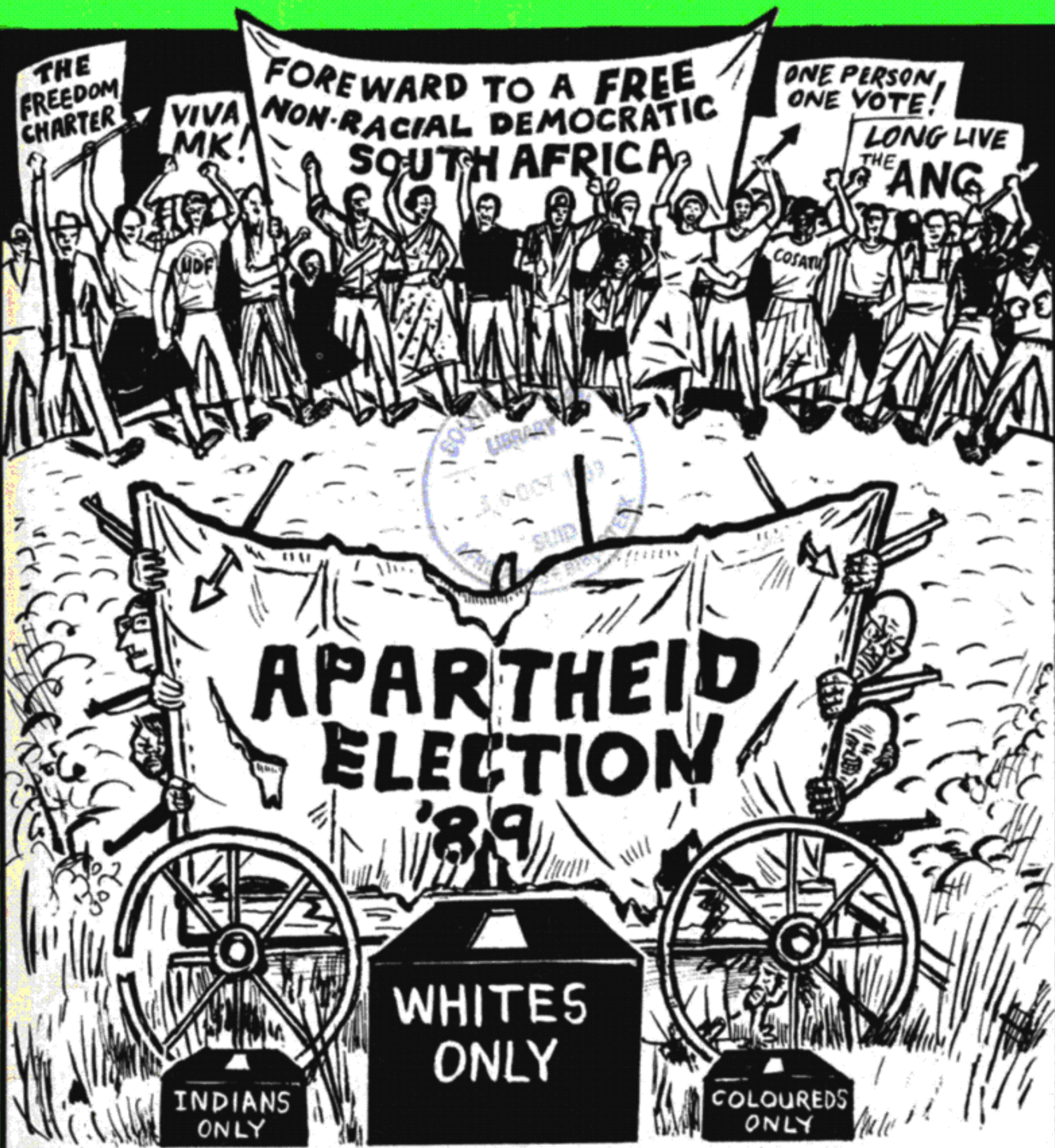


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LISTEN TO RADIO FREEDOM

**Voice of the African National Congress
And Umkhonto We Sizwe, the People's Army**

Radio Lusaka

Daily 7.00 pm:
Wednesday 10.15-10.45 pm:
Thursday 9.30-10.00 pm:
Friday 10.15-10.45 pm:
Short wave 31mb 9505 KHz
Sunday 8.00-8.45 am:
Short wave 25mb 11880 KHz

Radio Luanda

Monday-Saturday 7.30 pm:
Sunday 8.30 pm:
Short wave 31mb 9535 KHz
and 25 mb

Radio Madagascar

Monday-Saturday 7.00-9.00 pm:
Sunday 7.00-8.00 pm:
Short wave 49mb 6135 KHz

Radio Ethiopia

Daily, 9.30-10.00 pm:
Short wave 31mb 9595 KHz

Radio Tanzania

Monday Wednesday Friday 8.15 pm:
Tuesday Thursday Saturday 6.15 am:
Short wave 31mb 9750 KHz

The above are South African times

EDITORIAL

THE ANC

TAKES THE INITIATIVE

These days there has been a lot of talks about talks, accompanied as usual by speculation and juicy gossip. The ANC is preparing for negotiations, it is said. Armed struggle has been abandoned, we are told. It is even rumoured that the ANC is about to ditch the masses. And some even go so far as to make intelligent guesses that the ANC is yielding to pressure from Moscow! There seems to be no end to this list of guesses, speculation, rumour-mongering and even bickering.

All this would not have bothered us had it not been for the fact that some mischievous characters and politically-motivated elements want to sow confusion. There are some people who, out of political naïvete and short-sightedness, tend to be persuaded by the newspaper sensationalism which surrounds this issue. There are also those who are sitting on the fence, "waiting to see"!

Let us remind these people of Mandela's response to the conditional offer of freedom made in Parliament by Botha in 1985. Mandela reminded Botha that the ANC, way back in 1952, wrote to Malan asking for a "round table conference to find a solution to the problems of our country, but that was ignored." Strijdom and Verwoerd also ignored the suggestion of the ANC. It was only after then, when all other forms of resistance were no longer open to us, said Mandela, that we turned to armed struggle. He went on to say:

"Let Botha show that he is different to Malan, Strijdom and Verwoerd. Let him renounce violence. Let him say that he will dismantle apartheid. Let him unban the people's organisation, the African National Congress. Let him free all who have been imprisoned, banished or exiled for their opposition to apartheid. Let him guarantee free political activity so that people may decide who will govern them."

In these few lines, Mandela captured the spirit of our people, whose anger finds political expression in the framework and structures of the ANC. What Mandela was saying is that, though the ANC has embarked on armed struggle it has not closed its doors to a peaceful settlement. Armed struggle is aimed at achieving national liberation — or, to use Mandela's words, "dismantling apartheid" — and the ANC views negotiations as a means of achieving the same goals. The two are not mutually exclusive. They are mutually reinforcing each other. They are the two sides of the same coin.

Recently, Mandela came back to the same theme when he released a statement after a meeting with Botha, in which he said he has not changed his decision of 28 years ago. Surely he was referring to armed struggle.

But the political climate and environment in Southern Africa is posing new challenges. What are the implications of a new and independent Namibia for our struggle? What the ANC is saying is that now, more than ever before, we have to use all forms of struggle to confront the enemy. We have to confront the enemy on all fronts, and we have to determine the field of battle and the weapons used. This new field of battle has been brought about by our sacrifices and struggles; it is a by-product of our achievements, and therefore a continuation of the struggle by other means — dismantling apartheid is the item on the agenda. MPLA and FRELIMO were faced with a similar question after the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in 1974; so were ZANU and ZAPU in 1980; and SWAPO today confronts a similar situation. If this eventuality has to face us, let us be prepared for it. We are making preparations now, without abandoning other forms of struggle.

Victory is certain!

STATEMENTS

ANC—FIVE FREEDOMS FORUM JOINT COMMUNIQUE

This statement was issued by the conference, "Whites in a Changing Society," which took place in Lusaka over three days at the end of June. It was organised by the Five Freedoms Forum and attended by 115 Whites from South Africa and a 50-strong delegation from the ANC.

Our Conference has enabled the exchange of views and the exploration of common perspectives among South Africans committed to the shared objective of a united, non-racial and democratic South Africa. The significance of the Conference is underlined by the size, the breadth and the diversity of the Five Freedoms Forum delegation, consisting of over 100 White South Africans. Throughout the three days of the Conference, a spirit of openness and unity of purpose prevailed over whatever strategic or other differences we might have.

For the ANC delegation, the Conference was an opportunity to develop a deeper understanding of the conditions and some of the fears prevailing within the White community. On the side of the Five Freedoms Forum delegation, the Conference increased the awareness of the imperative need for the unbanning of the ANC so that it is able to participate fully, as the important political force that it is, in the resolution of our country's all-round crisis.

We believe that every effort must be made to work towards those conditions that will establish a climate for the political resolution of the conflict within our country. These

conditions include:

- ★ the unbanning of the ANC and other political organisations;
- ★ the release of political prisoners;
- ★ the lifting of the state of emergency and the abrogation of those apartheid laws that seek to criminalise legitimate political activity;
- ★ the withdrawal of the SADF and paramilitary forces from the townships;
- ★ the safe return of exiles.

The Conference emphasised the possibility of pursuing different strategies to achieve a non-racial democracy. The extra-parliamentary struggle as a major vehicle for meaningful change was underlined. While there was general agreement that the present parliament is not representative of all South Africans, there was recognition that the White progressive opposition can play a role in mobilising White public opinion. To this end, the Conference stressed the need for White parliamentary forces to interact and consult with the extra-parliamentary movement.

The Conference wishes to record its great sense of indebtedness to the contribution and warm hospitality of President Kenneth Kaunda and the government and people of Zambia.

DEBT RESCHEDULING

PRESS STATEMENT

Anti-Apartheid movements around the world are to launch a major campaign for the imposition of financial sanctions against apartheid South Africa, and focus particular attention on preventing any rescheduling of Pretoria's international debt.

Representatives from 16 countries in Europe, North America and Asia concluded a consultation with the ANC where plans for the campaign were agreed. This is the full text of the communiqué issued by the meeting.

At the initiative of the African National Congress, representatives of Anti-Apartheid and solidarity movements, church organisations and development agencies from 16 countries, as well as the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, met over the weekend of 15th-16th July in London.

