his wife again in 1965. He appealed to the Supreme Court challenging the validity of the Group Areas Act. The matter dragged on for a year before his appeal was dismissed.

When the trial resumed in 1967, Nanabhai read a 19-page statement on the background of the Group Areas Act which he described as a "crime against humanity", and said:

"The Act is cruel, callous, grotesque, abominable, unjust, vicious and humiliating.

It brands us as an inferior people in

perpetuity, condemns us as uncivilised barbarians ... One day the framers of this Act will stand before a much higher authority for the misery and the humiliation they are causing ...

If you find me guilty of the offence for which I am standing before you I shall willingly and joyfully suffer whatever sentence you may deem to pass on me as my suffering will be nothing compared to the suffering of my people under the Act. If my suffering in the cause of noble principles of truth, justice and humanity could arouse the conscience of white South Africa then I shall not have strived in vain ... I ask for no leniency. I am ready for the sentence."

Many Indians attended the trial and wept when he concluded his statement.

He was sentenced again to six months' imprisonment and served the term, declining the alternative of a fine of two hundred rands. His wife was given a suspended sentence.

On his release from prison, he said:

"It is immaterial how many other people accept or submit to a law — or if all people accept it. If to my conscience it is unjust, I must oppose it.

The mind is fixed that any injustice must be resisted. So it does not require a special decision each time one is faced with injustice — it is a continuation of our commitment."

(Jill Chisholm in *Rand Daily Mail*, April 6, 1968).

Forced removal

Soon after, on April 8, 1968, Nanabhai and Pemi were forcibly ejected from their home and government officials dumped their belongings on the sidewalk. But they returned to their home and Nanabhai never complied with the order until he died in December 1969.

Few others followed Nanabhai's example of determined non-violent resistance in the 1960's. The militants among the Indians, espousing armed struggle, had been captured, or went into exile, or tried to rebuild underground structures which had been smashed by the regime in

1963-64. The traders, who were severely affected by the Group Areas Act, had given up resistance after all their petitions, demonstrations and legal battles had failed. A silence of the graveyard seemed to have descended over the country.

But the resistance of Nanabhai was not in vain. It showed that non-violent defiance need not be abandoned even at a time of massive repression or armed confrontation. It inspired people in efforts to overcome frustration and apathy. The Indian Congresses, which had become dormant, were resuscitated in later years and helped build the powerful United Democratic Front.

Nana Sita's children — Maniben Sita and Ramlal Bhoolia, both veterans of the 1946 passive resistance — played leading roles in the resurgent movement, defying further imprisonment.

As the freedom movement recovered, the Soweto massacre of African schoolchildren on June 16, 1976, failed to intimidate the people. Thousands of young people joined the freedom fighters. And many more began to demonstrate their support of the struggle and defy the regime, making several laws inoperative. The struggle entered a new stage.

The mass non-violent defiance campaign, which swelled in recent years like a torrent encompassing hundreds of thousands of people, has made a great contribution, together with the armed struggle and international solidarity action, in forcing the racist regime to seek a peaceful settlement. South Africa, the land where Gandhiji discovered Satyagraha, has enriched his philosophy by adapting it under the most difficult conditions.

Nana Sita — who held up the torch when the movement was at an ebb — was in a sense the last of the Gandhians. The mass democratic movement now derives inspiration from many sources, including the experience of the long struggle of the African people and the Gandhian tradition cherished by the Indian community.

Nana Sita is remembered with respect as his colleagues in struggle — Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada and others now out of jail — lead the nation in its continuing efforts to eliminate apartheid and build a non-racial democratic society.

INTERVIEW

OBSTACLES TO PEACE IN NATAL

John Jeffery is employed by attorneys in Pietemaritzburg, who deal with families affected by the violence in Natal. He spoke to Sechaba in June, while he was visiting London as part of a delegation sent by COSATU to solicit support for the peace moves in Natal.



What is the purpose of the visit you and other representatives of COSATU have made to London?

On May 5, COSATU took a resolution on the Natal violence. Among other things, the resolution called for the launching of an international campaign to expose the role of Inkatha in the Natal violence, and called on international bodies to take decisive action against Inkatha on this issue. The COSATU delegation has been sent overseas in terms of that resolution, to brief the international community on the situation in Natal.

COSATU believes that there are two people who can stop, or at least significantly lessen, the violence. One is Buthelezi; the other is De Klerk.

Buthelezi has consistently sabotaged peace initiatives. COSATU and Inkatha have signed two separate comprehensive peace agreements in the past, which, if implemented, would have significantly reduced, if not ended, the violence in Natal. Inkatha refused to abide by the terms of the first agreement, and Buthelezi created obstacles to the implementation of the second. Pressure needs to be put on Buthelezi to stop the fighting, and to go back to the peace agreements that have already been signed.

