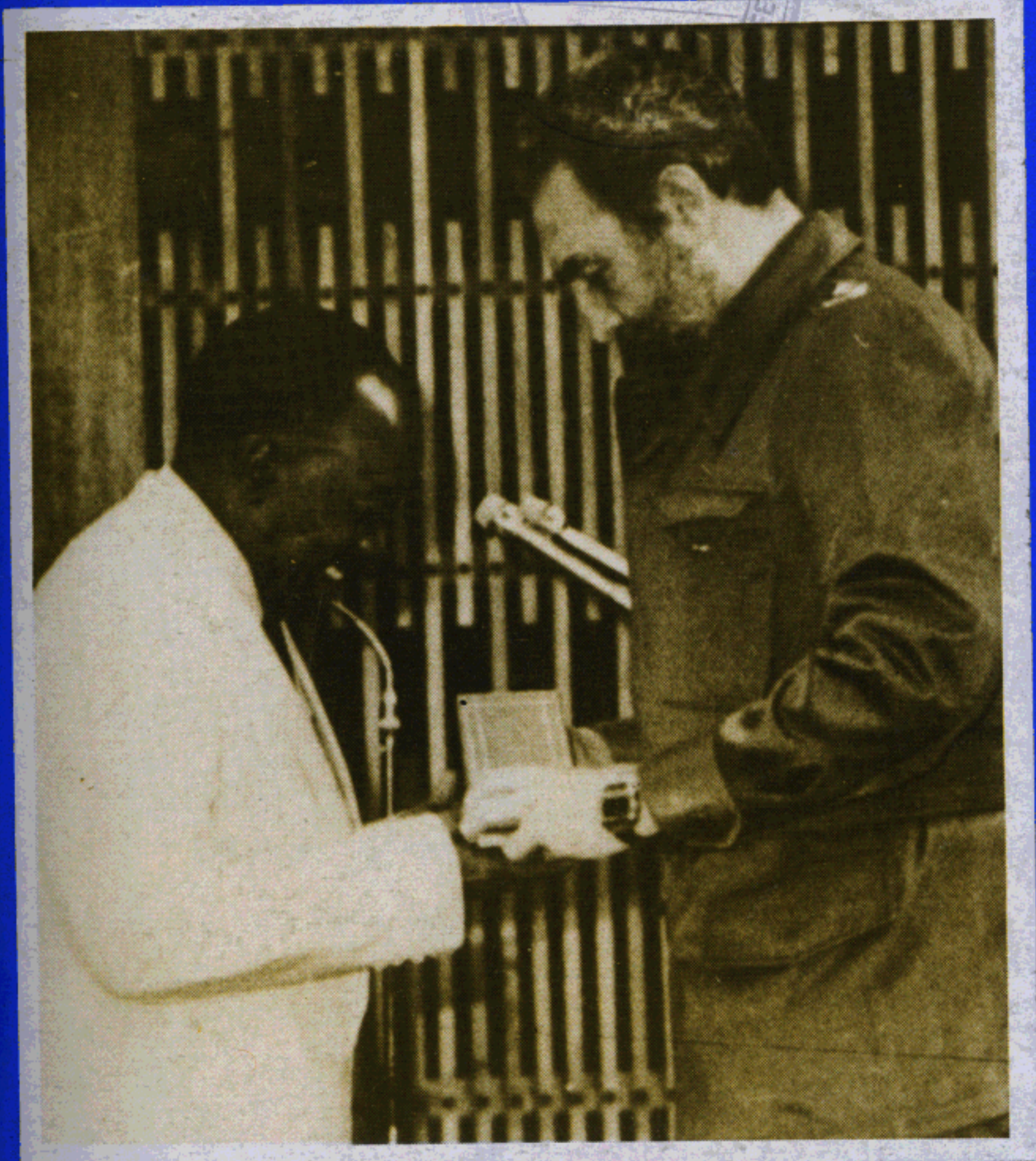


SEPTEMBER 1984



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
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## Talks About Talks

Recently there has been too much talk about talks. At times these talks about talks have developed into talks about talks about talks.

We are told by the Western press that the Botha regime wants to talk to the ANC. At times we are told that the ANC has been contacted to this end. There are also hints that for these talks to be meaningful the ANC has to 'loosen' its ties with the Soviet Union and the South African Communist Party and, of course, abandon armed struggle.

All we know is that the ANC has never been contacted by anybody. Even if that was the case the ANC — true to its tradition — would sit down and discuss with the membership and its allies about the impending talks. But all this has not happened. We only read about it in Western newspapers.

In any case what can we talk to the Botha regime about when Nelson Mandela and his comrades are incarcerated in Pretoria's dungeons, when the ANC is banned in South Africa, when the influx control and Group Areas Act are being intensified, when the 'resettlement' of more than three million Africans is taking place now in South Africa? What can we talk about when pass laws are being enforced; when more than eight million Africans have lost their South African citizenship? When thousands of our people are in exile?

When Botha went to Europe he was confronted with these questions. This time he had a problem: he could not accuse the Western governments of being "communist inspired" as he does with us. The French Government could not meet him officially; instead they received President O R Tambo, who was met by the Foreign Minister, Chysson, among others.

If by spreading rumours about talks with the ANC they aim to sow confusion within our ranks, supporters and sympathisers, they are mistaken. The standing of the ANC has never been so high. The ANC has already won the war for the hearts and minds of the people. That is despite the ban, despite the harassment, gaoling and killing of our cadres and our people, despite the massive false propaganda against us ... despite everything.

This is a step towards greater victories, and we are sure to win other battles.

Recently President Tambo told a press conference in Paris that if the Botha regime wants to talk with the ANC such talks could only be about one thing: How to dismantle apartheid. Otherwise we have nothing to talk about. The racist regime seems to understand one language, and we on our part are prepared to talk to it in that language they understand. Otherwise we shall be talking different languages.



# GATSHA BUTHELEZI:

# A WOLF IN A SHEEP'S SKIN

Once again Chief Gatsha Buthelezi of Kwa-Zulu is at it again, proving by word and deed to be an efficient instrument of the racist minority and illegal regime of South Africa in its futile attempts to confuse and mislead the people of South Africa in their struggle for national and social liberation. These attempts are in the long run aimed at disrupting the efforts being made to achieve the broadest unity in action amongst our people, as well as diverting them from the path of the revolutionary armed struggle as led by the vanguard of the South African liberation movement – the African National Congress.

Ever since the racist minority and illegal regime and its imperialist allies failed to mislead our people and hoodwink the international community into believing that the bantustan system somehow responds to their demands and deepest aspirations for a free, democratic, non-racial and unfragmented South Africa as stipulated in the Freedom Charter, the regime has been in dire need of, and therefore making great efforts to find,

someone with a respectable background, his prestige untarnished by any apparent association and collaboration with the apartheid regime, educated, eloquent and cunning enough to serve as their spokesman from within and amongst our people.

This need became even greater after the same regime, with guns pointing at the backs of our people, imposed the sham of independence upon the Transkei in 1976 and later upon the other territories with obscure names such as Bophutatswana, Venda and the Ciskei. Logically, and as expected, the step taken was more than enough to immediately expose and isolate the Matanzimas, Mangope, the Sebe brothers and Mphephu as traitors to the cause of our people, and at the same time serve as a warning to those who might follow suit in the future. Unlike his bantustan colleagues, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had long before these events proved to be the man with the qualities mentioned above, and, since the uprising of students and youth in Soweto, has become a far better defendant and apologist of the *status quo* than anyone else.

### Well-Calculated Double-Talk

At first sight, it might be difficult if not impossible for one to understand or even reconcile Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's apparently

contradictory statements and declarations on practically every important issue related to the struggle in South Africa. Without wanting to touch on the root cause of his inconsistency as far as the class interests he has chosen to serve are concerned, we should point out that it is only in the light of his actions that one can understand and realise that his statements and declarations as a whole boil down to little more than well-calculated double-talk aimed at sowing confusion amongst our people and diverting them from supporting and actively participating in the mass and armed struggle unfolding daily inside our country.

Unlike most of the other bantustan stooges, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi owes his status to the fact that he is a descendant, although not a direct one, of the Zulu royal family, and therefore was not arbitrarily appointed by the racist authorities to the post after a genuine chief had been deposed or even killed for his non-co-operation as is the rule in many cases. But, in a country where the institution of tribal chieftaincy has been seriously undermined by the process of socio-economic development and discredited by being abused by the racist authorities, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi needed something more than that in order to consolidate his traditional status as a chief and at the same time promote his image as a political leader in the contemporary world. This he found in the fact that he holds a B.A. degree in History and Native Administration, and was a member of the ANC Youth League during its heyday while he was a student at the University College of Fort Hare at Alice.

Without any doubt, he has been shrewd enough to use all these factors fully to his advantage, with the clear intention of cultivating respect and credibility in his position as a 'leader,' and at the same time discrediting and smearing the trusted and tested leadership of the African National Congress whenever the opportunity arises. But this he would do always taking good care to appear to the public as an opponent of the racist minority and illegal regime and its apartheid system. So, if one finds some apparent contradictions and

inconsistencies in his statements, more so between his declarations and his actions, this should not be taken as a mistake on his part but as a deliberate and well-calculated manoeuvre intended to sow confusion amongst our people and the international community as well as to mislead them into believing that he and his tribally based Inkatha disagree with the ANC and its millions of supporters only as far as the question of armed struggle is concerned. In reality he uses this as a smoke-screen to continue serving his masters in Pretoria and Washington.

In his belief, he and his organisation stand as something between two evils — the apartheid system in its archaic form and the ANC — the latter being the worst of course. This explains why, much more than representing and defending the interests of the apartheid system in its original form, he serves in the same capacity in favour of those of US imperialism, whose spokesmen and press are doing their utmost to groom him. But those who care to observe and ask themselves about Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's statements and actions would have noticed by now that, far from being opponents of the racist minority and illegal regime, and even farther from being part and parcel of the mainstream of our national liberation movement or one in its own right, he and Inkatha are indeed basically serving and upholding the interests of the apartheid system and world imperialism precisely at the moment when our people have never before been so determined and bent on eradicating once and for all these scourges from our country with all means at their disposal, including armed struggle.

