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 SA time
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 7.30 pm SA time

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RHODESIA BECOMES ZIMBABWE

It is not a long time ago when Ian Smith was interviewed about black majority rule in Zimbabwe. He said characteristically: "Never in my life time"!

The recent events in Zimbabwe have proved him wrong. Even the pre-election threats could not deter the masses from making their own independent choice. Comrade Mugabe came to power through the choice of the masses, and now the cloth of the puppets has faded to oblivion.

The people's government is aware that British imperialism is on the retreat but not yet defeated; the people are very much conscious of the threat posed by racist South Africa: the threat of military aggression political blackmail and economic strangulation. This is what Botha's "constellation of states" is all about.

But the people of Zimbabwe know who their friends are. They know that the power of solidarity is invincible. The solidarity of the people of Southern Africa is a key to our success. This proved itself during the struggle and is becoming more vital now that the struggle has entered a new phase. They know that the liberation of Zimbabwe is a historic achievement which is celebrated not only in Salisbury and Bulawayo but also in Johannesburg and even Pretoria.

Our people regard this event as their victory. They know the power of united action. They are aware of the fact that armed struggle leads to independence. This is what the ANC and its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, has been teaching them and these teachings are now a reality in Zimbabwe.

The African National Congress is more than ever convinced that our struggle, however long it will take, will be successful. There is enough evidence for this optimism.



The enemy is on the retreat. The liberation of Zimbabwe is like a spear thrust into the enemy's bosom. Racist South Africa is like a dying horse — its kicks are still effective but its days are numbered.

ARMY AND POLITICS

part 2

In its attempt to maintain racist minority rule, the apartheid regime has created an armed force that involves all sectors of the white population in military or para-military activity. Major attempts are also being made to recruit as many black South Africans as possible into this 'defence' effort. (In our next issue we shall deal with black recruits).

At present the apartheid armed forces are estimated to have a total of almost 600,000 in their ranks, backed up by the involvement of thousands more in civil defence organisations. The armed forces comprise regulars, conscripts (full-time and

part-time) and volunteers. All young white males are conscripted for an initial two-year period of national service in either the South African Defence Force (SADF) or the South African Police (SAP), followed by eight years' part-time service (at present averaging three months per year). Following the completion of these commitments all conscripts are placed on to the national reserve, liable to call-up until they are 65. A growing number of both white men and women are volunteering for duty and an estimated 30,000 black South Africans and Namibians have also 'volunteered' for military and police service.

APARTHEID ARMED FORCES 1960-1979

	1960	1974	1977	1979
SADF				
Permanent Force	11,500	21,500	28,000	40,000
National Service	10,000	26,000	27,000	60,000
Citizen Force	2,000	120,000	180,000	230,000
Commandos	48,500	90,000	120,000	150,000
Civilians	6,000	11,500	12,500	14,000
TOTAL SADF	78,000	269,000	367,500	494 000
SAP				
Regulars	26,000	32,500	35,000	?
Police Reserve	—	6,000	15,000	?
Reserve Police	—	20,500	22,000	?
TOTAL SAP	26,000	59,000	72,000	75 000
<u>TOTAL SADF & SAP</u>	<u>104,000</u>	<u>328,000</u>	<u>439,500</u>	<u>569,000</u>

Ground Forces

The regime's ground forces consist of:

- a) the South African Army
- b) the South African Police
- c) the Civil Defence Infrastructure

While, in theory, there are clear distinctions between these various forces, the realities of the military state are such that all military and para-military forces are being rationalised into one, well-oiled machine.

The South African Army

The Army is by far the largest arm of the SADF, employing over 80% of its troops. It consists of members of the Permanent Force (PF), National Service component (NSM), Citizen Force (CF) and Commandos, serving in infantry, armour, artillery, engineer, maintenance and service units.

The INFANTRY is the backbone of the South African Army and consists of 16 PF and NSM, approximately 60 CF and over 250 Commando units. All units are trained in unconventional, counter insurgency (COIN) warfare and are at present deployed in COIN operations in Namibia and on South Africa's northern and eastern borders. They are also permanently ready to back up police operations in the urban areas. About half of the CF infantry regiments are also trained in conventional warfare and are deployed in the South African Army's two conventional divisions.

A basic infantry battalion consists of three rifle companies, armed with R1 rifles (the South African manufactured NATO FN rifle now being partially replaced by the lighter R4) and Bren light machine guns, each supported by a section of 60mm mortars; a support weapons company made up of Vickers and Browning machine guns, 81mm mortars, 89mm Bazooka and 106mm Recoilless rifle anti-tank weapons, and an 'assault pioneer' platoon, responsible for mines, other explosives and basic engineering; and an HQ company, responsible for leadership, administration and immediate logistical support. While this is the standard line-up, units vary depending on their resources and the nature of their particular responsibilities when deployed.

In operation, troops are transported by Unimog troop carriers and the South African-made Ratel Infantry Combat Vehicles, as well as being supported by Puma and Super Frelon helicopters. Given the nature of the guerrilla struggle being waged the infantry is forced to operate largely on foot. In Northern Namibia, for instance, few roads are considered to be safe for regular use for fear of landmines and so helicopters are playing a crucial role in the movement of the infantry.

Infantry units are deployed on the ground to search out and engage guerrilla units. Once the initial contact has been made a follow-up operation is launched involving helicopter gunships, other infantry units and, of greatest importance, the dropping of paratroopers. In COIN operations paratroopers are based at strategically located airfields and sections of the unit are on permanent stand-by, ready to be dropped into operation in minimal time. Paratroopers also play an important role as a mobile strike force in conventional operations and have been responsible for many of the regime's attacks on the front-line states.

The notorious Rhodesian Selous Scouts have a South African equivalent, the Reconnaissance Commandos, who are playing an increasingly important role as the racist generals plot out their strategy for survival. Known as 'Recce's', the name is misleading. Though they are called upon to carry out dangerous reconnaissance work, the Recce's are primarily deployed in small units assigned to specific combat tasks outside the framework of standard military operations. They operate outside standard operational structures and are a law unto themselves, directly responsible to the Chief of the SADF.

The Boer militia of the 19th century has continued to be a source of inspiration to the SADF. Although they carry the same name as their predecessors, the Commandos today play a different, yet crucial role in the SADF. The Commandos are localised militia groups, basically similar to CF Infantry regiments without the full balance of support weapons. They consist largely of volunteers and although some units are deployed in the operational areas, their

major task lies in policing and defending the particular area in which they are permanently based. With over 250 Commando units in a constant state of semi-mobilisation, the potential of this arm of the SADF is substantial. Training concentrates on developing an intimate knowledge of each unit's geographical area of responsibility and regular exercises are held with the object of ensuring that each unit is aware of all potential guerrilla strategies and the most effective means of countering them. In rural areas the Commandos are in constant communication with the local white farmers, most of whom are members of their local unit, and are meant to be ready to move into operation whenever necessary. In the urban areas the Commandos are in touch with local military and police authorities and civil defence organisations.

Basic Weapons

The ARMOUR in the South African Army is not built around the traditional tank, given the nature of the terrain and the struggle being fought. The basic weapons employed are the more mobile Panhard armoured cars (manufactured in South Africa under French licence), the AML90, armed with a 90mm cannon and the AML/, armed with a 60mm mortar, and both carrying a .50" Browning machine gun. There are three NSM and approximately 15 CF armoured units. Tanks, namely the British Centurion and, allegedly, the French AMX-13 and Israeli Merkava, are also in service but only deployed in a few conventional regiments or in stationary positions as artillery.

The ARTILLERY consists of one NSM and approximately 15 CF field artillery units and one NSM and approximately 10 CF anti-aircraft units. As in the case of armour, the role of the artillery in COIN operations is limited. The field artillery has traditionally relied on the 5,5" (Second World War British), 25-pounder (Canadian), Abbot 105mm self-propelled (British) and Sexton 88mm self-propelled (Canadian) guns. But more recently the regime has manufactured a large number of a modified version of the 25-pounder, the 90mm

field gun, and acquired a number of 155mm self propelled guns from the United States during the SADF's abortive invasion of Angola. During 1979 the SADF announced the addition of the G5 155mm gun to its strength, claiming that it was "comparable with the best in the world". Though the regime has insisted that this is a 100% locally manufactured weapon, it is clear that the G5, which can utilise all variations of NATO 155mm ammunition, has been built with the technology and under the direct guidance of a North American company, Space Research.

Support Units

While the infantry, armour and artillery are the key elements in the South African Army's strike force, a large portion of the SADF consists of a variety of units which are required to SUPPORT the combat troops. Engineer units are responsible for the building of military bridges, roads, camps and other structures, as well as handling mines and explosives. Supply and Transport Depots and Maintenance units keep operational forces supplied with equipment and provisions. Technical Service Depots and Field Workshop Squadrons repair and maintain weapons, vehicles and other equipment. Signals units and a variety of administrative personnel deal with everything from command control and intelligence to postal deliveries.

