

ANC INTERNATIONAL

ANC Mission in USSR

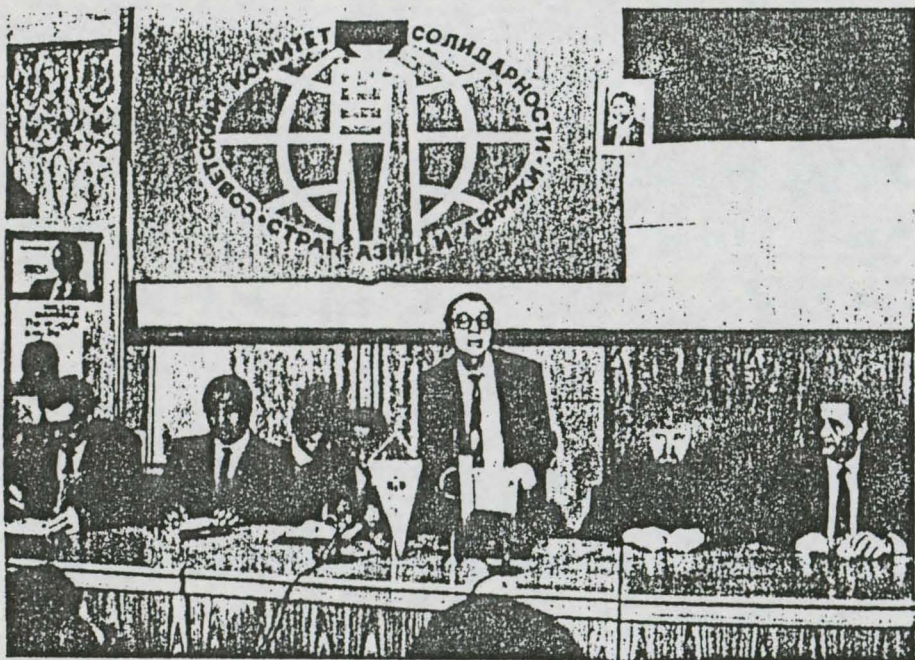
Soviet solidarity with our liberation struggle was given further expression when the ANC mission in the Soviet Union was formally opened on January 6th. Comrade Simon Makana is the Chief Representative.

The opening was marked by a public meeting at the premises of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee in Moscow. Comrade Gleb Starushenko, deputy head of the Africa Institute, was in the chair, and the main address was given by Comrade Dan Tloome, chairman of the South African Communist Party and senior member of the National Executive Committee of the ANC. The main address on behalf of the Soviet

Union was given by Comrade Mikhail Pavlovich Vishinsky, the Deputy Minister of Justice.

The Soviet Union has shown its friendship and its support for our struggle by granting the ANC full diplomatic status, and so the meeting was attended by ambassadors and members of the diplomatic corps stationed in Moscow.

In the evening, there was a reception in the 'Prague' restaurant in Moscow. The hall was filled to capacity with diplomats and representatives from all walks of life in the Soviet Union. It was a powerful demonstration of support for the ANC and the people of South Africa in their struggle for national and social emancipation.



The platform at the opening of the ANC mission in Moscow. From left to right: Comrade Vishinsky, Comrade Simon Makana, Comrade Dan Tloome, Professor Starushenko, The Archimandrite Ashurkov Feofan, and Comrade Dmitri Zavgorodny, African Secretary of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee



Comrade Dan Tloome, Chairman of the South African Communist Party



Comrade M P Vishinsky, Deputy Minister of Justice of the USSR, at the opening of the ANC office in Moscow



An ANC student in Moscow chats with a leader of the Orthodox Church, the Archimandrite Ashurkov Feofan

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RELEASE ALL DETAINEES!

For nearly 26 years, laws providing for detention without trial have been on the statute books of the racist regime. It has used them in an attempt to neutralise political opponents, and to harass and intimidate the people of the country.

Detainees are held indefinitely, as prisoners of the security police, who decide when they are to be released, and whether they are to have visits from family, lawyers or clergy. Thousands of them have been held in solitary confinement.

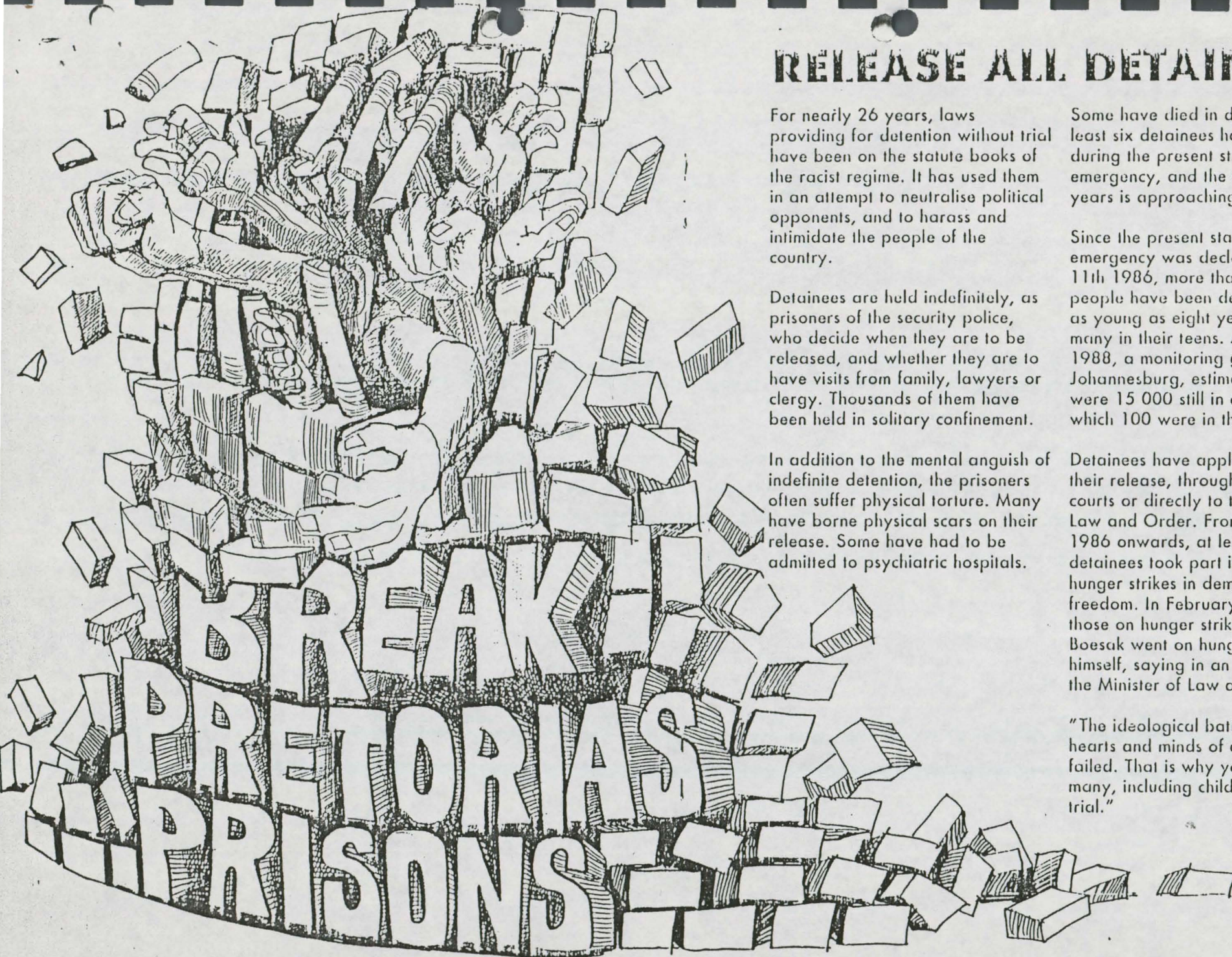
In addition to the mental anguish of indefinite detention, the prisoners often suffer physical torture. Many have borne physical scars on their release. Some have had to be admitted to psychiatric hospitals.