De Klerk is projecting a moderate image in the international community, but, as far as the people of Natal are concerned, there is no difference between De Klerk and P W Botha. We believe that the state has actively encouraged the violence,

and we are dismayed that De Klerk has done nothing to address the problem. The perpetrators of the violence, the Inkatha warlords, still walk free; the police still give direct assistance to some of them, and do not protect the community from attacks. The KwaZulu police, a creation of the apartheid state, still actively side with Inkatha vigilantes; the state still refuses to discipline its own men and to set up a Judicial Commission of Enquiry into the role of the police in Natal.

What is the call you are making to the international community?

We are asking for pressure to be put on Inkatha to stop the killing. We believe that international support for Inkatha, particularly from the Western countries, is encouraging them to continue their reign of terror. We are also calling for international pressure to be maintained, if not increased, on President de Klerk until his government takes effective steps to stop the killings in Natal. De Klerk is attempting to persuade the world that his government is committed to peace and the dismantling of apartheid. The experience of the people of Natal tells a very different story.

What form of pressure do you think De Klerk should put on Buthelezi?

We want De Klerk to take effective steps to end the violence. The warlords should be arrested,

charged and properly prosecuted. There should be a neutral peacekeeping force in Natal. The KwaZulu police should be disbanded. Complaints against policemen should be properly investigated, and those policemen who have serious allegations made against them should be dismissed or suspended pending the outcome of the complaint. There should be a commission of enquiry into the role of the police. That is what we are asking from De Klerk. We are not asking him to go to Buthelezi and tell him to stop the violence; we are asking De Klerk to take effective steps himself.

How did the violence in Natal begin? How would you characterise it?

Buthelezi is trying to portray the violence as an ethnic conflict. He talks about the UDF as an Indian organisation, the ANC as a Xhosa organisation, and Inkatha as the organisation of the Zulus. Others see the violence as a black-on-black conflict.

I feel that the best description is that it is a conflict between people who are benefiting from apartheid and who are seeking to preserve the apartheid system and those who are seeking to replace it with something more democratic. Many of the people in senior leadership positions within Inkatha also occupy positions created by the apartheid system. Chief Buthelezi, for instance, is the Chief Minister of a homeland, while many other Inkatha leaders also occupy positions in the KwaZulu Government or in the system of local government, and are community councillors or chiefs. By ensuring that Inkatha is a hegemonic organisation in Natal, these people can protect their positions.

Some people have tried to portray the conflict as an urban versus rural one. This is not correct, to my mind. Inkatha has found it easier to maintain control over rural areas, and the chiefs are an important line of defence. Many chiefs have, however, come out against Inkatha. There is definitely greater support for CONTRALESA than is reflected in the membership in Natal. It is obviously a problem that the KwaZulu chiefs are employed by KwaZulu, and if they break with

Inkatha then they will face disciplinary action. One of the executive members of the CONTRALESA Natal region, Chief Molefe, has recently been dismissed by Buthelezi. At one stage, Buthelezi also fired the President of CONTRALESA, Chief Maphumulo, who had to appeal to the Supreme Court for reinstatement.

What have been the obstacles to peace with Inkatha?

I think that one of the the problems is that Buthelezi has national ambitions. It appears that he wants to be a key national leader, and in order to be that, he needs a mass following. The vehicle for his mass following is Inkatha. As Inkatha does not take up issues affecting the majority of the people, it has problems maintaining its support.

Natal is crucial as the main support base of Inkatha, and Inkatha has resorted to forced recruitment tactics to obtain membership. There are many allegations of civil servants being forced to pledge their loyalty to Buthelezi to get or keep their jobs, of pensioners being told that they have to be Inkatha members to get their pension and so on.

Forced recruitment also takes on a geographical dimension. If you live in a particular area, you must be a member of Inkatha, and if you refuse you will be forced out or be killed. I believe that one of the main obstacles to peace is that Inkatha benefits from the violence. If there is freedom of association in Natal, Inkatha will have difficulty maintaining its membership.

Inkatha is attempting to project a moderate image to the outside world. They appear as if they are very keen on peace, but as soon as peace talks get down to the concrete steps that need to be taken, Inkatha disrupts them.

The peace talks have shown a consistent pattern. Inkatha will begin by agreeing to talks, initial meetings will take place, progress will be made, sometimes even agreements will be reached, but then Inkatha will find obstacles and give them as a reason to back out of talks.

