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ROBERT MUGABE
PRIME MINISTER OF ZIMBABWE

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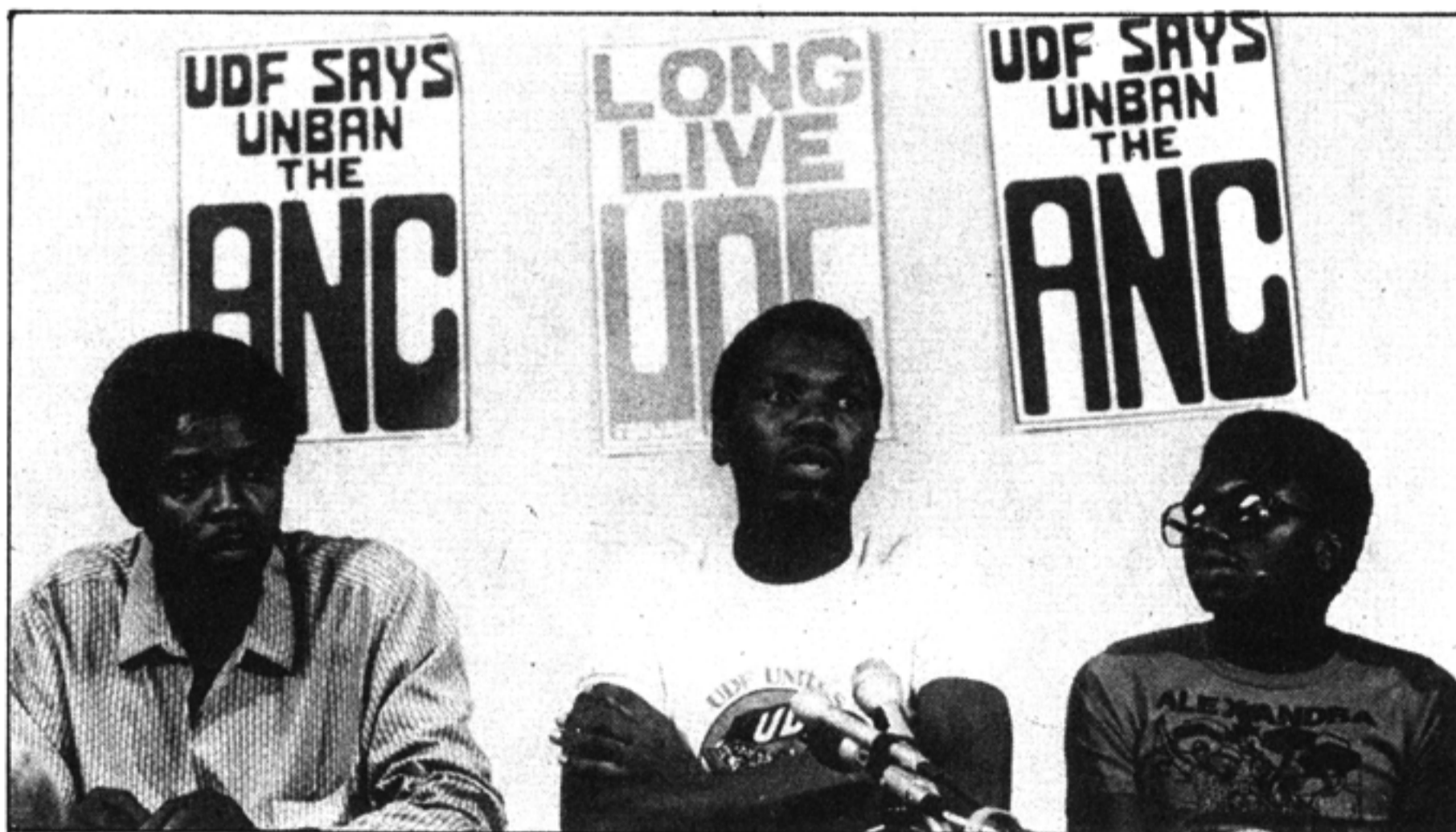
The western countries are heavily involved in South Africa. That we knew. Now they are changing their tactics. 'Changing' is not the right word. They are becoming more involved. They want the ANC to renounce armed struggle and — to use their words — to renounce violence. The ANC has to accept the policy of negotiation and be part of the reform process. The question is put squarely: do you want a round or square table?

The problem is: who is to meet with us? Do such plans include Bantustan chiefs? Are the criminals such as Botha, Malan etc. going to be there? The London *Guardian* of October 10th revealed another aspect of this onslaught:

"The South African government yesterday declared the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front an "affected organisation" thus forbidding it from receiving foreign money and striking a blow at its outspoken adversary ... The

Affected Organisations Act was passed in the early 1970s to enable the government to take action against 'un-South African' organisations which are largely funded from overseas. Several government ministers have charged that the UDF is a front for the outlawed African National Congress. But the courts acquitted the 16 leaders of the UDF and its affiliates who were accused of high treason for allegedly plotting the downfall of the government with the ANC."

If one considers that Namibia and parts of Angola are occupied territories, that Lesotho was forced to remove a government which did not please South Africa and replace it with one that did, that Botswana, Mozambique and Zimbabwe are attacked and threatened and that South Africa treats Swaziland just like a bantustan, then we should expect the peoples of the region to unite and co-ordinate their forces.



UDF Press Conference, March 1986.

From left to right: Paul Maseko, Jacob Mtshabi and Patrick Banda.

ACTION-ORIENTED SOLIDARITY

By Essop Pahad

The Eighth Conference of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) took place early in September 1986, and the honour of hosting it fell to Zimbabwe, one of the newest members of the movement. The choice of Harare as the venue reflects the important place occupied by our struggle and the national liberation alliance headed by the ANC in international affairs and in the world revolutionary process. For this occasion, Harare, the capital of Zimbabwe, was decorated with banners, pictures of NAM leaders, and the emblem of the Eighth Conference — a dove with the figures VIII.

NAM was formed to assist the struggle of colonial and dependent countries for self-determination, independence and the right to freely choose their paths of economic, social, political and cultural development. From its in-

ception, 25 years ago, it lent coherence and unity to the endeavours of the developing countries to resist imperialist diktat and attempts to lock them into political-military blocs such as SEATO and the Baghdad Pact.

Two-Thirds of the World's Countries

The Eighth Conference — at which were represented nearly two-thirds of the world's countries — emphasised the anti-imperialist tenor of the movement, and the vehement opposition of these countries to racist and imperialist aggression. Under the leadership of Prime Minister Mugabe, the movement will no doubt grow in strength and rise to the need — as Mugabe put it — for "action-oriented solidarity, mutual co-operation and assistance among non-aligned and other developing nations."



The dominant issue at the conference was the situation at home in South Africa, and in the region. Every speaker who took the floor paid special attention to our struggle and called for effective international action to bring to a speedy end this crime against humanity, apartheid. They were outraged by the massacre of our people that took place in Soweto in late August and early September.

In his wide-ranging keynote address to the conference, Mugabe castigated the Pretoria terrorists for their internal, regional and international policies. He characterised apartheid as:

"... a system that denies our common humanity, assails our sense of human decency, violates all norms of morality and dehumanises both its victims and its perpetrators. It is a system which the United Nations has rightly declared to be a crime against humanity. The apartheid regime kills defenceless demonstrators as a matter of routine, violently uproots and relegates millions of its Black citizens to wretched dust bowls, and tortures and murders those whom it holds in detention. It has incarcerated Nelson Mandela, that heroic and legendary symbol of the struggling masses of South Africa, for nearly a quarter of a century just because he dared to demand the freedom of his people. In addition, it holds thousands of its opponents in gaol, without trial."

In his address, Mugabe called for concerted action to eradicate apartheid, to end the illegal occupation of Namibia, to resist racist and imperialist aggression directed at the Front Line States and for the imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

Solidarity Fund

The struggle against the racist colonialist regime figured prominently in the main Political and Economic Declaration adopted by the conference. In addition, the Summit adopted two special appeals.

One is on the "Immediate Independence of Namibia," which calls upon the international community to "render all-round material, political and diplomatic support for the struggle being waged by SWAPO." The other is called "Action for Resisting Invasion, Colonialism and Apartheid Fund." The latter appeal sets up a Solidarity Fund to strengthen the capacity of the Front Line States to withstand racist and im-



perialist aggression, and to support the national liberation movements in South Africa and Namibia. A special Fund Committee, composed of the following countries, was elected: India (in the Chair), Zambia, (Vice-Chair), Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Algeria, Congo, Yugoslavia, Peru and Argentina. The conference also agreed to send a delegation of Foreign Ministers to lobby the Western countries on the issue of sanctions.

During the conference, our ANC delegation, led by Comrade President O R Tambo, was extremely busy holding bilateral discussions — many of which went on till the early hours of the morning. Amongst the scores of delegations that Tambo met and exchanged views with were many African countries, including all the Front Line States, as well as Cuba, Nicaragua, Libya, Peru, India and Vietnam. He also had friendly meetings with the head of the PLO, Yasser Arafat. At all these meetings — many of which were held at the initiative of Heads of States — the leading role of the ANC was not only recognised but also highly praised. A number of leaders dealt with Tambo as a fellow Head of State. As a result of these meetings, the ANC was promised increased material, political and

diplomatic support.

The importance attached by NAM to our struggle was also reflected by the presence of Dr Allan Boesak as a special guest. Prime Minister Mugabe was host at a dinner for Boesak, which was attended by all the member countries of NAM. In his speech, Boesak gave an electrifying account of life under the racist, colonialist yoke and of the heroic resistance of our people. Boesak made a deep impression on all those who heard and met him.

A Success for our People and the ANC

The Eighth Conference of the NAM was a resounding success for our people. The Pretoria murderers and their imperialist allies, Thatcher, Reagan and Kohl, were subjected to severe criticism — indeed, they were pilloried. The heroism of our people, who are daily massacred, was appreciated. The central role of the ANC in the present and coming battles was recognised.

The conference also paid special attention to the most burning issues of our time: issues such as the struggle for world peace, prevention of a nuclear holocaust, disarmament, the problem of international debt, economic independence, the fratricidal Iran-Iraq war, the Middle East, especially the struggle of the Palestinians for national liberation and an independent homeland, and US military attacks on Libya and Nicaragua.

In his speech, Mugabe addressed all these issues. In a calm, sober assessment of the international situation, he emphasised that the prevention of "the annihilation of mankind consequent upon nuclear war is the pre-condition of all our endeavours." In a passionate appeal for a halt to the arms race and for disarmament, he said that global military expenditure has now reached a trillion US dollars per year. To illustrate the stupendous wastage of resources, he pointed out:

"For every 100 000 people in the world there are 556 soldiers, but only 85 doctors. For every soldier, the average world military expenditure is 20 000 US dollars, while for every school-age child the average public education expenditure is a paltry 38 US dollars. Developed countries spend 20 times as much on military expenditure as they do on economic aid. **Only one-fifth of arms expenditure, in just one year, could wipe**

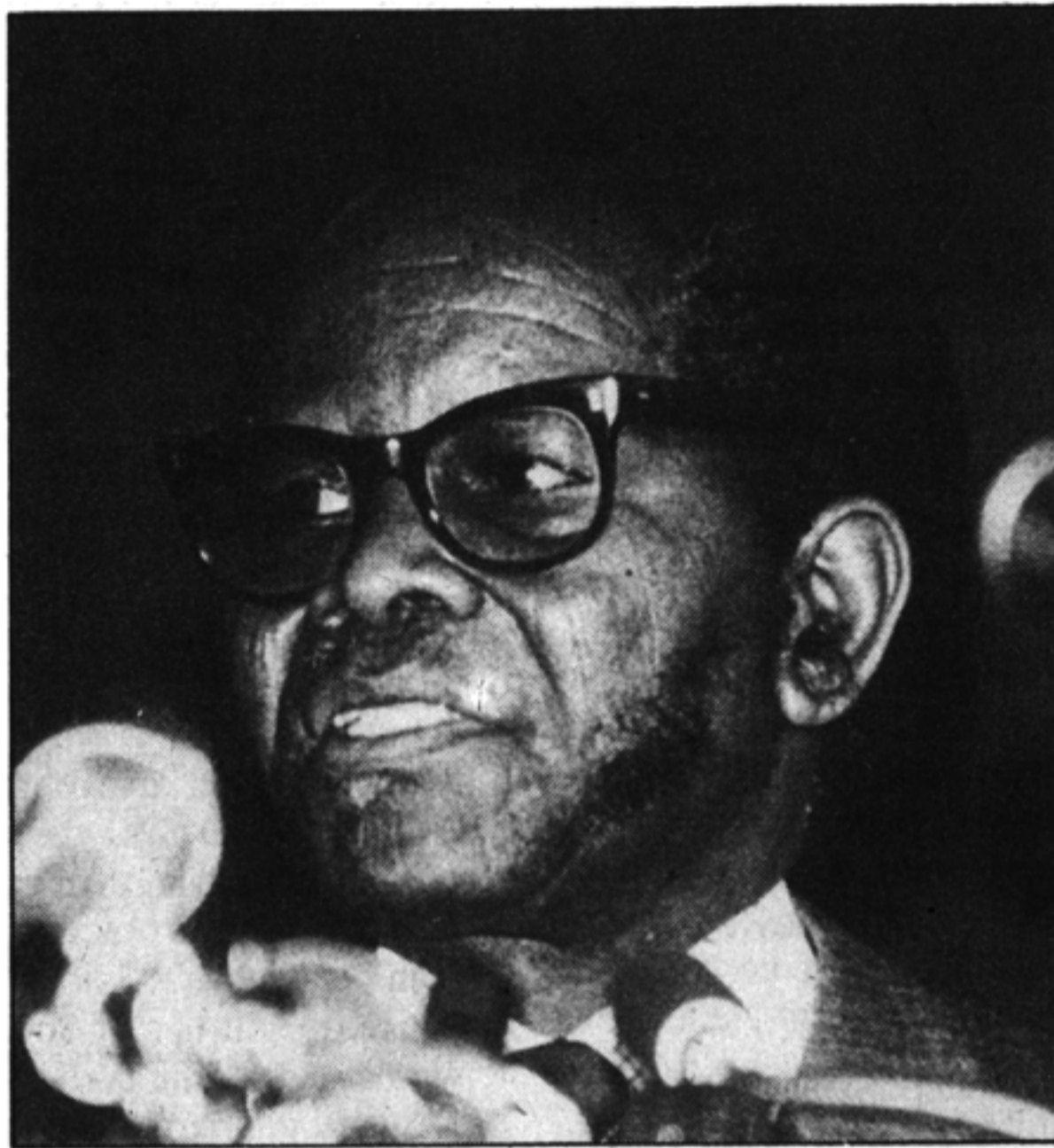
out the scourge of world hunger by the year 2 000. All these facts illustrate the central theme of our time — the conspicuous misuse and abuse of scarce resources in the midst of poverty, hunger and disease. Surely the time has come to call mankind back to sanity; to re-order his priorities in favour of life and development, as against death and destruction."