Within South Africa, the SA Army is divided up under nine TERRITORIAL COMMANDS which are responsible for the basic administration of all units based in their areas. They are also responsible for defence commitments in their areas, particularly through the maintenance of Commando units in a permanent state of potential mobilisation. One of the nine commands is SWA Command which, since 1977, has gradually been transformed into a 'semi-independent' operational command. Certain of the territorial commands, such as Western Province, based in Cape Town, have at present far less operational responsibility than others, such as North Western Command which covers the rural



areas bordering on Botswana, where guerrillas of Umkhonto we Sizwe are now widely active.

Operational Areas

As the armed struggle for liberation escalates, so the SADF is forced to declare more and more districts as operational areas. In these areas a COIN command infrastructure is established to supplement the local territorial command and NSM and CF units are shipped in, in a concentration relative to the level of the struggle being waged.

The majority of SA Army deployment, as described above, is for COIN operations. At the same time, however, the SADF has made extensive provisions for a large and powerful CONVENTIONAL force, 1 SA Corps, which can be mobilised at a few days' notice. 1 SA Corps is, apart from a small leadership and administrative contingent, a CF formation, consisting of 7th Infantry Division and 8th Armoured Division, each about 20-25,000 strong. Both divisions are made up of three brigades, each brigade consisting of infantry, armour, artillery and support units. The most likely use of these formations lies in the continuing threat of a major fascist invasion of those front-line states committed to their support of the ANC. In February 1980, for example, 81 Armoured Brigade, the most heavily armed of the SADF's six brigades, was

put on standby, ready to invade Zimbabwe if Botha and his generals deemed the conditions right.

South African Police

Photographs and film footage of the apartheid forces in action during the heroic resistance of 1976 give the impression that the troops involved were soldiers. The majority were, in fact, members of the South African Police (SAP). This similarity is a graphic example of the para-military nature of the SAP. A realistic definition of the police force is that it is a wing of the SADF with additional training in 'crime prevention'.

The full establishment of the SAP, about 75,000 strong, consists of the regular force, the Police Reserve and the Reserve Police. The regular force comprises about 35,000 professionals and 2,000 conscripts (diverted from SADF conscription to boost SAP strength). The Police Reserve, established in 1973, consists of ex-members of the SAP and is divided into two groups; the Active Group consists of ex-members who served as regulars for less than five years and who are liable to serve 30 days each year for five years after their resignation from the regular force; the Inactive Group consists of all other ex-members who are liable to service for unlimited periods in 'times of emergency' (this regulation also covers Active members

of the Reserve). In 1978 the Police Reserve had a strength of 15,000.

The Reserve Police (not to be confused with the Police Reserve) is a voluntary force, established in 1961, which assists in performing police duties when regular members are required for 'more urgent tasks'. The Reserve Police, members of which are attached to almost every police station in South Africa, consists of four distinct groups; Group A are regarded as full-time paid police in 'times of emergency' to carry out regular police duties; Group B are required to perform two hours' duty a day in patrolling their own residential areas during emergencies; Group C consists of employees responsible for the security of important installations and services at their place of work and Group D are rural-based reservists who are required to act as a civilian riot force carrying out police duties in the initial stages of an emergency until regular police arrive in sufficient strength.

All members of the SAP are given basic military training similar to the SA Army's standard infantry training. All members are also trained in COIN operations, with particular emphasis on 'riot-control' and other urban COIN techniques.

Civi Defence

In 1976 the regime instructed every white municipality and local authority to establish and provide facilities and funds for the maintenance of a Civil Defence organisation. The main function of these organisations is to be prepared to take responsibility for the maintenance of essential services within each white community in times of natural or military emergency. While the SADF claims that this role excludes the use of military arms, the fact that over 750,000 white South Africans own civilian small arms makes it clear that civil defence organisations are being established as second-line/vigilante groups for assisting the police and army in the maintenance of 'law and order' and the suppression of popular dissent.

There are now over 600 civil defence organisations based throughout the country, operating in liaison with local authorities,

police, Commandos and territorial commands. A blueprint laid out by the Chief of Staff (Operations) SADF in 1976 describes the extent of organisation involved in each civil defence area in the following manner: "The area is divided into two or more wards, normally according to geographical location. Ward leaders plus the Managers of Emergency Services could constitute the local civil defence committee under the chairmanship of the Chief of Civil Defence of the area. Every ward in turn is divided into a number of cells. The cell would normally comprise a limited number of families living in close proximity to one another. A cell leader is appointed to advise and co-ordinate the action of householders in his cell, and most important of all, to initiate on-the-spot activity. In this way the civil defence organisation aims at involving every man, woman and child in the country". While it is not clear to what extent these plans have advanced, the intentions of the SADF for the total militarisation of white South Africa are clear.

The South African Air Force

Apartheid's ground forces are supported by a modern strike and support air force, the SAAF, which plays a crucial role in all military operations. With its headquarters in Pretoria, the SAAF operates through six commands; Strike, Transport, Maritime, Light Aircraft, Logistic and Training. It is in the process of expanding and modernising its major bases to increase its operational potential, ensuring that every region of strategic importance, both in South Africa and the front-line states, is within easy reach of SAAF fighters deployed in minimal time.

Most members of the SAAF belong to the Permanent Force, although there are a number of volunteer CF pilots who serve on a regular part-time basis, as do the members of the Air Commandos. National servicemen in the SAAF serve on the ground in support and service capacities.

Largely based in the Transvaal, STRIKE COMMAND has three major responsibilities; reconnaissance, interception and ground attack. High level and tactical reconnaissance



is carried out by British BAC Canberras (also used as bombers) and French (manufactured in South Africa) Mirage IIIRZ's and R2Z's. The SAAF possesses some of the most up to date equipment and techniques for photo-reconnaissance work which is of particular importance in the planning of pre-emptive strikes into the front-line states.

For airborne interception, Mirage III CZ and F1 CZ interceptors armed with French air-to-air missiles are deployed to cover Air Force and Army operations in neighbouring territories from air attack.

Mirages, the F1 AZ and 111 EZ, also form the core of the SAAF's ground attack force. Armed with air-to-surface missiles

the major targets of ground attack squadrons are guerilla bases and refugee camps, and the administrative and economic centres of front-line states. The SADF and Armscor's first major manufacturing success (under Italian licence) the Impala MB 325M Mk 1 (a 2-seater jet trainer) and MB 326K Mk2 (a 1-seater ground attack fighter) have also proved to be effective in counter-insurgency operations.

TRANSPORT COMMAND plays a crucial role in enabling the Army to carry out its operations. American Lockheed C-130's and L-100's (sold by the USA as "civilian" planes) and European Transall C-160's make up the heavy transport fleet that is used for moving troops, equipment and

