



# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa

NOVEMBER 1984

ANC says ~



IN  
SOUTH AFRICA:

# STRIKE!

# SECHABA

NOVEMBER ISSUE 1984



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## CONTENTS

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EDITORIAL	
Rooted in the People	1
SOUTH AFRICAN MINE WORKERS: THEIR CONDITIONS AND RIGHTS A SACTU Statement	2
MAKING APARTHEID UNWORKABLE: MASS RESISTANCE By Aziz Pahad	4
PRETORIA VERSUS FREEDOM FIGHTERS GRAHAMSTOWN TREASON TRIAL By Justitia	10
SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY By Ingeborg Wick	12
ANC INTERNATIONAL	15
TENSIONS AND RAVAGES: FORCED REMOVALS Part 2 By Nyawuza	21
A PEOPLE'S ARMY FIGHTING A PEOPLE'S WAR Interview with Comrades Chris Hani and Mac Maharaj	27
LETTERS TO THE EDITOR	31

### COVER PICTURES

The front cover of this issue shows a sticker seen in the streets in South Africa during the period just before the Coloured and Indian elections.

The photograph on the back cover shows a meeting held in Durban in August, to commemorate the 90th birthday of the Natal Indian Congress.



## Rooted in the People

The people of South Africa are showing their anger once more. Never has the country seen a more widespread and powerful upsurge of militant protest and political activity than that which has been taking place over the past few months.

Resentment has grown as the conditions people live in have steadily deteriorated. Many thousands each year have lost homes, jobs and land through resettlement and forced removals. Retrenchments increase the number of unemployed, and in townships like Lamontville, under threat of being incorporated into a Bantustan, people face a future in which seeking work will become even more difficult. Rising prices and the increase in General Sales Tax render meagre wages more meagre.

The workers have been strong in showing their dissatisfaction. The regime itself admits to 76 strikes during the first six months of this year, involving 50 000 workers — three times as many strikes and five times as many strikers as during the corresponding period in 1983. The National Union of Mineworkers, only just over two years old, has been engaged in a confrontation with the mine owners and the regime, over wages and working conditions.

Since early in the year, students in schools and universities have been demonstrating and boycotting classes in protest against corporal punishment, the low quality of their education, and the fact that students' representative councils are forbidden in Black schools. Later, as students began to protest against the new con-

stitutional 'dispensations,' their protest became part of the general political flood.

Faced, as the year went on, with rent increases in some areas and incorporation into Bantustans in others, faced with the double insult of the tricameral parliament and the new local government legislation, faced with the corruption of those traitors who took places on town councils and in the House of Representatives and the House of Delegates, young and old resisted, taking to the streets in a massive upsurge of demonstrations.

Louis Le Grange, Minister of what the regime 'calls 'Law and Order,' claims that "other forces and organisations" have been responsible for the wave of protest. He does not explain how an unwilling populace could have been persuaded to face riot squads and armoured cars, dogs and batons and sjamboks, rubber bullets and plastic bullets and live ammunition. It was the regime that used this intimidation, and not the organisations of the people.

Many have been arrested, many have suffered dreadful injuries, many have been killed — some as young as six years old. Doctors have said that casualty departments in the hospitals have been heavily overloaded, but hospital staff have been instructed not to give any information about this. In spite of a ban on demonstrating at funerals, funerals of some of the dead — in keeping with tradition — became demonstrations, and general protest continues.

Finally, Umkhonto We Sizwe has mounted more attacks on such symbols of the regime as police stations and government departments. Commentators, including that mouthpiece of the regime, the *Citizen* newspaper, have noted that these attacks have become more frequent since the Nkomati Accord was signed. The regional commander of the South African Defence Force in the Eastern Transvaal stated in August that, despite the signing of the Accord, South Africa still faces "constant threat of being undermined from within." In September, the *Rand Daily Mail* ran an item about how to recognise a limpet mine.

It is clear that the bases of our people's army are where they belong, among our people, but the links between the people's army and the people are closer and stronger than that.

The colours of the ANC have appeared in demonstrations. The cadres of Umkhonto We Sizwe are the sons and daughters of our people. The activities of Umkhonto We Sizwe are an expression of the wishes and aspirations of the people of South Africa, as well as of their rage and their determination, their spirit and their courage.

**Power to the People!**

**Victory is certain!**

# **SOUTH AFRICAN MINE WORKERS: THEIR CONDITIONS AND RIGHTS**

A SACTU Statement

*This article from the South African Congress of Trade Unions gives the background to the recent confrontation between the National Union of Mineworkers and the regime in South Africa. It will be published in two parts.*

The most recent strike action by Black workers on the mines in South Africa must be viewed in the context of the events that went before, and in the wider context of the ongoing manoeuvres of management and of the apartheid regime itself.

In July 1981 the regime accepted the recommendation of the Wiehahn Commission that the Mines and Works Act be amended. The recommendations of the Commission were made ostensibly to dismantle job reservation and allow Blacks into a number of jobs previously closed to them.

The mechanisms recommended by the Commission for this dismantling, however, were cloaked with safeguards for White workers,

and there was a clear statement that the implementation should be left entirely in the hands of the White workers and the mine-owners. The entrenched attitudes of the mine-owners and the opposition of the White trade unions to any Black job advancement ensured that no meaningful change occurred. Also included in the recommendations of the Commission were mechanisms to ensure the oppression of any militant Black trade unions — strict control of union activities, structure and finance, and negotiating industrial councils. The Commission also recommended means to discourage unions which refuse to register.

The main aim of the Wiehahn Commission was to defuse a tense situation brought about by the intense dissatisfaction of the Black mine workers over appallingly low wages, inhuman health and safety conditions, and job discrimination. By 1982 it became apparent that this aim had not been fulfilled. Only one year after the apartheid regime had accepted

the recommendations of the Commission, a wave of unrest hit South Africa, affecting the gold, coal and platinum mines.

The Black mine workers were offered 12% increases on their wages, which were already very low, while White mine workers got a similar percentage increase on their already very high wages.

### **Angry Demonstrations**

The Black miners accused the Chamber of Mines of keeping their increases so low in order to allay the fears of the racist White Mineworkers' Union, whose members wanted to retain their privileges.

As a result, well over 30 000 Black miners downed tools and demanded higher wages. They stated that they had been prevented from forming a union of their own, and had been denied the right to negotiate with their employers. Black workers in many of the mines displayed their anger and frustration by causing hundreds of thousands of rands' worth of damage to the property of the mine-owners. The demonstrations were brutally put down by mine police and security officials and in some cases even by the paramilitary. At least ten workers were killed, and many were deported.

As a result of the fears of the mine owners and as a result of the insistent demands of the Black mine workers, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was formed in 1982, and was allowed to recruit for membership at pitheads and shafthead. As part of the prevailing policy of the mine owners and the regime to divide workers as much as possible, four other unions were also allowed to recruit on the mines, and were registered as negotiating bodies for Black mine workers.

### **NUM A Large Emerging Union**

The Chamber of Mines has granted access to only three unions to recruit on mine property — the Black Mine Workers' Union (BMWU), the Black Allied Mine and Tunnel Workers' Union (affiliated to the Black Allied Workers' Union) and the Federated Mining Explosives and Chemical Employees' Union.

At the time of the formation of these unions,

SACTU urged mine workers not to play into the hands of mine-owners and the regime. SACTU urged them instead to form themselves into one strong union, one united, democratic union, strong enough to set about organising and unionising the Black workers, and which would reflect the workers' needs of higher wages, elimination of the compound system, freedom of movement and residence safety at work and compensation for injuries or death at work.

The growth of the NUM was phenomenal. Only a year after it had been formed it was one of the largest emerging unions, with 40 000 members, about 10% of the Black work force on the mines. By late 1983 the membership had risen to 70 000, and the leadership was embarking on tough-minded negotiations with the Chamber of Mines, not only on the contentious issue of wages but also on a wide range of issues related to health and safety in the working conditions of Black mine workers. The NUM also made very clear statements on its reaction to the other unions, stating that it felt the existence of too many unions to be divisive and a betrayal of the unity of Black mine workers.

### **Callous Disregard for Human Life**

On September 4th 1983 a methane explosion at Hlobane Mine killed 65 mine workers. Cyril Ramaphosa, General Secretary of the NUM, speaking at the funeral, said:

"I want to warn the government that workers will react with anger and nobody will control the situation."

He stated that the Hlobane disaster highlighted the fact that the safety laws of South Africa must be rewritten, and he accused the mine bosses of showing a callous disregard for human life.

There were angry threats of strike action following this disaster. The NUM claimed that checks for methane gas, required by law, had not been carried out that morning before the blast, summoned shop stewards to discuss strategy, and called for a work stoppage in memory of those who had lost their lives. Over 30 000 surface workers obeyed the stoppage

call for a full half hour, while thousands more observed a moment's silence.

In September 1983 60 Black miners at West Driefontein gold mine were threatened with dismissal after refusing to work underground because they feared a rockburst. They had heard rumblings at the 14th level, and refused to work in an unsafe area. The NUM, which represented these workers, was not recognised on the mine, and so was refused access to management.

These events, and the many other non-fatal accidents that go unnoticed or unrecorded indicate the appalling record of health and safety standards for mine workers underground in South Africa, and the seemingly indifferent attitude of mine-owners towards this. Official figures given out by the Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs state that at least two workers die and 50 are injured in mining accidents each day. According to these official figures, more than 8 200 people have died on the mines in the last ten years, and a further 230 000 have been injured.

In the light of this appalling record of health and safety on South African mines, especially for Black workers, the NUM has demanded certain rights for the workers:

- \* the right to their own safety representative,
- \* the right to refuse to work under any conditions or practices believed to be unhealthy, unsafe or illegal,
- \* the right to demand government inspections when they suspect safety regulations are being violated,
- \* the right to exercise rights on behalf of the safety and health of others,
- \* the right to institute proceedings and testify in them without interference or intimidation,
- \* the right to accompany government inspections without loss of pay,
- the right to participate in the development of plans for mining procedure,
- \* the right to have adequate health and safety training,
- \* the right to have protection from victimisation for exercising statutory rights.

