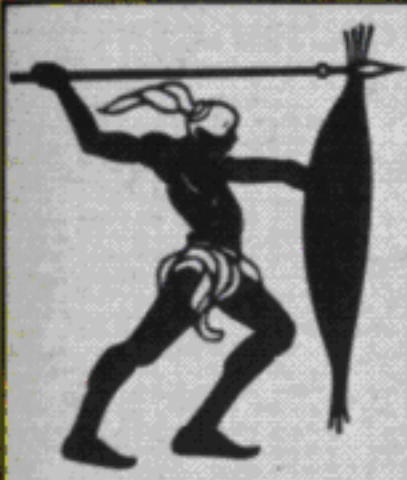
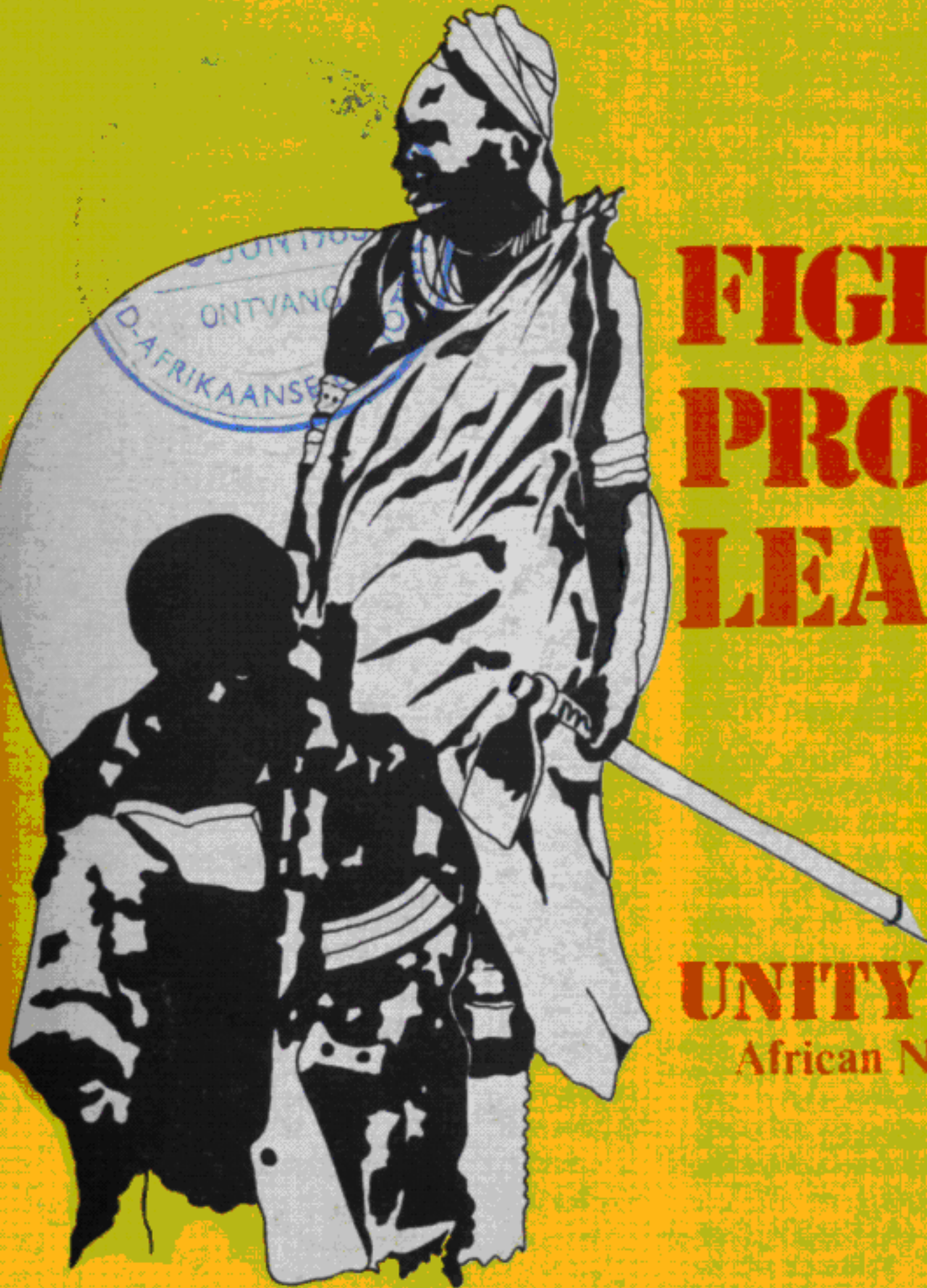


MARCH 1983



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official organ of the african
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MARCH ISSUE, 1983



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EDITORIAL

Coloured Labour Party Sells Out

A "near-riot" — that was how a February meeting of the Coloured Labour Party was described in the papers. Chairs were thrown, bottles were flying, windows smashed, and bricks and stones came crashing on to the platform, during a free-for-all. There were about 600 people. The stampede that resulted can only be left to the imagination.

What actually happened? David Curry, chairman of the Labour Party, said the decision of his party was not a sell-out. Different battlefield situations need different strategies, he said. He is of the opinion that, as some must fight outside, some must do battle inside.

Dr Allan Boesak, President of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, disagrees. It is debatable, in fact doubtful, whether the Coloured Labour Party can do any fighting within the President's Council. The very fact that the unions have clashed over this issue, and scuffles have been reported, proves that the matter has become a national issue.

It was with this in mind that the ANC issued the following statement:

It was with deep regret that we heard the news that the South African Labour Party Congress, meeting at Eshowe in Natal, had mandated the Labour Party to participate in

the constitutional arrangements proposed by the so-called President's Council and approved by the ruling National Party.

Despite the assurances that this participation merely pursues tactical objectives, we are convinced that such involvement would be wrong and ill-advised.

The Eshowe declaration of the Labour Party means that a certain group within this party has elected to join hands with the Botha regime. No sweet-sounding words like 'the politics of consultation' can hide this ugly reality.

In this case, to elect to join hands with the Botha regime means to choose to become part of the schemes of this regime to entice the so-called Coloured and Indian people out of the camp of democracy and liberation. It signifies a decision to become a junior partner, but a partner nonetheless, among the forces that are committing murder and genocide to perpetuate the system of white minority domination in South Africa.

We are happy to note that even as this shameful act of betrayal of the very interests of the so-called Coloured people were being hatched, there were patriots such as Norman Middleton, Sam Solomon, Louise Boesak and others who stood against the tide of compromise with oppression.

It is these patriots who represent the bulk of 'Coloured' opinion, and not those who pretend that the cause of the Black people is best served by their occupying soft cushioned seats in Botha's three-tier, separate development parliament.

The challenge facing all genuine patriots of our country, both black and white, is to ensure that those who preach collaboration with racist tyranny do not succeed in their intentions. Together we must work for the

authentic voice of the people to emerge victorious.

We cannot advance through Botha's President's Council schemes. The only way forward, painful as it is, is through united struggle to a genuinely democratic and non-racial South Africa, governed by all the people.

Whatever illusions were created at Eshowe, we are convinced that the 'Coloured' people belong among the forces that are committed to fight for such a South Africa.

O.R. TAMBO

«WE MUST ORGANISE OURSELVES INTO A CONQUERING FORCE»

Below we publish the speech given by Comrade President O.R. Tambo on behalf of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress, on the occasion of January 8, 1983, the 71st anniversary of the African National Congress.

Today, January 8th, we mark the 71st anniversary of our organisation, the African National Congress. We are beginning a new political year. We must therefore set ourselves new tasks which we should strive to achieve in the coming year.

We are marking this important occasion in the history of our protracted struggle at a time when the revolutionary ferment amongst all sections of the black oppressed majority has reached unprecedented heights and has plunged the ruling racist clique into deeper and deeper levels of political and economic crisis. A distinctive feature of this all-round crisis facing the oppressor class is that the initiative is shifting into the hands of the people and continues so to

shift. We are on the offensive to put an end to the cruel system of national oppression and economic exploitation. It is a process that the Pretoria rulers can neither defuse nor halt. Within the confines of the apartheid system there is no way out of this crisis situation. The real solution lies in the victory of the revolutionary forces, the dismantling of the apartheid machinery and the transfer of political and economic power to the democratic majority. Each year, as our forces advance on the enemy, this, our cherished goal, becomes clearer and nearer.

This time, last year, we proclaimed the year of the 70th anniversary of the ANC as the "Year of Unity in Action." Drawing on the historic lessons contained in seven

decades of struggle under the leadership of the ANC, we have sought to ensure, during this past year, that all those at home and abroad, who are opposed to the apartheid system and stand for a democratic South Africa, should unite in action and act in unity, thereby to expedite the process of our liberation.

In the coming period, we shall need to defend and consolidate all the gains that we have made in the struggle, to ensure the widest possible united action of the forces of progressive change in our country. We have to struggle continuously to overcome all obstacles and differences amongst ourselves that are blocking the realisation of unity and united action. We shall furthermore need to build on these gains, continuously to strive for the situation in which the millions of our people can move as one, behind a united leadership and in pursuit of commonly-agreed goals.

Last year, operating under difficult conditions of illegality and police surveillance and risking arrest and persecution by the security forces, the ANC and its allies in struggle, together with other patriotic and revolutionary forces drawn from all social classes and strata, drawn from all population groups of our people, organised and carried out successful political confrontations and economic strikes throughout the country. Important battles took place around such questions as wages, rents, removals, sporting and cultural boycotts, ceding of Ingwavuma and KaNgwane and the assassination of patriots like Dr. Neil Aggett.

Our underground organised forces are striking deeper roots and multiplying among the masses who are the bedrock of our revolution. Gestapo repression and persecution has failed to break the will of the masses or to deter them from the pursuit of the revolutionary cause. Instead, they have further provoked the wrath of the people and increased their determination and drive to win freedom.