The desire of NAM to play an even more important role in averting a nuclear holocaust was more deeply manifest than at any other previous conference. The Summit adopted the Harare Appeal, which calls on the leaders of the USA and USSR and other nuclear powers to continue the dialogue for disarmament, prevent an arms race in space, and to take immediate steps for the prevention of a nuclear war. The Appeal and the Political Declaration praises the Soviet Union's nuclear disarmament programme and its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests.

Impact and Influence of NAM

The contrast between the attitudes of the Soviet Union and the USA to the NAM conference was striking. The former welcomed the conference and undertook to work closely with the NAM movement in its endeavour to achieve its aims and objectives. The latter showed its true colours by indulging in primitive punitive actions. At a time when the conference was still in session, the Reagan administration announced that it was stopping its economic aid to Zimbabwe. This was in response to Mugabe's sober criticism of US policy in the region and internationally. This unacceptable behaviour can only come from those who still believe that Africans are inferior, and can be easily bullied and intimidated. But whether the hostile powers like it or not, NAM is here to stay and its impact and influence on world affairs will continue to strengthen and develop.

An important contribution to the success of the Eighth NAM Conference was the vital role played by Mugabe as Chairman of the movement. His indefatigable energy, diplomatic tact, timely interventions, knowledge of the international situation and his deep commitment to anti-imperialism and the struggle against racist, colonialist South Africa, made a lasting impression on all those who attended the conference.



TOWARDS THE FINAL COLLAPSE OF COLONIALISM

This was the statement President Tambo made for the Non-Aligned Summit Conference in Harare.

A seemingly routine event has occurred in Harare. In keeping with the constitutional practice of the Non-Aligned Movement and the decisions of this, its Eighth Summit Meeting, His Excellency Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has handed over the baton of leadership of this Movement to His Excellency Prime Minister Robert Mugabe.

But for us, as South Africans, the passing of that baton has a deeply historic significance. Rather than a change of leadership, it signifies the linking of New Delhi and Harare, the telescoping of the four decades between 1946 and 1986 into a moment of time pregnant with great meaning and hope for millions of people.

Almost the pioneer after the Second World War in signalling the break-up of the colonial system — and that after an epoch-making struggle — India has passed its chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement to Zimbabwe, which is virtually the signpost heralding the final collapse of colonialism, thanks to its victorious war of liberation.

Forty Years' Solidarity

As a direct consequence of the victory of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle in India, the question of racial and colonial oppression in South Africa was placed on the agenda of the very first General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946. The new India was responsible for that early and outstanding act of solidarity, not only with our people, but also with all those who were oppressed and colonised.

As a direct consequence of the victory of the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle in Zimbabwe, the Non-Aligned Summit meets here to discuss, among other matters, the question of apartheid. The path we have traversed from the United Nations General Assembly in 1946 to the Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1986 can only have true meaning if, at this historic gathering, we sound the death knell of the apartheid system. That we meet here must surely underline the fact that here, in this capital city of the anti-colonial struggle, Harare, the apartheid system will meet its day of reckoning.

Time, place and circumstance demand that this 8th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement should go down in the annals of history as the Summit for the Total Liberation of Southern Africa. The situation in South Africa, Namibia and Southern Africa as a whole imposes an obligation on this movement to use its enormous power and influence to sue for victory over the apartheid regime, now.

Move on to Victory

From this handsome Conference Hall it is but a stone's throw to the obscene and brutal reality

of the apartheid system. The very fact of that proximity should make it plain that it is within collective power of all of us in this hall to ensure that the time span between racist barbarism and national emancipation, peace and happiness in this region need be no longer than the period which will separate the 8th from the 9th Summit of this Movement.

The ground already covered in the long struggle to liberate South Africa and Namibia makes it both possible and necessary that we achieve success without delay. When the 9th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement convenes, as the last decade of the 20th Century begins, it should be to celebrate the historic triumph of all humanity over the forces of racism, colonialism and war in Southern Africa.

We come from, and represent, a people that has for centuries known the bitter fruits of tyranny. Death by starvation or by the bullet has been our daily fare. The practice of human degradation and bestial subjugation is the common experience of millions of South Africans.

We have seen the bodies of Black people so grossly and deliberately tortured and their souls so warped and stunted that these victims of crime begin to doubt their own humanity. Presiding over these unspeakable horrors, which beggar all description, have been White men and women who have themselves been transformed by the theory and practice of racism into monstrous caricatures of the human species.

A people that has known so much pain cannot but be sensitive to the suffering of all other people. Accordingly, we feel completely at one with the Non-Aligned Movement in its resolve vigorously to confront the many issues on the agenda of the Summit. We, too, whatever our own national condition, have a duty to contribute our best towards the realisation of the objectives of this Movement.

Fraternal States and Organisations

We therefore take this opportunity to salute the esteemed Heads of State and Government who are present here, the distinguished ministers and diplomats, leaders of the liberation movements and the other delegates. We join our honoured Chairman and comrade-in-arms, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, in extending a warm and fraternal welcome to all who came from outside this region of the globe.



Speaking from this important rostrum, and conscious of the significance of this occasion for us, we extend our greetings to our sister movement, SWAPO of Namibia, and to the heroic people of that country. Between our two movements and peoples, there exist indissoluble bonds of common purpose born of the same heritage of suffering under the yoke of apartheid colonialism and racist oppression. We are proud that we march side by side with such a movement and people, because we know that in SWAPO and the people of Namibia we have a steadfast ally and that, together, we shall win.

We extend our greetings to all the Front Line and other independent states of our region. We pay tribute to the governments and peoples of this area who are standing firm in their opposition to the apartheid system and their support for our movement, despite aggression and destabilisation by the Pretoria regime. Our common members resident in this region have been victims of assassination, kidnapping and other crimes carried out by the apartheid regime. This campaign of terror has, on occasion, forced us to evacuate our members to other countries. Nevertheless, we are strengthened by the knowledge that the peoples of our region are deeply committed to do what they can in the struggle for liberation, aware that they can know no peace until the apartheid system is no more.

Pretoria-Israel-US Axis

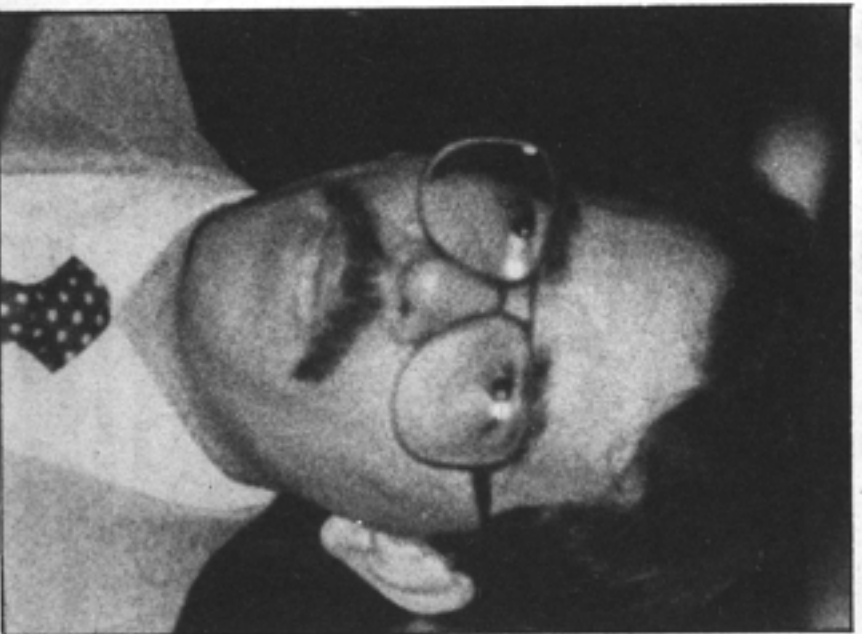
We salute also the Palestine Liberation Organisation, with whom we are united in a common struggle against the Pretoria-Tel Aviv-Washington Axis. These are forces that see both our peoples as nothing but disposable goods, a nuisance factor in their lives, semi-humans that can be disposed of without even so much as a slight twinge of conscience.

The concerted attempt to turn us away from the people of Palestine will not succeed. We recognise Zionism for what it is, a racist doctrine and practice which has turned the Palestinians into a homeless people, deprived the Arab people of their lands, turned the Middle East into a tinderbox of international tension and war, a threat to the independence, sovereignty and security of millions of people, as exemplified most recently by the invasion of Lebanon and Tunisia. Zionism and apartheid are but two sides of the same coin, twin forces of reaction which

we pledge to fight, side by side with the PLO, the Arab people, the Non-Aligned Movement and the rest of progressive humanity.

We extend our solidarity to the people of the Saharaoui Arab Democratic Republic, under the leadership of the Polisario Front. We support the efforts of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement and the United Nations to find a political solution to this question. We join others in urging the Kingdom of Morocco to co-operate with the SADR and the international community to establish conditions of justice and peace in this important area of Africa, on the basis of the respect of the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence.

The situation in Central America also constitutes an issue of major concern to our movement and people. We would accordingly like to reiterate here our solidarity with the people and government of Nicaragua, as well as with the Sandinista National Liberation Front. Similarly, we wish to express our support for the Farabundo Marti Liberation Front, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the struggling people of El Salvador.



President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua.

Counter-Revolution Exported

In these two countries, we have a concentrated expression of the confrontation between the peoples of the Americas who are striving for genuine national independence, democracy and non-alignment and, in opposition, the US Administration which seeks to keep this area of the world as a dependent sphere of influence, with its decision-making capital in Washington, DC. It would seem to us that the Reagan Administration is carrying out and refining a policy of the export of counter-revolution in Central and Southern America and the Caribbean which it would like to duplicate in this region of Africa, if nowhere else. Apart from what we have said already about Nicaragua and El Salvador, the economic blockade and destabilisation of Cuba, the invasion of Grenada, the maintenance of Puerto Rico as a dependency, the use of Honduras against its neighbours, the continued support for the Chilean junta, the complete disregard of the views of the peoples in their region, such as those of the Contadora Group, all indicate what the US Administration would like to repeat in Southern Africa, a region it considers of strategic importance to its global strategy.

We would therefore hope that the united weight of the Non-Aligned Movement will be brought to bear on the issues affecting the Americas, in the interest of the peoples of this continent, for the furtherance of the ideals which this movement holds dear and for the promotion of the cause of a just international order.

We Stand for Sovereignty of All Peoples

As this august assembly knows, there are other important questions to which it must address itself, including those of East Timor, Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the Iraq-Iran war and the issue of the unification of Korea. Like the rest of the progressive world, we would like to see a political solution of these conflicts in as short a time as possible.

Like others, we would like to avoid doing anything that would contribute to the exacerbation of tensions in these areas. However, we will continue to stand with those forces that fight for genuine national emancipation, for the sovereignty of peoples, for social progress and the resolution of international disputes by peaceful means.

The urgent need to save humanity from a

nuclear holocaust demands that we too should be active participants in the struggle for world peace. For us, this matter is made particularly pressing by the admitted fact that the Pretoria regime has a nuclear capability, thanks to the assistance it has received, especially from the United States, the FRG, France and Israel.

