

JULY 1984



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



## LONDON REJECTS BOTHA

# SECHABA

## JULY ISSUE 1984



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# Botha Visits Europe— Leaving Behind Apartheid Intact

Botha came to Europe, and went, but apartheid remains. The invitation to the racist Prime Minister by some West European governments was an act of solidarity with the white minority oppressors of the people of South Africa and Namibia.

Botha does not represent the people of South Africa. Rather he represents a regime able to maintain power only by brutal repression of our people, aided and abetted by those West European countries and by the United States of America, who have chosen, once again, to act with the oppressor and not with the people struggling for liberty; those who have chosen to identify with the forces of reaction and repression, rather than with the forces fighting for justice, liberty and human dignity.

Aided by the imperialist powers, which are spearheaded by the Reagan and Thatcher regimes, apartheid South Africa is trying to break out of the isolation imposed by the United Nations and progressive mankind.

This invitation to Botha has been made to give credence to his so-called reforms. It effectively sanctions the devastation wreaked by the Pretoria regime in the whole of Southern Africa. It endorses the genocide policies so rigorously pursued inside South Africa itself. It accepts the fragmentation of our country into 'tribal homelands,' and it denies the authentic voice of all the people of our country — the voice of the African National Congress. Pass laws have been intensified, the Group Areas Act has been left intact, and more than eight million Africans have lost their South African citizenship and are now citizens of the Bantustans. This excludes the more than three million people who have been forcibly removed in these past twenty years.

We are convinced that the so-called reforms — new constitutional proposals or whatever else they are called — can never work, because the majority of the people are not involved in the running of the country. 1

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How can one talk of a 'new parliament' when eighty per cent of the population is not consulted and not represented?

The apartheid regime talks of 'peace' when it is occupying parts of Angola; when it has illegally occupied Namibia; when it is arresting and killing innocent people inside South Africa. Nelson Mandela and other leaders of the ANC are in gaol. The ANC is banned — a vain attempt to render our people voiceless. The 'peace' the apartheid regime wants is the peace of a graveyard!

The people of South Africa have long put forward the alternative programme for a democratic South Africa, a South Africa

that belongs to all who live in it. This programme, enshrined in the Freedom Charter, lays a firm basis for the South Africa of the future, and should be the only basis on which talks about the way forward in South Africa take place. It is the programme of all the people of South Africa, and as such should be adopted by progressive humankind as its own goal for a free South Africa.

The real leaders of our people are incarcerated in the prisons of the Pretoria regime, or are in exile. It is Nelson Mandela, it is Oliver Tambo and their colleagues who are the real leaders of the people of South Africa.

Talk to them!



By Kader Asmal – Part 1

*The following paper was read at a conference on Law and Politics in Southern Africa, held in London in April 1984. We shall publish it in four parts, of which this is the first.*

A number of political developments in South Africa in recent years have thrown into sharp focus the relevance of the rules of self-determination, the preferred and protected role of the national liberation movement and the legal character of the South African state.

Lawyers, and international lawyers in particular, have not worked out the implications of these developments in any systematic manner, but a number of studies in discrete areas have tried to tease out the implications of these developments, and, in some cases, there has been some attempt to rely on these rules of international law in specific problems facing South African courts.

The continued refusal of the international community to recognise the independence of the four homelands, the controversy associated with the South African govern-

ment's attempt in 1982 to transfer or cede Ingwavuma and KaNgwane to Swaziland, and the problems associated with the denaturalisation of more than eight million Africans under the National States Citizenship Act of 1970 all highlight the special features of the situation in South Africa. Finally the recent trials of alleged combatants of the African National Congress on charges of high treason, the nature of the pleas made by the accused and the declaration in November 1980 deposited by this organisation with the International Committee of the Red Cross raise very sharply the question of the inter-relationship between the rules of self-determination and the role of the liberation movements.

The starting point must therefore be a discussion on the right to self-determination, which has had far-reaching effects in contemporary international law on nearly every aspect.

#### **The Right to Self-Determination.**

The right to self-determination of colonial peoples is an incontestable legal principle 3

today. Apart from a handful (1) of (largely Anglo-Saxon) legal writers, States (2) and the international community recognise the right as providing a juridical foundation for the recognition of a people as a legal entity possessing rights, which denies the former colonial idea that people and territories "... are mere chattels to be acquired and disposed of by and for the benefit of the proprietary State, but are instead the heritage of those who dwell within them." (3) It would be useful to canvass the basis of this right.

The rule of self-determination is not only enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, but also finds a place in other sources of international law.

A. The Charter refers to self-determination, firstly in its Purposes, where in Article 1 Paragraph 2 there is the requirement to "develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples." Article 55, significantly concerned with international economic and social co-operation, places respect for the "principle of human rights and self-determination of peoples" in the context of "peaceful and friendly relations among nations," and Article 56 enjoins member states of the UN to take "joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organisation for the achievement of the purpose set forth in Article 55."

B. The link between racial equality and decolonisation is reflected in Resolution 2106 (XX) of 1965, where the General Assembly associated the right of self-determination with the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 1965, the most highly ratified Convention. (4) Even more concretely, the right of self-determination finds expression in Article 1, common to the two Covenants of 1966, both of which are now in force.

1. All people have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status

and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

2. ...
3. The State Parties to the present Covenant, including those having responsibility for the administration of Non-Self-Governing and Trust Territories, shall promote the realisation of the right of self-determination, and shall respect that right, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

C. Since its formation, the UN has, in resolutions specially concerned with Namibia, referred to this right. But with the addition of a number of African states to the membership of the UN in the past two decades, there was impatience at the rate of decolonisation and, in association with the socialist states, for whom self-determination was one of the historic imperatives, the General Assembly faced the challenge by passing the seminal Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and People (Resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960). The Resolution sets out seven principles, which need to be quoted in full because not enough attention has been paid to them by western lawyers:

1. The subjection of people to alien subjugation, domination, and exploitation constitutes a denial of fundamental human rights, is contrary to the Charter of the United Nations and is an impediment to the promotion of world peace and co-operation.
2. All peoples have the right to self-determination; by virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.
3. Inadequacy of political, economic, social or educational preparedness should never serve as a pretext for delaying independence.
4. All armed action or repressive measures of all kinds directed against dependent peoples shall cease in order to enable

- them to exercise peacefully and freely their right to complete independence, and the integrity of their national territory shall be respected.
5. Immediate steps shall be taken, in the Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.
  6. Any attempt aimed at the total or partial disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.
  7. All States shall observe faithfully and strictly the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the present Declaration on the basis of equality, non-interference in the internal affairs of all States, and respect for the sovereign rights of all peoples and their territorial integrity.

A number of features are evident from the Declaration. Firstly, it was accepted that this right applied to dependent territories seeking independence from colonial powers; it did not seek to provide a legal cover to secessionist tendencies within a state. Secondly, self-determination supplemented the principle of equality and non-discrimination and applied to all non-self-governing territories including, as the World Court opinion in the *Namibia Case* (1971) stated, mandates, because the developments under the Charter of the UN, especially through the principle of self-determination, ensured that the object of the 'sacred trust' was the self-determination and independence of all peoples since, under the Charter, the concept of the sacred trust had been expanded (by Article 73) to all "territories

whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government."

It would now be simply an arid exercise to discuss whether Resolution 1514 had direct legal effect or not. Subsequent to 1960, a stream of important resolutions elaborated and further developed this right. (5) Whether the Resolution itself was law-making is now quite unimportant. Brownlie considers the Resolution to be an example of an authoritative interpretation of the Charter. Some others may consider it to be part of customary international law because of state practice, acquiescence and consensus. The better view is that the Resolution did not identify in concrete legal terms the right of self-determination, for, as Manfred Lachs (6) has said:

"the relevant provisions of the Charter were not creative of a new rule of law. All they did was to confirm and lay down in writing a principle which had long been growing and maturing in international society until it gained general recognition. By including and laying it down as one of the principles of the newly born organisation, the Charter gave expression to one of the elements of the international law of the time."