Combined with these mass political

actions, has been the succession of stunning blows by the people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation) against the enemy throughout the country, in such far-flung places as Cape Town, East London, Paulpietersburg, Mkhuze, Komatipoort, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Koeberg, to cite but a few. We take this opportunity once more to salute the commanders and combatants of Umkhonto we Sizwe and to express our confidence that they, the army of the people of South Africa, will discharge their mission with the same dedication and discipline that they have so far displayed. As our struggle unfolds and reaches higher levels of intensity, our armed offensive will occupy a correspondingly more important role in our overall strategy to seize power from the racist tyrants.

Last year, we stated that our Movement is not only an opponent of the apartheid regime, but has actually emerged as an alternative power which has won over the conscious and active support of the majority of our people. The validity of this assessment has been fully vindicated by events. Bent on entrenching racial domination and reaping super-profits from sweated black labour, the racist rulers continue misreading the lessons of the historical development of mankind. For that reason they are determined to plunge our society into the worst of human catastrophes.

In sharp contrast to the enemy's strategy of racial and ethnic segmentation, the ANC and its allies continue to uphold and fight for the ideal of a unitary, non-racial and democratic society for all our people, black and white. Our policy document, the Freedom Charter, adopted in 1955, has not only stood the test of time, but is winning the hearts and minds of growing numbers of our people — including honest patriots and democrats in the white community as well. For this reason, the Botha-Malan regime has launched a counter-offensive to blot out the ANC politically, liquidate its leaders, exterminate its

activists and supporters, and if possible, destroy the very spirit for freedom, and to inflict the greatest possible damage on our broad movement for national liberation.

To achieve this goal, the Pretoria rulers, their army and security forces, collaborators from among the black people and mercenary agents recruited from all over the globe, are working out and actually implementing this plan, at home and abroad.

At the centre of this counter-offensive, typical of all colonising and oppressor classes, there lies the dirty political and ideological propaganda to discredit our strategy and policies inside and outside the country, using the state propaganda machinery.

Of course accompanying all this ideological offensive, arrests, detentions, physical and mental torture of anti-apartheid activists and democrats, as well as their murder, continue unabated. Some of the most recent cases of patriots being killed by the fascist police in detention are those of Moabi Dipale, Neil Aggett and others.

Also prominent in this enemy strategy is the use of the weapon of assassination. Some of the victims include our dear comrade Joe Gqabi in Harare, Griffiths Mxenge in Durban, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose in Swaziland, and Ruth First in Mozambique.

Undeclared war in Southern Africa

The countries of Southern Africa are embroiled, at the present time, in an undeclared war launched by the Pretoria regime. Whether it be in Mozambique and Angola, Lesotho or Zimbabwe, Botswana or Zambia, Seychelles, Mauritius or Madagascar, the apartheid monster is involved in a deliberate campaign of aggression and destabilisation.

During these campaigns of murder and pillage, our people have been slaughtered in cold blood and have even had their bodies desecrated.

The enemy has stated the purposes of this aggression quite clearly, when it has

repeatedly proclaimed its intention to act against these countries so long as they allow the ANC to be present within their territories. Clearly, therefore, the peoples of Southern Africa are having to pay the supreme sacrifice, as they have done and are doing in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the region, because they are refusing to bow down to the demands of the enemy to have the ANC and SWAPO of Namibia uprooted and expelled from this region.

The offer made a few days back by the racist Prime Minister Botha to the independent states of Southern Africa, for these states to sign non-aggression pacts with apartheid South Africa, constitutes part of this offensive designed to impose Pretoria's will on these states. Botha is the persistent aggressor. No African country has fired a single bullet across its borders into South Africa. And yet Botha is inviting the targets to sign a non-aggression pact with the aggressor. If he believes in non-aggression, why does he not stop aggression? If he believes in aggression, how will a non-aggression pact stop him?

During the past year, this regime has been encouraged in its counter-offensive by the criminal activities of Zionist Israel against the people of Lebanon and Palestinian refugees in that country and the Palestinian Liberation Organisation, the PLO. After repeated raids, aggression into Lebanon during the course of which the Zionist Israeli troops mercilessly butchered both the Lebanese and Palestinians and sought to destroy whole cities, the Zionists ultimately occupied virtually the whole of Beirut and other parts of Lebanon.

Apart from anything else, the Pretoria regime used this experience to prepare the white South African population for similar campaigns of terror against the peoples of Southern Africa, as happened and is happening in Southern Angola, as happened in South-Western Zambia and in Maseru. Significantly, both Zionist Israel and fascist South Africa enjoy the full, active, political

and material support of the Reagan Administration. It is this support that has strengthened the striking capability of these two regimes.

We need to say here that tragically the white population and certainly all its political parties openly acclaimed this campaign of terror and allowed themselves to be used to legitimise the commission of these crimes.

The racists have proudly proclaimed that up to 86 per cent of the white population of our country supports the policy of aggression against independent Africa and it has specifically approved the brutal Maseru Massacre. We would like to urge our white compatriots seriously to weigh the disastrous implications and the dire consequences of their being accomplices in the commission of these heinous crimes against the people of Africa.

The Reagan Administration has placed itself firmly and unequivocally among the bandit forces that are conducting a reign of terror throughout Southern Africa. Its support for the apartheid regime consists precisely in encouraging these fascists to intensify their counter-offensive and in guaranteeing them immunity from punitive international action. Every crime that the Pretoria regime commits, be it in South Africa, Namibia or elsewhere, bears Washington's stamp of approval. This regime goes into action backed by the logistic, financial and political support of the United States. The apartheid regime, acting in its own right and in furtherance of the global strategy of the United States, constitutes a strike force for the accomplishment of the counter-revolutionary objectives of defeating the progressive forces of Southern Africa, including SWAPO and the ANC, and transforming our region into an exclusive economic, political and military preserve of the imperialist world.

Strengthening our offensive power

In the face of this determined enemy counter-offensive, we must hit back with all

our strength, ensuring that the millions of our people are engaged in struggle. To increase our offensive power:

- * we must organise the people into strong mass democratic organisation;
- * we must organise all revolutionaries into underground units of the ANC;
- * we must organise all combatants into units of Umkhonto we Sizwe;
- * we must organise all democratic forces into one front for national liberation.

Large sections of our people remain unorganised. We should not allow this situation to continue any longer. For us to achieve victory, it is essential that the masses of our people engage in struggle as a conscious and united force. That requires that these masses must have their own democratic organisations to mobilise and guide them and through which they can themselves make their own point of view heard.

So far, only a small minority of the black workers is organised into trade unions. It is the task of the existing democratic trade union movement to ensure that the unorganised workers are in fact organised. This organisational drive must encompass also the workers in the mines and in agriculture. We do have to bend all efforts to ensure that every worker belongs to a democratic trade union.

Therefore, with all the power at our command, we make a special appeal to the democratic trade union movement to come together again and actually succeed to draw up and adopt a plan for the united action of the democratic, non-racial trade union movement. There is no obstacle too formidable to stop us from achieving this goal.

The situation in the countryside also calls for bold and urgent measures to establish or strengthen the popular organisations among the rural masses who are suffering in a manner and on a scale that is indescribable.

Whether as landless peasants, unemployed or agricultural workers, or as deportees who have been dumped in the so-called resettlement areas or as victims of the criminal Bantustan system, our people in the countryside are living in a veritable hell. To them, as to the rest of us, the issue of liberation has become a matter of life and death.

These masses need also to be organised and mobilised into action where they are and wherever they are. They must be mobilised to confront the oppressor and the exploiter now. Hence the need for mass democratic organisations that will lead them.

Similarly, all patriots and revolutionaries must work tirelessly to strengthen and expand the mass democratic organisations among the youth and students, among the women, among the cultural and sports workers, the religious community and at the civic level.

While the task of building the mass democratic movement must fall on the shoulders of the patriotic forces of our country and in their entirety, a special responsibility for the accomplishment of this task rests with the membership of the African National Congress.

On this day, we salute you, dear comrades, and express our profound admiration for the manner in which you have contributed to raise the struggle to the level at which it is today. Yet that very achievement imposes on the ANC new, more complex and urgent tasks.

The people expect us to lead them to victory. They expect us to answer the question, together with them, in struggle and in action — the question: *What is to be done?*

Our obligations to the people

We must, therefore, pose the question to ourselves. Are we organised enough, strong enough, disciplined and dedicated enough to meet our obligations to the people? Let all of us, on this day, the 71st anniver-

sary of our organisation, seek to answer those question frankly and honestly in order to correct all previous mistakes and to learn from our experience with a view to building the ANC itself inside the country into a more formidably organised force than it is today.

The African National Congress is a movement of patriots. It leads the masses in struggle for the destruction of the fascist regime, the transfer of power to the people and the realisation of the objectives contained in the Freedom Charter. It upholds a strategy which combines revolutionary mass political action with revolutionary armed struggle.

As members of the ANC we must, together with the people, in fact, help to solve all problems that serve to slow down the progress of the struggle, provide a clear perspective of where we go from here and translate that perspective into a practical programme of action.

This year, we shall be observing the 20th anniversary of the Rivonia arrests. By decision of the United Nations Assembly, the international community will observe this anniversary by further intensifying the campaign for the immediate and unconditional release of all South African political prisoners. We, the people of South Africa, must be in the forefront of this campaign — in our millions.

But we must also observe this anniversary by seeking to emulate the example set for us by these outstanding revolutionary patriots who have remained in captivity for two long decades. To emulate them means that for every Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Kathrada, Goldberg; for every Motsoaledi, Gwala, Nyembe or Hogan that the enemy has captured, we must produce a thousand others to take their places.

We have a duty to make our own sacrifices in the struggle to which they dedicated their lives. We must follow in their footsteps, learning from their experiences, inspired by their courage and fired with the same love for the people and the same

RIGHT TO FREE

ALL

SOUTH

AFRICAN

POLITICAL PRISONERS



dedication to the cause of freedom which have made them to be household names not only in South Africa but throughout the world.