The Consultation was convened by the African National Congress as part of its demand for comprehensive mandatory sanctions and in order to develop campaigning strategies to prevent the Pretoria regime from succeeding in renegotiating its foreign debt of over \$20 billion, in particular the \$11-13 billion debt which is due for repayment by June 1990.

The African National Congress was represented by members of its National Executive Committee and Chief Representatives from ten Western countries. The African National Congress briefed the participants on recent developments in South and Southern Africa, including the tremendous significance of the prospect of an independent Namibia under a SWAPO government. The ANC outlined the grave economic crisis which apartheid South Africa was now experiencing and pointed out that even representatives of the Pretoria regime had now been obliged to acknowledge that this was a direct result of the policies of apartheid. The apartheid regime had, therefore, launched a sophisticated and well-orchestrated offensive

designed to create a false climate of expectations that fundamental change in South Africa was imminent. This offensive was designed in particular to secure the conditions in which Pretoria could negotiate an agreement with the international banks on the rescheduling of its debt, which would represent a new lifeline for apartheid and open the way for new inflows of capital and investment into South Africa.

The ANC explained that the Pretoria regime had been forced to withdraw from Angola and agree to implement Resolution 435 in Namibia because of military defeat, popular resistance and sustained international pressure. In order to destroy the apartheid system, it was now necessary to further intensify internal and international pressures on the regime.

The ANC continued to reject selective or conditional sanctions. However, within the context of comprehensive sanctions, areas could be identified where concentrated international action could make a sharp and direct impact, and apartheid South Africa has never been more vulnerable to financial sanctions than at present.

Detailed briefings were also provided on the role of the banks and the level of South Africa's indebtedness. It was recognised that the crisis in mid-1985, which led Pretoria to suspend repayments on \$14 billion worth of short-term loans, marked the first serious disruption in South Africa's traditional close relations with the

international banking community. However, the two 'interim agreements' reached between the apartheid regime and its creditor banks in March 1986 and March 1987 were highly favourable to Pretoria and only served to relax international pressure.

It was therefore recognised that an important priority of the international campaign against apartheid must be to prevent any further rescheduling of South Africa's debt. Any rescheduling agreement would amount to an act of complicity with apartheid. The banks involved would bear a direct responsibility for the repression perpetrated by the apartheid regime. It was decided to recommend that a major international campaign be launched for the imposition of financial sanctions with a special focus on the need to stop any rescheduling of apartheid South Africa's debt.

It was further agreed that any campaign would include:

- ★ action to stop creditor banks from taking advantage of the so-called 'exit clauses,' whereby their debt is converted into long-term loans or equity;
- ★ opposition to gold loans or gold swaps with apartheid South Africa;
- ★ securing explicit and unequivocal guarantees that banks will provide no new loans or other forms of credit to South Africa until apartheid is dismantled;
- ★ the termination of present and future trade credit facilities, insurance and export credit guarantees;
- ★ the ending of 'double-taxation' agreements.

Detailed information was provided on the exposure of the major creditor banks, in particular those on the 'Technical Committee' established to negotiate with Pretoria. It was decided also to focus on activities of the 260 banks affected by the standstill, the role of the market in South African debt, and those banks which had, either in part or in whole, converted their debt into long-term loans.

Proposals were discussed as to how to counter South African propaganda that the economy is recovering from its crisis of the mid-1980s and to demonstrate how any further rescheduling of

Pretoria's debt will directly contribute to the funding of its huge rearmaments programme.

Appreciation was expressed for the initiatives which the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement, the OAU and the Commonwealth had taken on the issue of South Africa's debt rescheduling and on financial sanctions in general. A number of specific propositions were agreed for presentation to the United Nations Special Committee Against Apartheid, the Non-Aligned Movement, the OAU and the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers' Committee on Southern Africa, which is due to meet in Canberra, Australia, in August 1989.

It was agreed that the major target for action would be the banks on the Technical Committee. A co-ordinated campaign aimed at these banks would be launched with a world-wide Day of Action on 4 October 1989 with protests at the offices of one bank from each of the five countries involved in the Technical Committee (France, FRG, Switzerland, UK and USA). This would be followed up by a more concerted week of action from 13th - 19th November 1989. The ANC will be sending a senior delegation to meet with the banks, reserve banks and governments.

Other initiatives involving the European Parliament, the United States Congress and national parliaments were also agreed.

Participants at the Consultation briefed each other on the campaigning initiatives which had already been taken at the national and international level. Various proposals were considered for securing more active participation by the banking trade unions, by students, bank customers, local and municipal authorities, religious organisations, development agencies and international organisations.

It was generally acknowledged that the potential existed for securing a very broadly based campaign to stop the rescheduling of South Africa's debt and ending financial support for the apartheid regime. The ANC stressed that it was important to strengthen the campaign for comprehensive mandatory sanctions aimed at eliminating apartheid and contributing towards the creation of a democratic and non-racial South Africa.

London, July 17th 1989

ANC INTERNATIONAL

NETHERLANDS ACTION TO KEEP RADIO FREEDOM ON THE AIR

The popular broadcasts of ANC Radio Freedom are increasingly irritating the apartheid regime, for the underground resistance radio has been beyond its clutches for a long time (writes **Karel Roskam**, a supporter in the Netherlands). Now, Pretoria, fearing the effects of Radio Freedom on South African listeners, is jamming the programmes. It is extremely important that Radio Freedom continues with its vital work of bringing news which, because of the censorship of the regime, would not otherwise reach the South African people. Broadcasts must go on.

The only way to overcome the jamming signal is for Radio Freedom to broadcast from its own high-powered short-wave transmitter, from the territory of an African country whose name cannot be divulged yet, for security reasons. As it is vital that Radio Freedom is heard in South Africa, this transmitter should be operative as soon as possible. Therefore, in August 1988, Dutch media workers began a campaign to collect funds to buy such a transmitter, under the slogan, "Keep Radio Freedom on the Air!"

This support group is called, *Omroep voor Radio Freedom* (Broadcast for Radio Freedom). It has been in existence since 1982, when, after consulting the ANC, it began collecting funds to buy mobile studio equipment. Since then, more than US\$750 000 has been collected, and has been used to buy broadcasting equipment for Radio Freedom studios in Lusaka, Addis Ababa, Luanda, Madagascar, Dar es Salaam and Mazimbu. Part of the money went to enter seven Radio Freedom workers for international training courses in the Netherlands, in the fields of technique, maintenance and journalism.

The Dutch remember oppression

From the beginning, the fund-raising was a success. The Dutch people remember too well how,

during World War II, the Nazi occupation forces censored the news as heavily in the Netherlands as the apartheid regime does in South Africa today. In those years of misery, 1940-1945, the Dutch people listened clandestinely to Radio Orange, a Dutch broadcasting station transmitting news in Dutch from London. It was a crime to listen to Radio Orange then, as it is a crime in South Africa now to listen to Radio Freedom.

Funds were collected through publicity on radio and television, through advertisements, concerts, sponsoring and so on. The broadcasters were widely supported by artists in various fields: musicians, entertainers, writers and painters. A successful benefit performance could be organised because all the artists appeared free of charge. An exhibition on censorship was composed of work by Dutch artists, who, free of charge, drew impressive cartoons on the subject.

The campaign was launched on August 26th 1988, with a performance of Benjamin Britten's War Requiem in the Rotterdam Concert Hall. Works of art by Rotterdam artists were sold, and poems by South African poets Breyten Breytenbach and Vernie February. On November 24th this year, there will be a jazz concert in the great Congress building in The Hague; about 60 musicians from South Africa and the Netherlands will perform on the theme, "Now is the time."

International campaign

Enormous funds are needed for Radio Freedom's own transmitter; it will take a few million guilders. The Netherlands will not be able to launch such a transmitter on its own. Moreover, the Dutch support group feels that such a campaign should by its very nature be international. Contacts are therefore being made for the formation of support groups in other countries.

Individuals and groups who want to join the campaign should contact: *Omroep voor Radio Freedom*, PO Box 10707, 1001 ES Amsterdam, Netherlands.

A MEDIA OFFENSIVE

By P V Foreman

With apartheid collapsing and its ideological framework crumbling, with the culture of the people and the ideals of the democratic forces gaining ascendancy, the moment is ripe for a media offensive by the progressive movement and the underground forces of the ANC.

It is time for a major thrust by the progressive forces. An important role in this offensive will have to be undertaken by the democratic media, which *Sechaba* celebrated in the April 1989 issue.

The task facing us was well expressed by Jean-Luc Lagardere, president of Matra, the French missile and media conglomerate, who said, "Communication is the missile of tomorrow." We are fighting apparently unsurmountable forces in this impending war of missiles. It is like a David and Goliath contest, and we are still getting our catapult together.

That this battle has to be fought, and that in this battle we shall always be equipped with backward technology, never having the perfect mix of personnel, must be accepted. It's like a guerrilla detachment fighting an enemy armed with tons of rocket launchers, tanks and fighter planes. That should perhaps be our guiding principle when working in the democratic media; that we will have to resort to guerrilla tactics. And one of the central principles of guerrilla warfare is that we must fight in that

terrain where we are at an advantage.

Role of the democratic media

In summary, the role of the democratic media would be to contribute to the process of bringing about a democratic South Africa. This statement covers the numerous and varied tasks we have to complete to achieve that objective. These tasks include the organising of the masses for the armed seizure of power, the winning over of sections of the enemy camp to our side, and the development of a national consciousness and culture. The propaganda of the forces for change has a vital role to play in the completion of these and other vital responsibilities. This calls for unity of purpose on our side.

These facts should spur us to double our efforts in the media field:

★ The total circulation of the progressive weeklies does not even equal the circulation of *The Star*, the biggest daily in

South Africa.

★ The 250 000 circulation of *Ilanga* — now under the direct control of Inkatha — towers over the 35 000 of *The New Nation*.

We are faced by forces which have almost unlimited resources to pour into the maintenance of power, through either repressive or ideological means. This calls for unity of purpose on our side.

Words are powerful

Anyone with the slightest understanding of the history of the Torah, Bible, Quran or political journals like *Iskra* will testify to the central role that propaganda plays in the process of bringing about social change. If that process can be reduced to just three aspects, then they will be propaganda, agitation and organisation. Propaganda is seen as belonging to the realm of ideology and strategy, agitation to the world of politics and tactics. To put it crudely, a propagandist will present a set of many ideas which will be integrated as a whole but which will be understood by relatively

few, while the agitator will present single ideas which will be aimed at rousing the masses into action.