In December 1987, there was a peace meeting between UDF, COSATU and Inkatha in Pietermaritzburg. The delegates at the meeting agreed

MANDELA SPEAKS AT BUSINESS MEETING

One of the major topics of discussion, if not the main one, in South Africa today, is the future outlook of the economy of the country. The ANC and the MDM continue to make their input in various platforms and forums. In this issue, we publish a deep and thought-provoking statement on "Options for Building an Economic Future," delivered by the Deputy President of the ANC, Comrade Nelson Mandela, at a conference convened by the Consultative Business Movement in Johannesburg in May 1990.



We would like to thank the Consultative Business Movement most sincerely for taking the initiative to convene what is for us a truly historic conference. The mere fact that it is taking place sends an important signal about the need for all South Africans to get together to determine the destiny of our common fatherland.

Recently, I had occasion to read an advertisement inserted in the British press by the Anglo-American Corporation. It begins by quoting various clauses of the Freedom Charter, which

have to do with job-creation, and the provision of food, housing and education. It then poses the very important and correct question — "If the South African economy doesn't deliver, how can any politician hope to?"

That, in a sense, encapsulates the significance of this conference. Both of us, you representing the business world and we a political movement, must deliver. The critical questions are whether we can in fact act together and whether it is possible for either one of us to deliver, if we cannot or will not co-operate.

We hope that the fact that we are meeting here signifies that there is a common acceptance among us that we necessarily must co-operate to ensure that the people do indeed enjoy a decent standard of living, in conditions of freedom.

To establish a system of co-operation requires that we should at least share some common objectives. But it also means that we have to overcome the mutual mistrust that, to some degree, undoubtedly exists between us. We do not have to elaborate the reasons for that mistrust. As South Africans, we all know that they emanate from the fact that on one side of the street are the haves, and on the other, the have-nots; on one side, the whites, and on the other, the blacks.

The interaction that is taking place among us today — and hopefully, in other encounters in future — should help in the process of identifying the common objectives which should become part of a national consensus that will help to bridge the enormous gulfs that separate the different communities in this country. As we discuss, we hope that some of the mistrust will fall away. But, of course, it will be in the process of the honest implementation of what would have been agreed, that this mistrust would finally disappear.

You will, I am certain, remember the nursery rhyme:

*Baa! Baa! black sheep,
Have you any wool?
Yes sir, yes sir,
Three bags full.
One for the master,
One for the dame,
One for the little boy
Who lives down the lane.*

Could it be that when the children composed this simple verse, they understood that it was only the figurative black sheep that would, because it was itself excluded, have sufficient of a sense of justice and compassion to remember the little boy down the lane? Was it because they had seen in practice that the white sheep apportioned only a tenth of its wool, or none at all, to the little boy down the lane?

Many a time the martingales and deprived people whom we represent have posed the same bit-

ter questions that Shylock posed in Shakespeare's

Merchant of Venice:

"Hath not a Jew eyes? Hath not a Jew hands, organs, dimensions, senses, affections, passions? Fed with the same food, hurt with the same weapons, subject to the same diseases, healed by the same means, warmed and cooled by the same winter and summer, as a Christian is? If you prick us, do we not bleed? If you tickle us, do we not laugh? If you poison us, do we not die? And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that ... the villainy you teach me, I will execute; and it shall be so hard, but I will better the instruction."

Questions such as these, whether about black sheep or the universal nature of human pain and suffering, can only be posed by people who are discriminated against, in a society that condemns them to persistent deprivation of the material artefacts and the dignity that are due to them as human beings. We pose them for the same reasons.

The bitterness of a Shylock, who threatens to execute and even better the villainy which his persecutors have taught him by their example, is a feeling that comes naturally to those who are hurt by systematic and systemic abuse. It should come as no surprise that it lurks in the breasts of many whom this society has considered and treated as disposable cyphers.

The issue we are addressing is the one of power and the uses and abuses of power. Those among us who are white come from that section of our population that has power, and, in a sense, total power, over the lives of the black people. Nothing within the sphere of human endeavour is excepted — be it political, economic, military, educational or any other. Indeed, this even extends to the right to decide who shall live and who shall die.

These may sound like harsh words, but the reality that is unseen inside the boardrooms, by those who exercise power, across the length and breadth of this country, is harsher still. The anger in the heart of Shylock is abroad in our society. This is a fact to which we should be very sensitive, without any attempt at self-deception.

One of the fundamental issues that the process of transformation must address is the question of the structure of power. Within the political sphere what has to be done seems clear enough. I think we would all agree that we must have a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa. The specific manner in which this would be expressed in a constitution is something that will have to be negotiated, preferably within an elected constituent assembly.

I think we would also all agree that every adult citizen should have the right to vote and be elected into an organ of government. There should be an entrenched and justiciable bill of rights, which should guarantee the fundamental human rights of all citizens.