Disarmament and World Peace

We cannot but be gravely concerned at the positions taken by the US Administration, which responds to every disarmament initiative with policies designed to accelerate the arms race and obtain nuclear superiority. The refusal to ratify the last SALT Treaty, to stop the testing of nuclear weapons, to make a solemn undertaking never to be the first to use such weapons, as well as the militarisation of space through the so-called Special Defence Initiative, are among decisions taken by the US Government which indicate its unwillingness seriously to promote disarmament and world peace.

This is in keeping with the aggressive posture of the Reagan Administration, which has reserved for itself the right to attack any country to impose its will. This has already resulted in the invasion of Grenada and aggression against Libya, and the sponsorship of counter-revolutionary groups against the peoples of Angola, Nicaragua and Afghanistan.

All this gives encouragement to other forces of war, including the apartheid regime and Zionist Israel, which also carry out their own acts of aggression, sponsor bandit groups and keep in reserve the option of nuclear blackmail to stop the process of liberation.

We are certain that the Non-Aligned Movement will, during the current session, take additional measures to strengthen the movement towards disarmament and the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, for the reduction of international tension and the establishment of world peace. In this context, we would like to take advantage of this occasion to salute the peace movement which is increasingly taking up the issue of apartheid, having recognised that this system constitutes a threat to international peace and security and that the imperative of peace demands that the cause of justice in South Africa and Namibia must triumph.

International Economic Order

The crying need to overcome the grievous con-

sequences of an unjust international economic order also emphasises the urgency for the transfer of the huge material and human resources, currently committed to military purposes, to more humane uses.

In our own country large volumes of wealth created by the labour of our people have been diverted to the building of a huge military machine for the purpose of preserving a socio-economic order based on the enrichment of the White minority and the extreme impoverishment of the millions of Black people. These masses are prey to death by starvation, to the ravages of disease and the blight of ignorance — and this in a country which boasts of being an important industrial power and food producer, the so-called Persian Gulf of minerals.

We therefore deeply appreciate the fact that the Eighth Summit must spend a good amount of time discussing the question of a new international economic order, of the growing international debt of the member states, of problems brought about by unfair terms of trade, natural calamities such as drought and desertification. The solutions that must be found to these problems will themselves constitute a material factor strengthening the capacity of the Non-Aligned world to help us end the apartheid system and reconstruct South Africa as a country committed to the upliftment of all peoples.

SADCC: Historic Effort

The independent countries of our region are, through the SADCC, themselves involved in an effort of historic importance to reduce their economic links with apartheid South Africa, to build strong and independent economies and make it impossible for the racists to use their economic strength to compromise the sovereignty of these states.

The ANC has welcomed these initiatives and is convinced that the international community must do everything in its power to contribute to the success of the SADCC which, naturally, the apartheid regime wishes to destroy.

The victory of the Non-Aligned Movement in the wider struggle for a new international economic order, radically to raise the material welfare of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America permanently and continuously, would help the peoples of our region themselves to achieve these noble goals sooner rather than later.

Massive Destruction in Our Region

But, once more, we come back to the reality that we have as the southern neighbour of this country, apartheid South Africa, which also directly shares borders with four other independent states and, indirectly, with six. The fact of the matter is that, while this situation obtains, development and defence must of necessity be pursued side by side, with a consequent severe limitation on the very possibility of development.

Part of the history of our region during the last five years is a story of massive destruction. Pretoria's agents of death and destruction have repeatedly descended on Angola and Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana and Zambia and even as far afield as Seychelles with murder in their hearts and the weapons of war in their hands.

Botha continues to sit in Pretoria, an arrogant smirk on his lips, his continued presence in our midst the guarantee that we have yet to bury more people, see more buildings destroyed and witness the wherewithal for the livelihood of ordinary people wantonly laid to waste.

Enough is Enough!

The people of South Africa have now said: Enough is enough! The long nightmare of colonial and racist oppression and fascist terror must come to an end. The African National Congress has issued the directives to our people that we must now march forward to the capture of state power, the transformation of South Africa into a united, non-racial democracy. We are set on the path to victory.

We are fully conscious that success will not come easily. The apartheid regime continues to dispose of large military forces and material resources which will enable it to put up a desperate and costly resistance. We are also equally aware that the Botha regime still enjoys the support of powerful international allies, including the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany and France, all of which see this regime as their ally and our movement as their enemy.

And yet we are convinced that our victory is in sight. That conviction is based on the reality that the balance of forces in our country and internationally has changed fundamentally in favour of our national liberation movement. Through struggle, we have forced the enemy into



Cape Town, February 1986.

strategic retreat and have ourselves seized the strategic initiative permanently. In that process, we have built up the political and military forces which will enable us to keep that initiative in our hands and to stay on the offensive until liberation is achieved.

The message we are trying to convey to this historic Summit is that the strong winds that have been rocking the apartheid system are gaining in strength and will assume the force of a storm. No area of our country will remain untouched by the massive general offensive which we have to carry out to reach the situation in which the balance of strength tilts in our favour, sufficiently for us to carry out the final act of overthrowing the apartheid regime.

Millions Engaged in Mass Struggle

The millions of our people — in both urban and rural areas — have been, and are, engaged in mass struggles aimed at the systematic destruction of as many organs of the apartheid state power as possible as well as the neutralisation of the personnel manning this state machinery. As can be expected, the racist state has resisted this offensive with all means in its power.

That is why in the past two years we have had the extraordinary numbers of casualties which even Pretoria could not hide. Clearly, this regime could never countenance the situation in which its capacity to govern is being challenged successfully. For it to continue to govern means the necessity to demonstrate that it is governing. But since we do not accept its legitimacy, for us to take the struggle further means that we must in fact break down its apartheid stranglehold. We have to **make apartheid unworkable and the country ungovernable** as part of our progress towards the establishment of people's power.

In the course of this mounting struggle we have lost tens of thousands of patriots killed, injured or imprisoned. We accept this price as unavoidable. But it is a price which is only acceptable because, at the end of the day, these enormous sacrifices must lead us to victory. And this is exactly what these sacrifices have been about.

They have also been about the organisation and training of a mass army of political and military combat, the preparation in struggle of millions of people for all-out war to dislodge the apartheid regime from power. Today these masses stand

as firm as a rock, ready to make any sacrifice to achieve this goal. The enemy has lost all possibilities to subdue the people, regardless of the means of terror it might use and the extent of that terror.

Our People Call for Weapons

Openly our people are calling for modern weapons to enable them to march against Pretoria. In public demonstrations, they acclaim our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. A great number of combat units has been formed inside the country and all of them have been involved in action, using the limited means available to them.

Thus our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, continues to gain in strength and has available to it the forces to achieve our objective of developing our armed operations to the scale of a people's war. A critical requirement in all this, of course, is that we must ensure that the masses of our people are armed so that we can confront the enemy with modern weapons.

The mounting struggle has created enormous political and economic problems for the apartheid regime. The racist population is rent by sharp and worsening divisions and conflicts. These have spread into the ruling fascist party itself. The Pretoria regime can never succeed again to unite the White population to support its objectives.

Growing numbers of this population are speaking out against the apartheid system while others are joining the democratic movement as activists. Thousands of young Whites are refusing to serve in Pretoria's armed forces. Various sectors of the White population are working to strengthen their contact with our movement, having recognised that the apartheid system must end and that the ANC is the decisive force that must bring about this result.

Collapsing Economy

At the same time, the economy is experiencing a very deep recession. Unemployment has become so endemic that it is also affecting the White population. Personal and business bankruptcies continue to grow in a dramatic way. The enormous problems facing the economy are also graphically illustrated by the continuing drop in the value of the Rand and the inability of the country to meet its international debt obligations.

Overall, it is obvious that the apartheid system is confronted by the worst general crisis in its

history. This means that correspondingly this system has been seriously weakened. It has neither the political nor the economic strength to recover from this crisis or to recapture the strategic initiative. Instead, whatever the Pretoria regime does to solve the problems it faces only serves to deepen the crisis and thus further to debilitate the racist system.

An historic occasion that will further compound the general crisis of the Pretoria regime will be the observance by our people, both Black and White, of the 75th Anniversary of our movement, the ANC, beginning from our founding day, January 8th, 1987. During the course of that important political campaign, these masses will further reinforce the position of the ANC as their vanguard movement and reduce to an absurdity the ban imposed on us by the Pretoria regime. They will further consolidate their unity around our programme, the Freedom Charter, and our strategic and tactical line, as well as around the leadership.

In our millions, we shall, in action, bring nearer the reality of a democratic order in our country. We are convinced that the Non-Aligned Movement and the rest of progressive humanity will also take advantage of this historic anniversary further to increase their own involvement in the struggle for the birth of a united, democratic and non-racial South Africa.

Remain on the Attack

The situation in our country demands that we remain on the attack further to exacerbate the crisis of the apartheid system and thus weaken the racist regime. It is therefore clear that the objective conditions for an uninterrupted march towards liberation exist and that these conditions will improve as we intensify the struggle.

Similarly, as we have said, the subjective factor has also matured, with our people ready to mount any assault on the racist system, regardless of the price they have to pay in the process. All this confirms that we have reached the moment in our history when we must actually sue for victory by directing a concerted national and international onslaught against the apartheid regime, inspired by the knowledge that victory is indeed in sight.

Among our people there is great confidence and expectation that the 8th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement will make a decisive con-

tribution to the struggle to end the apartheid system. We are certain that the international community can and must deliver a body blow against the Pretoria regime in the form of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions.

This idea has gripped the minds of countless millions of people throughout the world. Everywhere the masses are demanding that the crime of apartheid must be brought to an end now and that, to do so, the Pretoria regime must be completely isolated immediately. In many of the Western countries, including the United States and the United Kingdom, the issue of apartheid has become a matter of national politics. Ordinary people respond to the calls of their anti-apartheid movements by demonstrating in their hundreds of thousands, demanding sanctions now.

Bold and Heroic Positions

We are particularly inspired and moved by the bold and heroic positions taken by the independent states in this region of Africa, not only to call for sanctions but themselves to impose them. This means that for the peoples of our region the economic war against apartheid is truly joined. We must expect that Pretoria will seek to multiply and extend its destruction of the economic infrastructures of the countries in this area, as it has already been doing with regard to Mozambique and Angola in particular.

Yet this Summit should know that the workers and the oppressed masses of South Africa will themselves be attacking the apartheid economy as part of the escalation of our own offensive against the racist regime. Further, as Pretoria increases its aggression to the scale of a generalised war, so must we, within our country, also deliver mighty armed blows in a generalised offensive against the common enemy.

Zimbabwe's assumption of the Chairmanship at this crucial hour means that, by virtue of her geo-political position, she must, brave general that she is, lead the forces of this Movement from the front. That exposed forward position, which she shares with the countries grouped around her, including a distinguished and rightly-respected former Chairman of this Movement and the present Chairman of the Frontline States, the Republic of Zambia, demands that the member states of this great Movement, individually and collectively, and the rest of the international com-

munity, should take all necessary measures to protect Zimbabwe and her neighbours.

United Resolve in Our Region

The readiness of the countries of Southern Africa to sacrifice for a speedy end to the apartheid system expresses the united resolve of the peoples of our region to pay whatever price is necessary to rid themselves and the rest of humanity of the scourge of fascism which, defeated in Europe and the Far East 41 years ago, was transplanted into African soil as the apartheid crime against humanity.

We are certain that the presence of so many distinguished leaders and statesmen on the very borders of racist South Africa will help to strengthen that resolve. We are also confident that, when these outstanding representatives of the Non-Aligned world leave us, they will transport that sense of commitment to the rest of the world, further to strengthen the internal movement of solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa and to galvanise it for the final assault on the bastions of racism, colonialism, fascism and war in this region.

We believe that the Summit has a task to draw up and adopt a plan of battle against apartheid reflecting the movement's own commitment to end this system and the immense new possibilities that have arisen, making it possible for us, collectively, to achieve this objective.

We believe that the Summit should issue a Special Declaration on Southern Africa and Call to Action addressed to all governments and peoples throughout the world. Such a declaration should unequivocally denounce the apartheid regime as illegitimate, as a criminal formation and an international outlaw. It should contain a call to the world community making it clear that humanity has a special political, legal and moral responsibility not merely to condemn but to take action now to destroy the bandit Pretoria regime. It should also categorise the apartheid system as a threat to international peace and security, requiring the urgent imposition of comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

International Support

We believe that the Summit must solemnly resolve that its member states will, collectively and individually, come to the aid of the Front Line and independent countries of Southern

Africa to help them to withstand and repulse Pretoria's aggression, to cope with the effect of sanctions against apartheid South Africa and to face the inevitable reprisals by the racists. We are convinced that this movement has the will and the resources to meet these objectives.

We believe that the Summit should send an unequivocal message to the Western allies of the apartheid regime and especially the United States, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Japan. That message should make clear the complete rejection by the millions of people represented by the Movement of the policies of so-called constructive engagement, quiet diplomacy and dialogue pursued by these governments to hide their continued collaboration with, and support for, the apartheid regime.