Nadezhda Krupskaya identified the central problem and the answer to that problem, when she said,

"There exists no brick wall between propaganda, agitation and organisation. A propagandist who can stir up the audience with his enthusiasm is at the same time an agitator. A propagandist, able to turn theory into the guidance to action, undoubtedly makes easier the work of an organiser."

Le Duan, in explaining the relationship between 'propaganda' and 'action' slogans, illustrates this point as well:

"Action slogans, which are closely connected with the day-to-day effort, must show extreme flexibility ... and must be continually altered to fit the evolution of the struggle ... One must gradually raise the level of action slogans, and, ultimately, when the right time comes, turn watchwords which are hitherto for propaganda purposes into ones for direct and resolute action."

An illustration of this is the call the ANC repeatedly made for the creation of democratic structures. As part of the propaganda process linked to this action slogan was the question of people's power. With the uprising beginning in 1984, the slogans had to be altered as rudimentary organs of people's power emerged. New slogans had to be placed before the

people as new tasks were thrust before the revolution. Hence the action slogans came to be around the question of making the country ungovernable and apartheid unworkable. These are linked to the strategic goal of seizing power encapsulated in the propaganda slogan, "Forward to People's Power!" which gives a qualitatively new content to the concept of people's power. In the past, it represented the creating of democratic organisations, while the new slogans came to represent the seizure of power by the people.

Where do the progressive weeklies fit into this process? Their message falls between propaganda (that is, theoretical and strategic writing) and agitation (leading to the action of the masses). However, the effectiveness of a piece of propaganda is felt by the extent to which people are moved into action. How do we judge the effectiveness of the content of the weekly newspaper like *New African*, apart from circulation figures? This is a problem we in the ANC also face; our propaganda does not always call for immediate action, and yet we would like to know how effective it has been. Perhaps the most important guideline is the extent to which it has made easier the task of the organiser.

Tasks and problems

Contemporary problems in Africa, the Soviet Union and other parts of the world should signal to us the need to solve

questions connected with ethnicity. This, as we have often repeated, must occur in the process of struggle. From an appeal to the reality of our people's particular experience, the reactionaries build their ideological frameworks. The tasks of propagandists would be to tease out the threads that make up the framework of the reactionary interpretation of reality, straighten some out, reject others, introduce new ones and build a progressive, non-racial consciousness and culture.

At another, more advanced phase of the struggle, we will have to define a new role for the democratic media. This was illustrated by the experience of the Nicaraguan insurrection, where radio services under the control of the patriotic forces were despatching war reports and general news. There was a time when the patriotic journalists had to adapt to what was referred to as the Journalism of the Catacombs. We must be prepared to play this role. We will come back to this question of democratic media and training for insurrectionary and illegal moments.

In the meanwhile, the democratic media, within the constraints of the law, must reflect the extent to which the tasks of the phase identified are being fulfilled, and, in this way, play an analytical and catalysing role. In conditions like the present, where the enemy's use of the state of emergency and other repressive measures has set us back somewhat, we need to keep alive the experience of

the people in the period of 1984-86. This must not be done in glossed-over references to that period. We must be able to find ways of recalling the concrete experience of the people as they faced the enemy across the barricades, how these barricades were built, how the effects of teargas were overcome, how traps were set for armoured personnel carriers, and so on.

A media culture

The immediate implication of the above is that there needs to be a close relationship between the leadership of mass organisations and their media work. Progressive media workers have reason to complain that media work is relegated to a peripheral concern by the leadership. The lack of a media culture has been identified as contributing to this problem. The success of the 1984 campaign against the tricameral elections was due in no small measure to the close relationship between the organisational leadership and the production of media.

While Lenin's *What Is to be Done?* can be quoted verbatim by activists, its principles are not realised concretely. To address ourselves to this problem, the mass democratic movement would have to begin intensive training in different aspects of media work. Just as our overall approach to media requires us to straddle different levels and forms of media, we need to have a similar attitude to the question of training —

formal training through workshops and schools of journalism as well as non-formal training. Formal training would be aimed at the use of higher levels of technology, and the non-formal at low-tech, rough-and-tumble production. The idea of opening up schools for communication must be pursued as enthusiastically as that of developing national co-ordination in media work. Co-ordination cannot succeed in the absence of trained and experienced writers, producers and business managers.

Some of the pages of the progressive press could be devoted to the training of people in producing their own material. Every activist should be encouraged to master the basic techniques of propaganda. Specialists in this field must provide the necessary guidance to as many as possible. The concept of propaganda guerrilla tactics must be enforced.

Democratic media strategy

The democratic media have for too long remained as atomised entities which follow the instinct of the professionals working on them and the activists they are in touch with. We need a clear strategy and programme to channel all our efforts. In developing this strategy, we have to give consideration to the role of a variety of forces, from the local community newsletter to the progressive journalist working on a commercial newspaper. For example, *Clothesline*, the voice of the

Garment Workers' Union, has a circulation of 600 000; there have been instances of media persons from the commercial press co-operating on certain issues. The question we are facing as democrats, not just as media workers, is how to channel all these energies into a single current. We, the democratic force, must have our own Niagara Falls.

There is an issue we need to look at, a problem of policy which impinges on strategy. Our reporting must be based on absolute objectivity. The kind of objectivity we are referring to is that of a brain surgeon working out how to remove a tumour. It is not the type of objectivity that says all the cancer cells should have an equal say as to whether they should be removed or not. We are faced with a tumour in our society, and that tumour has to be removed. The central axis of our media strategy under the apartheid regime would have to be the defence and advance of the political movement, and the movement would have to provide overall and timely guidance to media work.

We will be required to use certain anaesthetics to ensure the successful removal of the tumour, but it is for the removal of the tumour that we are using them. This, we hope, takes care of the issue of 'popular interest' stories such as sports reporting and so on.

Counter-propaganda a vital task

Counter-propaganda is an area sorely overlooked by the dem...

cratic media, yet it is a vital task that the democratic media have to undertake. About the only time we consider engaging in exposing the false claims of the SABC and its various adjuncts is at the time of polls, or when confronted with situations like the Olivia Forsyth saga. We have to engage in counter-propaganda in a systematic way, so that the voice of the democratic movement is recognised as the only carrier of the truth. We must discredit the media of the regime and the commercial sector by showing up contradictions within their stories, contradictions between them, and, finally, contradictions between the story and the actual events. If we start

shouting foul at the end of an election without having laid the groundwork, it will have the same effect as whistling in the face of a hurricane.

An essential ingredient for the victory of any revolution is the winning over of sections of the enemy camp, especially the enemy armed forces. The task is complicated by the special colonial nature of the oppressing army. However, we come nowhere near touching the Achilles heel of the South African security apparatus: the bantustan armies, SAS Jalsena, the Cape Corps, the SAP. The personnel of these are part of the communities that the democratic media addresses itself to.

This contribution may have thus far created the impression that the writer has forgotten about the state of emergency in South Africa. No democrat can avoid being painfully aware of it, and media workers develop an acute awareness of it, given the various strangling press curbs. It may thus be enlightening to conclude with the words of Eckart Spoo, Chairman of the Journalists' Union of the Federal Republic of Germany:

"If the secret service ... is a natural opponent of mass media and their constitutional task, we should also treat it as such."



THE DRAINING OF NAMIBIA'S WEALTH

By Jean Middleton

For more than a hundred years, Namibia has been exploited by colonial powers: first by Germany and Britain, and then by South Africa. Investors outside and settlers within have enriched themselves while impoverishing the country. Now, on the eve of independence, outside investors are working in alliance with the South African administration to gain financial control of whatever natural resources and other assets they can still get their hands on.

Some of the assets of Namibia, like the mines, have long been exploited by transnational companies. Others are even now being transferred into the hands of owners in South Africa and overseas.

Minerals — base metals, platinum, uranium and diamonds — are the chief natural resources of the country. Mining makes up about a quarter of the gross domestic product, and three-quarters of export earnings — R795 million out of a total of R1 085 million. All this is in the hands of big transnationals — Rio Tinto Zinc, Goldfields of South Africa (owned by Consolidated Goldfields) and, biggest of all, Anglo-American. These, and the interests they represent, have consistently carried out wholesale depletion of Namibian wealth, the most ruthless impoverishment of all. The minerals are exported in their raw state, so processing plays no part in the Namibian economy; diamonds, for example are cut and marketed by Anglo-American through De Beers. The mineral products leave the country, and so do the profits, flowing to foreign bank accounts.

For the last 15 years, this exploitation has been conducted in defiance of international law. Resolution 435 is not the only United Nations ruling to have been flagrantly broken in Namibia; Anglo, RTZ and Consgold have carried on mining and exporting in disregard of UN Decree No

1 of 1974, which forbids the mining, processing or distributing of any Namibian natural resource without the consent of the United Nations Council for Namibia. This decree was expressly designed and explicitly worded to protect the natural resources of Namibia for the time of independence.

Anglo gets rich quick

The transnationals have announced that they intend to remain in Namibia after independence. All the same, there is evidence that the mines have been extracting as much as they can as fast as they can, in preparation for the day when an independent government might impose a curb on their exports and their profits. SWAPO has accused the mining companies of overmining, in the diamond mines in particular. It claims that Anglo-American has concentrated on extracting high quality diamonds at the expense of the future of the mines, and that, by 1991, the diamond fields of Namibia may be worked out of all diamonds except those of the lowest quality.

The rich fishing grounds off the Namibian coast are another natural resource worked from outside, though here a processing industry does exist, at Walvis Bay. Inside the 19 kilometre

"No person or entity, whether a body corporate or unincorporated, may search for, prospect for, explore for, take, extract, mine, process, refine, use, sell, export or distribute any natural resource, whether animal or mineral, situated or found to be situated within

the territorial limits of Namibia without the consent and permission of the United Nations Council for Namibia or any person authorised to act on its behalf."

United Nations Council for Namibia Decree No 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, 1974.

limit, South African boats have had a monopoly of the inshore anchovy and pilchard fishing. In pursuing their profits, these companies fished with no care for the future, and depleted the fishing grounds to the extent that the industry collapsed, and it has not yet recovered.