This view is upheld by the subsequent development which ensured that this right of self-determination has emerged as part of *jus cogens*, certain overriding principles or imperative norms of international law, "which cannot be set aside by treaty or acquiescence but only by the formation of a subsequent norm of contrary effect." (7) The International Court of Justice, in giving examples of these 'peremptory norms' which form part of *jus cogens*, described these obligations as being obligations "towards the international community as a whole," and added:

"Such obligations derive, for example, in contemporary international law, from the outlawing of acts of aggressions, and of genocide, as also from the principles and rules concerning the basic rights of

the human person, including the protection from slavery and racial discrimination.” (8)

For the implementation and execution of the provisions of the Declaration and subsequent texts, the General Assembly of the UN set up a 17-member Special Committee on Decolonisation, raised in 1962 to 24. All competences concerning non-self-governing territories were transferred to the Committee, whose role in developing the modalities for self-determination has run right through the work of other organs of the UN and its specialised agencies. The Committee operated (9) a set of twelve principles which acted as a guide to its work and which delimited its area of operations to territories which were then known to be ‘of the colonial type.’

The Declaration has been cited as a source of authority for the activities of the United Nations in support of national liberation movements. In the formative period of UN action, the only liberation movements recognised by the General Assembly were those in Africa – in the ‘Portuguese’ colonies, in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. These resolutions, underlying the norms of international law, have consistently embodied five basic principles which lie at the foundation of all international activity in support of liberation movements, and they have been applied, to a greater or lesser extent, to the situations arising in the Western Sahara, Palestine and East Timor.

The five principles are:

- a) The resistance of these liberation movements to colonial, racist and alien regimes in their territories is legitimate, and the opposition of those regimes to the efforts of the movements is unlawful and that the national liberation movements are the ‘legitimate’ or ‘authentic’ or, in the case of Namibia, the ‘sole’ representatives of the oppressed people of their territories in the international community, even though they do not claim to be the governments of independent states.
- b) The liberation movements may utilise

‘all necessary means at their disposal,’ including armed force, for the termination of colonialism and racism in their territories.

- c) All States and organisations associated with the United Nations should provide ‘moral and material assistance’ to the liberation movements and should refrain from assisting their adversaries in unlawful opposition to them.

- d) When dealing with matters dealing with the territories for which national liberation movements exist, organisations associated with the United Nations should provide for the representation of those movements at their deliberations and conferences.

- e) National liberation movements and their members combating colonialism, racism and alien rule are entitled to the protection of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, especially those relating to the protection of civilians and prisoners of war. (10)

#### References:

1. For example, Harris in *Cases and Materials on International Law* (3rd edition, 1983) begins his discussion of the topic by stating that the principle “... is a controversial one” (p. 95). For too long, western writers have been selective with their choice of evidence and erratic in their treatment. Their approach (contrasted with that of Brownlie and Higgins) highlights and brings into question the alleged neutrality of the positivist method into the enquiry concerning sources of law.
2. See the strong reliance of the United Kingdom in 1982 where, in its official pronouncements, the British Government relied heavily on this right and, in particular, on common Article 1, paragraph 1, of the United Nations International Covenants on Human Rights.
3. E Lauterpacht, 2 *Harvard L.J.* (1965) 271.
4. As of 1st September 1983, there were 121 ratifications.



5. See Seruda, *The Evolution of the Right to Self-Determination*, Leiden, 1973, for a comprehensive study of the early repertory of practice of the United Nations. Espiell (UN 1980 E/CN 4/Sub 2/405/Res 1, 6a) and Cristescu (UN 1981 E/CN 4/Sub 2/404/Res 1) provide the fullest collection of the relevant UN resolutions under the appropriate headings. For the legal effect or significance of the re-citation of General Assembly resolutions, see Bleicher, 63 AJIL (1969) 444.

6. In I Indian J. *International Law* (1961) 429, 432.

7. Brownlie, *Principles of Public International Law*, 2nd Edition, 495-500.

8. *Barcelona Traction Co. Case (Second Phase)* ICJ Reports, 1970, p. 3 par. 32; see the International Law Commission's report on the Draft Articles of the Law of Treaties in relation to *jus cogens* and the examples provided therein.

9. By virtue of Resolution G.A. 1541 (XV).

10. See, to the contrary, Dugard, *The OAU and Colonialism* 16 ICLQ (1967) and *SWAPO: The jus ad Bellum and the jus in Bello* 93 SALF (1976) 145. But there are subsequent indications of a change of attitude in Professor Dugard's views.



# **EDUCATION and LIBERATION**

## **THE CASE OF SOUTH AFRICA**

In order to determine accurately the role of education in the liberation struggle of the people of South Africa, it is important to grasp both the essential nature of education and its function in society.

Although the nature of education continues to be a subject of intense debate among educationists, a consensus has, in recent years, begun to emerge regarding what education really is. There is a growing acceptance among educationists that education is essentially the imparting of knowledge and the cultivation of skills among the young members of society in preparation for their playing a useful and constructive role in the life of the community. The old concept of education as the acquisition of knowledge for its own sake without consideration of its usefulness to society is no longer acceptable. It is not accidental that modern society does not teach alchemy or witchcraft. It is precisely because they have been found to be of no constructive use. Man's struggle for survival requires that the organisation of resources and training is directed towards the satisfaction of practical human needs.

The fact that educational training is directed at preparing the young for a participat-

ory role in the life of the community means that all educational training is implicitly normative. The provision of training in specific skills implies the endorsement and approval of these skills as the most appropriate skills for the community. More importantly, officially approved educational training in a society is a normative endorsement of the social system in which the training takes place.

It is not surprising, therefore, that educational training in a society practising slavery approves and defends the institution of slavery. Thus, for Aristotle, slavery was a natural institution since, in his view, some men were born to be slaves and others were born to be masters. To seek to abolish slavery, according to Aristotle, is to go against the law of nature.

Educational training under feudalism taught that this system was ordained by God, and that the supreme feudal lord, the king, was God's representative in the world. His laws were to be obeyed by all without question. To challenge them would be to challenge God himself.

From the foregoing discussion it can be seen that educational training, in any society, in addition to imparting knowledge and cultivating skills among the young, also provides

moral justification for the social system in which it takes place. This is the often unstated prescriptive element of educational training. All educational training lays down what is approved and acceptable within society.

### **Education in South Africa**

Education in South Africa prepares all young South Africans essentially for effective participation in a capitalist economic system. The fact that there exists in South Africa different education systems for the different racial groups does not detract from this fact.

The introduction of education among the indigenous African people was aimed at their westernisation. Western education, in addition to providing the peoples of South Africa with appropriate skills for functioning within the capitalist system also aimed to imbue our people with western values. The education system deliberately sought to train intellectuals and professional people to embrace western values and life-styles. In this aim, western education has been most successful. The majority of African intellectuals, like intellectuals within white society, positively embrace western capitalist values and western ways of life. This means that practical living among the majority of African intellectuals is governed by individualist egotistical calculations aimed at the acquisition of personal wealth and property.

The assimilation of capitalist individualist and competitive values was not confined to those who received formal education. The vast majority of the people of South Africa who received no formal education were nevertheless exposed to a capitalist way of life. All South Africans, irrespective of race or colour, because they live their lives in a society ordered by capitalism, learn to deal with each other on capitalist terms. They have to do this in order to survive. Real life experience imposes capitalist norms and values on them. To survive, the people learn that they have no choice but to deal with one another on capitalist terms. The whole organisation of society as a capitalist system leaves no room for opting out. From the informal

education of direct practical experience the capitalist system is reinforced, consolidated and entrenched through the assimilation of capitalist values by the greater majority of the people. Traditional values are systematically undermined and displaced.

Education in South Africa has been nothing else but a form of intellectual imperialism aimed at producing functionaries for western economic interests. Through the education system, concerted efforts were made to eliminate all traditional values and to replace these with western capitalist values. Education in South Africa, especially for the African people, meant nothing else but their westernisation. Education was one of the most important methods of extending the imperialist stranglehold on South Africa. It was an important method of guaranteeing the continued economic exploitation of the resources and people of South Africa.

In my account of education I have pointed to the general ideological content and orientation of education in South Africa and how this fits into the capitalist socio-economic system. I have stressed that the main purpose and objective of educational training is to provide young South Africans with skills that enable them to function within the capitalist system.

In 1953 the present racist regime, which came to power in 1948, introduced a radical change in the organisation and management of education in South Africa. African education was transferred from the department of Education Arts and Science, and made the responsibility of the special department of Bantu Education. This reorganisation of African education was inspired by one main consideration. The racist regime was determined to ensure that education for African people must aim to prepare our people to function within the South African economy as labourers and servants available to minister to the needs of the white settler society.

Although the African people had, since the colonial conquest of our country, been reduced to a nation of labourers for white society through numerous laws such as the

Land Act, the Job Reservation Act, the Pass Laws and many other laws, the accessibility of education to our people, made possible by mission schools established by different churches, provided an escape route from the drudgery of miserable existence for those of our people who could afford to pay for their education.