Some have died in detention. At least six detainees have died during the present state of emergency, and the toll over the years is approaching a hundred.

Since the present state of emergency was declared on June 11th 1986, more than 32 000 people have been detained; some as young as eight years old, and many in their teens. At the end of 1988, a monitoring group in Johannesburg, estimated that there were 15 000 still in detention, of which 100 were in their third year.

Detainees have applied in vain for their release, through the law courts or directly to the Minister of Law and Order. From July 7th 1986 onwards, at least 2 258 detainees took part in 33 separate hunger strikes in demand of their freedom. In February, in support of those on hunger strike, Dr Allan Boesak went on hunger strike himself, saying in an open letter to the Minister of Law and Order:

"The ideological battle for the hearts and minds of our people has failed. That is why you detain so many, including children, without trial."



Japanese Disinvestment Campaign

The anti-apartheid forces in Japan are increasing both in numbers and influence, and with the support of local groups Comrade Jerry Matsila, ANC Chief Representative in Tokyo, is campaigning against trade between Japan and the racist regime, and against Japanese investment in South Africa. Trade between Japan and South Africa still dominates Japan's moral positions on apartheid, and Japan is still the most important trading partner of the regime.

In a speech Comrade Matsila made in January 1989 at the International Education Centre in Tokyo, he analysed the trade and investment links.

■ The Pretoria police and security forces have been supplied with automobiles by Toyota and Nissan, and, in 1988, by Mazda as well. They have also been getting a continuous supply of video cameras from the Japanese electronics industry.

■ There is an increasing export of Japanese automatic office machines to the 'civilian organs of rule' in Pretoria. When western companies disinvested, Japan moved into this area of trade, and rescued apartheid from administrative chaos.

■ Imports of platinum, gold, diamonds and coal from South Africa are increasing. Some of the platinum is for the electronics industry, whose products are used in millions of Japanese homes, and exported all over the world.

Platinum, gold and diamonds are also imported for luxury goods, for investment and speculation. Because the value of the yen on the world market has appreciated, platinum is within the reach of many people in Japan. In 1987, the Japanese demand for platinum for jewellery and other luxury uses was 90% of the world demand, while the demand for platinum for investment was 68% of the world demand. Speaking of the high demand for jewellery made of gold and diamonds, most of which come from South Africa, Comrade Matsila mentioned the:

"human suffering and agony experienced daily by Black people digging this gold."

■ Maize is another product that Japan has imported from South Africa in huge quantities over the past few years. It is used for cattle food, and 60 kilos of maize produce only 1 kilo of meat. Maize flour is also used in Japanese homes. Comrade Matsila said:

"Maize is our staple food. But because of the huge imports by Japan, the prices of maize continue to rise and are almost impossible for an ordinary Black person to afford ... We should take it back to feed our dying children."

It was to facilitate this trade that Japanese people were granted 'honorary White' status in South Africa. Of those Japanese who have accepted this apartheid label, Comrade Matsila said:

"Going to such shameful lengths ... and thus firmly entrenching themselves on the side of the oppressors for the sake of easy profits and an affluent life."

The ANC and the anti-sanctions campaign in Japan are making the following demands:

- Legislation to enforce meaningful sanctions.
- Banning of all indirect investments in the apartheid state.
- An end to the delivery of vehicles and instruments to South African police and security.
- An end to the De Beers advertisements in the mass media in Japan.
- A boycott of platinum, gold and diamond products, and also maize.
- Japan should also renounce 'honorary White' status in South Africa.

Mandela Concert Funds For African Children

Freedom Productions is the company that was set up by the British Anti-Apartheid Movement to administer the Mandela Concert in June last year. At its first meeting, the board of directors agreed that 50% of any surplus funds from the event would go to finance the campaigning of the Anti-Apartheid Movement and 50% to projects helping children in Africa who have suffered as a result of apartheid. By

December, the accounts of the company were showing a profit of over a million pounds.

In London on December 15th 1988, Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, presented the first cheques. A total of £600 000 went to seven aid agencies involved in work with the children of Southern Africa — the Catholic Fund for Overseas Development, Christian Aid, the Save the Children Fund, OXFAM, International Defence and Aid, War on Want and the Bishop Ambrose Reeves Trust. Ismail Ayob, the Mandelas' attorney, spoke at the ceremony, as did a representative of the ANC.

A list of some of the projects receiving assistance from the profits of the concert provides an insight into the sufferings apartheid has inflicted on children, in South Africa itself and in wars of aggression against the Front Line States.

■ Many Mozambican children have been disabled in the war, and, when they go to hospital to be fitted with calipers and other aids, many must go by plane. One fund provides them with their transport costs to and from hospital, to help them eventually to a measure of independence.

■ Thousands of Mozambican children have been orphaned or separated from their families by the MNR, and some witnessed their parents being killed; there is a fund to provide training in child psychiatry for those who care for these traumatised children.

■ In the war in Angola, Angolan children have undergone similar experiences, and another fund helps care for them.

■ Another fund provides food aid for creches in Maputo.

■ The National Emergency Fund of the South African Council of Churches (set up by Christian Aid) provides help for children in detention — travel costs for those visiting them, lawyers' fees, educational correspondence courses while they are detained, and medical fees on their release. It also helps families where the breadwinner is in detention.

■ A project in Pinetown in Natal cares for children in need in townships where unemployment and the housing shortage have caused breakdowns in family life.

Freedom Productions expects more income in 1989.

Swiss Banks Finance Pretoria: Activists Protest

Because of the role Swiss banks play in financing apartheid, anti-apartheid activists in Switzerland feel that Switzerland is becoming a sanctions-busting country. They also believe that Swiss banks are sensitive to international pressure. In 1988, therefore, they decided to take action. They launched a campaign of publicising the violence of the apartheid regime, and launched a national appeal to boycott the three big banks — Union Bank of Switzerland, Swiss Bank Corporation and Credit Suisse. They took shares in these banks, and went to the annual general meetings to ask critical questions about involvement with apartheid, and their questions were often taken up by other speakers.

Their action was co-ordinated with action in London and other European capitals.

ECTSA Tel. 01-708 4702
End Loans to Southern Africa
c/o Methodist Church, 56 Camberwell Road, London SE8 6EN

**SWISS BANKS
AID APARTHEID!**

Already this year we have seen the Swiss Banks provide help for racist South Africa:

SWISS VOLKSBANK
ESTABLISHED A \$150m LOAN TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

UNION BANK OF SWITZERLAND (UBS)
RECEIVED A LOAN OF \$750m (£225m) TO BURN THE PREMISES OF BESI REPARATIONS FOR THE ENGLISH.

Yet most other countries decided to curtail new loans to apartheid South Africa the Swiss Banks refused to comply.