The enemy relies decisively on the use of force to entrench himself in power. We have to meet his murderous onslaught by intensifying the armed struggle. Our task, therefore, is to further strengthen the combat capacity of Umkhonto we Sizwe within South Africa for the immediate

purpose of escalating our offensive. The masses of our people must become and be part of this great revolutionary army, Umkhonto we Sizwe.

We would like to take this opportunity to pay special tribute to those combatants, those members of our people's army who have fallen heroically in battle. Our revolutionary masses, least of all the ANC, will never let it be said of them that they fell in vain.

Even as we speak here, there are six (6) young militants, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, who are sitting under the shadow of the gallows in Pretoria's death cells. These prisoners of war are the responsibility of the international community and, especially, of our own people. The lives of comrades Shabangu, Moise, Tsotsobe, Motaung, Mosolodi and Mogoerane must be saved.

Need for united resistance

Among the key elements in the enemy's strategy of survival and the entrenchment of the apartheid system are the proposals put forward by the so-called President's Council. Central to this plan is the cooption of the so-called Coloured and Indian communities of our population as tools to be used for the perpetuation of white minority domination. It has dawned on the white minority that alone, unaided, it is unable to prolong the lifespan of apartheid.

The recent decision of the South African Labour Party to support and participate in the implementation of the President's Council's schemes must, therefore, be condemned without reservation. The African National Congress calls upon all our people in the so-called Coloured community to reject this decision and rebuff all attempts to draw them into the camp of the oppressor; to set them against the majority of the people of South Africa, to set them against the peoples of Southern Africa and the entire continent, to set them against the international, progressive community. The campaign for the rejection and defeat of the enemy's counter-revolutionary constitutional plans is the task of all patriotic South Africans: Africans, Indians and democratic whites — in addition to our people in the Coloured community. There can be no solution to the South African problem without the transfer of power into the hands of the majority.

During this year, the Botha regime will seek to enact and implement its so-called

Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill. This Bill is intended to legalise genocide on a new and unprecedented scale. It aims to enslave the African workers as never before and will result in the deportation of millions of our people into the Bantustans in pursuit of the obnoxious plan of turning South Africa white. We must launch the most concerted campaign to defeat this Nazi Bill with its intentions. It must be resisted with every possible means on a national scale.

Despite its restoration of the control of the KaNgwane and Ingwavuma areas to the respective Bantustan administrations, the Botha regime has clearly not abandoned its plans of depriving more than a million of our people of their birthright as South African citizens. It has not abandoned its plan in regard to Kosi Bay which would serve its military strategic objectives. The appointment of the Rumpff Commission confirms this fact. The regime is looking for new ways and means of realising these intentions. We call on all the people to oppose any attempt to barter away even a single square inch of South African soil, to oppose any attempt to deprive a single South African of his citizenship.

The apartheid system is in a deep crisis not only politically, but also economically. At the same time, the Pretoria regime is spending astronomical sums of money on its military machine and on the rest of its repressive apparatus. The burden of this economic crisis and military build-up is shouldered by the ordinary working people in the form of higher prices, rents, fares, taxes, reduced wages and salaries, and higher unemployment.

We must fight for a system in our country, a system whose wealth shall be used for the benefit of all our people.

International Imperatives

When we observed the 70th anniversary of the ANC, we were joined literally by millions of people on all the continents. This event proved to be a universal and

moving demonstration of the commitment of the world's peoples to the destruction of the apartheid system and a reaffirmation by the international community of its pledge of solidarity with the ANC and the people of South Africa in their struggle for national and social emancipation.

From Southern Africa to North Africa, from South America to North America, from Eastern Europe to its Western part, from the Middle East to the Far East, the same message of solidarity came back. The message was repeated by Christians and communists alike, by Buddhists and Moslems, workers and intellectuals, anti-apartheid groups, political parties, artists, women's and youth organisations.

An issue that is of grave importance for us in South Africa is the fact that the Pretoria racist regime is committing daily acts of aggression against the people and against independent African states in Southern Africa. In the course of this, through its agents and directly, it kills people, including children, and it carries out political and economic destabilisation of these states on a wide scale.

We cannot remain aloof in the face of this criminal activity. We must denounce and actively oppose this campaign of terror that the Pretoria regime has unleashed against independent Africa. The most effective deterrent to the campaign of terror across our borders is a massive assault upon the regime on all fronts within our borders, and by the people as a whole.

In doing so, we shall be reinforcing the decisions of the summit of the heads of state and government of the Frontline countries which was held in March of last year in Maputo; when they resolved to strengthen their co-ordinated defence actions in order to 'defeat Pretoria's acts of aggression and economic sabotage against free and independent Africa, and to force the regime to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola.' The decisions of the Maputo Summit are by their very nature a reflection of the positions of the O.A.U. and

its member states. In this connection, it is important to emphasise that the people, especially of South Africa and Namibia, are, as never before, in need of the effective support of the O.A.U.

It is of course common knowledge that during the past year the O.A.U. has experienced serious internal problems.

As part of the African Continent, as part of Africa's progressive forces, we must work for a solution to the problems that have plagued the O.A.U. We cannot stand aloof from this effort either, for, as the founding fathers of the O.A.U. declared, no African country can be truly free until all of Africa is liberated. That truism is being demonstrated on our continent today. African countries need solidarity one with another. And no single one of them, all of them collectively, can claim full independence unless and until the whole continent has been liberated. And at the present time, until Namibia and South Africa have been freed. That is why the current concern of the peoples of Africa, in regard to the state of this great African Organisation are particularly acute when they relate to the aggressions to which the people of South Africa are being subjected by the fascist regime, assisted by its imperialist allies.

We are confident, however, that the O.A.U. will observe its 20th Anniversary as a united force, capable of leading the people of our continent, capable of playing its proper role as a member of the non-aligned movement, capable of contributing in the struggle for world peace.

In your name, dear compatriots, we salute our comrades in arms, the heroic people of Namibia, their valiant vanguard SWAPO, and the mighty People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN), all under the dynamic leadership of President Sam Nujoma. We pledge our solidarity with them. We condemn the Reagan administration and the Pretoria fascists for their crimes against Namibia and the People's Republic of Angola. In spite of them, in spite of the

Reagan administration and the Pretoria racists, even because of them, Namibia will be liberated by SWAPO and the people of Namibia. We extend our greetings to all the peoples of Southern Africa, as well as to those of Western Sahara, Palestine, El Salvador, East Timor and their vanguard organisations: Polisario Front, PLO, Farabundo National Liberation Front and Fretilin.

We greet the Non-Aligned Movement, especially the participants in the forthcoming Delhi Summit.

We salute the fighters for peace throughout the world, and pledge that we will do all in our power to remove the violator of international peace and security in our midst – the apartheid regime.

We greet our friends and allies throughout the world and call on them to persist together with us, on the side of the forces of national and social liberation, peace and stability in Southern Africa.

We are most deeply appreciative of the political support and substantial material assistance they have given us during the past year and which we know they will continue to give in greater measure.

The Year of United Action.

Fellow South Africans, the apartheid regime is preparing for the crisis ahead. That is why it is bringing its armed forces into decisive positions of authority within the apartheid power structure. That is why it is carrying out constitutional changes designed to centralise power in the hands of the racist president. The captains of the apartheid system are re-organising themselves in the vain hope that they can deal us a crushing blow.



But we shall never be crushed. No people determined to free themselves have ever been crushed. And we are not about to become an exception. But we must organise ourselves for the capacity to attack effectively, as well as defend ourselves effectively. We must organise ourselves into a conquering force. The level of our political and armed offensive must reach new heights during the year 1983. This will be our Year of United Action!

Amandla Ngawethu!

Maatla Kea Rona!

Power to the People!

RECOLLECTIONS OF

NELSON MANDELA

Part One: The First Explosions

In view of the international campaign for Nelson Mandela's release, SECHABA gives its readers some insight into the character of Mandela the man. Here, an ANC veteran and one of the first members of Umkhonto we Sizwe, relates some of his personal experiences.

Last year was the year of Unity in Action, the slogan symbolising the 70th anniversary of the existence of the African National Congress of South Africa, and it was also the 20th year of Comrade Nelson Mandela's incarceration by the racist, fascist regime of South Africa. Perhaps we should relate some historic but human incidents, which would take away some of the mysticism surrounding the character of our first Commander-in-Chief, and bring out the qualities which will reveal more clearly the man himself.

When talking about Nelson Mandela, you are talking about a real man, a man of the people and a great leader, not some hazy somebody who does not exist except as a myth. He has served the last twenty years in the front trenches against the enemy. He is a man like us - flesh and blood, suffering for our freedom.

Let me tell you some of the many stories I could relate about him. I hope they will act

as a clarion call to redouble our efforts to release him, and all others serving in the dark dungeons of apartheid.

The First Known Explosion

The year was 1961. The call for a national convention had been ignored by the government. During the three-day strike called for by Mandela in his speech in Pietermaritzburg, many comrades had been beaten, shot and gaoled. But the forces of the regime felt frustrated. They were unable to arrest the leaders, or determine where they were hiding out. Their enemy No 1, Nelson Mandela, had been named the 'Black Pimpernel' by the media. They certainly were seeking him here there and everywhere, but there was not a sign, not a clue, of his whereabouts. Every policeman in South Africa had been alerted to keep a look-out for him, and to hold him, to capture him at all costs. But not a finger had been laid on him. He was like a fish swimming in the sea of his own people.

There were important matters to be attended to. The decision had already been taken by the movement to move into the area of armed conflict. A High Command had been established, with Mandela as the Commander-in-Chief. Various area commands had also been established, and recruiting was very selective. It was made crystal clear to every MK cadre that politics took precedence over military affairs, but that armed struggle would now become part and parcel of the fight for freedom until implementation of all the clauses of the Freedom Charter had begun, in a free and democratic South Africa.

What needed to be done at that time was to get a factory established for the making of the bombs, and the opportunity to test them, before going into action on December 16th. This day had been deliberately chosen. It was the day on which the racists celebrate their so-called victory over the 'Bantu' at Blood River. At the same time, the great majority of the people of South Africa, namely the Africans, regard the day as one of pride for that great warrior, Dingane, who was killed leading his people into battle against a foe which, with superior arms, was ruthlessly plundering the land.