Anglo-American is to be found here, too, as the controlling interest behind Ovenstone Investments Ltd, which established a cannery in Chile at the end of the 1970s, when the Namibian inshore fish were exhausted. Metal Box, which had a hand in fish processing as a supplier of cans, followed Ovenstone to Chile a year or two later. The depression in the fishing industry put Namibian workers in Walvis Bay out of work; a serious matter at any time, and more so in a country where a third of the population is unemployed. It is easy for investors to cut their losses and move on, but workers cannot move so easily in search of jobs.

Illegal trade

United Nations Decree No 1 covers all natural resources, "whether animal or mineral ... situated within the territorial limits of Namibia," and therefore the export of fish from waters within the 19 kilometre limit is illegal. So is the export of cattle and sheep products, such as meat, karakul and wool, which, in the mid-eighties, accounted for 8% of the export earnings of Namibia.

These animal products have been the subject of a trade conducted in South Africa by White Namibian farmers. Land — that most vital of all natural resources — has also been part of this trade. The Windhoek paper, *The Namibian*, reported on April 28th 1989 that Windhoek was "alive with rumours" about the methods White farmers were using to get their money out of the country before independence. There were tales of uncut diamonds, karakul furs, livestock, even breeding stock (the future of the industry) being transported to South Africa and sold there. Farmers were also said to be taking out land bank loans in South Africa, using their farms as security. The money was being invested in South Africa.

Even state-owned assets are being sold. In the run-up to independence, the state has collaborated with South African business in making plans to sell off public services rather than allow them to pass into the control of a people's government. Moves began in 1988, when the so-called Transitional Government of National Unity (appointed by Pretoria in 1985 without elections) drew up a list of public services to be privatised, and established a Privatisation Affairs Committee.

Public property up for sale

The public property up for sale included all aspects of the medical services; posts and



Namibian meat: carcasses for export

telecommunications; schools; railways and heavy road transport (both crucial to the economy of a country as vast and sparsely populated as Namibia). Pension funds were also on the list; security, laundry, printing and cleaning services: even the government attorney.

In April 1989, this transitional government was replaced by the Administrator-General, the official appointed by Pretoria to act as caretaker till after the elections. By then, road transport was being privatised. Medical services were being sold off; Fedics, a South African catering firm, had established a restaurant in Windhoek state hospital, and trade union members were reporting that the price of meals had increased fourfold. Namibian political, trade union and

church leaders denounced the plans, but Louis Pienaar, the Administrator-General, made clear that his policy was to let privatisation go ahead in spite of protests. He said that if "foreign aid" appeared in the country, he would consider transferring services and assets, such as hospitals and water schemes, to "trust." By "trust," he meant foreign companies, of course, and by "foreign aid," he meant capital.

The Pretoria regime is in serious financial difficulties, and is adopting this measure to raise funds. It will use the money from the sale of Namibian public services to save itself from financial disaster for the time being. Certainly, there is no intention of using it to benefit the Namibian people.

In fact, the Namibian people will be the losers. The new owners of the public services will be operating them for a profit, and that means charging fees for services that should be free, like hospitals and schools. After the elections, the government is left with several options, none of them easy. It may let things remain as they are. It may pay out money it can ill afford to provide another set of services, thus creating a two-tier system; one fee-paying, for the rich, one free, for the poor. It can buy the services back, or it can expropriate them without compensation.

Agencies of external control

Businessmen made claims that privatisation created jobs and prosperity. They didn't explain why, if the system were so efficient and desirable, Pretoria hadn't introduced it years before, instead of waiting for independence. Dr Cleophas Dumeni, a Lutheran bishop, challenged the motives of the regime in these words:

"The question is, why are they privatising now and not earlier?"

To Namibians, privatisation means more than a massive loss of wealth; they see it also as an attempt to establish agencies of external control in Namibia after direct rule from Pretoria is removed. John Pandeni, general secretary of the Namibian Food and Allied Workers' Union, said:

"The workers see it as South Africa's way of weakening a future government, handicapping it before it comes to power ... it is important to have certain services under the control of the government, so these services will be available to the people."

Ben Ulenga, general secretary of the Namibian Union of Mineworkers, said it was:

"... an attempt to neutralise the incoming government before it even starts ... We won't be able to transport the goods if the transport services are in the hands of hostile private people."

Because of the practice of exporting raw

materials rather than finished products, secondary industry in Namibia is poorly developed at present, accounting for only 5% of the gross domestic product. Outside investors have begun to show an interest in this sector, too.

Investors hope for profits

According to Assocom in South Africa, 52 new companies were registered in Namibia in February this year and 45 in the first half of March, as against 16 and 17 in February and March last year. The director of the Namibian First National Development Corporation told the press that prospective investors, large and small, were making enquiries about the possibility of establishing new businesses or expanding businesses already in existence. Projects included the manufacture of cars, television and radio, small arms and ammunition; rubber processing, rice milling, and refrigerating white fish. He said enquiries had come from the Federal Republic of Germany, Greece, Italy, Japan, Sri Lanka, Taiwan, Zaire and Zimbabwe, as well as South Africa. Some of these investors were waiting to find out what the economic policies of the new government would be, before committing themselves.

The *Financial Mail* of April 14th reported that more than R200 million had been invested in building development in Namibia; Sanlam, Old Mutual and Southern Life are among those putting up buildings in Windhoek. A spokesman for Nationwide, Johannesburg, told the press that more capital, particularly from the Federal Republic of Germany, was waiting to go into Namibian property development, should the policies of the new government be favourable.

Added to all these investors, of course, are those who already have invested in land by providing loans to farmers against the security of their farms.

In April this year, while units of the South African Defence Force were breaking the ceasefire to hunt down and shoot SWAPO soldiers; while the police were murdering Namibian civilians; while emergency meetings were being held in the Front Line States to discuss the terms

of Resolution 435 and SWAPO was calling on the United Nations to safeguard the implementation of those terms — at that time, businessmen and business organisations in South Africa were alive with excitement and speculation about the prospects for investment in Namibia, of fortunes to be made there. An academic from the University of South Africa spent two weeks on what was described as a "research visit" to Namibia, and on his return reported to an Assocom seminar; other representatives of business spoke at meetings and to the press.

Campaign to reassure investors

This surge of interest had the look of a campaign to allay the fears of investors who were uncertain. All who spoke had the vision of a bright and hopeful future for what they called "economic relations" and "economic co-operation" between South Africa and Namibia. Namibia was described as a natural market for South African produce, and one that would provide a way through to other African markets. D W Goedhuys of the South African Reserve Bank suggested that the new government should promise free repatriation of dividends and capital, and that Namibia should remain within the Rand Monetary System, like Swaziland and Lesotho. Ben van Rensburg, the academic from UNISA, said it was possible that Namibian territorial waters would be extended to 300 kilometres and that the fishing industry would then be a profitable field.

Some statements sounded like veiled threats directed against the independent government: it was said that both countries would suffer if the relationship were broken; that Namibia was heavily dependent on the contribution of "White business;" that powerful economic forces would inhibit the degree of freedom of the new government; that it would be dangerous for Namibia to alienate South Africa and the Federal Republic of Germany.

Building a new country

The plans of SWAPO, which were outlined at

that time and later amplified in the election manifesto, are very different.

For one thing, SWAPO has made clear that it places the welfare of the Namibian people first. In an interview with *World Marxist Review* of April 1989, Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo, Secretary-General of SWAPO, said:

"We are concerned with uplifting workers and peasants. These are the people who have fought in the liberation struggle, and our objectives are to improve living conditions, to have schools, hospitals, better housing, etc."

In keeping with this statement, the election manifesto gives priority to health and education — two areas Pretoria has designated for privatisation.

Andimba Toivo Ja Toivo said SWAPO was looking forward to having a socialist system, though he acknowledged that this would be a long and difficult process because of the many ties between the Namibian economy and the capitalist system. He said:

"We will have to ... co-operate with South Africa, but not have our arms twisted because of this."

The manifesto states an intention of replacing the colonial economy with an economy of independence. This involves setting up secondary industry, like refrigeration, storage and processing of meat that till now has been sent straight for sale in South Africa, and getting the fish-processing industry under the control of a state fishing sector, thereby creating employment for Namibians and keeping profits in the country.

SWAPO does not intend to pursue any policy of "free repatriation of dividends," as recommended by South African business. On the contrary, it intends to use the massive mining profits for developing the economy of the country. The mining companies will be required to pay out a substantial part of their profits in tax, and SWAPO intends to curb methods of concealing the export of dividends, like transfer pricing.

Arable land is to be turned over to irrigation and crops for domestic and regional markets, to minimise the need for importing grain, and SWAPO plans to expropriate some land,

especially unused land. Till now, SWAPO says, Namibia has been a "captive market," a "dumping ground," for South African food surplus.

Economic and political relationships

SWAPO envisages a 'mixed' economy, with state, co-operative and private ownership. And, far from intending a special economic relationship with South Africa within the Rand Monetary System, SWAPO intends an increasing orientation towards other, more democratic, unions and organisations — the United Nations, the Non-Aligned Movement and the Southern African

Development Co-ordinating Conference. SWAPO's policy regarding African alliances was also expressed by Hidipo Hamutenya, Secretary for Information and Publicity, at a Business International conference in London in April, when he said:

"Quite frankly, SWAPO sees Namibia's future in economic integration schemes of independent Africa, particularly the SADCC."

There are sharp contradictions here. Any independent government of Namibia, if it sets about building the Namibian economy for the benefit of the Namibian people, is bound to come into conflict with South African imperialism and the South African regime.



Wealth for Anglo and De Beers: diamond mining in Namibia

South African imperialism

The collapsing economy of South Africa needs Namibia as an area for exploitation and cheap profits. It needs Namibia as a market for surplus produce. It needs a monopoly of this market, so that prices can be kept artificially high; and, in the Rand Monetary System, Namibia would find it difficult to trade elsewhere, so the monopoly would be assured. Outside investors will use their control over assets within Namibia, and any other means possible, to dictate economic policy to the Namibian government. The transnationals will not take kindly to the idea of being taxed; and it should be remembered that after Zambian independence, the government did not succeed in preventing Anglo-American from exporting its profits from the copper mines. The Kudu natural gas field off the coast of southern Namibia is not being exploited yet, but it is being investigated by the South African oil parastatal, Soekor, and South Africa will want to keep control over it.