### **The Tradition Betrayed**

Although it is not our intention here to undermine his traditional status as a chief, we find it more than necessary to point out the sad but very true fact that by having opted to work within the bantustan system, which constitutes the cornerstone of apartheid, he long ago turned his back on the strong and proud tradition of struggle which is the heritage of all our people including the ones whose

loyalty and support he falsely claims — the Zulus. His betrayal of the cause of our people becomes more glaring when one recalls that during the last years of their rule our national heroes and leaders of our forefathers — Shaka, Dingaan, Moshoeshe, Cetshwayo and others — were making some attempts at forging some kind of unity between their forces in order to put up resistance against the common enemy.

Buthelezi desperately seeks prestige and credibility by all means possible, appealing to and harping on his royal origins and the strong and long traditions of struggle of the Zulus (and all African peoples in South Africa) and has gone so far as to hold a provocative rally cynically dubbed a tribute to the centenary of the death of King Cetshwayo, about seven months ago. All this has merely turned him into a political clown who will never deceive anyone except the hand that feeds him. Try as much as he will, his attempts to denigrate and belittle the role of the ANC as the vanguard of the South African national liberation movement are bound to fail, as it is on the ANC that the mantle of struggle fell when it was formed in 1912. This is a reality that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi himself tacitly recognised when, during the first years of the revival of Inkatha and until recently, he would time and again don the ANC colours of black, green and gold, as a means of consolidating his base of support and increasing the membership of his organisation.

It is now a matter of common knowledge that as long ago as 1973 when our people, especially the youth, had in countless ways rejected the bantustan system as a fraudulent scheme intended to deprive our people of their birthright as South Africans as well as to divide our country along racial and ethnic lines, it was Chief Gatsha Buthelezi who turned the scales in favour of the hated system by acceding to the formation of the so-called Zulu Territorial Authority. Immediately afterwards he launched a well-publicised campaign to mislead our people and hoodwink the international community into believing that the

bantustan system could be fought successfully from within, without any limit nor risk of the resisters being co-opted by the enemy in the long run. This is the position he maintained and still continues to maintain, in spite of the fact that there exists more than enough evidence gained by our people in their long experience of struggle that the bantustan system is merely another ploy aimed at fragmenting not only our country and people but also their united resistance against the entire apartheid system by averting them from the path of struggle against their main and common enemy and into fratricidal strife for the 13% of barren and undeveloped land of which above-mentioned territories are composed.

To add fuel on fire, he long ago went on record to denounce those who advocate economic sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime on the false ground that disinvestment would hurt blacks most, while he fully knows that the large amounts of foreign investment in South Africa are first and foremost attracted by the availability of cheap black labour and not by any humanitarian reasons.

### **The ANC Kept Resistance Alive**

At this stage it becomes proper to point out the fact that it is certainly to the credit of the authentic national liberation movement in South Africa as led by the ANC that when many, including Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, thought that everything was lost, it kept the spirit of resistance and defiance alive inside the country through the patient and tireless work of its underground machinery reinforced by the propaganda work of Radio Freedom broadcasting from the external services of Lusaka and Dar-es-Salaam. This was combined with a world-wide campaign to expose the apartheid system and promote economic sanctions as well as the arms embargo campaign against the regime as a means of winning support for the just struggle of our people.

During 1973, when South Africa, and particularly Natal, was hit by a wave of strikes by workers coupled with youth protests and





demonstrations in the black university campuses throughout the country, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was to show his true colours as an opportunist and double-talker. Reaping what he had not sown, he took advantage of the prevailing political ferment in the country to revive Inkatha the following year. By fully manoeuvring and manipulating some backward and ignorant sectors amongst our people — mainly declassed elements from the rural areas — he managed to win some support amongst them and later began to use them with the aim of consolidating his political base. This he usually did without sparing any effort, even if he had to appear as a friend and supporter of, or at least a sympathiser with, the workers' cause, and even our national liberation movement as led by the ANC.

For instance, during the same period, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi was to make a series of statements that appeared to be sympathetic to the cause of the working class and in favour of black unity in our country, as well as undertaking certain actions that might make him appear as a supporter of our national liberation movement. Among these is a paper entitled, *My Role Within Separate Development Politics*, which he delivered at the Scandinavian Institute of African Studies

in Sweden, in which he hypocritically declared:

“We feel that it is our duty at this time for our people to see themselves as Black workers instead of on an ethnic basis. Once this solidarity becomes a reality we have enough faith to know that our voice will be heard.”

These are the same workers that members of his organisation, mainly migrant workers from Mzimhlophe Hostel, incited by the racist police and himself, were to assault a few years later during the height of the Soweto youth and student uprisings. From then onwards, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his organisation have proved to be an enemy of workers' strikes, especially if they adopt an openly political character, and also of youth and student demonstrations in the country.

#### **Inkatha Is Not a National Movement**

It has become habitual for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to make attempts at striking a nationalist chord, even to present Inkatha as part and parcel of the forces that are fighting for the liberation of our people, if not a national liberation movement in its own right. In the

same paper that we mentioned in the last paragraph, he went on to say that, "The Xhosa-speaking Blacks and the Zulu-speaking Blacks are the two largest ethnic groups in South Africa. We have other things in common such as *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika* as our national anthem ... We have also Sotho-speaking communities in both the Transkei and KwaZulu which has made us keep *Morena Boloka* as an additional anthem in both KwaZulu and the Transkei."

Without wanting to deny the fact that the Nguni as a whole are the biggest ethnic group, we believe that it is our duty to point out that our people as a whole do not conceive of our country as divided into different compartments, the Transkei for the Xhosa, Lebowa for the Bapedi or North Sotho, and so on, as Chief Gatsha Buthelezi seems to perceive in this statement. This point they made clear as long ago as 1955 when the Freedom Charter was adopted, and they declared that: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, Black and White, and ... no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." By this, our people were giving recognition to the historical fact that South Africa had become the home of all the racial and ethnic groups which were to be found spread out and co-existing and, in the case of the Africans, even intermingling, throughout the breadth of our country.

So, for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to have pointed out the presence of Sotho-speaking communities in the Transkei and KwaZulu as a unique and common feature becomes as naive as it is tribalistic, for if that is the case, one can point out the presence of Swazis, Shangaans and so on, in what is known as Lebowa, or of Tswanas in what is known as Qwa-Qwa. But more naive and tribalistic on the part of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi is to have claimed *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika* as a national anthem exclusively for what is known as KwaZulu and the Transkei, and to have kept *Morena Boloka* as an additional anthem only because of the presence of the Sotho-speaking communities in these territories. The histor-

ical truth is that *Nkosi Sikelel' i Afrika* and *Morena Boloka Sechaba* is one and the same single national anthem traditionally sung in both Zulu and Sotho (or any of the other languages belonging to the Nguni and Sotho language groups) by all our people, ever since the African National Congress adopted it as such.

### **Luthuli the Opponent of Apartheid**

Throughout our country and the world at large, it is known that the late Chief Albert Luthuli, President-General of the ANC from 1952 until his death in 1967, was a staunch and uncompromising opponent of the apartheid system and, in particular, its bantustan policy, and by the time of his death he had already taken the initiative in calling for economic sanctions, disinvestment and an arms embargo against and from South Africa within the international community. Then, for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to have launched a Luthuli Memorial Foundation with financial help from the Luthuli Memorial Foundation in 1973, as a homage to this great patriot, fully aware that he stands against practically everything that Chief Luthuli fought for is more than sheer hypocrisy.

But this is fully in line with his need to manoeuvre and manipulate the ignorance that exists among certain sectors of our people, mostly of rural origin and with a strong tendency to form an alienated or marginalised group within the wider community and especially in the urban areas. This he would do by taking credit for the work and achievements of other individuals and organisations under the pretext of honouring them in order to create a base of support and consolidate the little political support he has. And this has been especially so during the years leading to and immediately after the revival of Inkatha in 1974.

But if ever his intentions in accepting the bantustan system and encouraging others to work within it were genuine and sincere (which of course they have never been) one need only ask oneself why his government persists in participating in the so-called land

consolidation plans. These in practice, result in thousands upon thousands of our people being violently removed from the lands and homes they have occupied for decades and even centuries to some other unknown place, where, in many cases, there is no proper accommodation for them, or none at all, as is the case with the present plans to incorporate Lamontville, Chesterville, Klaarwater and Hambanathi into KwaZulu, against the expressed wishes of their inhabitants.

### **Sweet Talk of Non-Violence**

Earlier, we pointed out that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi has always been at pains to present himself as one who does not believe in violence or armed struggle as a means of eliminating apartheid and achieving the national and social emancipation of our people; his only disagreement with the ANC being on this issue. As long ago as 1973, he declared in some paper that:

“Some of us are not committed to a violent confrontation. I belong to this group ... We find it rather strange for anyone outside South Africa to prescribe this for us. It seems to us that in the final analysis the South African problems will be solved, whether peacefully or violently, may God forbid, within South Africa by those within the country.”

Ever since, this has been his language on this question. It is not for us to question his disposition as an individual to participate in the armed struggle. But for him to detract our people from the path they chose with the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe on the 16th December 1961 with so much sweet talk of non-violent struggle, which has long ago been proved wanting, is indeed to put himself outside the mainstream of the struggle for national and social liberation.

To suggest that the decision to embark upon armed struggle was a prescription by someone from outside the country, while he knows that it was taken by the best of our leadership after long and painful deliberation,

is, to say the least, cynicism at its height. Everyone knows that the decision was taken many years after the African National Congress had over many years exhausted all methods of non-violent and ‘legal’ struggle culminating with its banning in 1960, about eight years after Chief Alberth Luthuli rightfully asked:

“Who will deny that thirty years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly, at a closed and barred door ... ? What have been the fruits of my many years of moderation? Has there been any reciprocal tolerance or moderation from the government, be it Nationalist or United Party? No! On the contrary, the past thirty years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all.”

Later on, in 1964, when Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and six others of our leaders were sentenced to life imprisonment, Chief Albert Luthuli found it necessary to emphasise this point in a public statement released on the 12th June of the same year, and in which he declared that:

“No one can blame brave, just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.”