SAAF DEPLOYMENT

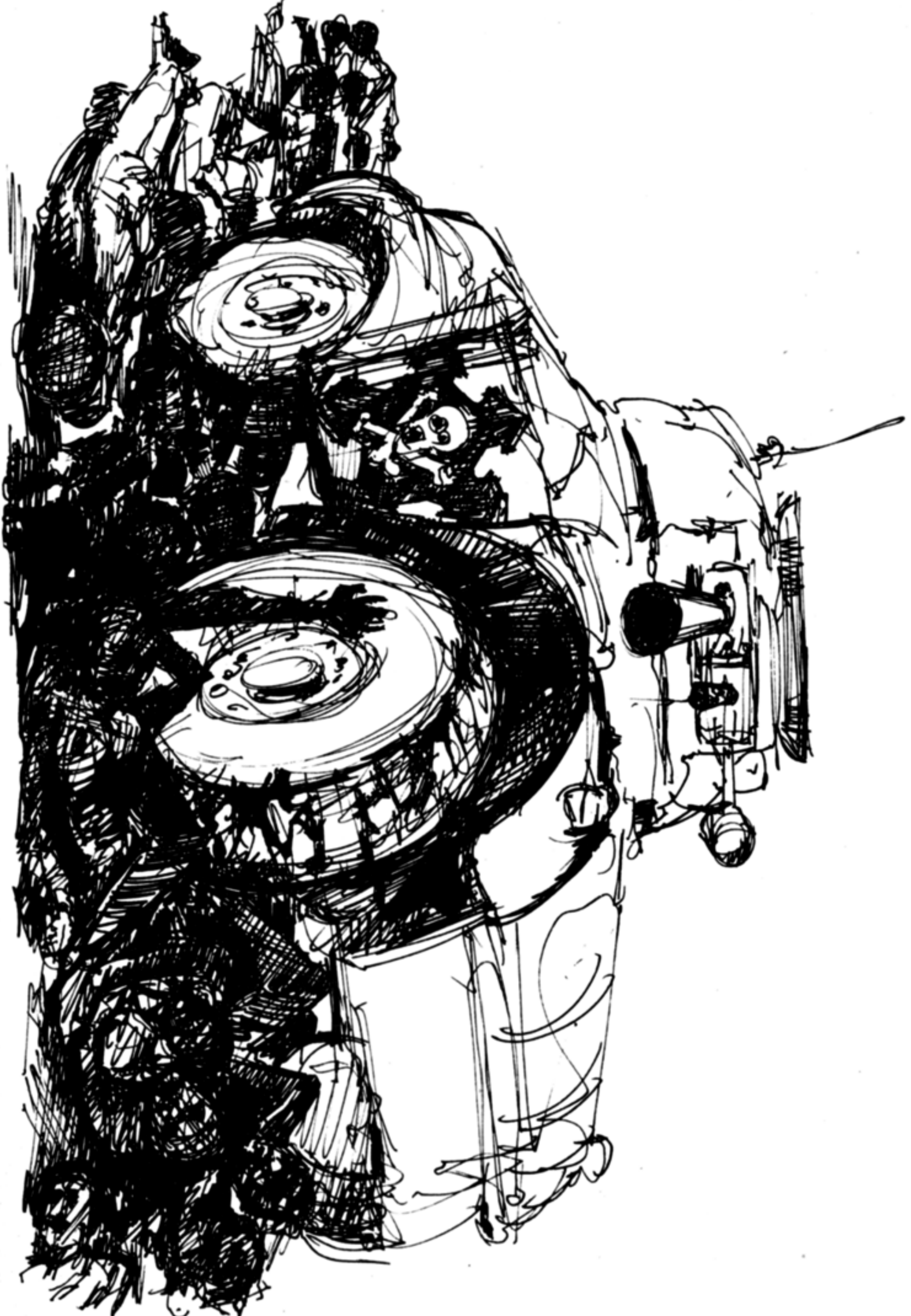
<i>Unit</i>	<i>Aircraft</i>	<i>Base</i>	<i>Role</i>
1 Sqn	Mirage F1AZ	Waterkloof	Attack
2 Sqn	Mirage 111CZ/ Mirage 111RZ	Waterkloof	Intercept/Recce
3 Sqn	Mirage F1CZ	Waterkloof	Intercept
4 Sqn	Impala 11	Waterkloof	Attack
5 Sqn	Impala 11	Durban	Attack
6 Sqn	Impala 11	Port Elizabeth	Attack
7 Sqn	Impala 11	Ysterplaat	Attack
8 Sqn	Impala 11	Bloemspruit	Attack
11 Sqn	Cessna 185	Potchefstroom	Liaison
12 Sqn	Canberra	Waterkloof	Bombing
15 Sqn	Super Frelon	Bloemspruit / Swartkop	Transport
16 Sqn	Alouette	Bloemspruit / Durban	Liaison
17 Sqn	Alouette	Port Elizabeth/ Swartkop	Liaison
19 Sqn	Puma	Swartkop/Durban	Transport
21 Sqn	Viscount/HS125/ Merlin	Swartkop	VIP/Transport
22 Flt	Westland Wasp	Ysterplaat	Anti submarine
24 Sqn	Buccaneer	Waterkloof	Attack
25 Sqn	C-47	Ysterplaat	Transport
27 Sqn	P1665 Albatros	Ysterplaat	Maritime Patrol
28 Sqn	C130/C160	Waterkloof	Transport
35 Sqn	Shackleton	Cape Town	Maritime Patrol
41 Sqn	Kudu/Bosbok	Swartkop/ Potchefstroom	Liaison
42 Sqn	Bosbok	Potchefstroom	Liaison
43 Sqn	Cessna 185	Potchefstroom	Liaison
44 Sqn	DC-4/C-47	Swartkop	Transport
85 Advanced Flying School	Mirage/Sabre	Pietersburg	Training
86 AFS	C-47	Bloemspruit	Training
87 AFS	Alouette	Ysterplaat	Training

supplies. Douglas C-47 Dakotas (delivered from the USA in the 1950's) are still used extensively, notably for the transport of paratroopers. British Hawker Siddeley HS 125's and American Swearingen Merlin's (both delivered in the 1970's) are used to transport key personnel and small supply loads.

MARITIME COMMAND'S major responsibility lies in patrolling the South African coastline and for this it employs ageing British Shackletons (recently refitted

and resparred) and Italian Piaggio Albatrosses. British Buccaneer S Mk 50 jet fighter bombers are also employed for reconnaissance, as well as being held in reserve for strike capacities.

LIGHT AIRCRAFT COMMAND has two components, a permanent operational wing and the Air Commandos. The permanent wing is deployed in operational areas performing tasks such as low-level tactical reconnaissance, casualty evacuation and light transport. It flies American Cessna



CE-185's and Skywagons, Italian AM 3CM Bosboks and the Atlas C4M Kudus (this last designed and manufactured in South Africa, based on the Bosbok).

The AIR COMMANDOS consist of at least 12 volunteer squadrons of civilian owner-pilots who are trained to provide light support. Most of the aircraft flown in these units are believed to be of American origin.

Though Helicopters perform tasks within the various commands, their role requires special attention. In March 1979 the Chief of the SAAF stated that the SADF now realised the importance of the role played by helicopters in counter-insurgency strategy. These crafts are deployed in direct conjunction with Army units and are used for a variety of tasks. The largest, the French Super Frelon SA-321 L, is used extensively for the transport of supplies and the dropping and retrieving of infantry patrols. Puma SA-330's and Alouette 11 SE 313's and 111 SA-316's (both French) are used as gunships, providing air cover and following up guerrilla contacts, and for casualty evacuation. Helicopters also play a key reconnaissance role in the SAP/SADF operations in the urban areas.

The South African Navy

The British Navy maintained the only naval force in South Africa from the 18th century until 1946 when the South African Navy was formed. The regime's naval strength and choice of weapon systems over the years gives a clear illustration of its naval strategy in the context of its perceived domestic and international role.

In the first twenty years of its existence, operating in close collaboration with the Royal Navy, the SA Navy developed, in effect, as a wing of the British force. The bulk of its present fleet was acquired during this period and consists of 2 destroyers (launched in 1943, transferred to South Africa in the early 1950's and modernised in the 1960's), 7 frigates (4 launched during World War 11 and the other 3, including the flagship President Steyn, launched in the early 1960's), 10 minesweepers (transferred to South Africa in the late 1950's) and 5 light FORI Class vessels (also

purchased in the late 1950s).

In the late 1960's and early 1970's the SADF turned to France in its attempt to build a fleet that would be capable of rendering significant support to a NATO force in the southern oceans. Three Daphne Class submarines were delivered in 1970 and orders were placed in France for four A69 frigates and three Agosta Class submarines. Two of the frigates were almost ready for delivery in December 1977 when the mandatory arms embargo forced the cancellation of all these orders. There are also reports of an SADF order placed in Portugal for six Corvettes which never materialised.

In anticipation of the arms embargo the regime announced plans for a domestic naval industry in 1975, beginning with the construction of high-speed patrol boats. Patterned on the Israeli 'reshef' patrol boat, armed with Israeli Gabriel anti-ship missiles and fitted out with Italian assistance, it is believed that six of these craft have already been built and that more are under construction in Durban. Ideal for the defence of the South African coastline, the deployment of these vessels at the head of the fleet gives an indication of the shift in defence focus from the sea lanes of the Indian and Atlantic oceans to the coastal waters of South Africa. A further development along these lines was announced in April 1979 with the establishment of a Marine Corps, equipped with locally built light patrol craft, for the protection of harbours

(Much of the information included in this article has been obtained from a new IDAF publication "Apartheid's War Machine")

ATTACK ON THE COLOURED

Botha's apartheid regime has decided to abolish the Coloured Representative Council (CRC) as from 1st April. The racist Minister of Coloured Affairs, Marais Steyn, has already introduced the South African Coloured Persons Council Bill in the apartheid parliament which makes provision for an Executive consisting of 30 members who will be nominated by the State President.

This latest move by the Botha regime is the culmination of a series of failures to impose on the Coloured people a puppet body of collaborators to do its dirty work. It is also the end of the hope of the racists that the Labour Party would be its instrument for perpetuating white domination over the oppressed Coloured people of South Africa. The abolition of the CRC comes after a series of misfires by the racists since 1969 to make the CRC work. In 1969 when the first CRC elections took place, 48.7% of the Coloured voters did not bother to register their votes at all and the Labour Party still won 26 out of 40 elected seats. They were however prevented from taking power after the government appointed 13 defeated pro-government Federal Party candidates to the CRC. In 1975, the Labour Party once again won the majority of seats in the elections.

The Labour Party has consistently refused to cooperate with the apartheid regime and has regarded the CRC as an apartheid instrument which they set out to control and paralyse from within. The Labour Party has called for one-man-one-vote in South Africa and has refused to participate in the so-called Joint Cabinet Council or to have anything to do with it. For a long time now there has been an open conflict between the Labour Party and

the Botha regime. The racists want a Westminster-type Parliament for Whites, Coloureds and Indians which they could use in an effort to divide the oppressed masses of South Africa. This attempt however has failed dismally. As well as being accused by Botha of adopting a negative attitude by refusing to give evidence to the Schlebusch Commission, Botha has also been angered by the Labour Party's opposition to the recruitment of Coloured youths into the racist army and their refusal to have anything to do with the preparations to celebrate the founding of the racist republic.