These few who managed to attain professional qualifications in a diversity of fields such as teaching, nursing, medicine, social work, law, journalism and many other professions were resented by the white society, which had always regarded the African as nothing more than a labourer and servant. Furthermore, the demands for equal pay for equal work, equality in professional status, equality of promotional opportunities and many other demands for justice and fairness by this group of professional people was seen as a direct challenge to the so-called traditional way of life.

The introduction of Bantu Education as separate and distinct from education provided for whites had, as its main objective, the termination of education as an escape route for African people from the labouring class. This objective was made quite explicit at the time by the then minister of Native Affairs, Dr H F Verwoerd, later to become prime minister. Introducing the Bantu Education Bill in Parliament he stated that the African must be taught to understand that he "cannot rise above certain levels of labour." He must not be deceived to believe that he can attain the status of equality with the white man simply because of his acquisition of professional qualifications. In Verwoerd's words, "The education of the black child prepares him for a subservient society and that of the white child for a dominant society."

The emphasis in the Bantu Education system is that the African must be prepared for manual labour, and not taught intellectual skills. To achieve this objective the curriculum and syllabus of African education was changed. Less time was allocated for academic subjects such as mathematics, English, history, geography and others, and more time alloc-

ated for manual and non-academic subjects such as carpentry, needlework, cookery, religious studies and others. In short, the main aim of Bantu Education was to indoctrinate the African people into the acceptance of servitude. Our people were to be trained to fit into the capitalist system, but only at the rock bottom of society, as labourers to serve white society.

### **Education and Liberation**

The liberation of the oppressed people of South Africa can only come about after the complete destruction of the apartheid system together with the capitalist relations existing within it. To achieve this, the liberation movement must positively seek to educate the people away from capitalism. The education programme of the liberation movement must aim to produce men and women who are committed to the economic emancipation of the people as a whole. It is clear that education must be seen as one of the most important means of training a dedicated revolutionary cadreship for the liberation movement.

Since the liberation objective of the South African liberation struggle is complete political and economic emancipation of the people, it is obvious that this cannot be achieved without an effective political and economic take-over by a people's revolutionary government after the overthrow of the apartheid system. For such a take-over to be successful, the revolutionary government must command the services of trained professional and technical personnel appropriate for the highly developed South African economy. Without such personnel the all-important effective control and management of the economy would be impossible. It should be understood, therefore, that the much-needed revolutionary cadreship for the eventual triumph of the South African revolution must include professionally and technically trained personnel equally committed to the social and economic reorganisation of South Africa.

It is clear from the foregoing discussion that education is not an activity taking place

separately and unrelated to the liberation struggle. On the contrary, educational training must be seen as an integral part of the liberation process. Without the promotion of a revolutionary consciousness among the students and youth generally, the educational training of our young people would lack one of the most important elements necessary for bringing about meaningful revolutionary social change in South Africa.

The educational training of our people, in addition to producing professional men and women, must produce revolutionary cadres committed to participation in the struggle now and social reconstruction after the overthrow of apartheid.

### Priority Areas of Training

The political goals of our struggle are defined for us in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter is the basic policy document of the South African liberation movement, adopted by the majority of the people of South Africa at a special people's conference in which South Africans of all racial groups participated. This document describes the kind of society the majority of our people would like to have in South Africa.

1. According to the Freedom Charter, a future independent people's Government of South Africa is committed to provide free medical care as a social service to all the people of our country. To do this we need medical specialists, in all their variety, by the thousand. The ANC educational programme places a high priority on training these specialists, as the only realistic and practical method of ensuring the realisation of the provision of meaningful, relevant and effective service in the field of medical care.

2. The Freedom Charter also stipulates that the wealth of the country shall be shared among the people as a whole: that the banks, the mines and all monopoly industry shall be nationalised. To carry out this policy we need specialists in commerce and industry, again by the thousand, if this provision of the Freedom Charter is to be successfully translated

into reality and the people made to take charge of the economic destiny of their country.

3. The Freedom Charter further stipulates that the land shall be shared among those who work it. Nationalisation of the land re-



quires agricultural specialists and other land specialists and technicians to make such a programme feasible and to ensure that land management is done on a scientific basis and in a manner relevant to the needs of the people. The education programme of the ANC recognises the need to train our people in all the skills essential to the proper management and utilisation of the land. Under the ANC programme the Government of an independent South Africa has a duty to ensure that our country produces enough food to feed its people.

4. The Freedom Charter also stipulates that education shall be free and compulsory for all. To do this we need educational experts of all kinds and at all levels of the educational process. Our education programme must produce all these experts to ensure the

successful training of different specialists to meet the needs of the various sectors of the South African economy. We in the ANC recognise and appreciate the daunting task of taking on the responsibility for the management of the highly developed and complex South African economy.

### Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion I have identified four areas of educational training as of high priority if freedom and independence are to be rendered meaningful to the vast majority of the people of our country. Clearly this list cannot be exhaustive. It would be impractical to attempt a full and comprehensive identification of all the areas in which our people require training, prior to undertaking a detailed study and analysis of the South African economy. What I have done is to identify priority areas of training on the basis of the

economic and political objectives of the South African liberation struggle as embodied in the Freedom Charter. The Freedom Charter expresses the aspirations of our people, and represents the only means of translating into reality the ideal of freedom to the millions of the oppressed and suffering people of our country.

One of the most important tasks of the liberation movement, as already stressed, is to educate our people away from capitalist individualist values and to promote a revolutionary consciousness consistent with their genuine liberation. To us, education is not a separate activity unrelated to the liberation struggle. It is an integral part of the liberation process. Through education we have a duty to train the manpower required for the realisation of the aspirations of our people, enshrined in the Freedom Charter.



# INTERNATIONAL

## **BOTHA'S VISIT TO WESTERN EUROPE CONDEMNED**

Strong condemnation and disapproval was aroused when a number of West European governments, including those of Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany, extended an invitation to P W Botha, enabling him to tour Western Europe in late May and early June 1984.

During the week leading up to his visit to Britain on Saturday 2nd June, protests included demonstrations outside the Portuguese and Swiss embassies in London, and a vigil organised by former political prisoners from South Africa and Namibia. Women from the ANC and the Anti-Apartheid Movement joined Mrs Kinnock, wife of the leader of the British Labour Party, in a deputation to Downing Street to protest at the removal of the people of KwaNgema near Wakkerstroom.

On Friday, 1st June, Comrade Mfanafuthi Makatini, head of the International Department of the ANC, addressed a press conference in London.

### **British People March in Protest**

On the 2nd June, the day of Botha's visit, Comrade Makatini addressed a rally on the banks of the River Thames, after a protest

march, part of which is shown in the pictures on our front and back covers. The march was organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement and sponsored by a number of British political parties, trade unions and civic organisations, including a number of organisations of black Britons.

The protest march was one of the largest ever organised in Britain on the issue of apartheid. Tens of thousands of democratic and freedom-loving British people from all corners of the United Kingdom converged on Hyde Park as Botha was helicoptered from Heathrow Airport to Chequers, the country residence of the Prime Minister, for a necessarily furtive rendezvous with Margaret Thatcher. At Hyde Park the atmosphere became electric as the crowds swelled. It was obvious why Botha shrank from showing his face at 10 Downing Street.

From the outset, it was clear that this was no ordinary anti-apartheid demonstration. The huge gathering of more than forty thousand had not come merely to say NO! to Botha. They had come to declare categorically their support for the just liberation struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa, spearheaded by the African National Congress, to destroy apartheid tyranny.

Thousands of stickers bearing the flag 13



*Roy Hattersley, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party, with Archbishop Huddleston at the head of the march in London.*

and name of the ANC were bought and worn by the demonstrators as they assembled. The march began with the Anti-Apartheid Movement banner followed by a sea of placards proclaiming "SOLIDARITY WITH ANC – SOLIDARITY WITH SWAPO." Then came the glorious black, green and gold banner of the African National Congress – fittingly the focus of the demonstration. As the march left Hyde Park, hundreds of people lined both sides of the route and a storm of applause accompanied the flag of the people of South Africa.

With freedom singing and cries of "Amandla! Matla! Power to the People!" ringing out, the ANC marched past apartheid's South Africa House and Downing Street, greeted everywhere by cheering friends. On

arrival at Jubilee Gardens, the ANC was ushered on to the stage, and the ensuing rally and festival put into words the spirit of the whole demonstration: real opposition to apartheid means supporting the ANC.