### **Buthelezi Visits the United States**

It was precisely around the middle of 1976 when Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, alarmed by the explosion of the Soweto youth and student uprisings throughout the country, was forced to come out into the open in his true colours as an apologist of the apartheid system, and spokesman of US imperialism in particular, within our people. This he did among other things by ‘suddenly’ stopping to consider Inkatha as a cultural movement aimed at pro-

moting what he understands as Zulu culture and history, and consequently began to present it as a national liberation movement in its own right, or at least as a component part of the authentic national liberation movement as led by the ANC. In propagating this false belief and impression he was readily helped by the South African English language press and its counterpart, the Western mass media. This assistance involved the publicising of his campaigns throughout the world as well as the secret financing of his trips abroad, particularly to the United States.

This of course should not be understood as meaning that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi had completely abandoned the old rhetoric aimed at giving our people and world public opinion the false impression that he holds a position of neutrality between the apartheid regime and the ANC. But it should sincerely be pointed out that it was more or less from that period, when throughout his manoeuvres and manipulation he had managed to increase the membership of his organisation to some few thousand men and women that he started feeling audacious enough to embark upon actions that he might not have been able to do before, and can appear to be contradictory to his earlier advocacy of non-violence as a means of achieving genuine national and social liberation in South Africa.

Amongst these actions are the role Inkatha brutes and henchmen played in maiming and killing innocent and unarmed people, mainly youth and students, during the demonstrations against the award of an honorary doctorate to him by the University of Zululand in July 1976, the Soweto youth and student uprisings from June 16th the same year, the demonstrations against the holding of the rally intended to mark the centenary of the death of King Cetshwayo at the Universities of Zululand and Durban-Westville (Wentworth) in October last year, and, most recently, the violent disruption of a May rally organised by the Durban UDF in which the national president of the UDF, Archie Gumede, was injured. It is obvious that such actions, far from opposing the apartheid system,

have indeed become a serious obstacle in our irreversible march to freedom in the land of our birth.

Realising that the events of 1976 had exposed him for what he is, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi manoeuvred again and, together with the other bantustan leaders, formed the short-lived and so-called Black United Front, after they had held a seven-hour meeting with the late South African Prime Minister, John B Vorster. The immediate objective of the so-called Black United Front was to help the regime in quelling the youth and students' revolts, while its main one was to wrest away the leadership of the national liberation movement from the ANC. When that attempt proved a complete failure he extended the so-called Black United Front to include the Coloured Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party in 1977, and on this basis the so-called Black Alliance emerged, more or less with the same objectives in mind. These were all the more urgent for him to carry out, also as a means of taking advantage of the banning of about 20 political, civic, religious, youth and student organisations during the same year. But again, those attempts proved to be a failure when the Coloured Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party decided to outdo Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Inkatha in their game of betrayal by accepting participation in the so-called constitutional reforms.

### **Buthelezi Shifts His Ground Again**

The achievement of independence by Zimbabwe in 1980 once again, since the former Portuguese colonies had achieved the same feat, served as an indication of the change that has taken place in the correlation of forces in the region in favour of the struggle of our people. On this occasion, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi found it necessary to beat a retreat by declaring that he was:

“ ... not prepared to urge South African Blacks to join the Defence Force and to fight for current South Africa ... ”

and he was:

“certainly not prepared to alienate ... [himself] from South African political exiles and to embark upon a propaganda campaign against them.”

One needs only to look at such statements in the light of his actions as we have enumerated earlier to realise their sheer hypocrisy and their deceptive nature, and the fact that by sending his henchmen to violently disrupt meetings in which innocent and unarmed people, including stalwarts of our struggle, are maimed and killed, he has already put himself at the service of the South African Defence Force and the security police.

Perhaps it is interesting, but not surprising nor unexpected at all, to note that it did not take very long for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi to revert once again to an open campaign of slander and smear against the prestige, respect and image of the ANC inside and outside the country, in which he went so far as to claim that four combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe captured last year with a map and a sketch of a bridge they intended to blow up on the White Umfolozi River were also on their way to assassinate him. But Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, as much as many other people, knows very well that, much as his statements and actions fill us with rage, our movement simply does not have the time, resources and energy to waste in acts of terrorism against individuals who happen and have chosen to be representatives of the apartheid system and world imperialism, since the main targets of our armed actions are the SADF, the police force, strategic economic and military installations, as well as the administrative apparatus of the racist minority and illegal regime. This, of course, is with the exception of traitors to our organisation, notorious policemen and informers, whose actions may lead to endangering the security of our combatants inside the country. As a matter of fact, one can with all reason suspect that it is because he is aware of this that Chief Gatsha Buthelezi believes he can continue to slander and distort the prestige and image of our movement for ever, with impunity.

### **His Masters' Voices**

To attribute, as he did, the demonstrations and protests against him last October at the Universities of Zululand, Durban-Westville and the North, as well as those of the residents of Lamontville and other townships, against his use of the “subversion” of the ANC as a smokescreen to cover his unpopularity amongst our people will never help Chief Gatsha Buthelezi. His claim that the 12 organisations that later called for a memorial service in honour of the dead, amongst which were to be found members of Diakonia and the Azanian Students' Organisation, are ANC fronts, is not only a blatant and aimless lie but also a parrot-like repetition of his masters' voices in Pretoria and Washington. Nothing more is needed to prove our point than the false and outrageous statement he made to the effect that:

“ ... in the student body there is no spontaneous opposition, and we know that the cliques there which agitate for violent opposition to me represent a unholy partnership between BOSS [the Bureau of State Security] and the African National Congress mission in exile acting through its nominees and surrogates.”

This is the very same man who, some time after Piet W Botha took over as the South African Prime Minister (following on the Muldergate scandal) we had to listen to in his deliberate attempt to create false hopes and expectations, if not illusions altogether, amongst our people and the international community by counselling patience to them, declaring that he was “not politically totally disillusioned with Mr P W Botha” and that he had “hope that he will be meaningful in his premiership” and therefore “must be given more time and greater encouragement,” and that is the reason why he had called for a moratorium on constitutional developments. On the same occasion he went on to declare that he had:

“ ... further appealed to my people to give the Prime Minister time to introduce reforms and not judge him on the track record of his predecessors in the Premiership of South Africa.”

With the above words coming directly from Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's mouth, no one except the most cynical or the most naive would believe him to be genuinely interested in the true national and social liberation of the South African people.

### Crocodile Tears

Now that the racist minority and illegal regime has had all the time it needed to introduce its so-called reforms to its satisfaction, thanks partially to Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's 'counselling,' we see him turning around to shed crocodile's tears on the yes vote the White electorate gave on 2nd November 1983, during the referendum on the proposed constitutional 'reforms.' Belittling the intelligence of our people and their capacity to see through his political clowning, he expects us to jump and clap our hands in glee over the apparently militant threats he is fond of making time and again against the racist minority and illegal regime, while his Inkatha cut-throats are busy at work killing and maiming our people and serving as a serious obstacle to the armed activities of our combatants.

Another dangerous element in Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's arsenal of rhetoric is the highly irresponsible and senseless outbursts he is in the habit of making against the Coloured and Indian communities of our country. In this respect the Indian community has borne the brunt of his attacks and not long ago, when the sell-out leaders of the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party decided to outdo him by jumping on the apartheid bandwagon through their participation in the so-called 'reforms,' we saw and heard him howling high up into the sky over the betrayal of our people's cause by his counterparts in those communities. Ignoring the fact that the

two communities, particularly their youth, have expressed their opposition to apartheid and all its collaborators in no uncertain terms, including violent demonstration and protest, he went so far as to invoke the spectre of the tragic disturbances of 1948 between the Indians and Africans in Durban. In this way, we were once again painfully subjected to witnessing him helping the racist minority and illegal regime drive a wedge between the oppressed and exploited as a means of undermining the fighting unity that has so far been achieved through so much sacrifice and hard work between the Africans, Coloureds and Indians throughout the years by our genuine and trusted leaders.

But such a reaction is typical of Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's double-talk and manoeuvres to fragment the unity of struggle between our people, cynically, in the name of 'black unity.' It is politically insincere and hypocritical for him to condemn and threaten whole communities, because what the sell-out leaders of the Labour Party and Indian Reform Party have really done is to follow his example and that of the other bantustan puppet leaders in blindly accepting to work within the bantustan system and the myth of independence. It is hardly surprising then that the sell-out leaders of the Labour Party and the Indian Reform Party, in the same way as their colleagues in the bantustans, have been targets of the wrath of their respective communities as well as of our people as a whole. So, who is Chief Gatsha Buthelezi trying to fool by his political clowning and manoeuvres?

### Sources:

1. Buthelezi, Chief Gatsha, *Statement*, in Joubert, J P, *The Leaders of South Africa*, Pretoria.
2. *The Star*, Johannesburg, 31.1.1983.
3. *The Star*, Johannesburg, 1.11.1983.

# LAW AND POLITICS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

By Kader Asmal – Part III

## THE RIGHT TO REVOLT

*This is the third part of a paper originally presented at a conference in London in April 1984. The fourth and last part will appear in our October issue.*

A people revolting against colonial aggression represent their interest through a public body such as a national liberation movement. Such interim international personality of a national liberation movement reflects the personality of a new State which is in the process of establishment.

In order to vindicate the principle of self-determination, nations or peoples have resorted to physical force, and will continue to do so. It may be artificial to consider that such a struggle is a form of self-defence of the emerging State under Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. It is more fruitful to consider recourse to armed struggle as consistent with the Charter because it is in pursuit of a rule of *jus cogens*, the right to self-determination. In other words, the conflict is between “forces which represent different authorities and different peoples” (17) and from the earliest stage of UN involvement, these conflicts were considered to be ‘international conflicts’ and thus removed from the domestic jurisdiction clause. Although the threat or use of force in contemporary international law is forbidden (specially but not exclusively under Article 2(4) of the Charter), and no title to territory may be acquired through illegal methods, an armed colonial struggle belongs to “an area where force may still be employed for the purpose virtually of bringing about a change in territorial sovereignty, without necessarily impinging upon the prohibitions of the use of force laid down by international law.” (18)

Western Governments objected to the concrete application of the right to revolt in pursuit of the right to self-determination in its early stages but the United Nations in its repertory of practice reflected, in the early 1960s, an awareness of changing political realities which “symbolise[d] and concretise[d] a new political-juridical conception: the definite repudiation and end of colonialism.” (19)

For a number of years, beginning in 1965, the General Assembly has recognised the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial rule to exercise this right to self-determination, starting with the colonies under Portuguese occupation and in relation to Zimbabwe, but later generalising this right to Namibia, South Africa and the people of Palestine.

