

APRIL 1982



# SECHABANGA

official organ of the african national congress south africa

# STOP APARTHEID MURDERS

MASHIGO



*sentenced to death*  
**1980**

LUBISI



MANANA



MOISE

SHABANGU



TSOTSOBE



*sentenced to death*  
**1981**

# NOW

# SECHABA

## APRIL ISSUE 1982



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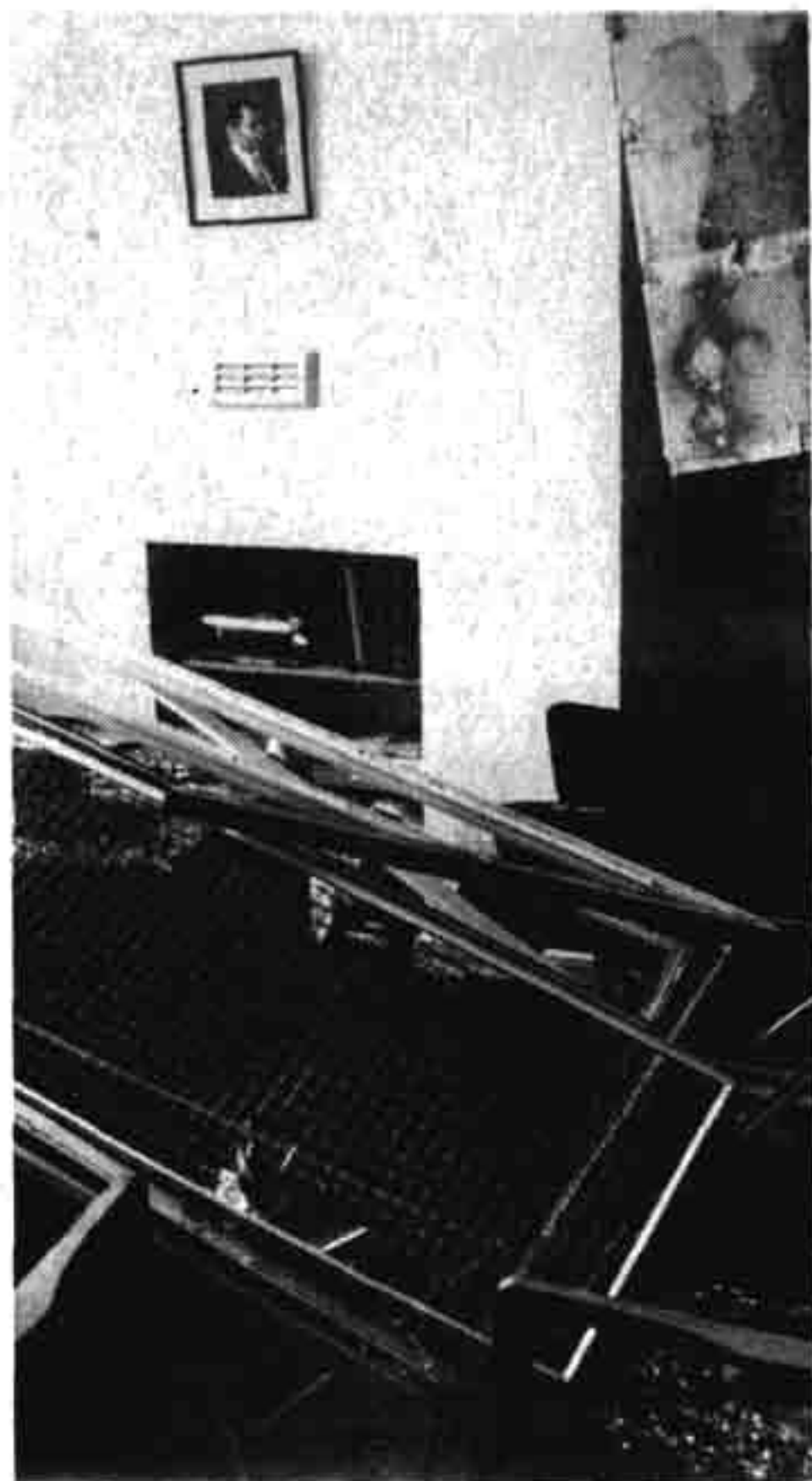
# EDITORIAL

## INCREASING RACIST AGGRESSIVENESS

The racist regime of Botha has been involved in many adventures in Southern Africa. It has used all tactics in the book to save the Apartheid ship from sinking. It has used both the carrot and the stick — the carrot being the discredited “constellation of states” or the assurance of non-interference in the affairs of neighbouring states if “law and order does not break down there” or if they do not harbour “ANC terrorists”.

But a characteristic feature of these sugar-coated words is the ever-present use of force and violence against the ANC and our people. Hundreds of our people are in detention. Not to mention the homeless, the destitute, those dying of malnutrition and disease and those being forcibly removed from their homes.

An aspect of this violence is the attack on Frontline States and on ANC offices and personnel in these countries. The list of violations of national integrity of these countries is too long. We remember the murder of Boy Mvemve, Deputy Chief Representative of the ANC in Lusaka in 1974. This incident was followed by the destruction of ANC offices, together with the offices of other liberation movements by Rhodesian thugs in Lusaka in 1979. ANC functionaries in Lesotho have been harrassed (in one of these attacks Father Osmers lost part of his arm); Swaziland has been one of their targets; and recently in 1981 ANC and SACTU personnell were murdered at Matola, Mozambique and in



*The office of the Chief Representative after the bombing*



*The back of the ANC office in London where the bomb was placed*

the same year Joe Gqabi, the ANC Chief Representative in Salisbury, Zimbabwe was assassinated. What about the murder of Abraham Tiro in Botswana in 1974?

Recently the South African racists were involved in a reckless attempted coup in Seychelles. 42 mercenaries led by Col. "mad Mike" Hoare, the notorious leader of the Congo mercenaries in the early 1960's, seized Mahe airport in Seychelles and when their attempted coup failed, they skyjacked an Air India Boeing 707.

As if this was not enough they attacked the ANC offices in London on Sunday March 14 - the day on which over 15,000 people marched against Apartheid in the centre of London. This march followed a three-day international conference

organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement at Wembley.

The ANC office was wrecked by an explosive device placed at the rear of the building. The back of the office was devastated and the windows of buildings, shops, offices and public houses over a radius of 400 yards were shattered - just a tangled mass. People screamed as the 10lb bomb wrecked havoc and black smoke billowed all around - near the Chapel Market. The area had to be evacuated and police sealed off streets as the bomb disposal experts aided by sniffer dogs searched the rubble for clues. This bomb blast was a dramatic demonstration of the growing violence of the conflict - a bomb placed without regard for human life or precisely to destroy human life.



### *Damage to surrounding buildings*

What is frightening is the thought of what the future has in store. The embassy of the People's Republic of Angola in France gave some indication to this in a statement issued on March 16, 1982:

Reliable sources emanating from Pretoria indicate that the South African government is about to carry out a further large-scale offensive against the People's Republic of Angola.

"To this end, estimated effectives of 10,000 African men, officered by mercenaries of different nationalities (especially British, Portuguese and American) and led by South African officers, are reportedly preparing to launch vast military operations, with helicopter landings, against several important Angolan towns, including the capital Luanda, the aim

being the destruction of strategic economic targets and the physical liquidation of the country's top leaders.

According to the same sources, Cuban units stationed in Angola, would also be attacked with a view to testing their capacity to respond and resist. This plan is said to have been prepared with the support of certain pro-Pretoria circles in the west, particularly in the United States, Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany."

This deteriorating international situation and the aggravation of the military escalation in Southern Africa is due to an ever increasing aggressiveness of racist South Africa.

Let us fight this international monster!

# CARROT & STICK POLICY

Events in recent months have made it abundantly clear that the apartheid regime has now embarked on an aggressive assault against neighbouring states in the Southern African region. All attempts by neighbouring states to reduce their economic dependence on Apartheid South Africa or to offer solidarity to the struggle of the people of South Africa and Namibia led by the ANC and SWAPO respectively, are now being met by military aggression and/or economic sabotage.

The more or less regular incursions by the regime's own military forces into Angola; the creation of a puppet terrorist group in Mozambique; the sponsoring of armed action by an oppositional group in Lesotho; the sending of assassination and kidnapping squads to Matola, Swaziland and Zimbabwe; and the use of economic power in an attempt to blackmail Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Zambia among others are all well documented recent examples of Apartheid aggression against its neighbours.

Aggressive acts by the Apartheid state against its neighbours are, of course, nothing new. There were numerous incidents throughout the 50s, 60s and 70s. What distinguishes the present phase however, is that aggression against its neighbours is rapidly becoming the central component of the regime's regional strategy. This is principally a consequence of the crisis created for the regime in the region by the advancing liberation struggle both in South Africa itself and the countries in the region.

Until the mid 1970s Apartheid South Africa's regional strategy depended upon the existence of so-called "buffer" states — the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique, the settler colony of Rhodesia and South Africa's "own" colony, Namibia. The main thrust of its regional strategy was to support the colonial regimes of these territories as the best guarantee of South Africa's continued domination in the region.

With the buffer states secured, it was felt that the other, "black ruled", states in the region would be little more than "economic hostages" which could eventually be persuaded to enter into, as Verwoerd put it, "a Southern African Commonwealth of white and black states" in which South Africa would be the "mother country".

## New Offensive

In the event, however, the advancing liberation struggle finally put an end to all hopes of establishing a Verwoerdian style Southern African Commonwealth based predominantly on "white ruled" states. With FRELIMO's victory over Portuguese colonialism in Mozambique and the MPLA's in Angola both in 1975, two former "buffer states" became transformed into Front Line states hostile to apartheid and supportive of the liberation struggle in South Africa itself. These new circumstances indicated to the apartheid strategists that some new regional offensive aimed at winning over or neutralising "black ruled" states in the region would have to be embarked on.

The first versions of the regime's new offensive were Vorster's so-called "Outward looking" and "Detente" policies, formulated and orchestrated principally by BOSS (Bureau of State Security) and the Information Department. These aimed at using secret diplomacy and bribery to persuade selected African "decision makers" to enter into a process of "dialogue" with the apartheid rulers as a means of buying time and thwarting attempts to build support for the liberation struggle. However, although Vorster's dialogue policy did have some limited successes with certain African leaders, it did not prevent the liberation struggle from gaining momentum either in South Africa itself or in Zimbabwe or Namibia.

