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MONTHLY



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



ISANDHAWANA  
— 1879 —

# SECHABA

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**COVER:**

Dabulamanzi, centre, Cetshwayo's brother, who led the Undi regiment against the British at Isandhlwana.

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# FRELIMO MAKES HISTORY

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"...a new era has emerged in Mozambique, an era which is characterised by a conscious attempt to lay the foundations of a socialist society..."

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The correct policy of Frelimo led them to victory, a victory which was not only for the Portuguese territories but also for us. In South Africa itself there were organised some "Viva Frelimo" rallies which preceded the Soweto uprisings.

The Third Congress of Frelimo which took place in Maputo from February 3 to 7, 1977 was attended by 379 Mozambican delegates and 39 delegates from abroad. The Congress took a number of important and indeed historic decisions after weeks of discussion throughout the country accompanied by a symbolic march, the "Congress March for Socialism". All this and much more is to be found in the "Central Committee Report to the Third Congress of Frelimo" published by the Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre by arrangement with the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

The document deals with "The History of Frelimo and of the Struggle for revolutionary transformations" from the formation of Frelimo on June 25, 1962 to the Third Congress and the future of the struggle. There is a lot about the problems which confronted Frelimo. One of them was the fact that the military victories of Frelimo and its orientation towards production of goods "led to a rapid growth in agricultural production and to a creation of a surplus. The appearance of a surplus in production and the pressing need to organise the semi-liberated areas' trade, both internal and foreign, created objective conditions for the emergence of new exploiters...these differences masked the fundamental contradiction that were contained: class antagonism."

These problems which at times took

a fierce form, were solved in the process of armed struggle in which politics played a predominant role. This document is proof of this: it is the politics of national liberation in Mozambique that impress and inspire us. Frelimo fought many battles: creating the new man, health service, the battle for information, the internal front and in the international arena.

The adoption of the constitution and the transformation of Frelimo into a "revolutionary party, a party of the new type" meant that a new era has emerged in Mozambique, an era which is characterised by a conscious attempt to lay the foundations of a socialist society in Mozambique. The document ends with a clarion call: "We shall be what we build. Nobody will come from outside to create our prosperity for us. Nobody will come to make the Revolution in our stead.

United, organised, armed with our scientific ideology, with Frelimo, the vanguard Party of our People, to lead us, we shall build the Nation we desire, we shall give our children the future they deserve..."

All revolutionaries and friends of Africa must read this revolutionary Report of the Central Committee of Frelimo.

**A luta continua — A Vittoria e certa!**

*The document is available at the Mozambique, Angola and Guine Information Centre, 34 Percy Street, London W1P 9FG*



*Samora Machel with the late President Eduardo Mondlane in July 1968*

# MARTYR

of the revolutionary armed struggle



ZIPRA COMMANDER  
COMRADE ALFRED NKOMO MANGENA

28th JUNE 1978

**ZIMBABWE  
MUST BE  
LIBERATED**

# APARTHEID IN CRISIS

CURRENT NEWS AND COMMENT FROM  
APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

## THE MULDER SCANDAL

Evidence emerging from South Africa's Information Department scandal confirms and underlines the fact that South Africa is in a state of siege. In response to its growing international isolation and the ever increasing militancy of the oppressed black majority, the Apartheid State embarked upon, what up to the Summer of 1977, was a clandestine, but aggressive propaganda campaign on all fronts.

The story begins in 1972, when the Prime Minister, John Vorster, by his own admission arranged for secret funds to be allocated to the now defunct Department of Information to, as he put it "assist the department in a delicate and unconventional way, in combating the total onslaught against South Africa". The Department of Information worked on the philosophy that the country's survival was at stake, and as such, all its activities must be conducted as if 'in a state of war'. In practice, this meant that none of the conventional rules and regulations applied, and, as Dr. Connie Mulder, the Minister of Information put it "we fight with everything we have". With this 'no rules' philosophy the Department embarked upon an elaborate plan to gain access to, and where possible, take control of communications media on a world-wide scale — the object, to portray South Africa as a country of stability and prosperity. To achieve this objective, the Department of Information created a whole network of 'front organisations' through which funds

could be channelled to finance the takeover of newspapers, publishing companies and activities of pro-apartheid bodies, some of whom were supposedly independent of the minority government. The South African Freedom Foundation, the Foreign Affairs Association and the Club of Ten came into this latter category.

Appropriately, the Department of Information concentrated its overseas campaign on the United States and Britain — the two countries with the closest economic ties with South Africa and where there is a strong anti-apartheid lobby. In 1973, the first of many full page advertisements, placed by the mysterious Club of 10, in support of the South African reich, appeared in the British and American press. The Club of 10 was ostensibly a group of international businessmen who were friends of South Africa, but who above all else, wished to remain anonymous. Suspicions that the Club of 10 was merely a front organisation of the Department of Information, had always been vehemently denied by the South African Embassy in London. But on June 24 this year the Club of Ten's anonymity was blown when Judge Gerald Sparrow, a right wing British barrister publically stated that he was responsible for placing the advertisements in the British press, on behalf of the Department of Information, who controlled and financed the project to the tune of R400,000 in three years. Judge Sparrow also indicted Vorster, when he



Dave BASKILL

emphatically stated that, "all lines led ultimately to the Prime Minister's office and he (Vorster) was completely informed of all activities at home and abroad". Two days later, the Rand Daily Mail identified the copywriter of the advertisements as a Mr. Les de Villiers. Mr. de Villiers was the deputy secretary of the Department of Information and is now a member of the American based Sydney S. Baron public relations firm, whose biggest client happens to be the South African regime.

While the Club of 10 placed adverts in prominent newspapers, two Johannesburg businessmen, David Abramson and Stuart Pegg made numerous attempts to buy into the British press. Prime targets were the Investor's Chronicle and Investor's Review magazines. Having failed in this takeover bid, their company, Hortors bought a 20% share in the U.K. firm Morgan-Grampian — a company that publishes over 40 magazines in Britain. Abramson's link with the Department of Information was via a Mr. Louis Luyt. In a sworn statement to the now disbanded Mostert Judicial Commission, Mr. Luyt openly declared that he was part front man for the Information Department's project to establish the pro-government English language newspaper, the Citizen (more of this later). Of course, Abramson denied any connection with Louis Luyt. But on November 9, 1978, hard evidence in the form of post-dated cheques were produced clearly showing that Louis Luyt had deposited nearly R14 million in the bank account of the Homerus Finance Corporation, a company controlled by Abramson and another Johannesburg businessman, John Heinrich.

In America, South Africa's Ministry of Information supports an expensive lobby in Washington. But apart from Pretoria's effort to make friends among the upper reaches of the U.S. Government, its propaganda campaign is also aimed at the American public. The central figure in this campaign is the American publisher, John Mc Goff. Mr. Mc Goff owns more than 50 newspapers in the U.S. which makes his newspaper chain one of the biggest in America. In addition to his position as a

powerful publisher of domestic dailies and weeklies, Mc Goff is also chairman and majority shareholder in the London based UPI television network. In 1975, Mc Goff made a bid for the large daily newspaper, the Washington Star. At the time he told reporters that one of the reasons he wanted the Star was to help sell the South African cause. But two of his newspaper chains which operated in Michigan, Illinois, Florida, California and Washington D.C., as well as his television news business were already performing this function. In fact, John Mc Goff's activities to promote the South African cause were so extensive and well known, that he is seen in America as the 'informal ambassador and advocate of the beleaguered Afrikaner regime'. With this background it was not altogether surprising to find that John Mc Goff was given R10 million, from secret Information Department funds, to take over the Washington Star.

Mc Goff was not alone in his efforts. The Information Ministry employed a Sydney S. Baron public relations firm, at a cost of R½ million a year to put, what amounts to a pretty face on Apartheid. In June 1977, while the oppressed masses of our country paid homage to those who fell at the 76' Soweto uprisings, the Information Department hosted an all expenses paid two-day U.S. Conference, on the advantages of investing in South Africa, for some 350 American businessmen.