SWAPO knows all this. It also knows that there is a possibility of more armed conflict, for the Pretoria regime may even send troops back into Namibia to protect South African interests. Indeed, South African troops are already there — the SADF is still active in the country; the South West Africa Territorial Force was not disbanded at the time of the ceasefire, and statements made then showed that it intends to remain as a force in Namibia after the elections. By installing heavy security precautions in a huge shopping complex at present being put up in Windhoek, at least one firm of developers has demonstrated that it has no faith in future peace in Namibia. Hage Geingob, SWAPO Director of Elections, and Director of the United Nations Institute for Namibia, must have had all this in mind when he said at the Business International Conference in April:

"Pretoria-sponsored preparations and rehearsals for the destabilisation of independent Namibia are already under way. We call on the international community to put a stop to this state terrorism."

Whether or not matters come to the use of armed force, any attempts racist South Africa makes to control the government of independent Namibia will be backed by a powerful lobby within South Africa, and powerful interests in South Africa and the West.

Campaigns of disinformation

To begin with, the Western media might well adopt a strategy of keeping the international community in ignorance of what is happening. This would not be the first time such a thing has been done. The war of destabilisation in Angola was so poorly reported in the early 1980s that the Angolan Minister of Information visited Europe in 1983 in an attempt to counteract what he called the "campaign of disinformation" about events in his country. Right up till now, there has been very little coverage in the West about SADF atrocities in Namibia.

Since the defeat at Cuito Cuanavale, which forced it to accept the principle of elections, the regime has not ceased to use every trick — brutal, treacherous, dishonest — to maintain its dominant position in Namibia. Imperialists do not give up easily, and things are not going to be easy for the independent government.

We must maintain the greatest vigilance. In the struggle ahead, the future of the people of South Africa remains bound up with that of the people of Namibia. We confront the same enemy. Whatever weakens the South African economy strengthens us. In sections of the Western media, there is already a "campaign of disinformation" against the South African liberation movement, too. Our battle is still to be won, and so is the battle for Namibia.

GROWTH OF THE WOMEN'S STRUGGLE

By Hilda Bernstein

Women's participation in the South African struggle for liberation is as old as the struggle itself. Over the years, women's organisations have gained political direction, become integrated into the struggle as a whole, and have acquired formidable power

From the time that South Africa was formally constituted as a nation the activities of women have taken place on two levels: first, since women are half the population, as part of the struggle of the whole population; and secondly, through specific women's organisations. This struggle on two levels continues today.

Cries of Freedom, produced by the Catholic Institute for International Relations, describes how women have been a vital force, bringing renewed vigour to the tradition of resistance which has survived decades of repression:

"In urban squatter camps and rural villages, women have been key participants in mobilising against mass evictions and forced removal of communities. Domestic workers have come together to fight against the long hours and pitiful pay which makes them the most exploited sector of South African workers ... In the communities the fight against apartheid includes rent boycotts in protest against racially based municipal councils. Consumer boycotts of White-owned business are designed to put pressure on the business sector to take a stand against apartheid. These actions depend on the decisive support of women, who in many cases are the heads of households."

In schools and universities, girls and young women take part in actions demanding democratic control of education. In White communities, women campaign against military conscription, revealing the role of the armed forces in maintaining and enforcing apartheid.

Poorly represented in the leadership

While women suffer the same penalties as men for their political activism (3 050 were detained without trial under the state of emergency in 1987 alone) women still comprise a small per-

centage of the total detained in the crackdown against resistance. This is because while women are active on the ground, in the rank and file of mass organisations, they are still poorly represented in leadership positions. *Cries of Freedom* says:

"This incomplete representation of women in the structure of resistance has been acknowledged and challenged by women who support the United Democratic Front ... the UDF and the trade union federation, COSATU, have taken up the challenge of encouraging 'the maximum participation of women.'"

In coming months and years, women like Albertina Sisulu will increasingly be seen in the leadership of the mass democratic movement.

The ways in which women have organised among themselves have been very diverse, very often founded on a local or community basis: organisations that aim to give mutual assistance in the difficult lives women lead, self-help clubs, church societies, as well as those directed at specific political issues. In 1913, for example, in their campaign against the pass laws, women found that deputations and petitions had failed. They then "threw off their shawls and took the law into their own hands." 600 women in Bloemfontein marched to the municipal offices demanding to see the mayor, and deposited a bag containing their passes at the feet of the deputy mayor, telling him they would buy no more.

Pivotal role in political organisations

Women's organisations have always operated within the framework of the political resistance movements, because of the women's clear understanding that the reforms they need are dependent upon a restructuring of the state itself. This is one of the reasons why women's participation and initiatives often subsequently disappear from written history. It is easy to see the role of women in activities specific to women, but not so easy to see the pivotal role they have played in the general activities of the largely male-led organisations; yet women have emerged as primary catalysts for protest, and challengers of apartheid. With all the disabilities and devastating effects of apartheid on their status and their lives, they have never lost sight of the fact that meaningful change for women cannot be forthcoming through reform, but only through the total destruction of apartheid.



A recent women's meeting in South Africa: the veteran Annie Silinga was present in her wheel-chair

This has led to the women's struggle being subsumed into the general struggle, and thus in the past the crucial role played by women was not widely recognised. Women, for instance, were active in Mahatma Gandhi's early campaigns against discriminatory laws, and 40 years later were among those who took part in the Defiance Campaign, defying racial laws and offering themselves up for arrest in their thousands.

Double objectives

In the 1950s, women formed themselves into the first organisation to draw women of different groups into one body with clear objectives. This was the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW) that set out, at its first conference in 1954, its double objective of fighting for liberation for all through the overthrow of apartheid, and of fighting against women's special disabilities. The Women's Charter that came out of the conference proclaimed FEDSAW's aim of striving for the removal of all laws, regulations and customs that discriminate against women, but emphasised that women do not form a separate society from men, and that they joined with men in the struggle to remove all social evils and obstacles to progress.

It was FEDSAW that organised a nation-wide campaign against the extension of the pass laws to women, culminating, on August 9th 1955, in the historic demonstration at the seat of the government in Pretoria, when 20 000 women gathered to present their hundreds of thousands of petitions against the pass laws.

FEDSAW was never declared an illegal organisation, but bans and restraints on all who attempted to organise or speak on behalf of the women led to its decline in the 1960s. With the upsurge of revolt, particularly among young people in the 1970s, women re-formed themselves into political organisations under the same or different names. In the Transvaal it was the Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), but attempts to form a united national organisation have been repeatedly thwarted by the imposition of regulations under the states of emergency, and thus today the most active women's organisa-

tions are formed on a regional basis.

These organisations reflect not only the harsh conditions under apartheid today, but also the changing status of women in society as a whole, and the extent to which they have advanced in their understanding of their own political role.

Women's vision of emancipation

At the conference of the National Assembly for Women in South Africa a few months ago, women listened to a church minister. Roxanne Jordaan, describing the nature of South African society as based on economic exploitation and oppression. Women, she said, had to determine their own vision of their emancipation, without losing sight of their quest for freedom within the national struggle for liberation:

"Our struggle is not solely for the emancipation of women, or to enhance our position in the economic world, or to make ourselves equal with men, but to dismantle the structures of apartheid in order that we move forward to a transformed society, freed of the inequalities based on race, class, creed and gender."

Women's fight was against oppression in their homes by men, but they had to identify apartheid structures enslaving both men and women:

Men also need to be liberated from the psychological oppression of fear to understand the urgency of the women's struggle. The women's struggle is a struggle for the realisation of the full potential of all people."

She described women's fight for the right to vote:

"It is not a struggle to free ourselves from caring for our children but a battle to redefine the productive role of women. It is not a struggle to take over male structures and replant them in our lives and organisations, but to transform such structures to be free of any kind of sex discrimination ... Liberation is not a commodity that can be bought or which will be given to those who are oppressed, for no government abdicates power as an act of charity."



A Black Sash demonstration in Johannesburg

The high degree of unity in aims among diverse women's organisations today is exemplified in WAR — Women Against Repression, an alliance of women's organisations. These include FEDTRAW, Women for Peace, the Black Sash, YWCA, and student, trade union and church organisations. They issued a joint statement on International Women's Day this year, calling for a period of solidarity against oppression after 1 000 days of the state of emergency. To demand an end to the state of emergency, they held an all-night vigil and a 24-hour hunger strike. The aims of WAR are to co-ordinate the activities of democratic women's organisations, to unite as many women as possible, and to raise the voice of women in the struggle against apartheid.

Women and babies imprisoned

Women in particular feel strongly about the state of emergency because of the constant anxiety and responsibility they feel towards their children. Many mothers have been detained, and many young sons and daughters. Some women are preg



A woman shows her sjambok wounds given her by the police.

nant when they are detained, and if they do not miscarry they must carry their pregnancy to term, often under intolerable conditions. *Cries of Freedom* says:

"Women have been beaten and tortured while already in poor health resulting from pregnancy without adequate care, food, medical attention and exercise. Women have had to give birth under prison conditions."

Many miscarry as a result of assault, torture, lack of medical care or the stress of detention.

One case alone can show what women suffer. An 18-year-old woman was detained and interrogated when she was five months pregnant. When her cellmates demanded her release, they were all tear-gassed in the cell. She became quite ill from this, and ultimately gave birth in the prison hospital, but was not allowed to receive clothes

for the baby nor see family visitors. After the baby became ill and was put into hospital, she was released but given a restriction order.

Women who have given birth in detention must either keep their infants with them in appalling conditions, or have them taken away.

Detention of mothers creates traumatic situations. In one case, four children aged 15, 13, 11 and seven were left alone when their mother was detained and were not told what had happened to her. She was detained for two years. The eldest child told the others their mother would never have abandoned them, and that she must have died.

Joyce Mashamba last lived with her husband, George, 13 years ago, when their youngest child was one year old. In 1976 they were both imprisoned, for five and ten years. When George was released, Joyce was again detained. On her release, she was confined to Pietersburg, while her husband lives in Johannesburg.

New methods of resistance

The detention of women and their families, has revealed the extent to which women are determined to resist, to organise, to struggle. They have become increasingly politically conscious, and they have sought and found ways to reorganise when restrictions operate against them. Women of different races, segregated into different areas, separated by apartheid laws that harass and divide them, are finding more and more common ground to oppose political oppression, conscription of White sons into the army; to oppose removals, unjust rents, rising living costs. Their organisations have become increasingly politically orientated, stronger in aims, more militant in activities. Generally, women's organisations are stronger now and more united.

However, women's issues still seem to have a low priority in the mass democratic movement:

"Non-racialism and democracy are accepted principles of the struggle, yet not non-sexism,"

states one woman leader.