People should be free to form or to belong to parties of their choice. There should be regular elections so that the people decide who should be on the driving seat. Power should devolve to lower organs of government so as to ensure the broadest participation of the people in the democratic process.

I would like to believe that on these and other political matters we are in agreement. Such an outcome is important both in itself and in order to create a situation of peace and stability. We should all accept fully that the economy cannot deliver unless the political objectives we have outlined are realised.

All this, of course, addresses the issue of the structure of political power. We are saying it must change radically. The cause of our discontent is, in part, our exclusion from the exercise of political power and our consequent condemnation to a situation of being the victims of the abuse of power. The inclusion of all the people of South Africa within a genuinely democratic system will therefore remove this particular cause of our discontent.

But then, what about economic power? This, obviously, is one of the thorniest issues that must be addressed. It is said that less than ten corporate conglomerates control almost 90% of the shares listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. If somebody did any arithmetical calculation, he or she would probably find that the total number of people who sit on the boards of these companies as directors is far less than one thousand. These

will almost exclusively be white males. If you add to this the fact that 87% of the land is, by law, white-owned and is in fact owned by a minority even among the whites, then the iniquity of the system we have all inherited becomes even more plain.

If we are genuinely interested in ending the old social order and bringing in a new one, characterised by the notions of justice and equity, it is quite obvious that the economic power relations represented by the reality of the excessive concentration of power in a few white hands have to change. We make this demand not as a result of any imperative that might be said to derive from ideological convictions. We make it because we cannot see how it would be possible to pull our country out of the economic crisis, in part caused and exemplified by white control of economic power while, at the same time, we perpetuate this power structure.

It might be said that international experience shows that it is wisest not to tamper with this power structure. The argument is made that the sanctity of private property, and the incentive and dynamism that derive from private ownership, should convince all of us to accept, if not welcome, this economic power structure as a fact of life. What we would like to say is that, while we look at economic models and study the experiences of other countries, we should not forget that we are dealing with South Africa, with its own history, its own reality and its own imperatives. One of these imperatives is to end white domination in all its forms, to deracialise the exercise of economic power.

If we are agreed about this objective, as it affects the economy, then, I trust, we can begin a serious discussion about how it should be achieved. It would seem to me necessary that this discussion, vigorous though it has to be, should not be conducted in a manner which makes healthy debate impossible. We would therefore have to avoid throwing epithets at one another, questioning one another's capacity to think, or challenging one another's good faith.

I am not going to present any argument about nationalisation. I would however like to share a secret with you. The view that the only words in the economic vocabulary that the ANC knows are

nationalisation and redistribution is mistaken. There are many issues we shall have to consider as we discuss the question of the democratisation and deracialisation of economic power.

One of these is whether we should not draw on such lessons as we might learn from the anti-trust laws of the United States or the work of the Monopolies Commission in Great Britain to address the issue of how to ensure that there is no unhealthy over-concentration of economic power. The application of those lessons would of course have to take into account the economic realities of our own country which might dictate various optimal sizes for different firms.

The factors that would have to be considered would include the necessity to achieve economies of scale, the capacity to generate the necessary critical mass of investible funds, the strength to compete successfully on the international markets, the ability to participate in serious research and development, and so on.

Another issue we might have to consider is the advisability or otherwise of the placement on the boards of privately owned companies of directors appointed by the government, to see whether it is possible to balance the pursuit of private gain with the need to promote the common good.

I would also like to stress that we do not want to have everything done by the new government. A healthy relationship between employers and trade unions is crucial to the country's future. We agree with the view that progressive labour legislation, allowing strong unions to carry out centralised bargaining, will help to solve many important issues. The question of a living wage, job security and industrial restructuring must be dealt with in the bargaining process.

Yet another question we might consider is whether there are no areas in which it would benefit society at large if the state established public corporations or strengthened existing ones. One of these areas might be housing, where it seems clear that there is an urgent need for vigorous state intervention rapidly to expand the country's stock of habitable accommodation. Another area is suggested by the need for state encouragement of small and medium business as well as the co-operative sector, especially as there is a crying need for the multiplication of economic

activities that will lead to the creation of new jobs.

We might mention at this point that we are firmly opposed to the process of privatisation on which the government has embarked. It seems to us eminently wrong for the government to engage in this important restructuring exercise precisely at the moment when the whole country and the world expect that fundamental political change is in the offing. It would seem only reasonable that so important a question as the disposal of public property should be held over until a truly representative government is in place. Additionally and inevitably, the process of privatisation cannot but reinforce the economic power relations which we assert have to be changed.