Part of the Department's practice has also been the hosting of all expenses paid trips to South Africa for American Congressmen and influential businessmen. And for this purpose, front organisations like the South African Freedom Foundation and the Foreign Affairs Association were used. Both these organisations made great efforts to promote themselves as organisations totally independent of the regime until November this year, when their paymasters were identified as the Department of Information. But while their cover lasted these organisations hosted the likes of John Connolly, former secretary of the U.S. Treasury, Lord Chalfont, British General, Sir Walter Walker, Rear Admiral Morgan Giles and U.S.





*Vorster's real image — a symbol of fascist South Africa to the outside world*

Governor Meldrin Thomson of New Hampshire. But this is only the tip of the iceberg. On March 6, 1978, in answer to a question in the House of Assembly, Dr. Connie Mulder said: "THE Department of Information, spent R433,423 bringing 139 foreigners from 16 countries to South Africa last year". One characteristic of the Department's lobbying tactics was that it consistently flaunted all the rules of protocol. As a result, in May this year, the House of Representatives in the U.S., took the unprecedented step of initiating a probe into South Africa's lobbying and propaganda activities.

After all that has been said so far, one may well ask why should South Africa spend so much time, effort and money to portray a favourable image of itself abroad? The answer is that Pretoria has long since realised that its survival, is as much dependent on maintaining the momentum of foreign investments in the country and warding off any threat of economic sanctions, as it is on suppressing any revolt by the black majority. And, if there is one thing that can cause the rapid withdrawal of foreign investment it is the slightest hint of instability in a country.

One of the classic examples, of the

Department of Information attempting to use propaganda, to restore stability, was in the South African townships between 1975 and 1976. Richard Mauville, a New York marketing consultant, with a team of cartoonists, created a comic strip called *Mighty Man*. The hero was a black South African, and the story was set in the townships. Mr. J. Van Zyl Alberts, who runs the *To The Point* newsweekly, which was financed by Connie Mulder's Information Department, published the comic strip through a South African firm Afri-Comic (Pty) Ltd. John Mc Goff printed the comics through the South African subsidiary XANAP with a printing press in the Tswana bantustan near Pretoria. The basic guidelines followed by the comic were: "like not screwing around with the Government" said Joe Orlando the lead cartoonist. Mauville expanded this by saying that, "basically we were on the side of law and order, and kids should stay in school and they should obey the law, and all the rest of that stuff which is exactly the format Superman follows". Besides fighting the muggers, the purse snatchers and dagga mearchants *Mighty Man* also dealt death blows to communists and enemy agents! Initially, the *Mighty Man* comic was a hit, with over 75,000 copies being produced. But once our people realised the counter-revolutionary role of *Mighty Man*, they burnt down the news stands forcing publication to cease.

On the academic front, Prof. Andre Kobber, a Dutch anthropologist, found that an organisation called the Foundation for the Study of Plural Societies was spending large sums of money, in what appeared to be an attempt to win academic respectability for Apartheid. The Foundation had published a five volume set of "Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms" and distributed 4,000 copies free of charge to universities and libraries throughout the world, at a cost of over £300,000. What has been established is that one of the assistant editors of the "Case Studies" was Dr. Nic Rhodie, brother of the Secretary for Information, who was

himself Deputy Secretary for Information before he was forced to retire earlier this year, due to the misappropriation of departmental funds.

The covert activities of the Information Ministry came from the most unlikely source. In the summer of 1977 a routine audit in Pretoria by Gerald Barrie, the Auditor-General revealed "an alarming misapplication of funds". Vorster, who was still Prime Minister, set up the one man Mosterts Commission to investigate what was widely believed at the time to be, simply, foreign exchange control violations with a certain degree of corruption by Department of Information personnel. However Judge Anton Mosterts' investigation led him to the front companies set up by the Information Department, for the 'laundering' of secret funds. Louis Luyts evidence to the Commission revealed that he was approached in 1975 by General Van den Bergh, former head of the now defunct Bureau of State Security (BOSS), to act as the 'front man' in a bid to takeover South African Associated Newspapers (SAAN), which publishes the *Rand Daily Mail*, *Cape Times*, *Financial Mail* amongst other papers. For this takeover bid, Secretary for Information, Dr. Eschel Rhodie advanced Luyt R6 million. By October 1975, the takeover bid had failed but this was not the end of the matter. Dr. Rhodie simply doubled the advance to R12 million, and gave the go ahead to establish the first pro-government English-language newspaper. Louis Luyt received the R12 million via the Thesaurus Continental Securities Association, a company registered in Switzerland and in September 1976 the *Citizen* newspaper was born. In Namibia, the Department successfully took over the *Windhoek Advertiser* and the *Allgemeine Zeitung* but failed in their takeover bid for the South and East African magazine, *Drum*.

On May 11, 1978 Dr. Connie Mulder denied in Parliament that his Department either ran or owned any newspaper in South Africa. On November 2, much to the displeasure of the newly elected Prime Minister, Mr. Piet Botha, Judge Mosterts made his



*White South African women being trained in the use of firearms*

findings public. Shattered by the revelations, the establishment responded by terminating the Mosterts enquiry and replacing it by a commission headed by the much more conservative and cautious, Judge Erasmus. Hence the enquiry from this point proceeded in private. Dr. Connie Mulder, who up to a little more than a month ago was narrowly beaten by P.W. Botha to succeed Vorster as Prime Minister, resigned his remaining portfolio as Minister of Plural Relations. His position as Minister of Information became null and void when the Department was disbanded and replaced by the Bureau of National and International Communication in June this year.

The one man who has become the object of hate in the ensuing scandal is Dr. Eschel Rhodie. Not because he master-minded the covert activities but because he corruptly used departmental funds for his own personal use. This ranged from buying luxury flats at the cost of R256,000 to making 12 overseas trips in six months. Over many generations, the Afrikaners convinced themselves that they were a master race. A race that was both racially and morally superior. What Dr. Rhodie's misdemeanours had done, was, to tarnish the image of the upright, godfearing and honest Afrikaner. After all, the Afrikaners

have always justified their activities on the grounds that they were on a God-given mission to bring civilisation to the African continent. Rhodie was forced into early retirement in June this year.

The activities of the Department of Information must be considered within the context of the general trend in South African politics. The newly elected Prime Minister, Piet Botha is a hawk in every sense of the word. As Minister of Defence he was responsible for South Africa's invasion of Angola. With his appointment, the Bureau of State Security was disbanded and replaced by the Department of National Security (DONS). In essence, this means that the Prime Minister's right hand man is General Magnus Melau, Chief of the Defence Force and the Department of Military Intelligence. The militarisation in the fascist camp filters right down to school level, where, security drill operations are being introduced. The objective is to train teachers and pupils "to carry out a preliminary security check and seal off certain areas, before police arrive to carry out the main check". Can there be any doubt that South Africa is in a state of siege?



*Apartheid kills*

# REMEMBER OUR CHILDREN

The United Nations has declared 1979 as the Year of the Child. This declaration to focus on the conditions of children is of importance because of what the genocidal system of Apartheid has brought on the children of South Africa.

For us in South Africa, the Year of the Child becomes yet another front for the intensification of the battle against the inhuman crimes of Apartheid. It is therefore to be seen as the continuation of the year of struggle against Apartheid. It demands far more action against the South African regime both inside and internatio-

nally.

In a country that is plagued by all forms of crises and racism, Blacks in general and children in particular, are the worst victims. The infant mortality rate (ie. the number of deaths under one year per 1,000 live births) is: Whites 18,4 — Coloureds 115,5 — Asians 32,0. The Government does not publish figures relating to African babies. The regime claims that the registration of births and deaths is incomplete. (About 70% of African births and deaths are registered compared with 90% of Whites) According to demographic deductions, the

infant mortality rate amongst Africans has been estimated to be 140.

The loss of children under five, if they are Black, is even more alarming. The percentage of deaths of children under five years, compared with all deaths in each racial group is: Coloured 49.2% - Asian 24.4% - White 6.9%. Again there are no "official" figures for Africans, but in 33 selected municipal districts, in 1969/71, the percentage for Africans was 42.5%.