Faced with this advancing struggle, strategists within the apartheid state's

rapidly expanding military machine began to criticise previous strategies and call instead for a new regional policy based more on influencing objective conditions rather than individual decision makers. The essence of this new regional strategy was first sketched out in the 1977 Defence White Paper in which military chiefs first publicly called for the adoption of a "total strategy" to defend the beleaguered apartheid system. With P.W. Botha's accession to the premiership in November 1978, the "total strategy" including its regional dimension was adopted as the basic strategy of the state.

### "Carrot and Stick"

The new regional strategy called for in the 1977 White Paper was essentially a two-pronged — carrot and stick — offensive. It envisaged, as with the domestic aspects of the "total strategy", mobilising economic, political and psychological as well as military resources. More particularly, it envisaged making available certain economic concessions, particularly in the areas of trade, infrastructure and transport services, to those neighbouring states which would associate with in an informal anti-marxist alliance to be known as a "Constellation of States". On the other hand, in case the carrot of the Constellation failed, it would be necessary to "build up a sound balance of military power in relation to neighbouring states" as well as being prepared to use economic power aggressively.

For several months after Botha's accession to power, the emphasis was placed on the carrot. The idea of the Constellation was widely promoted, most notably at the 1979 Carlton Conference between Botha and leading business men, and eleven African states "stretching to the equator" were invited to participate in various regional economic projects. However, by early 1980 it had become clear that the Constellation had failed as a regional association involving independent states.

Two main factors account for this. Firstly, the defeat of Muzorewa in the Zimbabwe independence elections. This put an end to hopes that a "black ruled" Zimbabwe would become a key member of the Constellation and thus attract other

"moderate" states. The second factor was the action of the Front Line states in proposing the establishment of an alternative regional grouping, the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC), which (and this is crucial) succeeded in incorporating all states in the region including such key Constellation targets as Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi. The formation of SADCC thus represented a major setback for Apartheid South Africa and an important initial victory for the anti-imperialist struggle in the region.

### Destabilisation

One immediate consequence of this failure of the constellation strategy on the regional level is that the apartheid rulers have turned more and more to the stick — to aggressive military action and economic sabotage as instruments of regional policy.

Enough evidence has emerged to show that its aggressive actions are now no longer ad hoc but form part of an overall tactical plan aimed at destabilising states in the region which offer support for the ANC or SWAPO and/or have strategic importance for the realisation of the objectives of SADCC. Opposition groups in these countries are supported and encouraged to engage in acts of armed aggression and where such groups did not previously exist they are even manufactured from scratch on the initiative of South African state security or military intelligence. BOSS defectors have revealed that the so-called National Resistance Movement (MNR) in Mozambique was set up directly by South African and Rhodesian military intelligence in 1977 and that when it began operating it had no Mozambican members. All operations were at first carried out by South African and ex-PIDE personnel. In fact the first Mozambican blacks recruited were deliberately set up to be caught so that the MNR could present itself as an indigenous movement.

At the same time as supporting the operations of opposition puppet groups, trade and transport links are disrupted in the hope of provoking internal discontent. The best example of this form of action came in 1981 in a series of moves against

Zimbabwe. Railway waggons on loan were withdrawn, delays in transshipping Zimbabwean imports and exports were engineered and a trade preference agreement was unilaterally cancelled by South Africa. These measures have all contributed significantly to Zimbabwe's current Balance of Payments problems and a Zimbabwean businessman was told by a senior official of the South African Ministry of Foreign Affairs that the apartheid regime "no longer considered it to be in its interests to have prosperous and stable neighbours." (Financial Mail, November 1981).

Finally, the regime has as a last resort its own forces, trained and equipped either for short-term hit and run type operations in neighbouring states such as the Matola raid, or longer term military aggression as in the case of its operations in Angola.

### Support the Front Line States

At present and for the immediate future regional politics in Southern Africa seem clearly destined to be dominated by South

African aggression and the response to it. Yet the present aggressive assault by Apartheid South Africa against its neighbours can be seen to have arisen directly from the growing isolation of the regime in the face of an advancing liberation struggle. They are acts of weakness by a moribund regime incapable of finding a political solution, whether on the internal or regional level, which would enable it to resist its own downfall.

Like a mortally wounded beast South Africa is capable of inflicting dangerous blows against its enemies, but it cannot escape the fate that awaits it. In the meantime it needs to be contained. The Front Line states should be supported in resisting its aggression. SADC's programme for reducing economic dependence on Apartheid South Africa needs international support. And Western states with influence on South Africa must be persuaded not to resist attempts by progressive forces to create an international climate uncompromisingly hostile to aggressive acts by the apartheid state.

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# FRONTLINE STATES COMMUNIQUE

*Below we publish an important communique issued by the Heads and Governments of the Frontline States after their Summit Meeting held in Maputo in the first week of March 1982. Participating in the Summit were delegations of SWAPO and ANC led by Comrades Sam Nujoma and Oliver Tambo.*

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and the Presidents of SWAPO and ANC (South Africa) met in Maputo, the People's Republic of Mozambique, from the 6th to 7th March 1982, to analyse the current situation in Southern Africa.

The Frontline States Summit noted the ever increasing aggressiveness of imperialism perpetrated by the racist regime of South

Africa, its instrument of aggression in the region. The invasions and military aggressions, the utilization of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and economic blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa are proof that there is currently an undeclared war situation engendered and supported by South Africa.

These manoeuvres are aimed at increasing our dependence on South Africa, forstalling the harmonious application of our development plans and delaying at all costs the independence of Namibia and preventing the liberation of the South African people.

The occupation of areas in the southern part of the People's Republic of Angola by the Pretoria racist forces and the attempt to promote the UNITA puppets aims at



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PEACE



# STOP



creating an international precedent which could be made applicable to any of the countries in the region. The African peoples have the right to expect a vigorous reaction from the international community which should condemn and demand the immediate cessation of this intolerable violation of sovereignty and territorial integrity of a member state of the OAU and the United Nations.

The Frontline States Summit noted with satisfaction that as a direct response to the ever increasing acts of repression and crimes committed by the Pretoria regime, the peoples of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO are intensifying the liberation struggle in the country and that in South Africa under the leadership of ANC the people through strikes and armed actions are vigorously rising against apartheid.

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States decided:—

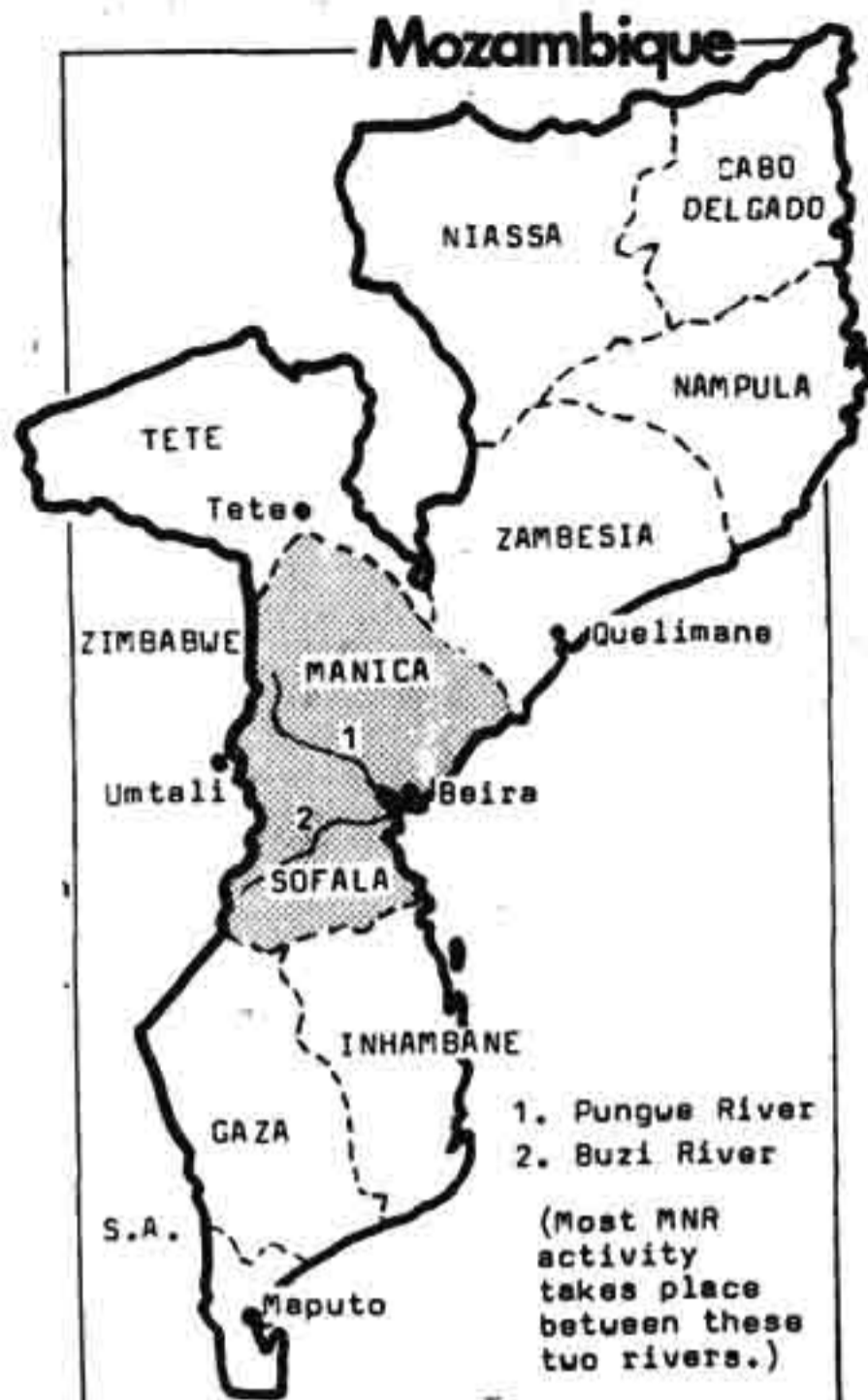
\* to reinforce their coordinated action of defence in order to stop the racist regime of Pretoria from continuing its acts of military aggression and economic sabotage against the free and independent states of the region and force it to withdraw its occupying forces from the People's Republic of Angola.

\* to reinforce their bilateral and regional cooperation in the diplomatic, economic, military and information fields.

\* to intensify their material and diplomatic support for the liberation movements of SWAPO of Namibia and ANC of South Africa, so that they can intensify the armed struggle for the attainment of national independence of their peoples.

\* to demand the integral implementation of the UN Security Council Resolution 435 (78) in order to accelerate the withdrawal of the South African occupying forces and the holding of free and fair elections leading to real independence in Namibia.

\* to salute the Government of Seychelles for the defeat inflicted on the mercenary band sent by the South African regime to carry out a coup d'etat in that country.