The Time to Choose

To this category belong also the stubborn attempt to link the presence of the defensive international Cuban troops in Angola to the urgent question of the independence of Namibia, as well as efforts to impose an East-West dimension on the struggle in Southern Africa. We are convinced that this Movement must speak with one united voice in saying that if the Western countries wish to keep political, economic and other business with this regime as normal as possible, they would thereby have made a decision that they are prepared to sacrifice their relations with the Non-Aligned world. Now is the time to choose.

We believe that the Summit should elect and dispatch a mission to the peoples of the world to visit as many countries as possible to talk to governments, political parties, trade unions, religious communities, anti-apartheid organisations and the people at large to put the case for mandatory as well as people's sanctions, for special assistance to the independent states of Southern Africa and for support for the liberation movement of Namibia and South Africa. The decisions of this Summit can be the clarion call which bonds together the world anti-apartheid movement to act with a new, concerted determination, a united purpose and intensity consonant with the urgent demands of the day.

We believe that the Summit should decide to request the Security Council of the United Nations to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against apartheid South Africa under

Chapter VII of the UN Charter. If necessary, in the light of possible vetoes by Pretoria's allies, the General Assembly should convene for peace, itself to impose these sanctions.

War Materials and Funds

We believe that the Summit should agree that all member states of the Non-Aligned Movement will increase their all-round assistance to the liberation movements of Southern Africa, SWAPO and the ANC, to increase our striking power so that we can carry out our historic mission of leading the millions of our peoples in a continuous and victorious assault on the apartheid system. Of particular importance are war materials and funds to enable us to mount and push through that assault.

Bearing in mind that victory once attained has to be defended and consolidated, we believe that the Summit should resolve that all member states of the Non-Aligned Movement have a duty to help us prepare for that future which is certain to come. This applies especially to the training of personnel in very many specialities, and the provision of possibilities for this trained cadre to gain experience in their chosen fields.

A few days ago, the Pretoria regime carried out yet another massacre in Soweto. This latest crime was the racists' continuing response to the demand of our people for justice, including the very right to life. It is also Pretoria's arrogant welcome and challenge to this Summit emanating from the same fascist contempt with which the racists received the Commonwealth Group of Eminent Persons, the racists who invaded and bombed Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe on May 19th this year.

Commonwealth Initiative

This new crime confirms the truths so brilliantly and honestly stated by the Group of Eminent Persons about the stubborn attachment of the Pretoria regime to its murderous apartheid policies, and its utter refusal to enter into any meaningful negotiations. It also confirms the correctness of the position taken by the six of the seven Commonwealth countries that met in London last month to impose sanctions against the regime, among them members of this Movement. We would like to take this opportunity once more to salute the Group of Eminent Persons, the countries of the Commonwealth and the Secretariat of this organisation, for the position they have



Thabo Mbeki, President Tambo and Tom Sabina at a press conference during the Harare summit.

taken to advance the cause of justice, democracy and peace in this region. We know that the British people, like those of the other major Western countries, will draw the right lessons from this latest Soweto Massacre.

We are also certain that the 8th Summit of the Non-Aligned Movement will respond to this brazen challenge in a fitting manner. For our part, we commit the African National Congress and the fighting people of our country to a pledge never to retreat, never to surrender and never to slow down the offensive which will result in the transfer of power to the people of South Africa and the restoration of peace to Southern Africa and our continent as a whole.

If for no other reason, those of us who are of sound body and mind owe it to the thousands who have died and are dying throughout Southern Africa, to do everything in our power to end the nightmare of apartheid. We owe that duty to Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Harry Gwala, Ahmed Kathrada, Elias Motsoaledi and the thousands of leaders and activists who are imprisoned or detained by the Pretoria regime. We have to achieve this objective in the name of our comrades who have been captured by the enemy and today face death sentences, as well as those who are forced to answer to illegal treason and other charges.

Sharing the Same Trench

We have reserved to the last our congratulations

to our dear brother, Comrade Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of the Republic of Zimbabwe, on his election as Chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. We did so the better to convey the measure of our appreciation of this important decision, taken on the historic occasion of the 25th anniversary of this Movement.

Together with you, Mr Chairman, and the heroic brother people whom you lead, we share the same trench of struggle. The fact that our peoples are bound by a common destiny does not need to be demonstrated. Nobody needs to be convinced about the reality that, under the leadership of your Party and Government, the people of Zimbabwe see themselves as faced with tasks that are no different from those confronting their brothers and sisters in Namibia and South Africa. This could not be otherwise, because, during the struggle to liberate yourselves and to extend the frontiers of freedom in Africa, you had physically to confront the apartheid regime in battle and reduce to inconsequence its support for its partner racists and colonialists of the Smith regime.

As Chairman, you have taken over as Chief-of-Staff of a movement that has transformed itself into a task force that will fight in both the forward and rear echelons, to complete the process of the total liberation of Africa to which the victory of the struggle in Zimbabwe made, and is making, such a historic contribution. Under your courageous, experienced and far-sighted leadership we are certain to march to victory.

ANC INTERNATIONAL

BIRTHDAY GREETINGS FROM RAJIV GANDHI TO NELSON MANDELA

On the occasion of Nelson Mandela's birthday on July 18th 1986, The Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi, sent the following message to Winnie Mandela:

"My warm greetings to Nelson Mandela on his 68th birthday.

To the people of India, and indeed to the entire civilized world, Nelson Mandela is a symbol of the free human spirit. We admire the heroic resistance of the people of South Africa to the inhuman apartheid regime. We salute the indomitable fortitude with which Nelson Mandela has borne his personal tribulations during his long incarceration in the pursuit of human rights and a majority government in South Africa.

We reiterate our demand for his immediate and unconditional release, together with all other freedom fighters of South Africa. We renew our pledge of solidarity with their just struggle against the racist regime. The course of history cannot be changed. Nelson Mandela will emerge victorious."

LETTERS OF SUPPORT

In the ANC International column in *Sechaba* we give information about the solidarity work done by our ANC missions outside the country, and about the sympathy for our struggle and support for the ANC shown continually by governments, organisations and individuals throughout the world. The support of individuals is demonstrated over and over again in letters received by our external missions. We give here extracts from some of those that have come to the London office over the past few months.

One letter was from a citizen of the United States living in London:

"Please accept this small donation along with my most profound respect. I know that the ANC exists and will, must, eventually triumph. Your struggle gives me strength to continue and believe that even the oppressive structure of my own country, the United States, can be torn down. To

victory, and the cessation of the wastage of human lives and minds and souls!"

Another correspondent, sending a donation, said simply:

"Reagan's speech made me reach for my cheque book! Good luck."

The secretary of a local branch of the British Labour Party wrote from an area in the north of England with a long tradition of political militancy:

"We are very pleased to be able to enclose a cheque to be used as you see best in the fight against apartheid.

"We raised this money on June 30th, at a special event in the Labour Club which was timed to coincide with South Africa's Day for Freedom."

One letter from Shrewsbury particularly moved us, as it came from a veteran fighter against fascism. It read:

"I enclose a cheque ... for the ANC. I would wish the money to be used for the **armed** struggle against the Pretoria regime.

"As a Christian I believe it is right to take up arms in such a just cause when all other measures have failed, as they most assuredly have failed, in the struggle to overthrow the present government in South Africa."

"I am a retired Christian minister, now 70 years old, a veteran of the Spanish Civil War and the war against Hitler.

"With all good wishes and my prayers for your success."

A woman from Liverpool sent us a carbon copy of a letter she had sent in August to Geoffrey Howe, the British Foreign Secretary:

"After Thursday's announcement of Mrs Thatcher's pathetic concessions towards sanctions against South Africa, I am writing to tell you that I feel ashamed at this moment to be British ...

"I wish to dissociate myself completely from my government's stance on this issue and I am sending £100 to the ANC as a sign of this. I wish I could do more."

CONTINUED ON PAGE 18

MARTYRS OF THE STRUGGLE

Since 1985 the South African people have been subjected to vicious attacks from right-wing vigilantes armed and sponsored by the regime. All areas of the country have been terrorised, from Inkatha's Amabutho in Natal to the Mbokhato in KwaNdebele; the 'A-Team' in Thabong and Chesterville to the Amosolomzi in Ashton. Other areas like Kagiso have witnessed the nightly terror of armed Whites who patrol the township maiming and killing. Witdoeke, aided by the police, have devastated the Crossroads/KTC area making over 300 000 people homeless. Many activists have lost homes, cars and been severely injured.

Below is a list of just some of those who have died since the beginning of 1986.

January: **Ian Zamisa**, organiser of the SA Allied Workers' Union, killed by A-team vigilantes in Chesterville, Durban.

February: **Tobias 'Tom-Tom' Mgbhozi**, head of the UDF affiliated KwaDengezi Residents' Association, near Hammarsdale, stabbed to death by vigilantes.

February: **Maria Khumalo**, mother of Mamelodi activist, George Ben Khumalo, died when her home was petrol-bombed.

March: **Eric Matyali**, Black Sash worker in Nkqubela township near Robertson, stabbed to death by township vigilantes.

March: **Esther Madiphoso Masuku (51)**, member of both the Saulsville/Atteridgeville Residents' and Women's Organisations killed by a grenade attack on her home.

March: **Stephen Matshogo (22)**, killed by White vigilantes in Kagiso. His head was pulp, and his body was described as 'unrecognisable as human.'

March: **James Mehlala (56) and Venfelo Sitwaye (38)**, Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the New Crossroads Committee, killed by the 'fathers' in New Crossroads.

April: **Johannes Radebe (22)**, Sebokeng youth, killed by vigilantes after being acquitted of charges of high treason and for allegedly killing a councillor.

May: **William Olifant**, leading activist of the SA Allied Workers' Union at Nordfeld in Lichtenburg, abducted and killed by Whites while walking home from the local police station.

May: **Dumisani Ximba**, Umzuvele SRC leader in KwaMashu, abducted and hacked to death by 'Amabutho'.

May: **Martha Montoedi and her children, Elizabeth (28), Motsei (15) and Lucky (9), and grandchild Thabo (2)**, all killed when their home in Kagiso was petrol-bombed. Martha's husband, Morgan, a voluntary welfare worker with the Krugersdorp Residents' Organisation, was seriously injured in the attack.

May: **Joyce Modimoeng**, killed when her home was attacked by a home-made bomb. Her husband, David, a Metal and Allied Workers' Union organiser in Brits, who worked with the Brits Action Committee resisting forced removal to Letlabile, was seriously injured.

June: **Diliza Matshoba**, UDF member, ex-Robben Island prisoner and SA Council of Churches worker, killed apparently in a road accident. His mother said his face had not a scratch on it though his car was battered and burnt out.

June: **Anthony Dlamini (66)**, Metal and Allied Workers' Union member, killed at his KwaMashu home by vigilantes led by a councillor and local Inkatha leader.

July: **Thomas Mabedhle (31) and Morris Chauke (24)**, Soweto residents, killed by heavily armed men calling themselves the 'A-Team'.

September: **Jomo Mkhize**, UDF youth organiser, abducted and beaten to death by vigilantes.



Above: Chief Ampie Mayisa, a leading member of the Leandra Action Committee, holding a bullet intended for him in September 1983. In January 1986, he was hacked to death by vigilantes.

Right: Nyameka Goniwe and her two children, after the brutal murder of her husband, Matthew Goniwe, together with Fort Calata, Sparrow Mkhonto and Sicelo Mhlawuli in June 1985. Their spirit is not broken.



The funeral of Sipiwe Ngcobo, killed by police days before he was to testify in court against the 'A-Team' vigilantes, Chesterville, August 1986.