The irony of the South African situation is that black children die of diseases long wiped out in other developed countries. Enteritis, kwashiorkor, tuberculosis and other diseases caused by malnutrition are amongst the common ones. In the Transkei alone, a survey which was carried out in one region soon after "Independence" revealed that 30% of the children under five years suffer from malnutrition. With the increase of mass removals like Crossroads and others, the situation is likely to worsen. Severe cases require immediate hospital treatment, but lack of proper medical care and high costs for treatment become an added danger. Breast fed babies are less prone to succumb, but how many working mothers can afford to stay at home and nurse their babies when they do not even qualify for maternity leave?

What happens to those who escape this death trap? A white child who has probably attended nursery school, may enter school at the age of 5, whilst his black counterpart must wait until he is seven. In many cases there might not even be a place for him/her. The birth certificate must also be produced and in many cases there is none. In some cases there is neither money for books nor for uniforms. But suppose he or she does get into school, what sort of education is provided! The position is now well-known since the children of Soweto have proclaimed it to the world.

Of every 100 children who start school about 60% of Whites, 22% of Asians, 4.4% of Coloureds and 2% of Africans reach Standard 10. There is a tremendously high drop-out rate, few training and technical or vocational institutions and few jobs. The result is the overwhelming increase in crime. The same discrimination is shown in the expenditure: for 1975/6 the average per

capita expenditure on Whites was R644, Coloureds R 139.62 and Africans R41.80.

In the case of welfare, the most helpless are the orphaned, destitute and abandoned children, the handicapped, the mentally and physically incapable. Again in this category the nature of discrimination is appalling. There are 95 Homes for white children, catering for 6,557. The "State" gives a subsidy of R 582 per child p.a. and R630 if the child is handicapped. There are 32 homes for Coloured children providing for 3,167 and the subsidy is R31.65 a year or R33.65 if handicapped. Asians enjoy only six homes. The number of registered Homes for Africans is 10. There are 1,316 children and the subsidy is R159 per annum or R171 if handicapped. And the state is providing no less than two "experimental classes", in lower primary schools near Pretoria for 58 mentally handicapped "Bantu" children.

With the intensification of repressive measures, particularly the Bantustan programmes, the situation will be grossly aggravated. The systematic genocidal measures adopted by the regime against Blacks poses a much more serious threat to the lives of children. Since June 1976 it became clear that the regime is resilient in its resolve to destroy children even through blatant shootings, detentions without trial and murder. Where administrative violence as exposed above has failed then physical violence becomes the most effective.

The only solution to all these problems affecting South African children can be found in the Freedom Charter which clearly states the aims of our movement. Thus for a complete redress to be possible the struggle against Apartheid-Colonialism must be intensified in stepping up demands for the isolation of this barbaric regime and support for the ANC and the armed struggle in South Africa.



# THE GREAT BATTLE

THE STORY OF AFRICAN RESISTANCE  
IN 1879

*"they were like lions and not afraid of death" — British soldier*

It is indicative of imperialist and racist history books that the names Tshingwayo ka Mahoye and Mavumengwana are totally ignored. Yet these are the two generals — the former a spirited veteran of 70 years; the latter thirty years his junior — that led Cetshwayo's crack impi in a spectacular victory over British forces at Isandhlwana on January 22, 1879.

## An Astonishing Victory

The battle — the centenary of which we are marking this year — is generally considered one of the most humiliating defeats suffered by an Imperial British Army in the annals of that country's blood-stained colonial history. It is difficult to exaggerate the astonishing nature of the British defeat. For this was a true David and Goliath situation; a 19th century counterpart to U.S. imperialism's war on Vietnam. Mighty Britain, the world's leading industrial and colonial power, whose army was then the best trained and equipped in history, had launched a sudden, predatory war against a small African kingdom whose army fought with spears and shields and whose population numbered perhaps 300,000. Yet the fearless African warriors of that Zulu kingdom were able to overrun the main staging camp of the invading army despite the withering fire from the breechloading rifles, cannons, rocket-tubes and Gatling machine-guns and in ferocious hand-to-hand fighting account for the lives of almost all the desperate defenders.

The British lost 858 men at Isandhlwana and an equal number of African levies of the so-called Natal Native Contingent. (Not for the first time in our history are the Pretoria Boers today attempting to use

Africans to fight Africans!) The British casualties were colossal in a colonial war where the armed men on horseback expected to lose few of their number. Yet at Isandhlwana 52 British officers lost their lives while at the battle of Waterloo 48 were killed! Six whole companies of the 24th Foot Regiment totalling 602 men, later known as the South Wales Borderers, were wiped out to a man.

News of the Imperial disaster shattered the confidence of Victorian Britain and colonial South Africa. The British Prime Minister, Disraeli, stated that the "evil consequences" for his country were "incalculable" and indeed as a result of the rumpus he soon lost office. The arrogant British general, Lord Chelmsford, was disgraced and chided as follows in the Durban Daily News: "You will have seen of our great disaster at Isandhlwana, only a short distance from the border where every man was butchered...it is evident that our general was out-generalled by the Zulus". No less an authority than Frederick Engels, a military expert in his own right, was later to write: "The Zulus did what no European army can do. Armed only with lances and spears, without any firearms, they advanced under a hail of bullets from breechloaders up to the bayonets of the English infantry — the best in the world for fighting in closed ranks — and threw them into confusion more than once, yea, even forced them to retreat in spite of the immense disparity of weapons." (The Origin of the Family)

At this time when much racist superficiality and academic claptrap will be written and said both in Britain and South Africa about Isandhlwana we must ask ourselves what are the important lessons to be learnt from this notable victory, and indeed subsequent defeat of Cetshwayo's kingdom; and the relevance today?

## An Unjust, Colonial War

To start with let us examine the cause of the war which lasted from January to July, and masquerades in colonial history books under the title of the Zulu War. A cursory glance at events in South Africa in the 1870's and 1880's shows that in this short period Great Britain launched, one after another, violent and sudden wars on our people who were then organised into small and separate national entities and chiefdoms. For example wars to the finish were launched on the Hlubi in 1873, the Gcaleka and Pedi in 1877, the Ngqika, Thembu, Pondo, Griqua and Rolong in 1878, the Sotho in 1880, the Ndebele in 1893. (See *Class and Colour in South Africa* by the Simons) For centuries Dutch, British and Boer had by degrees been dispossessing our people of their land and birthright. This was part of the world-wide process of colonial conquest that had begun in the 15th century. By the last third of the 19th century the "Scramble for Africa" between the rival colonial powers was intense and Britain was determined to finally bring the whole of Southern Africa under her control. It is no coincidence that the discovery of diamonds at Kimberley in 1870 excited Britain's insatiable greed and haste. This was the great dividing period in South African history where the basis for dramatic and far-reaching socio-economic transformation was laid and mine and factory were soon to compete with farming estate for cheap labour. As has been pointed out before now, South Africa's industrial era was baptized in the blood of our people. Aptly summing up the economic requirements of the time, Shepstone, then Native Administrator in Natal, had remarked of Cetshwayo's coronation in 1872 that there was a pressing need to transform the Zulu warriors into "labourers working for wages".

### Spearpoint of Leadership

By the beginning of 1879, having completed the bloody repression of the Gaika under chief Sandili and the Galekas under Hintsa's son Kreli, the British were free to turn their attention on Cetshwayo. Clearly the independence and military power of the

kingdom founded by the great Shaka represented a formidable obstacle to Britain's imperial designs. Indeed, it was generally held that "Cetshwayo was the source of disaffection among most of the tribes of South Africa, to whom he sent emissaries and who looked to the warriors of Zululand as the spearpoint of aggressive leadership." (The Red Soldier by Frank Emery) The British even regarded Sekhukhuni who was giving them and the Transvaal Boers a great deal of trouble as "Cetshwayo's cat's paw". But Cetshwayo had always steered a cautious and friendly diplomatic course with the British and their Natal Colony. It was the Transvaal Boers and particularly those in the disputed border lands of the Blood River who were the Zulu's traditional enemy. The British had also cultivated a pacific relationship with Cetshwayo. Now when it suited them he was suddenly depicted as the "apostle of darkness and evil" and his people described as a "barbaric and unruly race, unfit to govern their country and a constant menace to the white civilization of Natal". It was not hard to find a trifling incident as the occasion on which to declare war — in this case Zulu justice meted out to an adultress who had sought refuge in Natal — and by January 11, when Chelmsford's ultimatum to Cetshwayo to disband the regiments and lay down arms had been ignored, a British army of 18,000 troops, cavalry and hundreds of wagon trains loaded with food, weapons and equipment, crossed the Tugela river and invaded Zululand.