The Coloured people have for years also been the victims of apartheid and racism. In 1976 the Coloured youth, students and workers clearly indicated that they rejected the apartheid regime. Many were the casualties from amongst the Coloured community who stood up against Botha's police thugs and bullets in solidarity with the oppressed African majority. To the Coloured people it is clear that no amount of trickery by the racists will succeed in getting the oppressed Coloured people onto their side. Only a handful of collaborators will for opportunistic reasons allow themselves to be used in the service of apartheid. These collaborators can never be representative of the Coloured people.

Rev. Allan Hendrickse, the leader of the Labour Party has clearly stated that the Party will cooperate with the ANC which is spearheading the fight for freedom and liberation in South Africa. They are clear that any proposals for a new deal in South Africa must include the African majority because the Coloured people cannot be free unless the African majority is free. The Botha regime will try to delay and manoeuvre so as to forestall the final victory



but as Norman Middleton stated at the 13th Annual Conference of the Labour Party: "...Black people of South Africa will only be satisfied when white South Africans totally surrendered their political and economic power in the country. Time is running out for white South Africa. The longer the white government of the white people of South Africa delayed surrender of the monopoly of power and privileges, the higher the price they will have to pay when the inevitable surrender is made".

Botha, Malan and the other racists know that their days are numbered. Already the Patriotic Front has defeated the puppets of imperialism in Zimbabwe and what now remains is the bastion of white racist rule — South Africa. The regime is rushing to win over collaborators, but the growing

militancy of our people and their open support for the African National Congress is an indication of the growing support the ANC is getting throughout our country. The triumph of the people of Zimbabwe and the Patriotic Front must certainly be a source of inspiration to our struggling people. Only the white bastion of verkrampte Afrikaaner Nationalism remains. The ANC welcomes the continued opposition of our people to the oppressive apartheid system. We say no collaboration at all levels with apartheid. Down with oppression and apartheid! Victory to the people!

immigrant labour

Recently, the racist minister of the Interior, Schlebusch, optimistically predicted an economic boom and announced that the regime was going ahead with plans to recruit thousands of skilled white workers overseas. Even though the regime is aware of the massive unemployment amongst black workers, it still maintains that thousands of white immigrant workers are required. Only last year, Fanie Botha, the racist minister of Manpower and Utilisation said that jobs would have to be found for millions of Blacks to stave off a revolutionary situation.

The regime is obviously not interested in ending the ever-increasing unemployment amongst the black workers, it is more interested in replacing the vast number of whites who have already deserted the laager for greener and more secure pastures overseas. It is most likely that the regime will now attract thousands of racists from Rhodesia. These hooligans and thugs are not prepared to contribute to a new Zimbabwe under the Patriotic Front, but would rather defend the "white civilisation" and racism now in South Africa which they have cherished and lost in Rhodesia.. These Whites however will not be the only ones who will be prepared to come to South Africa. In Europe where unemployment and inflation is rampant, South Africa is an enticing haven for the demoralised workers from Britain, France, West Germany and the other major imperialist countries.

The most sinister aspect of the new drive of the racists to win over to their side the numbers of white skilled workers, are the discrepancies between what is offered to the white immigrant worker and the oppressed black worker in South Africa. Let us take the case of Mr Peter Smith, a skilled white immigrant worker from

Bradford, England, and that of Mr Vusi Zwane from Gazankulu. Mr Peter Smith, his wife and three children lived in Bradford, England and are now living in their own five-roomed house in Kempton Park, Johannesburg. Mr Smith, a carpenter by trade applied from Britain for a job. He filled out the forms and in less than three months he was accepted by the regime as a future immigrant. The Government paid 80% of his transport costs for each member of the family which at present stands at R275 per person and will be going up to R500. When the Smiths arrived in South Africa they were immediately housed and from the start enjoyed a full family life. They paid a small rent, were given a new car on very easy hire-purchase rates and could even afford to employ black nanny to do their house work. Mr Smith who is classified as a skilled white immigrant worker has more rights than a black skilled worker who has lived in the country his entire life. He is free to join a Trade Union, can accumulate part of his salary in his bank account in Britain and after a period of two years has the option of applying for permanent residence and citizenship which means he has full political rights in a foreign country. Mr Smith is free to move from one place to the other if he wishes to change his jobs and will receive full unemployment benefit if he gives up his job. For Mr Smith and his family, life has never been so good.

In the meantime, Mr Vusi Zwane, a skilled black worker lives in a hostel room with 5 other men. Unlike Mr Smith, his travel expenses are supposed to be paid by his employer from Gazankulu to Johannesburg, but transport costs are seldom paid. Mr Zwane can only see his family once a year and if his family wants to visit him,

they will need special permission to come from Gazankula. He is a migrant labourer and therefore has no permanent residence in the city and his one year contract means that he is at the mercy of his employer. He may lose his South African citizenship altogether. Mr Zwane has no political rights in his country of birth.

It is easy for white workers overseas to fall prey to the propaganda of the apartheid regime. Some of them are unscrupulous people whose sole interest is to make as much money using their white skins. These racists and opportunists would go to South Africa because they support racism whilst others are the victims of the economic crisis within the imperialist countries. Intending white immigrant

workers to South Africa must fully understand the implications of their actions. A boom for the white economy means continued hardships, untold suffering, poverty, starvation, the deprivation of political and human rights for black South Africans. We call on trade union organisations throughout the world, political organisations, church groups and all progressive organisations to:

- * Boycott South Africa at all levels;
- * Support the right of all black workers in South Africa to participate in their own free trade unions;
- * Give political, material and moral support to the ANC and the struggle of the oppressed masses in South Africa.



A skilled black worker in the glass industry

CHURCH AND LIBERATION

In South Africa, as is the case in other countries, it is said that in the beginning the black man had the land and the white man a bible; today the black man has a bible and the white man has the land. Whilst this statement conceals many other factors of the colonial era, it does reveal that the Church and colonialism cannot be separated.

Because South Africa was subjected at different times to different colonial powers and influences, its people became the targets of missionaries primarily from the Netherlands and England, but also of those from Germany, Switzerland and later the USA.

In each of these countries, the Church was divided into many factions, caused in part by the Reformation. This brought to South Africa, Christians fragmented and divided along the lines that had shaped Europe during earlier centuries. South African Lutherans for example, are not only divided on a racial basis, but their former German, American and Scandinavian missionaries gave each mission with its members its particular entity, making for a large number of Lutheran churches inside of South Africa.

Divided and competing with each other, missions and churches came to South Africa to preach what was called the gospel of unity and of equality.

The result is that every small village throughout our land has a sprinkling of most of these churches. Each brand of denomination is represented and strives to build its own church or hall — and conducts its own parish activity with minimal co-operation with each other. No matter how small, or how poor the community, a series of church towers dominate the landscape.

Missionaries in South Africa were zealous, and seemed to receive abundant support from the colonisers to establish their presence. The Church stood on the side of the oppressor, sanctified his actions and built racial domination into its very own structures. This is the undeniable history and reality that faces us to this day.

Background

The rulers of our land 'did their work well; for the number of church-goers on Sunday is significant both in town and in the rural areas. Even though it is clear that young people leave the church in large numbers today, mainly in disgust for the hypocrisy the church has portrayed, it would be wrong to assume that the church only plays a minimal role (or none whatsoever) amongst the oppressed people.

Although census figures should be treated with caution, official statistics show us that the Calvinist churches (including the Nederduits Gereformeerde, the Gereformeerde and the Nederduits Hervormde churches) are the largest with 1.5 million whites, 1 million Africans and well over half a million Coloured adherents. Among the Africans, the Methodist Church claims the highest membership with close to 2 million members (not quite half a million are white members). Other large Churches are the Anglican (in order to somewhat distance itself from the colonial name now called the Church of the Province of South Africa) with over 1 million African members, over 300,000 Coloured members and about ½ million white members. Next in line is the Catholic Church with nearly 1.5 million members, close on 200,000 Coloured and over 300,000 white members. The Lutheran Church is approaching 1

million African members (with about 100 000 Coloured and not quite 50,000 white members). In the Congregational Church the white membership is much less, with just over 20,000 members as against some 160 000 Coloured and 220,000 African members. Amongst the Indian population the Christian churches are hardly significant the largest being some 15,000 Catholics and some 8,000 Anglicans.

Besides the Churches listed above South Africa is covered with sects of all types and kinds. In recent years various flavours of pietistic and charismatic groupings have emerged. In all the population groups these seem to flourish to a limited degree. In total they may number more than 2 million.