**MAKING  
APARTHEID  
UNWORK-  
ABLE:**

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**THE  
PEOPLE'S  
MASS  
RESISTANCE**



In 1960 the stark reality of apartheid fascism and violence was exposed when 69 unarmed demonstrators were massacred in Sharpeville. In September 1984 Sharpeville once again exploded into the national and international headlines. We anxiously and sadly watched as the list of casualties continued to grow. It is now estimated that over 40 people were killed, hundreds upon hundreds injured and arrested. What precipitated this latest reign of terror?

The demonstrations in the Vaal Triangle (which includes Sharpeville), the East Rand, Pretoria, the Orange Free State, and so on, were against rent increases and the newly created local authorities for Africans. Protest in the latter respect merged with the earlier rejection of the new constitutional proposals by the Coloureds and the Indians, and once again underlined the indivisibility of the struggle.

A special Cabinet committee has been looking at the position of Africans outside the Bantustans, and there are growing indications that, to gain credibility for the new constitutional farce, some 'dispensations' will have to be given to the Africans. Various subterfuges are emerging — for example the establishment of a National Council for Urban Blacks, which will be linked to the Bantustans and will be overlaid with a confederate parliament for what is being called a constellation of southern African states. This whole area needs further investigation. I shall attempt to deal with one aspect of this strategy: the question of the local town councils for Africans living in 'White South Africa.'

### **Responsibilities Without Rights**

The Black Local Authorities Act of 1983 replaced the Community Councils, established in 1977, with town and village councils.

Some of the responsibilities of the councils are: the "moral and social welfare" of residents; sound community development; beautifying and neatness of the area; parks and public resorts, sports and recreational facilities, libraries, museums, botanical and zoological gardens; building plans and demolition of abandoned or illegal buildings; alloca-

tion and administration of letting of houses and other accommodation buildings; the prevention of unlawful occupation of land or buildings, that is, squatting or trespassing. They are also responsible for some health matters; water supply and sewerage; electricity; building of roads and streets and their maintenance; the building of houses, flats and office blocks.

The council will decide on the levy for these services.

The council can make **recommendations** to the Minister of Co-operation and Development about regulations in the townships, education, transport and postal services. The council can also appoint a police force if the Minister approves, but even if approval is given the South African Police will continue to operate in the area, and cannot be excluded.

The Minister can remove members of the council, or dissolve it. He can appoint people to do the work of the councils. He has to approve their budgets.

It is clear that this much heralded 'dispensation' to Africans is meaningless. Since there are not many, if any, parks, recreational facilities, zoological and botanical gardens and so on for Africans, this will not be too taxing on them.

Clearly, the major task of the councils will be to deal with the allocation of housing; a very important tactic for enforcing influx control, for the forced removal of people and the policing of the townships. They will be instruments for implementing policy adopted by their masters elsewhere.

### **Funds**

The councils have to raise their own funds. This situation is hopeless, as almost all councils inherited large deficits. For example, the Soweto Council is budgeting for an increase of R53 million and an expenditure of R66 million; it got a loan of R263 million for the Soweto electrification scheme and there is already an argument on whether the council or Pretoria is responsible for the interest and redemption payment. The councils of Greater Soweto (Soweto, Dobsonville and Diep-

meadow) are also responsible for repaying a loan of R150 million which Pretoria raised on the international market for 'infrastructural development.'

Most of the councils' income comes from services — electricity, water, sewerage, rubbish removal, burial fees and so on (75%), site rent (10%) and the rest from the sale of sorghum beer. This has not been sufficient to maintain the existing elementary and inadequate services, and councils have constantly been forced to increase service charges. For example, in 1983, the fees for a lodger's permit was increased from R1 to R10 a month; the electrification of Soweto has cost each household about R30 a month; in Daveyton the rents have been doubled, and the bus tariffs have increased by 12.5%, water tariffs by 33.3% and cinema tariffs by 50%. This story is repeated in every township.

### **Development Boards**

In 1984 the regime passed the Black Communities Development Act. This does not deal with the management of the townships but with their physical establishment and funding of such capital projects. The development boards established by this Act replace the old administration boards. Such boards will, with Ministerial approval, establish townships and hostels, expand them or scrap them. They will also deal with the 99-year leasehold system.

Members of the development boards are appointed by the Minister of Co-operation and Development.

The White parliamentary parties (excepting the Conservative Party), big business (the Urban Foundation is reported to have been very influential in drafting the Bill) and reformist elements all welcomed this new legislation. A spokesman for the Progressive Reform Party said it showed that the government had changed its attitude towards urban Blacks. They were no longer seen as "temporary sojourners" but were now accepted as a permanent population. He went on to say that the government was demonstrating a positive attitude towards Blacks, and aimed "to create a happy community."

Some concern, however, was expressed over:

- \* funding for development boards,
- \* the role of the Department of Community Development,
- \* inheritance of 99-year leasehold properties,
- \* the fact that the Western Cape is a Coloured Labour Preference Area,
- \* the exclusion of Blacks from 99-year leasehold rights in the Western Cape.

These are areas in which one can expect further 'concessions' from the regime. These will then be heralded as further signs of 'liberalisation' in South Africa.

### **Strategy to De-nationalise Africans**

The Black Local Authorities Act and the Black Communities Development Bill are parts of the infamous three-part system of the 'Koornhof Bills.' The third part, the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill (sic), contained some of the most vicious new rules governing influx control. This Bill caused such opposition that it was withdrawn. However, much of its essence will be enforced by the Aliens and Immigration Act of 1984.

These three pieces of legislation must be seen as a whole. They are important instruments for implementation of the Bantustan policy.

The majority of the oppressed therefore reject these changes on the grounds that they do not satisfy our fundamental aspirations; they are part of the broad strategy to de-nationalise millions of Africans; they merely created Black middlemen to implement the apartheid policies of the regime, and they were intended to gain international acceptance for these policies.

Dr Morrison, deputy Minister of Co-operation and Development, told the councillors:

"You will realise that everyone who does not favour the new dispensation and does not want to accept it is sitting and waiting for it to fail so that they can tell the world that





the government creates institutions which are unacceptable."

Not to disappoint him, the oppressed organised a campaign against these manoeuvres. In 1983, under the slogan, "A vote for the council is a vote for apartheid," the United Democratic Front led a campaign against the elections for town councils. There was intense campaigning and mobilisation, which resulted in a massive boycott. Less than 10% voted in Soweto; in Dobsonville the poll dropped from 42% in 1978 to 23.5%; in Diepmeadow the poll fell from 16% to 14.6%; in Evaton 3.5% voted and in Atteridgeville fewer than 10%, and in the Cape townships of Nyanga, Langa and Gugulethu a mere 11.6%.

Even these figures don't give an accurate picture, as many eligible voters were not on the voters' roll — for example, in Kagiso the percentage poll given was 36.6% but in fact only 3% of the people of voting age actually voted.

Despite this massive rejection, the system was still forced on to our people. Discontent and resentment grew. Existing civic and community organisations, youth and student organisations, women's organisations, were consolidated and strengthened, and in many areas new ones were created. In the last nine months we have witnessed constant struggle

in these fields; many have been arrested and charged, and many killed, but resistance continued to grow. The various sectors linked their struggle to the broader struggle. The campaign against the tricameral elections in August was linked to the struggle against mass removals, against the General Sales Tax and against racist and inferior education.

After the humiliating defeat the regime had suffered in the elections, the process of initiating the new parliament was overshadowed by the unrest in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging complex. This area covers only 1.3% of South Africa's land surface, but it accounts for nearly 25% of its employment, 40% of its gross domestic product and 50% of its service industries.

### "Poverty-Stricken Hell"

From here the unrest spread to the East Rand, the Orange Free State and other parts of the country. The immediate issue was the protest against the rent increases and the town councils. This is closely linked to the deteriorating economic situation, the burden of which is borne by the poorest and most exploited sections of our people.

Even Professor Schlemmer, a notorious apologist for reformist changes, recently found that 60% of Black industrial workers felt their lives were rapidly deteriorating politically and economically. In the Vaal Triangle, severe cuts in government spending have resulted in thousands of building workers being retrenched (most of the retrenchments took place in June). In Tumahole, another area of sharp conflict, it is estimated that over 3 000 people are unemployed. The position of those working is not much better, because the average factory worker earns R18 a week, shop and garage assistants R15 a week and domestic workers R7 a week. The gravity of the situation is reflected by a widow who said,

"I often think it is better to die than to live in this poverty-stricken hell."

The unrest was widespread. Let us look at some of it.

## **Vaal Triangle**

In August thousands protested against rent increases. They decided that they would not pay the September rents until the increases were dropped, and called for the resignation of all councillors.

On September 2nd, three mass meetings held in Sharpeville, Sebokeng and Evaton decided to demonstrate against the rent increases, to stay away from work and to ask all businesses to close on Monday the 3rd.

The call was very successful. However, Councillor Dhipoko opened fire on a demonstration, killing two people. The enraged crowd retaliated, and he was killed. This was the signal for unleashing the heavily armed and trigger-happy police. In the carnage that followed, over 30 people were killed and hundreds injured by the police. The exact casualty figures were difficult to estimate, because access to the hospital was restricted, and the police enforced a ban on information about the dead and the injured. Moreover, many injured feared to go to hospital because the police were arresting people at random after they had been treated. The superintendent at the Sebokeng hospital, the biggest in the area, said that they were "extremely busy."

The entire area was in a state of siege. The police made it difficult to get food, doctors and lawyers into the area. This resulted in several deaths. A youth of 16, William Shange, was shot and seriously wounded. His family could find no transport to take him to hospital. For a whole day and night he received no medical treatment, and only received water. He died the next day.

Despite large-scale intimidation, the Vaal Civic Association, with the help of the UDF, did manage to set up medical and legal clinics.

The demands of the people were:

- \* resignation of all town councillors,
- \* cancellation of proposed rent increases,
- \* all rents to be decreased to R30, including service charges.
- \* release of all detainees and withdrawal of the police,
- \* burial of those who had been killed, without interference from the police.

Le Grange, the Minister of 'Law and Order' refused to meet representatives of the people, and said he would meet only with elected representatives. When it was pointed out that the councillors had been elected by a very low poll, he replied:

"If the rest of the people did not take part in the elections, that is their business. These are the elected representatives, and the government will recognise them."