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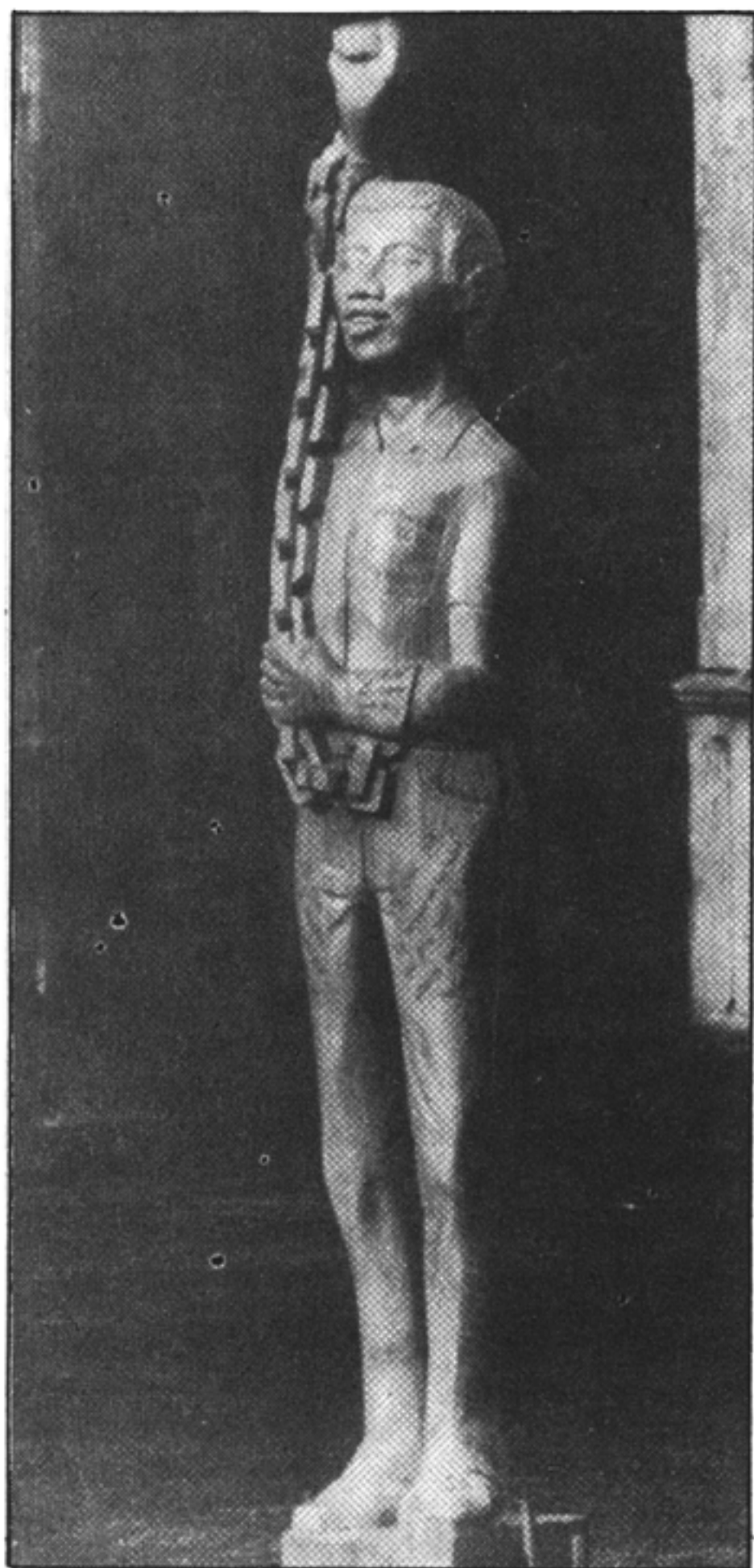


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'Liberez Nelson Mandela'
by Henri-Philippe Delcourt

FRANCE: ANTI-FASCIST SOLIDARITY

The people of France still remember the Nazi occupation of their country during the war of 1939-1945, and still honour as heroes those who fought in the underground resistance of that time.

On September 27th 1986, the town of Mondigny-en-Gohelle, in the north of the country, commemorated the day, 45 years ago, when the fascists murdered 300 freedom fighters there,

and at the same time it paid tribute to our own present struggle for freedom in South Africa.

A new cultural centre in the town stands in a square newly named "The Square of Friendship Among Peoples." The square was unveiled by the attache of the Soviet Embassy, and at the same ceremony Comrade Dulcie September, ANC Chief Representative in France, unveiled a piece of sculpture entitled "Free Nelson Mandela" ("Liberez Nelson Mandela") in the entrance hall of the cultural centre. The statue was carved from oak by a Roman Catholic priest, Henri-Philippe Delcourt.

Sanctions Walk

Pierre Camara and his ten-year-old daughter walked 1 257 kilometres from Toulon to Paris, in memory of the Soweto massacre of 1976. They collected 5 000 signatures against Total, which supplies fuel to the SA police and army.

RUNNERS RUN FOR THE ANC

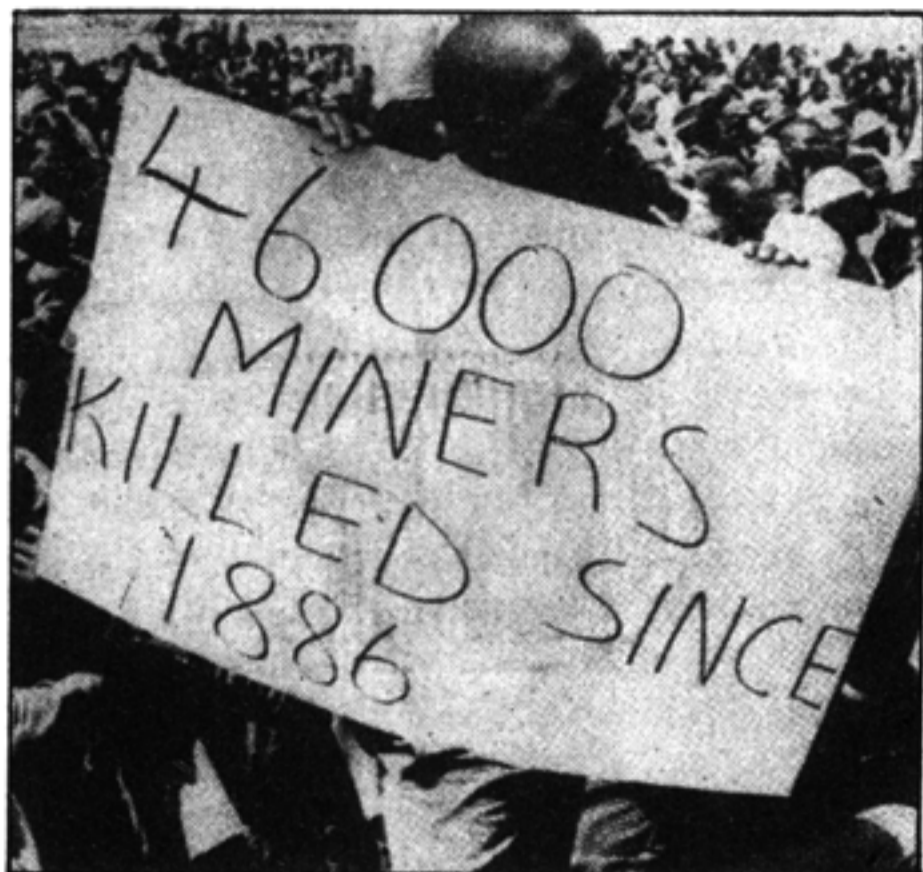
For three years, since 1984, a team of members and supporters of the ANC, led by 75-year old Comrade Errol Shanley, have run the London Marathon to raise funds for the ANC. Over the years, the team has grown from two members to 11; they run wearing "Free Nelson Mandela" T-shirts, have generally made good times, and altogether have raised about £3 500 pounds so far.

On September 7th 1986, Comrade Shanley and Comrade Arnold Selby (another veteran runner) took part in a 15-kilometre Peace Race in Gothenburg in Sweden, together with 25 other ANC comrades, some of them studying in Sweden. All wore "Free Mandela" T-shirts for the run.

The Proletarian Football Club in Gothenburg, which organised the event, presented all 1 800 participants in the race with a medal minted with the emblem of MK and with the words: "Peace Run — Support the ANC — Proletarian Football Club — Gothenburg 1986."

The race drew a good deal of attention, and members of the ANC joined Swedish comrades in going among the crowd with collection boxes, for ANC funds.

At the celebrations afterwards, Comrade Lindiwe Mabuza, ANC Chief Representative in Sweden, made a speech; souvenir gifts and messages of friendship were exchanged.



A miner at the memorial service at Secunda for those killed at Kinross.

At about nine in the morning on Tuesday September 16th 1986, a fire broke out on Level 15 of No 2 Shaft at Kinross, a gold mine owned by the General Mining Corporation (Gencor) at Evander, about 130 kilometres east of Johannesburg. A spark from a welder's torch set a gas cylinder alight. Rubber and plastic insulation on nearby cables caught fire, and so did polyurethane foam used to line the tunnel. Those who survived have given accounts of the panic as the tunnel filled with flames and deadly smoke; of the men who succumbed and fell; of badly burned bodies; of men who were unable to get into the cages and who jumped down a shaft several kilometres deep.

More than 2 000 miners got to the surface, but these were mostly from other levels. On Level 15, bodies were later found spread out in groups over a radius of a kilometre and a half. In the end, it was found that 177 miners had died — 172 Black and five White — that five Black miners were missing, and that 235 had been injured. The names of the dead Black miners were not released at first, for their families had to be notified before the news of their deaths became public, and many families were far away — some in Malawi, some in Mozambique, some in remote villages in Lesotho, some in the bantustans. There was no such problem with the names of the dead White miners, as they were not migrant

LIFE IS CHEAP: GOLD IS DEAR

By Jean Middleton

workers; their families were close by and had been told almost at once.

NUM Accuses Gencor

Cyril Ramaphosa, secretary of the National Union of Mineworkers, went down to inspect the shaft the day after the disaster — though the mine denied entry to the union safety officer — and spoke out afterwards about the dangers he found there. He claimed the accident could have been avoided. He said welders down the Kinross mine had no fire extinguishers with them, and that there was no extinguisher near where the fire had broken out. The tunnel lining and the cable insulation were highly inflammable and made of toxic materials which should not have been in use underground. There was no alarm system, so that many of those who died might have got away if they had been warned in time — in fact the mine management itself hadn't known of the disaster till ten minutes had passed.

In what followed, the role played by the National Union of Mineworkers cannot be overestimated. In the space of a few years it has grown from its beginnings into a powerful union, and now it has the whole power of COSATU behind it. At the time of the disaster, it was engaged in negotiations over wages, had just turned down an offer from the employers, and was talking of industrial action. It had also just

published a pamphlet, *A Thousand Ways to Die*, criticising safety precautions in South African mines. The NUM led public questioning about how the disaster could have happened, invited experts from overseas to inspect the mine, and — with the support of COSATU — called for an inquiry. It also called for a work stoppage on October 1st. Ramaphosa said the members of the NUM were "very angry" at the "terrible disaster."



*A miner underground —
600-800 are killed in accidents every year.*

Gencor Covers Up

The Kinross management must have felt that giving Ramaphosa access to the area of the disaster was something it could not avoid, for in other ways it lost no time in taking steps that looked very like a cover-up, a cover-up that might have been successful had Ramaphosa not gone down when he did. A long-standing agreement between the Chamber of Mines and the press provides that, when the news of a mining accident is first received, the press should be notified at once with

what details are available, but Gencor delayed the news for eight hours, and after that kept all reporters away from the area of the shaft and from the injured in hospital.

Later, when questioned by the press, Gencor management gave defensive and unsatisfactory replies. The inflammable nature of polyurethane foam, the fact that it gives off toxic fumes when burning, has been well publicised over the past few years, and this foam — together with other combustibles — has been banned from British mines since the late sixties. One spokesman said they hadn't known till the day after the fire that the foam was inflammable, and hadn't tested it for safety — though it hadn't been used in Gencor mines since 1981. He also said he couldn't remember why the mine had recently been reduced from a five-star to a two-star safety rating under an international rating scheme. He took refuge from other questions by saying the matter was 'sub judice,' though no enquiry had as yet been set up. Another spokesman refused to comment on Ramaphosa's statement that there was no fire extinguisher close by.

Gencor was showing signs of anxiety. At the same press conference, the executive chairman said, "We owe it to the living to critically re-examine our procedures," and a couple of days later the company announced it was to introduce oxygen masks for workers underground. This anxiety seems to have been shared by the rest of the industry; a small mining house called Rand Mines announced that it was stripping out the polyurethane foam it had been using, and on September 20th, the Chamber of Mines issued a statement saying it would open its doors to visiting teams of experts: "We have nothing to hide," the statement said.

Pretoria Defends SA Mines

Very soon after the disaster, Pretoria itself was making statements. The Minister of Mineral and Energy Affairs went down the Kinross shaft (to "assess the damage," according to *City Press* of September 21st) and on Thursday 18th announced that a judicial enquiry would be held. The Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, criticised South African safety precautions and called for international experts to be allowed down No 2 Shaft at Kinross. Pik Botha, Minister of Foreign Affairs in Pretoria, sprang to the defence of the

South African mining industry, saying it was time that "false allegations" about South African safety standards were exposed. He invited Mr Genscher to come with the "best German experts" to see for themselves.

Meanwhile, the NUM had invited a team of German, Swedish and British experts to inspect the mine. At about the same time as Pik Botha and the Chamber of Mines were making their statements, however, the Kinross management refused to allow this team entry. It later agreed in principle to a visit from experts, but refused to specify a date.

Death Toll

Cyril Ramaphosa said Gencor was giving itself time: "hiding the information and getting rid of the evidence." On September 18th, interestingly enough, there appeared in the London *Financial Times* an article by a British mining engineer who had worked in South Africa in the late sixties, showing that such cover-ups are nothing new. He described what had happened after a mine worker had been crushed against the wall underground:

"... within hours ... special teams of mine officials were on to the spot, installing adequate lighting, putting up safety signs, carefully re-whitewashing the walls around the bloodstains and making sure everyone knew what to tell the inspectors."

Gencor had good reason to feel anxious. The accident at Kinross was the second worst disaster in South African mining history. The worst was in January 1960, when a fall of rock trapped 435 men at Coalbrook, a Gencor colliery in the Transvaal. Boreholes were drilled, but the men were never rescued and their bodies never recovered. There were suspicions that the rockfall might have been caused by an explosion of methane gas, the highly combustible killer that lurks in seams of coal. At the enquiry later that year it turned out that no test for methane gas had been made before the shift went down, and there were stories about how the men on the shift had not wanted to go down at all.