### Bloody Repression

Thus we see that the cause of the war lay entirely at the door of the British; as was the case with all wars of colonial conquest. The troops and officers who were waging an unjust, bloody war of repression against the Zulu were the very troops fresh from the most recent wars against the Gaika and Galeka and the other people of our country; indeed hardened campaigners from colonial repression in the Gold Coast and Ethiopia, India and Afghanistan! Not for the first time in history were the people who were being invaded, whose land was being stolen and plundered, blamed as the blood-thirsty



war mongers. We see the same racist mythology working today with regard to Zimbabwe, Namibia and our own liberation struggle.

Neither did the British wage war as though it was a game of cricket. This was total war. Kraals and huts were put to the flame, cattle were seized; crops were destroyed; non-combatants tortured for information; the wounded were shot out of hand, after Isandhlwana no prisoners were taken alive. Whether it be the terrorism of Ian Smith or of the Americans in Vietnam the methods of imperialism have little changed through the ages! The British was the army which in the words of the historian H. Lawson, "brought calamities compared to which the cattle raids of the Boers had been mere flea bites." He has written: "The British way was not composed of cowardly cattle thieves but of ruthless and dehumanised mercenaries whose profession was destruction. Moreover, they appeared in their thousands, where the Boers had mustered only a few hundred. When they attacked the African people, the damage they were able to inflict was tremendous." (from Chapters in the History of the March to Freedom by Lionel Forman)

### Formula for Victory

How then did Cetshwayo's Impis manage to inflict such a devastating defeat on the British army at Isandhlwana? It is said that the necessity of any successful army is high morale, superior tactics and excellent weapons. The Zulu success is all the more remarkable given the immense disparity of weapons. They made up for this through many superb qualities bred into every warrior from the time of Shaka. These included superb physical fitness, high mobility and speed, iron discipline and above all a fighting determination and fearlessness that provoked total awe in the enemy. Armed with the knobkerrie and short stabbing assegai devised by Shaka, the Zulu warrior was a formidable foe at in-fighting. Confidence in his own ability, with a proud combat record to emulate, helped create the conditions for high morale. Fighting a just war in defence of king and country against the alien invader made for

a razor-sharp morale at Isandhlwana. Cetshwayo had addressed 12 of his regiments numbering 20,000 warriors destined for the attack on the British camp with the words: "I am sending you against the Whitemen who have invaded Zululand and driven away our cattle." The problem for generals Tshingwayo and Mavumengwana and regimental indunas such as Usibebe, Sigwelegcwele and the King's brother Dabulamanzi was how to overcome the superior firepower of the enemy and get to close quarters with the defenders of the camp. The way this was achieved is a testament to the ability of Cetshwayo's generals and the discipline and training of the warriors. It led a British survivor to complain: "The way our camp was taken could not be more cleverly taken by any of our Generals..." (Frank Emery's Red Soldier)

### Spies, Decoys and Surprise Attack

Once they had invaded Zululand the British task was to locate the Impis. No matter how far and wide they scouted this they failed to achieve. By the skillful use of decoys Tshingwayo and Mavumengwana were drawing the British reconnaissance parties up all manner of blind alleys. On the other hand the Zulu intelligence system — based on spies and scouting parties — was extremely efficient and the position and strength of the various British invading columns was well known. By the dawn of January 22, Chelmsford had left his main camp in search of the elusive enemy. Isandhlwana was down to half its strength; that is 2,000 men. While Chelmsford and the other half of the camp's contingent was chasing around the countryside the Zulu force of 20,000 warriors was resting in a steep ravine only four miles from the camp. It was an amazing and brilliant achievement to move an army of this size so close to the British position through countryside which was not exactly covered in forests and which was alive with British scouting parties. One can only marvel at the ability of the commanders; the stealth and discipline of the regiments. Undoubtedly this was the basis for the famous victory; for the attack was launched with great speed and surprise enabling the

traditional Zulu "horns" to encircle the camp while the main body — the "chest" — charged at the weakest point. For half-an-hour the British poured out a desperate fire cutting down many warriors. Displaying great valour and determination the impi kept charging the lines of redcoats until they were able to come to close quarters with infantrymen Engels had described as "the best in the world for fighting at close quarters". On this occasion the assegai's of African warriors proved too much for English bayonets and after a battle that had lasted little more than an hour there were very few survivors on the British side to tell the tale. Two thousand Zulu warriors had died in defence of their country and Cetshwayo remarked that "an assegai has been thrust into the belly of the nation".

### Generalship and Fighting Ability

The imperialist history books explain away the British disaster through the ineptitude of Chelmsford; the unreliability of the African levies; the shortage of ammunition. This is all arrant nonsense designed to obscure the superior Zulu generalship and fighting ability which had won the battle for Cetshwayo and for African posterity. Chelmsford was simply out-generalled; the African levies were a minor appendage to the British infantrymen and cavalry who were the main fighting force and were not the only soldiers to run when the warriors broke through the defending lines; and as far as the ammunition was concerned there was a quarter of a million rounds in the camp. The fact that runners from the quartermaster's store could apparently not keep supplies flowing as fast as became necessary at the peak of the Zulu assault was as much the result of the ferocity of the attack as it was owing to the general disorganisation. And that of course is why a surprise attack is so advantageous to the attacker! That Isandhlwana was not a flash in the pan is evidenced by further Zulu victories at the Intombi river on March 12 and at Hlobani on March 28. The British lost 100 men at the former and 80 men at the latter engagements; in both cases they were taken by surprise.

### British Power — Boer Power

As crushing a defeat as Isandhlwana was it could only be a temporary reverse for an enemy with the resources of Britain. Thousands of reinforcements arrived in Natal during the ensuing months and by June Chelmsford had at his disposal an army of over 30,000 troops. The arrogant British general had anticipated defeating Cetshwayo in a matter of weeks; in the event it took him six months. Superior fire-power finally won the day at the Battle of Ulundi in July. Zulu power was broken. Cetshwayo was dethroned; the kingdom was split into 13 separate units; the chiefs were subordinated to white magistrates; the disputed territory handed to the Boers and two-thirds of the farmlands given to the settlers. By 1897 what remained of Zululand was made a part of Natal. All of which makes it perfectly clear that the subjugation of all our people took place because of the power of Britain. The Boers on their own did not have the capacity or the resources to carry out this design and were often put to flight by the warriors of Moshoeshoe, Sekhukhuni and Dingane and in the hundred years engagements on the Cape frontiers. Incidentally the victory at Isandhlwana makes utter nonsense of the Boer claim and racist-mongering every December 16 that they had crushed Zulu power once and for all at Blood River in 1838.

It is interesting and important to note that just as it was impossible for the colonial settlers alone to impose their authority on our people so the Pretoria Boers and racists like Smith are today incapable of ruling without the enormous support they receive from Britain, the USA and other Western countries.

### Divide and Rule

Following another historic link through to the present we see how carefully the British followed their strategy of divide and rule. In the first place they made certain of quelling the resistance of Sandili and Kreli in what is today the Transkei and then after dethroning Cetshwayo fostered numerous rival claimants such as the traitor



*King Cetshwayo*

Sibebu so as to destroy the kingdom from within. The policy of isolating centres of resistance and of playing one group off against another is imperialism's cardinal rule to this day. It is not hard to see the tap-root from which Afrikanerdom's Bantustan schemes spring. Our people in the 19th century well understood the need for unity and coordination; perhaps more so than is generally understood as the British description of Sekhukhuni as Cetshwayo's "cat's paw" indicates. It is clear that an understanding along these lines existed between Moshoeshe's southern-Sotho kingdom, Sekhukhuni and Cetshwayo that "spearpoint of aggressive leadership". There is plenty of evidence of British casualties from Zulu marksmen during the war of 1879 and it is said that they received some training from Moshoeshe's expert riflemen. (See Peter Saunders' Moshoeshe) British and settler anxiety of a united front of the Africans is evidenced from a letter from one of Chelmsford's officers who wrote during the campaign against Sandili: "It is said that a general simultaneous rising against the white people was only spoilt by the quarrel between the Galekas and Fingoes bringing on the Kaffir War prematurely." (Frank Emery's Red Soldier) Clearly the objective conditions did not then exist for the national unity which the African National Congress dedicated itself to forge from its historic inception in 1912; just as the conditions for the Balkanisation of South Africa are a thing of the past today and are doomed to failure.