#### **President Tambo's Statement**

President Tambo of the ANC made the following statement, in the form of a message to Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, CR, the President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement.

The decision of Mrs Thatcher, Chancellor Kohl and other Heads of Government in Western Europe to invite P W Botha to visit a number of Western European countries is an



insult to the peoples of Africa and Europe alike.

P W Botha does not represent the people of South Africa. He represents the white minority racist regime which is only able to maintain power by the brutal repression of our people and by exporting its policies of terror and racial tyranny into all the neighbouring states in the region.

The invitation to tour Europe is an act of racial solidarity and must be condemned by all who cherish freedom, justice and equality. The African National Congress congratulates the Anti-Apartheid Movement and all the other organisations and individuals who have responded so promptly by mobilising opposition in Britain.

We in the ANC have always believed that a distinction should be drawn between the British Government and the British people; between those who aid and abet the apartheid regime and those who support our people's struggle for freedom. We hope that the British people, in a united and massive demonstration, will dissociate themselves from Mrs Thatcher's action, and re-affirm their abhorrence of apartheid.

We are equally encouraged by the efforts made by anti-apartheid and solidarity movements in other Western European countries which P W Botha intends to visit.

On behalf of the African National Congress and the people of South Africa I appeal to the people of Europe to make the maximum effort to oppose this apartheid propaganda tour and thereby demonstrate for all the world to see where they stand.

The purpose of P W Botha's visit to several European countries as head of the apartheid system — which has been declared by the United Nations to be a crime against humanity — is to enable South Africa to break out of its international isolation and to confer respectability on the Pretoria regime. It is intended to bring about the rapid collapse of those limited measures which have been adopted by the international community to isolate South Africa, in particular the arms embargo. This entire exercise also represents a reward



*Selous Street, in the borough of Camden in London was re-named Mandela Street at the request of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, whose offices are there.*



*The Borough of Hackney in London re-named one of its blocks of council flats Nelson Mandela House, early in 1984.*

to South Africa for the apparent success of its policies of aggression and destabilisation.

We should not forget that the tour of Europe is taking place against the background of the rapidly intensifying liberation struggle both in Namibia and in South Africa itself, which is generating a growing crisis for the white minority regime in Pretoria. It is in response to this crisis that South Africa is seek-

ing increased support from its allies in order to maintain and strengthen its domination over our people and the whole of Southern Africa.

We are confident that, as before, mass action by the British people can frustrate South Africa's allies in your midst and we wish you all success in your campaign.

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## **ANC VISITS SPAIN**

At the invitation of the Instituto de Estudios Políticos para América Latina e África (IEPALA) an ANC delegation, headed by Comrade Francis Meli, attended an anti-apartheid seminar from the 8th to the 11th May.

This visit afforded the ANC delegation the possibility of seeing Spain and meeting the progressive organisations there. It also gave an opportunity, or rather a platform, for the ANC to state its case on the recent developments in Southern Africa, on Pretoria's strategy, and the Reagan administration's policy of 'constructive engagement.'

Besides the discussions and arguments at the seminar, the numerous radio and newspaper interviews, the delegation also had bilateral talks with the Socialist Party (the ruling party) the Communist Party, women's organisations, trade unions and civic organisations. The discussions with the government officials, the President's office, the Foreign Ministry, the President of the Senate, the Deputy Mayor of Madrid, and other high-ranking officials, were fruitful.

Spain, a country which has recently emerged from forty years of fascism, is extremely sensitive to the question of fascism and the violation of human rights. The links which democratic Spain has had, and still has, with progressive forces in Latin America reinforce this sensitivity. Madrid, the capital of Spain, is proud to have been the host of the Socialist International Congress in 1977, which recognised the ANC and SWAPO as the authentic liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. It should be remembered that

this ANC visit took place shortly before a conference organised by the Socialist International in solidarity with the Front Line States, to be held in Arusha, Tanzania. The Socialist Party of Spain, the ruling party, is affiliated to the Socialist International.

These and many other reasons explain why the Spanish Government refused to be host to Botha on his recent European tour.

The significance of the ANC visit lies in the fact that the Spanish people demonstrated not only their abhorrence of apartheid but also their identification with the ANC.

A short meeting with Dolores Ibarruri, (The Passionate One), a heroine of the anti-Franco resistance in the 1930s and a leading and unifying force in Spain, signified the contacts between democratic Spain and the forces of change in South Africa, and was a glimpse into the history of the anti-fascist struggle of the Spanish people.

The ANC regards this visit as a sign of identification with our suffering and struggling people, and at the same time a sign that we encourage and support the efforts of the progressive forces in Spain to maintain their new and delicate democracy, which is threatened both by right-wing elements in Spain itself and by international imperialism.

**NO TO  
BOTH!**



**NO TO APARTHEID!**

**DEMONSTRATE**  
**SATURDAY JUNE 2ND**

Assemble 11.45  
Speaker's Corner  
Hyde Park

# REVOLUTION AND THE WHITE POPULATION

By Alex Mashinini

*This article follows on from 'South Africa – the Crisis of Power,' which appeared in 'Sechaba,' December 1983.*

## Newspaper Reports

A strong warning about a potential for revolution and crisis in South Africa was given in a Day of the Vow speech by the Transvaal Nationalist Party leader, Mr de Klerk ... Mr de Klerk said he wondered, in view of the facts and realities, if "we can succeed if the Afrikaners and Whites do not maintain an underlying unity and discipline." A moment of truth had arrived for the present generation.

*Argus 16.12.83*

Apartheid cannot be justified by Scripture, and the Nederlandse Gereformeerde Kerk dissociates itself from "any attempt to present separate development as if it were laid down by the Bible."

*Star International Weekly 31.10.83*

The African Methodist Episcopal Church (Amec) has declared apartheid a theological heresy.

*Argus 20.12.83*

While the Government speaks of reform, it continues to enforce the 'manifest evil' of apartheid laws, and inflicts "unmitigated cruelty," says Archbishop Philip Russell. The head of the Anglican Church in Southern Africa called for a national convention with "all people planning their future together."

*Argus 21.10.83*

All ethical, moral and philosophic objections to war should be recognised by the Defence Force. This is the view of the Methodist Church's national conference being held in Durban. The church called for the recognition of those who objected on the basis of the just war doctrine and whose position was based on either religious or political grounds.

*Daily News 20.10.83*

The once monolithic Afrikaner Nationalist movement has been shattered. As Dr Hermann Giliomee of Stellenbosch University puts it: "Mr Botha can never lead a united Afrikanerdom again; ethnic trust, once forfeited, can never be restored." Added to this is the fact that apartheid has collapsed as an ideology and thus as a binding force for Afrikaner nationalism ... so, in addition to being split and divided ethnically, Afrikaner nationalism has also been plunged into an ideological vacuum with no new articles to knit together."

Allister Sparks

*Star International Weekly 31.10.83*

All these observations and developments appear to be connected with the whites-only referendum held on 2nd November 1983. The referendum appears to have released all hitherto 'unknown' and hidden energies, to an extent that it falsely shows itself as the cause of all these developments.

Yet it is a form of manifestation of (and thus of secondary and functional importance to) a broader contradiction inherent in the apartheid system itself.

Therefore, a diagnosis of the results of the referendum as affecting the whites of South Africa, deserves our closer attention.

### **White Cohesion**

We lay special emphasis on the referendum issue, for, more than any other event in the history of Afrikanerdom and white politics since 1948, it has done more to shatter to smithereens all hitherto existing theories which treated Afrikaner nationalism, the volk, the Nationalist Party and the South African state as an integral whole, thus failing to see, or deliberately ignoring, their true relationship to each other, and to the whole socio-economic and political system in South Africa.

It has done more than put to shame and disgrace the hero and architect of modern apartheid, Dr H F Verwoerd, who once claimed, "The National Party was never and is not an ordinary Party, it is a nation on the move." (1) It has degraded P W Botha to the status of a national outcast, who betrayed the volk with his philosophy of "adapt or die."

Generally, and in some important spheres of social relations, Botha's two-thirds majority victory in the referendum represents the existence of a broad and yet diversified cohesion and unity of all the main classes and social groupings among the white population.

However, a comparative study of the performance patterns of the ruling Nationalist Party in previous elections, and of other opposition parties on both the 'left' and 'right' sides of the apartheid policy, reveals a peculiar process of discord and — one may safely say — of polarisation that is slowly but definitely encroaching on the ranks of Afrikanerdom, and that of the whites in general.