All this does not account for one of the most significant groupings of churches, that of the African Independent Churches. These small churches or sects have around 3 million members made up of over 2,000 little churches. (In Soweto alone there are over 600 of these churches). They owe their origins to black members of the former mission churches, who during the last century already separated from the different 'European' denominations. Without going into the reasons for this continuing schism, it is important here to point out that this grouping of churches, today represents the poorest Christians in South Africa and therefore also those with the least formal education. Some sects are very large and very organised, such as the Shembe Church. These churches' membership is entirely black and through them traditional forms of worship are closely related to the teachings Christianity had brought from Europe.

People from the townships claim certain church affiliations in order to qualify for housing or for the education of their children which make a proportion of church affiliation merely nominal. Yet active Church participation remains a significant feature of South Africa.

(The church affiliation figures cited are based on the 1970 census and other publications dating from the early 1970's. The figures have been rounded off.)

In 1972 a South African Church Commission "Apartheid and the Church" reported its findings, (referring to the Church it says) "Some of this power is actual and present, as for instance that of church synods and hierarchies; some is potential or future power, as for instance that of the overwhelming black membership in our churches."

Whilst the inferences made in this report are deceptive and incorrect, the essential dichotomy of the church has been captured in the above sentence. The multi-racial, ex-mission churches are rich and powerful. Their colonial past often still characterise their leadership today. Office-bearers, both white and black are the social peers of those who do the exploiting in either economic or political terms. Church dignitaries are part of the ruling class. When asked where they spend their Saturday evenings it is in the posh northern suburbs of Johannesburg, or maybe Dube and Selection but not in those areas where the majority of their followers live.

The majority of the members of the churches are part of the oppressed people and the opulence displayed at the head of their churches is increasingly evoking angry debate, even at church council level.

But these members are ordinary South Africans, who are no different in their desire for freedom and peace in our land. There are also exceptions amongst the leadership whose consciousness has brought them into conflict within the church.

It was the culmination of many years of struggle of the African National Congress and the events of Sharpville and subsequent banning of organisations, together with the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe, that shook the church in South Africa. Previously gallant individual Christians had supported the liberation struggle, such as Bishop Ambrose Reeves. But in the mainstream of those with power in the church, there was no more than lip service paid to the rightness of the call for liberation.

After 1960, events in South Africa forced the church into a more committed position. The "Cottesloe consultations" brought the debate into the centre of the church. Former Moderator of the Transvaal Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, Dr. Beyers Naude



The African Independent Churches have a membership of around 3 million

took a stand against the on-going irreverence of his church. But, he was forced to follow a path, subsequently followed by many other church leaders in various denominations who, when confronting their church on the question of racism and inequality both in society as such and in the church in particular, found themselves ostracised, isolated, expelled or excommunicated. The churches, it can be said, have done all they can, to prevent such prominent individuals from taking the ordinary church followers with them. The church acted to discredit and to isolate those who have the courage and have tried to steer the church to play an important role in the society.

The official church has attempted to prevent its members from identification with the struggle for liberation. With endless church pronouncements the church has tried to give an impression of being favourably disposed to the demands of the people. But to date it is the powerless followers and a handful of the former church leaders who have truly stood on the side of the struggle.

Power and riches

All the major denominations mentioned, possess a vast network of structures throughout the country, an elaborate system providing communication, control and influence from the cities to the furthest rural outpost. Thousands of people are in the employ of the Church and its influence in schooling, medicine and in local affairs is clearly considerable.

With probably no exception, these denominations own large tracts of land, are involved in property development and speculation and buy and sell shares on the stock market. Besides this, the churches are involved, headed by the South African Council of Churches, in a multi-million Rand charity industry -- the ever available band-aid the churches make available to those who get hurt by the rougher edges of the Apartheid machinery.

It is therefore quite clear that the churches have power and influence. Whether they are prepared to use that power depends upon the developments that are taking place within the Church. But there are

many signs of elements within the church who have taken note of the national struggle and who have seen church members increasingly resisting Apartheid and then being harrassed, detained and imprisoned for their actions.

Since the "Cottesloe consultation" this movement within the churches appears to have gained considerable momentum. No longer is it content with facile statements condemning Apartheid. In 1968 a group of churchmen, though not representative of the church produced the "Message to the people of South Africa", which mapped out the path for a more committed and active participation in the struggle, together with their fellow South Africans. In 1979 one speaker at the annual conference of the South African Council of Churches said, "It is not a Christian struggle I am pleading for, but a Christian presence in the struggle."

He went on to analyse the shackles the church over many centuries had placed on the people of South Africa. And taking present developments into consideration, he said, "Churchmen are no longer judged by their office and the authority it represents, but the office and authority it claims are now measured by the active participation of these people in the struggle for liberation."

At this stage church based initiatives from within the broadly based movement we have described, cannot always be said to be progressive. As yet certain 'radical' action may reflect rather individualistic stands, but it is clear that PW Botha and his Apartheid rulers are facing increasing opposition, including from elements within the church. When churchmen begin to say, '... the evil system cannot be modified -- it has to be eradicated', we are being involved with appeasement and compromise towards Apartheid. But the government as well as the institutional church will do all in their power to suppress this from happening. These churchmen will be pressurised on two fronts whilst their part in the struggle will go into another phase.

MISERY IN LEBOWA

Lebowa is one of the creations of the racist regime's Bantustans or "homelands" as they are often referred to. This area which mainly comprises part of Northern Transvaal is designated as a homeland for the North Sotho ethnic group.

The total population of the area was estimated to be 1,432,200 of whom 1,195,200 belong to the North Sotho group — the other groups are unhappily meant to "belong" to every one of the nine bantustans scattered all over South Africa. This exposes once again that "seperate development" is based on a distortion of even the basic fact of who lives in these bantustans. Of course this fact is clearer in a bantustan like Bophuthatswana where almost one third of the population are not even classified as Tswana by the regime and have become Mangope's targets of mass removals.

Lebowa is supposed to be a "self-governing" territory with 60 appointed members of assembly out of a total of 100 with 40 "elected".

Housing

In 1977 the number of people living in the government housing units in Lebowa was on average between 8-9 people in each house. This was in the 17,077 housing units in the "proclaimed towns". In November last year (1979) "Post" reported that there was a very serious housing shortage in Lebowa's townships with half of the population in each township on the waiting list. Figures supplied showed that the total population in thirteen declared townships as at September 1979 was 128,947. The secretary of the Department of Interior J.H.F. de Bruin said the department was aware of the initial shortage of houses but lacked funds to alleviate the situation.

However, the Lebowa Development Corporation would assist a prospective house owner if he chooses a plan and wanted a house built in the new developing townships. Another scheme was for people to buy stands and then approach their employers or building societies to enable them to build their own house. He further said the Lebowa Development Corporation had 10 models ranging from a R5,000 house to as high as R20,000. On the suggestion by the Sheshego Village Committee that private companies be allowed to build economic houses for poor residents, he said — he would raise the matter with his seniors in Pretoria!

Health

Residents of Motema, a Lebowa homeland township near Groblersdal had been short of water for months. Water had been running for three hours a day between 5am and 8am. The houses in the township have inside toilets, and these are not flushed all day and night, until the next run of water in the morning. Residents had to be up early in the morning to flush the toilets and fill every available container with water. The only other source of water was two boreholes with unfiltered water and this caused fears of an outbreak of disease. This is just but one example of what is happening in these areas which are expected to be declared "independent states" by the regime.

Economy and Labour

This area has rich resources of chrome, asbestos, platinum and manganese. A large company is conducting research into Lebowa's mineral potential. There are twenty working mines in Lebowa which

employ a total of 10,600 people; A Major irrigation scheme for the southern area, a R2,1 million agricultural high school and a coffee industry are among the projects envisaged by the department of agriculture. The Zebediela Citrus Estate is expected to play a very important role in Lebowa's economy. Substantial loans from foreign investors have made possible several major development projects.

Mr A. de Villiers, an economic advisor to the Lebowa government, said, there could be as many as 50,000 unemployed in Lebowa. In 1977 there were 30,000 job seekers — this was 17% of the economically active population which the 1970 official figures put only at 493,669. The labour force is said to increase by 16,000 every year. Only 40% of them can be accommodated in Lebowa, while 17% will become commuters. The remaining 43% must find employment as migrant workers.

Internal Opposition

Opposition to the Lebowa government has assumed various forms. Fifty-six people were detained and charged following petrol bombing and stoning of Chief B.K. Matlala's home. They have refused to recognise the authority of any government agency in the area, and live outside the demarcated residential areas. They are known in the area as "congress people" and according to Chief Matlala they have maintained their anti-government stand for more than 20 years. The damage to the house was estimated at R25,000. This was a second attack within a week and was a culmination of a long standing feud between some Lebowa residents and the government.

Another form of opposition was manifested when more than 600,000 Batlokwa people were being forcefully removed from their ancestral lands and resettled within the Lebowa homeland. (Refer to Sechaba January issue 1980, pages 7,8). These forced removals saw a well organised opposition to the Lebowa and racist South African schemes.