The late Jack Hodgson, a veteran of the war against Hitler, together with others, had been summoned to help in organising the forces and weapons necessary. Jack was a master at improvisation. He set to work with a will, to produce the bombs and Molotov cocktails, which were the initial weapons to be used. We had already tested the possibility of cutting telephone wires, electrical wires, and various other means of dislocating communications. The operations took place months before MK as such started operations.

We would hit at all the symbols of apartheid, but under no circumstances were we to kill or maim members of the population. Ours was not a terrorist organisation; the real terrorists were the all-white government and its supporters. Reconnaissance work had been carefully undertaken. The targets had been chosen. The synchron-

isation for action throughout the country, in all the main areas, was being finalised. Action stations were chosen, and very careful briefing undertaken. But in the couple of remaining months, the weapons were to be carefully and thoroughly tested.

Jack indicated that we were ready to test about a dozen Molotov cocktails and an improvised bomb. He warned that we would need extraordinary care to ensure secrecy and safety, for, if the bomb blast was detected or the blaze created by the Molotov cocktails spotted, the whole operation would be endangered, and our plans revealed.

Reading this, comrades in MK must remember that we had no access to the sophisticated weapons available to them today. Everything was a hazard. Almost all of us were being closely watched by the Special Branch - we had been known for years. And under these circumstances, right under the noses of the SB, we had to undertake all these very sensitive and exceedingly dangerous experiments and operations. Just the slightest mistake could be fatal.

A place had to be found. This place would have to satisfy the High Command. We found it; it was a disused brickworks known to one of the comrades involved in the operation. We reconnoitred the area. It satisfied everybody. Derelict buildings still remained, and several pits from which the clay had been extracted, surrounded by all sorts of paraphernalia. All brickworks are allowed to use dynamite to blast, so as to loosen the soil for making bricks. This was ideal, as any blast coming from any brickworks (and there were several in the area) would not attract any attention.

The team of inspection had been chosen. It, of course, included the Commander-in-Chief who insisted on being present, in spite of the fact that the police were out looking for him. We had arrived at the scene of operations and hidden the car, when a man emerged out of a galvanised iron building and strode menacingly towards our group. He was the watchman of the place. This spelt danger for us, and it seems that this



NELSON MANDELA

unforeseen circumstance would prevent us from continuing with our plan.

But we had calculated without the persuasive qualities of our Commander-in-Chief. He immediately sized up the situation. We could not abandon the exercise at this stage. He signalled to us to bring the equipment forward, while he took aside this man, who was Zulu-speaking. Soon the two

of them were in deep conversation, with one arm of Comrade Nelson around the shoulder of his newly acquired friend. We noticed that the watchman was nodding his head vigorously, and then he walked away from the scene. We waited for him to disappear. Comrade Nelson explained that he'd persuaded the man to accept our presence there.

One of the buildings was soon being bombarded with Molotov cocktails. Every time a bottle exploded and burst into flames, Comrade Nelson shook his head gleefully, and smiled the smile of victory. We all joined in his glee and enthusiasm, of course.

These were the first known explosions of the new era.

But there was more to come.

After dowsing any flames still licking at the walls and other pieces of wood and rubbish lying around, we moved to the open spaces, and chose our pit for testing the bomb.

Today, those who have been trained to use more sophisticated equipment would be aghast at the contraption which was contrived for use in the initial stages of sabotage. But one can only have admiration for those who constructed the device. Comrade Jack was a genius at this specialised work. You will understand what I mean when I tell you that part of the timing of the explosion included the thin tubing contained in plastic ball pens. You can also imagine the surprise of some shopkeepers when we bought up all their stocks of this particular kind of biro.

According to our calculations, that container placed at the bottom of the pit would explode within fifteen minutes. We all stood waiting expectantly, as near to the edge of the hole as we dared. Five minutes went by. Ten minutes. Fifteen minutes. No explosion. Twenty minutes. Still no explosion.

What to do? We certainly could not leave it there, for obvious reasons. Nor would we know its effectiveness or not. A decision had to be made. One of the more experienced comrades clambered down, gingerly lifted the contraption and slowly brought it up; an impulsive act, it is true, but it worked. Soon Jack adjusted the charge, everything was again placed in position, and many hands were proffered to pull the comrade out of the pit. Hardly had he been lifted clear, and positions of relative safety taken by all, when an almighty explosion took place, causing a huge cloud of dust to

rise up into the air, and tons of earth to go tumbling down to drown anything left of the bomb.

This was not the normal bang of dynamite. It sounded more like that of a giant thousand-pounder.

Further curiosity about the effects were abandoned, all of us made a very hurried bee-line for the automobile, piled in, and made as hurried and bumpy an exit from that territory as any automobile has ever made.

But we felt triumphant and cheered at the effect created.

Comrade Mandela was buoyant with pleasure and excitement. He advised very soberly that certain adjustments and alterations be attended to, and congratulated and thanked the comrades all round as we sped away from the scene. He proposed that as soon as we were certain that the timing was properly mastered, we should report to the High Command so that every other unit throughout the area be put on alert and properly briefed as to the correct use and working of the anti-apartheid bomb.

Several days after, a reconnaissance of the scene was made. The watchman smilingly assured us that, although it had been an unusually loud explosion, nobody had made any enquiries, and all was well.

I have often wondered over the years exactly what Comrade Mandela said to this man, and also whether the subsequent events made any impact on him. But I am sure of one thing: Comrade Nelson Mandela was an excellent judge of our people - the ordinary people of our country. And this judgment of his inspired many of us to have faith in the ordinary working man of our country. For if his judgment had been wrong, that watchman could have led the police to catch up with us.

I shudder to think, also, what the owner of that brickworks would think if he were told today how Umkhonto We Sizwe tested its first bomb on his property.

TORTURE AND THE HEALTH WORKER-

The Nature of Culpability (2)

The Medical Association of South Africa (MASA), is a voluntary body with jurisdiction over its own members and is limited in its powers of censuring their ethical conduct. It appears that it can do no more than expel.

Subsequent to the Biko inquest it appointed a two-man Commission to consider the ethical issues raised by it. In the confidential report they made in June 1981 (15) they examined standing orders and instructions to the police (not published officially or available to the public at large). They reveal that if a person is seriously injured or appears to be ill the police are required to call a doctor, and his orders are to be carried out without delay. The report, however, makes it clear that it is uncertain whether these provisions – not legally binding – extend to detainees held under the Terrorism Act. Subsequent to the death of Biko a further standing order has been issued to the effect that a detainee can be moved to a hospital other than a prison hospital only after 'Head Office' has been consulted if it is thought that there is a security risk.

The report also reproduces a warrant for the detention of a person under the Terrorism Act; this appears to permit no more than immediate routine treatment and the administration of ordinary medical prescriptions, and does not cover removal to a hospital.

It is significant that the proposals in the report go no further than objecting to the final decision resting with the police on whether or not a patient may be taken to hospital for treatment.

It also proposes that medical examination of a detainee should not be conducted in the presence of the police, and says that with proper safeguards there are no insuperable security risks. It states that these proposals are not merely in the interests of the detainee but of the State also. Herein is the significant factor, for the purpose of the report is to suggest ways in which the operation of the security laws can be improved; it does not consider whether they are compatible with medical ethics.

The report expressly rejects the proposition that where the doctor's advice is overruled by the police he should wash 15

his hands of the case. Its solution is to propose that the doctors should call in, at the State's expense, another doctor; if the two are in agreement the police should not be permitted to override their opinion, and it suggests that the standing instruction should be amended accordingly. Failing this, it concludes that it would be the ethical duty of the practitioner to report directly to the Minister that his instructions had been overruled and he should immediately seek support from his local medical association.

The report does not consider what form that support might take. The association could only support the doctor by agreeing with him that the interests of the patient should prevail over security considerations; this would be the inevitable effect of agreeing that the patient should be in hospital and taken from or not returned to police custody, and this is obviously unacceptable. The entire thrust of the legislation is to ensure that security considerations as perceived by the police are paramount at all times.

As the MASA Report makes clear, the proper operation of the security legislation depends on the cooperation of doctors who may be involved; and if they withhold their cooperation they would be deemed to be acting unethically. Clearly, if their conduct has the effect of hampering the police in their operation of the legislation the doctors involved would become victims themselves. One would therefore expect that the medical associations would not support a doctor in the manner suggested.

One can only say that the evidence of what has happened up to now has not been encouraging. Told by Counsel for the Biko family during the inquest that Dr. Tucker had said that the Hippocratic Oath bore on his ethical conduct but that he was actually governed by the rules of the South African Medical and Dental Council (SAMDC), Dr. Gluckman expressed surprise, and said that there was no conflict between the Hippocratic Oath and the rules of the SAMDC, adding that "the ethical

component of the rule is a legal codification of the principles fundamental to the Hippocratic Oath. In terms of accepted medical ethics, the interest of the patient — and nothing else — is paramount to the doctor."

Dr. Gluckman's view of his ethical duties has been rejected by the SAMDC — this is the only possible explanation for the decision of the SAMDC not even to consider whether Doctors Lang and Tucker acted improperly.

Torture of Thozamile Gqweta

That difficulties would follow for the administration of the security legislation should any other view prevail, is shown by the case of Thozamile Gqweta, the National President of the South African Allied Workers Union. He was detained under the Terrorism Act on 8 December 1981, admitted to a psychiatric ward in Johannesburg in February 1982, and released on 3 March 1982.

The Attorney-General for the Ciskei said he was being released so that he would be in a fit state to give evidence for the State in a Terrorism Act trial; Mr. Gqweta however denied this, saying that the police had said nothing about it. He said that he had been released for health reasons: "I was released because the doctors who were treating me refused to continue if I was to go back into detention. The treatment was for me to go back into society." (16) It appears that the police have attempted to avoid the problems posed by uncooperative doctors in the case of another trade unionist, Sam Kikine, by taking him back into custody on condition that he was not held in isolation. (17) They resolved the matter in the case of Gqweta by rearresting him barely twelve hours after he had been taken back to his home, and releasing him on condition that he reported three times daily until the trial at which he was required.