WE CALL ON THE SWISS BANKS/ INSTITUTIONS/ SWISS GOVERNMENT, TO PUT AN END TO THE PROVISION OF SWISS FUNDS TO A REGIME THAT TORTURES, KILLS AND CHAINS ALIENS, FOR EXISTING DEBTORS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY.

Fidel: The Swiss Centre, Leinster Square WC2
Thursday, Feb 24 1989. - 3pm 3pm.
PLEASE BE TRULY TO LEAD YOUR COUNTRY!

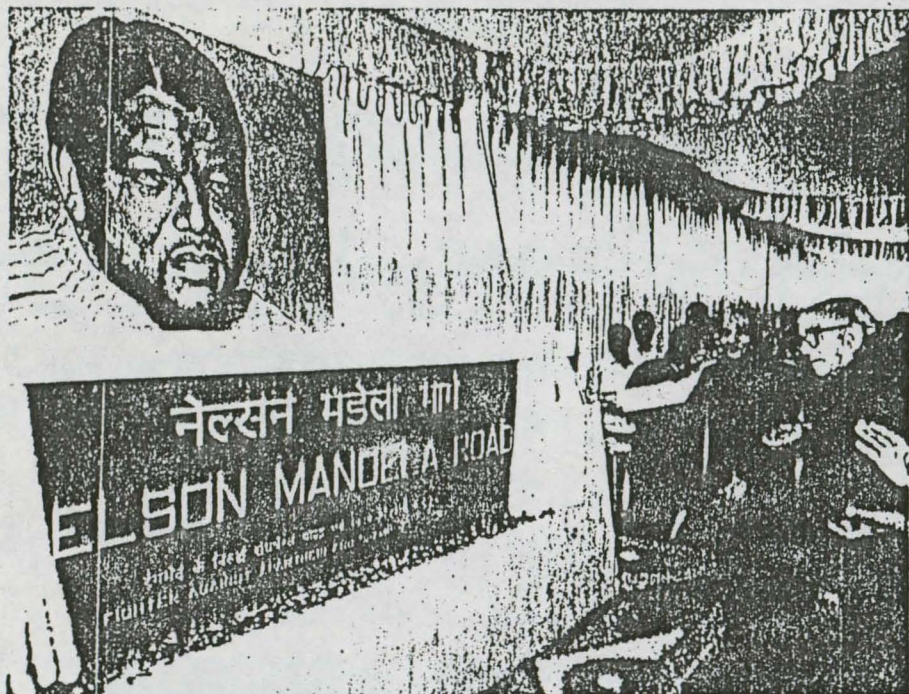
A leaflet produced in London as part of the campaign against Swiss bank loans for the Pretoria regime

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Nelson Mandela Road In Indian Capital

In New Delhi, capital of India, no park, square or street is named after a living individual — except Nelson Mandela Road.



The Nelson Mandela Road plaque is unveiled in New Delhi

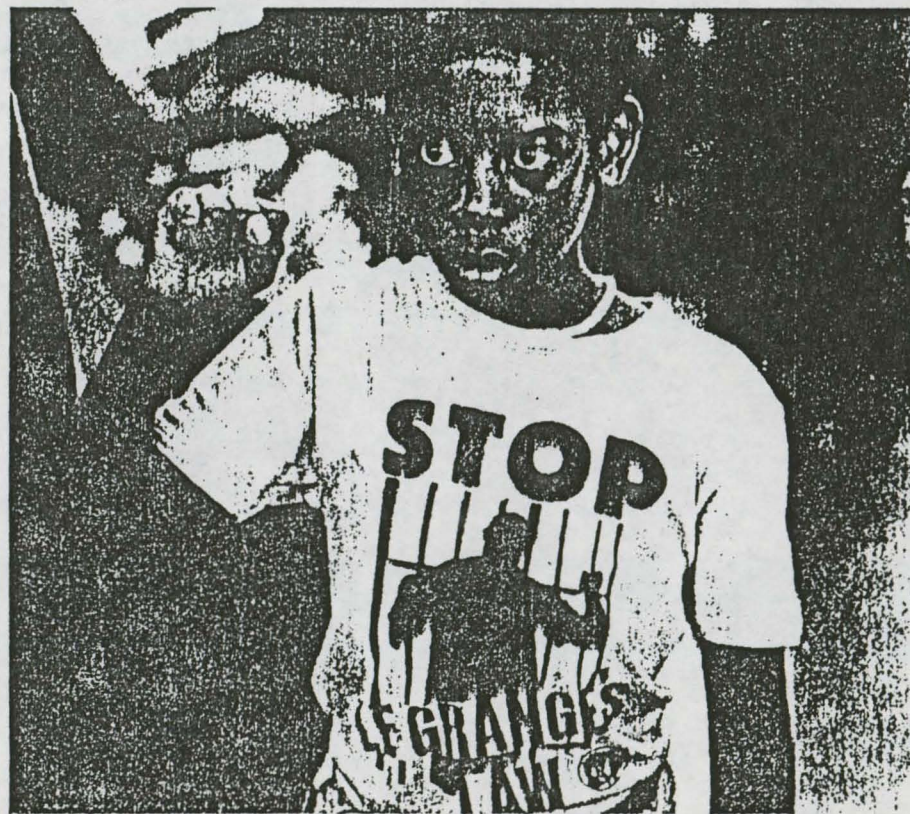
This exception was made as an honour to our cause.

The plaque was unveiled on December 10th 1988, 40th anniversary of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights, by the Minister of External Affairs, Mr Narasimha Rao. Also present at the ceremony were leaders of various political parties and organisations, and members of the diplomatic corps.

JUDGES AND JUSTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Kader Asmal

There is a myth prevailing among some commentators that the judiciary in South Africa is still a force for good, and that the apartheid state has gone some way towards maintaining the notion of judicial impartiality and independence.



A demonstrator protests against unjust imprisonment in South Africa

Commentators who believe in the independence of the South African judiciary point to some decisions in recent years

where a few emergency regulations were rejected, but neglect to point out that in every case the superior courts have over-

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ruled these lower court judgments. Such ill-informed comments also ignore that the same 'liberal' judges who invoke the 'rule of law' have no compunction in sentencing to death young resistance fighters, even where extenuating circumstances have been shown to exist; or that the wide and ambiguous notion of 'common purpose' is utilised to sentence the Sharpeville Six to death, even though none had any role to play in the slaying of the victim.

But the issue of the role of the judges turns on more fundamental features of the South African legal system. It is not simply a debate among lawyers as to whether a statute like the draconian Internal Security Act of 1982 or the emergency regulations could be interpreted in an even-handed manner so as to protect the vestiges of human rights the accused still have, such as access to lawyers or to their families. The heart of the criticism about the role of the law turns on the question of the legitimacy of the apartheid system. The debate is therefore similar to the moral and legal questions raised about the Nazi laws and their validity at the end of the second world war.

Any legal system run in the interests of a minority and protected by its monopoly of state power must, by definition, be debased.

Clash of Aspirations

But, as with many other aspects of life in South Africa, it was Nelson Mandela, himself an attorney, who presented the case against the apartheid legal system in a heightened way, when he was charged with leaving South Africa without authority in 1962. In his defence, he contended that he could not get a fair and proper trial. He said:

"In a political trial such as this one, which involved a clash of the aspirations of the African people and those of the Whites, the country's courts, as presently constituted, cannot be impartial and fair."

His second contention was:

"I consider myself neither legally nor

morally bound to obey laws made by a parliament in which I have no representation."