At the 20th session in 1965, the General Assembly recognised “the legitimacy of the

struggle by the peoples under colonial rule to exercise this right to self-determination and independence." (Resolution 2105(XX)) In the same session, on the Declaration on the Inadmissibility of Intervention in Domestic Affairs and the Protection of Independence and Sovereignty (passed without a vote against), the General Assembly identified the other aspect of this right when it demanded not only "respect for self-determination and independence of peoples and nations ... with absolute respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms" but demanded that all States should contribute to "the complete elimination of racial discrimination and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

The right to revolt now had additional dimensions, the right to seek and obtain assistance from other states and the obligation on other states not to assist in the preservation of colonialism, racism and apartheid. Brownlie identifies this aspect of the principle as one of the 'corollaries,' namely "intervention against a liberation movement may be unlawful and assistance to the movement may be lawful." (20) Western Governments may continue to vote against specific resolutions which recognise these rights and obligations in relation to specific territories but this is untenable because they are parties to two major declarations passed without dissent or abstention by the General Assembly.

Whatever doubts may have existed about the right to overthrow established authority which contravenes the right to self-determination has now been dissipated by the **unanimous** adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, (GA Resolution 2625(XXV) 1970), which is declaratory of customary international law. The principles of the Charter embodied in the Declaration are declared to constitute "basic principles of international law." The Declaration lays down a duty on States "to refrain from any forcible action which deprives peoples referred to in the elaboration of the pre-

sent principle of their rights to self-determination and freedom and independence." But, even more importantly, the Declaration recognises a right to fight against such deprivation because it lays down that:

"In their actions against, and resistance to, such forcible action in pursuit of the exercise of their right to self-determination, such peoples are entitled to seek and receive support in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter."

It is quite clear that the Declaration recognises the right to have recourse to a war of liberation and clearly indicates that the use of force against the exercise of self-determination is a violation of international law. In so far as the resolution recognises the right of internal revolution, it codifies what international law has traditionally assumed. The Declaration clearly applies to Namibia, where the majority are under "alien subjugation, domination and exploitation."

Similarly the General Assembly resolution on the Definition of Aggression passed by consensus in 1974 which, in accordance with the Charter, prohibits aggressive acts between States, expressly (under Article 17) provides that nothing in the definition of aggression can prejudice the right of self-determination, freedom and independence of peoples under 'colonial and racist regimes or other forms of alien domination,' nor the right of these peoples to struggle to that end and receive support, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and in conformity with the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States (GA Resolution 3314(XXIX) 1974).

These developments in international law, consistent with and not in derogation from the Charter of the United Nations, have drawn the significant observation from one commentator that: "It is clear that the right of revolution has been recognised more forthrightly and explicitly by the international community than it earlier had been." (21)



The liberation movements of South Africa have had observer status with the United Nations since 1973, have participated in conferences held under the auspices of the organisation and even signed the text adopted at the conclusion of the Geneva Conference on Humanitarian Law in 1977. This has been the result of the persistence of the General Assembly where, by increasing majorities, the Assembly has characterised the South African regime as 'illegitimate' (resulting in the withdrawal of the credentials of the South African delegation in 1973), proclaiming that the national liberation movements of South Africa are the "authentic representative of the people of South Africa in their **just struggle for national liberation**," and recognising the "right of the oppressed people and their national liberation movements to resort to all the means at their disposal, including armed struggle, in their resistance to the illegitimate racist minority regime of South Africa." (22) (My emphasis.)

In case the practice of the General Assembly is dismissed as the result of the "tyranny of automatic majorities" obtained by the Third World, it is interesting to turn to the evolution of the practice of the Security Council.

The Security Council was first seized of the South African issue in 1960, following the massacres at Sharpeville and Langa. Resolution 134 recognised that the situation in South Africa "is one that has led to international friction and if continued might endanger peace and security." Although there was a call for South Africa to "abandon apartheid," there was no characterisation of the regime or the nature of the struggle. The "legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people" was first recognised by Resolution 82 of 1970, but the struggle was related to their "human and political rights set forth in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights." France, Great Britain and the United States abstained on this resolution. The same formula was repeated in Resolution 311 of 1972, with France as the only abstention. The consensus

resolution 392 of 1976, adopted three days after the shootings at Soweto, went somewhat further and recognised the "legitimacy of the struggle of the South African people for the elimination of apartheid and racial discrimination."

The combination of 'struggle' and 'elimination' was significant, and in Resolution 417 of 1977 the Security Council **unanimously** reaffirmed the earlier recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle against apartheid, but went one step further. For the first time, the Council affirmed the right of the people of South Africa as a whole, irrespective of race, colour or creed, to the exercise of self-determination. The connection between apartheid and self-determination has been asserted in a subsequent resolution (see Resolution 473 of 1980) and support for the legitimacy of the struggle reiterated.

The election of the Reagan administration in January 1981 has resulted in a more muted response by the Security Council because of the Administration's desire not to disturb its process of collaboration with the South African regime, known as 'constructive engagement.' But the significance of the Security Council's **unanimous** resolution of 1977 cannot be denied and in the context of the practice of other principal and subsidiary organs of the United Nations must constitute an authoritative statement of the international community's interpretation of the character of the South African regime and the right of the people of South Africa, organised through their liberation movement, to struggle for the overthrow of the system.

Recognition of these rights entails recognition of the causes which give rise to anti-colonial struggles. Third World and socialist countries have therefore refused to react to the emotive issue of 'terrorism' without reference to the causes of violence in international society. This is illustrated in the discussions on the Ad Hoc Committee on International Terrorism of the General Assembly where these countries have refused to confuse the issue of colonialism and the struggle against it with other examples of random violence and

terrorism. In Resolution 34/145(XXXV) of the General Assembly in 1979 on the issue of terrorism, the General Assembly expressed its concern at terrorism and adopted "practical measures of co-operation for the speedy elimination of international terrorism," but in the context of:

"Reaffirming the inalienable right to self-determination and independence of all peoples under colonial and racist regimes and other forms of alien domination, and upholding the legitimacy of their struggle, in particular the struggle of national liberation movements, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations."

These resolutions of the General Assembly (and even of the Security Council) have affirmed the right of colonial peoples to resort to armed struggle and to such necessary material support and other support against foreign domination. More recently, the responsibilities of the specialised agencies and other organisations within the United Nations for the provision of "moral and material assistance, on a priority basis, to the peoples of the colonial Territories and their national liberation movements" has been clearly identified (GA Resolution 34/42(XXXIV) 1979).

Since 1965, when both the General Assembly and the Security Council have had to condemn the violence of colonialism, especially against the territory of States which have provided assistance to liberation movements, resolutions have demanded that the colonial aggressor pay compensation to the State which has suffered damage. Until 1981, this has been the constant position of the Security Council. No resolution of any UN body has either condemned the country providing assistance to a liberation movement or equated the reaction of the liberation struggle with the violence of colonial and racist regimes. The constant theme of resolutions passed in response to complaints brought by Zambia, Mozambique, Angola and Lesotho has been to

condemn the acts of violence or aggression by South Africa, as it had been previously in the case of the then Southern Rhodesia. For the first time, in 1981, following the massive invasion of Angola by South Africa under the code name of 'Operation Protea,' the United States used the veto because the resolution lacked 'balance,' as there has been no reference to SWAPO's activities from Angola.

But what these resolutions have established, as they did in the earlier instances of the Portuguese colonies, is that the illegal status of the occupying power denies that power the automatic right to self-defence. Conversely, the right of the victim-peoples to take steps to pursue their right to self-determination is not to be equated with the aggressor's actions.

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18. Jennings, *The Acquisition of Territory in International Law*, 1963, p. 80.
19. Casteneda, *Legal Effects of United Nations Resolutions*, 1969, p. 13.
20. Brownlie, *op. cit.*, p. 577.
21. Schwelb in *Law and Civil War in the Modern World*, (ed. Moore), 1974.
22. See GA Resolution 38/39A of 5th December 1983 for the latest example.



# Pressures on Pretoria



# The Occupation of Namibia

Intense diplomatic activity has taken place around the question of Namibian independence this year, and there has been much speculation that the racist South African occupation of the territory will soon be ended.

The speculation was initially set off by Botha's announcement at the end of January that South African Defence Force occupation forces would be withdrawing from southern Angola and that the occupation of Namibia was "a heavy burden" that the regime could not continue to bear indefinitely.

The past few months of negotiations over Namibia have been marked by a number of meetings in Lusaka, a flurry of consultations between the Botha regime and its western allies and a bout of more than usually intense diplomatic shuttling, especially by representatives of the Reagan administration. While the twists and turns of the diplomatic struggle and the deliberate misinformation emanating from Washington and Pretoria have made it difficult to follow the progress of the negotiations, the broad outlines of apartheid

and imperialist strategy can be sketched in when we examine how the situation has unfolded.

The strategy of Pretoria towards Namibia cannot, of course, be separated from its wider regional strategy — particularly its designs on the People's Republic of Angola. Since Reagan took over the US Presidency in 1981, Pretoria has felt secure in escalating its aggression against Angola, building up the UNITA bandits and parroting Reagan's call for a withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola as a precondition to a Namibian settlement.

The objective of the racist regime during the mid-1970s was the overthrow of the MPLA government and its replacement by a regime dominated by UNITA. Even as late as 1981, as reflected in the leaked reports on the talks held in that year between Pik Botha, Magnus Malan and Chester Crocker, the Botha regime had hopes for a Savimbi-dominated Angola. But it must by now be evident even to Pretoria that the total overthrow of the MPLA government is impossible at present because of its wide support in the country and the battlefield setbacks sustained by both UNITA and the SADF.