The case of Gqweta, as far as can be determined, is almost unique. The duties of the medical profession, as perceived by



The face of a torturer - Lieutenant Steven Whitehead, chief interrogator of Dr Neil Aggett

the generality of the practitioners and reflected by the SAMDC, may be gathered from other cases. For example, a detainee (Dean T. Farisani) held under the Terrorism Act on 19 October 1981 was taken to hospital three times under police guard, twice for psychiatric treatment, being returned to detention on 14 January 1982 and again in February; and finally in February again, with critical head injuries. (18) As far as can be determined, the medical staff involved have not considered that the matter is of further interest or significance.

The doctors in cases such as Farisani's may well claim not to have known of torture and he may not have been tortured. What is disturbing is that there is no evidence that they were at all concerned or that the matter was investigated by their professional association.

The Minister of Police appears to have decided that where medical and specialist treatment and care are considered to be adequate then no access will be given to the detainee's own private doctor. (19) The new Internal Security Act accordingly provides only for fortnightly visits by a district surgeon; apparently he is regarded as a sufficiently independent monitor of a detainee's condition despite the Biko scandal.

The Minister has rejected for "security reasons" a request that detainees should be seen by an independent panel of doctors or doctors of their own choice. (20)

The Federal Chairman of MASA, Professor Guy de Klerk (21) announced that MASA was prepared to set up an independent panel of doctors to see detainees. This was in response to the demand by the Detainees' Parents' Support

Committee that detainees should be seen by a panel appointed by themselves. He said that such a panel would be as suspect as one appointed by the State; in his view, only MASA could be trusted as it "stands above suspicion". (22) Two comments seem to be called for. First, MASA seems to be trying to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds simultaneously; and secondly, it seems clear that a deep mistrust now exists within the medical profession in South Africa over the security laws.

Nothing illustrates the point more clearly than the case of Motaung, recently sentenced to death for treason. While being arrested, he told the court, he was shot in the hip by a policeman who then pulled him up and shot him again in the genitals. He said that he was then told that he would be taken to hospital only when he produced the guns the police were seeking, although he was bleeding and in pain. He was examined the same day by a district surgeon, Dr. M.S. Snyman. She testified that she had been told that Motaung was a "terrorist who had to do important things". Accordingly she certified that he was fit to help the police and gave him "painkilling tablets" but no other treatment. She told the court that she considered that it was more important for him to assist the police than to undergo immediate medical treatment. Motaung was taken to hospital two days later.

He was operated on and kept for eight days. (23)

There is evidence that the police have confidence in the doctors whom they call on to examine detainees, and that where injuries are noted the doctors will accept police explanations. This confidence extends to general practitioners.

Magistrates have also acknowledged the need for full cooperation from doctors. The decision in the Biko case, that the available evidence did not prove that death was brought about by an act or omission involving an offence by any person, reflects this. Any other verdict would have clashed

with the view taken by the SAMDC and MASA as explained above. This appears to have affected also the decision in the inquest held into the death of another detainee, Mofhe, who died in December 1980 after 112 days in detention. The magistrate held that he could not find anyone to blame; he apparently agreed with the allegation that the dead man had killed himself by joining his pair of socks, tying them round his neck, and tying the other end to the window and then, lying down on the floor while so tied, he had covered himself with a blanket and by using the left arm to exert pressure he had caused his own death by strangulation. (24)

Where the defence alleged that a detainee called as a witness for the State had been so severely assaulted that he lost an eye, the court does not appear to have seen any need to investigate the matter further. In this case, another detainee called to give evidence for the prosecution said he had cooperated with the police because he was 'petrified' of them, and described an assault on another detainee. (25)

Understanding the Doctors

MASA and the SAMDC simply reflect accepted perspectives, and it would be extraordinary if the medical implications of the legislation discussed above would prompt its rejection. This would require the bodies concerned to react to the political implications of what the medical profession is required to do. Moreover, many practitioners — and not only those dealing with detainees — are regime supporters who would in any event argue strenuously that the laws are necessary.

The entire basis on which the security legislation functions creates an assumption on the part of the public that a person detained, questioned, tried or otherwise adversely affected is involved in subversive violence.

The fact that a person has been detained itself points to a criminal involve-

ment. The legislation makes it clear that only those considered by the police to be involved in security offences may be detained and it is 'natural' for such persons to be treated as guilty for all purposes. There is little prospect of their being believed when they make allegations of torture, because from the very outset they appear to have an interest in lying. Other problems of credibility are shown by the case of Bentley, mentioned earlier, where the defendant told the court that he had not told the doctor or magistrate who visited him earlier how he had been injured because he feared that this information would be given to the police, who would continue to assault him. As we have seen, the doctor confirmed the defendant's fears only too clearly.

Moreover, it must be remembered that the police have sole responsibility for investigating allegations against themselves. The system is one which is geared to manufacture guilt, and the medical profession is an integral part of this structure. There is a remarkable paradox to be taken into account: the rhetoric used is that of a fair trial, the right to present a defence, and the freedom from improper pressure from the State to confess; yet the massive volume of evidence pointing to the violation of these rights and raising questions of involvement by the medical profession is not even investigated by it, and in practice the system is designed to reject such allegations.

For there to be any point to detention for interrogation, questions must be answered. It is ludicrous to propose that no pressure may be exerted on detainees to induce them to cooperate, especially when the State emphasises how important a confession in a criminal trial is by providing that, unless the contrary is proved, it is to be presumed to have been freely and voluntarily made and is sufficient evidence by itself for a conviction. This is one of the essential reasons for interrogation. The police must, and invariably do, deny having

put pressure on detainees to answer questions.

In addition to simple assaults, much of the evidence of torture refers to methods that leave no visible marks — e.g. continuous interrogation for days and nights, with sleep deprivation; "statue" torture; humiliation and intimidation; hooding; psychological assault (false reports of death or illness of relatives or friends, or threats of indefinite and solitary confinement); partial suffocation; subjection to extreme noise; and alternate immersions of the feet in hot and icy water. Where injuries are sustained, protracted periods in isolation are said to follow until visible signs have healed. In addition, statements made to magistrates visiting detainees, which may be evidence of torture, are transmitted to the police, while detainees are not permitted to have copies of the reports on visits made by magistrates. They may however have a copy of a doctor's report.

It should be remembered that by law detainees are not permitted to have access to lawyers. Attempts have been made to silence witnesses to torture by detaining them or — as in the case of the inquest into the death of Dr. Neil Aggett earlier last year — by a banning order. In this case, a person detained with Dr. Aggett swore an affidavit which he gave to lawyers for Dr. Aggett's family describing how Dr. Aggett had been tortured in his presence not long before his death. In addition, steps have been taken to prevent the inquest from hearing a statement made by Dr. Aggett himself describing electric shock treatment, by seeking a ruling that the statement is inadmissible.

The ethical duties of a doctor require him to note, record, and treat injuries. No matter how suspicious he may be as to their origin there is, on the evidence, no chance that the court will believe that they were caused by torture of the detainee who now challenges the confession allegedly made by him. In any event, as the Biko and other cases considered illustrate, no action

by the doctor must interfere with the operation of the security legislation. It is absolutely essential for the administration of justice in South Africa that this should be so, and the SAMDC and MASA are inexorably compelled to play their part.

Conclusions

In the context within which it functions, the South African medical profession has shown itself to be incapable of coping with the ethical implications arising from the security legislation. While doubtless in individual cases practitioners may justifiably be suspected of having acted with evil motives, the greatest part of the problem arises from the very structure of the institutions involved. The statutes and definitions, both explicit and in the manner in which the courts have interpreted them, equate with treason all opposition to the State's established policies. The medical profession consists of individuals who in many cases, as white voters, accept the fundamental political implications of this legislation. Accordingly, one must not expect them willingly to confront it. This, however, is an inadequate explanation for what is happening in South Africa today for it does not take into account the manner in which the medical associations are structured into the system: not only are the individuals reluctant to come into conflict with the system, but should they be willing to do so their professional associations are rendered incapable of giving support.

In South Africa, the ethical standpoints of the professional associations require them to ensure that they play their full part in ensuring that the security laws do what they are meant to do — i.e. convict those who oppose the regime. The medical profession is required to play its part in the formal manufacture of guilt. It does not have the means to test the conduct of its members against accepted ethical standards used elsewhere in the world, and it does not want them; these two factors combine in

a vicious circle in which impotence and unwillingness support each other.

Ultimately, the causes of this terrible medical tragedy are fear of the monster the medical profession is required to serve, and sympathy for it. Comforting the profession from abroad will not help it to overcome these problems but merely reassure it and enable it to live with them. The only solution lies with the processes of change within South Africa itself; so far as the medical profession itself is concerned, isolation will encourage it to develop the tensions and splits necessary for the healing process to commence.

Footnotes

15. "Report to the Medical Association of South Africa by the Ad Hoc Committee appointed to consider certain ethical issues".
16. *Sowetan*, 5th March 1982.
17. *The Star*, 11 March 1982.
18. *Sunday Express (Johannesburg)* 17 January 1982, *Sunday Times (Johannesburg)* 21 February 1982.
19. *The Star*, 6 March 1982.
20. *Rand Daily Mail*, 11 February 1982; *Sowetan*, 3 February 1982.
21. *Rand Daily Mail*, 5 March 1982; *Financial Mail*, 16 March 1982.
22. *Rand Daily Mail*, 7 May 1982.
23. *Rand Daily Mail*, 28 August 1982; *Sowetan* 28-29 August 1982.
24. *Rand Daily Mail*, 26 September, 9 October 1981.
25. *Post*, 15 April 1980; *Rand Daily Mail*, 16 April 1980, 25 July 1980.