\* to condemn the support granted by western powers to the apartheid regime through the sale of arms, the financial and economic leverage, the transfer of technology, including nuclear technology.

\* to undertake actions at the level of international organisation and other fora with a view to mobilizing support for the struggle of the Namibian and South African peoples as well as denouncing, condemning, and isolating the South African apartheid regime in all spheres.

The Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States condemn the new phenomenon employed by South Africa which consists in preparing, financing and training armed bandits to destabilise the independent Southern African countries.

The Heads of State of the Frontline States warmly congratulated the Prime Minister Robert Mugabe for having successfully foiled the attempts at destabilizing peace and security in Zimbabwe.

**A LUTA CONTINUA!**  
(Maputo, March 7, 1982.)

# THE OPTION FOR LIFE

## CHRISTIANS AND MARXISTS FROM LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA MEET

*Father Michael Lapsley, head of the Anglican Chaplaincy at the National University of Lesotho (NUL) attended an international conference which brought together Christian and Marxist revolutionaries from African and Latin America in Madrid, Spain. Below he reports about this conference. SECHABA also publishes an interview he granted to Thabo Sekonyela on the Radio Lesotho, which was reproduced by Lesotho Weekly (L.W.) (January 29 and February 5, 1982).*

Madrid, Spain was the venue for the first international encounter of Christians and Marxists from Africa and Latin America, which took place in December, 1981.

Initially, the organisers (IEPALA — Instituto de Estudios Politicos para America Latina y Africa), had in mind a meeting between Christian and Marxist revolutionaries from those African and Latin American countries which had entered the phase of reconstruction after the successful seizure of power by the revolutionary movements. Subsequently the conference was widened to include revolutionaries from situations where national wars of liberation are still being waged. We came to Madrid imbued with the vision, the courage and determination of the heroic struggling peoples of Cuba, of South Africa, of Nicaragua, of Mozambique, of El Salvador, of Tanzania, of Namibia, of Guatemala.

We met to analyse the revolutionary experiences of Christians and Marxists engaged in a common struggle for justice. Our meeting gave us an opportunity to reflect upon our praxis, to understand and overcome difficulties which prevent wholehearted participation in the revolutionary process, to forge new links between

oppressed people on the two continents of Africa and Latin America as well as with Christians and Marxists in Europe who are struggling in solidarity with their African and Latin American brothers and sisters.

Whereas all participants acknowledged the fundamental importance of a theoretical understanding of the revolutionary process, we rapidly became aware that with our diverse experiences and situations, there was an underlying unity of purpose which comes from a collective participation in the fight for life in which all our peoples are engaged, in being faced by the option for death which imperialism embodies.

As we shared our experiences of our common fight, we realised that the freedom fighters of Farabundo Marti in El Salvador, of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, of the patriotic forces of Guatemala have in common with the ANC and Umkhonto, likewise with SWAPO and PLAN, the uniting of Christians and Marxists, Moslem and Hindu in the struggle for justice and human brotherhood.

For too long the historic co-option of believers by the forces of imperialism, has prevented Christians and Marxists from joining a common project to secure the basic rights of the whole human community.

In Nicaragua as in South Africa religious faith is a major motivating force which leads to wholehearted engagement in the revolutionary process. In South Africa, because we who are Christian, pray and struggle for God's Kingdom, we will opt for the Freedom Charter as a logical extension and expression of our faith.

Today South Africans and Namibians, Angolans, Mozambicans and Tanzanians, Christians and Marxists, together revolutionaries join hands with their

brothers and sisters in Cuba, Nicaragua, Guatemala and El Salvador to express our love for one another and for the whole human community by opting for life and continuing the international struggle against imperialism as lead by the United States. We opt for life — for the right to work, for bread, shelter, health, for respect for our cultures and for the right to develop our full human potential and for the right to live in peace.

L.W.: What was the purpose of the conference?

Fr. Lapsley: We met to analyse the revolutionary experiences of Christians and Marxists engaged in a common struggle for justice, to look at the problems which have been encountered and to find ways of removing problems between Christians and Marxists which may hinder the revolutionary process in Africa and Latin America.

L.W.: What common patterns of colonial domination were you able to identify among the struggling masses of Latin America and Southern Africa?

Fr. Lapsley: What becomes apparent in the situations of Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Puerto Rico and in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa was that there was one underlying enemy and that was imperialism, particularly as it is led by the United States of America.

The system of exploitation of man is the common underlying theme which is the experience of millions of people in Africa and Latin America. And the kind of military aggression which the people of Guatemala and El Salvador are today experiencing is for the same reason that the people of Angola are experiencing massive South African intervention and invasion in their country.

L.W.: What do you see as the role of Christianity in revolutionary struggle?

Fr. Lapsley: In the history of Christianity in colonial situations, we see that Christianity has been coopted as a force for oppression by the colonial rulers. But today millions of Christians are seeing that



Fr. Michael Lapsley . . . . . We met to analyse the revolutionary experiences.

the implications of being Christian is that you must be revolutionary.

Christians today see that the underlying theme of the bible is the struggle for justice, that this struggle is not just something which has to be put into words but a doctrine that must be put into practice. Oppressed people who are Christians are discovering that in order to be a faithful Christian, you have to be a revolutionary, whether you are today in Guatemala or Southern Africa.

L.W.: Are Christians observing this?

Fr. Lapsley: There have always been Christians involved in the struggle wherever there has been oppression. The tragedy has been that the number has been small and many Christians have allowed themselves to be co-opted by forces of oppression. But today in South Africa, in a very small way to El Salvador and Guatemala, Christians are expressing their faith in practice.

We saw this for example, in South Africa, in the Anti-Republic Day Campaign, that Christians in South Africa saw the Republic as a force for death to the majority of the people, where the gospel is an option for life.

L.W.: Do you see Marxism as an

indispensable tool in the revolutionary struggle?

Fr. Lapsley: Christianity is a set of values, and we have in the Christian gospel, a picture of the Kingdom of God, the picture of a situation where men and women live together as brothers and sisters. But it is not a political blueprint. It is Marxism which gives the tools of analysis which helps us unlock the laws of history.

And so Marxism becomes an indispensable tool because it is scientific, to help us understand society and to understand forces we should align with if we are serious Christians who are opting for life.

It is the Capitalists who tried to suggest to Christians that Marxists are our first enemy when in fact because together we want a society where people can live together as brothers and sisters. Christians and Marxists are natural allies not natural enemies. This is what the oppressed people in Latin America and Africa are discovering in greater numbers not because one uses the other, but because we are groups of people, Christians and Marxists, people participating in society, who experience oppression and want life, food and shelter.

L.W.: What should be the contribution of Christianity in building up more egalitarian and fraternal, more socialistic societies and how could this contribution be channelled institutionally?

Fr. Lapsley: There are many values in the Christian gospel that need to be expressed more clearly because they are values which have an important contribution to make in creating a more just, more fraternal society.

I am thinking of the values of commitment, self-sacrifice, the kinds of concepts we see in the New Testament, in Jesus, who lays down his life for his brothers. Greater love hath no man than this if he lays down his life for his brothers.

It is these concepts of sacrificial love, of faith being put into action that have an important and dynamic role to play in creating a more just society. Equally we have Jesus saying: "When I was in prison did you visit me, when I was hungry, did you feed me?"

If Christians take the gospel seriously, they will see that it is their obligation to

feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to visit those who are the victims of injustice, to create the kind of society where there will no longer be injustice, to deal with the root causes of exploitation, not simply to help its victims.

L.W.: History has taught us that a lot of revolutionaries have looked at religion or Christianity as an extension of oppression. Can you comment on this?

Fr. Lapsley: If we look at the situation in South Africa and we look at the kind of role that religion plays in the mass media in South Africa, then that inclusion becomes a legitimate one for everybody to come to. But if we look at the Christian Gospel, we come to a very different conclusion. We see that the implications of the Christian Gospel are fundamental and revolutionary changes. The oppressed people who have seen religion as a tool for oppression are now opting for the liberating gospel of Jesus Christ.

L.W.: Were the people of South Africa represented at this conference?

Fr. Lapsley: As a member of the African National Congress, I was asked to represent South Africa.

This was not as such a conference where resolutions are adopted, but more of a conference where we exchanged ideas and experiences, and where we forged new links. For too long the continents have been of oppression, between military government which oppressed their people. What we were trying to do was to forge dynamic links between the two people and to realise that we face together a common enemy, that together we are struggling for life against



imperialism which is an option for death.

L.W.: Will there be any follow-up to this conference?

Fr. Lapsley: We are hoping that here in Africa there will be a similar kind of exchange. Unfortunately at this conference, quite a number of African countries, including the newly liberated ones were absent.

We hope that there will be a regional meeting in Africa and another in Latin America to deepen the dialogue, understandings and the kind of commitments that come, not from sitting in armchairs, but from participation in revolutionary process.

In future meetings it will be important to have participation from Christians from Asia, from situations such as Vietnam, to enrich our own understanding about particular struggles. Each struggle is different and yet there is an underlying common theme of the struggle for life.

L.W.: What is it that causes conflict or contradictions between the Christian church and revolutionaries?

Fr. Lapsley: In the Cuban situation, it was clear that the hierarchy of the church was involved in opposing the revolution. The revolutionaries themselves were willing for Christians to make a dynamic participation but they failed to do so. That was reactionary.

But today in Nicaragua Christians have played a much more dynamic role. The Sandanista government today say those Christians who participate, who analyse history and see the needs of the people will become revolutionaries as a natural expression of their faith.

In the situation of Nicaragua there is no contradiction between the revolutionary process and the Christian faith. It is when Christians align themselves with forces of death, with the rich, the powerful against the poor that there is conflict. When together we are with the people opting for a just society there are no fundamental contradictions.

L.W.: Another important area where the western imperialists are engaged in their expansionist tendencies is their continued accusations that the eastern block countries

involve themselves illegally in the affairs of the oppressed masses,

Fr. Lapsley: I have lived in South Africa and as far as I am aware, there is no eastern block country which has investment in South Africa. There are no people in the socialist countries who are benefiting from the exploitation of the people of South Africa. But there are people in the United States of America, Britain, West Germany, France and Taiwan who are benefiting from the exploitation of the people of South Africa and Namibia. Therefore, it is not true that the socialist countries are interfering in Southern Africa. But it is true that the western countries are benefiting directly from the vast majority of the South African people.

L.W.: Are the masses conscious of this development?

Fr. Lapsley: Obviously the regime in South Africa which is the same in Namibia tries to hide the facts from the people, but more and more people are analysing their own situation, and the people of South Africa are coming to see more and more who their natural allies are. Of course in South Africa, people who support freedom for all, all those who say yes, South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, are natural allies. If they put into practice what they believe in a common democratic South Africa which we are all struggling for today will materialize.