Although it is extremely difficult to measure the real extent and depth of this polarisation process, that is, of the formation and development (albeit slow) of anti-apartheid feelings and tendencies within this population group, it, nevertheless, suffices for one to

look at the score-board of the referendum, and discern from it a shift of attitudes, a tendency that is constantly and yet erratically moving between neutralism and passive opposition to apartheid.

That a section of the whites in South Africa rejected Botha's constitutional reforms remains an indisputable fact. But it will, however, be sheer political ineptitude and naivete to attribute this fact entirely to the aforementioned tendency, especially when one considers that the 'right-wing' elements within the white population, as represented by the Conservative Party, Herstigte Nasionale Party, etc., also rejected these proposals in favour of Verwoerdian apartheid. But that there is a shift of attitudes within the white population remains a fact.

Moreover, and as newspapers in South Africa have repeatedly reported, within the majority which Botha won over to his side, there exists a section which voted affirmatively but on a 'step-in-the-right-direction' and 'wait-and-see' basis. This testifies once more to the fact that, within this 'solid' and 'monolithic' majority, there exists an element of vacillation, the camp of waverers.

To say that the system is locked up and trapped in an abyss of crisis, is not to raise a false alarm. For this is a crisis of a perennial nature, simmering at some moments and erupting at others (the split in the Nationalist Party, for example) only to slide back into its ebb — but incapable of bursting into the open so long as the system still enjoys a measure of stability in the eyes of its power-base, the white population. But this does not suggest that this relative stability exists only subjectively, in the mind of this population group. It exists objectively.

The question poses a paradox before us. It appears to contradict our previous position on the 'shift of attitudes' and of 'feelings and tendencies' between neutralism and passive opposition to apartheid. But revolutions would indeed be easy if they were carried out on the basis of feelings and tendencies. What, then, is the material basis of these feelings and

tendencies, and what is the nature and character of their driving force or forces?

These questions are of topical importance to the struggle. Once correctly analysed and understood, that is, within the context and implications of our strategic objective, the armed seizure of power by the oppressed majority, they will help illuminate, among other things, the significance to our revolution of the crisis within the enemy camp, and the forces which need to be further mobilised to accentuate and maximise this crisis. We must never

“be slow to take advantage of differences and divisions which our successes will inevitably spark off to isolate the most vociferous, the most uncompromising and the most reactionary elements among the whites.” (2)

But before we embark on this issue, a few remarks (3) on the course of development that Afrikaner nationalism has followed and is following at present will suffice to show how the inherent contradictions of the South African system have negatively affected the (often falsely interpreted) ideological unity of Afrikaner nationalism.

### **Whites Do Not Benefit as Equals**

It is true that the historical development of Afrikaner nationalism and the subsequent advent to power of its political party in 1948 represents, among other things, the existence then of strong ideological and ethnic bonds, based on common culture, language and traditions; on common (Anglo-Boer War) “victims to mourn, common injuries upon which to brood ... and in the tragic figure of Kruger, dead in exile, a martyr around whom myths could be woven.” (4) All these are reinforced by common interests and aspirations for republicanism and white supremacy. At the same time, it is equally true that the history of Afrikaner nationalism since 1948 has, on the other hand, explicitly demonstrated that, while all sections of the white population benefit from white minority domination,

they do so, however, not as equals.

These relations of inequality in benefits set in motion by that political act in 1948 exposed, *mutatis mutandis*, the real relationship, as found in any other society based on the capitalist mode of production, between the bourgeoisie on the one hand, and the working-class and other social strata within the white population, on the other, and explains why, at different periods in the development of Afrikaner nationalism, its representatives had had to use a double language of “The National Party ... is a nation on the move” and that of “adapt or die.”

This process of differential benefit is, therefore, the primary element which has, in the course of time, tended to weaken the ideological bonds of Afrikaner nationalism. Added to this are: the greater integration of Afrikaner and non-Afrikaner business; the State (within which the role of the ruling Nationalist Party should be seen in its proper perspective) as one of the dominant monopoly factions, and its responsiveness to domestic and foreign big business interests; the growing share of Afrikaner capital in the South African economy; the upward economic mobility of a larger section of the Afrikaners and the extent of their urbanisation, which has:

“left a permanent imprint on **their** style of life ... and undermined the values of **their** agrarian society.” (5)

Now, in relation to the foregone, the task is set us – the solution of which will help resolve the paradox of a relatively stable and yet deeply divided and inherently unstable community – to look into the material basis and the nature and character of those forces to which we ascribe the tendency we referred to elsewhere in this article. And in doing so we shall frequently make use of one of the most significant theoretical formulations in the history of the South African revolution – that is, the theory of colonialism of a special type.



Special emphasis is made here as regards this theory, because in most cases all hitherto written works on its substance have centred on an analogy this theory draws on the imperial-colonial relationship South Africa has in common with classical colonial structures, exposing thereby the racial basis of the political relations of domination and subjugation, of economic inequality, or territorial segregation, and so on, as affecting different races in South Africa.

This article will, however, concern itself mainly with the significance of this theory in relation to the diversified patterns of behaviour of classes and social groupings as found in the white population, when subjected to unusual forms of social stress and crisis — in this connection, the imminent revolution in South Africa.

This does not, by any means, suggest that the aforementioned categories such as the political relation of domination and subjugation, economic inequality, and so on, do not have an important bearing whenever an appraisal is made of the political situation in South Africa. On the contrary, their theoret-

ical as well as their practical importance forms the material basis of our ensuing analysis.

The existing reality in South Africa

“uniquely demonstrates that a dominant racial minority can perpetuate social rigidities and feudalistic traits on an advanced and expanding industrial base.” (6)

Despite this factor, which hampers any prospects of class or group alliances and solidarity across the colour line, the *Strategy and Tactics* of the liberation movement headed by the ANC does not, however, rule out in absolute terms that:

“In a different situation the white working class, or a substantial section of it, may come to see that their true long-term interest coincides with that of the non-white workers.” (7)

The latter proposition is based on the assertion that:

"racial alienation in the working class is undoubtedly the consequence of contrived factors, and not of innate antipathies or any biological bias." (8)

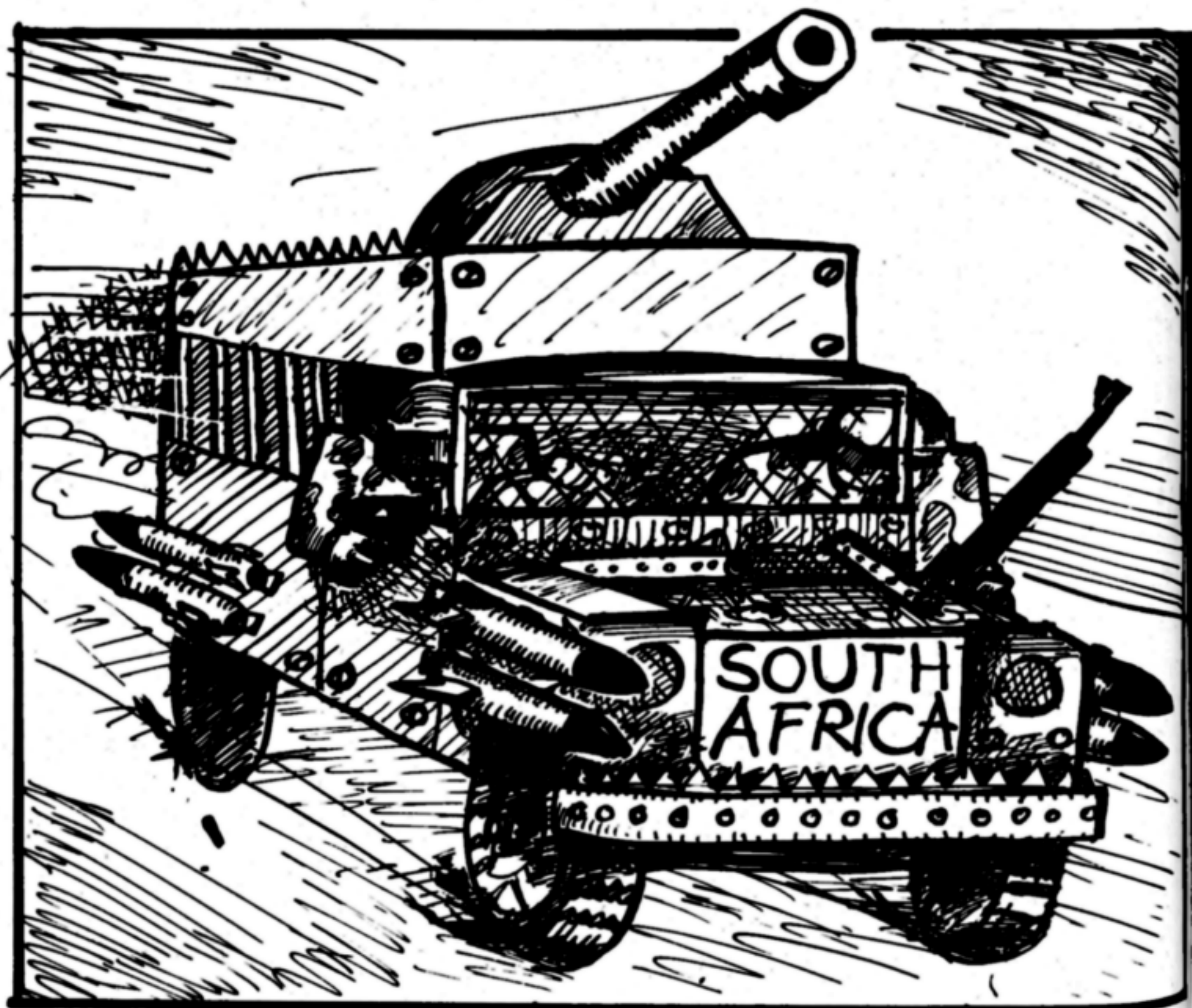
So, it goes without saying that it is with the operation of these "contrived factors" of political domination, of social and economic privileges, above which hovers state patronage and protection, that the "white worker is successfully mobilised as one of racialism's most reliable contingents," (9) to an extent that "he is, in a sense which has no precedent in any other capitalist country, a part (albeit subordinate) of that ruling class in its broader meaning." (10)