### Unity the Key

The broad unity of all our people laying claim to an indivisible South Africa on the basis of the Freedom Charter and under the leadership of the ANC is the indispensable condition for our liberation. That is the recurrent lessons of our history and experience of centuries of struggle against colonial conquest, national oppression, racist tyranny and vicious economic exploitation.

The threads of that struggle of African, Indian, Coloured and democrats of all races are intimately related. In celebrating the centenary of the Battle of Isandhlwana we salute an historic landmark in the more

than three centuries resistance of our people. Although the nature of the times were such that actions were generally uncoordinated the many wars our people fought form an indivisible chain that links that era of epic resistance with the national liberation struggle today. The traditions and heritage of that heroic era live on, fiercely burning in the hearts of our people. The names of Hintsá, Makana, Moshoeshe, Adam Kok, Dingane and Cetshwayo serve as the great landmarks of those epic struggles.

### Fearlessness and Determination

The significance of Isandhlwana is that it epitomises the fearless and determined fighting spirit of that whole era of resistance wars. The battle serves as a clarion call to all our freedom loving people, inspiring them to spare no effort in the continuing war to liberate every inch of our beloved country. Just as the victory of the Vietnamese people over US imperialism inspires oppressed people everywhere in the knowledge that it is possible to defeat a mighty power, so the victory of Isandhlwana reminds us of our warrior heritage and our people's ability to fearlessly face and overcome a military giant.

Today we fight with different methods and under different circumstances when the tide of history is running against imperialism, racism and reaction. With the unity of our people; with the determination of our ancestors; with the correct theory and leadership of the ANC; with international support and with UMKHONTO spearheading a People's War we will win many victories as astonishing as Isandhlwana until the nation is free.

**Isandhlwana is a challenge!**

**Isandhlwana is a clarion call to People's War!**



*Zulu warrior in war dress*

# NUCLEAR CONFERENCE IN BONN

The facts of nuclear collaboration between the leading imperialist powers, particularly West Germany, the United States and France, and the racist regime of South Africa, have been well established for some time now. In September 1975, for example, the ANC published conclusive evidence of the nature and scope of the specific collaboration between West Germany and South Africa in a booklet entitled "The Nuclear Conspiracy". The evidence presented in the booklet remains incontrovertible because it was based on a large number of top secret documents from the South African Embassy in the Federal Republic. Despite the condemnation by progressive and anti-racist forces throughout the world the racist regime has continued to receive economic and technological assistance from the imperialist powers, for the further development of its nuclear capability. That this development represents a most serious threat to Africa and world peace and security was clearly recognised by the United Nations when the Security Council imposed a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa in November, 1977.

West Germany has always enjoyed a very special relationship with the racist regime of South Africa with the consequence that a comprehensive and complex inter-relationship has been developed between them. West German enterprises account for investments amounting to DM10-12 billions. The Federal Republic is the biggest Western trading partner of South Africa. A cultural agreement exists between them which makes possible, amongst other things, the exchange of technical and technological information in the field of nuclear development. The Government of West Germany underwrites economic ties with the Pretoria regime by means of special credit guarantees.

Despite the political, diplomatic, economic and military ties that do exist the Bonn government has always tried to create the impression that it condemns racism and Apartheid.

The International Conference against

nuclear collaboration with South Africa, held in Bonn on 11-12 November had as its background these comprehensive relationships between the racist regime of South Africa and the Federal Republic.

The Conference was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in West Germany, together with the Anti-Imperialist Solidarity Committee (ASK), the Young Socialists and a number of other West German organisations ranging from political and church to youth organisations. Over 400 delegates from all over Europe attended the Conference, which had active participation from representatives of all the Southern African Liberation Movements, the Front Line States, the U.N. Special Committee on Apartheid, and the OAU Liberation Committee.

The ANC in its speech called amongst other things for a new alliance to be formed against the Bonn-Pretoria Axis — an alliance between the people of the FRG and the fighting people of South Africa.

Despite the numerous political and ideological trends represented at this very important conference, delegates were unanimous in their support for and solidarity with the Liberation Movements and the Front Line States.

Conference condemned the complicity of the West German Government in the nuclear and military field; demanded that the FRG Government:

- \* stop all deliveries of nuclear equipment to South Africa
- \* Cancel the Cultural Agreement
- \* Adhere strictly to the arms embargo
- \* Sever all economic links with the racist regime

Since this was the first such conference held in West Germany, and because of the unanimity achieved in the objectives of the Conference, this development represents an important milestone for the popularisation of our people's just cause for national and social emancipation against racism and Apartheid as well as for international support and solidarity with our struggle.



# ON DISINVESTMENT

## WHITE SOUTH AFRICA'S REACTIONS TO GROWING ECONOMIC ISOLATION

White South Africans are almost unanimous in opposing sanctions against the country. This includes liberal white opponents of the Nationalist government such as M.P. Mrs Helen Suzman, who wants the West to apply moral rather than economic pressure, and Mr Raymond Louw, editor of the Rand Daily Mail for 10 years, who wants the West to "kill apartheid with kindness".

Within the black community sanctions are also opposed by those who work within the system and hold moderate views. Such are Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, head of the Kwazulu bantustan, and Mrs Lucy Mvubelo, black deputy vice-president of the right wing Trade Union Council of South Africa (TUSCA). These spokesmen use the argument that disinvestment would cripple black South Africans.

On the other hand all the major black political movements that have arisen in South Africa, especially the ANC, are unanimous in calling for the isolation of the country as part of the struggle against Apartheid. They have learned that white South Africa will concede nothing to the

black majority without being forced to do so.

The South African government's response to increasing calls for sanctions is: a) to get white South Africans economically and psychologically prepared to face increasing isolation; b) to wage a massive anti-sanctions propaganda campaign abroad; c) to seek new "third world" allies; and d) intensified policing to enforce calm in black living areas so as to reassure nervous foreign interests that their money will be secure.

There is a very real fear of isolation and the crippling effects it could have on white control of the country. But the fact that the government presents to the world, and its own public, is one of arrogance, and scepticism. "Threats of sanctions are all bluff", Vorster often used to say, before the arms embargo was imposed. Within South Africa, this stance is convincing. Despite many threats of boycotts, sanctions and disinvestment over the years, there has been little effective action.

The "opponents" of Apartheid have never yet succeeded in persuading any large Western country, or even multinational





corporation with a significant stake in the country to pull out. Furthermore South Africa has been used by many countries as a secret route for breaking sanctions against Rhodesia, and South Africa is well aware that there are many ways of trading under the counter. Whatever the truth of the matter, the South African racists in general believe that the arms embargo is having very little real effect.

To boost white confidence and preparedness, government spokesmen constantly give assurances that, if necessary, the Republic will go-it-alone, and will resist all outside pressures for change. "The world can do its damndest", said Vorster recently, and Minister Pik Botha said at a university meeting, "Even if we have to eat porridge three times a day and go back to the land for our living we will do it in order to survive sanctions".

The response to black demands in South Africa has always been one of stubbornness, and violence. It is this stubbornness that will drive white South Africans to full-scale war rather than give the vote to the African majority, and it is with this same stubbornness that they will try to resist outside pressures.

To prepare the public to resist sanctions, the media constantly repeat arguments such as: sanctions could only cause disruption in the short term; that a total embargo would never materialise because it would be too politically and economically damaging to the West; that sanctions are hypocritical because South African blacks enjoy a better standard of living than elsewhere in Africa; that things will ease up once President Carter goes and Britain's labour government falls.

The most common and crude argument is, of course, the communist threat. For example, an Afrikaans newspaper, Die Transvaler, discussing sanctions, refers to "a well organised propaganda campaign against South Africa in which the Kremlin's masterly hand is clearly visible". This campaign, the newspaper continues, is "so successful that even the Carter administration of the United States, still in its infancy, in terms of foreign policy, tries to hitch a ride".