## **East Rand**

The townships of Daveyton, Wattville, Katlehong and Thokoza were affected. At least seven people were killed by the police, five of them school children. Even the 'mayor' of Wattville said he was shocked by the killings, as his investigations had shown that there was a 'no riot' situation. A meeting of students decided that no councillors should attend the funerals, because they were:

"collaborators in the system that killed our colleagues."

## **Attacks on Collaborators**

Other areas affected by demonstrations against the councils were Kathanda (near Heidelberg), Huhudi (near Vryburg), Tumahole, Imhali (near Pietermaritzburg), Behar, Belville and Belvedere.

There have been several attacks against councillors and their properties. A group calling itself the South African Suicide Squad has claimed responsibility for 15 bomb attacks against Soweto councillors and other collaborators. Recently, the business concerns of Ephraim Tshabalala, 'mayor' of Soweto, were bombed. It is believed that this was connected with his invitation to the wives of Botha and Koornhof to visit Soweto on the 8th August.

The 'mayor' of Tembisa was shot and wounded. There have been six petrol bomb attacks against collaborators in the township of Toekomsrus outside Randfontein. Many collaborators have fled their homes and are under police protection.

During this period, units of Umkhonto We Sizwe carried out spectacular actions against

targets associated with our people's struggles. These included buildings of the Department of Co-operation and Development, the Department of Internal Affairs, the Department of Education and Training, police stations and enemy personnel.

### **Enemy Response**

What followed was unbridled violence, arrest of thousands and the banning of indoor meetings in 21 magisterial districts. Le Grange indicated how wide-ranging the banning was when he said that it affected:

"all gatherings held where any government or any principle, or any policy principle, or any actions of the government, or any statement, or the application or implementation of any act is approved, defended, attacked, criticised or discussed, or which is in protest against, or support of, or in memoriam of, anything."

A meeting is defined as a gathering of more than two people. A ban on outdoor meetings has already been in operation for some years. There are also severe restrictions on funerals.

The ban was openly defied. In Soweto, thousands marched, sang freedom songs and carried the ANC flag, and thousands of ANC pamphlets were also distributed. People in Sebokeng and other areas gathered in defiance and were dispersed with tear gas and rubber bullets. 500 people were arrested after the funeral of a resident killed by the police.

It is estimated that in the Vaal Triangle funerals were attended by over 40 000 people. In militant defiance of a government ban on the 'politicisation' of funerals, they sang freedom songs, shouted slogans and carried banners.

### **Any Area Can Erupt**

The situation in many parts of the country remains volatile. Any area can erupt at any time. At his inauguration ceremony on the 14th September, P W Botha, now State President, said:

"Constitutionally, we are at the threshold of a new dawn."

Professor Schlemmer, in a keynote presidential address to the South African Institute of Race Relations, said that Black protest muscle had grown flabby in the past decade. He went on to question the commitment of Africans. He also questioned the tactics of the progressive opposition, arrogantly referred to them as 'political symbolism,' and went on to say that:

"There is no major reason as to why the new African local government system in the urban areas could not provide an institutional framework within which the community-based parties could mobilise and formulate demands for negotiations."

This is an indication of how certain forces working to emasculate the struggle and find solutions that will maintain the essence of the apartheid system are objectively working on the side of the regime. Their words might differ, but the aims are ultimately the same. It is becoming increasingly necessary to sharpen our ideological struggle against such elements.

Botha is right. We are on the threshold of a new dawn. However, the day will not be one of tinkering with apartheid (something the editor of the London *Observer* aptly described as rearranging the deck chairs on the *Titanic*) but one where the oppressed people of our country grow in confidence and strength, and develop the organisational structures to make the institutions of apartheid unworkable.

Undoubtedly, our struggle will rise to new levels which will make possible the further development of our all-round resistance, including the escalation of the armed struggle. As Nelson Mandela said:

"Between the anvil of united mass action and the hammer of the armed struggle we will crush apartheid and white minority racist rule."

by Justitia

# PRETORIA VERSUS FREEDOM FIGHTERS GRAHAMSTOWN TREASON TRIAL

In a trial that has already lasted more than a year, and which has been surrounded by a high degree of secrecy, eleven men are facing charges that could mean the death sentence. The eleven men are:

Rufus Nzo, aged 24  
Douglas TyuTyu, 48  
Sipho Hina, 44  
James Ngqondela, 54  
Mzayifani Khame, 57  
Mzimkhulu Khame, 22  
Sipho Nodlawu, 35  
Vukile Tshiwula, 43  
Lindile Mbekelana, 27  
Wellington Gumenge, 29  
Nceba Faku, 27

They are now in the Grahamstown Supreme Court because they are alleged to have acted

together to overthrow the state, through the propagation of ANC literature and ideas, and through participation in the armed struggle. They are alleged to have established caches of weapons, to have harboured guerrillas and to be responsible for armed action against symbols of apartheid and economic targets in and around Port Elizabeth between 1981 and 1983.

In order to get what the courts of apartheid accept as 'evidence' the security police systematically tortured the accused after detaining them in May 1983. A succession of state witnesses have been used, including a juvenile, many of them appearing *in camera*, their names unknown to those outside the courtroom. As in so many political trials, this one has an unknown hero, a man who refused to testify against the eleven and who, without even being labelled Mr X or Mr Y, was sentenced, and disappeared into the prisons of

apartheid for two and a half years.

### **Maseru Raid**

Also before the court were 160 items, consisting of documents, literature and some weapons, which the South African Defence Force claimed to have seized in the infamous attack on Maseru in December 1982, when they killed 42 people, ANC refugees and Basotho nationals. The defendants are alleged to have had contact with one of those killed in the raid.

So secretive was the court about this dimension of the case that even the press was ordered out while an unnamed senior officer told the judge, for reasons that have not been disclosed, why the public should be excluded when evidence was given by two members of the SADF who took part in the raid. When the two did appear, what they said and what the defence could ask them in cross-examination was limited by an embargo which General Malan had placed on certain aspects of the raid.

### **Armed Struggle**

The eleven facing trial range in age from 24 years to 57 years. They include three former Robben Island prisoners. Some had been detained several times previously.

The list of what they are supposed to have done is a long one, filling 25 pages of an indictment covering a period in which the Port Elizabeth region was in a state of heightened militancy and political activity. Apart from charges relating to the possession of banned literature, to military training, liaising with ANC people in Lesotho and elsewhere, establishing caches of arms, explosives and ammunition and seeking to bring about change in South Africa by 'unlawful' means, they are said to be responsible for a number of bomb attacks, or attempted attacks. There is also a charge of murder relating to the shooting, in circumstances that are still unclear, of the estranged wife of one of the accused.

The bomb attacks listed in the charges include ones at the Constantia Centre in Port

Elizabeth in 1981 and 1982, at the new law courts in the city in 1982, at the offices of the community council in New Brighton in 1983 and on a railway line between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage in 1983.

### **Police Violence and Torture**

The detentions and investigations which followed were violent. The first arrests were carried out in a military-style operation by the South African Police reaction unit in Port Elizabeth. ('Reaction unit' is the name now given to what were once known as riot squads.) The head of the unit said in the court that force was used during arrests; he said that his members had 'become excited,' that 'a tense atmosphere had prevailed' and that 'niceties were left behind.

The way that the defendants were treated by the police during their detention came out when the defence challenged the admissibility in court of statements they had made while in detention and were subject to coercion by torture and threats. Defendant after defendant spoke of being punched, of being slapped in the face, of being struck on the head with the flat side of a spade. One came to consciousness lying on the ground under a tap and soaked with water. Threats were made to harm them or their families. One was interrogated lying on the floor manacled to a bed. A number were hooded or partially suffocated in other ways, and one was driven in the boot of a car.

During the trial the court heard from the district surgeon for Port Elizabeth, Dr Tucker, notorious for his role in the events surrounding the killing of Steve Biko. He admitted that he had failed to take the action he should have taken in response to complaints and statements by some of the defendants when he visited them during their detention.

One thing is clear, and that is that the regime has stacked the cards against the eleven as they go through the protracted and violent process by which the apartheid regime seeks to brand as criminal their participation in the struggle for the liberation of South Africa.

*Poster demonstration  
in the market  
square in Bonn,  
capital of  
the FRG*



# **SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT IN THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**

*By Ingeborg Wick*

*Ingeborg Wick is the Secretary of the Anti-Apartheid Bewegung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland und West Berlin — the Anti-Apartheid Movement in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin.*

When, in April 1974, the Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded in West Berlin and West Germany, it was not by chance, or because of personal interest alone. Members of MAKSA, the Mainz Working Group on Southern Africa, which is a group of church workers, and members of third world groups

initiated the foundation of the AAB at a time when, in the wake of the students' movement in Europe in the sixties, there was a tremendous open-mindedness towards third world questions. This corresponded, internationally, to the time of detente, from the beginning of the seventies, which created better conditions for the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples in Asia, Africa and Latin America. During this period, the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe won their freedom in Africa; the same happened in Asia with Vietnam and in Latin America with Nicaragua.

## **Repression and 'Reforms'**

The AAB was founded only a few days before the 25th April 1974, when, in Portugal, the Caetano regime was overthrown, and so the liberation struggle of FRELIMO in Mozambique and MPLA in Angola entered its last phase. Because the young People's Republics of Angola and Mozambique took a definite stance in opposition to apartheid, the liberation struggles of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa won a strong impetus.

In view of these new fronts, the apartheid regime, together with its allies, developed in larger scale their double strategy: words and phrases like "winds of change" — "detente" — "reforms" — non-aggression pact" were used together with the traditional ways of brutal repression and exploitation and war against independent states in Southern Africa. This worsened, beginning with the first year of Reagan's presidency in the USA in 1981, when the shift in international politics from detente towards confrontation became fully obvious. Pretoria increased its acts of aggression against the Front Line States in southern Africa, especially Angola, to an extent that had never been reached since 1976. In accordance with its 'total strategy,' the apartheid regime pursued the goal of bombing the independent states neighbouring South Africa and illegally occupied Namibia back into the days before they became a threat to apartheid. The newest modification of this policy of subjugation is the attempt to pacify these states in accordance with the bantustan policy inside South Africa.