In a statement as vivid as his defence at the Rivonia trial in 1964, he trenchantly analysed the substance of the notion of 'equality before the law,' and how meaningless and misleading it was as applied to Africans. Whites monopolise all the rights and privileges of the vote: freedom to travel, right to work, ownership of property.

"The White man makes all the laws, he drags us before his courts and accuses us, and he sits in judgment over us."

Since the foundation of apartheid laws over a century ago, and especially since its legal entrenchment in 1948, the judges have been an integral part of a system which has robbed the Africans of their land and allocated 13% to 87% of the population.

Conscience of the Judges

The White judges have accepted and operated the pass laws under which over 12 million Africans have been sentenced from 1948 to 1985. None resigned or had a qualm of conscience in operating the Nazi laws forbidding marriage or sexual relations between the races. They have countenanced the pain, poverty and brutalisation of forced removals under which over three and a half million Africans have been forcibly moved from their ancestral homes and dumped in 'resettlement' camps. They have dispensed 'justice' in political trials where witnesses have been imprisoned until they give evidence and where evidence of systematic and persistent torture against the accused had been ignored. No serving judge, whether Afrikaans or English-speaking, has had the slightest tremor of conscience in sentencing hundreds of people to death, giving South Africa the dubious distinction of having the highest number of judicial executions in the world.

More recently, the White judges have gone even further in advancing the cause of the repressive and odious racial oligarchy. Towards the end of last year, a

number of senior officials of the United Democratic Front were found guilty of 'treason' and other offences. None had participated in the armed struggle; none of them had actively campaigned for the ANC or Umkhonto We Sizwe. Yet they were sentenced to savage terms of imprisonment, because the White judge held that their mass, non-violent struggle for the transformation of South African society was criminal because it was part of a conspiracy to bring down the government. In similar vein, the court has recently rejected the plea of Ismail Ebrahim, a senior member of the ANC, that his illegal kidnapping from Swaziland tainted his subsequent trial in South Africa and his sentence of 20 years.

Complicity in Injustice

What has shocked even those who were prepared to give the benefit of the doubt to 'liberal' White judges who continue to dispense apartheid justice was the treatment of young children since the state of emergency began in June 1986. In two years, over 30 000 people were detained without trial. Over a third of these were children, and over 300 of these have been killed by the police and the army. The treatment of the children — torture, casual violence and shooting, ill-treatment, humiliating treatment — has shocked the conscience of the world. A brave judicial protest, even a resignation, would have removed the taint of complicity in a system where children, because of their revolutionary spirit and commitment, have become special targets of the apartheid war machine.

Following the defeat of the Nazis, many of their leaders, and scores of ordinary executioners of Nazi laws, were tried at Nuremberg, especially for war crimes and crimes against humanity, for which there was individual responsibility, including that of judges. It is therefore necessary to remind lawyers and others in the West that they cannot treat in an even-handed way the oppressor and the victim in a system which the United Nations and international law have characterised as criminal and illegitimate.

Prisoner of War Status

Many of the combatants of Umkhonto We Sizwe charged with 'ordinary' offences before the apartheid courts have not only invoked their right to be treated as prisoners of war but have also refused to plead, because, like Mandela, they refuse to recognise the validity of the racist laws which the courts have sworn to uphold.

"Why is it that in this courtroom I face a White magistrate, confronted by a White prosecutor and escorted by a White orderly? Can anyone honestly and seriously suggest that in this type of atmosphere the scales of justice are evenly balanced?"

That cry of Mandela's was 27 years ago; but in the statement of the National Executive Committee of the ANC on January 8th 1989, President Oliver Tambo still found it necessary to draw attention to the fact that, because of the Sharpeville Six, Delmas and other trials:

"the judges, magistrates and prosecutors employed to administer the injustice of apartheid have stood out clearly as accomplices of murder, abduction and torture. People, who by any civilised standard should never have been charged, have been sentenced to death so as to quench the judicial thirst for the blood of the Blacks."

The Delmas judgment is a grim portent for the immediate future, where the White courts enthusiastically embrace the strategy of the regime, to undermine the struggle by linking the UDF to the ANC.

There may be liberal White judges who may want to be fair-minded. But faced by the lawlessness of the regime, we must recognise that such judges are providing a veneer to maintain the superficial legality of the apartheid regime. Even more important is the opinion of one of the most renowned legal philosophers of our day, Professor Ronald Dworkin. He concludes that if the vast majority in South Africa are not even given a choice as to whether they consent to the constitutional rules of the society, it is doubtful whether law exists in South Africa at all.

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DISCUSSION ARTICLE ASPECTS OF ARMED STRUGGLE

By Tebogo Kgope

The discussion article by Comrade Ronnie Kasrils in the September 1988 issue of *Sechaba* is to be welcomed. It comes at a time when the enemy is facing a crisis he cannot resolve through repression and cosmetic change. It comes at a time when it is clear that the ANC underground and Umkhonto We Sizwe are the weaker of the pillars that must reinforce the struggle, despite the tremendous popularity of both. It is welcome also because seldom do senior members of the movement enter the lively fray of discussions on the strategic road towards seizure of power by the masses of the oppressed.

The article immediately locks into the heart of the problem — the subjective weaknesses in our struggle — and correctly attributes them to the absence of clear policy positions as to how power is to be won. One would then have expected that,

having lamented the lack of this vision on the part of the movement, Comrade Ronnie would try to impart his own vision.

This vision, too, would be much broader than the development of the subjective factor, which he gives some attention to. He says that:

"... unless we have a clear vision on how

power is to be seized, we cannot effectively address the question of what type of organs we require for such a task."

But without providing this vision, he proceeds to deal with the type of organs, or forms of organisation, as though they in themselves constitute the vision.

If, as we must agree, armed struggle is a necessary component of our struggle, it is correct that we must build the revolutionary army, as well as raise the fighting spirit of our people. But to what end? What emphasis do we give to each? In what measure will "armed struggle complement the mass struggle"? To what extent can armed struggle be developed in our circumstances? What, therefore, is the strategic goal of armed struggle in our situation? Given the high industrialisation of our country, and hence its vulnerability to certain forms of action both at the mass action and at the military level, what reasonable and realistic combination of these increases the instability of the regime? Given, on the one hand, the high political consciousness of the masses of our people and their revolutionary track record and resilience, and the stubbornness of the regime on the other, how great are the chances of a major uprising and how does armed struggle relate to such possibilities?

Role of the Revolutionary Army

Given that the "main obstacles on the way to power are the South African Defence Force and the South African Police," and that these forces are so strong, do we realistically believe that the urban and rural units will be able to inflict a military defeat on these forces?

These are some of the questions we have to tackle soberly in order to evolve a clearer vision for ourselves. Only when we have this clearer perspective can we not only determine what forms of organisation are needed, but, more importantly, their relative importance in the struggle and how they relate to each other.

This omission on his part is perhaps the reason why in the content of Comrade Kasrils' useful article there are some ambiguities and contradictions, and why some

of his assertions are actually misleading.

His assertion, for instance, that the SADF and SAP can be removed only through the means of a revolutionary army is both misleading and ambiguous. It is misleading because it is not only through armed struggle that this will be achieved but through its combination with other forms. It is ambiguous because he does not spell out what activity the revolutionary army will be engaged in. Will it be posturing and working for a stalemate, working for a decisive military defeat of its adversary? What type of military campaign, if any, will it be engaged in?