L.W.: Do revolutionary processes tending the system of socialism offer more favourable conditions towards the Christian ideal of brotherhood than previous circumstances of colonialism and capitalism?

Fr. Lapsley: It is clear that the option towards socialism is an option towards life and more and more Christians are seeing Christianity as a set of values. It is not a political blueprint and Christians, like all other citizens still have to make political options. If the Christian is serious about the gospel, he is going to opt towards a political system which is concerned with creating human brotherhood, not with one which is based upon the exploitation of man by man, which capitalism is.

# THE MOZAMBICAN NATION:

## “our inspiration & strength”

**STATEMENT BY COMRADE  
PRESIDENT OLIVER TAMBO AT A  
MASS RALLY—BAIRRO DE  
LIBERDADE, MAPUTO.  
FEBRUARY 14, 1982.**

We salute you all today on behalf of the ANC, on behalf of the commanders and fighters of Umkhonto We Sizwe;

We salute you in the name of the workers, the women, youth, peasants and all the oppressed masses and democratic forces in South Africa. We greet you in the name of the heroic fighters held in the fascist prisons of racist South Africa.

We greet you in the Year of the 70th Anniversary of the ANC, the Year of Unity in Action;

We salute you in the name of the fallen heroes of the South African struggle; we remember especially the victims of the Matola raid at the beginning of last year.

It is that raid which has brought us here today—that raid which insulted the sovereignty of the Mozambican people, defiled their national dignity, violated their territorial integrity and challenged the very concept of African independent statehood.

It is something more than the Matola raid which brings us together on this occasion. For a people engaged, day and night, in a continuing struggle against a brutal enemy, the great question is not that there has been an attack, an invasion, a massacre or any other crime committed against the people. The great question is the nature of our response to that crime.

The history of Mozambique, especially in the past two decades, has been a history of atrocious crimes committed by colonialism against the Mozambican people—

against FRELIMO. The People's Republic of Mozambique is a creature of the correct responses which the Mozambican people under the leadership of FRELIMO made to the massacres, murders and destruction perpetrated by Portuguese fascist forces.

We are here today because, exactly a year ago this day, at Praça de Independência in Maputo, the celebrated Leader and Commander of the heroic Mozambican people, comrade President Samora Machel, responded to the Matola raid by summoning his people back to the war trenches they had known since September 25, 1964; back into battle, for the defence of their motherland, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity, their national dignity; for the defence of the gains of the Mozambican revolution—the gains of the African revolution; for the defence of their internationalist essence and their Socialist future—a future of which the victory of the struggle led by the ANC and SWAPO against the Pretoria fascists is an integral part. And we now know that the Mozambican people, from the Rovuma to the Maputo rallied to FRELIMO's call with their knobkerries, pangas and other weapons. When the raiders re-appeared at PONTO D'ORO, the people plunged their pick-axes into the skulls of the fascist intruders.

Your response—the response of a nation forged in the furious furnaces of two brutal wars—had a dynamising impact throughout Southern Africa, and throughout the continent. It was an act of mobilisation of the international progressive forces for resolute struggle against apartheid, colonialism and fascism.

You riveted the 35 million people of Mozambique and South Africa together and joined them in solid unity with the peoples of the rest of the region in their determination to rid our continent of this painful and dangerous plague.

By your response, you paid a glorious tribute to the fallen heroes of our common struggle, and especially to the Mozambican heroes, who with their blood and their lives, strengthened FRELIMO, created the Mozambican nation and became our inspiration and our strength.

Nothing today unites people more than the criminal nature of the Pretoria racist minority regime. From the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic; from the Southern tip of our continent to the Mediterranean; from Africa to every continent on the globe, mankind differs about countless issues. But, about the Pretoria apartheid regime, there is one unanimous judgement—the regime is an international criminal, guilty of a heinous crime against humanity, a crime of which the people of South Africa and Southern Africa are the first victims.

We are one people today. This means we are recapturing our glorious past. We were one people. History put us together on this continent from time immemorial. We evolved together, shared a common African culture, traded with one another and dealt each with the other as human beings, whether in times of war or in times of peace; whether in circumstances of hunger or in conditions of plenty.

### *They Divided Us*

Then came the colonialists. Despite the heroic resistance of our forebears, from the Cape of Good Hope to the North of Africa, the colonialists succeeded to transform us from a free people into a subject people. They became our masters and made us respond to their commands with "Ja baas, Ja baas".

To perpetuate our subjugation they divided us. We ceased to be one people. We became foreigners to one another, living in Portuguese East Africa, British Rhodesia, German East Africa, British Natal, Boer Republics. This was the pattern throughout the continent. Africa became British, French, Portuguese, Belgian, Dutch, Spanish, German, Italian.

Not only had we ceased to be one people, we had ceased to be people. The very earth that we walked, the soil that gave us life and that in its depths afforded refuge to our ancestors, had itself ceased to be African.

In their eagerness to plunder, divide and oppress, the colonialists and the racists failed to notice that they were creating new conditions for our oneness, for our unity. Together we had become the dispossessed, dispossessed of our independence and of our countries. Together we had become beasts of burden working for the enrichment of a colonialist and racist minority. Apparently divided by frontiers which the colonialists had drawn across the face of Africa, we were in fact united by the fact that we had become, together, the oppressed, the exploited and the despised. And we had become the oppressed, the exploited and despised through the same system of imperialist domination and colonial occupation.

It was in the course of the struggle against this system that we re-created our oneness on a much broader scale and at a qualitatively much higher level. We became part of a powerful and ever growing movement of peoples fighting colonial domination, fighting all oppressors, exploiters, fascists, racists and Zionists. We became one mighty army of revolution fighting in various detachments on many fronts throughout the world—an army of comrades.

### *Mondlane and Mandela*

Eduardo Mondlane worked with Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu to strengthen the ANC, not as strangers but as comrades committed to a common cause—the liberation of Africa, the liberation of mankind.

Likewise, it was as comrades-in-arms that the commanders and combatants of FRELIMO and the ANC trained, worked, ate and sang together in Algeria, Tanzania and elsewhere. It was because of that comradeship that commanders of FRELIMO and Umkhonto We Sizwe found themselves in the war zones of Cabo Delgado and Niassa in 1967 and Tete in 1970, where the ANC commanders were learning from the experience of their comrades-in-arms.

That same comradeship found the Mozambicans fighting with MPLA in defence of the newly independent People's Republic of Angola in 1975/76, and joining the Zimbabwean people in their liberation war against the Rhodesian and South African regimes.



### *The Three Fronts*

And so here we are today, Comrades: British, French, Belgian, Portuguese and other colonialists have been defeated; and yet an intense struggle is being fought by Mozambique and other independent states of this region—a struggle on three courageous fronts:

- (a) against underdevelopment and for social progress,
- (b) against the colonisation and occupation of Namibia by the Pretoria regime and for the independence of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO,
- (c) for the liberation of the people of South Africa from apartheid colonialism.

On all these three fronts the Pretoria regime features in a central role. It is fighting against the economic independence and development of the African countries; it is defying Africa, the UN and the whole international community on the question of Namibia, and adds to its defiance by spreading death and destruction in Namibia and Angola, and defiantly occupying Angolan territory; it murders, massacres, tortures and engages in kidnapping its opponents in South Africa while harassing, killing, destabilizing and organising coups d'etat against African states.

And with respect to these three fronts, like the racist regime, the people of South Africa led by the ANC and its allies also feature in a central role: The overthrow of the Pretoria racist minority regime will thwart the designs of imperialism in this region and usher in an era of rapid internal reconstruction under conditions of peace and security.

The South African struggle is, therefore, as a matter of objective reality, a struggle of the people of Southern Africa, together and as one force spread across the continent from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, fighting in closed ranks with the rest of Africa and the progressive world. But the leading role must be played by us in South Africa.

The year 1981, the year of Matola, the year of the prolonged occupation of Southern Angola by South African fascist

troops, the year of nation-wide mobilization of the Mozambican people against the racist regime—the year 1981 has also been the year of heightened struggles in South Africa.

Umkhonto We Sizwe spread its assaults across the length and breadth of South Africa: in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Elliot, Durban, Johannesburg, Sibasa, Ermelo and many widely dispersed points in the countryside. But they concentrated on Pretoria, the fascist capital from where the raids, invasions, killings and bandit armies are controlled;

—Pretoria, the heart and the head of the heartland of racism, the bastion of colonialism;

Pretoria, which in 30 quick years, had already killed countless thousands of people in Southern Africa, including thousands of murdered and massacred children.

The working class, particularly the Black workers, have discovered their power. The youth, women, the masses in Bantustans, the entire oppressed and democratic forces have reached a striking level of mobilisation.

### *South Africa of Tomorrow*

Around the ANC, the South Africa of tomorrow is crystallising out; the South African nation of the approaching future is being forged in struggle—it is non-racial; it is committed to total liberation, is therefore opposed to oppression, exploitation and racism; it is anti-imperialist; it is committed to democracy; peace and friendship among peoples; a South African nation, comprising peoples whose origins are traceable to many continents, like the Mozambican nation, which was born in struggle.

This year, 1982, we are determined to achieve a much higher level of unity through action and unity in Action.

The fact that the ANC has battled for liberation for 70 years points sharply to the indisputable fact that the colonialists and racists in South Africa have long overstayed their time. The ANC and its allies, the masses of the people in South Africa, have it as a duty of the utmost urgency to

greatly intensify the struggle and advance towards victory.

In doing so we shall be alive to the fact that imperialist powers are in active alliance with the Pretoria regime. We know, too, that the defenders of colonialism, racism, and the enslavement of people, there are black slaves in the pay of the master—traitors to the cause of human dignity, independence and freedom.

### *Black Traitors Shall Be Crushed*

The Matola raiders included black traitors who were frequently heard saying, "Ja baas, Ja baas". There is no shortage of traitors.

Bantustan puppets are working feverishly to keep our country balkanised, our people divided and landless. But today some of them are beginning to burn in the furnace of their treachery. In the Ciskei, the Sebe brothers find themselves confronted by the unflinching hostility of the people, as do the Matanzima brothers in the Transkei. The whole bantustan programme is meeting growing and intense resistance from the people.

Mphephu in Venda is replying to the people's resistance strictly according to the instructions that his masters have given him. He is assassinating our people. Others he detains and tortures mercilessly. And now he has falsely charged innocent ministers of religion with an attack on his central police station, an attack he knows very well was carried out by a unit of Umkhonto We Sizwe. Blinded by fear, Mphephu is perhaps no longer able to distinguish between the Bible and the AK47!