Attitude towards Independence

The so-called ruling party of former school



inspector, Dr. Cedric Phathudi has always come out against opting for independence on the grounds that the North Sotho people would want to retain their South African citizenship; At the same time Dr. Phathudi, who rechristened Apartheid "Co-operative development", boasts of having contributed towards the renaming of the Plural Relations Department. His main argument has always been that to save South Africa's face internationally Apartheid must be renamed and hence be justified.

Conclusion

From the above brief exposition it is quite clear that the magnitude of the problems imposed on the North Sotho people by the regime's policy cannot be resolved within the Apartheid framework. The scale and level of opposition within the Bantustans are a reflection of vigorous rejection by our people of the racist schemes. It therefore remains the task and duty of our movement not only to expose the South African reality but to lead and organise our people for the bitter struggle ahead.

The only viable solution to South Africa's problems is the intensification of the struggle for the realization of the demands of our people enshrined in the Freedom Charter.

NOTES FROM VIETNAM

It was with a sense of great pleasure that I participated at an IOJ Executive meeting held in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam, towards the end of last year. We knew that we were visiting a country that has been devastated by war; we expected to see for ourselves what the Vietnamese people are doing to overcome the ravages of war. We knew of their historic victories over the American imperialists and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists but we knew very little about the crimes of the Pol-Pot-Ieng Sary regime.

Background

The French colonialists fired the first salvo on Saigon in 1859 and up to the spring of 1975 the people of Saigon have been able to enjoy only 29 days of independence following the August 1945 revolution. Through several decades of wars of aggression by the French colonialists the city of Saigon had to suffer innumerable physical and spiritual wounds — practically every family having to endure so many sacrifices, so many spiritually damaging experiences — the most basic human right: the right to live in independence and freedom, being grossly trodden down.

Pol-Potism and Chinese hegemonism

It is not our task in this article to write about the crimes of the American imperialists: a lot of information is available on that already. Our immediate concern is to show the crimes committed by the Chinese expansionists and the Pol Pot — Ieng Sary clique in Kampuchea and the aftermath of these crimes of aggression: a "legacy" which faces both the people of Vietnam and Kampuchea.

Although Pol Pot and Chinese aggressions

were soundly beaten, they caused huge destruction.

The people of Indo-China (Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea) constituted an important factor in the struggle for national liberation and against colonialism — the great victory of Spring 1975 would have favoured the Vietnamese and Kampuchean peoples in their legitimate desires: to overcome the aftermath of the war; improve people's living conditions; further tighten the existing militant solidarity between Vietnam and Kampuchea; defend national independence and successfully bring the revolutionary cause of each respective country to fruition, thus contributing positively to safeguarding peace in South East Asia and the world.

Crimes of Pol Pot

These pseudo-revolutionaries set up an extremely cruel militarist and fascist despotic rule governing with absolute authority; followed a hostile policy against Vietnam which they referred to as the "traditional enemy" or "enemy no. 1" and became a shock-force of Chinese expansionism and hegemonism in South East Asia.

Their armed and land grabbing operations were part and parcel of a large-scale war; part of the propaganda campaign to sow dissension and national feud in Vietnam; to secretly assassinate thousands of Vietnamese residents having good relations with the Khmer population and expel all those Vietnamese who had lived for a long time in Kampuchea.

Pol Pot's agents were smuggled into Vietnam as early as 1976, distributed leaflets claiming areas of Vietnam: a well-prepared and pre-meditated plan covering all fields, political, military, economic,



The Peking wire-pullers and their Kampuchean satellites were two cliques that profited from each other and relied on each other to oppose Vietnam and attain their own goals and interests. The aim was simple: after the defeat of American imperialism, Peking immediately replaced it and strove to control Kampuchea, use it as a testing ground for implementation of "Maoism" in Southeast Asia, carry out their policy of "assimilation" of the Kampuchean people and turn that country into a Chinese province, a huge military base and an effective spring board first to weaken and then to annex Vietnam, then gradually to control and occupy the whole Southeast Asian region. This is "Maoism" in practice!

Their strategy of an aggressive war fought by proxy was to "fight the Vietnamese to the last Kampuchean" just as they had decided to "fight the U.S. to the last Vietnamese"!

The Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique speeded up its military build up, drove hundreds of thousands of Kampuchean civilians living near the Kampuchean—Vietnam frontier back into the hinterland to create a no-man's land; smuggled scouts and spies into Vietnam to conduct armed intrusions in different regions in preparation for subsequent large-scale encroachments — children of 13 or 14 years of age were drafted to fight Vietnam for China.

These are some of the crimes of the Pol Pot regime against the Vietnamese people:

* three days after the liberation of South Vietnam, Kampuchean troops landed on Vietnam's Phu Quoc island in an attempt to occupy it;

* on May 8, 1975 armed incursions along the border from Ha Tien provincial capital to Tay Ninh province;

* on May 10, 1975 the Pol Pot regime attacked Tho Chu island and "abducted 517 civilians whose fate remains unknown to this day".

The Pol Pot-Ieng Sary clique committed untold crimes using the most sadistic methods:

beheading, cutting people's throats,

cultural and social under the direction of the Chinese hegemonists and expansionists, who also supplied them with arms and material.

To do this effectively the Pol Pot—Ieng Sary clique had to step up extremely barbarous terror campaigns against the Kampuchean people, thoroughly liquidating genuine forces opposing its policy of genocide against the Kampuchean people and of submission to the Peking reactionary ruling circles defaming them as "pro-Vietnam".

disembowelling, quartering, burying alive, mincing corpses, crushing skulls, penetrating anuses with sticks, burning alive, drenching with boiled water, raping women then cutting their breasts off and thrusting weapons or sticks into their genitals etc; massacre of 2 year old children or even unborn ones -- pregnant mothers whose bellies were slashed open and the foetus torn out!

* after killing people, they stripped them naked and fastened the bodies onto rafts to be pushed out onto the river;

* killing of 500 people in Tan Lap (Tay Giang) in 1977 and 2,022 others in Ba Chuc (An Giang) in 1978;

* people killed in pagodas and all Buddha statues shattered;

* destroyed and looted tens of thousands of tons of food, killed or took away 1000 head of cattle, destroyed or took away nearly 800 boats and outboard motor-boats belonging to the population.

Results:

* more than 400,000 Vietnamese civilians had to leave their homes; this greatly affected indeed hampered production; over 100,000 hectares of arable land were left uncultivated; cultural, educational, health and religious establishments were attacked: 51 Churches, temples and pagodas, 129 schools, 63 health stations and hospitals were destroyed or heavily damaged;

* 180,000 Kampuchians and 20,000 Chinese residents fled from Kampuchea to seek refuge in Vietnam.

Those who leave - the problem of refugees

The liberation of South Vietnam also meant the re-unification of the country. In those 21 years (since 1954) when the country was divided, families could not even correspond, children were without news of their parents, husbands did not know what had become of their wives, people lived in anguish thinking of what might have happened to their relatives and friends. Scientists, writers, artists could not exchange their ideas and experiences.

American imperialism through technical

and financial means together with of course a sophisticated mass media and other means of propaganda and ideological poisoning created an enormous military and police machine which had turned many Vietnamese into torturers of their own brother; father and son often found themselves in opposite camps;

* Many families, often the well-off ones, saw their daughters becoming prostitutes, their children taking to drugs and other degrading practices.

American intervention, accompanied by an enormous inflow of dollars and goods was a period of great "prosperity" for the Hoa bourgeoisie -- that is a Chinese ethnic minority in Vietnam, which held practical monopoly -- at least 80 per cent -- of all important commercial, industrial and banking businesses in South Vietnam. Vietnamese cabinet ministers and army generals allied themselves with Hoa comprador bourgeoisie in order to get rich. In other words the military and bureaucratic regime in Saigon, which was born of the war and grew rich as the war proceeded was hit hard by the successful victory of the Vietnam struggle. There were no more U.S. dollars no more U.S. goods, no more hold on foreign trade. They decided to leave!

These were some of the things we saw, heard and read. It was a marvellous experience to be in Vietnam -- a beautiful country with simple and honest people; every man or woman on his/her bicycle: I have never in my life seen so many bicycles at one time. I suppose this is both healthy and economic especially during this "age of economic and energy crisis". But Vietnam does not experience a "crisis". It is China that is going through a crisis -- a crisis that manifests itself in every aspect of economic political and social life of that great country with great revolutionary traditions; traditions which have to be cherished and developed. One day together with their Vietnamese, Kampuchean and Laotian brothers and sisters the Chinese people will solve their problems!

hands off mozambique!

Statement by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the African National Congress of South Africa, Lusaka, February 20th, 1980.

Recent events have made it abundantly clear that the apartheid regime of South Africa is preparing for renewed attacks against the frontline states. For this purpose all manner of deceptive fabrications have been concocted and broadcast to the world seeking to justify these impending acts of aggression.