In case you begin to wonder why I say this, or whether a revolutionary army can be engaged in posturing, refer to Comrade Kasrils' article, where he says:

"History shows that a peaceful way is possible. But what is necessary to both — whether peaceful or violent — is the presence of a revolutionary army."

In other words, we must build a revolutionary army, whether the struggle is going to be peaceful or violent. One can only conclude that we can build a revolutionary army to threaten the ruling power, because he can "never give up power voluntarily."

Of course this is an absurdity, which I am sure Comrade Ronnie never intended to put across, even though he did. Revolutionary armies are formed with the purpose of violent struggle. If in the process of their growth solutions are found which make it unnecessary for the violence to continue, it does not detract from the original intention.

The Underground is Central

Although Comrade Ronnie warns us to be on guard against a militaristic approach, he is himself in danger of thinking that way. Our aim is not for "seizure of political power through a strategy of revolutionary armed struggle" only, or even mainly. It is the seizure of power through all the means at the disposal of the masses — including armed struggle.

That Comrade Ronnie inadvertently slips into the militaristic approach he cautions

against is further illustrated by his assertion that, "central to the creation of the subjective factor is Umkhonto We Sizwe." It is not by any means central! It is the ANC underground that is central! The underground is central in the creation of MK itself! At one point, Comrade Ronnie makes the point that, "it is the underground that created MK in the first place," and at another makes a sweeping, contradictory and mistaken, if not misleading, statement. This is inexplicable except as unconscious militarism or perhaps absence of vision.

The political leadership of the ANC in the struggle must find expression in the actual arena of struggle, and not in mere phrases proclaiming its ascendancy. It is the ANC political underground that is pivotal in the generation of organisation. It is the subjective factor. It creates the subjective factors — including MK. If MK were "central in the creation of the subjective factor," that is, if MK is central in the creation of the ANC underground or leadership, it makes nonsense of the later point made by the comrade that the combat forces (MK) will be "falling, of course, under the leadership of the local politico-military committee." How can MK fall under a body which it created? I am certain that Comrade Ronnie did not intend to be understood thus. Unfortunately, his article lends itself to such interpretation, or leads to complete confusion.

Mass Action Is the Key

Armed struggle, and hence the development of a revolutionary army, will play a vital role in the resolution of our struggle, but the militant and united action of our masses is the key. It will express itself in peaceful and violent forms. It will find expression in the peaceful protest, the general strike, spontaneous violence, and organised people's armed revolutionary action. It will find expression in partial or general mass insurrection, armed and unarmed — but all violent. If the people fight with stones, it will not be because of "the absence of revolutionary organs," but because the "revolutionary organs" will encourage them to use all weapons at their disposal — including stones!

This does not detract from Comrade Ronnie's point that the advanced elements of our revolution should draw the political army of the revolution into the combat fray by arming its key elements in the process of creating a revolutionary armed people, although he did not put it quite like that. According to him, the revolutionary armed people are those conscious elements who are prepared to confront the enemy with stones and petrol bombs. Before they are armed, or arm themselves and act under the guidance of the vanguard movement, they still comprise the most militant of the political army.

What Organisational Forms?

To get back to an earlier point, Comrade Ronnie talks about the objective difficulties of an externally based army and the need to root it among our people in both town and countryside. Apart from these obvious necessities, he provides little vision on the forms of armed organisation and the rationale behind them.

These combat forces in the factories, in the urban and rural areas: how are we to organise them, and what is their realistic combat potential in the short, medium and long term? In other words, what forms of armed organisation and growth do we envisage from combat units organised in this fashion? Do we envisage that, from small underground units, they will develop to, say, section, platoon or company strength? What is the military perspective in so far as they are concerned? How is their security and continued existence and action assured? The organised advanced detachments he writes about: do they have a growth potential in themselves, apart from being leader and catalyst in the growth of the urban and rural units, and how does this growth express itself under our conditions?

I raise this question because, in the textbook concept, the organised advanced detachments would also constitute an entity organised along military lines. It is sometimes better to use conventional terms to explain concepts and phenomena where the readership is not all from the same school of revolutionary combat theory.

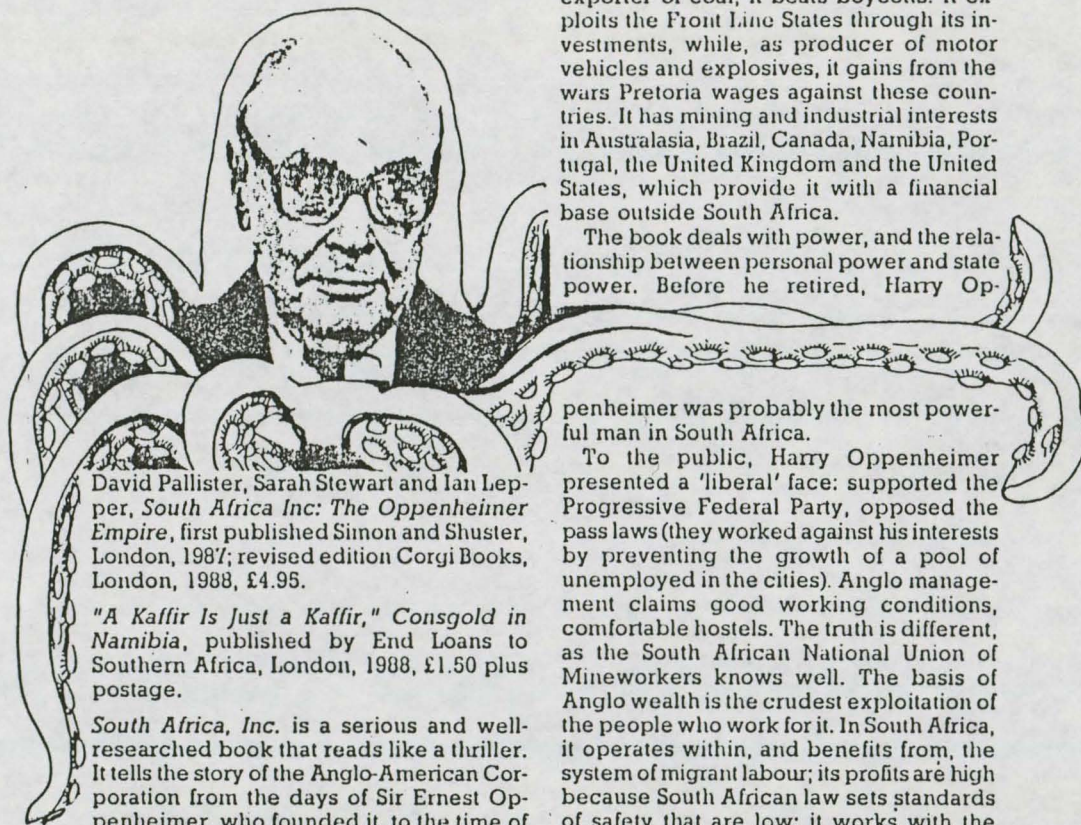
REVIEW ARTICLES

THE OCTOPUS SHIFTS ITS GRIP

to a conglomerate. Anglo now employs at least half a million people, and controls vast wealth in mining in the form of gold, diamonds, uranium, platinum; in the engineering and motor industries, chemicals, explosives, food, newspapers, even wattle harvesting. It controls finance houses.