#### **'Operation Askari' — Setback for Pretoria**

The SADF's last major operation in Angola, code-named 'Askari,' ended in failure at the end of last year. Several thousand apartheid troops, attempting to extend the zone of occupation in Cunene Province, were driven back after taking heavy casualties. Unable to achieve any of its objectives, after a month of heavy fighting, the SADF was forced to withdraw to the previously occupied zone. During the second half of 1983 UNITA also fared badly and the bandit forces were being steadily cleared from large areas of Angola. Operation Askari was meant to resurrect the fortunes of the bandits, and the failure of the operation left the racist forces as a whole in a weaker position than before.

o Faced with the immediate impossibility of overthrowing the Angolan government, Pretoria has been echoing US propaganda

about the need for a 'reconciliation' between the UNITA bandits and the government, leading to a so-called "government of national unity" in which the bandit forces will have considerable influence. In turn, Savimbi has been talking of 'disunity' in the MPLA and the prospect of "negotiations leading to reconciliation." However, this strategy has been frustrated by the strength and firmness of the Angolan government, which has consistently refused to bow to imperialist strategy.

In Namibia the SADF has faced another set of frustrations. Despite regular announcements that SWAPO has been destroyed, racist casualty figures have been rising and more and more troops have had to be brought into the territory in an effort to contain SWAPO. Neither the SADF's 'hearts and minds' policy nor its mass employment of brutal repression has succeeded in drawing support away from SWAPO. PLAN guerrillas, supported by the population, continue to operate over large areas of the country. Lately, in published statements and interviews, apartheid military generals have begun to admit that they cannot win the war.

Pressures on Pretoria have not been limited to the battlefield. The US ploy of linking Namibian independence to the issue of Cuban troops in Angola, eagerly seized upon by South Africa as a further delaying tactic, has been rejected by almost the entire world community, excepting the closest allies of the US. In October last year the UN Security Council formally rejected the Cuban 'linkage' and decided "in the event of continued obstruction by South Africa, to consider the adoption of appropriate measures under the Charter of the UN" — a clear pointer towards sanctions. In December the Security Council demanded the immediate withdrawal of SADF forces from Angola. With the US alone abstaining on both these resolutions, Pretoria was clearly under pressure to show some movement in its policies on Namibia and Angola.

By February this year the carefully nurtured policy of creating a 'cordon sanitaire' around South Africa was about to bear fruit

in the form of the Nkomati accords. Botha would have been foolish to destroy his new image as a 'peacemaker' by not attempting to reach some form of cease-fire with Angola. Thus on 16th February the limited cease-fire and agreement for South African withdrawal was signed. The regime's propaganda machine seized on the Angolan government's agreement to limit the activities of SWAPO in the area of South African withdrawal as an indication that Angola had 'abandoned' SWAPO, and the liberation movement would be forced to give up the armed struggle. Stories were planted in the South African and western press that Angolan and SWAPO units were involved in shoot-outs and that hundreds of 'out of control' guerrillas were 'fleeing' into Namibia from supposed bases in Angola. This, claimed Pretoria, threatened 'the peace agreement.'

#### **Role of the United Nations**

The fact that restrictions on SWAPO activity were limited to the zone of SADF occupation, and that SWAPO was not party to the cease-fire, were facts conveniently overlooked in apartheid propaganda. For its part, Angola has made it absolutely clear that it regards the racist withdrawal as a precursor to the signing of a ceasefire between SWAPO and Pretoria and the immediate implementation of UN Resolution 435, providing for UN-supervised elections and Namibian independence within nine months. President Dos Santos has further reiterated that he will terminate the agreement for Cuban military assistance only when Namibian independence on the basis of Resolution 435 has been assured and the threat of South African/UNITA aggression removed.

Nevertheless, Botha has used the 16th February agreement as an indication of his desire for peace, creating the conditions for western countries to work more closely with his regime in circumventing or weakening the provisions of Resolution 435. On 5th June, despite earlier indications to the contrary, Thatcher told the British Parliament that Namibian independence "will not occur until

there is in parallel also the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola." For Botha, the 16th February agreement is merely the first stage in an ambitious regional plan to be carried out on the basis of unnamed 'secret assurances' from the USA. The plan is aimed at eliminating or substantially reducing the role of the United Nations in the Namibian independence process and leaving Pretoria in a position to exert influence or control over a nominally independent Namibia in which the power of SWAPO will be curtailed. One of Botha's ideas is to replace the UN monitoring group, UNTAG, with an expanded version of the South African/Angolan Joint Monitoring Commission, which is overseeing the SADF withdrawal from Angola; alternatively he hopes to bring in the imperialist powers or pro-western African countries. His intention is also to undermine the MPLA government in Angola during the process.

At the end of February, 'Pik' Botha himself moved to put down speculation that a settlement in Namibia was in the offing by stating categorically that there was no possibility of an agreement before the end of the year, and that it was "probably a long way off." In April he tabled the regime's alternative to 435 — a 'regional peace conference' involving not only the two contending parties (SWAPO and the South African regime) but also the Angolan government, the UNITA bandits and the puppet parties in Namibia. The object, no doubt, would be to force the Angolan government to 'share power' with the bandits and simultaneously to coerce SWAPO into collaborating with the puppet parties in a neo-colonial Namibia.

At the end of April, the suggestion of a 'regional peace conference' not having gained sufficient support, P W Botha grandly announced that "the people of SWA/Namibia cannot wait indefinitely ... South Africa will not stand in their way if they reach an agreement amongst themselves on their future." Meaning that Pretoria was interested in concentrating on building up the puppet 'internal' parties in Namibia for the purposes of foisting pseudo-independence on the Namib-

ian people.

### **Multi-Party Puppet Structure**

Since the collapse of the South African-created Council of Ministers/National Assembly, Pretoria has been casting around for a more credible puppet structure. The creation of a State Council was duly announced in July, but this scheme never got beyond the Government Gazette in which it was announced. Then in September the Multi-Party Conference (MPC) was unveiled, drawing the squabbling 'internal' parties into yet another puppet structure.

In May this year SWAPO agreed to talks in Lusaka with the apartheid administrator-general, van Niekerk, about a cease-fire and the implementation of Resolution 435. Pretoria arranged for the MPC to attend, hoping to present the talks as a discussion between the MPC and SWAPO. But this propaganda ploy was undermined by the defection to SWAPO of key members of the MPC, including the Damara Council and leading SWANU members.

The Lusaka conference clearly exposed Pretoria's refusal to sign a cease-fire and implement Resolution 435, as the discussions were quickly ended by insistence on the part of the MPC that Namibian independence be linked to the ending of Cuban military assistance to Angola. The Botha regime delivered a repeat performance at the Cape Verde talks in July, instructing its representatives to insist categorically that there could be no negotiation on 435 without a prior commitment by Angola to a Cuban withdrawal, and in this way the talks were destroyed.

Although his cards had been shown at Lusaka, Botha, 'the peacemaker,' lost little time in utilising the Nkomati accords to propaganda advantage in his whistle-stop tour of European capitals. Namibia was high on his agenda, the object being to consult with his allies about the best way of avoiding or further modifying 435 to Pretoria's advantage.

### **A Burden on the Economy**

During his tour Botha made a great show

of announcing that he would order a South African withdrawal from Namibia immediately, if the Western Five Contact Group would be prepared to take over Pretoria's colonial 'burden' (and, of course, the Cubans be ejected from Angola). While not entirely serious, the suggestion was meant to raise a further propaganda smoke-screen around Pretoria's manoeuvres. This tossing around of various suggestions does, however, reveal that Botha is increasingly desperate to find a way of extracting himself from Namibia without compromising the long-term interests of the apartheid state.

Namibia is indeed becoming a 'burden' for the racist regime. Years of rape and plunder of Namibia's resources by South African and multinational companies, coupled with the devastation caused by the ruthless military occupation, have left the territory in economic ruin. The fishing industry has been all but destroyed, the ranching industry deliberately run down and the indigenous farming economy wrecked. Even the profits from diamonds and uranium have declined in recent years, while disease and social problems have been mounting as more and more Namibians are forced into impoverished urban slums.

The apartheid occupation is maintained mainly by force of arms, and the estimated 100 000 troops serving in military, paramilitary and police units all over the country are an immense drain on the South African economy, itself in deep recession. The direct costs of the war have been estimated as between two and three million rand a day — the indirect costs, including the huge expense involved in propping up the eleven 'ethnic' puppet administrations in the territory, must be much higher.

To the political, diplomatic and military pressures on Pretoria must therefore be added economic pressures. On the other hand, there are compelling reasons for Botha to maintain his grip on the territory. The implementation of Resolution 435, involving UN-supervised elections, would undoubtedly return an elected SWAPO government to power. The pros-

pect of what Botha terms a "red flag in Windhoek" is hardly acceptable to the racists. It would leave the Botha regime utterly isolated in Africa, moving the border of African freedom thousands of miles closer to Pretoria. It would be a tremendous defeat on the ground for the SADF and a victory for the guerrilla forces, and it would strengthen the revolutionary movement in South Africa.

### **Botha's Prevarications**

While keeping his diminishing military and political options open, it is likely that Botha will continue to prevaricate over Namibia, all the time attempting, with the aid of his allies in the west, to tie up a new package for Namibian independence that will leave Pretoria with considerable control over both the independence process and a future independent Namibia. He is also looking for a trade-off with the western contact group whereby, in return for a Namibian settlement, the imperialist countries will guarantee long-term backing for the apartheid regime in its battle against the South African people.

### **SWAPO Is Fighting**

But Botha's timetable may well be upset by the progress of the liberation movement. Extracts from a PLAN communique detailing operations in February and March show that a high level of activity was being maintained by the liberation forces — even after the signing of the 16th February agreement which, according to apartheid propaganda, marked the beginning of the end of SWAPO's ability to wage armed struggle:

"12.2. Four racist soldiers were severely wounded when a PLAN platoon attacked an enemy infantry section at Oshali, 15 km. north-west of Kongo. The enemy was forced to flee in confusion leaving behind a considerable quantity of materials and equipment ...