Up to 1974, the government of the Federal Republic of Germany had discovered the advantage of establishing better contacts with liberation movements and progressive governments. High-level contacts were made, aid (relief) programmes were established, eventually even offices of the liberation movements were allowed to open. On the other hand, the FRG government increased its extensive collaboration with the apartheid state and, together with other western countries, refused categorically to apply sanctions against South Africa. The turn in FRG policy since October 1982 has become perceptible, and

gives reason to expect an increasing reversal of foreign policy.

All this has had its effect on the work of the AAB. If we want to plan our work in the future, we first have to evaluate our work during the last ten years, and draw our conclusions on the basis of the situation today and foreseeable development.

In the 'Aims and Basis' of the new organisation, the founding assembly of the AAB included excerpts from the Freedom Charter. This choice was clearly justified by the visible support for the Freedom Charter shown by the people of South Africa in 1981.

## **Military Collaboration**

As one of the main tasks in the range of its solidarity work, the AAB determined in its founding assembly to expose those interests in the FRG that support racism and exploitation in Southern Africa, and to combat these interests.

After a phase in which the organisation had to be built up, and after actions like the campaign against the selling of Outspan oranges, the campaign against emigration to South Africa, and participation in the 'Protestant Church Day' action of 1975-76, the AAB concentrated, from the end of 1975 till 1980, on the campaign against the military and nuclear collaboration between the FRG and South Africa.

The ANC documents of 1975, which exposed this collaboration, sent shock waves through highest government circles, far past the boundaries of the FRG. The campaign had its climax in 1978 at a powerful congress in Bonn, in which the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, African ambassadors, liberation movements and nearly 500 people from the FRG itself took part. The FRG government published innumerable denials, but this could not prevent international condemnation by the UN, the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, the World Council of Churches, the All-African Conference of Churches and many other organisations.

The international ties of the AAB have been essential to its work up till now and naturally will continue to be in future.

## **Namibia**

From 1975 till 1980 the AAB participated in the annual Namibia weeks, which were organised mainly with church groups, and it had a decisive part in organising the International Namibia Conference in September 1980 in Paris. Speaking tours by young South Africans who had been involved in the Soweto uprising in 1976 found a positive echo, especially with pupils, students, teachers and youth organisations. In 1976 and 1977, tours by 'Mayibuye,' the group of poets and singers, pioneered the cultural work directed against apartheid, which is nowadays becoming even more important.

To this phase of development in the work of the AAB also belongs the dispute with various forces who tried to dissuade the AAB from pursuing a course of solidarity with the ANC. However, these forces did not succeed.

Since 1981, with the growing economic crisis and the threat of new US nuclear missiles being stationed in the FRG, the opposition is increasing. This, among other things, determines the tasks of the AAB and the new alliance policy.

To bring home the idea of AAB work as part of these new alliances, which have been formed on a wide basis, characterised to a large extent the activities of the AAB from 1981 till now. There is the question of to what extent the AAB is being influenced through the connection between its work and that of the ecological and peace movements and so on, and to what extent the AAB should discuss and adopt the positions of these groupings. The alliance policy laid down in the paper, *The AAB — a One-Point Movement*, has proved right. The southern African solidarity movement in the FRG has had a chronically insufficient response in the matter of apartheid crimes against the people of South Africa and Namibia and against the Front Line States, and so this simply demands stronger concentration on specifically anti-apartheid work — without, however, neglecting the alliance work mentioned above.

## **Not Yet a Mass Movement**

Summing up ten years of the AAB: it is not a mass movement, but rather a continually working, nationally and internationally recognised organisation, whose local groups recognise and carry out the decisions of the annual meetings as well as developing relatively independent anti-apartheid initiatives of their own. Up till now the organisational structure with the co-ordinating office in Bonn has proved useful.

The range of AAB work during the last ten years shows some deficiencies, though:

- \* The integration of the Front Line States into our concrete solidarity work began too late and still is insufficient.
- \* The continual refinement of apartheid policy ("reforms" and "peace treaties" a la Pretoria and so on) demands yet faster and more intensive information work.
- \* The emphasis placed on material solidarity for the liberation movements does not meet the growing demand for concrete support for the refugee camps.

The process of stationing nuclear missiles in the FRG has already begun, and there is a corresponding threat to world peace; further militarisation and export of arms is planned; the living conditions of the population are worsening; unemployment and racism are growing. In view of all this, the AAB has to expect a more difficult climate for its work in the future. On the other hand, the same factors have led to increasing opposition, which could open new perspectives for the AAB. On top of that, the spectrum of the solidarity movement on southern Africa has grown in extent and efficiency in the last ten years, owing to the advanced situation in southern Africa. This will have the following consequences for future AAB work, beyond the traditional tasks:

- \* We must stress that aspect of AAB work which is an important part of peace policy (war in Namibia and southern Africa, militarisation of the apartheid regime in collaboration with the FRG, integration of Southern Africa in NATO and so on).



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\* The escalating situation in South Africa and Namibia and the efforts to 'pacify' the Front Line States and neighbouring countries according to the pattern of the Bantustans make necessary an intensified campaign to implement sanctions against South Africa and for the support of the liberation movements.

\* Material aid for the thousands of refugees from South Africa and Namibia in the Front Line States must be intensified.

\* Solidarity with the Front Line States must be given a broader space in AAB work.

\* Co-operation with trade unions, the women's movement, the ecology movement

and the anti-fascist movement has to be intensified.

\* Cultural work against apartheid has to be extended.

To realise these conclusions and plans we must find more members, local groups and supporters. In view of the deteriorating living conditions in the FRG, fund-raising must become a first-rank political activity for the AAB.

With this programme we hope to contribute to a future where a celebration of 20 years of the AAB can be prevented.

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# INTERNATIONAL

## AUGUST 9th CELEBRATED

August 9th in 1984, the Year of the Women, was celebrated by Women's Sections in ANC external missions in many different parts of the world.

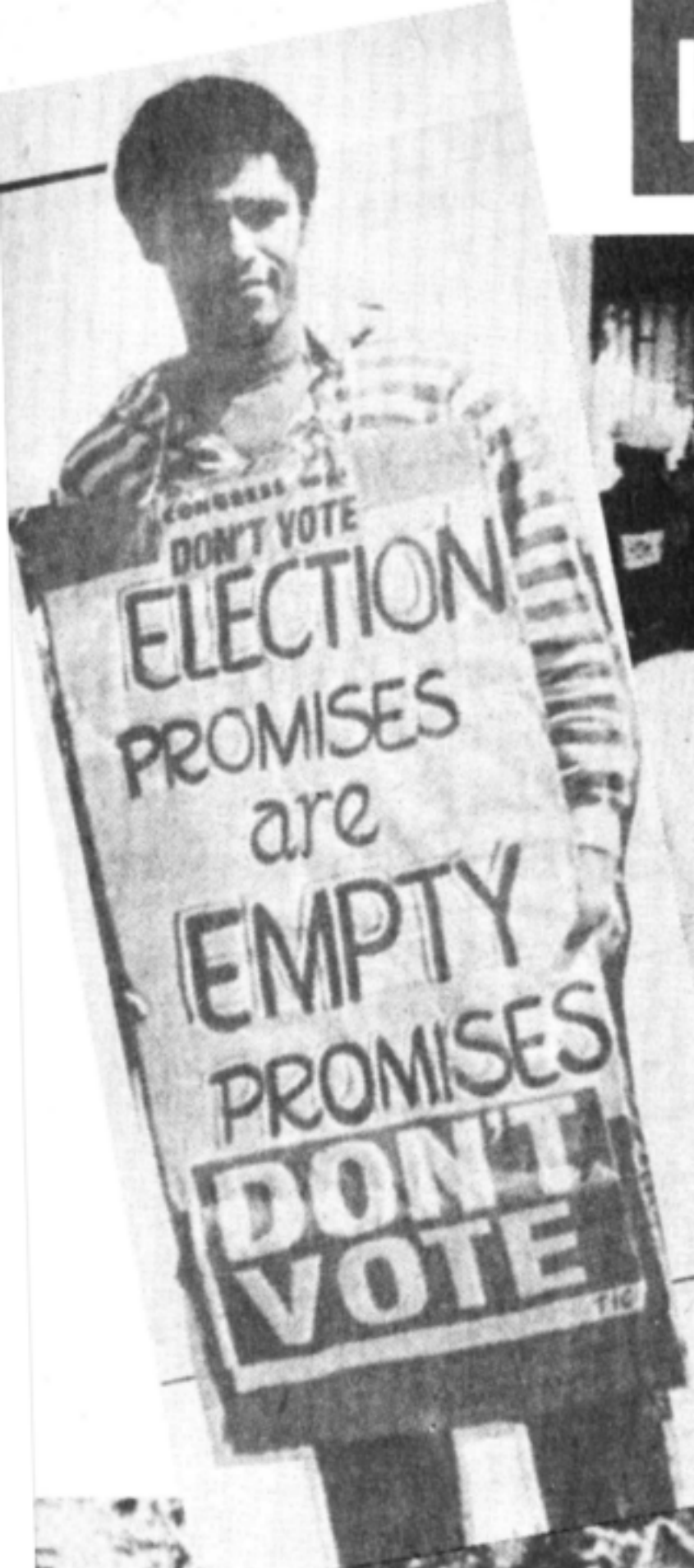
### Angola

The ANC Women's League in the region of Angola, together with OMA, the Angolan women's organisation, organised a six-day programme from the 6th-12th August. The activities during this time included a morning's voluntary labour at a co-operative farm just outside Luanda and a visit to a textile factory, where our representatives addressed the workers on the significance of Women's Day and the Year of the Women. A translated ver-

sion of the film *South Africa Belongs to Us* was shown on the Angolan National Television Service.

On the 9th, there was a political meeting attended by all international women's organisations based in Luanda and the diplomatic corps accredited to the People's Republic of Angola. The government of the host country was represented by Comrade Roberto D'Almeida, member of the Central Committee of the MPLA Workers' Party and Secretary for Ideological Affairs, who addressed the gathering. Other speakers included Comrade Florence Maleka for the ANC Women's Section and representatives from SWAPO

# INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA:



Wattville

Daveyton





*the funeral of student Bongani Khumalo in Soweto*

*Sharpeville*



Women's Council, OMA, the Pan African Women's Organisation and the Uruguayan Women's Organisation.