When Polaroid pulled out of South

Africa at the end of 1977, the media conducted a smear campaign against the corporation and branded its actions a public relations gimmick. It was pointed out that Polaroid was only losing £1.67 million sales out of total sales of £555.6 million, and its gesture would probably reap rich rewards. Said the Republic's Sunday Times: "Polaroid equipment is today being sold, with the knowledge and consent of the corporation, in one party dictatorships where people are tortured and murdered by the state and all dissension is ruthlessly oppressed." Polaroid was thus being hypocritical said the Sunday Times.

On the other hand, when Ford and BMW both announced in January 1978 that they intended not only to remain in South Africa but also to increase their investment, they were hailed by every newspaper in the country, with banner headlines such as "Thank you Mr Ford".

On the whole, white South Africans who mostly do not look beyond their own media, have been convinced that calls for isolation come from a "minority of radical extremists". This view is further supported by the wide publicity given to any foreign right wing journalists or economists — usually American — who oppose disinvestment. These are presented in South Africa as the reasoned voices of authoritative sources.

What the South African media almost never does, however, is to examine why the international community is threatening to isolate South Africa, or to admit that the problem arises within the country and not in the Kremlin.

Now, while boosting white moral, the government is fully expecting external pressure to increase, and is rapidly trying to lessen dependence on the outside world for vital supplies. One weak spot in the country's defence is oil. South Africa has no oil deposits of her own and is currently spending billions on exploring the offshore coast for possible oil deposits, getting industry to convert coal fuel wherever possible, trying to boost production of oil from coal, stockpiling vast amounts of crude oil etc.

Businessmen are urged to lessen their dependence on foreign goods and services

and to prepare for an "economy of survival". Recently the Chief of the SADF addressing a chamber of commerce said that wherever possible South Africa must become self sufficient. "We must produce more and we must develop our technology further". The most important weapon against South Africa was no longer the gun, he said, "but commerce and industry, boycotts and subversion". In its daily propaganda broadcasts Radio South Africa tells its listeners that not only the State and big business, but also workers and housewives have to contribute to an economic survival plan. There are many more examples. For example, the American ban on sales of computers to the South African Defence Force has already led to the growth of a home grown computer industry, using Israeli components. And of course the government is holding discussions with Israel, Iran and other countries to determine how sanctions can be circumvented.

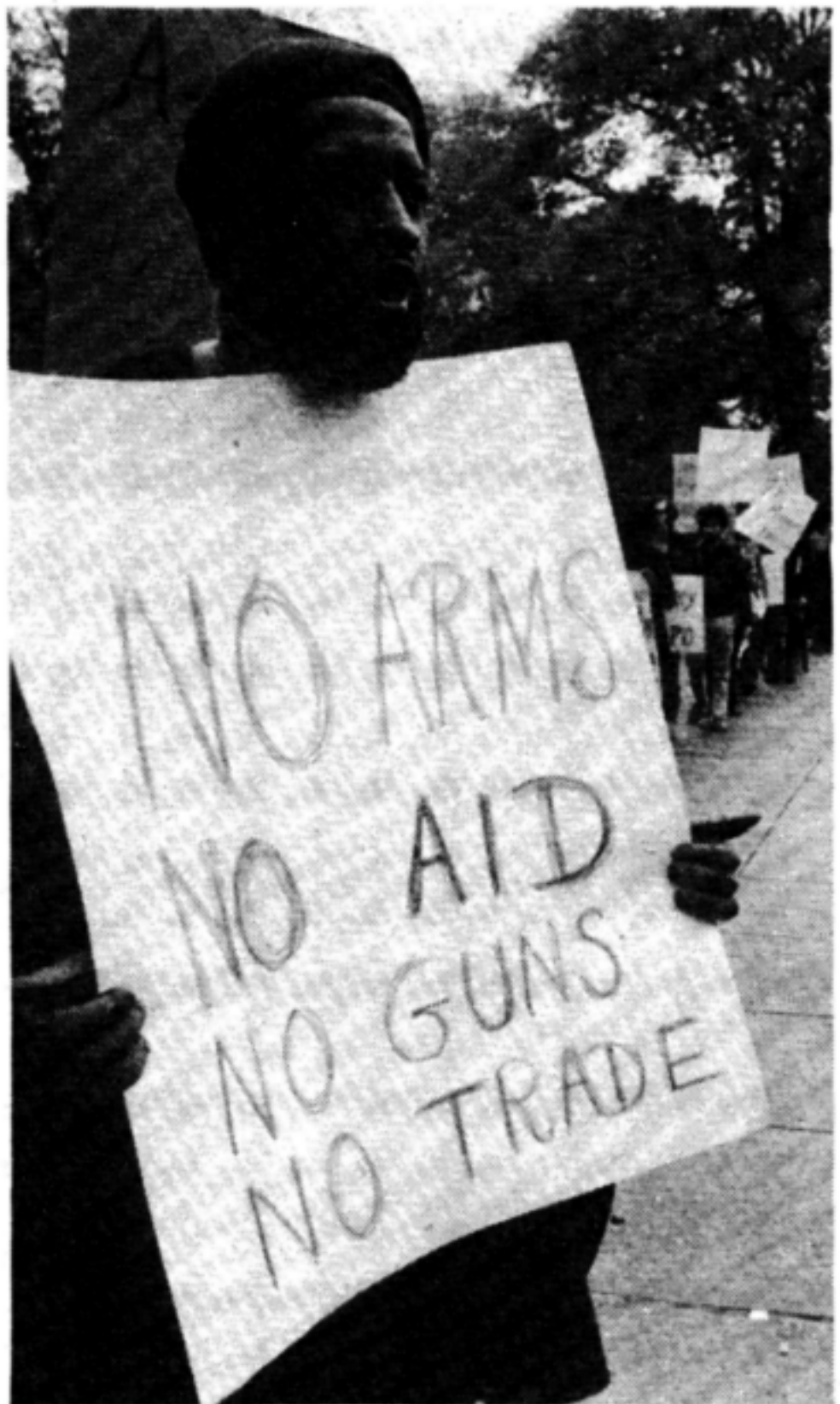
Inside the country then, there is a lot of activity devoted to psychological and economic preparedness. Abroad there is a massive campaign being waged on many fronts to convince the outside world that sanctions would be both futile and counter-productive. This campaign is well-funded and takes many forms: full page advertisements in national newspapers such as the London Times, the New York Times and the Guardian, quoting the views of persons such as Buthelezi and Oppenheimer; constant visits abroad by persons such as heart surgeon Chris Barnard, M.P. Mrs Helen Suzman, Mrs Lucy Mvubelo and Cabinet Ministers who address gatherings on the negative effect that isolation would have on South Africa. There is also of course intensive lobbying at diplomatic level. They have a set of standard arguments which we shall look at in a moment.

Foreign individuals or representatives of groups abroad who are thought to be influential and potentially sympathetic are frequently invited to visit South Africa, at government expense, to come and see-for-themselves. There they are of course taken on carefully guided tours. Recently Professor Barnard was in Kenya and his invitation to Attorney General Charles

Njonjo to visit South Africa and "see-for-himself" may yet be taken up.

Let us then look at some of the arguments the South African government and its apologists present to the world at large: The first line of argument is often that even if strict embargoes are imposed they will not work. Afrikaner economists appear on TV — and they are faithfully reported in South African publications abroad — and make authoritative sounding statements to the effect that sanctions could probably not be carried out. If they were imposed, said one economist recently, South Africa would just start new industries. The Minister of Finance, Senator Horwood, told the South African-Britain Trade Association that: "The threat of sanctions and boycotts need not alarm us unduly. Common sense and economic facts make the isolation of South Africa impossible."

The argument goes on to say that isola-



that will harm the West politically more than it will harm South Africa. "Let us consider Britain's dilemma at first", said the government publication South African Digest recently. "The British Association of Industries has calculated that a trade boycott against South Africa would increase Britain's unemployment figure by 70,000 and lose it an export market worth £500 million a year. It would also cripple the harbour town of Southampton and such consequences would be disastrous for Mr Callaghan's Labour Party government. As for President Carter, his popularity is waning fast and he urgently needs a foreign policy success. He is well aware of the importance of Pretoria's cooperation in achieving settlement in Rhodesia and South West Africa (Namibia)."