APARTHEID TERROR

How Pretoria wages war on Africa

by Aziz Pahad

The apartheid regime has embarked on a concerted and co-ordinated campaign of economic, political and military destabilisation in Southern Africa. The gravity of the situation is reflected by the communique of the heads of Governments of the Front Line States (meeting in Maputo, March 1982) which noted that "The invasion and military aggression, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa."

It is becoming increasingly clear that the regime is developing a massive capacity not only to hold back the revolutionary advances in South Africa and Namibia but also to subvert and undermine the gains already achieved in Southern Africa. The use of conventional war is becoming a central component of this regional strategy. Using the 'big lie' techniques of Goebbels they justify their aggression by claiming that the neighbouring countries pose a military threat to them. In the preface to

the 1982 Defence White Paper Magnus Malan (Minister of Defence) stated that: "It is alarming that more and more sophisticated weapons are pouring into neighbouring countries" and that "serious consideration should now be given to the possibility of conventional warfare."

Prime Minister Botha gave some indication of South Africa's intentions when he stated that "We are moving more and more in the direction in which the state of Israel has already been since 1948," and went on to warn that "South Africa's sphere of influence" extends to all its neighbours in Southern Africa.

Pik Botha (Foreign Minister) spelt this out more blatantly when he arrogantly declared that "The existence of a ring of marxist states ... around South Africa was inimical to South Africa's interests." This situation he said, could not be tolerated.

After announcing that South Africa would have to open up a "second front", Magnus Malan issued a warning that the "slogan in Africa should be: Obtain communist assistance and terrorist organisations to launch so called liberation

has production of minerals we all must have.”

The Reagan nominee to become head of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, Kenneth Adelman (presently deputy to Jean Kirkpatrick that other great ‘human rights campaigner’ and ‘freedom fighter’, and friend of the US and South African intelligence services) is reported to have said that if South Africa acquired nuclear anti-submarine weapons, these could be helpful to the west in protecting the Cape shipping route. He went on to say that such weapons could be turned into nuclear bombs to deter a land attack.

Given such open and brazen support by the Reagan administration it is hardly surprising that the South African 1982 since the winning of independence in Zimbabwe; since the attempts by the Front Line States to break out of the economic stranglehold of South Africa through the SADCC, and as a result of the intensified resistance in South Africa and Namibia.

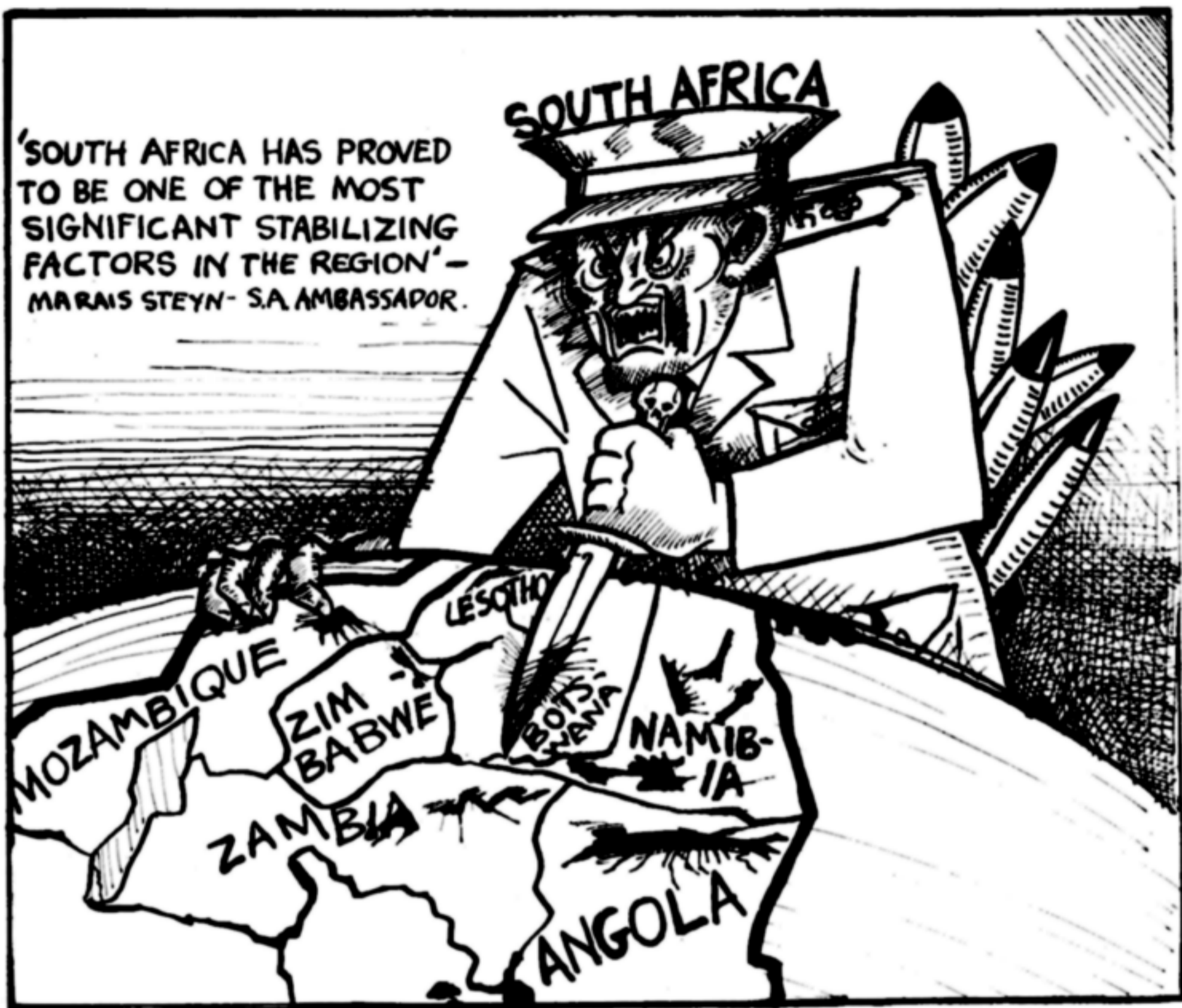
Imperialist Collaboration

South Africa’s reactionary role by and large coincides with imperialist strategy for world domination and exploitation. The Reagan administration, under the smokescreen of anti-communism, anti-sovietism and “anti-terrorism”, has launched a world wide counter-revolutionary offensive, and sees the apartheid regime as the instrument for achieving its global strategy on the African continent. In 1980 Crocker (U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs) concluded that, “Washington could no longer simply enjoy its varied interests in Southern Africa. It would have to work actively to pre-empt Soviet-backed revolutionary change.” He later went on to say that the “American stance towards the Republic of South Africa is inevitably the centrepiece of our regional policy... South Africa is by any definition an important regional power, and it is by far the most important country in the Southern African region.

It is in South Africa that the west’s most important regional interests are at stake – both our tangible economic and strategic interests and also our political and moral interests in non-violent change”.

On taking office, Reagan said, “Can we abandon a country which has stood with us in every war we have fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world? It movements and the end result is **perish in misery.**”

South Africa is imposing its own version of the Monroe doctrine. This aggressive militarist strategy has been intensified since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism and the attempts to establish genuine people’s democracies, leading to the socialist transformation of Angola and Mozambique; Defence White Paper concluded that “there are encouraging signs that the USA is once again prepared to play an active role as leader of the West.” For South Africa, this has meant extensive cooperation in the exchange of intelligence and military personnel and information. There has been a gradual relaxation of the ban on military and military-related equipment from the US – for example, the Cyber 75 variety of computers, which can be used to model nuclear explosions, has been supplied to Armscor or its subsidiaries, and US brokers played a key role in helping South Africa buy almost 100 tons of enriched uranium. Export credit guarantees have been resumed by the US government, and the Americans were largely responsible for the granting of a 1.2 billion dollar loan to South Africa from the IMF in 1982. In Namibia the USA is spearheading attempts to halt the process of liberation. American subterfuges were revealed when, in a secret memorandum to Haig in 1981, Crocker stated that racist South Africans must be told of the US willingness to open up a new chapter in their relationship, based upon strategic reality and South Africa’s position in that reality. He went on to say that the Namibian problem was a primary obstacle to this new relationship, and that



"we are willing to work with them to find an internationally acceptable settlement which will not harm their interests."

This active and open collaboration of the Reagan-Thatcher administrations has undoubtedly encouraged the terrorist use of their muscle, and is turning Southern Africa into one of the most critical flashpoints in international politics.

In the last few years, there has been a steady escalation in the regime's use of economic sabotage and terrorism, commando raids and large scale military invasions, the strategic objectives being to:

- * maintain dominance of the region and prevent any socio-economic changes;
- * maintain racist South Africa as a base

for imperialist global strategy, and specifically for subversion, exploitation and destabilisation of the African continent;

- * limit support given to the ANC and SWAPO.
- * physically eliminate the ANC and SWAPO;

South African aggression affects virtually the whole of Southern Africa, and even farther afield, as the attempted coup in the Seychelles and the bombing of the ANC office in London showed. A brief look will give some indication of the nature and extent of this, and the serious challenge confronting not only the peoples of

Southern Africa but the entire international community.

Economic pressure

The colonial legacy has resulted in the fact that the economies of almost all countries in the region are interlinked with that of South Africa. South Africa's dominant position in this relationship has been used extensively to put pressure on these states.

In 1981 at a very crucial moment, racist South Africa unilaterally terminated a preferential trade agreement (dating back to 1964) with Zimbabwe. It simultaneously recalled about 80 railway trucks and diesel engines on long term loan to Zimbabwe Railways (this had a disastrous effect on the transport of the maize harvest).

Recently the racists warned Lesotho that unless she toed the line the job opportunities for Lesotho citizens in South Africa would be jeopardized (it is estimated that at present 40% of Lesotho's GNP comes from wages earned by Lesotho citizens working in South Africa).

However, the most dangerous disruption has been through the systematic destruction of the socio-economic structures. Roads, railways, bridges, electric and water supplies, oil refineries and depots, factories, dams and agricultural projects have been attacked and destroyed. To cite but a few examples:

The road, rail and oil pipeline connection between Zambia and Mozambique is continuously attacked. In October 1981 traffic between the the two countries was halted when the road and rail bridges over the Pungwe River were sabotaged.