Over the last few days the Pretoria regime has put out two such fabrications. The first was that it had captured a cache of arms in the northern part of the South African province of Natal close to the border with Mozambique. The second was that some ten guerrillas had robbed and burnt down a shop in the same area and kidnapped the owner for military training.

Both stories contained the suggestion that the African National Congress, acting together with the FPLM, the Mozambican Defence Force, was responsible for these supposed activities. These alleged guerrillas were even obliging enough to abandon the shop-owner along the way for him happily to be found by the South African Police to whom he could explain that a combined unit of our forces and those of Mozambique were responsible for gutting his store and abducting him.

The fact of the matter is that both these incidents were deliberately set up by the Botha regime to give a basis for its false claim that Mozambique is directly and indirectly involved in military operations against the Apartheid state. In the instance of the raid on the shop it is our belief that Pretoria used a unit of mercenaries selected from a large group whose base and training camp is located at St. Lucia, 150 KM south of the Mozambican border.

These are mercenaries who ran away from Mozambique after that country's independence and who have since been trained armed and used by Pretoria to

carry out acts of terrorism against the Mozambican Government.

The whole world knows that our liberation forces are hitting at the enemy in the very heart of South Africa, operating from within the country. The number of police and para-military personnel killed or injured in Johannesburg and Pretoria in battles with or as a result of attacks by our forces in the recent past, gives a lie to the pretences of the enemy that we are invading South Africa from Mozambique or any other neighbouring country for that matter.

The source of aggression throughout Southern Africa is Apartheid South Africa. It is not and has never been Mozambique. The deployment over the last few days of the racist South African army on the Natal-Mozambique border is itself ample proof of the aggressive intentions of the Botha regime against peace-loving Mozambique.

So long as white minority rule exists in South Africa, so long will our people, under the leadership of the ANC, continue to step up armed struggle to overthrow and destroy this system and establish a democratic order.

The new situation created by Pretoria with regard to Mozambique once more emphasises the need for us to succeed in this struggle sooner rather than later, to remove the Apartheid fountainhead of aggression so that a genuine and lasting peace can reign throughout Southern Africa.

The National Executive Committee of the ANC calls on the world community urgently to launch a vigorous campaign around the important watchwords — 'HANDS OFF MOZAMBIQUE'. We further call on the world community to give maximum assistance to the ANC for us to discharge our responsibilities, in the interests of international peace and security and the liberty of our people.

**THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES!
VICTORY IS CERTAIN!**

solidarity in action

Below we print extracts from an appeal issued by the National Committee of Solidarity with People of Southern Africa in Italy. This call for support for the Italian Ship of Solidarity is a result of the efforts and concrete work of our Italian comrades to build a strong and broad movement of solidarity with our struggle. The launching of the Solidarity Ship is a symbol of their success in this respect and crowns their many other acts of solidarity which include the printing of Sechaba in Italian by the fraternal Commune of Reggio Emilia.

On March 21st 1980, 20th anniversary of the racist massacre of Sharpville the "Italian ship of Solidarity" in support of the struggle of the people of Southern Africa for independence and national sovereignty against racism and apartheid, left from the port of Genoa.

This was unanimously decided by the National Solidarity Committee in which all the political parties stemming from the republican constitution, the three trade union confederations, the three cooperative movements, regional and local administrations, national democratic organisations and movements are represented — in the meeting of January 9th 1980 in Rome, the solemn decision of the National Solidarity Conference in Reggio Emilia was implemented.

The decision, whilst responding to the necessity of urgent and concrete acts of solidarity with the peoples of Southern Africa in the present delicate moment in the evolution of their struggle, which has had positive important results like the recent London Agreement for the peace and independence of Zimbabwe, is intended

also to be seen as a positive action against the re-emergence of a dangerous situation of cold war in the world, as a real contribution aimed at defending and consolidating the principles of peaceful coexistence, of the right of every people to independence and self-determination.

The initiative, because of its unitarian character, popular and national, has already obtained the assent and concrete support of the Italian government.

In order that the "Italian Ship of Solidarity" could leave on the decided date, the National Committee launched an urgent appeal of mobilization to all organisations and institutions, to all Italian democrats for the collection so that the response of all to the appeal will be concretely positive.

This response will not only honour the tradition and the internationalist feeling of our people and the position of support they have kept in the Southern African confrontation, but will also be witness of the will and the capacity of the democratic forces and of our country to face their responsibilities in regard to the hard struggle underway and to operate effectively with unitarian initiatives in defence of freedom and democracy, in Italy and the world, for the development of peace and social progress.

The youth, women, men, organisations, administrations and democratic associations must become important channels for the collection of aid in support of the struggle of the people of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

FRENCH DISCONNECTION

Apartheid Et Capitalisme, edited by Christine Messiant and Roger Meunier, Paris, 1979; *L'Afrique du Sud: Histoire d'une Crise*, Rene Le Fort, Paris, 1977.

For many years there has been a growing need for literature and analytical information on the South African liberation struggle in the French language. This need was expressed primarily to serve the interests of international solidarity work in response firstly, to the demand expressed by the French speaking African countries; secondly in response to the growing number of anti-apartheid supporters and democrats in French speaking areas in Western Europe, Canada and other parts of the globe, thirdly in response to the challenge presented by the sophisticated propaganda machine of the racist and fascist Botha regime. On the last point it must be noted that the successive South African regimes have over the years budgeted huge sums of money on propaganda work in French speaking Africa and in France. This was clearly revealed in the Information scandal.

It goes without saying that any attempt to meet this need would be met with approval by those involved in the liberation struggle.

Over the past few years there have been some publications in French by individuals, groups and organisations treating the complex issues involved in the South African revolution. These have been published for the most part in Paris. Most of these publications are of an academic nature and try to abstract the issues and problems from the context and realities of the liberation struggle. The two books under review try with little hope of success to bridge this gap. Their failure is mainly due to the fact that the authors for the most part are limited by their own political and ideological

prejudices. This tendency is manifested by their very presumptuous and pretentious attitudes. One gets the impression that they are speaking "at" the liberation movement from a very superior position. Both these books are published by Francois Maspero a publishing house noted for publishing works by authors of the so-called "new left" movement.

The first book "Apartheid et Capitalisme" is a collection of "Marxist" essays by a group of "white South African Marxist intellectuals and academics" at least that is how they are presented by Roger Meunier in his introduction. He also tells us that these articles are a reaction by these authors to the liberal tendency of all previous analyses. In this he includes analyses by the ANC and the SACP which he describes as inadequate and superficial. The implications of his conclusions are that these writers represent for the first time a "real Marxist" analysis in South Africa. This writer is either ignorant or arrogant or both.

As for the contributions to this collection, all except Wolpe, seem to have come out of the rarefied and sterile corridors of South Africa's English speaking white universities of the sixties.

Fredrick A. Johnstones's article "prosperite et domination des blancs d'afrique du Sud" was first published under the title "White prosperity and white supremacy in South Africa" in "African Affairs" Vol. 69 no 275, 1970. This article is significant to the extent that it tries to disprove the much vaunted theory that the growth of capitalism will bring down the apartheid regime. Johnstone's thesis is that it is the apartheid regime that benefits capitalism and especially foreign investments and they in turn prop up apartheid. This thesis is not new. It is something the

ANC has been saying for years. Nevertheless it would be important in the armoury of anti-apartheid supporters in France where co-operation with the racist regime is extensive.

Legassick's article "Afrique du Sud — accumulation du capital et violence" first appeared in "Economy and Society" vol 3 no 3, 1974 under the title "South Africa: Capital Accumulation and Violence".

Legassick sets himself an ambitious task: to show how South Africa is a capitalist state in its own right and not because of its integration with the world market. He distances himself from the concept of colonialism of a special type which he calls "vague and incoherent". In rejecting this thesis he neglects to analyse the fundamental issues concerning the national question and therefore the national liberation struggle. The whole analysis suffers from two major defects. Firstly, it is not based on scientific objectivity and method. This fault leads the author to make some very superficial conclusions full of generalities and ambiguities. Secondly, the author's attitude towards the history of the liberation struggle and the ANC and SACP is arrogant and paternalistic, characteristics which are more typical of a petty-bourgeois intellectual than of a revolutionary intellectual professing a working class ideology.

The author makes some gross mistakes of interpretation. He would like us to believe that "the national democratic revolution" led by a popular front of all democratic forces necessarily implies a 'bourgeois revolution'. So he concludes that in advocating a "national democratic revolution" (p.93 and 94) the CP and ANC are in fact advocating a "bourgeois revolution"!

Of the four articles Harold Wolpe's article "Capitalism et Force de travail Bon Marche en Afrique du Sud : de la segregation a l'apartheid" comes closest to making a serious contribution to the liberation struggle. The article appeared in "Economy and Society" vol 1 no. 4 1972 under the title "Capitalism and Cheap Labour Power in South Africa: from Segregation to Apartheid".