By pressing their specific claims, women's organisations can be accused of being divisive. But feminism, as defined by progressive women's organisations, does not present a threat to the unity

of the mass democratic movement. It is, rather, a recognition of the fact that women are the most oppressed sector of the community and need their own organisations to help them develop their full participation in the struggle against apartheid. And they do not wish to exclude men from this process. A FEDTRAW executive member states:

"The responsibility to organise women as a sector of the oppressed lies with the democratic movement as a whole and not just with women. The democratic movement is committed to the maximum unity of the oppressed, and this means that men must be committed to building and strengthening women's organisations."

The position of women has changed considerably over the past few years, particularly in towns. Far more women are now in employment outside their homes (roughly a third of Black women in metropolitan areas work; about half of these are domestic servants, semi-skilled or unskilled labourers; most of the remainder work in clerical

jobs or as teachers or nurses.) More women receive education, even if only in the lower standards. More women are heads of households.

Against huge obstacles, women's organisations have survived and grown, adapting to changed conditions. Women remain adamant that women's issues must be seen in the context of the whole struggle for liberation, feeling themselves to be more ready than ever before to be an integral part of that struggle. Far from weakening or discouraging women's activities, years of repression and of the continuing state of emergency have brought new understanding and strength to the women's organisations. Separation, loss of children, detention, gaol, torture — even death sentences — have not deterred or chastened the spirit of the women of South Africa. They will be as ready to play their full part in a free, non-sexist, non-racist democratic South Africa as they have been to play their part in the achievement of those aims.



A cultural group performing at the second annual women's festival organised by FEDSAW, Cape Town, May 1989

ARE NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE?

By Arnold Selby

The discussion articles in *Sechaba* on the questions of negotiations deserve serious study. Are negotiations possible? If so, then what advantages can be gained on our road to national and social liberation?

The writers of some of these discussion articles, Comrades Stalker, Theresa and Mashinini, are not suggesting that negotiations become a demand or a proposal from our side; nor do they imply that we should abandon the armed, mass and all other forms of struggle to persuade the apartheid regime to come to the negotiating table. What these three comrades are seeking to do is to answer the question: "Are negotiations possible?" They are misunderstood because their approach to the issue is far too mechanical. They seek simply to answer the question without applying selection and tests.

On the other hand, Comrades Mzala and Tsepo Nare see the matter only in shades of black and white, while ignoring the different hues and shapes, and the smooths and roughs.

The African National Congress and the people's organisations within South Africa have made their position clear on the subject of negotiations, but nevertheless the question persists in bouncing back into our court, and we are compelled to play it back. Far from taking up the position that the last word has been spoken, we must keep an eye on this ball, those who serve it, and the varying angles and velocities with which it is delivered. What are the factors? What internal and external forces are at work? What are the motives? What options are open to us?

Essential preconditions

If negotiations are possible, and I believe they are, then we must seek answers to some questions. Under what circumstances? Would going to the negotiating table be a form of surrender?

In what way can negotiations benefit our fight for national and social liberation?

One set of questions gives rise to others, so we must be absolutely clear on essential preconditions for genuine negotiations. What are these preconditions?

★ Negotiations can take place only in a spirit of good faith, of give and take between the contending parties in a genuine effort to reach a satisfactory agreement. (I use the word, 'agreement' deliberately.)

★ The negotiating parties do not speak only for themselves; they must have a base to represent. For genuine negotiations, the regime would have to have the solid support of a substantial part, if not the majority, of White South Africans.

★ The composition of the negotiating parties, the agenda and conditions, must be determined by South Africans themselves. There must be absolutely no outside interference.

★ Prevailing subjective and objective conditions must ensure that any agreement is carried out.

Certainly, negotiations are possible. But when one examines the preconditions, it becomes clear that negotiations are not just around the corner; a lot of talking will have to be done. Pretoria's friends abroad, and circles at home not connected with the democratic movement nor with any bodies genuinely seeking to bring an end to racist-colonial domination, are manipulating to pull off an unprincipled, crooked deal. While continuing our struggle, including the armed fight, we must be constantly on the diplomatic and political offensive. At all times we have to be in the forefront, rallying all sections of the population at home and increasing our broad popular support abroad to ensure that all attempts

to stage phoney negotiations are thoroughly rebuffed, and that genuine negotiations take place under favourable conditions, in accordance with the preconditions already stated.

What do the preconditions imply?

In the first, the word 'agreement' is essential. External influences applying pressure to force the pace towards negotiations speak of 'solution' and 'settlement,' both of which are tantamount to surrender. One never surrenders in good faith. The apartheid regime will not surrender its power, nor will we surrender our struggle for a non-racial, democratic South African state.

Negotiations can take place only to seek an agreement that will be mutually honoured by the contending parties. Such negotiations demand good faith. Despite the antagonistic contradictions, given the right subjective and objective conditions, it is possible to reach such an agreement. But this will not come of itself. It has to be fought for in the general pattern of our overall fight, and not treated as a separate issue.

What is there for the antagonistic parties to agree upon?

The regime would have to concede to the people substantial democratic rights, through which the fight would continue for a truly non-racial, democratic South Africa. Such democratic rights would make it unnecessary to use revolutionary violence to attain revolutionary goals. But the democratic concessions must be guaranteed, and, if armed force or other methods of violence are used to dismantle or whittle away such concessions, the people must be in a position to repulse such aggression in kind. The natural right of any people to resort to arms to disarm and fight off an aggressor cannot be conceded.

It is generally believed that genuine negotiations, with goodwill on both sides, would bring an end to violent confrontation. In principle, this is correct, and underlines the concept of good faith and mutual trust. But given the existing South African realities, it would be a mistake to harbour illusions that this principle is absolute. Indeed, under conditions of good faith, negotiations and concessions of democratic rights,

violence could escalate. Such possibilities must always be kept in mind.

Possibility of counter-revolution

As is pointed out in the second precondition, substantial White support is a necessary base for the negotiating credentials of the regime. However, a considerable section of Whites would actively resist the negotiating and democratic process. A look at our country's history will reveal that, in the White laager, contending forces are at all times prone to using armed violence against each other to gain political ends.

It cannot be ignored that Whites opposed to negotiations and democratic concessions are likely to resort to armed rebellion to offset the shaping of an agreement and putting democratic processes into operation. A split in the army and police is certain to result. In such a situation, our people's army, Umkhonto We Sizwe, would be obliged to defend the people's liberatory and democratic organisations from the armed violence of an anti-negotiations, White backlash. Circumstances could well emerge which would make it necessary for Umkhonto We Sizwe and the SADF to back negotiations to carry out joint operations directed at repelling this aggression.

On the other hand, it is more than feasible that some vigilante and collaborationist types, as well as unprincipled, ruthless bands of professional criminals, would join hands with the armed White backlash.

Certainly, despite the antagonistic contradictions, negotiations are possible for reaching an agreement in which real democratic measures would enable us, in non-violent struggle, to advance rapidly towards national and social liberation. It would be a serious error to turn our backs on such a fought-for opportunity. At the same time, we should not overlook the fact that, even after the democratic process has been agreed, the threat to halt and turn back our gains by armed aggression will still remain. So, under no circumstances can we dismantle our armed structures. Indeed, we must be ever ready and on the alert to defend in kind any violent forms of attack on our gains, structures and organisations.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT TOWARDS A NEW APPROACH

By Mphunki

The period from 1984-1988 has seen the racist regime doing all in its power to stem the tide of our national democratic revolution. The state of emergency and legislation such as the Internal Security Act were used to grant the police and army a licence to incapacitate our people both physically and mentally. In this assault, the role of capital punishment can never be over-emphasised.

The increased use of the death penalty since 1984 can be explained mainly by the enemy's dream of frightening the people away from the arena of the escalating political and military struggle.

When the Sharpeville Six were sentenced to death in December 1985 for the alleged murder of the quisling, Sam Dlamini, South Africans of all races began to question the merits and demerits of capital punishment. The case of the Sharpeville Six is, of course, only one of many which bear the same characteristics. However, the presence of a young woman among the Six, and the availability of indisputable facts proving their innocence, seem to be the main reasons behind the successful mobilisation of national and international support for them.

Genocide against the oppressed

South Africa is now responsible for more than half the world's victims of execution. The sharp increase in those sentenced to death and executed shows very clearly that the position of the death penalty has finally been consolidated next to that of forced removals, massacres of peaceful demonstrators, influx and birth controls, as one of the forms through which the regime commits genocide against the oppressed.

Capital crimes in South Africa include three common law crimes — murder, treason, rape —

and eight statutory crimes — robbery; house-breaking with aggravating circumstances; kidnapping and child-stealing; sabotage; military training; obtaining information that could further the objects of communism; advocating broad economic or social change by violent means through the aid of a foreign government or institution; participation in 'terrorist' activities. This list alone perfectly illustrates the fact that capital punishment is no longer, if it ever was, just a form of punishment for criminal and political offences, but is, more than anything, a form of genocide.

Among those mentioned above, murder seems to be the only crime in which the law may exact from the convicted person the same treatment as the convicted person meted out. But even that is correctly disputed by Albert Camus, who describes the death penalty as:

"The most premeditated of murders, to which no criminal's deed, however calculated, can be compared ... For there to be an equivalence, the death penalty would have to punish a criminal who had warned his victim of the date at which he would inflict a horrible death on him, and who, from that moment onward, had confined him at his mercy for months."

None of South Africa's victims (the overwhelming majority is Black) has ever done such a thing. So why are we being executed?

This question becomes even more difficult to answer when one is confronted with these facts:

★ There is no satisfactory evidence that capital punishment is effective as a deterrent.

★ There is always the possibility, especially in South Africa, of judicial error; and after the sentence is carried out, execution is irreversible.

Perhaps the most eloquent answer to the question is found in the 1973 Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Apartheid, which mentioned the killing of members of a racial group as one of the inhuman acts which are committed with the aim of instituting and maintaining the domination and systematic oppression of one racial group of people by another.

The regime has no mandate

The people of South Africa have never granted the regime and its judiciary the right to make laws on our behalf and stand as judges over us. We didn't give them the right to hang our people — criminals and political activists alike. The regime is illegitimate. It is not based on the will of the majority of South Africans, Black and White. It was, and continues to be, imposed on the people through force of arms. It is illegal. Its laws and actions do not conform with the demands and expectations of the international community as enshrined in the United Nations Charter and other international declarations such as the 1948 Declaration on Human Rights. We have to defend all our people (whether there are extenuating circumstances or not) from the illegal and criminal actions of the apartheid state.