In South Africa, Anglo is sometimes known as 'The Octopus,' and its influence and investments reach far beyond the borders of the country. As a producer and exporter of coal, it beats boycotts. It exploits the Front Line States through its investments, while, as producer of motor vehicles and explosives, it gains from the wars Pretoria wages against these countries. It has mining and industrial interests in Australasia, Brazil, Canada, Namibia, Portugal, the United Kingdom and the United States, which provide it with a financial base outside South Africa.

The book deals with power, and the relationship between personal power and state power. Before he retired, Harry Op-



David Pallister, Sarah Stewart and Ian Lepper, *South Africa Inc: The Oppenheimer Empire*, first published Simon and Shuster, London, 1987; revised edition Corgi Books, London, 1988, £4.95.

"A Kaffir Is Just a Kaffir," *Consgold in Namibia*, published by End Loans to Southern Africa, London, 1988, £1.50 plus postage.

South Africa, Inc. is a serious and well-researched book that reads like a thriller. It tells the story of the Anglo-American Corporation from the days of Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, who founded it, to the time of his son, Harry, and Harry's children; how power was concentrated in the hands of the Oppenheimer family in the form of directorships as company after company was added to the empire; how Anglo grew in-

penheimer was probably the most powerful man in South Africa.

To the public, Harry Oppenheimer presented a 'liberal' face: supported the Progressive Federal Party, opposed the pass laws (they worked against his interests by preventing the growth of a pool of unemployed in the cities). Anglo management claims good working conditions, comfortable hostels. The truth is different, as the South African National Union of Mineworkers knows well. The basis of Anglo wealth is the crudest exploitation of the people who work for it. In South Africa, it operates within, and benefits from, the system of migrant labour; its profits are high because South African law sets standards of safety that are low; it works with the police, who are frequently brought into the mines to impose what both mine management and the regime see as 'law and order.'

The legislation protecting the De Beers diamond monopoly illustrates the partner-

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ship (perhaps conspiracy is a better word) that has existed from the beginning between the mining industry and the state in South Africa. Buying and selling of rough diamonds outside this monopoly is a crime known as illicit diamond buying, IDB, and punishable with a gaol sentence. De Beers Consolidated Mines, a company first put together by Cecil Rhodes, is also part of Anglo-American, though Anglo is not anxious to admit the connection openly.

Among the multitude of companies controlled by Anglo is the Minerals and Resources Corporation (Minorco), an external investment company. The capital behind Minorco was not accumulated in South Africa itself, but in Zambia, milked from the copper mines and exported as overseas dividends. In the mining industry, the most important industry in Zambia, independence failed to bring the Zambian people control over the wealth of their own country. It did not even bring them equality of opportunity, for Anglo imported its managerial staff from abroad. Zambian law was powerless to prevent this drain of wealth and waste of human resources, and the story gives us yet another example of political power in the hands of the multinationals.

Pallister, Stewart and Lepper give background information on the attempt Anglo has been making through Minorco to take over another company first set up by Cecil Rhodes, the British-based Consolidated Gold Fields. This situation has developed since the book was published. In October 1988, the London *Independent* described Minorco as, "the Oppenheimer offshore piggy bank," but even as the words were written, Minorco was changing its character, becoming active, seeking power. About the time Michael Edwardes, chief executive of Minorco, became chairman of Charter Consolidated (another Anglo company) he told a press conference:

"Minorco will be against holding minority stakes unless they have strategic relevance, or unless Minorco is able actively to participate in management."

Anglo is said to be the largest producer of gold in the world, and Consgold is said

to be the second largest. Control over Consgold would give Anglo a control over world gold similar to the control it already exerts over world diamonds. Control of Consgold would also give Anglo 48% control of Gold Fields of South Africa, and, as an overseas investor, Minorco would be able to take its dividends out of the country, with the added possibility of pulling out altogether, should the apartheid economy prove to be a sinking ship. The Oppenheimer drive for growth, described by Pallister, Stewart and Lepper, has not diminished. The octopus is trying to shift to a firmer grip.

Opposing the takeover, the British Anti-Apartheid Movement issued a paper pointing out that this expansion of the Anglo empire would give Anglo political power in Britain, as well as a greater hold on the South African economy:

"South African control over such a large British-based company as Consgold would give South African interests a large say in the UK business community and the British government."

The paper rightly attempted no moral comparisons between Anglo and Consgold. Arguments like that would waste our time in blind alleys; for all mining houses in South Africa use equally brutal and exploitative methods in getting their wealth; all are equal in that their power is built on human suffering, on ruined lives. The safety record of Gencor is probably worse than that of Anglo. Gold Fields of South Africa is notable for its private security service — armed and with the use of tear gas — which is available for hire by other mines in times of 'unrest.' As far as the workers and their families are concerned, there is nothing to choose between Anglo and Consgold.

"A Kaffir Is Just a Kaffir," published as part of the British campaign for disinvestment, describes conditions on a Consgold mine, the copper mine at Tsumeb, one of the three major Namibian mines. It is 100% owned by Tsumeb Corporation Ltd, 78% of which is owned by Gold Fields of South Africa, which increased its stake from 47% in April, by buying out the American company, Newmont. Pallister, Stewart and Lepper mention Newmont as 48% owned by

Anglo. An octopus indeed.

A tale is told here of Consgold shame: a sickening yet predictable account of unions repressed and their members victimised; of migrant labour and broken families; of miserable living and working conditions; of Black workers housed in areas of environmental pollution so severe that trees die; of Black women workers afraid to get pregnant because it means the sack.

The presence of Consgold in Tsumeb is as much in defiance of international law as the South African occupation has been. The pamphlet points out that Consgold is in breach of Decree No 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia, which forbids mining or prospecting in Namibia without permission of the Council. The power of the multinationals, greater than that of governments, enables them to flout international law.

The Anti-Apartheid Movement paper mentioned earlier touched on an important point by commenting on the proposed Consgold takeover:

"This bid reflects Anglo's concern at the state of the South African economy, which has resulted from South Africa's political crisis."

It gave the opinion that the takeover would provide:

"a bolt-hole for South African capital."

The crisis in the South African economy discourages investment. Even Gencor, which is controlled by SANLAM, that huge, diversified fortress of Afrikaner capital, has been digging its 'bolt-holes' in the form of mining interests abroad. The Minorco attempt on Consgold came shortly after a number of important strikes in South Africa. The mineworkers' strike of August and September 1987 involved 65% of the Black labour force of the country and two-thirds of the mines, and lost the mine employers R250 million; and Anglo, with its vast mine holdings, must have borne the greater part of this loss. The three-day stayaway organised by COSATU in June 1988 cost the South African economy some R500 million, and Anglo, involved in diverse branches of the economy, must have sustained more losses.

The growth of union organisation in the 1980s, and especially the phenomenal growth of the NUM, the fight for higher wages and better conditions, the increase in the number of strikes, are all a threat to South African super-profits. Anglo is not made any easier in its mind, either, because COSATU is openly opposed to private ownership of the mines after liberation. These threats are now impelling Anglo to a campaign (described in the *New Nation* of January 11th-18th 1989) of breaking the NUM by circumscribing its activities, victimising and intimidating its members. They have already impelled Anglo to seek, in control of Consgold, a way of extracting its capital from South Africa should the need arise.

The regime, too, has seen the writing on the wall, and is engaged in a campaign to destroy the unions. It has passed the Labour Relations Amendment Act to limit their rights and powers; in a campaign of intimidation, it has convicted trade unionists of murder for deaths in bitter fighting between union members and scabs, union members and vigilantes.

The thinking of Anglo and that of the regime are never far apart. *South Africa Inc.* analyses the connections in detail.