Black mercenaries in South Africa are being recruited to serve under the fascist army. These are part of a full set of bandit armies, such as the depraved UNITA mercenary group, who are trained, supplied and directed by the regime to spread terror, insecurity and destabilisation in the independent states of Southern Africa who refuse to be converted into bantustans and Pretoria's puppet regimes.

There is no struggle without traitors; but traitors have never won a struggle. It is the people who win. We shall win. The mercenaries, traitors and puppets will be crushed with their masters.

This is not to say they are harmless. In South Africa the mass arrests, the brutal assassination of Griffiths Mxenge, the cold

blooded murder of Tshivhiwa Moufhe in Venda and Neil Aggett in a police cell in Johannesburg are severe blows against the people's struggle. But the struggle always continues, with increased vigour, as it now will.

Likewise, when P.W. Botha, loosed his paid killers on the people of Seychelles he could have bled that country's independence to death. As it is, everywhere in Southern Africa, the footprints that Botha leaves are footprints of blood. His trademark is the skull-and-crossbones. His favourite diet is death and destruction.

This is the daily experience of Namibia; and Angola is in a permanent state of war. But the Botha regime is not acting in isolation. Its criminal role in Africa is an expression of the determination of international imperialism, led by the United States, to defeat the forces of progress and impose its will on the people. In pursuit of these goals, the Reagan administration has entered into strategic alliances with the most reactionary regimes in the world. These include the apartheid regime in South Africa, the Zionist regime of Israel and the genocidal junta in El Salvador.

United by their absolute contempt for human life and driven by the desire to ensure imperialist domination everywhere, these forces of reaction exclude no means or methods in the pursuit of their goals. Above all, brute force constitutes the centre-piece of their strategy. That is why today the Reagan government is busy reducing expenditures on social security while vastly increasing its military budget and sabotaging the disarmament talks with the Soviet Union.

The People's Republic of Angola suffers as she does today because of this policy. She suffers through the occupation of parts of her territory by the apartheid allies of the Reagan administration and through repeated invasions which have inflicted a heavy toll measured in terms of thousands of men, women and children killed, maimed and displaced from their homes. We take this opportunity once more to pledge our complete solidarity with the embattled people of Angola, with the MPLA-Workers Party, the government and the armed forces of that revolutionary country, convinced that together we will defeat the common enemy.



*Comrade Dadoo speaking on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Matola Massacre. On his right Major-General Antonio Hama Thai, member of the Central Committee of FRELIMO.*



*Observing a minute of silence in honour of our fallen martyrs, January 30, 1982 — Maputo*

### *Botha-Reagan Alliance*

This same enemy, specifically the Reagan administration and its ally, the Botha regime, are intent on postponing the independence of Namibia for as long as possible. They are doing this to gain time so that they can prepare their puppets to take power in a nominally independent Namibia. They pursue the strategic objective of destroying SWAPO so that they can impose a neo-colonialist regime on the Namibian people. These heroic people, under the tested leadership of SWAPO and supported by the entire progressive mankind, will surely defeat these schemes in the same way that the people of Zimbabwe defeated the enemy's attempts to make that country a neo-colonial dependency of racist South Africa and the rest of her imperialist allies.

Imperialism is hitting out against the people everywhere. It considers certain parts of the world as areas of strategic importance to its global strategy. These include such areas as Southern Africa, Central America, the Middle East and Europe. All these regions of the globe are today areas of international tension because imperialism, and especially the United States, has decided that in these regions, it will resist all progress, encourage the most backward political forces, assume direct command of the counter-revolutionary offensive and use all possible means to achieve its objective.

### *Anti-Imperialist Unity*

This situation demands that the world forces of progress must enhance their unity, their vigilance, their mutual solidarity and their offensive against imperialist reaction. There is urgent need for all of us to act in solidarity with the PLO and the Palestinian people, with the POLISARIO Front and the people of Sahara; with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front and the people of El Salvador, the people of East Timor and their organisation, Fretilin; with SWAPO and the Namibian people, with the ANC and the South African people; with the front line states of Southern Africa.

On the issue of Southern Africa, as on many others, we shall continue to count on the support of the OAU, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Socialist countries, the Nordic people and governments, and the democratic peoples and governments of the rest of the western world. Together we must

stand firm in defence of genuine independence, democracy, social progress and peace.

All of us gathered here today value human life as a sacred thing. If we did not, would we be prepared to die as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us the right to live? All of us gathered here today value peace among the peoples as a noble goal. If we did not, would we be prepared to go to war as we are prepared to, for the destruction of those who deny us peace? Could we ever be free if we were not prepared to forego the life of a slave and an oppressor's peace in order to attain freedom for the people?

That commitment to freedom, to life and to peace demands that we defeat Botha and his fellow racists. It demands that we sweep the Bothas and Reagans off the face of our continent and restore power into the hands of the people of South Africa as we have done here in Mozambique.

This means that we must struggle. It means that we must fight. It means also that those with the heart of a chicken should stand aside and not block the way of those who want to go forward. It means that each Matola atrocity that the enemy inflicts upon us must serve as yet another bond that strengthens our comradeship, an added incentive spurring us on to destroy the murderers and save our future.

That is the message you Comrade President, and the Mozambican people sent to Pretoria and the rest of the world this day a year ago. You said then that the Mozambican and the South African people are one people, 35 million strong. You said we would surely defeat the apartheid regime.

That was a powerful message affirming the unity of peoples and the certainty of victory in the struggle against the people's enemy.

You, Mozambican people, made that commitment because you knew that Mozambique could only be truly free when South Africa is free. So long as there is no just peace in South Africa, founded on the freedom of all her people, Mozambique herself will never know peace. You knew that the bargain the racist regime was offering you was that you buy a false peace by surrendering your independence. You flung their imperialist bargain in their fascist faces and stood firm in the cause of freedom

and lasting peace. You refused to bow down to the enemy's threat or succumb to any bribes he might offer; you would not meet an attacking enemy with kisses but with every weapon you had.

Your message was a call for the extension of the frontiers of liberty from independent Africa, through Namibia, to Cape Agulhus at the southern tip of the continent.

We shall surely defeat the apartheid regime we shall reach Agulhus, marching arm-in-arm. But that will come through bitter struggle and maximum sacrifice by the people of South Africa.

### *Day of Friendship*

Therefore, on this first anniversary of what in future we shall together perhaps observe as the Day of Friendship between the Peoples of Mozambique and South Africa, and in this year, the 70th anniversary of the foundation of the African National Congress, we want to repeat the call that we made to the people of South Africa as the year begun.

To the people of South Africa we say: unite in action and act in unity. Do not allow the enemy to drive wedges among your ranks. Let us all unite to strengthen the spirit of comradeship among ourselves. We demonstrated that spirit when our heroic youth was killed at Matola. We demonstrated it in massive actions last year. We demonstrated it again only a few days ago when we joined in action to denounce the assassination of Neil Aggett.

To strengthen that spirit of comradeship, we must isolate those whom the enemy is using to divide us. In action, in united struggle, we must declare war on the Bantustan programme, the community councils, the management committees, and every manifestation of the apartheid separate development scheme.

The workers, who are the leading social force in our struggle for national liberation, must develop their potential strength to the full. As workers we have the power, through strike action, to deliver crippling blows at the enemy. But to achieve that we must be organised, united and conscious of our potential and our role as our own liberators.

Other sections of the population, both black and white, must themselves organise,

unite in struggle and, without wavering, mount the pressure on the enemy.

Umkhonto We Sizwe is faced with the task of strengthening its presence within the country and of striking harder and multiple blows at the enemy. The assassination of the thousands of Neil Aggett's, Mofhe's, Mxenge's and Gqabi's must not go unpunished.

We must encircle the enemy in an iron ring of revolutionary struggle and hit him from all sides, striking at him with everything we have.

Our pledge to avenge those the enemy has murdered means that we must intensify the struggle. It means we must ensure the certainty of our victory by using our collective power to crush the enemy. Victory is within our grasp: Let us go forward and take it!

I wish to conclude by addressing to the Mozambican people an extract taken from President Samora Machel's address to them on the 14 February 1981.

"The Mozambican revolution is the patrimony of mankind and the liberation of people.

This is the responsibility we have always borne with courage and pride. This is the responsibility we have constantly honoured, dignified and enriched.

At home, in the suburbs, in his place of work, at all moments in our life, in all corners of our country, each Mozambican defends the highest values of our country.

He defends the history of our country, the memory of our heroes, the sacrifices made, our people's freedom, the right to well-being and happiness, our country's sovereignty, national independence, socialism, internationalism".

Long Live the Indissoluble Bonds of Friendship between FRELIMO and the ANC!

Long Live the comradeship of the people of Mozambique and South Africa.

Amandla Ngawethu!

Maatla ke a rona!

A luta continua!

Venceremos!

## TWIN OUTPOSTS OF IMPERIALISM

"... as long as Israel exists we have hope. If Israel should, God forbid, be destroyed then South Africa would be in danger of extinction."

General Van den Bergh: Yediot Aharonot  
16.8.1973

"I cannot stress sufficiently how we in Israel cherish relations with South Africa, which has been consistent in her friendship towards us ... South Africa must be seen as having special values for the free world ... It would be a disaster if South Africa were lost as a constructive and active member of the free community of nations."

Itzhak Unna, Israel Ambassador to South Africa: To the Point 27.7.1979

Recognition of their interdependence forms the basis of relations between Israel and racist South Africa, and between Zionism and apartheid. Created as the twin outposts of imperialism -- one guarding the eastern Mediterranean and the northern entry into Africa, and the other the economic and strategic interests of the imperialist powers in southern Africa, the Indian Ocean and the South Atlantic -- they act as the economic and military agents of their masters in their respective regions. They cooperate not only with imperialism but also with each other: strengthening racism, cooperating in their aggressive manoeuvres against their neighbours, and providing mutual military and financial support to ensure the survival of their regimes.

### Economic Collaboration

The economic co-operation between apartheid South Africa and Israel is mutually beneficial. Israel provides a channel for exports into African and Non-aligned countries which operate a trade embargo on South African goods, and allows South African goods to enter the EEC under Israel's free trade agreement. In return Israel benefits from the financial and other aid provided by South Africa.

Since 1976, co-operation at state level has been through a Joint Ministerial Committee, established during the visit of the then Prime Minister Vorster to Israel. The Committee was set up to discuss and implement the growing development of trade; scientific and technical cooperation; and the "joint utilisation of South Africa's raw materials and Israeli manpower". Co-operation is further extended through regular visits by officials and ministers between the two countries.