Developing this line of reasoning, it is stated that effective sanctions will in fact seriously disrupt the world economy, doing more harm to the economies of the West than to South Africa itself. The South African media gave much prominence two months ago to statements by the American Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, Mr Richard Moose, who after supplying figures, said that, "US assets subject to South African control and expropriation outweigh South African assets subject to US control and expropriation by more than 4,000 million dollars". The hard fact, said Mr Moose, "is that South Africa has more cards to play than we do in this area".

The most common argument aimed at Western governments is of course that the West needs South Africa for strategic reasons, as a bulwark against communist domination of the southern sub-continent and as protector of the important Cape sea route. Governments are also reminded that when the U.N. was debating the arms embargo against South Africa last year the Egyptians decided not to permit a British nuclear submarine, the Dreadnought, to pass through the Suez Canal on its way to naval exercises in the Pacific. America is reminded that half of its oil imports come via the Cape sea route. Governments are also reminded that South Africa provides the great bulk of the Western world's strategic metals - 99% of its platinum, 84% of its

chrome and manganese, 61% of its gold and 40% of its titanium.

A point made in almost every discussion of sanctions by South African sources is that South Africa's Blacks will suffer more than South African Whites, and neighbouring black states would suffer particularly. The Afrikaans weekly newspaper Rapport wrote that "the needy Blacks in South Africa will be cast into widespread misery. From this could come evil things and South Africa will be told that it and it alone is to blame".

The South African Information Service in Washington, which is fully engaged in the vigorous effort to counteract the disinvestment campaign, recently issued a report to American bankers, financiers and multinationals. The report contained arguments which these organisations could use to answer those demanding disinvestment. It noted that South Africa deals regularly with 23 African countries and that several others were occasional customers. Some 170,000 workers from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were employed in South Africa. These three and other nearby black states were dependent on South Africa for their economic well-being, the report said. Curbs on foreign investment, it stated, would seriously harm the fragile economies of neighbouring and other black African states. More recently South African sources have pointed to Zambia's opening of the route through Rhodesia as proof of this argument.

In July 1978 the South African government widely distributed an article by the editor of the Economist's weekly newsletter, Robert Moss. Moss wrote that the shrinkage of the South African economy as a result of major disinvestment would almost cripple Mozambique, which sends more than 100,000 migrant workers to South African gold mines each year. If boycott campaigns succeed, wrote Moss, hundreds and thousands of the Blacks within South Africa would be condemned to rural unemployment in their homelands. Many Blacks now working in industry would lose their jobs.

Vorster referring to threats of an oil embargo, said at a public meeting that "we have made provision so that they 25

cannot kill us. But if they come with that sort of boycott, it will kill Botswana, it will kill Lesotho, and it will kill other African countries”.

The favourite argument of English speaking South African big businessmen is that only in a healthy expanding economy can reforms be brought about. You will have seen this reasoning in Harry Oppenheimer's paper. An economist, Aubrey Dickman, wrote in the Anglo American quarterly Optima this year that “a renewed growth phase virtually will dictate the removal of the remaining obstacles to full integration of Blacks into the free enterprise system.” Another false argument in this vein is that foreign business in South Africa is a primary catalyst for liberalisation of the Apartheid system.

One of the weaker arguments presented to the international community is that more notice should be taken of reforms that the South African government has instituted such as the desegregation of parks, allowing multi-racial sports meetings, allowing Blacks to do some skilled jobs, and initiating moves to create a black bourgeoisie.

All these arguments have many flaws and weaknesses but are convincing to poorly-informed foreign businessmen.

In conclusion then, it is apparent that South Africa fears moves such as constraints on investment, and is putting a huge effort into trying to prevent such action being taken against the country. South Africa believes, and probably justly so, that the West is uncertain and divided on the issue of isolation, and the South African government is trying to increase such division.

The psychological effect of sanctions against South Africa would be immediate and powerful -- by further undermining white confidence that they are tacitly supported by other “white” nations and by giving encouragement to the majority in their struggle for equality. One should remember that being barred from world sport had a profound effect within South Africa.

South Africa is presently engaged in an all-out effort to strip its 20 million Africans of their citizenship, and there is no doubt that with continued investment in South Africa, it will merely continue to pursue its

bantustan policy, perfect its police control of the black population and modernise its military machine.



*Demonstrators call for a trade boycott*

# 'SHARPER CONFRONTATIONS AHEAD' - T.T. NKOBI

At the Bureau meeting of the International University Exchange Fund (IUEF) held in Geneva from 19-21 June 1978 it was decided that: "The IUEF recognises the ANC as the leader of the National Liberation Movement which is spearheading the South African liberation struggle and which holds the most hope for unity of the South African people. The IUEF will, as far as support for the South African liberation struggle is concerned, work in the closest possible consultation with the ANC.... The IUEF Bureau feels that close relations with the ANC will mean that the IUEF will be able to direct its support in a more concentrated and effective manner, arising from direct consultation with the representatives of the majority of the people of South Africa."

It was in this spirit that the ANC attended the Board and Assembly meeting of the IUEF held in Geneva on December 1-5, 1978. At that meeting Comrade Thomas Titus Nkobi represented the ANC and said:

Mr Chairman, in 1961 the ANC responding to the demands of the oppressed masses, decided to embark on armed struggle as the surest means of achieving national liberation, all other methods having failed.

It has been an extremely difficult decision to make. Earlier that year, the Angolan liberation movement had started armed struggle, two years later armed struggle started in Guinea Bissau, and in 1964 Frelimo fired the first opening shots in their liberation war. All these movements have already won their victories. In 1965 armed struggle commenced also in

Zimbabwe and Namibia. During 1967 and 1968, armed militants of the ANC were fighting in Zimbabwe, side by side with their Zimbabwean brothers, against the combined forces of Ian Smith and Vorster. Today the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO of Namibia are fighting with victory already in sight. For the people of South Africa victory is nearer today than it was yesterday. Lying ahead is Africa's most bitter struggle for liberation. Continuing to play its historic role in the vanguard, the ANC has resumed the offensive against the fascist forces and the racist system with guns in hand. We are determined, as are all our people, that this offensive should be broadened and intensified to draw the masses of the people into active struggle, to attack the apartheid regime on all fronts. The prospect is therefore one of sharper confrontations between ourselves and the forces of reaction.

I shall be failing in my duty if I do not touch on the deliberations of the Bureau meeting in this city, Geneva, from the 19 to 21 of June 1978 when you discussed IUEF policy and its programmes, especially those related to the South African liberation struggle. The resolution adopted on the South African issue should be applauded and accepted by all progressive governments and organisations. It was a far-sighted and positive decision. That decision constitutes a concrete contribution to the enhancement of the unity of the democratic forces of our country, under the leadership of the ANC, and a blow to the efforts of our common enemy aimed at diverting us from our task of liberating ourselves.

As you are know doubt aware the regime 27



28 *Thomas Nkobi, Treasurer-General of the ANC*

is constantly battling for the minds of the people both in the country and in the world. Millions of rands are spent annually to feed both our people and the world with untruths about our organisation and our leaders. Distortions and downright lies are bombarded from Radio South Africa and the press. They have now gone to the extent of trying to buy newspapers in foreign lands so as to continue to spread their obnoxious propaganda. The ANC's financial resources to counter these vituperations are minimal when compared to those spent by the regime.

This does not take into consideration the vast amounts spent on sophisticated conventional and unconventional arms to suppress those who refuse to be misguided and misled by enemy propaganda and to threaten the security, independence and stability of neighbouring independent States who dare to show solidarity with the liberation struggle.

For any government or organisation to insist that we do not use their contributions for party political propaganda is unrealistic and unfair. How else can the anti-racist, non-aggressive and non-exploitative policies of the ANC and its allies be presented to our people. The world also needs to know the alternative that we as the ANC have to offer. The alternative of peace, democracy and freedom for all.