After the meeting the Amandla Cultural Ensemble entertained the guests to band music while refreshments were served.

### **Australia**

August 9th was commemorated in a number of cities in Australia, with gatherings and addresses, film shows, and demonstrations in front of the offices of South African Airways.

The culmination of all the activity was a reception at Sydney Town Hall, organised by the Union of Australian Women and attended by representatives of many groups, governmental and non-governmental. The ANC was represented by Comrade Eddie Funde, Chief Representative in Australia, New Zealand and the Pacific.

Paula Sharkey, National President of the Union of Australian Women, was in the chair. She stressed the bravery and continued fight put up by the people of South Africa, and expressed the support of the women, men and workers of Australia for the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa and Namibia. The main address was given by Comrade Gertrude Shope of the ANC Women's Section in Lusaka, and this was followed by a lively discussion. The event ended with dinner.

### **Botswana**

The meeting in Gabarone was held on Saturday, August 11th and attended by hundreds of people. It was addressed by Comrade Philip Rankoe, who put the occasion in an international context by mentioning the United Nations Decade for Women.

It was a festive occasion. Food was contributed by the different nationalities represented in the Gabarone community, and was served on colourful tablecloths. The audience wore national dress. There was an outstanding programme of music and poetry given by the MEDU band, Shakawe, and the Mahue Theatre Unit. The highlight of the music was Jonas Gwangwa's song, *Ma khosikazi* sung by five ANC women backed by Shakawe. "Wathint' abafazi, wathinta im-

uokodi, bhasopha uzokufa" they sang to the dancing men and women ("Side by side women of the world fight for freedom now").

Although the event was supposed to end at ten o'clock, the people refused to go, and offered to collect the extra money to pay for the hall.

Cards and fabric were printed for the occasion, based on a design that Ursula, a Swedish woman artist, made for the ANC Women's Section.

### **Tanzania**

The Women's Section and the Young Pioneers at Mazimbu were invited to spend August 9th with the comrades at Dakawa Development Camp. The political programme was followed by a cultural programme, and all had an enjoyable day.

The regional celebrations took place in Mazimbu on Sunday August 12th, and comrades from Dar es Salaam and Dakawa took part. Comrade Florence Mophosho, the main speaker, gave a rousing speech, and Comrade Stanley Mabizela, Chief Representative of the ANC in Tanzania, closed the day with a strong message of encouragement. There was a showing of the film, *You Have Struck a Rock*, followed by a full cultural programme.

### **United Kingdom**

This year's August 9th meeting in London was held in Hackney Town Hall, which the London Borough of Hackney gave free of charge for the occasion. About a thousand British people came to demonstrate their solidarity with our struggle; seats were full and part of the crowd stood round the walls. Many brought gifts of money and material aid for SOMAF-CO and for our refugees in Africa.

Actress Nadia Catousse participated in readings from statements made by heroines of our struggle, showing the courage of the women of South Africa in their fight for freedom. The ANC choir sang freedom songs.

Speakers included Comrade Edith Yengwa of the ANC, Comrade Magdalena Nghatanga of SWAPO, Joan Lestor, Vice-President of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Glenys Kinnock, wife of Neil Kinnock, leader of the

British Labour Party, and Marius Schoon, who spoke of the significance the liberation movement had played in his life with his wife, Jeanette, and their family.

All stressed the need to isolate the apartheid regime. Comrade Edith Yengwa, the main speaker, conveyed the determination of the oppressed people of South Africa to free themselves from oppression, and her speech was followed by a standing ovation. She said:

"Our people, our women, are resisting at every level, and are fully conscious that it is they who will directly confront the enemy of humankind ... We have taken the apartheid bull by the horns; it is ... a struggle in which we know that our losses will be great, our blood will flow. But we also know that victory will be ours. To achieve this we need your support ... We ask all of you to fight in your organisations for the implementation of comprehensive, mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa, and to step up your active support by all means available for our liberation struggle led by the African National Congress."

## **Zambia**

Two meetings were held in Zambia, one in Lusaka and one in Kitwe.

The meeting in Lusaka was well attended, and a large number of messages of solidarity were received. Among the crowd were representatives of SWAPO, of several diplomatic missions based in Lusaka, and support groups. Speakers included representatives from SACTU, SWAPO, and the Women's League of the United Independence Party of Zambia.

All speakers delivered powerful messages in support of the struggling women and people of South Africa and Namibia. From the ANC, Comrade Ray Simons spoke of the late comrades Annie Silinga and Jeanette Schoon and gave a brief account of their lives and their contribution to the struggle. Comrade Barbara Masekela, the main speaker, described the continuing and mounting resistance put up by the democratic women's movement in our country, and stressed that 1984 also puts a challenge to our women to take their rightful

role in the forefront of our struggle.

The Regional Women's Section presented a sum of K500 towards the ANC Fighting Fund.

The political programme was followed by a cultural performance by the Dora Tamana Nursery School group, and Lusaka Masupatsela, the regional cultural group, concluding the performance on a very high note.

The meeting in Kitwe was organised by the eight ANC students studying at the Mindolo Ecumenical Foundation (an international institution under the World Council of Churches). Among those who attended were students and tutors from 12 different countries in Africa and five in Europe, and many residents of Kitwe itself.

The cultural part of the programme was very inspiring, with performances by the ANC and SWAPO students' cultural groups, and a play, *Weep Africa*, staged by the Bakanda Theatre Group, based in Kitwe.

## **ANC WOMEN SPEAK OUT ON POPULATION CONTROL**

A tribunal on Women's Reproductive Rights, held in Amsterdam from 18th-22nd July 1984, was attended by a delegation from the ANC Women's Section. Comrade Felicia Mzamo, a nurse, delivered a paper on the racist strategy of 'family planning' in South Africa.

The paper accused the Pretoria regime, and some of its supporters among national and international business, of practising genocide through the medium of birth control imposed on Black women, sometimes without their knowledge, and asserted that the policy of 'family planning' was aimed at the annihilation of the Black people.

Undernutrition and its accompanying diseases reduce the rate of fertility and undermine the capacity to reproduce. Nevertheless, the paper asserted, the capacity of the oppressed to reproduce has been a matter of pathological fear for the White minority, and a deliberate programme of population control was launched in the seventies.

## **Have and Have Nots**

The ideology underlying the "aggressive 19

population control programme launched by the regime" was illustrated in the paper by two quotations, the first from Dr Chris Troskie, Past President of the South African Medical Association:

"There are two main groups among mankind: the haves and the have nots. The first group is intelligent, with production potential, and have civilisation and a sense of responsibility. The second group have little sense of responsibility, and breed recklessly. It is important that a balance should be kept between the producers and the non-producers. The social systems under the United Nations consider all men equal but this is not true."

The other quotation came from Dr M J van Rensburg, Deputy Superintendent of the H F Verwoerd Hospital, Pretoria:

"If a body has cancer curative measures are taken, otherwise the cancer spreads through the whole body and destroys it. Population growth can be compared to cancer."

In 1971 the Northern Transvaal branch of the Medical Association of South Africa held a Symposium on the Population Explosion in South Africa, sponsored by — among others — the Anglo-American Corporation, the Old Mutual Life Association, Total (South Africa) Ltd, the City Council of Pretoria and various pharmaceutical companies manufacturing contraceptive devices. The symposium was at pains to stress that it was women of the Black majority who were to be the prime target of any campaign.

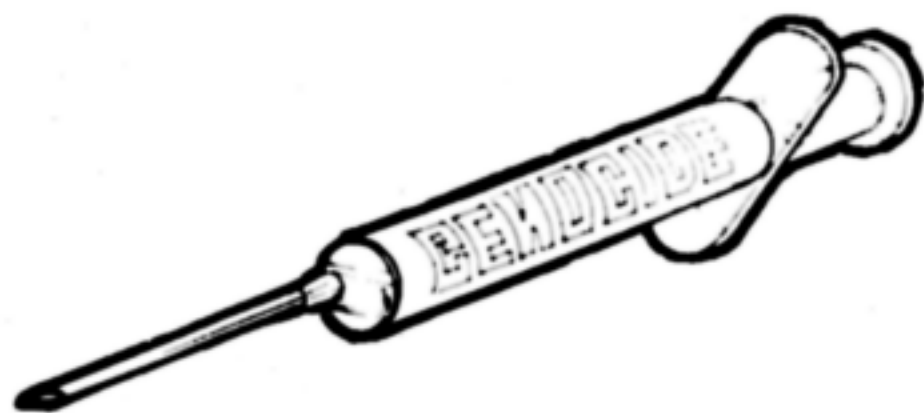
Three years later the racist regime launched what it called a 'National Family Planning Programme' based on the principles and proposals outlined at this symposium. The Department of Health stated the following aims among others:

"To meet the universal need for knowledge of family planning and to supply family planning aids and service especially to the most disadvantaged people;

"To assist with the improvement of the socio-economic malconditions of the communities, where these have been caused by a high birth rate."

The Department of Health did not say anything about improving "socio-economic malconditions" where they are caused by such factors as low wages, unemployment, poor housing and medical care. It was the 'high birth rate' it was interested in.

The Department of Health pursued its policy energetically, and by 1977 the number of clinics had risen to 1 953, and the number of personnel to nearly 1 400. Employers — White farmers' wives in the country and industry in the towns — were drawn into the intensive promotional campaign, and, for the women, unwillingness to co-operate carried with it the threat of losing their jobs.



### **The Regime Prefers Depo Provera**

The contraceptive pill is the method least preferred by the population controllers, as the use of it depends on the discretion of the user — women can take it or leave it as they prefer.

Intra-uterine devices are extensively used, because they can be fitted without the woman's knowledge, while she is being given what she believes is a routine examination. The threat to her health is of little concern to the regime, which does not provide the medical care necessary for keeping the necessary check.

### **Fertility in the Hands of the Oppressor**

The technique most preferred by the regime is that of the contraceptive injection, the notorious Depo Provera, which is manufactured by Upjohn (SA), a subsidiary of the US pharmaceutical company of the same name.