In its "broader meaning" because:

"what united the whites as a community is that all classes and groups amongst the whites benefit in some way from white national domination. But they do not benefit in the same way ... and this is one of the sources of divisions." (11)

And:

"future developments could alter the relatively monolithic character of the present line-up by the ruling class and its allies. A combination of factors, economic crisis, successful pressure from the liberation movements, etc., may force a break with existing patterns." (12)





But at the present stage of our revolution, and here, one may say, in the foreseeable future:

“the laager-minded white group as a whole ... and all significant sections of the white political movement ... move more and more in the direction of a common defence of what is considered a common fate,” (13)

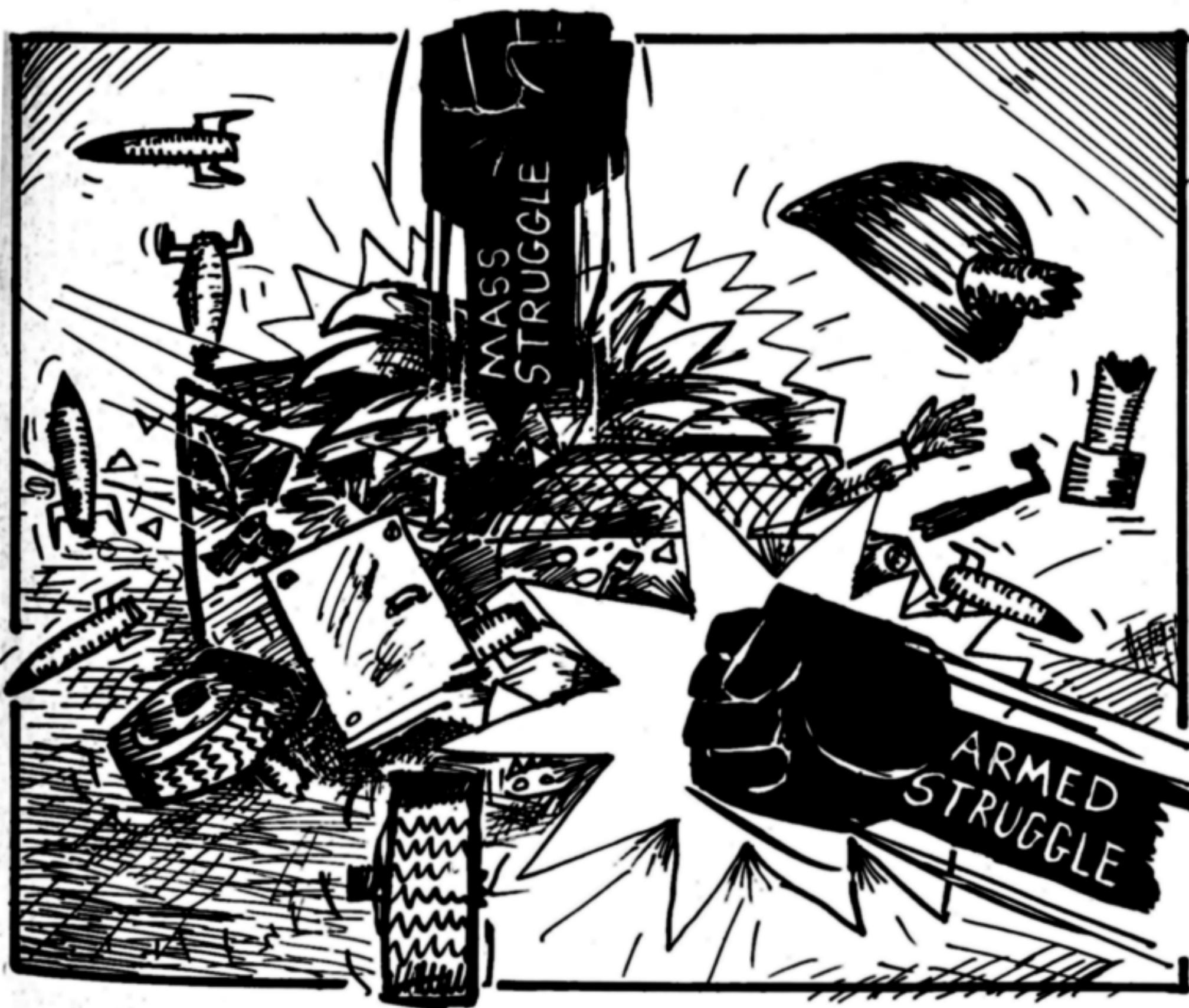
because:

“their economic, political and social interests are objectively served by the survival rather than the destruction” (14)

of the apartheid system.

The picture given above seems to be self-contradictory. It portrays, on the one hand and quite convincingly, the dim prospects of an alliance of classes and groups across the colour line. At the same time it envisages, in an apparently unconvincing manner, the potential of such an alliance as a product of a “combination of factors — economic crisis, successful pressure from the liberation movements, etc.,” which will not make it altogether impossible for “the white working class or a substantial section of it ... to see that their true long-term interest coincides with that of the non-white worker.”

But when viewed from a different angle, that is, in its organic unity and as an inseparable whole, this self-contradictory picture



portrays nothing more or less than the different stages of the South African revolution, of the process in which the ruling class and its allies move towards a common centre, only to be thrown back, and, what is more, to be scattered and never to come together again to their original positions.

This hurls us back again into our previous observation, in which we established the formation and development within the white population of "feelings and tendencies moving between neutralism and passive opposition to apartheid."

In general, it can be stated that the material basis of this process should be sought for in the very contradictory nature of the South African system, firstly as a capitalist state, secondly, and in relation to the foregone, as an apartheid state, in which the latter exacerbates the former in unparalleled proportions.

Although this generalisation does not, in any plausible manner, give an answer to the question posed above, nevertheless, our proper understanding of it will save us the task of indulging in yet another study of the proposition that these contradictions reflect, at the same time a contradiction:

"between the dynamic potential of a multi-racial labour force (**society**) and a strait-jacket of racially segregated institutions." (15)

Our task, therefore, is to distinguish forms through which these basic contradictions make themselves felt. The following points are therefore suggested, as the material basis, functional to these contradictions, of these feelings and tendencies:

- the revolutionary war in South Africa,
- the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African regime,
- the South African racists' undeclared war in Southern Africa,
- the continued militarisation of South African society,
- the elimination of the parliamentary system by the military.

In spite of the relative stability of its position of economic privilege, the white population in South Africa has not remained indifferent to a revolutionary war that is at present sweeping across the country. The same could be said of the racist rulers in Pretoria, who can no longer refrain from acknowledging publicly the escalation of the armed struggle headed by the ANC.