At the end of 1980, during the visit of the Finance Minister Horwood to Israel an agreement was concluded providing for an aid package worth \$250m to Israel. It covers the extension of credits, permission for the further export of capital market.

South African Zionists have been sending larger per capita donations to Israel than any other group, not excluding the United States. There are regular fund raising drives in South Africa in which prominent Israeli political, military and commercial leaders participate. Despite its own foreign

exchange shortages, the regime has permitted the regular transfer of these funds.

South African companies including parastatal organisations such as ISCOR are involved in joint ventures with Israeli concerns, often in industries which then export strategic goods to South Africa.

South African Israeli trade has risen dramatically. The Financial Mail quoted the Israel-South Africa Chamber of Commerce Chairman as saying in September 1979: "Until a few years ago we used to trade in figures of \$15 to \$20 million, a fraction of each country's \$10 to \$12 billion trade with the world. But we are now dealing in hundreds of millions of dollars." The same journal has estimated that by the end of last year South African sales to Israel should top one billion dollars.

Dramatic as these figures are they do not in themselves reveal the strategic importance of the trade nor its full extent. It is not insignificant that within one year of the 1967 war exports and imports increased by over 40%. Similarly immediately after the 1973 war, trade shot up with Israel exports rising from \$9m to \$12m and South Africa's exports from \$11.6m to \$32m.

The trade figures do not include the very large purchase of South African diamonds by Israel. Nor do they cover the very flourishing arms trade between the two countries.

Israel obtains strategic goods and minerals from South Africa including chrome, platinum, titanium and uranium, and there is growing collaboration in various fields of energy. Joint research projects have been set up, and there is a regular exchange of information and of technology, including research into solar energy.

Anxious to reduce its dependence on oil Israel has been expanding its use of coal, and has found a ready source in South Africa. In January 1979 an agreement with the Transvaal Coal Owners Association provided for the import of 750,000 to 1,000,000 tons of coal annually for the Israeli Electric Corporation. By 1983, Israel hopes to import up to 3 million tons of coal from South Africa.

Agreement has been reached in principle to supply the needs of the Hadera power station, still under construction. Israel has requested additional credits for this

purpose, and these have not yet been finalised. It has been agreed that should it become necessary, the coal convoys from South Africa are to be escorted to their destination by South African and Israeli naval forces.

### Military Collaboration

Military cooperation between Israel and South Africa, like their economic links, is comprehensive. There are exchanges of personnel, information and technology at all levels. Israelis have served alongside apartheid forces, and South Africans have fought in Israel's wars of aggression. In addition, South Africa has provided strategic minerals to Israel, helped finance Israel's arms and weapons production and has received a variety of weapons from and via Israel.

The extent of South African support for Israel's wars of aggression was recently revealed by Brig. Penn, a retired South African officer. According to him, more than 1000 racist South Africans had served in the 1948 war that dispossessed the Palestinians. In the military affairs magazine *Armed Forces* he says:

"Although their numbers exceeded those from America or Britain, the importance of their contribution was essentially in the military expertise which they brought over as most of the volunteers were experienced ex-army types.

"They supplied the core of medical assistance, of special developments such as artillery, and the Israeli Air Force owes its birth to a 'Vrystater' from Bothaville — a former Western Desert Squadron leader named Sid Cohen who founded the IAF with some old German made ME-109 fighters, which were later replaced by Spitfires.

"Moreover ... the South African government did not obstruct the volunteers. To the contrary, I know from my own experience that they tried to help us by providing all the frugs and dressings asked for, even though most of it was not made here at the time ...."

Brig. Penn confirms earlier reports that South African Mirages were used in the 1967 war of aggression:

"General Dayan indicated to me that

100 Mirages ordered from France and paid for were not sent to Israel .... South Africa also had Mirages and spare parts, and Dayan wondered whether he could get spares from South Africa.

"I told him I felt confident he would get cooperation but it would be advisable for Mr. Tekoah at the United Nations not to bark against South Africa louder than the rest of the pack, and that his own advice on Russian equipment might be useful to the South African army. I need hardly tell you that both sides kept to this bargain."

In addition to the provision of Mirages and spares, racist South Africans served with the Israeli forces. Doctors flew to the country and blood was loaned by the South African blood transfusion service. In the all-white parliament, the government and opposition alike expressed their support and concern for Israel. Controls on the transfer of money were relaxed and all individual donations were freely transferred. The South African Zionist Federation launched a fund which collected over two and a half million rands. In all over 21 million rands were transferred to Israel.

During the 1973 war, P.W. Botha was the racist Minister of Defence, and promised that South Africa would find ways of helping Israel "within our means and without declaring war ... There is a deep feeling on the part of thousands of South Africans for Israel, in her battle against the forces supported by communistic militarism which also poses a threat to us."

Ninety-one doctors again flew to Israel, 1500 South Africans served in the Israeli forces and 800 were among the troops that crossed the Suez Canal. At least one South African mirage was shot down, and there were reports of a number of other South African planes being flown in the war. The regulations on exchange control were again raised and over \$30 million was remitted to Israel. After the war, thousands of South Africans went to Israel and worked on Kibbutz replacing Israelis who remained in the army of occupation.

A Canadian investigation in November last year revealed that South Africa shipped 200 tanks to Israel by air to replace those Israel lost. This followed a promise by the

United States that it would help Israel replace these tanks after the war.

In its turn Israel has become the source of weapons and military technology for the apartheid regime. Pretoria's entire armoured corps of Centurion tanks and Panhard armoured cars has been equipped with an Israeli developed armoured plate able to resist anti-tank weapons. Gun boats and fighter jets have been supplied, as well as 105mm self propelled howitzers anti-tank missiles for infantry use, and air to air missiles. The Reshef class warships have been fitted with an advanced model of the Gabriel surface to surface missile 76mm guns, anti-submarine torpedoes, submarine detection systems and electronic equipment for leading attacking missiles astray. The crews were trained at Israeli naval bases.

Racist South Africa has financed the new generation of Israeli ships and racist South African engineers and technicians were trained at the Haifa shipyards. Israeli technology has been used to fortify South African helicopter squadrons with electronic equipment including night visibility and Israeli engineers have aided in developing an electronic surveillance system along South African borders.

Israeli techniques of "counter insurgency" and pre-emptive strikes, and evacuation and treatment of front line casualties are among those used by the SADF. Israeli-South African military exchanges include visits and talks involving Yigal Allon, Moshe Dayan, the Chief of Staff of the Israeli Air Force Gen. Mordechai Hod the Commander of the Womens Corp Col. Otella Levy, Brig. Dan Lanar, Gen. Haim Bar Lev, Lieut. Col. Smeulik Moyal, Maj. Gen. Alaron Yariv, Lt. Gen. Mordechai Gur and General Chaim Herzog. Israel's Defence Minister Ezer Weizmann made a secret visit to South Africa in March 1980, on the personal instruction of Prime Minister Begin "to discuss security matters".

There have been many reports of Israeli participation in South Africa's acts of aggression in southern Africa. In June 1980 the Daily Telegraph (UK) reported on the presence of "volunteers" from Britain, Israel and Chile in Namibia. Further confirmation was provided when in December 1981 the Israeli Defence Minister again visited South Africa. He openly visited apartheid forces illegally occupying



Namibia and those engaged in providing support for the aggressive units in Angola. Thus confirming Israeli involvement in the wars of aggression in southern Africa.

Israel has also been the channel for the supply of other weapons to South Africa in breach of the UN mandatory embargo. Last year the Israeli Minister for Economic Coordination Yaakov Meridor publicly offered his country as the "proxy" to those wishing to break the embargo. The US, Canada and FRG are among those known to have used this route to supply South Africa.

US nuclear technology has also reached South Africa directly and via Israel.

Israel has supplied technology to South Africa, including information on its laser enrichment process, in exchange for uranium. Scientists of both countries have worked on the development of warheads and of the delivery system. The weapon South Africa did not test in 1977 as well as the one that was detonated in 1979 are generally considered to have been produced with Israeli assistance. Journalists who reported on the Israeli connection had their permission to work in Israel withdrawn.

Recent on going military and nuclear collaboration include South African assistance in the construction of the Israeli military airfield in the Negev, a joint project for building US designed Scorpion helicopters partly to be built in South Africa and then exported to Israel for assembly; and the supply and production in South Africa of military communication equipment by an Israeli company that is partly owned by the Israel Defence Ministry. Israel and South Africa are now engaged in building a nuclear submarine. Preliminary work on the submarine pen has begun at Simonstown -- the South African naval base that is twinned with an Israeli town.

South African and Israeli cooperation and interdependence are growing. Each has committed aggression and stands in breach of the peace, yet remains protected against international action by the manoeuvres of the imperialist powers. As they mutually link their survival of their heinous regimes, they more than double the threat to the peace of our globe. Armed as they are with nuclear weapons, they threaten the survival of us all.

The struggle of the people of Sahara, the Middle East and indeed the whole world is threatened by this Israeli-South African connection. The Camp David Accord, the Reagan policies in the Middle East the imperialist offensive against Libya, Algeria and Polisario are interlinked with this Israeli-South African conspiracy. Let us expose this conspiracy against the non-aligned movement and the peoples of Asia, Africa and South African people in particular.



# SUN CITY-PALACE BUILT ON POVERTY

"I wish it to be recorded that the Government of Boputhatswana ... is more solidly and loyally committed to the principle of free enterprise and private ownership than ever before". The "President" of Bophuthatswana, one of South Africa's "independent" bantustans, makes a habit of reassuring those who invest in the six disconnected pieces of land which add up to what some irreverently call Bophutha-etc.

Lucas Mangope won the status of head of a so-called national state in December 1977. Over the past three years, those people living in this impoverished and overcrowded bantustan have witnessed the unfolding of the independence farce, have seen exactly who benefits from Apartheid's version of black nationhood. In fact, one of the crudest manifestations of apartheid policy resides in Bophuthatswana. We refer to Sun City — the largest entertainment, sports and casino complex in Southern Africa.

Sun City was built at a cost of 85 million rand; attracts up to 15,000 South African visitors in an average weekend. A two hour car journey, and white Johannesburg residents can reach Sun City. For overseas visitors, a direct transfer to a local flight from Jan Smuts airport relieves them of the anxiety they have visited so-called "white South Africa". Apparently Sun City needs to be seen to be believed. A British journalist described the journey there as follows:

"There are no barriers, no immigration officials, no customs posts as you leave South Africa and enter Bophuthatswana... The tin shacks, barren veldt and stray

cattle ... give way to the futuristic, bustling complex that is Sun City. A concrete and glass skyscraper extends across an outcrop of the Pilansberg hills, overlooking an 18-hole championship golf course, an olympic-size swimming pool and an artificial lake where the water-skiers dodge the wind surfers. Inside a copper-clad cocktail bar and disco hangs suspended over the gaudy ranks of one armed bandits frenetically a-clatter with coins 24 hours a day. A host of restaurants offering cuisine from haute to hamburgers are littered among bowling alleys, shooting galleries, computerised space games, sauna baths and massage parlours. Mirrored corridors lead you to ... a cavernous casino offering blackjack, roulette, craps and chemin-de-fer and an auditorium where a topless 'extravaganza' show is interspersed with round the clock 'adult' films."