It is clear from all this that the political campaign to disable the South African economy is two-pronged. One prong is the external campaign for world-wide solidarity with the South African people, for sanctions and disinvestment. Campaigns to prevent the expansion of Anglo are part of this strategy, for power acquired by Anglo goes to strengthen the apartheid regime.

The other prong is the fight for liberation of the South African people themselves. The two between them can cause a massive withdrawal of capital from South Africa; for if investors are not urged by principle, they will be urged by self-interest. COSATU unions, and particularly the NUM, overtly support sanctions and are consciously part of the wide political campaign, the unity in action of all progressive forces. The South African working class, organised in its unions, is therefore in the centre of the theatre of struggle at present, and will remain there in the foreseeable future.

Jean Middleton

CHANGE IN THE BALANCE OF POWER



Response to the South African Escalation, Cuban television video, with voice-over in English, available from Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL, £50.

"I can assure you of one thing: Africa's history will have one very important moment ... because the powerful South Africa clashed against a small piece of territory defended by Blacks and Mulattos — I call all Cubans Mulattos — from Angola and the Caribbean."

"There has been a total change in the balance of power. It is very important to know about this, in order to answer a question which many people have in mind. Why does South Africa want to negotiate? South Africa wants to negotiate because it is fighting a very strong force, one it never encountered before, anywhere."

This is how Cuban President Fidel Castro summarised the historic significance of the defeat of South Africa in Southern Angola in March 1988. He was speaking at a closed meeting of representatives of member countries of the Non-Aligned Movement on May 30th, and his remarks are included in the Cuban-made television documentary which tells the story of Cuban involvement in the battle of Cuito Cuanavale.

The film takes up the story in November 1987, when South African forces were poised to take Cuito Cuanavale, having penetrated over 250 km inside Angolan territory. The narrator says:

"If the enemy had achieved its initial objective — to take Cuito Cuanavale — it would have immediately advanced to the country's centre and east. The security and

stability of the People's Republic of Angola were seriously threatened."

Following the request of the Angolan government, the Cuban government decided on significant reinforcements to the Cuban military contingent in Angola.

Soldiers who were at that time taking part in major military manoeuvres in Cuba were asked to go as internationalist volunteers as part of this reinforcement. Since 1975, more than 300 000 Cubans have served in Angola as internationalist volunteers — doctors, teachers and technicians as well as soldiers. Reviewing events in Angola in an address to the Cuban people in July, Fidel Castro said:

"An action of this kind does not depend on techniques, on money, on resources or anything else; it depends on the human factor, and the human factor was decisive."

This is the message that comes across from the film as Cuban officers, tank drivers, pilots, advisers and cooks relate their experiences of fighting alongside their African comrades. "We do things as if we were all Cubans or all Angolans," an Angolan soldier says. Angolan, Cuban and SWAPO forces are repeatedly seen training and fighting together in integrated fighting units. SWAPO president, Sam Nujoma, is interviewed, and pays special tribute to the role of the Cuban internationalist volunteers.

The film also documents the role of women contingents within the Cuban forces. Speaking to a meeting of women in Cuba, Castro says:

"I asked myself, in circumstances such as this one, in which tens of thousands of our fellow countrymen are on the front line fighting the South African enemy, could we exclude women? Could we deny women the opportunity of also participating? This is why, comrades, the decision has been made — based on the principles on which they have always been made — to also send women's contingents on an absolutely voluntary basis to fulfil the internationalist mission in Angola. This is why you, women from Guantanamo, have had the great opportunity of going to fulfil this internationalist mission."

The film also explains the military strategy of the progressive forces. As the narrator explains:

"At first the enemy had been able to choose the area of combat — favourable to them, of course. The challenge was accepted because the enemy had to be stopped at all costs. However, at the same time, it was decided to strengthen our contingent and to move deep into the south-west front in the direction of the Namibian border. With the arrival of new Cuban troops and equipment, the correlation of forces on the scene of battle substantially changed ... Air and anti-aircraft superiority belonged to the joint forces of Angola, Cuba and the SWAPO liberation movement."

This enabled the forces of Angola, Cuba and SWAPO not only to hold Cuito Cuanavale, but to begin a drive south to the Namibian border, so outflanking the racist forces and making any retreat without negotiations an impossibly bloody one for the apartheid regime. Castro told the Non-Aligned meeting:

"When you meet a White South African, a racist, the only thing you have to ask him is, what happened at Cuito Cuanavale? What happened at Cuito Cuanavale? That's all you have to ask him."

But the film is more than just a history of that victory or even a celebration of that victory. It is also a tool for winning a broader understanding of the events which brought South Africa to the negotiating table. An agreement about Namibian independence having been signed, the South Africans have been building up their forces in northern Namibia and further arming the UNITA bandits. They will be looking for every opportunity to find ways of undoing the damage that Cuito Cuanavale has wrought on them. This film can help win a greater understanding that they must also be made to pay in full the political price of that military defeat.

Response to the South African Escalation was shown on Cuban television in three one-hour episodes, and then repeated, on popular demand.

Rich Palsler

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OBITUARY IRENE MKWAYI

Irene Ntombifuthi Mkwai (nee Mhlongo) was born at Imfume Mission Station in Natal on June 6th 1924, the daughter of Amos and Ethel Mhlongo. Her primary education was at Imfume Mission Station, her higher primary education at Ifafa Mission Station, and her secondary education at Loram Secondary School in Durban. She was baptised, and became the ardent Christian we all knew Mama Irene was. She was later to become a staunch member of the Presbyterian Church.

She began general nursing at Holy Cross Anglican Mission Hospital in Pondoland, and was transferred to St Andrew's Anglican Hospital in Durban. In 1949 she decided to do midwifery at Bridgeman Memorial Hospital in Johannesburg, and then worked at Baragwanath Hospital as a staff midwife. Finally, she was employed at the Orlando Clinic until her retirement in 1964.

In 1963, while working at Meadowlands Clinic, she met Wilton Mkwai. They immediately planned to marry, but that was not to be. Wilton Mkwai, a hero of our struggle, was soon arrested, charged and sentenced to life imprisonment. Irene was arrested and detained for harbouring her husband-to-be, but she was never bruised by this experience — instead it made her stronger. Last year, after 23 years, the couple finally got permission for a prison wedding.

In the long years of solitude and suffering, Mama Irene gave a lot of energy to welfare work, to which she was dedicated.

She was a founder member of the Release Mandela Campaign, playing a vital role in its national consolidation. She was eventually elected first Vice-President, and she acted as President in the absence of Comrade Oscar Mpetha, who is serving a five-year sentence in Pollsmoor Prison. She was highly instrumental in the re-integration of ex-political prisoners into



society, and helped form a support committee for this purpose.

Recently, she was heavily involved in women's projects, the latest being the Lilian Ngoyi Malibongwe Project. She was extremely proud of this project, and spent sleepless nights making plans for it.

She travelled to the German Federal Republic to represent the Mandela family in an award ceremony. On her way back to South Africa, she passed through London. An interview she gave then to *Sechaba* was printed in the April 1988 issue, under the title, *Women Are Organising*, and was recently translated into French and printed in *Amandla*, a solidarity journal put out by the ANC office in Paris.