The result of a solution to the crisis was a hastening preparation for what Pretoria calls a 'total onslaught,' a 'communist onslaught.' A 'total strategy' arising from this erroneous assessment of the South African political situation was elaborated, which envisaged, among other things, the full mobilisation of both the human and the material resources of the country.

The economy is put on a war footing, a war psychosis is being fanned as people are being mentally conditioned to swell the ranks of the armed forces and the police, to combat a threat against their interests, even if it meant taking that war across the borders into Namibia, Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and other independent states of Southern Africa ... for the onslaught was conceived as global.

In Parliament, the State Security Council — a military clique — has systematically encroached on and finally captured the decision-making body, the cabinet, in order to have free play in realising its objectives.

The concern the white population has shown in the wake of all these developments is varied, and in most cases unintelligible. Although the main trend at this stage is characterised by support for, and sympathy with, the war efforts of the regime, there exists, on the other hand, a growing trend of disapproval on this issue.

The growing number of conscientious objectors and conscription evaders is a matter of grave concern for the rulers in Pretoria. Moreover, with the introduction of the new Defence Amendment Act, which extended the prison term for conscientious objectors from two to six years, this trend is likely to make itself deeply felt in the country.

## **Deepening Crisis and White Uncertainty**

In the universities, a strong students' movement against the practices of apartheid has grown. This movement also played its role in opposing Botha's constitutional proposals.

Academics and editorial opinion in a number of dailies have questioned the unwarranted presence of the SSC in the corridors of power.

The churches have branded apartheid a heresy, a morally and politically evil system. Families will never forgive Pretoria for the mysterious disappearance of their sons in 'operational areas.' There was the death in detention of Dr Neil Aggett, and now there is a growing number of whites charged with furthering the aims of the ANC. The list is long, and its message is clear and simple: that a growing number of Whites is breaking with existing political formations.

This is a reality which exists behind a granite wall of white unity and impregnability. This is a tendency that exists amidst luxury and affluence.

But it will be politically naive to conceive of this crisis as having matured, and equally naive, and even more dangerous, to appraise these developments as irrelevant to our struggle and having no bearing on it, as merely the outbursts of liberal-minded but inherently reactionary Whites!

For what is meant by a crisis in the enemy camp, by loss of confidence of a small section of the Whites (anyway, we do not expect the scale to be massive), in the ability of the system to protect itself?

This is neither an expression of blind optimism nor a manifestation of impatience.

In a nutshell, the above picture clearly shows the existence within the white population, of a tendency between neutralism and passive opposition to apartheid. It explains the impasse this tendency finds itself in, between the perpetuation of apartheid and its destruction!

This article has attempted to approach the crisis that has gripped the South African apartheid system from a different angle, that is, the crisis as affecting certain sections of the

white population. For its proper understanding, this crisis should be seen, not in isolation, but as:

"an aspect of, and a product of ... a profound structural crisis ... for the system as a whole in South Africa." (16)

We have seen in this article that, contrary to all expectation, the nature and character of the forces which lie hidden behind these "feelings and tendencies" are, so to say, outside the sphere of "all significant sections," that they are found in such social strata as the youth, students, the clergy, academics, humanitarian, lay and civic organisations and so on.

The question, therefore, that immediately strikes us, is whether these forces — amorphous, as their composition suggests — are able to sustain this trend. As an answer to this question, to define the nature and character of these forces in terms of their position and role (as stipulated by the system) in the socio-political and economic set-up of the country, will only throw us back into the politics of definitions, and compel us into a conclusion in which these forces are nothing more or less than an inconsistent mass.

But, viewed as part of the ruling class in the 'broader meaning,' and given the continued existence of those conditions which gave rise to this trend, it can be safely stated that the forces which represent this trend will 'perpetuate' themselves; that their numerical strength will grow faster than their transformation into a trend of active opposition on a wider scale.

In conclusion, it can be further stated that the significance of the form through which this "structural crisis" is manifesting itself suggests that between the stages in which the laager-minded white population group "moves more and more in the direction of a common defence of what is considered a common fate" on the one hand, and that in which "the white working class or a substantial section of it may come to see that their long-term interest coincides with that of

the non-white worker," on the other, there exists an intermediate stage on the periphery of white supremacy, which is slowly undermining the unity and cohesion of white minority domination.

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# THE ZOLA BUDD AFFAIR

By Sam Ramsamy

*The writer of this article is Chairman of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC).*

White South Africa needs sport more than any other country in the world to establish and maintain diplomatic, trade and military relations. The racist regime has never missed an opportunity to sneak sportsmen and women into international competition in order to gain respectability for apartheid.

So, when a 17-year-old Afrikaner girl from Bloemfontein, Zola Budd, set an unofficial world athletics record for the 5 000 metres, racist South Africa had a ready-made propaganda machine for apartheid. The neo-professional nature of modern international 'amateur' athletics and the lucrative financial benefits which could accrue, attracted world-famous entrepreneurs to Budd's side. The offer made by the London *Daily Mail* of a trust fund of £250 000, a promise of obtaining a British passport and the subsequent opportunity to participate in the Olympic Games presented little difficulty in the family and their advisers accepting the deal. (South Africa was expelled from the Olympic

Movement in 1970 because of its apartheid policies).

The *Daily Mail*, a very strong supporter of the present British right wing government, flew Zola Budd and her parents to England in March of this year, and engineered a British passport for her in the record time of ten days. Her father received his British passport the day after he applied for it.

## Background

Zola Budd was born and brought up in Bloemfontein. Her father, Frank, was the son of an English settler; but Frank married an Afrikaner farmer's daughter. The Budd family are all communicants of the Dutch Reformed Church – the church which endorses and perpetuates apartheid.

Frank Budd possesses a typical white racist attitude. Questioned on the political situation, he said, "I don't think there is a situation like ours anywhere else in the world; a country run by whites while the blacks are in the majority, and yet the majority of blacks haven't got it in them to run the country. Not yet, anyway."

Before Budd's flight to England, she had 27

begun to study at the University of the Orange Free State, in political science, history and the South Sotho language, envisaging a career in international diplomacy.

So, when she left South Africa, it was not because she did not like the country or because she disliked apartheid, but only because she wished to compete in international athletics.

### **Opposition**

Therefore, when she was given a British passport, there was a tremendous outcry from anti-apartheid groups and from the British Labour Party, especially as it normally takes between nine months and two years to obtain a British passport. Mr Denis Howell, the former Minister for Sport in Britain, said that the Government had been manipulated by commercial interests. But the Home Office Minister said, "We gave her exceptional treatment — but she is an exceptional girl."

Several women athletes were extremely angry at the sudden entry of Budd into British athletics. One athlete even threatened to boycott the British Olympic trials if Zola Budd was allowed to compete.

Labour-controlled local councils stated that she would not be welcome to participate in athletics stadiums managed by them. The Crawley local council protested at her participation, and Zola Budd's minders then decided to withdraw her from the race in Crawley.

After she had competed in two races in England, her minders, the *Daily Mail*, tried testing European opinion by entering Budd for a road race in Oslo, Norway. Norwegian sports policy forbids South Africans to compete in Norway. This condition was flagrantly violated by Zola Budd and the organisers of the race, because at that time she was a dual national — British and South African. However, the manager of the British team, in collusion with the race organisers, who stood to benefit financially, misled the Norwegian sports authorities by stating that Budd was exclusively British. Protests came from all quarters in Norway and one of their star runners withdrew from the race.

### **Welcome by the BAAB**

As there were financial spin-offs for the Zola Budd support committee, the British Amateur Athletic Board (BAAB), the body controlling athletics in the United Kingdom, wasted no time in arranging a meeting with Zola Budd. What is more, she took her mother, father and coach to the meeting. Very few British-born athletes have received the honour accorded to Zola Budd. But then, few, if any, of them could offer the Board ten per cent of a trust fund. This ten per cent could be worth more than £25 000 for just saying, "Yes, you can run for us."

### **Suppressing Opposition**

Success on the athletics track was insufficient in itself to make Zola Budd acceptable to the British. Opposition should be eliminated as much as possible.

Opposition by the British Labour Party members and Councils was countered with legal action. In Britain, most sports installations are controlled jointly by local councils and the Sports Council. It is a well-known fact that the British Sports Council favours links with apartheid South Africa. Therefore, unilateral action by Labour-controlled councils to oppose the participation of Zola Budd on their tracks continually failed, as they received no co-operation from the Sports Council. The Greater London Council was threatened with court action if it banned Zola Budd from competing at the Crystal Palace Athletics Stadium.