Gencor had also owned the Hlobane colliery near Vryheid in Northern Natal until a few months before the methane gas explosion in 1983, which killed 68 men. At the inquest it was revealed that testing for methane gas had been inadequate, that the ventilation system which

should have dispersed the gas was not working properly and that some of the underground machinery was not flameproof.

A Million Serious Injuries

Gencor is not the only South African mining company that is criminally negligent about standards of safety. A study by Alida Kooy, printed in the *South African Labour Bulletin* of march 1979 estimated that 800 people are killed in mining accidents every year. A study, published in April 1986 by the International Labour Organisation in Geneva, gave the figure as 600. It said also that, since the beginning of the century, accidents in South African gold mines alone have killed more than 46 000 workers and seriously injured over one million. It said that this accident rate was among the highest in the world.

The reality is even worse than appears from these figures, as they combine the statistics from deep-level mines with those from drift mines. The accident rate is high in deep-level mines like the gold mines of the Witwatersrand which are several kilometres deep, while in drift mines, which are only 40-50 metres deep, the accident rate is comparatively low. The combined statistics, therefore, are misleadingly good. Also, the accidents recorded are only those that have been reported, and under South African regulations an accident becomes reportable only if it prevents a man returning to work before the 14th day; while in Britain a reportable accident is one that prevents a miner from working for more than three days, and in the United States if it prevents him from doing his next shift.

The starring system mentioned earlier is administered locally — in South Africa by the Chamber of Mines — and supposedly according to international standards. It was the South African Chamber of Mines that had reduced Kinross from a five-star to a two-star mine even before the disaster took place in September, yet it seems that the South African Chamber of Mines, while applying international criteria, applies them according to very low standards of its own. After the disaster at Hlobane, international experts reported that South African standards fall far below what would be acceptable in Europe and the United States.

Figures published by the Chamber of Mines itself give a death rate of 1.96 per thousand in 1941 to 1.62 in 1984, so there has been no real

improvement in over 40 years. The Chamber of Mines Research Organisation has an annual budget of R40m (about £11m), but so little regard does the organisation pay to the lives of the men who work down its mines that less than 2% of this budget is set aside for research into health and safety. The other 98%, we must presume, goes to find new ways of reducing the cost of production, of making higher profits for the investors.

"It is the racist and exploitative conditions in the pursuit of super-profits that makes mining in South Africa one of the most dangerous occupations in the world."

South African Congress of Trade Unions

Job Reservation and Safety

The NUM has also confronted the question of safety and its relation to job reservation on South African mines. The Mines and Works Act has little to say about safety, being more concerned with division of labour between Black and White workers; and in this division it is the Whites alone who are trained in mining skills, in the use of explosives, and also in knowledge of safety procedures, and it is, therefore, White miners who are responsible for the safety of all workers down the mine. (When the fire at Kinross broke out, while some White miners were killed, many fled to the cages and went up to the surface, leaving the Black miners behind — an act of cowardice that shows unbelievable negligence, and lack of responsibility towards their fellow-workers).

Also, as the system of job reservation on the mines breaks down, so do safety precautions. The statement the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU) issued in response to the Kinross disaster said:

"Indeed, this has been one of the major grievances affecting Black mine workers, whose lives are daily placed at great risk because of labour practices enshrined in the law which protect White workers at the expense of Black workers, which block the proper training (and therefore adequate payment) of Black miners, and which encourage recklessness and disrespect for Black miners' lives by White miners, because their bonus system is linked to output."

The pamphlet, *A Thousand Ways to Die*, which was put out by the NUM as a report "by the workers for the workers," and was intended for the use of mineworkers themselves, deals with this issue. One passage reads:

"White miners do not spend much time at the stopes any more. They are not doing what the law says they must do. They no longer make safe and do inspections. They no longer mark off drill holes and remove misfires. They don't even work with explosives any more.

"Team leaders are now doing the work of White miners — and they are the ones who are now looking after the safety of the team in the stopes. But team leaders do not have the same training as White miners. They can't tell the team to leave the working place if it is dangerous ...

"The Mines and Works Act says workers must call a White miner if conditions are dangerous. The White miner must then 'make safe.' But workers do not often call the White miner. They know he will not come ... A team leader will only call a White miner if he can't make a place safe — and if conditions are very dangerous."

South African mining legislation provides little protection for mineworkers who refuse to work in unsafe areas. *A Thousand Ways to Die* has this to say:

"The mines use threats and punishment to make the work go faster. If workers stop because the working place is not safe, they may get charged — and sometimes even fired. The fear of punishment makes workers take more chances in the stopes — and when workers take more chances, they have more accidents.

"Most workers say that training for new workers is not good enough."

The NUM has been pressing for the right of mineworkers to have a say in safety measures — the right to proper health and safety training and to all information about health and safety, together with the right to refuse dangerous work, the right to go with inspectors on all inspections without loss of pay, and the right to elect safety stewards and safety committees. Here the NUM has been supported by the Black Allied Mining and Construction Workers' Union, which also has members in the industry, and which issued a statement blaming the Kinross disaster on:

"the carelessness of the local management and its safety officers."

It said more lives would be lost unless mineworkers are able to exercise their right to determine that the work conditions they are exposed to are safe.

'Compensation' for Death and Injury

The NUM has also brought to the notice of the public another aspect of the situation: that of compensation for the bereaved families and for the injured men. The dependants of workers who are killed get a lump sum equivalent to two years' wages; and in the case of Black miners a further sum for two years' food and lodging allocated to them in the mine compound (which should, of course, be regarded as part of their wages in any case). Shortly after the Kinross disaster, the Chamber of Mines made a statement claiming that the payments were equal for Black and White miners, but the NUM rejected this idea, on the grounds that, as wages for Blacks are lower than those for Whites, Black benefits are correspondingly lower.

For the injured, compensation is only 75% of wages while off work — but not for the first three days, unless the worker is off for 14 days. This means that a worker who is off five days, for example, gets only 75% of the wages he would have received for two days — the fourth and fifth. It is clearly in the interests of the employers to get injured men back to work within 14 days. The injured workers are treated in mine hospitals by doctors on the payroll of the mine, and there must be pressure on these doctors to pass the workers fit for work as soon as possible.

The mining industry is not the only South African industry with a bloodstained record. On March 25th 1986, in reply to a question in the White parliament in Cape Town, the Minister of Manpower gave the overall figures for industrial accidents for the year 1982, the most recent year for which figures were available. In that year, a total of 1 915 people had been killed at work: 26 Asians, 128 Coloureds, 1 578 Africans and 183 Whites. A total of 23 920 had been permanently disabled as a result of injuries sustained at work: 207 Asians, 1 508 Coloureds, 20 518 Africans and 1 687 Whites.

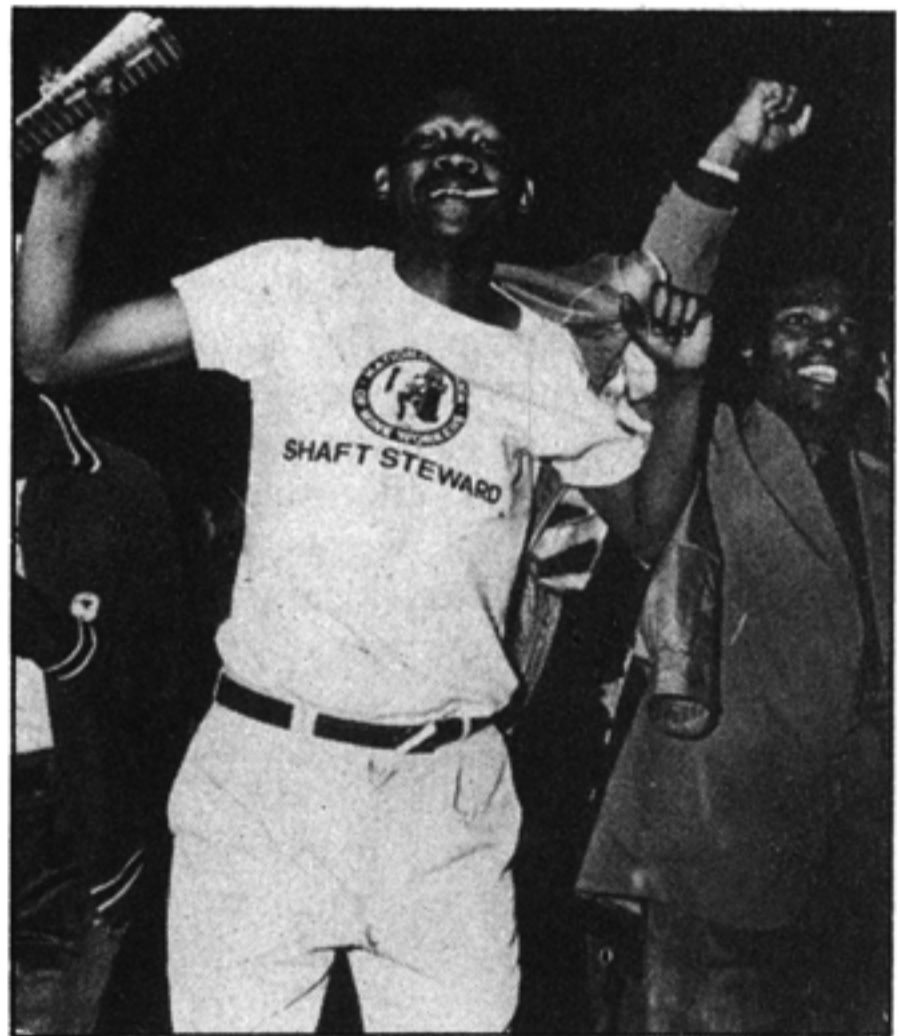
Blood on the Gold

In September 1986, 200 demonstrators picketed Harvard University in the United States, protesting against investment of university funds in

South Africa. To Secretary of State George Schultz, who was visiting the university that night, they cried: "Hey, hey, ho, ho, there's blood on your portfolio."

There's blood on South African gold, on South African coal, and on all South African products. Those who argue in favour of 'dialogue' between the Western nations and South Africa, and 'constructive engagement' would do well to remember that. In all the years of 'dialogue' they have done nothing to improve safety standards; nothing to teach a higher regard for human life to those who employ South African labour. Why should they? Their super-profits depend on a system where life is cheap, gold and coal are dear.

Today the miners have the power of the NUM.



In its statement on the Kinross disaster, SACTU said:

"It is the racist and exploitative conditions in the pursuit of super-profits that makes mining in South Africa one of the most dangerous occupations in the world."

Those who argue that sanctions would hurt the Black worker most should remember that the South African NUM, representative of the workers still working down South African mines, as well as those who have been killed and injured, has more than once called for increased economic pressure on the South African regime.

UMKHONTO WE SIZWE LET US MOVE TO AN ALL-OUT WAR

By Cassius Mandla

Since 1979 the African National Congress has designated each year after one or other major milestone in the long and glorious history of our struggle for freedom. It started with 1979 itself which was designated "The Year of The Spear" to commemorate the intrepid resistance of the Isandlwana warriors who gave British colonial forces a bloody nose in 1879. Much celebration about the real significance of Isandlwana was done in our ranks and in the democratic movement at home and the declaration of the year, "The Year of The Spear" was taken seriously, having been something unprecedented in the entire history of our people. That act of the NEC jolted us into serious introspection.

Today it does look as if our attitude towards the designation of years after watershed events has become complacent. We show little visible sign of looking anew and critically at the subject of the designation of the year in progress. It is now taken as a habit that a year will be designated after one or other landmark; whereas the purpose is to galvanise the entire liberation movement and the masses into action and thought that will demonstrate anew that we are meritorious custodians and continuers of the unflagging courage and determination of our forefathers.

Years designated after historic landmarks must be commemorated not only in propaganda or by seminars and major public meetings on the date of the great anniversary. Attitudes must change and our commitment and contribution to the struggle critically re-examined. It is only in this way that the intended renewal of our spirits and escalation of the struggle can be achieved.

Year of Umkhonto We Sizwe

1986 is The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe. By this it is not intended that we slaughter heads of cattle and celebrate the survival of our liberation army for 25 years in the face of cruel, consistent and determined attempts by the enemy to crush

it. It is no doubt a credit to Umkhonto we Sizwe that it has not just survived the enemy's blows against it but has also grown in spite of them into an army that is far beyond the expectations of its founders. But armies don't celebrate the enemy's failure to defeat them. They celebrate their defeat of the enemy.

The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe must for us be an occasion for re-examination of our strategic and tactical priorities. The purpose is to prevent them fossilizing, thus ensuring that they remain alive and equal to the demands put to them by the growing challenges of the struggle and the urgency of winning victory.

The formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe 25 years ago introduced the tactic of revolutionary violence in our struggle for freedom. It is appropriate in The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe to pose the question: What are the strategic objectives of the tactic of armed struggle in our revolution? From the way this tactic has been used in the past 25 years, and from how it is understood by different sections of the movement, there seem to be different interpretations of the tactic of armed struggle.