In November 1981 the port of Beira was closed when 10 out of the 12 navigational buoys were sabotaged.

In January 1983 a major dam in Angola was sabotaged, causing extensive flooding and damage to a vital agricultural area.

The long term effects on the consolidation of independence and the process of development cannot be overestimated. The Angolan President said in his 1983 message: "South Africa's undeclared war against

Angola had once again obliged us to divert a great part of our manpower, material and financial resources to strengthening our defence capability, thereby jeopardising a number of projected development targets." Conservative estimates show that since 1975 the losses Angola suffered because of South African aggression amounted to a staggering sum of 10 billion dollars.

Other consequences, in terms of human suffering, ill health, loss of schooling, malnutrition, unemployment, displacement of millions, cannot be calculated fully.

Military aggression

Since the mid 60's the apartheid regime has adopted a highly aggressive and interventionist policy towards its neighbours.

Between 1967 and 1975 it was estimated that over 4000 South African troops supported by armoured cars, helicopters and planes were actively involved in Zimbabwe. There were over 1000 South African troops involved with the Portuguese in Mozambique and in 1969 under a Portuguese-South African agreement a joint command system was established in Angola to direct South African air reconnaissance and troop transport activities against Namibia and MPLA guerrillas.

However a new dimension was added in 1975 when over 6000 South African troops and foreign mercenaries invaded Angola in a last desperate attempt to prevent MPLA from coming to power and to instal UNITA in power. The CIA played a major role in initiating and underwriting this campaign. USA direct and open intervention was not possible at this stage because of the post-Vietnam mood of the American people and the disarray and confusion within the military industrial complex, arising from the Watergate affair. The dirty work had therefore to be spearheaded by South Africa with the assistance of mercenaries and UNITA and FNLA bandits.

This invasion of Angola by 3 South African armoured columns, code named



10 Eland armoured-cars on the road to the operational area (mid 1982)

“Zulu”, “Foxbat” and “Orange,” swept northwards capturing town after town. Within a short time they occupied the whole of the centre of Angola, the northernmost line of occupation stretching from Lobito to the capital of the Moxico Province in the east.

The invading forces reached within a few miles of Luanda. In response to the Angolans’ urgent appeal for assistance, Cuba and the Soviet Union reacted with unparalleled internationalist manpower and logistical support; further assistance came from other socialist countries and some third world countries.

Eight months after the invasion started, South Africa and its surrogates were forced out of Angola. Since then the South Africans have conducted a constant and systematic campaign of bombing raids, violations of Angolan air space, border provocations, infantry attacks, artillery shelling and minelaying.

It is estimated that from 1976 to 1979 the South Africans were responsible for:

- 193 mine laying operations
- 7 artillery bombardments
- 25 ground attacks
- 21 ground infiltrations

The scope and intensity of this “scorched earth” policy has increased yearly. From 1976 to 1979 there were 291 military attacks against Angola; during 1980 there were 1 100 acts of aggression; in the first 6 months of 1981 there were over 650 acts of aggression including:

- 472 reconnaissance flights
- 22 air attacks
- 111 helicopter-borne landings
- 4 paratroop landings
- 2 artillery bombardments
- 15 ground reconnaissance incursions
- 5 ground attacks
- 30 bombing raids

Worse was to come. In August 1981, following a massive troops build-up of over 45 000 on the Namibian border, the racists launched “Operation Protea”. This involved 11 000 troops, 36 centurion tanks, 70 armoured cars, 200 troop transporters, heavy artillery and long range missiles, supported by 90 aircraft and helicopters.

Today the invaders are still occupying an estimated 50 000 sq. kilometres of Angolan territory. This sad and tragic story is repeated in all other neighbouring countries. For example in November 1982, Mozambique alerted the United Nations

to the fact that the racists were massing thousands of troops on the border and that a full scale military invasion was imminent. There is little doubt that this timely warning and international action temporarily, at least,, halted the planned invasion. It has also been reliably reported that the racists had established a "Matabele brigade" commanded by Col. Breytenbach to carry out attacks against Zimbabwe. Training camps have been set up at Phalaborwa, Spacer Camp, Madibo Camp and the Ntabi camp. In April 1980 the Western Province of Zambia was invaded by 2 battalions of South African troops. They mined roads, attacked villages and burned crops. The area had to be declared a "disaster area." Such violations of Zambian territory take place continuously and Lesotho is increasingly experiencing such aggression.

Elimination of ANC and SWAPO

South Africa's aggression is intensifying at a time when the resistance of the people of South Africa and Namibia has reached unprecedented heights and the regime is facing mounting economic and political crises.

Today the legal, semi-legal and illegal activity of the oppressed masses is shaking the citadels of power as never before.

The black working class, the leading force of our revolution, continues to grow in strength, maturity and consciousness. Waves of militant strike actions affect almost all sections of major industries.

The youth and students, women's organisations, the churches, professional organisations, the masses in the rural areas and Bantustans are confronting the regime at every level.

Under the banner of "Unity in Action" the mighty forces of liberation and social emancipation continue to grow in strength.

The actions of Umkhonto we Sizwe have played a very significant role in this. Over the last two years units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have carried out sabotage actions throughout the country. The brilliant

attack on the Koeberg nuclear plant, one of South Africa's most carefully guarded installations, has sown panic in the ranks of the enemy.

The enemy believes that the "next five years is going to be decisive," (Gen. Magnus Malan) and has launched a massive offensive to stem the revolutionary tide. One aspect of this is to create an image of moderation internally, while in actual fact intensifying repression and control. Another aspect is the physical destruction of the ANC and SWAPO both internally and externally.

Warlord Malan recently reiterated warnings that "We are determined to wipe out the terrorists even if we have to cross our borders to do it." Specially created assassination squads and regular forces of the South African Defence Force have carried out this policy with a lunatic frenzy. Joe Gqabi, Ruth First, Petrus and Jabu Nyaose represent a growing list of victims of racist acts of terror.

South African troops blatantly invade neighbouring countries to carry out their murderous work. For example in 1978 South African troops attacked a SWAPO camp at Kassinga ruthlessly slaughtering about 1 000 unarmed Namibian refugees. Eye witnesses were shocked by the "spirit of extermination and destruction" of the South African troops.

In January 1981 South African troops invaded Mozambique and attacked ANC residences murdering 12 unarmed people and kidnapping two.

In December 1982 over 100 South African troops invaded and occupied Maseru the capital of Lesotho. In an orgy of indiscriminate and ruthless violence they murdered 42 South African and Lesotho citizens.

This sharp escalation in the actions of the regime and its murder squads gives warning that the regime, threatened by internal resistance and haunted by the spectre of socialism in neighbouring countries, is committed to unleashing a



P.W. Botha with J.C. Heunis shown deep inside Angola at the end of 1975, together with the UNITA guard of Jonas Savimbi. 'Die Burger' 5.2.77, from which this picture is taken, said it was a "great opportunity for Dr Savimbi's guards to meet these two South African leaders." Also in the picture is Jannie de Wet, then Commissioner General for Namibia.

reign of terror across its borders in a vain attempt to roll back the tide of history

Features of apartheid terrorism

Some features of racist aggression have been:

Growing brutalisation and almost total breaches of international conventions. These include terror attacks against civilians, indiscriminate bombings, assassinations, the use of poison gas etc.

Increasing use of surrogate forces. These include UNITA in Angola, MNR in Mozambique and the LLA in Lesotho. Documents captured after the Portuguese revolution, as well as accounts by CIA defectors like Stockwell, confirm reports that Savimbi worked for PIDE and the CIA. Since 1975 he has been actively

working with the apartheid regime. The MNR is nothing but an extension of the SADF. When Mozambican troops captured an MNR base at Garngua (Dec. 1981) they found large quantities of South African arms and equipment, signs of SADF instructors, and documentation which showed that all actions carried out by the MNR were determined and controlled by the SADF. The LLA has bases in South Africa and receives financial and logistical support from the SADF.

Increasing use of mercenaries. These are recruited from the USA, Britain, West Germany, Latin American countries (those with close links with the USA), Israel and other western countries. In many cases western governments have given tacit approval to such recruiting. They have

not only failed to take effective action against it but, on the contrary, have facilitated the work of these "whores of war." Are certain major western countries consciously using mercenaries and bandit organisations to achieve objectives in situations where it is not politically possible to use their own armed forces?

Need for Urgent Action

South Africa has given notice of its aims and objectives in Southern Africa and also the extent to which it will go to achieve these. The war psychosis being developed in South Africa and the constant warnings that it will take further military actions if it considers its security to be threatened, are ominous. A senior spokesman of the regime recently stated that "the acceptance of Soviet military aid by those states is destabilising the region because it provides a military umbrella for subversive elements. It is the government's duty to protect South African interests ... We will not hesitate to take action against Russian missiles and radar bases on our neighbours' territory ... It does not matter if the communist military forces are there legitimately as allies of these states."

Such arrogant display of big power chauvinism; such total disregard of all conventions of international law and morality; such blatant distortion of facts which turns victim into aggressor; such contempt and disregard for international opinion; such callous disregard of human suffering has few parallels in modern history.

Can the world allow the apartheid regime to unleash another holocaust? The military industrial complexes using the smokescreen of the "red bogey" helped Hitler rise to power. This generation cannot and must not allow history to repeat itself.

A massive international campaign must be launched to stop the apartheid regime's terroristic aggression against neighbouring states. Mass militant pressure by the peoples must compel the US, British and French Governments to stop abusing their powers of veto in the Security Council of the United Nations. Effective and total sanctions must be imposed against South Africa.

All-round political, material and diplomatic support must be given to SWAPO and the ANC.