12.2. Our sabotage squad demolished four telephone poles at Ononkali ... The enemy communication links were disrupted for several days.

20 19.2. Six racist SA troops were killed and

several others wounded when a group of PLAN combatants was attacked by a pursuing enemy unit at Omufiya in the area of Kongo.

20.2. Two enemy trucks were destroyed, seven enemy troops killed in an ambush, which a platoon of PLAN combatants laid. Three more enemy trucks were destroyed ...

20.2. Eight enemy troops were killed and an Armoured Personnel Carrier destroyed in a landmine explosion at Etekaya, some 50 km. east of Ondangwa ...

21.2. A platoon of PLAN combatants ambushed an enemy convoy of four trucks at Odimba, some 70 km. north-east of Ondanwa, fifteen enemy soldiers perished on the spot, two trucks put ablaze ...

20.2. A platoon of PLAN combatants ambushed an enemy convoy of five trucks at Onaingundudu, 20 km. south of Eenhana. Three of the trucks were destroyed, 15 enemy troops killed and a support helicopter brought down by our anti-aircraft guns. On the same day, several enemy soldiers were killed or wounded after they had detonated three PLAN-laid anti-personnel mines north of the town of Tsumeb ...

7.3. One notorious enemy informer and collaborator, Angala Shuuveni of Okahao, was eliminated by a PLAN special squad ...

22.3. Seven gallant fighters of PLAN were attacked by an undetermined number of enemy combat vehicles at Ontanda, 50 km. south-east of Ruacana. In the course of unequal battle, four enemy vehicles were destroyed, six enemy soldiers killed and some others wounded.

23.3. A specialised squad of five gallant combatants of PLAN surprisingly took captive two false guerrillas in Ongandjera area and seized two pistols ...

30.3. A squad of four PLAN combatants supported by 2x60mm. mortar conducted a mortar fire assault against an enemy-reinforced infantry section guarding construction machineries near Oshikuku, 25 km. north-west of Oshakati. Seven enemy soldiers were killed and a number of bulldozers and tractors damaged ..."

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These are just some of the incidents reported by PLAN in two months of fighting. PLAN advances have been matched or exceeded by political advances scored by SWAPO in recent months — not least in winning over to its ranks a number of prominent groups and individuals previously aligned with puppet groups.

As SWAPO made clear in a statement on 6th June:

“If South Africa continues to pursue its policy of keeping Namibia a colony, SWAPO can assure Pretoria that we will definitely stay the course of resistance

and struggle, whatever the odds. The Namibian people will continue to manifest their political resistance to colonialism. Bombs will continue to explode and shots will continue to be fired in our land against the army and administrative installations of the occupation regime.

“We will most certainly continue to hitch up the price of occupation for Pretoria until South Africa is forced to recognise the fact that there is no other alternative to allowing the Namibian people to determine their own future on the basis of the already-agreed-upon UN plan for the independence of Namibia.”

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## AN EXTRA-ORDINARY WEDDING

“Nguwo! Nguwo! Ngumtshato Halala!” — so ran the headlines of the *Umthonyama* Special Issue, a community newsletter in Port Elizabeth. It was announcing the wedding of Comrade Raymond (Bhuti Ray) Mphakamisi Mhlaba, who was getting married by proxy to his common law wife, Miss Dideka Heliso. Comrade Mhlaba could not be present at the wedding because he is serving life imprisonment, together with Comrades Nelson Mandela and others, in Pollsmoor. The wedding, which took place on Saturday 23rd June 1984, was conducted by Bishop Sigqibo Dwane at the Ascension Church of the Order of Ethiopia.

*Umthonyama* commented:

“People just could not believe that Ray

is alive, let alone getting married.

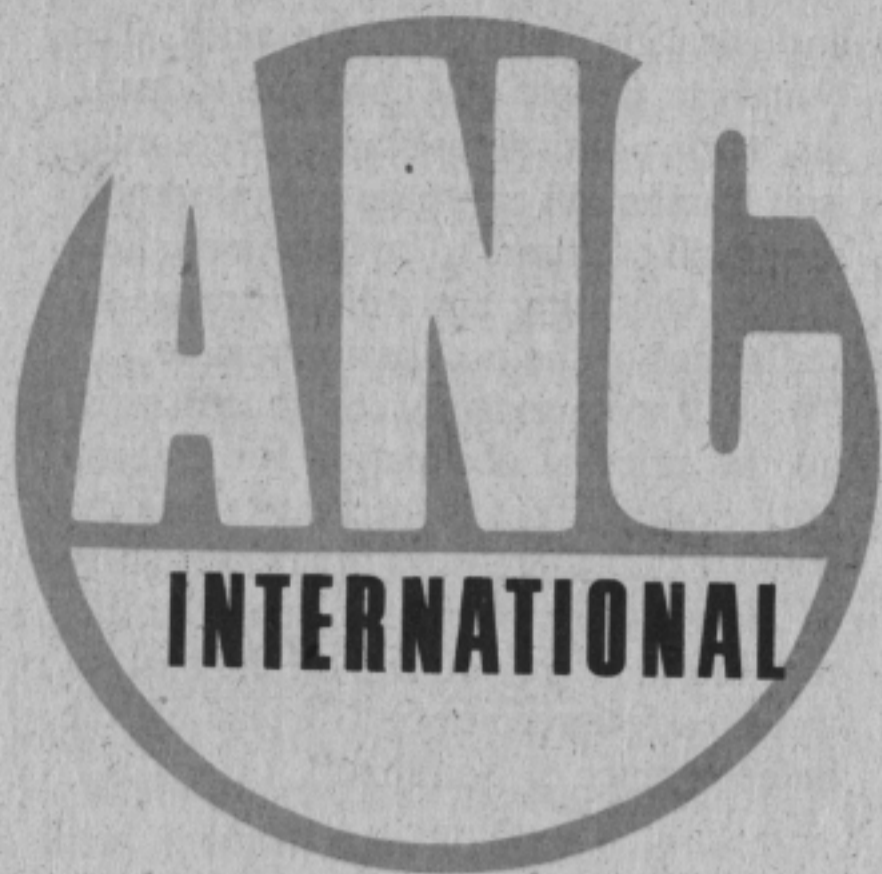
“Why marriage?”

“He had to get married legally. Dideka is his common [law] wife. She is unable to get assistance because she has no documents to prove that she is married to Ray.

“They have children who are unable to get assistance because they cannot produce proof that they are born from a marriage.”

Many messages were received on this day, and the headlines in *Umthonyama* gave a glimpse of the spirit of the occasion: “Ray’s Struggle” — “Remember Ray” — “As a Leader” — “A Family” — “As an Employee.”





### **NELSON MANDELA AWARDED PLAYA GIRON ORDER OF CUBA**

Commenting on the meeting between Comrades Alfred Nzo and Fidel Castro, the Cuban newspaper, *Granma*, of 18th June 1984, stated:

“The embrace between Fidel and Nzo is a symbol of the eternal friendship between two peoples.”

This was after Commander-in-Chief Fidel Castro, First Secretary of the Communist Party and President of the Council of State and of Ministers of Cuba, presented the Playa Giron Order, which was awarded to Nelson Mandela.

The Playa Giron Award commemorates the defeat of the attack on Socialist Cuba when, not long after the revolution, a band of reactionary Cubans, armed and assisted by the United States, landed at the Bay of Pigs, in an attempt to re-conquer the island.

Comrade Nzo, Secretary-General of the ANC, received the award on behalf of Comrade Mandela, in a ceremony held in the Palace of the Revolution in Havana on 15th June.

In glowing words, Comrade Jesus Montane, alternate member of the Political

Bureau, member of the Secretariat and head of the General Department of Foreign Relations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, paid tribute to Nelson Mandela (“Nelson Mandela is an extraordinary figure in the South African liberation movement”), his fight and indomitable spirit.

In reply, Comrade Nzo expressed appreciation for the award, and went further to state that the Order of Playa Giron:

“... is born of an important and significant historical event in the life of modern Socialist Cuba. One would go farther to say that the victory of Playa Giron was the crowning experience of the victory of the Cuban Socialist Revolution. For it is not sufficient for the people to carry out a revolution. They should also be prepared to defend it.”

The spirit of Playa Giron was not confined to the defence of Cuban national sovereignty, said Comrade Nzo. Cuban internationalism is at this very moment helping to defend other popular revolutions in Angola, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, to mention but a few, and the blood of Cuban patriots and internationalists flowed recently on the same soil as that of Grenadian patriots in defence of the honour and sovereignty of the heroic island of Grenada against the criminal invasion of that small island by American imperialism.

Patriotism, socialism and international solidarity — that is the true significance of this Order of Playa Giron.

There is a direct connection between Playa Giron, said Nzo, and the formation of Umkhonto We Sizwe, and:

“it is particularly fitting that the Order of Playa Giron is awarded to Nelson Mandela, who was at that time the Commander-in-Chief of our army. The growth of the strength and striking power of Umkhonto can be directly attributed in part to the inspiration of such victories as that scored by the Cuban army and people at Playa Giron. This heroic event



*In Havana the day after the presentation of the Order of Playa Giron – Comrade Nzo talks with a Minister of the Republic of Cuba and some Assistant Ministers.*

continues to be a subject of lively discussion in our ranks, particularly among the MK combatants.”

Comrade Nzo ended his speech by pledging on behalf of Nelson Mandela, on behalf of our people, that we will live up to this honour bestowed on our leader today by intensifying our liberation struggle at home even more, for the seizure of power by being more dedicated to the ideals of liberation and independence, which were successfully defended by the heroes of Playa Giron.

“The enemies of our people have desperately tried to reduce Nelson Mandela and his fellow fighters to the status of common criminals. By this Award, you have honoured them,”

he said.



### ANC DELEGATION VISITS NICARAGUA

An ANC delegation, led by Comrade Nzo, visited Nicaragua in July as one of 160 delegations invited to mark the fifth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. Also represented were international organisations, national liberation movements, Communist parties and workers' parties from all over the world. The World Peace Council was represented by its president, Ramesh Chandra, and some countries were represented by their heads of state.