The Purpose of Armed Struggle

What is the strategic objective of the tactic of armed struggle? This question will provoke the kind of discussion that is necessary to arrive at a uniform understanding of the place of this tactic in our struggle. Without this uniform understanding we have a crisis in the effective use of Umkhonto we Sizwe for the attainment of our political objectives. The fundamental question of armed struggle is: is its purpose to demonstrate to the oppressors and their friends at home and abroad that the oppressed can be dangerous if they want to be, or is it to wage war for freedom until victory?

When armed struggle in our country has a quarter-century history this question may sound

strange at best. But it has a critical bearing on the conduct of armed struggle. If, for instance, our strategic objective of armed struggle is to demonstrate that we can make the enemy bleed and die, the purpose being to force him to a negotiating table or to introduce universal adult suffrage without racial discrimination, in practice we will wage the war differently from the way we would if our strategic objective was to wage war for freedom until victory. We are talking here of armed struggle as a pressure tactic, and armed struggle as warfare. Which of the two is it really in our revolution? The Year of Umkhonto we Sizwe demands that we examine these questions and their answers and see how, in practice, we have been affected by their being answered in one way or another or by their being answered ambiguously.

Armed Struggle as a Pressure Tactic

We always stress that the politics of our struggle is primary. In line with this assertion, armed

struggle is defined as a continuation of our politics by violent means. This is true. Therefore the waging of armed struggle as a pressure tactic or as warfare must perforce be traced back to its primary issue — its politics.

What is our political line? It would be pretence for anybody to suggest an obvious and generally accepted answer to this question. The main purpose here is an *a posteriori* interpretation of the practice of our revolution. Otherwise formulated, the question is: What is our political objective? Do we want the enemy to come to terms with us and recognise the legitimacy and invincibility of our cause? Are we engaged in an act of convincing the enemy or do we want the enemy removed completely, whether convinced or not about the justice of our cause?

Armed struggle as a pressure tactic has as its political basis the objective of forcing the enemy to come to terms with our political demands. Once this is the purpose, in reality there will be no liberation war.



A comrade in action, KTC squatter camp, June 1986.

A very small number of guerrillas is needed to realise the objective of waging armed struggle as a pressure tactic. If it were not for casualties, at a certain stage recruitment would be called off, for enough manpower is available to keep it constantly in the mind of the enemy that we mean business.

Armed Struggle as Warfare

The strategic objective that necessitates the waging of armed struggle as warfare is to defeat the enemy totally, and replace him with completely new faces representing a different socio-political order. In the new order, and in the efforts to construct it, the enemy has no role. There is no contribution he can make towards the new order, not only because he is hated, but because he has defined himself as irrelevant to the new order by maintaining the present so ardently that it was necessary for blood to be shed for the new order to emerge.

In the politics of armed struggle as warfare the enemy is seen as an obstacle that must be removed by all those who are interested in defeating the status quo.

Soldiers become a much-sought-after gem when armed struggle is war until victory. There is no stage where it can be said the number available is sufficient, for the purpose is to deploy them in every nook and cranny of the country. The more the manpower with courage to fight, the easier the task of defeating the enemy.

We do not engage in warfare as an occupation but as an inevitable necessity imposed on us against our free choice because there is no serious hope of winning freedom by any other means. We therefore wage it in such a way that it must come to an end sooner rather than later. Once armed struggle is waged as warfare it's war to the knife constantly until victory.

Our Understanding of Armed Struggle In the Past Quarter-Century

At its beginning, armed struggle was understood in our liberation movement as a pressure tactic. Its pioneers saw it as having four forms whose effectiveness as a language of communication with the enemy differed. In his speech from the dock in the Rivonia Trial in 1964, Nelson Mandela identified these four forms: sabotage, guerrilla warfare, terrorism and open revolution.

The fact that sabotage was the first to be used underscores the fact that armed struggle was a

tactic to pressure the regime to negotiate a dispensation acceptable to the oppressed. Again, in his speech from the dock, Mandela said:

"We felt that planned destruction of power plants, and interference with rail and telephone communications would tend to scare away capital from the country, make it more difficult for goods from the industrial areas to reach the sea-ports on schedule, and would in the long run be a heavy drain on the economic life of the country, thus compelling the voters of the country to reconsider their position."

For a long time the liberation movement had spoken by word of mouth to the powers that be to accommodate the legitimate demands of the majority for a democracy that did not exclude them. These demands had not been heeded — they were, on the contrary, silenced. Having been gagged, we sought still to speak to the same people who had turned a deaf ear to our voice over the decades. We then adopted sabotage.

The ANC leader, Wilton Mkwayi, told the court when he was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1964:

"... Sabotage is not the beginning of war but a letter of invitation to the government and the White minority of South Africa to come to (the national) convention."

Sabotage was a language of the transition period from peaceful campaigns to the use of revolutionary violence if the oppressors continued being adamant. The next step would be guerrilla warfare. Terrorism was to be avoided, and no views were expressed on open revolution at that stage. This step-by-step espousal of violent means was a result of their being regarded as a tactic of pressuring the oppressors to open their ears and hearts to the demands of the oppressed. It was commonly accepted that the key to change was in the hands of the apartheid-colonialists. The historical role of the oppressed was to pressure the key-holders to unlock the doors to the future of a comprehensive democracy. This was the politics of the period. The oppressors had erected a demarcation wall on democracy, with the oppressed on the other side of the wall where there was no democracy. Our struggle was for the demarcation wall to be removed by those who had erected it, so that we could join them in the enjoyment of democracy. The use of armed

struggle as an instrument of pressure was consonant with the politics of the time.

A Step Ahead

This forlorn hope never even survived the first acts of the sabotage campaign. It had been hoped that there would be a positive response to sabotage, if not from the oppressive bureaucracy, then from the White electorate. This was not to be. White response to the sabotage campaign was, in the words of Nelson Mandela (in the speech already mentioned):

"... characteristically violent. The government threatened to take strong action and called upon its supporters to stand firm and to ignore the demands of the Africans. The Whites failed to respond by suggesting change; they responded to our call by suggesting the laager."

In the light of this, the next step ahead took a matter of months rather than years. Within a short time Mandela and the High Command were making preparations for the start of the next phase, the use of armed struggle, that of guerrilla warfare. The political objectives were still those of bringing pressure to bear on those who wielded power to induce them to stop ignoring the demands of the oppressed. It was still assumed that the decisive political role belonged to the regime.

The debacle suffered by the entire liberation movement with Rivonia and after resulted in the re-definition of the liberation movement's political strategic objective. We were to wage the struggle with the aim of seizing power. It was the dawn of a new era of revolutionary politics. Since in any revolution the question of political power is central, our political contest was no exception to this rule. It was an act of wrestling with the enemy for possession of political power. This line had won complete victory in our movement from 1969 onwards.

At this stage also, the understanding of the strategic objective of the tactic of armed struggle underwent a change in tandem with that of the final political goals. Armed struggle was espoused as a tactic. In 1969, the ANC document, *Strategy and Tactics*, said it was waged to:

"... develop conditions for the future **all-out war** which will eventually lead to the **conquest of power**".

It has been demonstrated here that our understand-

ing of armed struggle as a tactic has undergone a two-stage evolution in its 25-year history. Today armed struggle is in the historical era where it is warfare by the oppressed led by their liberation movement. It is not the only form of our people's struggle for the genuine decolonisation of their country, but it is the decisive one.



Roads dug up to trap armoured vehicles in Alexandria, April 1986.

Where We Stand Today

Earlier, when discussing the difference between armed struggle as a pressure tactic and armed struggle as warfare, we stressed that when it is warfare and is unambiguously accepted as such, armed struggle must be waged mercilessly, without stinting the resources necessary for its escalation. This follows logically from what is demanded by its being understood and accepted as warfare. War is fought to be won. It is not fought as if its end, in victory or defeat, would be regretted. It is not fought with the thought that when it ends soldiers will have no employment. In times of peace soldiers are happily demobilised so that they can lead normal lives with their families. We should not be eclectic in our approach to our real strategic objectives. Armed

struggle as a pressure tactic is a thing of the past; today it is warfare waged to win victory as soon as we can.



The Way Forward

We are at that stage of the development of our struggle where the enemy has no role in the solution of our problems. We have had to travel a long and arduous path to the point where we ourselves, and ourselves only, are the makers of our freedom. At this stage we must not, inadvertently, revert to the times when we assigned an undeserved role to our oppressors in the process of our liberation. There can be no going back to the practice of frittering away our energy in activities calculated to prick the case-hardened conscience of the White oppressors to invite us to negotiations to bring about a dispensation acceptable to him and to us. We are for a dispensation that excludes the enemy as a factor in its making.

In these circumstances any hope that the enemy can be coaxed into co-operating in the process

of our liberation is based on the wayward assumption that, at a certain stage of our exerting pressure, the regime will come with the noose for its own neck.

For the struggle to move forward, the imperative facing us is to raise the level of armed struggle to that of the intensity and extensiveness of the mass battles that our people have been waging continuously for just over two years. Having achieved that, armed struggle and mass resistance must merge into the tidal wave of an "all-out war which will eventually lead to the conquest of power". The achievement of this ought to assume the proportions of an obsession for it is its absence that is responsible for our continued enslavement. We have all the necessary objective and subjective conditions that go to the transformation of this dream into reality. Chief among these conditions is that at this historical level armed struggle is warfare by the oppressed for freedom, not a means of pricking consciences.

MK Has Grown to Maturity

Umkhonto we Sizwe, whose historic mission is that of the maker and defender of the South African revolution, has grown to maturity in its 25 years of existence and has more than enough mettle to acquit itself well against the political conscripts of the SADF whom history has doomed to defending a system whose demise is inescapable. Umkhonto has the advantage of being an army fighting to bring about an order decreed by the objective march of history. Its victory is assured.

The centrality of Umkhonto's role has assumed an added importance in the aftermath of the enemy's response to the recent diplomatic overtures of the Commonwealth and the E.E.C. which underscores the fact that, in the words of Moses Kotane:

" ... it is only through a grim and bitter armed struggle that the system of apartheid can be overthrown by the oppressed people of South Africa."

With the hammer of armed struggle waged as war to the knife, and the anvil of the red-hot mass battles that are raging throughout the country we will crush the apartheid Goliath this side of the decade of the '90s.

APARTHEID'S OTHER WAR

Beggar Your Neighbours: Apartheid Power in Southern Africa, Joseph Hanlon, Catholic Institute for International Relations with James Currey, London, 1986, £2.95 (paperback).

Apartheid's Second Front: South Africa's War against its Neighbours, Joseph Hanlon, Penguin Books, 1986, £2.95 (paperback).

Destructive Engagement: Southern Africa at War, Edited by Phyllis Johnson and David Martin, with a foreword by Julius Nyerere, Zimbabwe Publishing House, Harare, 1986, £7.50 (paperback).

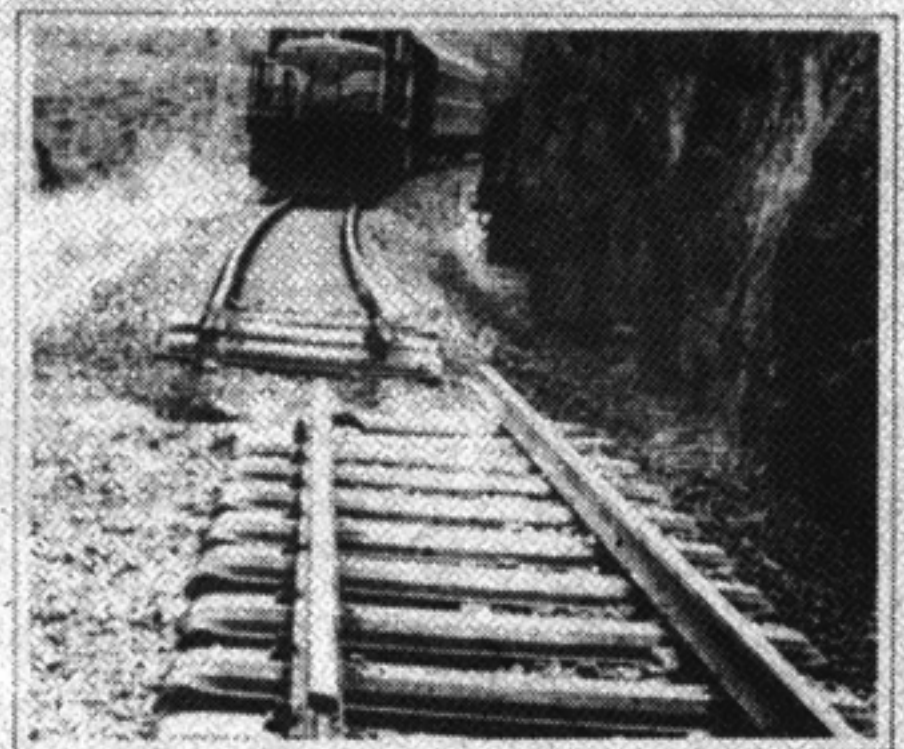
When, in mid-September, a senior Mozambican minister launched an international appeal for emergency aid, for food, fuel and transport to save 3.9 million Mozambicans at risk from famine, the world took little notice.