The addition of a 30 million rand, 7,000 seat 'Superbowl' has made Sun City an even more attractive lair for trapping international stars in order to lead the way in breaking the cultural isolation of apartheid South Africa. Another attraction is the 140,000 hectares of bantustan land which have been enclosed to form a game reserve (from which villagers who had lived there since 1500 were removed to tin shacks) for the enjoyment of Sun City visitors. Indeed, Lucas Mangope professes a warm humanity for some of God's creatures, unfortunately only those of the animal kingdom. At the opening of the Reserve, his speech must have brought tears to the eyes of wild life enthusiasts when he said: "Wild animals will, for a change, live freely without man's interference as they used to

enjoy the amenities of life before man came to this land”.

### Vast Profits

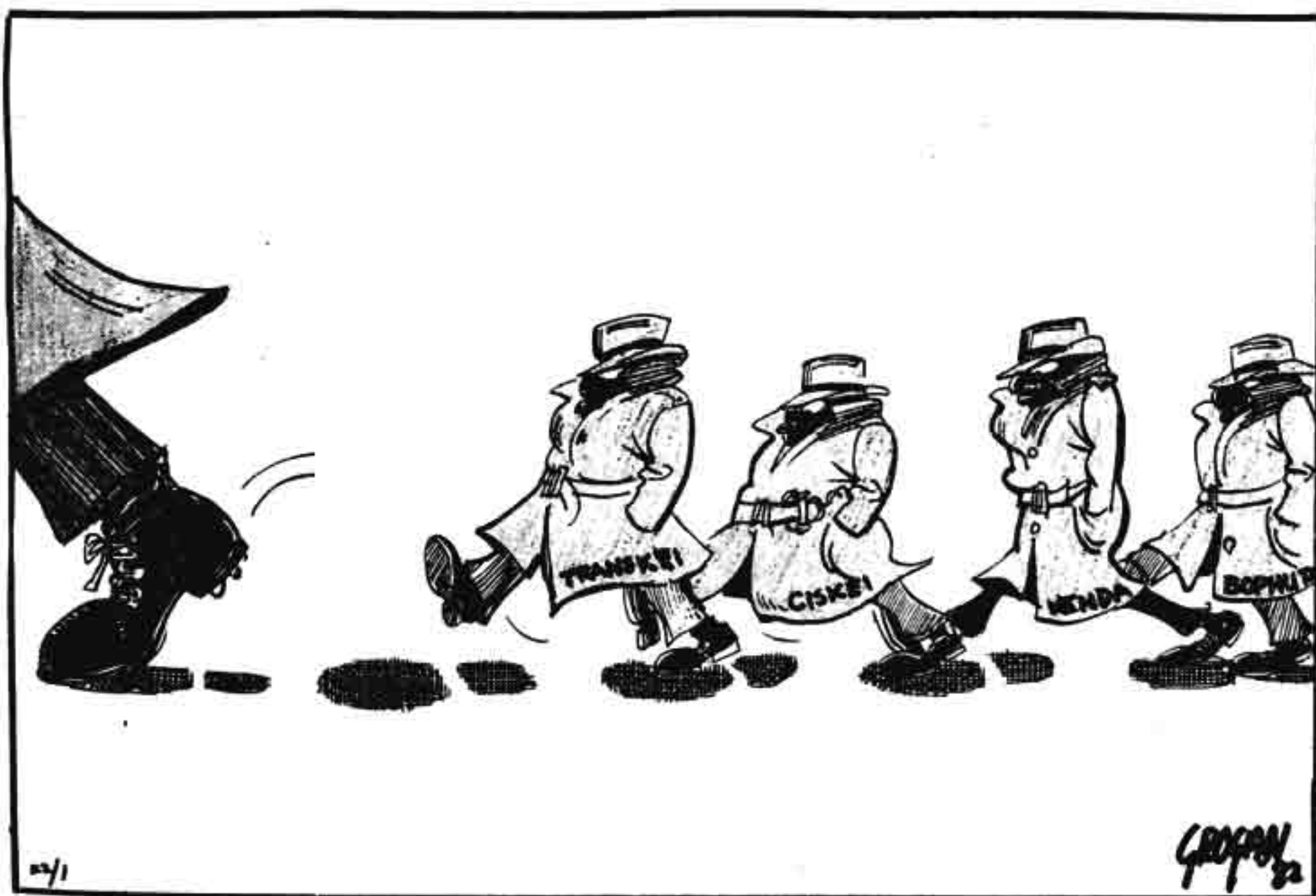
Sun City is jointly owned by the Bophuthatswana National Development Corporation and the Southern Sun Hotel Chain. Southern Sun, a subsidiary of South African Breweries (which financed the British cricket tour of South Africa in March this year) is the largest hotel chain in Southern Africa. The Sun City complex is presided over by millionaire, white businessman Sol Kerzner, who founded the Southern Sun Hotel Chain in 1969. During 1980, Sun City made a profit of £5 million and expects to earn 100 million rand profit in foreign exchange annually by 1983. In fact Southern Sun is one of South Africa's fastest growing companies, and during the last five years, the annual average compound growth rate in earnings per each of its has been 51%.

One of Sun City's "specialities" which is not advertised in its brochures is the opportunity it provides for white South African males to enjoy "sex across the

colour line" at the expense of African women. An investigation by a South African research unit into "the effects of Sun City on the immediate social environment" was completed in 1980 but its findings never officially released. However, these were leaked to the press and revealed that Sun City had contributed to an increase in crime, the break up of family life, truancy the abuse of alcohol, loss of earnings through gambling and above all an increase in prostitution and venereal disease.

Mangope, it seems, relies on different evidence for his assessment, and stated that "I am not the guardian of people's morals, but I would not allow anything which was overtly corrupting. Corruption of people's morals was not the intention in establishing Sun City and I do not in fact believe that it is corrupting."

The vast profits made by Southern Sun and the share of these used to feather the nests of the bantustan's puppet bureaucrats are not in fact the sole raison d'etre of Sun City. Important too, is its political role in spreading the lie of Bophuthatswana independence and in



attracting overseas performers and delegates to conferences.

On December 6, 1981, Sun City celebrated its second anniversary. A huge iced cake in the shape of a pink elephant was erected in the foyer and 15,000 fans flocked into the Superbowl to see US disco stars Village People. Many stars have been wooed to Sun City, mostly from the USA. During 1981 they included Jack Jones, Peaches and Herb, Paul Andrews, Helen Reddy, Aaron Williams, Bob Anderson, Cher, the Osmonds, Glen Campbell, Diane Solomon and Sha Na Na. Others have come from Britain including Shirley Bassey and Cliff Richard. Sun City's greatest success in this field last year was the visit by Frank Sinatra who gave 9 concerts and who prompted Sol Kerzner to exclaim "it has opened every door to the world's leading stars for us".

### Hypocrisy and Racism

But Sun City's aim of convincing the world that South Africa is building dazzling centres of multi-racialism and affluence can never meet with success. Even within the complex itself Apartheid rears its head. As a reporter from the Sowetan newspaper explained: "Beneath the glitter and glamour lies hypocrisy and racism. It is a fact that blacks are treated like dirt at Sun City by security guards who behave like the gestapo ... whites are treated like human beings and blacks like pariahs. The whole thing stinks.."

Venture 5km from Sun City and you come face to face with the grim reality of life in Bophuthatswana. Walk through townships and you will see people who have lived in tin shacks for ten years. While gaming proceeds in the casino at Sun City, women in the rural settlements will be getting up at 3am to queue for water. In Mabopane and Garankuwa water is priced at 5 to 8 times the cost charged to white householders in Pretoria. In Winterfeld squatter camp, where more than 750,000 people struggle to survive there is no water-borne sewerage system, no water pipes, no water supply except for private boreholes (infected by pit latrines), no recreation sites, no clinics or hospital. There is however a police station.

Sun City boasts that it provides employment for bantustan residents — it does

employ 3,000 people (85% of them black) who earn from R95 a month (about £46). This is a drop in the ocean of unemployment in the bantustan. More than 155,000 people cross Bophuthatswana's borders each day to work in "white South Africa". No amount of racist propaganda can hide the fact that Bophuthatswana is an impoverished and hugely overcrowded dumping ground. During the decade 1970 to 1980 its population increased more than 3 fold from 634,000 to nearly 1,300,000 as a result of the Apartheid State's Nazi-type removal schemes.

But the South African racists are smug about Sun City — about their success in conning the outside world about this "paradise" in an "independent" bantustan. More work undoubtedly needs to be done in exposing the truth about Sun City and in halting the process of recognition of Bophuthatswana as an independent entity through the breaking of the cultural boycott, the acceptance of Bophuthatswana passports and stamps abroad, the welcoming of Bophuthatswana passport carrying students in Britain etc. This task needs to be tackled by the international solidarity movement.

Mangope and his cronies must be stopped in their tracks. None of the so-called independent bantustans have been recognised by the outside world. We must ensure that even backdoor recognition through such abominations as Sun City never succeeds.



# WHITE FRONT SHATTERS

The split in the ranks of the ruling Nationalist Party in South Africa which took place at the end of February was brought about by the statement in an official Party propaganda sheet of what most of us would describe as an axiom — that South Africa could have only one government. Disregarding the so-called “independent” Bantustans, has not South Africa since Union in 1910 always had one government? When the Freedom Charter has been put into practice after victory in our liberation struggle, will not South Africa still have one government?

But for the verkrampte Nationalists led by Dr Andries Treurnicht, Minister of State Administration and Statistics and Transvaal leader of the Nationalist Party, the statement was an outrage.

“The issue touches on one of the most sensitive nerves in our politics”, he said. “Such a statement (that there could be only one government) will have to be very well qualified”.

Raising the matter in Parliament, Treurnicht objected that one government in an area to be shared by white, Coloured and Indian people implied a multi-racial cabinet and this or any other form of power-sharing was unacceptable. He asked Premier Botha for clarification.

It took quite a struggle to get an answer out of Botha. He admitted straight away that he agreed with the statement that there could be only one government, but a lot more prodding was required before he conceded that this also meant there could be Coloureds and Indians in the Cabinet as well as whites.