Depo Provera is banned in the US itself, and in some other advanced capitalist countries. Tests show it can cause cancer of the cervix, the uterus and the breast, increase the risk of diabetes, cause pain, irritability and nervousness, result in permanent infertility, and (if administered while a woman is pregnant or feeding her child at the breast) can cause harm to the child. Recently, it was proposed in the US as a means for the 'chemical castration' of rapists, to reduce their sexual drive. **It is, however, extensively administered to Black women in South Africa; it is cheap, 100% effective, and can be administered without the woman's consent or even her knowledge. It acts to remove control over fertility from the hands of the people and to place it in the hands of the oppressor.**

The paper stated:

"We, the women of South Africa are not

against family planning, as it is the right of all women and men, in order to bring high standards of living and better health conditions for mothers and children. But attention should be drawn to the fact that there is a difference between women demanding birth control ... and women compelled to accept population control. Population control means that fertility is controlled by an outsider."

The paper emphasised that family planning could not be the answer to problems of health and nutrition among the Black majority. It called upon the tribunal to put pressure on international bodies to expel the Family Planning Association of South Africa from its membership, and called for the total isolation of the apartheid regime.

# TENSIONS AND RAVAGES: FORCED REMOVALS IN THE TRANSVAAL

By Nyawuzo Part 2

In the previous article we dealt with some case studies of forced removals. The cases are so many that it is difficult to deal with all of them in one article. Although there are similarities in the whole question of removals, the particulars or peculiarities are significant for the practical politician or campaigner. The varied nature of the problems and the different responses of the people force us to continue

dealing with these local issues. The Transvaal, being the richest province in terms of minerals, does exhibit some problems which are not noticeable in other areas less endowed with minerals. The multi-ethnic composition of the region — and consequently the many Bantustan authorities in the region — compound the problems.

## **Huhudi**

Huhudi township in Vryburg, Northern Cape, is threatened with removal. The people are supposed to be resettled in Pudomong, 55 kilometres away, in Bophutatswana.

Since 1970 when the residents were told not to make any improvements to their houses, the people have lived under threat of removal. This means the development of Huhudi had been frozen, and it had become illegal for anyone to build or to renovate any existing house. The Northern Cape Administration Board has threatened to demolish 462 houses (which belong to 1 500 families) said to be dilapidated and uninhabitable. This is a vicious circle. If the people are not allowed to renovate their houses, the houses become dilapidated. This refusal is to ensure that the houses should wear out and thus justify their being demolished and people being forced to leave the area. The Huhudi Civic Association (HUCA) wrote to Koornhof, but in reply the rents were increased. The racist regime uses rent hikes and high service charges in Huhudi to force people to move.

There is also the case of the people of the Northern Cape township of Valspan, threatened with removal to Bophutatswana, that is, to Pampiersdorp, 26 kilometres away. There are many problems in this connection: domestics and farm workers in and around Jan Kempdorp, the town adjoining Valspan, earn as little as R30 a month. The rent alone in Pampiersdorp is R30 a month for a brick four-roomed house. Work opportunities in Pampiersdorp, a large, formal township, are confined to two factories. People from Valspan have to commute to work in Jan Kempdorp at a cost of R14 for a subsidised monthly ticket. In Valspan one can have a house for less than the cost of transport from Pampierstad.

The authorities say the removal is to the residents' own benefit because of the bad housing conditions, and the community leaders are emphatic that the deterioration of their homes is a consequence of the removal plan, and not the cause of it. In a letter to Koornhof, the community council leader, MK Cwaile, explains:

to the fact that we have not been allowed to repair or build for 20 years. This is force of another kind, and many would never have left our township had the Northern Cape Administration Board used the money that went into building houses in Pampiersdorp to develop Valspan — where we have lived harmoniously and survived economically for so long."

## **Badplaas**

The 3 000 Black residents of Badplaas near Carolina in the Eastern Transvaal are to move to the Eerstehoek district in KaNgwane. This means they will lose the right to work in surrounding areas where most of them are employed; they will be forced to join the queues of the unemployed waiting for labour recruiters, who come once — maybe twice — a year to employ a fraction of those seeking work. Talking about work seekers in Eerstehoek, reports say that last year there were 2 381 of them and only 206 found work.

Among the areas demarcated for resettlement of the community are Elukwetini township on the Eerstehoek farm in KaNgwane, the newly-established South African Development Trust farm, Honingklip and the farm Tjakastad. The latter two areas have been earmarked for incorporation into KaNgwane.

The ancestors of the Embhubweni communities settled there in 1842. The area is of great historical and emotional importance to the community:

"It was the royal kraal of an early Swazi king, Umswazi, after whom the tribe is named. Umswazi housed a principal wife there ... (and there) is a shrine to the tribal ancestors, a grass hut containing the skeleton of an elephant, which is an animal symbolically associated with Swazi queens."

The residents have been ordered to leave Badplaas on the grounds that it is a prescribed area in terms of the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, in terms of which Black residents must be confined to a township. As





*The row of bricks marks where this woman began to build an extra room. Officials told her she must pull it down.*

there is no formal township in Badplaas, the racist regime has ordered the people to the areas of Eerstehoek, Honingklip and Tjakastad — about 30 kilometres from Badplaas in KaNgwane.

The only alternative offered so far to the community is a collection of small, tightly packed aluminium shacks, a school that resembles a large garden shed and the potential loss of South African citizenship. They will receive no compensation for their houses or school because they live on state-owned land in a prescribed area (Badplaas was declared a prescribed urban area in 1871) but outside of a properly proclaimed township. The reason it is not a proclaimed area is that the Department of Co-operation and Development has decided not to proclaim it.

It should be remembered that Badplaas is part of the Eastern Transvaal territory claimed by the Swazi authorities. Chief Johannes Dhlamini, leader of the community and chair-

man of the Swazi Council of Chiefs in South Africa is against removals, but for different reasons. He is a keen campaigner for the planned land deal between South Africa and Swaziland. He is a former Cabinet Minister — Minister of Justice — in KaNgwane. His only problem with the land deal is that it does not include Badplaas — once the site of the Swazi royalty — and other areas. He does seem to be worried by the fact that if KaNgwane is incorporated into Swaziland his people will lose their right to work in any prescribed area of South Africa, but if the land deal is 'finalised,' that is, if Badplaas is incorporated into Swaziland, then removal will be unnecessary. Difficult logic!

Mr P Nhlabathi, a councillor of Chief Dhlamini, said:

"Swazis have seen Badplaas as part of their traditional land. Some of our people were here before South Africa even came into being."

## Winterveld

A "sprawling urban slum" north of Pretoria, Winterveld is a home for 500 000 people. They are now threatened with removal.

In February 1984 the families were given three days' notice to leave their homes to make way for a highway planned by the Bophutatswana 'government.' The people were told to move to Mabopane North, which adjoins Winterveld. They would not be compensated for the loss. Tenants have livestock which they would not be allowed to keep in Mabopane; there are higher rents; houses would be built at the expense of the tenants.

Mrs Maria Mushobane, who owns most of the land in which tenants threatened with removal live, was offered R2 900 compensation by the Bophutatswana 'government.' She says the land — 50 x 500 metres and with a borehole — was worth much more than the sum offered. A modern supermarket-restaurant-butchery complex, owned by Moses Mokgotsane, is also one of the buildings in the way of the new road. The houses affected by the highway stretch for about two kilometres through the overcrowded area. Mrs Mthombeni reports:

"I had just come from hospital after a big operation, and my husband was out of town working when I was told to vacate the house without being offered an alternative house."

And one resident angrily commented:

"We are just told to pack our belongings and go. They don't even bother to build us houses somewhere or compensate us for the houses and land."

The history of the removal of Winterveld goes back to the fifties. Bophutatswana inherited this problem, **which has become a political hot potato for both South Africa and Bophutatswana.** The people lost their South African citizenship when Bophutatswana became 'independent.'

The problem here is that 90% of the population are not Tswana. In Winterveld, no cohesive population has developed, because

people came from different places — the land-downers are Northern Sotho and Shangaan, while the largest proportion of the tenants are Ndebele and the rest are Tswana. This has led to conflicts between the people and the Bophutatswana authorities: note the conflict is not between Tswana-speaking people and others. The residents from Klipgat, Nooitgedacht and Makanyaneng say the conflict has divided the people, making solidarity in the area difficult, if not impossible.

Only ruins and rocks remain; there are no trading rights in the area; the non-Tswanas have a problem of finding permanent residence; they have to apply for Bophutatswana citizenship or permanent residence. Temporary residence permits issued to non-Tswanas when the Bophutatswana 'government' took over the area were to be renewed annually with the insistence that after five years holders must decide on their 'national status.' Threats of daily raids and arrests by Bophutatswana police, with people ending up facing charges under the Squatters Act, or of failing to produce a permit, became common.

## Tzaneen and Middelburg

Metz, a "betterment village," is a planned agricultural settlement. The people chosen to live there were evicted in 1958 from the land their forebears had bought near Tzaneen in 1907; they had been farming there for two centuries. They fought the removal order by appealing to Parliament under a provision in the Native Administration Act, but the appeal was unsuccessful.

Although people have been farming for generations, the migrants are not working on the farms. They are domestics, gardeners, mineworkers, drivers, workers in the building trade and so on. They have to sign on as migrants because there is not enough land to go round.

Of the 438 families living in Metz and the nearby closer settlement of Moetladino, just over half have farming rights; farming families manage to produce one bag of maize a year, the equivalent of a month's supply. 90% of the residents of Metz — including the farmers —

depend on bought provisions. One third of the families keep cattle, but only rarely for sale. 73 % of the families are headed by women, one third of the families count on remittances from migrant workers for at least half their incomes. In the days when they farmed near Tzaneen, only 2% of the families depended on money from migrant workers.

The bus schedule reflects the situation: there are two buses a week, run by the Lebowa Development Corporation, plying the route between Metz and Penge Mine. The South African Railway bus service from Metz to the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area operates every weekend. Two private bus services travel daily from Metz to Phalaborwa and Tzaneen.

### **Bothashoek**

There is also the case of Bothashoek, a "closer settlement," which is nothing but a rural residential community. With a population of 16 000, it is the largest in Lebowa. It took the authorities more than four years to evict black residents from the farm Doornkop — to which they held freehold title — and settle them on small sites in the Lebowa bush. The last to hold out were trucked to Bothashoek in 1974 when Doornkop, near Middelburg, was expropriated. The standards of living dropped dramatically: men had to return as labourers to the areas from which they had been evicted, or they went as migrants to the Johannesburg-Pretoria area.