As little attention was given to the revelation by Angolan President Jose Edouardo dos Santos around the same time that South African aggression and destabilisation of his country was estimated to have cost it \$12.5 billion since independence — not including the economic costs of calling up many of the best cadres and countless young people for military service.

The looming disaster in Mozambique — a potential re-run of the 1983 famine in which an estimated 100 000 people lost their lives — is only secondarily a result of drought in parts of the southern provinces and an excess of rain in the northernmost province of Niassa during the planting period. The primary cause is South Africa's undeclared war of economic sabotage and terrorism, waged by its surrogate, the MNR. The increasingly important role of Malawi in aiding and abetting the armed bandits and their Pretoria masters is underlined by the fact that some 1¾ million people are at risk from famine in the three northern provinces of Mozambique that share long borders with Malawi and have been heavily infiltrated and disrupted in recent months. Most of these people live in areas where drought is not a factor, and agricultural productivity is normally high.

The nine member states of the Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference

DESTRUCTIVE ENGAGEMENT



Southern Africa at War

Foreword by Julius K. Nyerere

(SADCC), with their total population of about 61 million people, have **all** felt the effects of South Africa's brutal drive for regional domination — though in varying ways and degrees. In the period from the formation of the SADCC in 1980 to the end of 1984, South African aggression and destabilisation cost the SADCC countries an estimated \$10 billions. If we leave out of account the population of Tanzania, the least affected country, this represents a loss of some \$208 for every man, woman and child in the other eight countries. For many of the poorer peasants this would be almost equivalent to a year's income.

The three books under review are a timely and welcome addition to the literature on the regional dimensions of the crisis of the apartheid system. They show the many and varied ways in which South Africa has sought to impose its regional domination. Direct military invasion (as in Angola almost continuously since 1975), commando raids (Maputo, Gaborone, Maseru,



Victim of the Maseru massacre, December 1982

Harare and Lusaka have each been hit at least twice), sabotage of the main rail routes (of the seven railway lines linking the landlocked countries to the east and west coasts, all but two are wholly or partially paralysed today), promotion of surrogate forces to spread chaos and destruction (UNITA in Angola, MNR in Mozambique, Lesotho Liberation Army in Lesotho are the worst cases) — these are just the main military/political bludgeons used.

But, in addition to these, Pretoria also works in tandem with South African capital to secure economic hegemony in the region. Control of migrant labour patterns, movement of freight, control of water resources, strangulation of infant industries through unfair competition and covert 'dirty tricks', manipulation of currency rates and other financial levers, unilateral determination of customs and excise tariffs, soft loans or easy credits to promote dependence on South African suppliers — these and other means of influence and pressure are invoked with ruthless sophistication to benefit South African interests and prevent the independent economic development of the other countries in Southern Africa.

The three books under review are surprising-

ly different in character considering that their subject matter is broadly similar. The Penguin version by Hanlon is short, readable and ideal for readers new to the subject matter. Others will find it superficial, but they will find Hanlon's work for the CIIR impressive, and indeed indispensable. It contains a wealth of factual and statistical data. The author has unravelled complex and obscure subjects such as the mechanisms and effects of the Customs Union which ties Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland so closely into the South African state, and the ways in which Pretoria combines its central role in the rail and road transport systems with precise and devastating sabotage to force its neighbours (a loose term to include countries like Zambia and Malawi that have no common borders with South Africa) into near or total dependence on South Africa's transport service.

Anybody who wants to understand the constraints and problems, both economic and political, which the Front Line states and other members of the SADCC have to grapple with in countering South African sanctions and blackmail, and in gearing up for international sanctions against South Africa, will find much

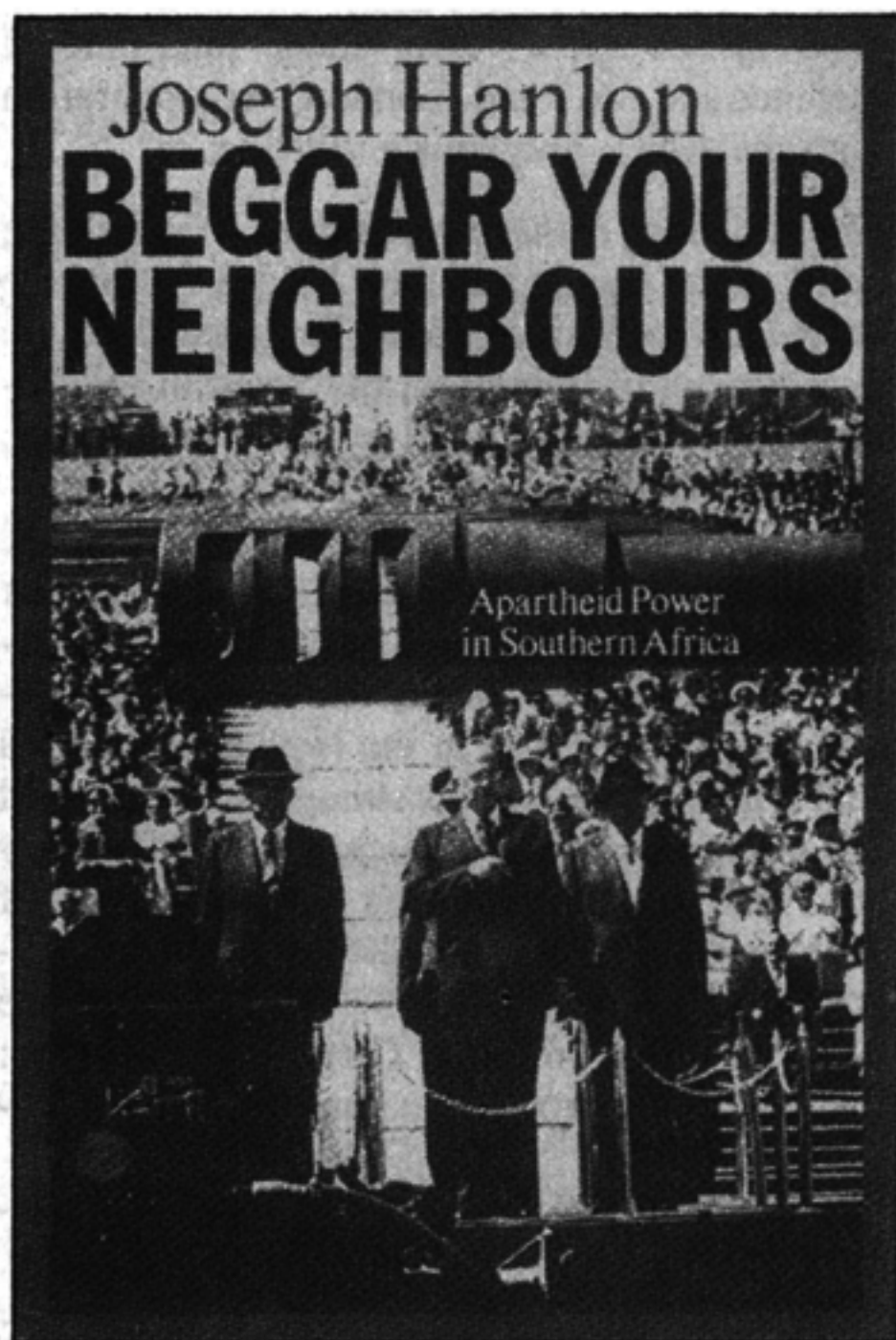
food for thought in Hanlon's thorough (if occasionally repetitive) exposition of the issues. One can gladly overlook the few loose ends in the mass of material very readably presented — much of it culled from obscure official and specialist sources which are highly inaccessible to many interested in these issues.

The book's weaknesses are mainly at the level of political analysis. While it is safe and sensible to keep the apartheid regime sharply in focus as Enemy No. 1, the often sinister and complementary role of South Africa's major imperialist backers is a reality which needs to be analysed and exposed. In his treatment of Angola, for example, Hanlon gives far too little weight to the US role in attempting to undermine and supplant the MPLA government, too much to the South African intervention by comparison, with the consequent failure to bring out sufficiently Pretoria's degree of subordination to, and dependence on, US imperialism.

This last is not a charge that can be levelled at the Johnson and Martin work — at least in its treatment of Angola (by Marga Holness), which almost goes too far in the opposite direction. Being the product of many hands, this book is inevitably more uneven and less coherent in its presentation than is Hanlon's. It also pays much less attention to the economic underpinnings of the relations between the countries of the region. On the other hand it goes deeper into the economic crisis of apartheid South Africa (chapter by Vella Pillay), into Pretoria's military and nuclear build-up and its international ramifications (two chapters by Abdul Minty), and into developments in Namibia (chapter by Peter Manning and Reginald Green). Hanlon, in contrast, sidesteps Namibia completely, his being essentially an SADCC focus.

A chapter in *Destructive Engagement* by the joint editors brings to light new evidence of the origin and early development of the MNR, forged in the mid-1970s by the unholy alliance between the Intelligence chiefs of the Smith regime and leading Portuguese fascists anxious to retain control in independent Mozambique. They reveal that at a crucial moment in 1980, when the MNR had been broken and was about to lose its base in Rhodesia when it became independent Zimbabwe, President Machel asked Prime Minister Thatcher for the MNR people to be handed over to the Mozambican authorities. She ignored the

request, and South African Military Intelligence stepped in with lorry convoys and transport planes to ferry the MNR down to the northern Transvaal where it has been comfortably ensconced ever since. The rest is history ...



The Front Line States are a crucial ally of the liberation movements, the ANC and SWAPO. Whilst the motor of the liberation struggle lies in South Africa under the leadership of the ANC and in Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, both movements need the support of the Front Line States. Neither Pretoria nor its allies in Washington and London and Bonn must be allowed to sap the resistance of the Front Line States, their will to defend their independence and sovereignty, and (what is a corollary of that) their will and capacity to remain the close allies of the liberation movement. Solidarity with, and material support for, the Front Line States is therefore a vital dimension of solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia. All progressive forces must respond to this challenge seriously and urgently — and these books will help them to do so.

PT

FILM REVIEW

Song of the Spear, film/video, International Defence and Aid Fund, London, in co-operation with the ANC, one hour's viewing.

The title, *Song of the Spear*, signifies the fighting spirit of the people and their battles against the colonial enemy since 1652. The spear lives on — a symbol of liberation, the Spear of the Nation — celebrated through centuries of struggle, in song, dance, theatre and poetry.

The film is about culture and the role it should and does play as an integral part of the fight for freedom and as an impetus towards and illustration of the kind of society the ANC wishes — and intends — to see in the New South Africa that is to come. It is about *Amandla*, the cultural ensemble of the ANC, which, since its first tour in 1980, has emerged as an instrument of mobilisation, influencing the international community to take action against the apartheid regime — a role which President Tambo says is crucial: "The *Amandla* group cannot just be any other ordinary performing group."

The film has been thoroughly researched and intelligently put together by the IDAF film team. They have used footage, some historical (the Congress of the People and the women's march to Pretoria in 1956) and some, since the 1976 Soweto uprising, more immediate, linked together by commentary from the Directors of the *Amandla* group, Jonas Gwangwa and Barbara Masekela, and members of the group itself. There are also performances by the group of songs, poetry and dance, every one illustrative of some aspect of the struggle; some historical, some relating to the present, many common to both — the gumboot dance, the song of the women (dating back to the Pretoria march, but, in this clip, sung at Crossroads after scenes of brutal destruction), "You have struck a rock — watch out, you will be crushed!" There is a long and beautiful poem, recited in unison, about the

evil of apartheid, with the refrain: "Inhuman apartheid — your time has come!"

The main commentary is given by Thabo Mbeki. He describes how the act of colonisation — "an act of cultural aggression" — seeks to take away from a people their sense of cultural identity. "The enemy knows that, as a people regain their sense of identity, it welds them together ... culture becomes a central and important element in the assertion of humanity." At no time, he tells us, has the liberation movement not been singing and dancing — as fact wilfully misunderstood by slave masters and all colonial exploiters, who insist that, because the people are singing, they are 'happy.' In fact, their 'happiness' is caused by the prospect of victory over their masters.

The formation of *Amandla* has been the culmination of a cultural revolution — an assertion of a national identity in which facets of our people's past — the traditional chants of ethnic armies — have been revived to inspire those engaged in the armed struggle.

The regime has recognised the importance of this cultural revolution and has acted against many of the people's poets and artists. The Reverend Calata wrote songs for the movement; Vuyisile Mini, who was hanged for his activities in MK, did likewise; Thami Mnyele, the artist who designed the backdrop for *Amandla* was shot in Botswana in the most recent invasion of that country, in June 1985. When the racist invaders had shot him, they stood on a case containing his paintings and shot their bullets into it, over and over again, destroying the work.

They did not destroy the spirit that inspired it. *Amandla* has toured a large part of the world, and this film is an important back-up to its work. It will make many friends for our movement and convince many, who have hitherto doubted, of the justice of the armed struggle. The spear lives on.

PM



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