As we have said, the land question must also be addressed within the context of the restructuring of the old economic power relations. Recent state actions to sell state land and to evict people from white farms are entirely unhelpful to these purposes. Before anything else is done, the racist and discriminatory land acts have to be repealed. Furthermore, serious discussions and planning must take place involving the rural people and their representatives, the democratic government, those who own land, and the country as a whole, so that we can all address the related issues of making land available to the land-hungry masses, while ensuring the necessary increases in the production of food and agricultural raw materials.

We still believe that there must be further discussion of the issue of nationalisation of assets that might at the moment be privately owned. The ANC has no blueprint that decrees that these or other assets will be nationalised, or that such nationalisation would take this or the other form. But we do say that this option should also be part of the ongoing debate, subject to critical analysis as any other and viewed in the context of the realities of South African society. It should not be ruled out of the court of discussion simply because of previous bad experience or because of a theological commitment to the principle of private property.

We are very conscious of the critical importance of such matters as the confidence in the future of both the national and the international business communities and investors. We accept that both these sectors are very important to the

process of the further development of our economy. We can therefore have no desire to go out of our way to bash them and to undermine or weaken their confidence in the safety of their property and the assurance of a fair return on their investment. But we believe that they too must be sensitive to the fact that any democratic government will have to respond to the justified popular concern about the grossly unequal distribution of economic power.

There should be no debate among us about the centrality of the issue of ensuring a rapidly growing economy. To ensure a rising standard of living, the gross domestic product must grow at rates that are higher than rate of growth of the population. Various figures have been thrown around about the possible and desirable rates of growth. This conference will obviously not have the possibility to look at these figures and to study their macro-economic implications.

But, of course, the issues, about which I am sure we are agreed, of the need to generate significant domestic savings, to attract substantial foreign investment and to keep the rate of inflation reasonably low, are central to the discussion of the question of economic growth. Perhaps there are only three or four points we should raise at this stage.

One of these is that we are concerned at persistent reports that some of our own domestic companies have been and are involved in a process of exporting capital from this country. We cannot sit here, verbally welcome the prospect of democratic transformation, talk of the need rapidly to develop the economy, and at the same time reduce the means that would make such development actually possible.

The second point is that it is important that we should stop propagating the gloomy picture of a South Africa that, as it is said, will inevitably sink into the economic crisis that afflicts many African countries.

The third is that it seems obvious that the democratic parliament, together with the public at large, should elaborate a macro-economic indicative national plan to provide a framework within which to determine the directions of growth policy. We are saying, in other words, that the process of growth cannot be left to develop spon-

taneously because it would ineluctably result in the structural distortions and imbalances which have to be corrected.

In this connection, we should all accept the reality that growth by itself will not ensure equity. A situation could develop in which, in terms of levels of income, we continue to have a persistent gap between the haves and have-nots, despite any increase that may take place in the standard of living of the latter.

I am therefore raising the question that the matter of the redistribution of wealth in conditions of a genuine economy, is one that must be faced squarely and addressed firmly. I am sure it is common cause among us that the very fact of an expanding market, resulting from the process of wealth reaching those who were formerly deprived, is itself a condition for and an engine of economic growth.

We are of course all concerned about the need generally to raise the level of education of all our people and in particular rapidly to increase the numbers of black engineers, technicians, artisans and other skilled persons. This would of course make a decisive contribution to the critical issue of the level of productivity in the economy as a whole. It would also place the issue of the relative and absolute increase of income accruing to the black section of our population within the context of expanding national wealth, in whose expansion they would have played an important part.

The penultimate issue we wish to raise is the matter of public spending. There can be no doubt that the public finances will come under enormous pressure for increased spending in education, housing, health, unemployment benefits, pensions and so on. It should be commonly agreed among us that the democratic state must indeed have a responsibility to provide this material cushion, at least to protect the most disadvantaged.

Certainly, the present-day apartheid absurdity must be addressed whereby public per capita social spending on the whites is at least six times higher than on Africans. However complicated the economics of bridging this gap and instituting a rational system of social welfare which actually increases social welfare, something will have to be done in this area as a matter of urgency. Indeed, we could say that even now, as we enter

a period of transition, it might be necessary to establish mechanisms by which those who have been excluded from power play a role in determining the disbursement of public funds.

The concerns that have been raised with regard to the capacity of the tax base to carry a vastly increased state budget are of course important and legitimate. But in a situation of rapid economic growth such as we have spoken of, it would be necessary to review the system of taxation. The aim would be to reduce the burden of direct and indirect taxation on sections of the community least capable of looking after themselves and to shift more of the load on to the corporate sector without, of course, producing a situation of diminishing returns.

But obviously enormous savings will be made as a result of the abolition of the multi-headed hydra represented by the various apartheid administrative structures. Defence spending will also have to be reduced radically as a result of the thinning down of the defence establishment, a process which must also lead to the conversion of military production facilities to civilian needs.