After Comrade Irene returned to South Africa, she learned she was ill. On December 9th 1988, life left the body of this great mother of a nation at the age of 64 years. Having a premonition of death, she had written the programme for her own funeral, which was held at the United Congregational Church in Orlando East. By decree of the regime it was postponed from Saturday 17th to Monday 19th November — and this, ironically, enabled Bishop Tutu, the Rev Frank Chikane and the Rev Beyers Naude to fly to Johannesburg to officiate.

She is survived by Sipho, her son by a previous marriage, now 34 years old and a teacher, and by her husband, Wilton, who is still a prisoner.

Mama is sadily missed by the nation she gave her whole life to.

**Amandla Ngewethu! Matla!
Power to the People!**

OBITUARY JOHN GAETSEWE



John Gaetsewe died after a stroke in Botswana in December 1988, and was buried in Francistown on the last day of the year. He was a long-standing and respected member of the ANC, and a dedicated trade unionist.

The trade union movement was the mainspring and motivation of his life, and his work in the African National Union of Laundry and Dry Cleaning Workers, on the Management Committee of SACTU, and as SACTU General Secretary serve as his memorial.

He never sought easy compromises. At a time when White workers in South Africa, organised as they were in TUCSA and in other all-White enclaves, ignored the problems of their Black fellow-workers, John attacked them. At a mass rally to inaugurate the SACTU £1-a-day campaign of the 1950s, he stated that it was not only Black workers who earned starvation wages, but that many White women workers in the tobac-

co, distributive, sweet, laundry and textile industries were also grossly underpaid, and he stressed, as he always did, the need for the unity and collective strength of all workers. It was his belief that unity was the only way forward. At a Special Conference called by SACTU on Job Reservation, John said, "Let us have confidence in our workers and not underestimate our strength." This confidence inspired those who worked with him.

His commitment was total, and he was not deterred by the hostility of employers nor by harassment from the security police who were carrying out the stated policy of the regime, of "bleeding the Black trade unions to death."

In December 1956, at the time of the mass arrests of all the leading members of the Congress Alliance, including the President and the General Secretary of SACTU and 31 other officials, John helped to keep

SACTU together throughout the four and a half years of the Treason Trial which followed and which ended with the acquittal of all the accused.

With members of SACTU Local and Management Committees, he participated in many attempts to organise mineworkers at a time when anyone who merely set foot on mining ground was subject to instant arrest. He left South Africa secretly to meet trade unionists in Africa and Europe, and on his return was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, later reduced to nine months on appeal, for leaving the country without travel documents. He served the time on Robben Island. He rarely spoke of the conditions in prison, which we all knew were inhuman. Occasionally, he would say, "When I was on the Island with Nelson ..." and tell us an encouraging anecdote.

By 1963, the 'smash SACTU' campaign of the regime was well under way, with the majority of leading officials imprisoned, detained or banned. John was banned and placed under 24-hour house arrest, later reduced to 12 hours, and his effectiveness in the trade union movement was nullified. Most of our Local Committees were demolished by the actions of the regime, and SACTU, though never subjected to a legal ban, had to go underground.

Once again, John left the country without travel documents, and spent a brief period studying in the German Democratic Republic. A group of SACTU exiles had formed a committee in London, and John joined us in his capacity as General Secretary of SACTU. He re-established links with the international trade union movement, and made it clear that SACTU still existed and was a force to be reckoned with. He travelled extensively in Africa, Scotland, England, Wales, Ireland, in France (where the mayor of Le Havre gave him a reception), in Italy, the Netherlands, Canada Australia and New Zealand. Those of us who have visited these countries since are well aware of the impact he made; he is still talked of with respect and admiration.

Although John was a full-time SACTU official based in London, he earned a minimal wage, and his rented flat served as the SACTU office for many years. As SACTU was re-establishing itself in Tanzania and

Zambia, he generated such support that the London office was able to contribute to the setting up of offices in those countries.

During his time in London, he attended the tripartite Conference held by the International Labour Organisation every June in Geneva, and he always made it clear to the representatives of governments, employers and workers present there that apartheid could not be justified, reformed or diluted but had to be overthrown.

He became an accomplished speaker, and his fellow trade unionists abroad probably did not know how limited his formal education had been. He read copiously, and was well aware of the early struggles of workers both in South Africa and abroad. He knew how many sacrifices were required, and that battles which were considered won had to be fought again and again.

In London he set up an editorial board to re-issue the SACTU journal, *Workers' Unity*, copies of which were sent into South Africa and played an important role in re-establishing links with SACTU members and the new and militant generation of young workers. Together they have formed COSATU, which has based many of its principles on the constitution of SACTU. Chief of these is the declaration that trade union rights cannot be won in a vacuum, and that the trade union and political struggles are indissolubly linked. In a changing South Africa, COSATU is carrying the struggle to heights which SACTU could not achieve, but still on the foundation laid by SACTU. In the developments of the present, the role of John, and of all the founders and original members of SACTU, have been crucial.

"He was a cheerful father," John's daughter has written in a letter. I want to say that for me one of John's outstanding qualities was his generosity of spirit. My early years in SACTU were marked by two family bereavements within 18 months, and it was John's compassion and sympathy that helped me through those experiences. I am very sad that John's last years were marred by ill-health and loneliness, but I know that his name and his achievements will not be forgotten.

Phyllis Altman

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Johannes Pieter VAN DER MERWE, Adjudant-Offisier in die S.A. Polisie, gestasioneer te Krugersdorp en verbonde aan die Veiligheidstak, Krugersdorp, Verklaar;

(1)

Op Saterdag 6 Mei 1989 het ek diens verrig tydens die begrafnisverrigtinge van dr. David WEBSTER buite die Anglikaanse Kerk De Villiersstraat, Johannesburg.

(2)

Ek het die volgende buite die Kerk waargeneem:-

- (a) Dat 'n groot groep mense van beide geslagte maar oorwegend swart, buite die Kerk saamgedrom het.
- (b) Dat 'n groot deel van die aanwesiges buite die Kerk vryheidsliedere gesing het, waardeur die African National Congress (ANC.) en Mkhonto We Sizwe, gepopulariseer is.
- (c) Dat 'n groot groep van die aanwesigs voskleurige "T" hemde van verskillende organisasies gedra het. Ek het "T" hemde van die volgende organisasies opgemerk:-

Congress of S.A. Trade Unions (COSATU).
United Democratic Front (UDF).
Federation of S.A. Women (FEDSAW).

Mony

(3)

Ek het ook 'n groot geel banier, waarop met swartletters die naam N.U.S.A.S. aangebring is, opgemerk.

Baniere van die United Democratic Front (UDF) was ook prominent sigbaar. Na die diens het persone wat hulle gesigte bedek het, 'n African National Congress vlag oor die kis gedrapeer en die kis na die lykswa gedra.

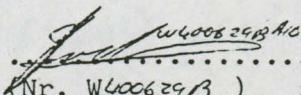
(4)

Ek het Mohammed VALI, ook bekend as Vali MOOSA en dr. Beyers NAUDE, daar opgemerk.

Ek is vertrouwd met in houd van die verklaring en begryp dit.

Ek het geen beswaar teen die aflegging van die voorgeskrewe eed nie.

Ek beskou die voorgeskrewe eed as bindend vir my gewete.


ADJUDANT-OFFISIER
(Nr. W40062913) : J P VAN DER MERWE

Ek sertifiseer dat die verklaarder erken dat hy vertrouwd is met die inhoud van die verklaring en dit begryp.

Hierdie verklaring is voor my beëdig en verklaarder se handtekening is in my teenwoordigheid daarop aangebring te Krugersdorp op hede die

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