So far, we've been fighting to save the lives of political activists. But are these the only people whose lives must be saved from the hangman? Are the robbers and rapists not the sons and daughters of the oppressed? Are they not also victims of the apartheid system? Is it not deprivation, oppression and exploitation which give rise to crime among the people? Only after the elimination of exploitation and antagonistic contradictions, when community of interests has become the basic principle of one and all, shall we finally extricate the main root of crime.

Although the people's courts could not do away with the social injustice that has turned our brothers and sisters into criminals, they were able to re-educate, and thus reduce drastically the crime rate in the townships. They were implementing the Freedom Charter, which says:

"Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance."

They were doing what the South African Police have never done, and will never be able to do, because the task of the SAP was, and remains, to protect criminals like Botha and De Klerk and gluttons like Oppenheimer from those who demand jobs and bread.

Putting pressure

National and international campaigns have made an invaluable contribution to the struggle to save lives from the hangmen of Pretoria. Is it that the placards, letters and telegrams sometimes touch the conscience of a fascist and make him reprieve his victims? To this day, only six ANC guerrillas have had their death sentences commuted to terms of imprisonment. In the case of three of these, there is no doubt the racists decided to commute the sentences in the hope that President Rene of the Seychelles, who had asked them to do so, would do the same with apartheid agents in his hands.

Similarly, moral pressure alone could never have saved the Sharpeville Six. The commutation of their sentences, and the whole process leading to it, were carefully designed to make Botha look like a reasonable and kind uncle. Only those who are children in politics will be fooled. We know Botha commuted the sentences so that he could more easily save the lives of four White fascist policemen. This would put him in the good books of South African conservative and fascist circles. Further, it was done with a view to influencing the Zimbabwean judiciary against passing the death sentence on captured apartheid cut-throats.

The Sharpeville Six were innocent. We must demand their unconditional release, and reject

the comparison with fascist policemen who were involved in such brutal crimes against the people that even the South African judiciary, notorious for acquitting fascists, could not but sentence them to death.

It's not in the character of Boers, or any fascists, to be susceptible to pleas for mercy or reason. Fascists respond positively only when you talk to them as President Rene did, from a position of strength.

Campaign against all hangings!

Whether or not the world-wide protests stopped Botha's blood-dripping hand, the fact remains that, while we were busy campaigning to save the Sharpeville Six, he quietly throttled more than 400 people in the period 1985 to 1988. Over 280 are still on death row, awaiting death. Of these, at least 70 are political prisoners. Many more are still being sentenced to death.

Selective campaigns to save this or that victim of the death penalty can no longer be effective. These must be reinforced by a comprehensive campaign to save lives; a campaign for the abolition of capital punishment. To achieve our goal we should, among other things:

- ★ pressurise judges to refrain from imposing the death penalty;
- ★ force the regime to recognise the right of our cadres to prisoner-of-war status.

South African judges are appointed by the state president, an illegitimate state organ. They base their judgments on law-breaking legislation enacted by illegitimate organs. In carrying out their duties (illegal in terms of international law), they have to rely on evidence extracted by torture. How can such evidence lead to the truth? Where the law (Internal Security Act of 1982, section 29) allows even witnesses to be detained incommunicado, and denies judges the jurisdiction to pronounce on the validity of the detention, it is impossible to administer justice properly, let alone establish the truth.

Politicising judges and advocates

With the support of the international community, we must politicise the South African Bar. They

have to know the implications of their present role as active participants in the commission of the crime of apartheid.

When they are appointed to the judiciary, they should either refuse appointment or go into the system to defend democrats in whatever way possible. Those who find it impossible to use apartheid laws in favour of the non-racial democratic majority should be called upon to resign. Except in the case of murder without extenuating circumstances, where the death penalty is mandatory, judges can refrain from imposing it. There must be no exceptions. Those who choose to impose the death sentence should be prevented by all possible means from ever repeating that criminal act.

The ANC is a signatory to the Geneva protocols, and has undertaken to respect the prisoner-of-war status of captured enemy soldiers. Even in the conduct of war, the ANC does its best to keep to the expectations of the international community. All this is being done by our movement, despite the terroristic actions of the apartheid regime. State-parties to the Geneva protocols should be requested to call upon the regime to do the same with our guerrillas. Further, they should demand that the regime observe the 1949 Geneva Convention on the conduct of war.

To reinforce our demands for prisoner-of-war status, we should explore ways and means of capturing and keeping enemy soldiers. Political and legal means alone can never earn for our guerrillas the POW status they deserve. Only when we have SADF soldiers in our hands will the regime be forced, by its own political base, to review its decision not to grant our comrades this status.

In conducting our struggle for the abolition of capital punishment and the liberation of our people, we should do what we think is right for the movement and our people. We are not obliged to make any apologies to the friends of the regime, who are always ready to dub us 'terrorist' for anything we do to defend ourselves against the notorious terrorist and genocidal policies of the South African state.

CONVERTING CHRISTIAN SUBVERSIVES

By Cedric Mayson

The church today is a site of struggle. The traditional command of Christendom by right-wing believers in the colonial imperialist mould has been challenged by the new initiatives of Christian revolutionaries throughout the globe, and South Africans are in the heart of the conflict.

Christians used to maintain a shamefaced silence over their denominational, cultural and class divisions, but pressures in the world today have shattered that peace like murder in a cathedral. Humanity is split in a cosmic conflict between justice and injustice, freedom and oppression, the forces of life and those of death; and Christians divided by that struggle have produced contradictory versions of their faith.

Dr James Cochrane of Natal University wrote in *The Times* of July 17th 1989:

"There are two Gods in South Africa, both served by people who claim Christ. The one is visible in the poor man of Galilee who, with his motley crowd, marched upon Jerusalem, the centre of religious, political and economic power, to give his body that life might be served. The other serves the national security state — an idol who, like all idols, demands blood sacrifice."

To protect 'Christian civilisation,' people are disfranchised, impoverished, dispossessed, starved, maimed, butchered, oppressed by violence.

Two-way division

Surface analysis suggests many divisions between Christians: supporters of the regime; those

claiming a spiritual superiority that absolves them from political involvement; some seeking 'gradual' change; self-proclaimed 'reconcilers' trying to sit on the fence; and those in the revolutionary struggle. In practice, it is a two-way division between those who support the active pursuit of freedom and justice by the Mass Democratic Movement, and those who do not. People not in the movement to rid human society of tyranny are as guilty as those who fire the gun.

Frank Chikane, General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC), said:

"We take seriously ... God's infinite capacity to address the national and international dimensions of human problems rather than to restrict or reduce God's mission to the 'micro' level ... The Church must deal with humanity's needs at the 'macro' level, to give an eschatological vision of the totality of mankind."

The traditional Western notion that the Church offered heavenly salvation to lost heathen souls always grated upon the Third World's experience of an organisation that gave an aura of respectability to imperialist oppression.

Liberation theology

In the early 1970s, Christian peasants involved in revolutionary struggles in Latin America put

their weekly Bible study and their politics together. Their priests spelt it out as Liberation Theology. God took sides; God spoke through the poor and oppressed; being a Christian meant joining the struggle against oppression.

The Cold War was at its height. The West justified its war against 'the evils of Communism and Soviet expansionism' by its claim to be godly, and this peasant theology was explosive material. Right-wing think-tanks of the Carter-Reagan era, attempting to legitimise United States control of Latin America, were explicit in defaming the liberating Church, in what came to be known as the Santa Fé Document:

"Manipulation of the information media through church-affiliated groups and other so-called human rights lobbies has played an increasingly important role in overthrowing authoritarian, but pro-US, governments and replacing them with anti-US, Communist or pro-Communist dictatorships of a totalitarian character ... US foreign policy must begin to counter (not react against) liberation theology as it is utilised in Latin America by the 'liberation theology' clergy ...

Marxist-Leninist forces have utilised the Church as a political weapon against private property and productive capitalism by infiltrating the religious community with ideas that are less Christian than Communist ...

Many of the regimes of Latin America are faced with what has been identified in Washington as low intensity conflict ... which includes psychological operations, disinformation, misinformation, terrorism, and cultural and religious subversion."

The conflict is clear; both sides of the struggle claim to be Christian; but who is subverting whom?

South African initiatives

Actions by South African Christians helped crystallise the matter. At the World Alliance of Reformed Churches in Ottawa, theological support for apartheid was named heretical. The SACC called for prayers for the South African

regime to fall. When the state of emergency was imposed in 1985, commentators in Soweto wrote in the Kairos Document:

"There we sit in the same church, whilst outside, Christian policemen and soldiers are beating up and killing Christian children or torturing Christian prisoners to death while yet other Christians stand by and weakly plead for peace."

The authors of the Kairos Document distinguished between State Theology (justifying the policies of oppression), Church Theology (excusing the Church from involvement) and Prophetic Theology (proclaiming God on the side of the oppressed). State Theology was idol worship, Church Theology was false, and Prophetic Theology called Christians to participate in the struggle for liberation and a just society.

It was a *kairos*, a moment of crisis, for many. PW Botha refused to talk to churchmen unless they denounced Kairos; people insisted their clergy stated their position on it; theological students told lecturers to go home if they did not support it. Thousands of copies in a dozen languages covered the world. Many Christians discovered where they stood, and changed sides.

South African 'kairos' theologians, through the Ecumenical Association of Third World Theologians (EATWOT) became part of a Consultation of Third World Theologians in the Struggle for Liberation. Discussions took place with Christians in Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua in Central America; South Korea and the Philippines in Asia; Namibia and South Africa. They shared their experience of the misuse of faith to oppress and exploit people with the support of 'low-intensity conflicts' (that is, violence). Their findings were published in July 1989.

The road to Damascus

The apostle Paul on a journey to Damascus to persecute and destroy the followers of Jesus as enemies of God made the startling discovery that he was on the wrong side. He was converted. The booklet, *The Road to Damascus*, reverses the usual view that Christian radicals must ex

plain their departure from traditional religion. Christian faith is upheld by those in the quest for liberation who call for right-wing Christians to be converted.

"It is not the Christians who are involved in struggles for national liberation who are heretics, but those who support right-wing oppressive governments ... Many so-called Christians are idolators because they worship money or Mammon rather than God ... They justify violent oppression ... in order to defend their money, power and privilege."