We would also be of the view that we should build a state system which does not seek to administer the lives of people as though they were wards of the state. The situation should therefore be fought against in which there would be a bloated and unproductive civil service.

The democratic project in which we are all interested cannot succeed unless the economy can deliver. The reality is that the economy is in a terrible crisis. Unemployment is increasing. Black employment is the same now as it was ten years ago. The rate of investment in fixed capital is decreasing. Inflation is high. There is no prospect of getting out of the morass while the apartheid system of white minority rule remains in place.

The international community would like to come back as an interested participant in the creation of a society which can serve as an example in terms of the solution of the race question and the institution of a healthy system of race relations. For us to be able to persuade the world that it must invest in South Africa, that it must extend aid to us, that it should agree on a Marshall Aid plan, we must be able to report to the na-

tions that white minority domination is no more.

We must also report that all the people of South Africa are working at the building of a national consensus which will ensure that never again will our country be torn apart by the criminal divisions which the apartheid system imposed on all our people.

In the direct interest of the lives of all our people this system must go now. None of us can afford a delay which will lead to the further destruction of the economy and the heightening of social tensions and conflict. We believe you have as much an obligation as we have to bend every effort to ensure a democratic political system is instituted without delay.

The effort to build the new means that we abandon the old. The Nationalist Party, responding to the failure of its grand design, is taking the first steps in the process of abandoning apartheid ideology. This change in our overall reality has made it possible for us all to move towards a just political settlement.

We need the same transformation in the economic sphere. You, as businessmen and women, have the obligation to engage in this process. I hope that you are able to abandon old ideas and think about the future in new terms. Once such ideas are born, we know that you will have the courage to act on them.

In this manner, we could begin to shape our economic and political destiny in the interest of justice, peace and progress. We trust that you will consider this carefully and reflect on the question — what are you prepared to do for your country, rather than what your country can do for you.

We hope that what we have said might assist in the process of building a national consensus of the direction we have to choose in order to end the agony of apartheid and racism, of poverty and deprivation, of internal conflict and international isolation.

The people who are dying in Natal, the injured of Welkom, the people who are being evicted from the farms in the Western Transvaal, the millions of the unemployed in the towns, cities and the countryside, demand a solution. All of us present here have an obligation to use the levers of power and influence we hold in our hands to ensure that the new day dawns now.

SONG

*For our sake
Children and nation
Here we are
From far-flung Africa
From a land divided against itself
Mothers denied the comfort of family life
Mothers denied the comfort of raising children in peace
We dare to rise up above the limits of kitchen life
We emerge out of the belly of imperialism and reaction
Proud wives of loving husbands
Whose courage slavery has failed to destroy
The loving husband
I last saw him in the darkness of the night
And as he was lying there in the darkness
They said he hanged himself
It is not true
Matebula had a gentle heart
He disappeared underneath the soil
Searching for gold
He left me with four children
The eldest who was our breadwinner
Died for it
How long must we suffer in this way
How long must our wombs bear children
Only to see them die of malnutrition
Or from racist bullets
My son who disappeared into exile
Fleeing persecution
Was murdered in his sleep in Mozambique
Indeed, the air we breathe in Southern Africa
Has the aroma of blood
The blood of our brothers and sisters
Of children
In Angola, Zambia, Namibia, Botswana
We raise our voices in support of all these frontline countries
Sing songs of praise for their courageous support
We hold out our hands to all the women of the world
To join us in our cause
We women are the mothers of our nation
Malibongwe*

(Sung by women in Lusaka, at a meeting on the violence in Natal)

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Sir

As one of, I imagine, many new readers of *Sechaba*, I was very interested in the article by P M Mtshaulana about proportional representation, and I share his view that the ANC should give it careful consideration, having campaigned over many years for its adoption in the United Kingdom.

In February, I heard Nelson Mandela declare that his aim was to create a South Africa in which everyone had a vote, and every vote counted equally. As your article shows, proportional representation would allow this aspiration to be realised, and at the same time it would provide a measure of reassurance to the white population that their view would not be obliterated altogether in a 'winner takes all' election.

The letter by Linda Khumalo published in the June 1989 issue of *Sechaba* wanders around the subject without addressing the key issue: should a democratic organisation support the principle that all votes count equally, or should it allow that some votes are more equal than others? I would suggest that it should adhere to the former principle.