An experience that Comrade Nzo found memorable was his visit to a collective farm. Before the revolution, the rich land of Nicaragua belonged to latifundia, where food was produced largely for export, while the peasants were left to eke out an existence on the more barren land. With the revolution came land reform and collectivisation of agriculture, and now the people of Nicaragua are addressing themselves to the problem of producing more food for the home market, as well as for export.

What impressed Comrade Nzo most was the readiness of the people of Nicaragua to defend their revolution against the attacks from the United States, made both directly and through the agency of counter-revolutionary rebels. "The people know they have a future," he says, "and they are looking forward to it with enthusiasm. It is very inspiring."

Like the Cuban revolution the revolution in Nicaragua is under attack from the United States and its allies. "Nicaragua is the

flank of the world movement against imperialism," says Comrade Nzo. He states uncompromisingly that it is the duty of the international community to rally to help thwart all efforts to destabilise the Government of Nicaragua, for these are part of a plan to alter the balance of forces in the world, and tilt it in favour of imperialism. He points out that our movement, too, is confronted by reactionary regimes supported by the imperialist powers. The solidarity of the ANC with Nicaragua, he says, expresses the fact that the same struggle is common to both.



FRAME = UP:

THE TRIAL

OF M. B. MOLOISE

On 6th June 1983, in the Pretoria Supreme Court, hand raised in a clenched fist of protest, Malesela Benjamin Moloise was sentenced to death. On the same day, the apartheid President confirmed the death sentences on the Moroka Three. Three days later, the heroes of the South African people, Mogoerane, Mosololi and Motaung were executed. They shall be avenged!

The death sentences passed on Moloise and on the Moroka Three are linked by more than a coincidence of dates. When Moloise heard Justice van Dyk pronounce the ultimate sentence of death, it was the culmination of a legal fraud which had begun a year previously.

In May 1982 the police triumphantly announced the detention of a leading ANC commander. Later, Marcus Thabo Motaung, shot and seriously wounded during his arrest, was to appear in court alongside his comrades from Umkhonto We Sizwe, Thelle Simon Mogoerane and Jerry Semane Mosololi, who had been held since December 1981. Shackled and barefoot, they faced charges of high treason, for armed attacks on police stations at Orlando, Moroka and Wonderboompoort.

Agents of apartheid had acquired the accused for their case - now they needed evidence. They brought witnesses who could be dragooned into testifying for the state - and their search led them to Malesela Benjamin

Moloise, a lifelong friend of Motaung. They had grown up together, and shared a room in Stinkwater, part of the notorious Winterveld resettlement camp; a 'camp' with an estimated population of three quarters of a million; a camp consigned by apartheid ideology to the confines of the bogus bantustan of Bophutatswana. Winterveld is a town without amenities - a reserve of labour for Pretoria. Some might say it is a place without hope. But rather, it is a place given hope by the sacrifices of MK cadres like Motaung, ready to sacrifice all for the free South Africa of the future.

Moloise was taken from the repression of a bantustan slum to the repression of an apartheid court-room. The security police were confident in their ability to coerce him into providing the evidence of their choice against the Moroka Three. They increased the pressure on him by providing a daily escort, and he was driven to and from the court by Warrant Officer Philippus Selepe. Selepe was also to be a state witness in the same trial - with what arrogance the apartheid regime flouts any convention of impartiality in the law courts, confident that it is beyond sanction.

Malesela Benjamin Moloise entered the witness box and confounded his captors. He denounced the statement obtained from him previously, under duress. He refused to give

evidence against Comrades Motaung, Mogorane and Mosololi. He was discredited as a witness. Elsewhere, in Pietermaritzburg, at this time, five witnesses were sentenced for refusing to testify in another treason trial. Moloise faced no charges — the regime was to bide its time and exact even greater revenge on the recalcitrant witness.

The willing witness, Selepe, notorious for 30 years of complicity in apartheid repression, would testify in no more political trials. His role in the arrest and trial of the Moroka heroes was his last act of treason against the freedom-loving people of South Africa. In November 1982, in Mamelodi, Pretoria, a hail of bullets from an AK47 ended the life and career of W/O Selepe. The man condemned by his conscience to skulk in a garage rather than sleep in a house was eliminated by an MK unit in the street outside his home. The combatants slipped away undetected. The racist police, angered at the loss of one of their "best men" and stung by their inability to track down those responsible for the killing, sought a way of concealing their shame. In February 1983, police of the Bophutatswana bantustan detained Moloise. In accordance with their role as stooges of the apartheid state, they handed him over to the South African security police. Again, Moloise was needed as a witness — this time against himself.

Moloise got respite from his interrogators only when he provided them with the statement they desired — a confession to the killing of Philippus Selepe. So ended Moloise's first trial — a trial which began in the police cells and ended in handcuffs before a magistrate; a trial in which he was accorded no legal defence, no representation.

By May 1983 the racist authorities were ready to proceed with Moloise's second trial — a charade aimed at convincing international opinion that South Africa still retains a legal system and an independent judiciary. But no fair trial could take place in an apartheid court. Instead, the judge moved events to their horrifying and inevitable conclusion.

26 There was no evidence against Moloise, no-

thing to show that he had left the country to undergo military training, no weapon to connect him with the deed. So the law fell back on Moloise's first 'trial' and produced as evidence that 'confession' extorted by threats.

No amount of argument by Moloise's lawyers could get that confession ruled inadmissible, because without it there was no case. Justice van Dyk played his expected role and even exceeded it — he accepted the police evidence, rejected the attacks the defence made on Moloise's statement, and declared, in flagrant contradiction of the facts, that there was overwhelming evidence that Moloise had inflicted the fatal wounds.

The vindictiveness of the apartheid regime pursued Moloise even after he was sentenced to death. All attempts by his lawyers to appeal against the sentence were thwarted. He now stands with nothing between him and the hangman's noose but the discretion of the State President of racist South Africa to exercise 'clemency.'

What 'clemency' can be expected from such a source? Only the 'clemency' forced upon the regime by a massive chorus of international protest lined up behind the ANC, which has stated categorically that, while Selepe was executed by a firing squad of Umkhonto We Sizwe, Moloise played no part in it. When the Security Council of the United Nations met to consider the case, the apartheid authorities called it "unwarranted interference" in their domestic affairs.

It is not a "domestic affair" when a man is sentenced to death for a crime of which he is innocent; when the legal process is supplanted by trial by torture and intimidation; when three quarters of a million people are dumped in a bantustan resettlement camp; when the youth of South Africa, fighting for freedom, are branded as traitors and sentenced as criminals. Malesela Benjamin Moloise deserves and demands full exposure of the judicial farce which is sending him to the gallows.

discussion, I would like to make a few observations. This issue of which Comrade Alex La Guma writes must be viewed in relation to the national question in general in our country and must not be looked at as a matter concerning the Coloured people only.

Let's start the ball rolling viewing some established and accepted facts:

- a) As yet there is no such thing as a South African nation;
- b) The African majority is an oppressed nation, the Coloured people and the Indian people are distinct identifiable oppressed national minorities, the White population comprises the minority oppressor nation;
- c) The Coloured, Indian and White national minorities are not homogeneous but embrace other national or ethnic groups. For example, the Lebanese community is in the main classified and regards itself as White, the Malay and Griqua people regard themselves as part of the Coloured nation, the Chinese minority finds some of its number classified as White, others as Asian and others as Coloured;
- d) The key to South Africa's future and the solution of the national question lies in the national liberation of the African nation. The victory of our national democratic revolution, headed by the African National Congress, bringing with it the national liberation of the African nation, will set in motion the process for the birth of a South African nation.

As stated in (b) above, the Coloured people comprise a distinct identifiable oppressed national minority. But the definition, 'Coloured,' the terminology arising therefrom and its usage in the practice of daily life did not emerge from natural social causes, nor were they chosen by the Coloured people. They were imposed upon the Coloured people by the successive regimes which came in the wake of successive waves of aggressions, penetration and settlement of South Africa by the European bourgeois nations, in both their trading and imperialist phases, and after the founding of the aggressor South African state in 1910.

# LETTER TO THE EDITOR



Dear Comrade,

Comrade Alex La Guma's letter in the June issue is indeed timely and underlines the need for discussion on the question which he raises. To provide food for thought and to provoke

Under the specific conditions of national and class oppression in South Africa the identity of the Coloured people as a national minority became a matter of custom and general acceptance, including acceptance by the Coloured people themselves. But the Coloured people did not accept this blindly, in its pure form, or without question. Indeed, there has been continuous discussion on the issue. At one time there was talk about "We the Brown Nation." I recall a leaflet in Afrikaans (sent to me in Berlin) distributed at home and issued by the Coloured People's Congress. If I remember correctly, the leaflet was entitled, "We, the Brown People." The usage of 'Brown people' and 'Brown nation' is no longer valid today. It has withered away in the process of our national and social liberation struggle. However, the term, 'Coloured people' still holds true and is very valid.

The African People's Organisation, though open to all, was based on the Coloured people, but nevertheless the emphasis lay in its name, African People's Organisation. When the Congress Alliance was formed it was absolutely correct for the Coloured people to have their own national organisation in this liberation alliance — the Coloured People's Organisation later re-named the Coloured People's Congress.

Now let me come to the tendency on the part of some of us to talk about the 'so-called' Coloured people. This, I believe, arises from two real factors with which we are faced.

First is the question of our work abroad. Other countries and nations have different conceptions about the term, 'Coloured people,' which are far out of keeping with the reality of the nationally oppressed Coloured national minority in our country. When we speak about our country and its struggle and the role and place of the Coloured people in this struggle we have to explain who the Coloured people are, hence we often find ourselves using the words 'so-called' (please note inverted commas) to emphasise the aggressors' imposition of the term. Like one could say the 'So-called' Indians when referring to

the original inhabitants of what is now the USA. This gives a clearer picture to those abroad who want to know more about our liberation struggle.