However, 'quietening' athletes seems to have been done in a rather more sophisticated manner. Athletes who initially opposed Zola Budd's participation became suddenly quiet or were eager to shake hands with her after the competition. It has been rumoured that athletes have been instructed to shake hands with her at race meetings. Jane Furniss, who was earlier reported as saying, "As far as I am concerned Zola Budd is not welcome here and I really would not mind if she flew back to South Africa right now," even kissed her at the completion of one race.

In Parliament, the British Prime Minister, Mrs Margaret Thatcher, even condemned a small, insignificant demonstration against this girl at Crystal Palace. John Davies, Director of the Crystal Palace, said:

"I noticed a young black man in the stand holding up a banner saying Zola was not welcome, while a little old white lady standing next to him was applauding her. It was so peaceful a protest, it was really Britain at its best."

But Mrs Thatcher stated:

"I thought the treatment meted out to a 17-year-old girl was utterly appalling and a disgrace to those who meted it out to her."

Nearly every week of last year's English football season, top black footballers — born and bred in Britain — were showered with racial abuse at several British football stadiums. Mrs Thatcher has not yet condemned this, though.

Even sports administrators who pretended that they possessed a bit of muscle soon succumbed and began to vacillate. Sir Arthur Gold, an athletics official, first seemed to indicate disapproval but then changed to, "I do not want to get involved with the lawyers." Charles Palmer, the acting president of the British Olympic Association, initially suggested that Budd's eligibility to compete be left to the International Olympic Committee (IOC) but later stated that as the matter rests entirely with the British there is no objection to her competing in the Olympic Games and there is no need to seek IOC clarification.

#### **'Coach' Labuschagne**

The complicity of the British Government and the British Amateur Athletics Board is further magnified when one discovers that Budd's coach, who is a South African national, arrived in Britain to join the entourage. He arrived on 1st April with the formal status of a visitor for four months. It is certain that he is being paid. Doesn't that infringe British im-

migrant laws? Maybe, because he was white, he was not asked by immigration officials to explain the purpose of his visit.

#### **Citizenship Cover-up**

So far, Zola Budd has refused point-blank to condemn apartheid. This can indicate only one thing — a love for white South Africa and the intention of returning there after her athletic career is over. She very cleverly bypasses the question of apartheid by saying that she is a runner and not a politician. She and her parents know full well that social re-acceptance in South Africa will become difficult if she condemns apartheid.

The South African Government has reassured the Budd family that they will be welcome to return to the land of apartheid. Under the apartheid laws it is not possible for Zola Budd, a white minor (under 21 years), to relinquish her citizenship. The same applies to her father. As the manoeuvring over citizenship was merely to obtain a passport of convenience for his daughter because of his descent, and he had not purposely applied for British citizenship, his South African citizenship is protected. When controversy intensified as to her dual citizenship, Zola Budd was forced to publicly declare that she has relinquished her South African citizenship. But the South African Government immediately retorted that the decision is reversible.

There is no doubt about the future intentions of the Budd family — "after this temporary sojourn we will return and settle in our native apartheid South Africa."

Therefore this whole issue stinks of collaboration between Britain and South Africa, just to provide apartheid with international respectability.



# LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Comrade,

I wish to add my thoughts to Arnold Selby's letter to *Sechaba* (February 1984, p. 29), particularly as regards the time from when collective and individual responsibility for the crime of apartheid colonialism commences.

For Selby this time is May 1948, but I believe that if one sees, as he should, apartheid as a form of settler colonialism, and settler colonialism as a form of the colonial system of imperialism under specific circumstances, then he should extend the time factor to the year of the initial imposition of colonialism in 1652, if colonialism remains a crime against humanity, as it certainly does.

For Selby, however, "the time cannot [even] be when the South African state was founded in 1910," though he rightly states that "that in itself was a monstrous crime by Great Britain and white South Africa against the African people," and that the imperialist system of colonialism (of which settler-apartheid colonialism in South Africa is part and parcel) is one long crime. Selby's reasons for excluding from responsibility all those connected with the commission of this monstrous crime are not clear.

Selby unduly restricts, in my opinion, the responsibility of colonialist institutions

and their servants, by dating their criminal responsibility only from May 1948, "when the Nationalist Party came to power, publicly proclaiming apartheid as a state doctrine." Even then the head of the apartheid-colonialist state, that is, the British crown through its governor-general, would, according to Selby, be excluded from responsibility for presiding over a colonialist dispossession machine "up till the time the South African state became a republic," that is, up till 1961! The reason for this exclusion is that "in international law [?] the British monarchy cannot be held ... responsible for direct complicity in the crime of apartheid."

It seems to me that a limitation of colonialist responsibility for crimes against humanity in South Africa to the short period 1948 or 1961 onwards would leave unpunished other, no less brutal, forms of colonialism which preceded the apartheid colonialism of the Nationalist Party (for example, colonialist wars of conquest and slavery in the 17th-19th centuries, genocide, segregation, the contract labour system, reserves, passes, and so on). What is more, such a limitation could be taken by enemies of freedom as absolving colonialism and its agents, whether political animals of a royal blood or not, from all responsibility for the ruthless colonisation of South Africa since 1652. The said limitation would also produce a grave injustice to the tens of millions of dispossessed, tortured, maimed and slaughtered freedom fighters since the decolonisation struggle started against the expropriators of the Dutch East India Company.

We cannot limit arbitrarily the historical, political or legal responsibility of colonialism in South Africa to its post-1948 apartheid form merely in the name of a "clear, understandable and simple definition." Responsibility for the crime of colonialism in South Africa begins in 1652, and it is a joint responsibility involving both the colonial system of imperialism as a whole (British colonialism, the export of multinational capital in particular) and settler colonialism (including apartheid, its latest, bestial variety).



It is in this light that one fully agrees with all the basic points raised in Selby's letter. For example, "individuals who have in the meantime died should nevertheless be judged, and their deeds placed on historical record." Indeed, the true history of South Africa is yet to be written! Again, the new peace state will certainly "not be responsible for the repayment of imperialist-colonialist loans" and it will have "every right to confiscate the assets of imperialist concerns" which further the aims of the usurper colonialist state in South Africa. I would only add that the new state could also demand compen-

sation from these concerns for their centuries-long colonialist exploitation of South Africa's human and natural resources — a situation responsible for the present and deepening underdevelopment and deprivation of the colonised people of South Africa.

Comradely,

C Theodoropoulos.

c/o Faculty of Law,  
University of Benin,  
Nigeria.

### *ABOUT THIS SPEAR*

*Harbour no illusions  
About this spear  
It is in flight  
Flung with the might  
Of a warrior's thrust*

*Argue no arguments  
About this spear  
It is in flight  
Thrown by bronze brawn  
The brawn of a thoroughbred*

*Ask no questions  
About this spear  
It is a spear in flight  
A flight which is living  
A living which is legend*

*Dream no daydreams  
About this spear  
This spear flies at a pace  
The sceptics won't tolerate  
The pace of Africa*

*Do not wonder  
About this spear  
It has a trademark  
That of certainty  
More certain than certainty*

*The people are sure  
About this spear  
It will strike shattering  
Piercing fog and shattering  
For aren't they the throwers?*

*Mbongi Koki*

# OBITUARY



*Bothwell Ndlovo (Tamana)  
as a young man.*

Bothwell, son of Dora Tamana, died accidentally on the 29th April in Zambia.

He was captured at Wankie in 1967 in a skirmish with South African and Rhodesian soldiers, and sentenced to death by the Ian Smith regime, the sentence being commuted to life imprisonment. He served thirteen years in the Khami prison, notorious for its brutality. He was released at independence in 1980, when the new Zimbabwe government under Robert Mugabe took over. But, because of the treatment he had endured at Khami, he never regained his full health and strength. Of course he could not return to his home in South Africa, and his mother, over eighty years old, made every effort to visit him, but was refused a passport because the South African authorities said she was a Transkeian.

He is described by Comrade Alfred Nzo, the Secretary-General of the ANC, as:

“a true son of the South African people, fully dedicated to the cause of freedom and independence till the last day of his life.”

Comrade T T Nkobi, the Treasurer-General of the ANC, has this to say about him:

“He never complained, he was a hard worker and gave inspiration to those who were gaoled with him. He even taught them book-keeping. Since 1964, when he came out of the country, he never appeared before any disciplinary committee, never involved himself in cliques – he was really an exemplary MK cadre.”

He was born in the movement, grew up in the movement and died in the movement.

Let us pick up his fallen spear.

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