Mr Khumalo is rightly worried by the prospect of a racially-based white party securing a significant share of parliamentary seats under a proportional electoral system, but it seems to me that this is to some extent an inevitable step on the road to genuine non-racial democracy. It is only to be expected, in the early years of the new order in South Africa, that traditional loyalties will continue to be important to people, but I see no reason why the ANC should feel threatened by this. In time, one would expect politics to grow to resemble those of most other countries, and parties to attract votes on economic, social and environmental policies, not because they represent racial groups. I believe that South Africa will indeed achieve such a state, but it would be foolish to suppose that it will happen overnight.

I would invite the leaders of the ANC to think about the matter from first principles, and weigh up the logic of the case. In the United Kingdom,

an undemocratic electoral system has allowed Margaret Thatcher to impose unpopular measures on the British people, and to exert an undue and unwelcome influence upon international relations. The African National Congress will not need reminding of her part in undermining the sanctions campaign, and her refusal, despite her professed abhorrence of apartheid, to countenance any action which could have brought about reforms.

During the 1964 Rivonia Trial, Nelson Mandela described the British Parliament as "the most democratic institution in the world,"* and at that time many British people held the same view. However, 11 years of Mrs Thatcher's increasingly authoritarian administration, sustained throughout on a minority vote, have convinced many of us that Westminster is hardly a democratic institution at all, and certainly not one to recommend to others as a model. I would not be surprised to learn that Mr Mandela had also revised his view in the light of the British experience in the years since 1964.

These are exciting times for the ANC and South Africa, but difficult times. The impending negotiations with the De Klerk government will demand compromises on both sides, but proportional representation could be the system to satisfy many of the aspirations of both progressive and conservative politicians. I would be very interested to read, in a future issue of *Sechaba*, the views of some of the members of the National Executive Committee.

Yours faithfully
Alan Clarke

Bristol, UK
June 28, 1990

Nelson Mandela, *The Struggle Is My Life*, 1990 edition, p.176

BOOK REVIEW

FLYING APARTHEID

Theo Ruyter: *Apartheid by Air*, published by the Holland Committee on Southern Africa, Amsterdam, April 1990, \$2.

growing demand for a ban on air traffic with South Africa. As Reverend Beyers Naude said in 1987: "It is not a violent method. The airports of Botswana and Zimbabwe are quite suited to replace those of South Africa. Then South African passengers have to go to their neighbours in order to fly abroad. That is time-consuming and cumbersome and will hopefully cause them to consider the consequences of apartheid."

In *Apartheid by Air* by Theo Ruyter, the successes and failures of the ban on air links with South Africa are described.

Apart from having an important economic effect on the apartheid state, an air traffic ban has other advantages. There is a profound psychological effect that reinforces the already strongly felt sentiment in South Africa of being isolated by the international community. Most blacks in South Africa are unaffected by such a ban, except for indirect effects such as a decrease of employment opportunities in the air services or a price rise in imported goods (which most blacks cannot afford anyway).

A ban on air traffic with South Africa will also provide an economic push for the neighbouring states, which comprise the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference (SADCC), an organisation trying to promote self-reliance and economic independence from South Africa. Such a ban also facilitates the campaign to discourage tourism to South Africa, and helps to promote the call that sanctions against South Africa must continue until apartheid is dismantled.

Over the years, the African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, the Mass Democratic Movement and other organisations within South Africa have called for sanctions to hasten an end to apartheid in our country. The need to keep up the pressure on the regime has not changed, despite the changes introduced by the De Klerk government. The deputy president of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, said after his release on February 11 1990: "We call on the in-



Air traffic plays a vital role in transport and communication within and between countries, and this is certainly the case with apartheid South Africa, which is situated far from other industrialised and capitalist countries with whom it has close links.

Clearly, one of the vulnerable spots in the regime's economy is the traffic of passengers and freight by air, and since 1985 there has been a

ternational community to continue the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime. To lift sanctions now would be to run the risk of aborting the process towards the complete eradication of apartheid."

Until now, the call for a ban on air traffic with South Africa has only been marginally successful. One of the reasons for this is that the call for a ban is rarely backed by effective measures of enforcement. Mandatory decisions by the Security Council have been blocked by western vetoes, and the Commonwealth call failed to attain its objectives because of strong opposition from the British government.

Since 1958, countries that have heeded the call for a ban on air links with South Africa include the Nordic countries (Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway and Sweden), the United States, Australia, Canada, Japan and New Zealand.

The Organisation for African Unity (OAU) has made several calls for member states to ban South African Airways and other airlines en route to or from South Africa from their air space. Unfortunately, economic reasons have prevented many countries from responding to this call. Several countries in Southern Africa still have direct air links with South Africa only because of their continuing economic dependence on the regime.

Disappointingly few governments have taken concrete measures regarding a ban on air links with South Africa. Some airlines and governments in Western Europe have bluntly refused to join the boycott. After the US severed its links with South Africa, British Airways, Lufthansa (West Germany) and Swissair (Switzerland) increased their flights to South Africa.