With no farmland, people work on nearby farms or at Tswelopele Cotton Project run by the Lebowa Government Corporation. There are no factories in the area; people work at chrome mines in Lebowa, returning home at weekends; they earn by hawking fruit, washing, gardening, selling newspapers. Some families brew beer (a monthly income derived from this source is R9).

For the sake of living, existing — surviving is a better word — the people have devised two stratagems.

They live on pensions which average R30 a month, which are paid by the Lebowa government' to the aged and disabled — when

people are "resettled" from "white areas" into homelands, the receiving homeland inherits the responsibility of providing pensions. 20% of the households in Bothashoek are dependent upon pension money. The percentage would be much higher had many such cases not been turned down due to "lack of funds."

The second strategy is "borrowing," which is equivalent to begging, because people with no incomes are never able to pay back what they 'borrow.' People visit from one family to the other in the hope of being invited to join a family for a meal. If the majority have nothing, the burden (or yoke) of survival rests on the neck of those who have something to cook!

There are many such cases. Bophelong, a small town in the Vaal, whose future hangs by a thread, is a case in point. The fate of its over 4 000 families is in the balance, as they might be moved to the neighbouring Sebokeng township. The land surrounding Bophelong is owned by private companies, and only three kilometres separates the township from Vanderbijlpark, a white residential area.

What about Louis Trichardt, Pietersburg and Carolina?

The 6 446 people living in Louis Trichardt were moved to the Lebowa homeland, while the 1 584 at Pietersburg were moved to KwaNdebele and 4 739 people at Carolina were moved to the KaNgwane Bantustan. The people in Bethal in the Eastern Transvaal are being forcibly removed to KwaNdebele by the Highveld Administration Board.

### **Rooigrond**

A community whose ancestors settled at Machaviestad, near Potchefstroom, 130 years ago, were moved to a desolate spot 190 kilometres away. The 1 500 people who kept cattle and chickens and grew crops on their small plots and found work in nearby Potchefstroom had no choice. They were forced to trek the 190 kilometres to an uninhabitable spot called Rooigrond on the Botswana border.

In 1971 the people were evicted. The eviction of these people from their old homes at Machaviestad was no easy task: from 1948,

when the state first made known its intention of moving them, the Machaviestad people fought an extended legal battle until the regime finally succeeded in moving them in 1971. During that time they were repeatedly harassed, they were cut off from their work, their meetings were stopped, the school was closed, bus transport to the area was cut off and ploughing was prohibited.

Plans to move Machaviestad were first made in 1904. Rooigrond is just outside Mafikeng in Bophutatswana. It is an unpleasant place, 'untamed,' arid and thorny ground with only one windmill for water; no land suitable for ploughing and very little for grazing. The people waited for 13 years — because they believed the move was temporary — and made no improvements to their living conditions, because they felt that would imply acceptance of their presence in Rooigrond. Their livestock dwindled from 250 to 80.

In 1982 Lucas Mangope of Bophutatswana wrote to tell them that they were part of the people of Chief Israel Matlaba of Bodibe near Lichtenburg and would have to move again. The community leaders responded by rejecting Mangope's interpretation of their history, and re-stated their demand to return to Machaviestad "or an adequate and acceptable alternative."

These stories can be repeated a hundred times in other areas in the Transvaal; for example the removal of Motlatla, also near Lichtenburg. They all tell a story of despair. But not only that. It is also a story of a long, determined and brave fight against forced removals over a long period of time; a fight against odds.

### **Gold, Diamonds, Oil and Coal**

The racist regime is moving people without compensating them for mineral deposits on their property.

There are many cases in the history of forced removals of people from "black spots" where profitable mines were subsequently established. Areas in Northern Natal were "honeycombed with coal" that had only been exploited after the Black people living there had been moved to KwaZulu over the last 20 years. An ISCOR plant now stands on one such

area. There is also the case of the Mogopa people on whose property is a mine currently producing diamonds of up to R25 000 in value. Lazarus Kgatitswe, a member of the Mogopa committee, who remembers the diamond mine being worked for the past 55 years, says:

"The government must pay us for the diamond mine and bring a geologist to value it."

He says prospectors have told his people over the years that their two big farms were good for coal and gold.

What about the people of Driefontein, whose property is within 50 kilometres of the Wakkerstroom oil well that started gushing last year? Surveyors say the land is rich in minerals, including oil — the oil at Wakkerstroom is at the rate of about four barrels a day.

The people of Mathopestad, near Rustenburg in the north-western Transvaal, on whose property is a disused gold mine, were told by a consulting geologist that prospects for mining gold on their land were good.

These and many other reasons explain why the racist regime has invoked the old Act so that it does not have to negotiate compensation with the people who are removed. Koornhof is reported to have told Parliament that "as long as it is humanly possible we are not going to force people to move." The people have correctly interpreted "humanly possible" to mean as long as Africans do not resist orders to move. That is why they resist.

The problems facing the rural mass, the peasants, are immense. Govan Mbeki in the late fifties drew attention to this mass of people, this significant social force and inseparable component of our revolution. It is our task to mobilise them; it is our task to incorporate them into the mainstream of the struggle, not only as people fighting against removals but as part of that army of people fighting for the Freedom Charter — which caters for a democratic solution of the land question. The Freedom Charter has a message of hope and inspiration to the millions of people who have been forcibly removed or are threatened with removal.

**INTERVIEW WITH  
Comrades Chris Hani and  
Mac Maharaj**

# **A PEOPLE'S ARMY FIGHTING A PEOPLE'S WAR**



*We print here extracts from a Radio Freedom interview which was first published in 'Mayibuye.' Comrade Mac Maharaj, a senior member of the ANC, and Comrade Chris Hani, a member of the NEC, were asked to give their opinion on political developments in Southern Africa and South Africa in particular.*

**Question:** It is believed in certain quarters that the signing of the Nkomati Accord between South Africa and Mozambique in March 1984 has dealt the armed struggle in South Africa a severe blow. The racist regime in its comments called our post-Nkomati military operations "a few parting shots of the ANC." Can you comment on the prospects of the armed struggle in South Africa now?

**Answer:** The signing of the Nkomati Accord between the People's Republic of Mozambique and racist South Africa does constitute

a setback for the struggle for national liberation of our people, the struggle for social justice and freedom. But we don't hold the view that the accord is a severe blow for the armed struggle in our country. As is known, the armed struggle in our country is rooted internally. We have never relied on organising the armed struggle and carrying out military operations from countries neighbouring South Africa. Indeed, we have never carried out any military operations from Mozambique or any other territory that borders South Africa.

The very organisation of operations, the training and expansion of our army, takes place internally. I said earlier that it is correct to say that the signing of the accord does raise a few problems, but these are problems that can be solved and overcome, both by our organisation and our army. If we can look back, the armed struggle in our country did not begin with the independence of Mozambique,

Angola, Zimbabwe and many other countries bordering South Africa. It started earlier, and even in those days, when those countries were still not free, our movement and army were able to continue organising the armed struggle internally, and able to carry out operations inside the country.

But it is true that the independence of these countries did create favourable conditions for the intensification of our armed struggle, and we have always regarded them and still regard them as allies in the struggle to rid the continent of the most vicious, oppressed regime, that is plaguing the whole continent of Africa, and Southern Africa in particular. The enemy is deluding itself by believing that the operations after Nkomati are "a few parting shots" of the ANC. We have got the capacity to intensify the armed struggle in South Africa.

*Answer:* I'd like to add that it may be the cheap propagandists of the regime who can talk like that, but even they ought to turn back to their own facts. It is the regime's propaganda men who are today confessing that since Nkomati there have been more acts of military action and sabotage inside South Africa than in the comparable period last year. This is admitted by the regime, who, on the one hand, says we are dead and finished, and on the other says we are the greatest danger to its existence. Furthermore, it is not a new story in the history of any people's struggle, as well as our struggle, for a beleaguered regime to keep on saying that the forces of change are in their death throes. This was said by Jimmy Kruger repeatedly. I think you will remember his image of a small snake that was dead. Well it is out today, the ANC still lives. And in fact the ANC is a force of change.

Who are the desperate people? The forces of reaction or the forces of revolution? Look at what Pretoria is doing to Africa, let alone what it is doing inside South Africa. All these acts violate every international law, violate the sovereignty, the integrity of independent states of Southern Africa. They ride roughshod over the rights of the people outside as well as in-

side South Africa. What for? To preserve their own existence.

destruction of the African National Congress and our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe. They have identified their danger correctly. And their acts of desperation, their cheap propaganda, are for the world and our people, and are aimed at fooling themselves into the belief that they can perpetuate their rule for ever. But our theory of war, our theory of a people's war, our theory of revolution, our revolutionary practice, always rested in the fact that our revolution belongs to the people, will be made by our people, that our armed forces will grow, thrive, multiply and bring victory by immersing themselves in the struggle of our masses. That has been our basic approach; nothing has changed since then.

*Q:* One of the principles of guerrilla warfare is that the guerrillas must have a rear base and a supply line. It would seem that they have been effectively closed in relation to Swaziland and Mozambique. Can you comment?

*A:* It is true that it is a point of advantage if a guerrilla war can have at its disposal reliable rear bases. This means that the guerrilla army has got possibilities and facilities to train itself in favourable conditions as well as to equip itself. But it is well known that guerrilla warfare can be launched, as it has been launched in a number of countries, without a guerrilla army enjoying reliable facilities. So there is no rigid approach of saying you cannot wage guerrilla warfare unless you enjoy favourable rear bases. In the contemporary situation, we have the struggle of the people of El Salvador escalating and reaching unprecedented heights against a dictatorship which enjoys the support of the Reagan Administration. That movement, the Farabundo Marti, does not enjoy the rear facilities — and in fact it has entrenched itself inside the country, depending on the massive support it enjoys from the people of El Salvador.

If we go back to our own situation, when our organisation, the African National Congress, and her allies deliberately took the position of

opting for armed struggle against the racist and fascist regime in our country, the movement knew very well that there were no rear bases around our country, and that the pillar of our struggle would be the people themselves. So the fact that the enemy is trying to bully the countries neighbouring our country into submission does not constitute a situation where we are going to be helpless, where the armed struggle would be emasculated, because the basic factor is the people.