THE CRICKETING MERCENARIES

by Sam Ramsamy

"Collaboration with, rather than isolation of, the enemy, in order to give apartheid a face-lift, cannot be in the best interests of West Indian players or West Indian cricket, if for no other reason than that the very forces responsible for the impoverishment and oppression of the South African peoples are the very same forces responsible for the underdevelopment of the Caribbean, namely American and British imperialism."

Workers' Party of Jamaica

Apartheid sport, isolated from nearly all international participation, is now fighting for its survival.

International sport is very important to racist South Africa. More important than in any other country in the world. Besides using sport as an avenue to create respectability for apartheid, South Africa also uses sport to unite the whites into a fervour of racist patriotism.

Recently several West Indian cricketers were lured to South Africa to be used as court jesters to boost the flagging morale of apartheid's white electorate. The all-black West Indian opposition playing all-white South African national sides was an ideal environment to stir the white rulers to ecstatic chauvinism.

The West Indian team which was relatively mediocre by international

standards was being acclaimed as the greatest side ever to visit South Africa. Employers were asked to do their utmost to enable their staff to watch the matches. The apartheid regime's minister in charge of sport congratulated the organisers on "their tremendous success" and appealed "to all South Africans to do what is practical to support the successful initiative of the (white) South African Cricket Union."

Although sportsmen from developing countries are easy prey for western entrepreneurs not many suspected that West Indian cricketers would ever play in apartheid South Africa.

As soon as the cricketers landed in South Africa compassionate stories were circulating the world over, that their choice was between playing in South Africa and starving. One of the West Indian cricketers

even asked, "When you see your wife and children don't have enough to eat what do you do?" Another stated, "if someone is prepared to give me money to feed my children, buy them clothing and myself a motor car I will not go." That these cricketers were attracted by highly inflated appearance fees is certainly true. That they accepted the offers because their families were starving is an utter and blatant lie.

Anyone who might consider pardoning them because of inspiration they might have received from the ancient saying "forgive them, for they know not what they do," will only be absolving these collaborators from treachery. "It is an act of treachery to the black people of South Africa who cry out for help for relief from the indignities and suffering of apartheid and the repression of the regime which upholds it," said Sir Sridath Ramphal, Commonwealth Secretary-General. Any mediocre cricketer who is given 150 000 dollars for a five week tour knows what he is being paid for. No country will spend 4 million dollars to attract a bunch of mediocre cricketers if it is not of national importance. The seven month secret negotiations which preceded the tour is sufficient evidence in itself that every player was fully aware of the implications of participating in South Africa. Only a week before their arrival in South Africa several of the cricketers denied any knowledge of the tour. One of them, Lawrence Rowe, even deceived and misled Mr. Alan Rae, President of the West Indies Cricket Board of Control, about his stand, causing Mr. Rae to make an embarrassing and premature declaration of gratitude. This deception was termed "vicious and heinous" by Jamaica's Minister of Youth and Community Development, Mr. Errol Anderson.

Even one of South Africa's white newspapers stated that the tour had become a major media event. The newspaper went on to say, "this is an important sporting event, and an even more important political event."

The usual band of South Africa's over-

seas supporters defined the West Indian cricket tour as a victory for sport and a defeat for those who wished to bring politics into sport. The sports lesson which emerged from this tour was that lies are elevated to moral acceptability and deceit is legitimised. And as for bringing politics into sport it seems that it is perfectly in order for the apartheid regime, whose sole aim is to maintain white domination, to underwrite the tour.

It seems obvious that English county cricket grounds were important venues for recruitment and finalising contracts. White South African cricketers attached to English county cricket, no doubt, played a crucial part in the negotiations. Their role is being conveniently suppressed because of the possibility of reprisals. It is also strongly suspected that an international hotel chain acted as conduits to channel money to certain West Indian islands and facilitated communication with South Africa. One English cricketer is reported to have approached Malcolm Marshall of Barbados, the West Indian fast bowler, to tour South Africa with a promise of an extremely huge appearance fee. Marshall declined to go. So did Barbadians Desmond Haynes and Hartley Alleyne. Foad Bacchus of Guyana and Winston Davis of St Vincent and Windward Island withdrew earlier.

A few years ago top West Indian cricketers, Viv Richards of Antigua and Clive Lloyd of Guyana were virtually given an open cheque to appear in South Africa but these offers were rejected with the contempt they deserved. Lloyd said, "there was no way I would go there under the present system and that was my final word."

There was world-wide condemnation of the tour. Clive Lloyd, the West Indian captain said that it was a major setback for the people who are trying to get rid of the apartheid system. He accepted that "the money was very tempting, but that was not all in life."

The West Indies Cricket Board of Control immediately banned the cricketers



for life and several West Indian Governments stated that the cricketers would not be allowed to enter their countries. The Grenada Government said that the money earned by these cricketers should be confiscated and handed to the ANC and SWAPO. Mr. Michael Manley, former Prime Minister of Jamaica, called the cricketers "traitors to the liberation struggle of the South African people." Mr. Malcom Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia, a strong supporter of the sports boycott campaign, announced that Australia would refuse entry to any player who plays representative cricket in South Africa.

Inside South Africa black trade unions, student groups and sports bodies affiliated to the anti-apartheid South African Council on Sport (SACOS) called for a mass boycott of the matches. SACOS condemned the cricketers for accepting the degrading status of "Honorary White". An AZAPO spokesman said "We will try and meet these fellows and impress upon them that their mercenary tour is retrogressive to our liberation struggle."

Whether these mercenaries will ever be exposed to the daily humiliations that black South Africans are subjected to is

another matter. The apartheid regime has nominated a liaison officer to facilitate all their travel and accommodation arrangements. Besides, as one white South African newspaper put it, "Unfortunately they haven't been able to see much, if anything except airports, hotels and cricket crowds." The regime's liaison officer also ensured that these collaborators were fully occupied with electronic games during any spare time they had.

The West Indian Team consisted of:

Barbados

Collis King, Emmerson Trotman, Franklyn Stephenson, Alvin Greenidge, Sylvester Clarke, Ezra Moseley, David Murray, Gregory Armstrong, Albert Padmore.

Jamaica

Richard Austin, Lawrence Rowe, Everton Mattis, Ray Wynter

Guyana

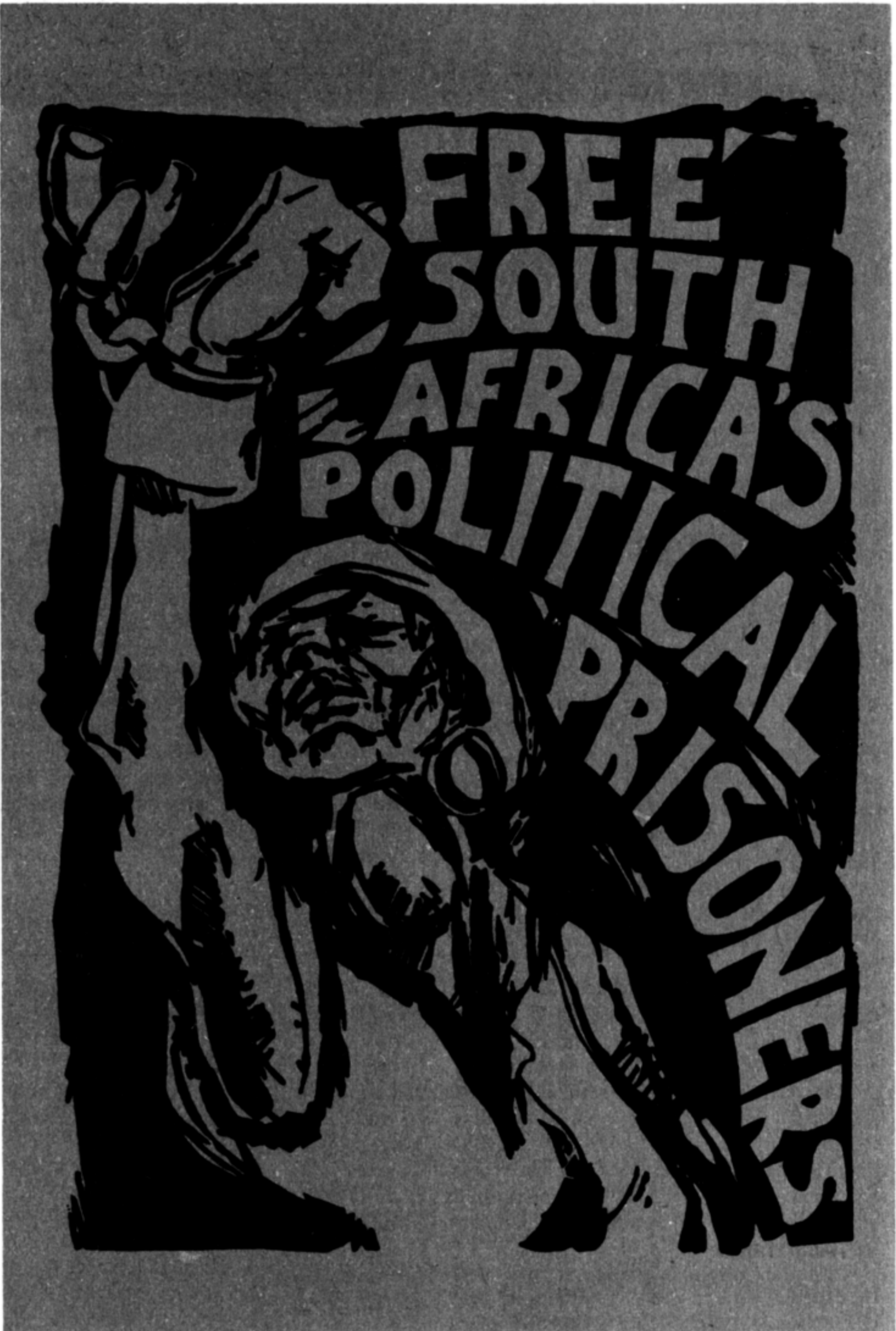
Colin Croft, Alvin Kalicharan.

Trinidad and Tobago

Bernard Julien.

Leeward Island

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Passers by look at one of the houses attacked by South African troopers during the Masern raid in December 1982