Wolpe shows us very clearly that in distinguishing apartheid from segregation we are in fact witnessing the systematic intensification of the appropriation of surplus value from the black working class in direct proportion to development and sophistication of the mechanism of control of that working class by the state as an historical representative of the ruling class. For Wolpe "Apartheid is an attempt by the capitalist class to satisfy the growth of the demand for cheap African labour during the period of industrial development" (p.101). In consolidation of the African reserves, a direct consequence of Apartheid, is used as a means of reproducing the cheap labour power at no cost to the industrialists thus reducing his costs of production and guaranteeing his super-profits. He examines the relations of production on the basis of "the initial inter-dependence of the capitalist mode of production and the tribal or pre-capitalist modes of production". (p.21)

Mike Morris' article "le développement du Capitalisme dans l'agriculture Sud Africaine" first appeared in a Danish magazine Marxistisk Antropologie (vol 2 no 2-3 1976) and later in Economy and Society (vol 5 no 3 1976) under the title of "The Development of Capitalism in South African Agriculture".

The author's object is to show the different aspects of the transition towards capitalism in South African agriculture. He bases his whole analysis on one single social relation — the system of labour tenancy which he considers to be the dominant form of the exploitation of the rural labour power between the two world wars.

There are many inconsistencies and errors of method in this article. In his attempt to avoid being "dogmatic" the author abandons completely any pretence to scientific analysis. The net result of this is a complete deformation of methodology which makes the writer draw some very wild and sometimes ridiculous conclusions.

Morris characterises the labour tenant as a kind of "serf" and by implication the boer farmer as a feudal landlord. What he does not show is how this state of affairs came about in the first place. The assumption being that the boer farmer

somehow came to own the land by legal means. This lack of relationship with the colonial history of South Africa is what condemns this article to a useless exercise.

The writers' argument hinges on the fact that having separated the African peasant from his means of production the boer farmer then allows the peasant the use of a piece of land which the peasant can work in order to reproduce his labour power. This, according to the author, constitutes a salary paid by the boer farmer to the peasant and therefore qualifies the whole mode of production as being capitalist. He says for example that "...instead of giving the African farmer as compensation for his labour power, a certain quantity of the produce (for example 10 sacks of maize) the landlord accords him the nominal right, for a given period on a parcel of land," where "the peasant is able to produce the same amount of produce (10 sacks of maize)". (p.160) The right to work the land is the same thing "as payment in kind"! Land constitutes a means of production which when exploited will not necessarily produce exactly the wage equivalent calculated on the basis of socially necessary labour time. What happens to the surplus thus produced? Does the boer farmer make up the loss if there is a short-fall? To compare wages under capitalist mode of production with the right to work land is like comparing apples and bananas!

Having made this great "discovery" the author goes on to add that it is not a question of making a value judgement on the positions of either of the two classes. The two classes had to struggle to survive. Both groups wanting to preserve their economic base (p.181) He then affirms that the "economic" class struggle between African labour tenant and boer farmer "was not only determined by purely economic criteria. They were not only defending their incomes but also the system of labour tenancy (itself)", (p.183), because he adds "Land and cattle were not simply economic instruments. They had their own (intrinsic) value. They signified that the labour tenant preserved his connections with the not too distant cultural past" (p.183). The writer concludes therefore

that "one of the principal reasons for maintaining the system of labour tenancy was precisely the obvious attachment of the African for "places where the conditions of acquiring fertile land and more important grazing land for their herds". The last quotation and many others used for justifying this ridiculous argument were taken from the Native Farm Labour Committee report (1937-1939 Pretoria). Thus, he would like us to believe that "the natives who owned cattle and had a family to support wereso deeply attached to the system that is, in their eyes, the last possibility left for them to preservetheir traditions...." (p.183 Native Farm Labour Committee p.11). When this system did not accord with the interests of the boers, who then forced the African peasant to reduce his herds, the Africans waged their "class struggle" by asking the farmer for permission to leave (generally for the towns). The African peasant "loved" the system of labour tenancy so much that he was prepared to wage a "class struggle" in order to remain on the boer farm. This for the author, is the sum total of the "class-struggle" between African peasant and boer farmer.

There are many such inconsistencies and contradictions in this article.

On the whole this is a collection of varying schools of thought brought together to satisfy the needs of a petty bourgeois intellectual elite ensconced in their academic "ivory towers". With the exception of Wolpe's essay, it is hard to see these ideas making an impact on the development of the liberation struggle.

Rene Lefort's book "L'Afrique du Sud - Histoire d'une crise" (South Africa - History of a crisis) is very much in the French "leftist" tradition. This is very noticeable especially in his treatment of the ANC and the SACP but then again, European "leftist" intellectualism, being a characteristic of the European petty bourgeoisie has always tended to look down upon any attempt by the workers and peasants of the "third world" to liberate themselves. Anything not done in the image of the "masters" is considered inadequate or wrong. The European "leftist intellectual" or liberal like his South African

counterpart, is never happy unless he is in the driver's seat.

Lefort borrows a great deal from Legassick and Wolpe. He uses many arguments of the former to justify his very superficial and patronising criticisms of the policies of the ANC and the SACP.

The chapter dealing with "the resistance to colonialism and the beginnings of the liberation struggles" is very fragmented and simplistic (p.58). Under the sub-heading "Mistakes of analysis and of strategy" (p.70) the author's presumptuousness is clearly manifested. Although some of his criticisms may be valid, because of his arrogant tone and his lack of historical objectivity they become completely irrelevant. Basing his arguments on Legassick's thesis he makes the same prejudicial errors of judgement typical of the so-called "new-left".

Notwithstanding some of these major setbacks, Lefort's book does (when he is not trying to be judgemental) give the French reader a fairly satisfactory picture of the different aspects of South African life under colonialism and apartheid.

In his treatment of the Black Consciousness movement Lefort underlines one of the biggest short-comings of the so called "leftist" and liberal writers on South Africa. Almost all of them have failed to come to

terms with the national question. They seem to underestimate the national sentiments of the Black South African. They refuse to acknowledge the fact that Blacks experience their oppression firstly as Blacks. It is this experience which incites a nationalistic response to this type of oppression. But an even greater failing of this group of writers (who seem to know everything about Blacks) is the rejection of the principle of National Democratic Revolution as a specific phase of development for countries who have suffered the ruthless deformation of colonialism. It is this lack of understanding based on arrogance and a superiority complex by "white liberals" and "leftists" which alienated and antagonised many black students in the sixties who turned towards extreme nationalism and rejected scientific ideology in the process since it seemed to be the exclusive property of the privileged few.

Although all the writers under review claim to be "Marxist" in their orientation the majority of them do not reflect in their works the commitment to the struggle of our people that is expected of people of such a persuasion.

T.E.



LILIAN NGOYE (obituary next issue)



THE FREEDOM CHARTER: OUR ANSWER

I remember the Day of Freedom and truth,
I still remember 26th June, 1955,
The Day of the Document of Freedom and Truth.
The words of my leader are still echoing in my ears
Mayibuye!!!!!! Chief Luthuli shouted,
iAfrica!!!!!! The People responded.
Oh! yes Africa will be back.
The Congress shall triumph.

I still remember those sweet voices singing in unison
I remember Black, Green and Gold,
The symbol of Africans, Land and Riches.
That day, that changed man to a rock
Men and Women came in thousands saying sweet news,
"The People Shall Govern" The People have talked,
Things have changed, chains of servitude started to shake.
People have talked of Freedom in their Lifetime.
The Congress is on its way to Victory.

Our people are tired of Apartheid
To hell with oppression, Exploitation is devil,
Workers stood together,
I still remember their voices clear
"The People Shall Share in the Country's Wealth"
The call has been answered,
The Congress is the People.

Day before Yesterday I was in Dimbaza,
Today I am in Crossroads and I still have no home.
Oh! yes, I remember now,
Tomorrow I know where I will be staying,
The Peasants have the answer,
"The Land Shall Be Shared Among Those Who Work It"
The People have called the Congress.
Mayibuye iAfrica!!!!!!

cont...

I hate Afrikaans, Bantu Education is slavery,
It killed my brothers and sisters in
Soweto, Langa, Cape, Mamelodi, etc,
Listen you People of the World,
"In South Africa it's a sin to say no to Baas
Hector is dead because of 'No to Afrikaans'"
I still remember I never cried when he fell.
We know what we want.
"The Doors of Learning and of Culture Must be Opened"
Amandla!!! is our cry, Matla!!! is our Power.
Power to the People!!!!!!

Today I know the truth and the answer,
Katusha made Moroka tremble.
AK 47 has been heard in Orlando,
MK bullets have started to sing the song of Freedom
Oh! yes. Scorpion shall shatter Botha and his men,
Blood of our Comrades shall be avenged.
Freedom Charter is on its way in, Apartheid is on its way out.
Congress is Power. Mayibuye iAfrica!!!!!!
"Freedom in our Lifetime" the People have said.

Remember the Day of Freedom.

Thabo Mokoaledi

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