**A:** If I may add to this point, it is necessary for our people, when listening to the propaganda of the regime, to ask themselves some basic questions. As my colleague says, when the ANC and her allies decided on the path of armed struggle, there were no countries capable of providing us with rear bases. The regime had the support, as it has now, of the whole imperialist world. We decided at that moment, then that the only way forward was through people's war. We made preparations for it and we did not count on the success of our revolution being based on the facilities from the neighbouring states. We did not count on rear bases. We examined, we put all our knowledge of guerrilla warfare together, theoretical and practical. We studied others' experiences and we came to the conclusion that whatever the topography of our country there is one feature which ensures the victory of our revolution. It is the masses.

**Q:** Would you be able to say that in all the things that have happened in the region, with the signing of the Nkomati Accord, and what is going on inside the country, the ANC envisages a change in tactics to deal effectively with the present objective situation?

**A:** Our strategic and tactical approach is, and has always been, to entrench our political and military presence inside our own country. This is an ongoing process. At no time have we ever based our strategy on possibilities of facilities in the neighbouring countries. So for us the new situation does not spell out any new change, because our basic task has been to strengthen our presence, both politically and

militarily, inside our country. And it is because of this strategic approach that we see in our country today a new political situation, a situation of mass resistance enlisting ever-soaring numbers of our people. We don't believe that this new development and this unprecedented upsurge is accidental. On the contrary, it is a product of our political and military work, which we have intensified in the last eight to ten years, resulting in a situation where the people themselves have formed their own democratic and progressive organisations. This development, therefore, creates the very conditions for the expansion of our army and the growth of the political underground inside the country. All that we can say is that this new development of political upsurge and resistance should be strengthened.

**A:** On the same question, let me complement what has been said. The strategy for change does not require a rethink from us. Comrade President Tambo has said in the January 8th message that there are four pillars of our struggle. First, the ANC underground, which is mobilising and organising our people. Second, the united action of the masses of our people. The third is the development, growth and actions of our army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, dedicated to the strategy of a people's war. And the fourth pillar is international support for the struggle. Now, I do not think that those pillars have changed; what can change is the element of tactics that you employ in a particular situation.

**Q:** How do you react to the suggestion that the present situation demands an ever-strong presence of the ANC and MK inside the country?

**A:** I think that the question should be seen as a question of responsibilities that are thrown on our shoulders today. In order to proceed to victory, we have to intensify the process of developing the ANC and Umkhonto We Sizwe inside the country. The responsibility on those of us who are already in Umkhonto We Sizwe is to spare no effort in order to ensure that all of us contribute more than we ever did towards

that process.

But what is the responsibility in others? First, massive mass struggles are raging throughout the country. These struggles are important in their own right. They are a vehicle for our people to recognise that they have to stand together, organise together and confront the enemy. But today it has become even more necessary that people at home should ask themselves that, if MK is to become the defensive organ of the people, the organ protecting our masses, there is a responsibility from the people also to feed Umkhonto; not just with food, but with manpower, men and women prepared to fight, prepared to take the weapon in their hands, belong to an organised force. Those who lead mass struggles in any particular part of our country should ask themselves the question that, whilst they are doing their work, to what extent are they facilitating the growth of the whole national struggle? They have a responsibility of ensuring that the particular components or terrain in which they are fighting is not an isolated one. We have to reach hands from every area of our struggle, and to link particularly between the mass overt struggles and the underground and armed struggles of our people. Now these are the elements which the present situation requires from us.

Therefore, the growth of the ANC and MK inside South Africa is an urgent and imperative necessity. That necessity puts a responsibility on both those who are organising Umkhonto and the ANC as well as the masses in struggle. Each of us needs to ask ourselves: **Are we doing the maximum?** And we have to acknowledge another factor which relates to the basis of victory: that without the ANC or MK there can be no victory. So, all of our people have a responsibility, not only to act as they are acting today, to confront the regime, but to make sure that the best sons and daughters of our country enter the ranks of the networks of the ANC and MK inside South Africa.

A: If I'd be allowed to add a few observations to what has just been pointed out. We are a people's army, fighting a people's war. The

growth and strength of this army depends largely on the support it enjoys from the majority of our people. Reference has been made to the responsibility that our people have got to discharge in ensuring the effectiveness of our political and military blows against the enemy. Our people should not be mere spectators in the intensifying political and military struggle against the enemy. Every form of support should be given to our cadres as they confront the enemy in the cities, towns and villages of our country. The doors of the houses of our people should be open to our cadres. Everybody should realise that he 'as got a role to play to ensure the success of our military operations. To ensure that every cadre, as he throws a grenade in the house of a policeman, into the barracks of the fascist army, that that cadre must be able to get away, must be able to survive in order to be able to fight tomorrow. This task of fighting the enemy cannot just be relegated to the ANC and MK, but should be the task of all the patriots of our country, all those democrats who want to build a new South Africa, who want to destroy racism and fascism in our country.

The growth, then of our army is the task of all of you inside the country who are committed to destroying that regime. Those who are confronting the fascist education authorities in order to achieve a democratic education in our country, those people in the rural areas fighting the removals in places like Mogopa, Drie fontein, Crossroads, KTC and a number of other areas, should realise that the most potent weapon they have is the ANC politically and Umkhonto We Sizwe militarily.

Even before Umkhonto We Sizwe comes to meet them, they should so organise themselves that they are ready to join the ranks of our army and to fight within it, to defend themselves against all the injustices and brutalities the enemy perpetrates against us.

**FORWARD TO VICTORY!**





# LETTER TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade,

I suggest that Comrade C Theodoropoulos read my letter, *Sechaba*, February 1984, again. Its purpose is clear — to put into practice the fundamentals of very real existing internationally recognised norms of the Nuremburg Tribunal, the United Nations Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, and other related documents. This means the practical bringing to real justice in the immediate future those responsible, collectively and individually, for apartheid crimes in person or within living memory.

The discussion, therefore, confines itself to practice within the bounds of the already men-

tioned universally accepted norms. It seeks to define **how** and **who** should be punished for apartheid crimes. This discussion is continuing in the United Nations, where further precise definitions are being elaborated on the terms of the Convention of the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid. I believe that we are obliged to contribute to the work of defining the procedures, forms, standards and norms for punishment in accordance with the laws of our African National Congress, and to dovetail with the relevant internationally recognised norms. I believe that in the main it is our obligation, in co-operation with the international community, to prosecute and punish those responsible for apartheid crimes.

The thoughts of Comrade C Theodoropoulos, *Sechaba*, July 1984, are a matter for broader discussion on imperialist crimes against humanity in all their aspects, past, present and continuing. The putting into practice of existing universally accepted norms of punishment for apartheid crimes does not mean abandoning mankind's struggle to call imperialism to account both historically and in practice. Under no circumstances will mankind let imperialism and its system of all forms of colonialism, old and new, off the hook.

My views on the aggressive character of the South African state and its rooting in 1652 have already been set out in a published paper.\* I believe that these views fall within the scope of discussion on the thoughts raised by C Theodoropoulos and other existing international norms like the United Nations General Assembly's definition of an aggressor.

Amandla — Maatla!  
Arnold Selby.

Berlin,  
25.7.84

\* *Current Problems of the Southern African Region*, pp 102-108, *South African Liberation Struggle — a Component of the Fight for World Peace and Disarmament*, Symposium — Leipzig, GDR, February 1981.

Dear Comrade Editor

Once again I take up my pen to write, and to take the liberty of saying that I am happy to have been able to wake up somebody to discussion through my previous remarks about *Ons Bruin Mense*. But the writer of the reply to my humble effort, PG, (*Sechaba*, August 1984) has raised certain points which, however, confuse me even further.

He says that 'so-called Coloured' was used in popular expression of rejection of 'apartheid terminology.' Yet later he says that "most, in the spirit of a nation in the making, opt for 'South African.'" But, Comrade Editor, he does not tell us who gave our country the official name of South Africa? On what or whose authority? There are some who, rejecting this 'terminology,' call the country 'Azania' (again, on whose authority?) and maybe they would call the rest of the population 'so-called South Africans.' But it would seem that even though the Boer anthem refers to *Suid-Afrika*, the name South Africa is accepted. Yet for any minority (even so-called) to assume the right to call themselves South African for their own studied convenience seems to me to be somewhat undemocratic, if not downright presumptuous, since the right naturally belongs to the majority.

I regret to say that I did not know (as PG seems to say) that the term 'Coloured' emerged as a result of the definition laid down by the Population Registration Act or the Group Areas Act. I was born long before these Acts, so our people must be a little older than that. And we should not believe that all the awful experiences described by PG (divided families, rejection, etc) are only suffered by us. Mixed race or marginal communities in other parts of the world suffer similar trials and tribulations.

Now PG even says 'so-called' is not good enough, but neither is 'Coloured,' which adds to my confusion, Comrade Editor. But it is not being called Coloured that has been 'a scourge for years,' but **the way our people have been and are being treated**, whatever they are called, just as the term 'Asiatic' or 'Indian' in itself

does not mean being scourged.

May I add, while MK and the militant resistance might well be manned by militant cadres not acting as 'representatives of ethnic groups,' freedom fighters taking part on the basis of militancy does not dismiss the presence of different 'national groups' (the Freedom Charter) from our South Africa.

I see from his letter that PG was with the students in 1976. I myself may have been in the docks or picking apples. So he should be more able to clarify things for me, but I am sorry, he has cleared up nothing for me. While I wait patiently for the outcome of PG's 'mass debate,' I would still like to know what I am **today**. So, Comrade Editor, call me what the devil you like, but for God's sake don't call me 'so-called.'

In reply to your own comment, Comrade Editor: while critical observations in the course of a book review are one thing, official declarations and speeches by our ANC representatives are another, which is the reason for my original question.

In the meantime, I will not sign myself 'Observer' or 'Disappointed' or *Baainaar*, so I will remain your respectful

Capie.

28th August 1984.



## AVENGE THE DEATH OF OUR HEROES

Remember

Vuyisile Mini  
Wilson Khayinga  
Zinakile Mkaba

hanged by the racist regime on November 6th  
1964.



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