Other sanctions-busters are Sabena (Belgium) and KLM (Netherlands). Lufthansa defends its actions by saying it is "neither the airline of the former colonial masters nor identified with apartheid," while KLM, according to the author, has become a symbol of the kinship between apartheid South Africa and the Netherlands. In the 1970s it was revealed that KLM operated a list of black stewardesses who were not allowed to serve on planes to South Africa, and that KLM had distributed South African propaganda magazines in Western Europe. KLM also revealed that it had supplied information about the travelling

programme of South African churchman Allan Boesak to South African intelligence after he had flown KLM. It is only in recent years, because of growing pressure inside and outside the company, that KLM has become more cautious about its dealings with South Africa.

The French airline UTA, Alitalia, the Portuguese airline TAP, and Olympic Airways, do their best to defy the ban on air links with South Africa. According to the author, these airlines, no matter if they are state-owned or private, are not prepared to change routes for other than purely commercial reasons - they will not stop flying to and from South Africa unless forced to do so by their respective governments.

The author concludes by saying that campaigning against air links with the regime can take place on three levels — internationally, nationally and on an individual level. European anti-apartheid organisations can concentrate on bringing pressure on the decision-makers of the European Community, while public opinion can be mobilised and individuals can still resort to their own "personal campaign" to isolate the apartheid regime.

This booklet is a good guide on this subject and gives factual information on those who are defying the air ban as well as how other airlines come in to rescue South African passengers, for example, when the USA imposed its ban on the South African Airways landing in the USA.

To some readers elsewhere it may appear as a belated book with the EEC countries speaking of "easing" sanctions against the Pretoria regime, but I certainly do not think so. The struggle for sanctions continues and this is the time when there should be more pressure. To lessen the pressure on any front would help the South African regime to drag its feet even more. It is when the reality of the effect of sanctions gets into the minds of ordinary white South Africans that they will realise that the apartheid system is a hindrance to the emergence of the peaceful and prosperous life that could be theirs and that of the rest of the people of South Africa.

Anti-apartheid activists everywhere, in South Africa and abroad, will be enriched in their approach on this subject by obtaining a copy of the booklet.

— DM

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

ALGERIA

5 Rue Ben M'hidi Larbi
Algiers

ANGOLA

PO Box 3523
Luanda

AUSTRALIA

Box 49 Trades Hall
4 Goulburn Street
Sydney NSW 2000

BELGIUM

PO Box 137
1040 Brussels

CANADA

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

CUBA

Calle 21A
NR 20617
Esquina 214 Atabey
Havana

DENMARK

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

EGYPT

5 Ahmad Hismat Street
Zamalek
Cairo

ETHIOPIA

PO Box 7483
Addis Ababa

FINLAND

PO Box 336
00531 Helsinki

**FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY**

Postfach 190140
5300 Bonn 1

FRANCE

28 Rue des Petites Ecuries
75010 Paris

**GERMAN DEMOCRATIC
REPUBLIC**

Angerweg 2
Wilhelmsruh
Berlin 1106

INDIA

50KP Thacker Block
Asian Games Village
Siri Fort Road
Khel Gaon Marg
New Delhi-110049

ITALY

Via S. Prisca 15a
00153 Rome

JAPAN

SOHYO Building 6F
3-2-11 Kanda-Surugadai
Chiyoda-Ku
Tokyo 101

KENYA

PO Box 40432
Nairobi

MADAGASCAR

PO Box 80
Antananarivo

NETHERLANDS

PO Box 16657
1001 RD Amsterdam

NIGERIA

Federal Government
Special Guest House
Victoria Island
Lagos.

NORWAY

PO Box 6765
St Olavs Plass
N-0130 Oslo 1

SENEGAL

26 Avenue Albert Sarraut
PO Box 3420
Dakar

SPAIN

Hermanus Garcia Nobeljas 41
8th Floor
280 37 MADRID
Spain

SWEDEN

Box 6183
S-102 33
Stockholm

TANZANIA

PO Box 2239
Dar es Salaam
PO Box 680
Morogoro

USSR

Konyushkovskaya Street 28
Moscow 123242

UNITED KINGDOM

PO Box 38
28 Penton Street
London N1 9PR

UNITED STATES

801 Second Avenue
Apt 405
New York NYC 10017

ZAMBIA

PO Box 31791
Lusaka

Annual Subscriptions:

USA and Canada (air mail only): \$30

All other countries: £12

Please make cheques payable to:

Sechaba Publications c/o ANC PO Box 38 London N1 9PR

Published by the African National Congress of South Africa, PO Box 31971, Lusaka, Zambia