Secondly, I do not believe that the tendency of some at home to use the words 'so-called' means a rejection of our generally accepted term 'Coloured people.' To my way of thinking the words are used to stress the growing unity of the oppressed Coloured and Indian national minorities with the oppressed majority African nation. The usage of these words, I believe, indicates an identification with Black rather than Coloured separation from Black. At the same time the usage distances the Coloured people from the White oppressor minority nation. Time without number the oppressor White minority nation has sought without success to get acceptance of the idea that the Coloured people are an inferior off-shoot of the White nation, to which it is naturally allied. The usage of 'so-called' means a rejection of the aggressor's attempts to get acceptance of such racist ideology clothed in scientific terminology.

Whether we use 'so-called' or not, the reality is that there is an oppressed Coloured national minority in our country. In my opinion, under today's conditions, it is not incorrect to use 'so-called' provided it is done in the proper context to convey the true meaning and is put in inverted commas. Under no circumstances can there be a rejection of the reality of the existence of the Coloured people as an oppressed minority nation.

With the victory of our national democratic revolution, headed by the African National Congress, and the national liberation of the African nation, the concept of White, Coloured and Indian minority nations will wither away with the beautiful flowering of our new South African nation which will then take root, grow and flourish.

Amandla Maatla!  
Arnold Selby,  
Berlin, GDR.

# OBITUARY



*Annie Silinga*

It is with the deepest regret that the ANC Women's Section announces the death of our dear comrade, Annie Silinga, in the Conradie Hospital, Cape Town, on Monday, 19th June, 1984. By her death we have lost a dedicated, loyal and courageous fighter for a free, democratic and progressive South Africa.

Comrade Annie was born in 1910 in Ngqamakwe in the Transkei. She came to Cape Town in 1937 to live with her newly-married husband. She at once joined the Langa Vigilance Association. She was one of the first women to join the association, and encouraged other women to do the same. She was a truly pioneering woman who organised African women in Langa to fight for better living conditions. Comrade Annie joined the African National Congress in 1940, and from then onwards took on various jobs for the ANC.

In 1952 she joined the Defiance Campaign and went to gaol with her ten-month-old baby, Letitia, in the cold winter of that year. With five other women, including Evelyn Nqose, Comrade Annie walked into a whites-only waiting room at Cape Town railway station, and was immediately arrested for daring to defy apartheid regulations. To-

gether with Evelyn Nqose, Dora Tamana and Winifred Siqwana, she continued to work amongst African women living in terrible conditions in Kensington, Blouville and Windemere. Annie and Winifred pioneered in organising a creche in Langa for the children of working mothers.

Comrade Annie was a founding member of the Federation of South African Women. She was on the executive of the Cape Town Committee of the Fed saw, and helped to build it by organising particularly among African women in Langa. She attended the founding conference of the Fed saw on 17th April, 1954, in the Trades Hall in Johannesburg and participated also in formulating the Women's Charter, adopted at the conference.

Comrade Ray Alexander stood for parliament in the same year, to represent the Africans of the Cape. Only male Africans could vote, while they could not be elected to parliament. Comrade Annie formed a Women's Election Committee to help in Comrade Ray's election campaign. When she was challenged as to why she was organising among African women, who did not even have the vote, she replied, "We do not have the vote, but we will show the Boers that we women understand politics. Whether we have the vote or not, we will help put into parliament a woman who will stand for our rights and the rights of all our people." Comrades Annie and Evelyn Nqose organised African women in Langa to take an active part in the election campaign. They broke up meetings of the opposition and virtually drove them out of Langa.

In 1954, Comrade Annie Silinga declared at the Grand Parade in Cape Town that she would NEVER carry a pass. True to her declaration, she never did carry a pass, up to the time of her death at the age of 74. She once declared:

"I will never carry a pass ... the pass laws force people to prove that they have permission to be in a particular area -- all people of this country should have the right to move about freely, whether they are White or Black ... the kind of changes we want have been spelt out in the Freedom Charter."

Indeed, Comrade Annie had to fight to re-



main in Langa with her family. In 1954 she was deported to the Transkei bantustan, after losing an appeal against the deportation. She remained in Transkei for about a month, returning in time to work for the historic Congress of the People in 1955. She was elected as a Langa delegate to the Kliptown Conference, where the Freedom Charter was adopted. For the rest of her life, she carried on propaganda for the Freedom Charter.

On her return to Cape Town after the Congress of the People, Comrade Annie was once again arrested for refusing to carry a pass, and again deported. This time two security branch policemen accompanied her to ensure that she did not return from Transkei. But Annie never reached Transkei. During the train journey she slipped off the train as it slowed down at a junction. She walked away with her luggage in the pitch darkness and hid with the people. In the morning the security policemen awoke in the next compartment to find they had lost her, and returned shamefacedly to Cape Town to look for her. Several weeks later, she returned to Cape Town and was charged for refusing to carry a pass. The case eventually went to the High Court in Bloemfontein.

During all this time, Comrade Annie also helped organise marches in Cape Town in preparation for the historic march by 20 000 women of all races to the Union Buildings in Pretoria on 9th August, 1956, in protest against the extension of passes to African women. She took part in the march herself.

On 5th December, 1956, Comrade Annie was arrested in the massive Treason Trial arrests of 156 people who had been active in organising the Congress of the People. She was acquitted two years later. All this time, the High Court was considering her case against deportation to Transkei, and the judges finally ruled in 1958 that she did qualify to live in Cape Town, as she had lived in Langa for 21 years. Although constantly harassed by police, she remained in Cape Town and organised campaigns against passes and Bantu Education.

In March 1960, just before Erasmus, the Minister of Justice at that time, declared the State of Emergency, Comrade Annie was detained along with other leading members of the liberation movement in Cape Town. She remained in detention until August 1960,

and, on her release, with a group of men and women in Langa, carried on the struggle against injustice and oppression.

In 1976 Comrade Annie suffered a severe stroke. With the help of friends at home and abroad, she obtained a wheelchair and other assistance. Uncowed, she continued to attend meetings in her wheelchair.

Comrade Annie supported the formation of the United Women's Organisation in April 1980. When Cape Town women commemorated 9th August in 1980, in a hall in Lansdowne, holding pride of place at the meeting were Annie and other veterans like Dora Tamana and Frances Baard. All three received an award by UWO in recognition of their pioneering role in the women's struggle.

When UWO held its first conference at the St Francis Cultural Centre in Langa in 1981, Comrade Annie was wheeled into the hall to attend the meeting. In August 1983, when the United Democratic Front was formed at Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town, Comrade Annie Silinga was honoured as one of the UDF patrons, along with people like Alan Boesak, Frances Baard, Helen Joseph, Dora Tamana and others.

During all these campaigns, arrests and deportations, Comrade Annie's husband, Mr Silinga, who worked at SA Breweries, took care of their three young children. He never stood in her way, but instead helped her to play a full role in the struggle. When she was called to attend meetings in the evenings, he told her: "Go, my dear. I will feed and put the children to bed." Comrade Annie Silinga was a truly liberated African woman, and lived with a liberated African man.

The ANC Women's Section pays tribute to one of the most determined fighters in our long and bitter history of struggle. To the women of South Africa we say: Follow the lead set by Comrade Annie Silinga, and help to liberate our country from the vicious hold of the autocratic apartheid rulers. We vow to continue where you left off, Comrade Annie. We shall remember you in words and actions, as a woman who could not be stopped, despite deportations, detentions, arrests and illness, in your determination to fight for a free, progressive and democratic South Africa. In the Year of the Women, we say:

**Women, arise, mobilise and unite!**

# • BOOK REVIEW •



*State of War: Apartheid South Africa's Decade of Militarism*, COSAWR, London, 1984, £1.00.

The Pretoria regime is waging war, both on its borders and against the Black majority of the population within the country, and the White population is being prepared, both materially and psychologically, to live in a state of warfare. This pamphlet is a study of the process of militarisation and its effects, and it is excellently illustrated with photographs.

It deals with the weapons in use by the regime (those manufactured by Armscor, the parastatal concern, are mostly made under licence from and with assistance from overseas Western countries); the dangerous cooperation with such countries as the United Kingdom and Israel for the development of nuclear energy and the potential for the manufacture of nuclear weapons; the links between army and police and the merging of their functions. It deals with the brainwashing of the White population, both in the conscript army and outside it ('adventure camps' for White children have a marked military bias); it describes the complex structures of White 'civil defence.' It gives some account of the brutality of the regime in the war in Namibia and against the Front Line States.

Against all this is balanced the reasonableness of the people's demands as set out in the Freedom Charter, and an account of Umkhonto We Sizwe: how it came to be formed, its growth and its activities now.

There is a section on conscription — morale among the conscripts seems to be lower than Pretoria would wish it to be. Some young White men have resisted conscription altogether:

"Each year at least 3 000 conscripts fail to turn up for military service. Most of these are individuals who have personal reasons for resisting, a few hundred of them are pacifists, and a small but signif-

icant proportion are political objectors opposed to apartheid ...

"... the vast majority of resisters have gone into exile."

The Committee of South African War Resisters, which has published this pamphlet, is composed of people who objected to conscription on political grounds, and who have gone into exile, and they have done a great deal of research into the militarisation of the South African state. It is the information they have gathered that gives the pamphlet its particular value, and so, if there is a drawback, it is that the pamphlet is not long enough. (Presumably it is to save space that the Freedom Charter is printed in type too small for easy reading.)

Some sections have been cut short, so that some important detail is lacking. There might, for example, have been more about the private investment involved in Armscor, (as distinct from the investment of the Pretoria government) giving an indication as to where the investments come from, and who draws profits. There could certainly have been more about the sinister National State Security Council, which now informally supersedes even the Cabinet; there are said to be industrialists on the NSSC as well as military bosses and certain members of the government — whom do these industrialists represent? What are likely to be the effects of the centralisation of power in the hands of the State President under the new constitution? The new constitution makes a pretence of giving Coloured and Indian people a say in the government of the country — what of the talk we hear now of conscripting Coloured and Indian men into the army designed to defend apartheid? (The pamphlet tells us that there are military 'adventure camps' for Coloured and Indian, and even for African, children, as well as for Whites.)

So informative is the pamphlet that it leads the mind to further questions, which COSAWR, with its specialised knowledge, is equipped to answer.

JM