It is necessary to monitor the nefarious activities of the government and its international hirelings. We need to know where arms deals are being initiated, where the UN mandatory arms embargo is being violated. We need to know the role of multinationals in the exploitation of our people for vast profits. We ought to expose shady deals and agreements between the regime and other governments.

We are very pleased to note the continuing concern of the IUEF to assist the victims of Apartheid inside South Africa with legal and other aid. It is clear that Defence and Aid, which has one of its main responsibilities the defence of our people, cannot reach every home in every corner of our vast country. The efforts of the IUEF to raise the necessary funds to cover this field can only be complimentary and as such are most welcome. We should however, like to

emphasise that in this as in other areas, the ANC thinks that the closest cooperation between ourselves and the IUEF in actually setting up the assistance programme inside South Africa would add considerably to the success of such programmes. Persecution and imprisonment have become the order of the day in our country and considerable funds are required to defend and maintain our people. This situation will get worse rather than better.

The ANC School Building Programme is progressing reasonably satisfactorily. We hope to have the first phase completed by the end of January. The intake of the first contingent of about 200 students will start immediately. The second phase of building has been partially funded. However, the Tanzanian Government has expressed concern that as yet no organisation or country has undertaken to maintain the students. We propose to establish scholarships and bursaries at the school. These should be sufficient to provide for tuition fees, purchase of books, clothing and other necessities.

Tremendous scope is offered for IUEF participation in this scheme. It too is in accord with the main objectives of your fund.

We also propose having a curriculum which would have vocational training as an important component. Training will be provided in such skills as mechanical and electrical maintenance, woodwork, metal work, tailoring, typing, homecraft, etc.

In closing, Mr Chairman, I would like to express the sincere thanks of the ANC for the magnificent support the organisation has received from the IUEF. We are sure that with the new relations established we will see greater cooperation and understanding.

**Power to the People!**

# STEVE BIKO SPEAKS

*Steve Biko: I write what I like --  
A selection of his writings edited with a  
personal memoir by Aelred Stubbs C.R.,  
London 1978.*

The rise of "Black Consciousness" in the 60's was not a new phenomenon in the history of South Africa. Since the end of the 19th century African nationalism (sometimes called Black nationalism) has emerged manifesting itself in various forms. The reasons for this are easy to find: the development of the brutal racist colonial system of Apartheid which is a vicious form of national oppression and the economic exploitation of the Blacks and their total exclusion from the political, economic and cultural development of the country.

What was perhaps new in "Black Consciousness" was that it emerged at the time when most African states had attained national independence and hence colonialism and indeed imperialism had been weakened. In the sixties the student movement throughout the world had become stronger; in the U.S. the anti-Vietnam war campaign grew and the civil rights movement saw the emergence of "Black Power" and the revolts of the students in France in 1968 brought the De Gaulle government almost to its knees. These developments cannot be isolated from the development of the youth movement in the socialist countries which was a reflection of the development and strength of socialism internationally.

It was in this atmosphere that "Black Consciousness" emerged in South Africa. Numerous organisations of the youth came into being eg. University Christian Movement (1967), South African Students Organisation (1968), Black Peoples Convention (1972), Black Allied Workers Union (1972), National Youth Organisation (1973) and many regional and provincial youth and cultural organisations, including the Union

of Black Journalists.

The book under review is a compilation of Steve Biko's speeches from his presidential address to the First National Formation School of the South African Students' Organisation, held at the University of Natal - Black Section, Wentworth, Durban on December 1-4, 1969 to an interview with an American businessman given some months before his final detention and death on September 12, 1977 but only printed after his death in The New Republic on January 7, 1978. The book deals with many subjects: Bantustans, Black Culture, role of the church and religion amongst the Blacks, Black Consciousness, SASO's role, significance and future etc.

The speeches were delivered by a man who was in the thick of the struggle - struggling to liberate his people and himself from racism and white liberalism; a man who tried hard to understand his environment and the way out. Here is a young African intellectual trying to emancipate himself and his people "through peaceful means" p.134 from the violent system of South Africa which he calls "an island of Europe in Africa" p.145.

Steve Biko was violently against racism and white liberalism which he calls "the liberal establishment, including radical and leftist groups" p.63. As a leader and spokesman for SASO he bases his arguments on SASO decisions, programmes and documents. This is the strength of the book as opposed to those written by experts on the subject. But at the same time it poses some difficulties because SASO's philosophy is full of contradictions. One of the most famous of these is that the white man must be made aware that one is either part of the solution or part of the problem. At the same time SASO wanted to exclude all Whites in all matters relating to the struggle of the oppressed Blacks. The problem here lies in the contradiction between making



the Whites aware that they are either "part of the solution or part of the problem" and by implication meaning that their consciousness and awareness should be raised and therefore they have a definite role to play in the struggle and the call for their exclusion in the liberation struggle. This is definitely not our main task — but it is one of those problems we have to solve in the execution of our national liberation struggle.

The role and attitude of SASO and specifically Steve Biko towards the national liberation movements — Steve Biko calls them "groups" and for that matter "old allegiances which were not progressive alliances, to groups like ANC, PAC without any result in action" p.146 — is of great importance, especially now that since October 19, the Black Consciousness movement is banned. On the question of the movements within the country Steve Biko has this to say: "I personally would like to see few groups. I would like to see groups like ANC, PAC and the Black Consciousness Movement deciding to form one liberation group" p.148.

This is a total misreading of the situation in the country in the past and present. It is true that we are "all oppressed as Blacks" but there are other factors to be considered when it comes to the question of "unity of all democratic forces". Colour alone is not an enough criterion. Indeed the struggles of the Vietnamese, Angolans, Mozambicans, Guineans, Zimbabweans and Namibians teach us, among other things, one lesson: they have challenged the validity of the argument of an all-embracing "national unity" covering all movements and classes. On the contrary they suggest the inevitability at some stage of an open confrontation between the narrowly "nationalistic" petty bourgeois elements and those who favour the further advance of the revolution from opposition to colonialism to a broader anti-imperialist struggle. This is the experience of the ANC with the PAC.

The national question is a very acute question in South Africa. Steve Biko's book does give us an aspect of this.

With these few remarks, which are by no means meant to denigrate Steve Biko and his fresh, stimulating approach to the problems facing our people at home, we

recommend the book to all genuine fighters against racism, colonialism and imperialism. Aelred Stubbs' preface and memoir: "Martyr of Hope" gives us an insight into his relations with and knowledge of Steve Biko and his colleagues.

F.M.

## THE MARCH

Voices melodically express pain  
pains of centuries imposed poverty  
polluted plains and valleys of our ancestors  
echoing in plaudible rhythm  
invigorating these young warriors  
whose song is full of love for freedom  
song exalting the fallen martyrs of our motherland  
Pambili majoni pambili Mkhonto.

Songs pregnant with victory  
destiny clasped in their black hands  
eyes cast eastwards  
faces of anguish and torture  
voices of mothers raped  
fathers lynched in potato plantations  
thousand miners buried in unknown graves  
children screaming of hunger, kwashiokor, pellagra  
song permeated valleys, mountains, rivers  
Pambili majoni Pambili Mkhonto.

The left and right consistent step  
rat-tat...rat-tat...rat-tat...  
synchronises with Luthuli's name  
on the hills of Defiance Campaign  
on the hills of Sharpeville  
on the heels of the boers  
this time AK on the right  
Freedom Charter on the left

AK echoes in the Transvaal highveld  
'dan roer die boer'  
'is waar poppe sal dans'  
border duty now no honeymoon  
but torment, uncertainty, death  
Marie waits vainly for a sunken lover  
while Nolwazi smiles in ecstasy  
thoughts of Vusi turned master of the jungle  
Pambili majoni pambili Mkhonto.

'Singa Masotaha ka Luthuli'  
rat-tat...rat-tat...rat-tat...  
inspires men to greater heights  
commissars weaving tales of  
Great October, Cuba, Angola, Vietnam  
men of all seasons  
one goal certain  
which no man dare challenge  
for like a gentle elephant  
nothing survives that bars its way  
the single thought rings in their minds  
'the people, the masses, the workers, the peasants'  
'We serve the people of South Africa'  
Pambili majoni pambili Mkhonto

*Zoyisile ka Maki*



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