The Road to Damascus sees the roots of the conflict in colonialism and Western imperialism. Movements of popular resistance have grown in all those countries which see the struggle for national liberation in a North-South framework, and do not wish to be drawn into the West-East conflict between Western imperialism and socialist countries. Regimes have reacted with 'counter-insurgency programmes' which include psychological and ideological weapons. Christianity is cited as religious legitimation for the West. The Church has become a site of struggle.

Faith re-minted

The faith of the poor, who inherited false images of God and Jesus from their conquerors and missionaries, has been re-minted. They have discovered that Jesus' prophecy of a new world order brought him into conflict with the religious and political authorities of his time; that the coming reign of God is promised to them.

The prophetic mission of Christians who are oppressed reveals the false claims of many within the Church:

"Right-wing sects are promoted in order to undermine and divide the Churches that take the side of the poor ... Money and property and, above all, security are sacred. Government and military authorities are like priests of a pseudo-religion. In some countries, Whites become a sacred people."

The document ends with a call to conversion; to realise that misusing Christianity to defend op-

pression is heretical, and persecuting Christians who are oppressed or side with the oppressed is apostasy — the abandonment of the gospel of Jesus Christ altogether:

"Solidarity is not optional if we are to promote the cause of God in the world. We call on fellow Christians in the Third World, in industrial capitalist countries, and in socialist countries to build a network of exchange and co-operation."

Of this reversal of Christian initiatives by the oppressed, Peter Hebblethwaite wrote in the *London Guardian* of August 3rd 1989:

"The Third World theologians are trying to remove the scales from our eyes."

Smangaliso Mkhathshwa said at the London launch of the pamphlet:

"It is an international proclamation of the gospel of Jesus Christ in a time when so many Christians have become heretics ... It is liberation theology for the First World."

The South African Communist Party says:

"With the development of the liberation struggle, there has emerged an interpretation of religious doctrines which is in the interest of the struggling people ... The ideology of the South African Communist Party is based on scientific materialism. But we recognise the right of all people to adopt and practise religious beliefs of their choice. We work for the involvement of all anti-apartheid forces in the common struggle for freedom and democracy."

Our struggle is a uniting, non-racist, democratic experience known from many viewpoints. The struggle on religious terrain must be fought with courage, analytical deliberation and daring faith. It is infested with subversive elements — some sincerely wrong; some malicious and deliberate deceivers whose objective is to destroy us. They find it unnerving to discover that, though we want to remove their oppressive systems root and branch, we are not in the violence business. Conversions are much more effective.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Dear Comrade Editor

Please allow me to share with the readers of *Sechaba* some ideas on the 'promising' words of the president in waiting, F W de Klerk.

The ruling National Party is in deep, insoluble political crisis. The continuing differences, squabbles, scandals, resignations and so on within the party are testimony to that. The conflict between F W de Klerk and P W Botha for the presidential post was also a reflection of deep-seated crises in the ruling clique. Some say it was a fight of two dogs over a bone, but I believe it was something more than that. Racist minority rule is in chronic and irreversible decline. This situation has, of course, been brought about by the advances of our people's struggle, especially since September 1984.

The situation has fundamentally altered the strategic balance of forces between oppressor and oppressed, and created a profound organic crisis for the apartheid system and state. It is a recognised fact that the policy of 'reforms' of the Botha regime has failed. It is also becoming increasingly evident that apartheid cannot be concealed — minority rule cannot be disguised to guarantee its stable future. This is the reason why the National Party needs someone who can speak a different language, different from that used by the Bothas, Vorsters, Verwoerds and Malans.

The National Party has elected F W de Klerk, its current chairperson, to become the president of South Africa after the September elections. This move has been greeted by many who believe that he is different from Botha and his predecessors. Yes, indeed, he speaks a language different from that spoken by the present racist ruler of our country and all those before him. J B Vorster asked the people of South Africa and the world to give him six months to abolish apartheid, but he has never fulfilled his pledge to a policy issue as De Klerk seems to be doing.

How different is De Klerk from P W Botha

and all the heads of state before him? Does apartheid have the same meaning for him as it does for us? When he talks of dismantling apartheid and abolishing White domination, is it a change of heart that makes him utter such bold words, or a recognition of the fact that apartheid has collapsed? Is he launching a mere diplomatic offensive to buy time or is he following a strategy that aims at crushing the wall of isolation the racist regime is encircled in? Isn't F W de Klerk attempting to be in tune with the international situation? Is he not making the new political thinking a reality even in South Africa? Surely, these are questions of vital importance. They confuse many people, both within our ranks and outside.

For us, in order to adopt correct strategies and tactics towards the burning question of negotiations, we have to make a sober assessment and analysis of the developing situation in our country. F W de Klerk, who will be ruling our country towards the end of the eighties, is compelled by the conditions and demands of the era to be different in his political thinking.

To understand this era is to grasp what I have already said in the beginning of this letter, that the advances of our struggle, especially from September 1984, have fundamentally altered the strategic balance of forces of oppression and freedom, in favour of the latter. When Vorster was making the empty promise that he would dismantle apartheid in six months, there was no strong mass democratic movement; there was no UDF, no COSATU, no SAYCO, nor other such democratic formations. There was no strong ANC that had won the allegiance of millions of our people, as is the case today; Umkhonto We Sizwe had not begun delivering telling blows against the enemy. Whites, the social base of the regime, had not begun to shift to the side of the democratic forces in large numbers as they are doing at present; influential circles within the ruling class hadn't started to challenge the very

existence of the apartheid system and to forge contacts with the national liberation movement as they have done since 1985, when they first met the ANC.

The international front has been strengthened and widened. Sanctions and disinvestment are biting the racist state and ruling class as never before; the international outcry against apartheid has never been so loud as it is today; the world moral, political and material support for the South African liberation movement has never been so enormous, while on the other hand the regime is isolated world-wide.

This is the situation that has prompted De Klerk to change his language. He is adapting to the new situation. Does this change of language reflect a change in the political, social and economic situation of the Black oppressed people of our country? Does he address the fundamental question?

As De Klerk hits the campaign for the September general elections, it is becoming clear that his reformist intentions fall short of expectations. He talks of ending apartheid, but is opposed to majority rule. For him, a Black president is something that "lies far in the future." He still refers to Blacks as separate "nations" and to Whites as "the leading group." That means the bantustan system is there to stay. He believes in continuing segregated education and living areas. It therefore goes without saying that he is still for the perpetuation of apartheid and White domination. There is no heart that has changed.

Dear Comrade Editor

As someone who has taught at SOMAFSCO for eight years, I know that there is great interest, both in South Africa and abroad, in this important project of the ANC. Your interview with Comrades Msimang and Tshume in your July issue helps to provide useful information about the school, and is very welcome. I would, however, like to say a few words about the teaching staff, to correct an impression given in part of the interview.

The interview gives the impression that in its early years SOMAFSCO depended heavily on ex-

Since all means and methods of long-term maintenance of apartheid have failed, this is perhaps the last strategy for rescuing the apartheid system from final collapse.

What lessons are therefore to be drawn by our national liberation movement from this diplomatic offensive of the president in waiting? While De Klerk's utterances have no bearing on a change for the better in the situation of our people, they cannot be dismissed as nothing. As much as we take the international situation into cognisance when working out our strategy, so does the enemy as well, with the purpose of destroying our movement. The enemy is fully aware of the fact that the international situation is conducive to its offensive, for it receives a positive response from some circles. Diplomatic offensives, talks about negotiations, have, in the era of 'new political thinking,' become a dominant trend in international relations.

This compels me to ask a question: ought we in the national liberation movement not make it our task to launch an offensive campaign directed at the big powers of the world to put pressure on the racist regime to negotiate with the authentic representatives of our people for a non-racial, united, democratic South Africa? This campaign should be an element of our overall strategy and tactics. We should not be defensive in negotiations, but offensive.

Mthembu

Lusaka

patriate teachers, but that this has now changed. In fact, when SOMAFSCO started in 1979, the entire teaching staff, though largely unqualified, were ANC members. This remained the case until 1982, when the first expatriate teachers were recruited. Until the end of 1988, expatriate teachers, while increasing in numbers, remained a minority of the staff in both the secondary and primary schools.

This year, for the first time, non-ANC teachers are in a majority. The cause of this trend is the unwillingness of qualified ANC teachers to go to SOMAFSCO and stay there for a number of years. The reasons for this are too complex to

discuss in this letter, but I understand that the Department of Education has started to investigate the problem, and take steps to remedy it.

The non-ANC teachers have come from a wide variety of countries, both African and European, capitalist and socialist. This has inevitably caused some difficulties, but I cannot agree that it "destabilised the political tranquillity of Mazimbu as an ANC settlement," or that it had "very severe effects on the life of our people at SOMAFSCO." Without these teachers, SOMAFSCO could not have survived, let alone grown. They have helped particularly to raise the standard of teaching where it was weakest — in the natural sciences — and have provided a fine example of international solidarity in action. Their backgrounds and experiences have helped to enrich the life of the school and the community.

Our movement needs to take steps to ensure that there is a preponderance of qualified ANC teachers at SOMAFSCO. Without this, we cannot really hope to raise our children to be committed cadres in the struggle for liberation. A number of non-ANC teachers are, however, likely to remain on the staff for many years to come, and to continue to make a useful, indeed an essential, contribution to the education offered to our young people.

Comradely greetings

John Pampallis

London

VIOLENCE?

*Abandon all hope when abandoning every
weapon*

*on the enemy's demand as a precondition
for wag-tail and wag-tongue negotiation*

Thus, the dog still comes to the master's beckon

*With tongue in cheek the ruling class speak
Knowing — there is nothing so disarming
as sweet talk*

*They want us defenceless, vulnerable, easy to
stalk*

*Didn't we see Chile's Allende butchered
at his peak?*

Forewarned is forearmed — a maxim politic

*Our people are conquered by means criminal —
almost indescribable*

*None of which could be condoned by the Bible
Conveniently — 'heathen' they called us
in order to perpetrate violence hideous*

*Two world wars — their recent history
Atom bombs — killed civilians and destroyed
Hiroshima and Nagasaki*

*Notwithstanding, these butchers now judge
us for morality!*

*With a gun at one's head — does one ask
what defence will be seemly?*

Beta Jaffe