It is worth noting that throughout the crisis in which the Nationalist Party was then plunged, nobody suggested that Africans, too, might be admitted into the “one government” under discussion. All sections of the Nationalist Party are agreed that the African majority of the South

African population are to be forced to accept the Bantustan system and deprived of their South African citizenship.

At the time of writing, Treurnicht and Botha were arguing about a hypothetical situation, because no plan for “power-sharing” or forming “one government” had yet been drawn up. However, it was expected that during the Parliamentary session the State President’s Council — that advisory body of 60 members plus the State Vice-President appointed in 1980 to advise the President on “any matter referred to it” — would present its first report and that this would recommend some form of power-sharing. (There are a handful of Coloureds and Asians on the State President’s Council but no Africans.)

In the absence of any recommendations from the State President’s Council, the only plan before the Nationalist Party was the three parliaments scheme adopted in 1977, under which there would be separate parliaments for whites, Coloureds and Indians, with a multi-racial Joint Council of Cabinets on which the whites would have a built-in majority. Treurnicht argued that it was never agreed that this Council of Cabinets would have executive powers but would serve only as an advisory body, with sovereign power remaining in the hands of the white Cabinet. Botha replied that the 1977 proposals provided for “one executive president and a joint council of Cabinets chaired by the State President. From this it naturally follows that the Treasury and financial control should eventually be vested in a central power”.

Botha rejected Treurnicht’s argument that he had swallowed the policy of the opposition Progressive Federal Party. “They are aiming for a unitary state and we are not. But in our view the term deliberation/consultation and co-responsibility is indeed a healthy form of power-sharing, without violating the principle of self-determination. Therefore we prefer the term



"It remains our policy that water will flow uphill."

co-responsibility".

Which is another way of saying he doesn't really envisage any form of real power-sharing, but the retention of white domination. And the Progressive Federal Party's most loud-mouthed front-bencher Harry Schwarz quickly joined in the debate to make it clear that the PFP also favoured a federal system and wanted nothing to do with one man one vote in a unitary South Africa.

Power-sharing, consultation and co-responsibility, consociationalism — words like these are thrown about by politicians and academics in a bid to escape from the inexorable logic of equal rights for all on the basis of one man one vote in a unitary South Africa as outlined in the Freedom Charter.

Does this mean, then, that the split in the Nationalist Party is of no concern to us in the liberation movement? By no means. For one thing, the *verkrampste* challenge has been forced out into the open and has suffered a crushing defeat — 100 to 22 in the Nationalist Party caucus (and six of the 22 have since crawled back into the Botha laager) and 172 to 36 at the head committee meeting of the Transvaal

Nationalist Party. Even if Treurnicht links up with the HNP, Connie Mulder's National Conservative Party and other groups to the right of the Nationalist Party, the *verkrampstes* will still be very much in the minority.

Well, some may argue, Dr Malan was very much in the minority when he broke from Hertzog over fusion with Smuts in the formation of the United Party in 1934, and yet he managed to rally *Afrikanerdom* to bring his Nationalist Party to power in 1948. Are we to see the same thing happen again?

Dr Willem Kleynhans, the Pretoria political scientist, commenting on the absence of public fervour for Treurnicht when he arrived in Pretoria for the Transvaal head committee meeting, asked: "Where, just tell me where, are the foot soldiers to build a new party? Where is the emotion of the past?"

And the political editor of the *Rand Daily Mail* added: "The answer, it seems, is that the *Afrikaner* has changed fundamentally. The cultural and ideological battles, the fight for language and Republic, are over. Most of the workers and farmers have become a middle class, feeling more

secure and determined to protect new values ... The battle for power in Afrikaner nationalism can no longer be fought on symbols of the past, it seems. It has become a class struggle — and the extreme right wing had better believe it”.

The present division in the Nationalist Party is likely to split all Afrikaner institutions down the middle, with the main power levers in the hands of the verligtes. When Malan broke away, he had the Afrikaans press behind him. Today, the entire Afrikaans press and the English-language Citizen all back, not necessarily Botha as an individual, but the policy of verligtheid with which he is associated. The Afrikaner bourgeoisie — a sizeable force today compared with the 1930s — not only calls for the relaxation of apartheid but also has extensive links with local non-Afrikaans and foreign capital.

The “Star” has openly called for a new fusion of Afrikaners and non-Afrikaners to push through the reforms which in its view are essential to avert revolution. The new leader of the Transvaal Nationalist Party, Fr F.W. de Klerk, who is Minister of Mines and Energy Affairs and has been hailed as the man who swung the Transvaal head committee vote behind Premier Botha, appealed in a speech in the House of Assembly on March 1st for Opposition MPs to join the government and help forge the unity necessary to repel the “total onslaught”.

In the Transvaal municipal elections later in March the right wing Nationalists gained ground. Former Information Minister Dr Connie Mulder won his seat in Randfontein and some HNP candidates gained representation for their party for the first time since the Party was formed under the leadership of Dr Albert Hertzog in 1969. To balance the swing to the right, however, the Progressive Federal Party also gained ground, winning Sandton and Randburg and coming within an ace of winning outright control of Johannesburg. The position of Premier Botha, however, remains strong. He still has 117 out of the 177 members of Parliament, though some defections may still take place as the lines of division become clearer.

But above all, Botha has control of the National Security Council — the body he has set up to coordinate his “total strategy”

in reply to the alleged “total onslaught” of the country’s enemies. The chairman of the NSC is P.W. Botha himself and its other members are Cabinet Ministers S.P. Botha, Minister of Manpower Utilisation; General Malan, Minister of Defence; “Pik” Botha, Foreign Minister; L. le Grange, Minister of Law and Order, and H.J. Coetsee, Minister of Justice. Also on the NSC are the head of the National Intelligence Service, Dr Neil Barnard; the Chief of the Defence Force, General Constand Viljoen; the Director-General of Justice, J.P.J. Coetzer, and the Commissioner of Police, General Mike Geldenhuys. Also formerly a member of the NSC was the Director-General of Foreign Affairs, Brand Fourie, since appointed Ambassador to the United States. All the members of the NSC are verligtes to a man. If Botha should be faced with a crisis which made it necessary to bypass Parliament, these men on the NSC would be in a position to operate the machinery of government. It has been suggested Botha deliberately set up the NSC as a safeguard to ensure he was able to implement his “adapt or die” reforms at home and his Namibian independence plan as requested by his western allies in return for their continued cooperation.

We need waste no time debating whether the verligtes or verkrampes are going to come out on top or whether Botha’s “reforms” are acceptable to us. So long as the apartheid laws remain on the statute book, so long as pass raids and arrests, mass removals, detentions without trial, torture and murder of political detainees and all the horrors of life under apartheid continue, our struggle for national liberation and democracy will continue unabated. We shall not lay down our arms until final victory is won.

But what we must do is recognise that change is taking place in South Africa, in a hundred ways, on all fronts, from politics to sport, in industry, in the shops and homes, everywhere. The mountain is moving, and it is we who, through our struggle, are moving it. The split in the Nationalist Party is not unimportant. It is our struggle which has brought it about. The main bastion of the white front has been shattered by the people’s resistance, the strikes of the workers in the factories,

the heavy blows of our MK cadres, the increasing pressure of the international boycott. The verligtes and the verkramptes, are quarrelling about how to cope with our revolution. Time was when the white majority said simply "skiet hulle dood". Now the "skiet skiet" school is, even if temporarily, in the minority amongst the whites, most of whom would clearly rather adapt than die. It is we who have brought about the shift in the balance of power — our heroes in Umkhonto we Sizwe who

have given their lives or are still suffering in prison cells, our militants in the ANC and SACTU and the Communist Party. The sacrifice and the blood and pain have not been for nothing.

The mountain is moving. Right, it has not moved enough. Then let us intensify our struggle and move it more, shift it right out of the way, blast it to kingdom come. Let us turn the trickle into a flood, until all the sins of apartheid have been washed away.

## BOOK REVIEW

# CHAPTERS IN ANC HISTORY

*Unity in Action -- A History of the African National Congress 1912-1982, ANC, London 1982.*

This well-illustrated booklet, put together for the 70th anniversary of the African National Congress, is a loving description of some chapters in that history. It does not claim to be exhaustive or comprehensive, but consists in summarized fashion of parts of a book to be published later in 1982. Using as its title what the liberation movement has named 1982, the book honours the historic and steadfast struggle of the ANC to achieve Unity in Action — the unity of the people that is necessary for the realisation of the promise that was born on January 8, 1912 — a free nation.

Here is the story of how the African people lost their land, approached primarily from a political, legal and military point of view. With the crushing of the Bambata Rebellion of 1906, the period of the Wars of Resistance came to an end. Modern forms of struggle had to be learned and waged. The ANC was formed in response to this need. As told here, the economic forces

behind the numerous commissions, laws and political manouevres which developed eventually into full fledged colonialism of a special type — Apartheid — stay largely in the background. However, the strikes and emergence of workers' organisations are a reminder that not only was land robbery occurring, but imperialism was reproducing an offspring on our continent. A working class was being formed, and their struggles, organisations and leaders moved into the front ranks of our national struggle.

The ensuing battles of ideas in the liberation movement, illustrated by the Youth League, Anton Lembede and others is covered in detail. The victory over African exclusivism and anti-communism is hailed as a victory for the line which ushered in a new, militant era of united mass struggle.

It cannot be easy to write a book that will satisfy the thirst for detail of our people, our militants and soldiers, and yet still provide a readable overview for our friends and supporters internationally. If there is to be any criticism of the material chosen for coverage, it must be that the early period receives a great deal of



attention, whilst the history of the last twenty years, allowing for conditions of illegality and the need for secrecy, is very sketchy. The glorious story of the battles of our soldiers of Umkhonto we Sizwe in Zimbabwe, the momentous achievements in the isolation of the regime internationally, not to mention the publicly known facts of our reconstruction, mass support and victories inside the country -- these are some of the things that could have been dealt with in more detail, and some unfortunately are not mentioned at all.

The book ends with a chapter on the formation of MK and with three chapters on policy, dealing with the crucial 1969 Morogoro Conference decisions, the politics of armed struggle and ANC policy in general. These last short chapters -- the whole booklet is only 72 pages -- make this publication particularly useful for the extension of international bonds of understanding and solidarity. We look forward to the expanded version of "Unity in Action".

S.L.

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# GUERRILLA WARFARE IN AFRICA

*The People's Cause: A History of Guerrillas in Africa. By Basil Davidson. Longman, London, 1981.*

The very wide occurrence of guerrilla warfare in the modern era, and in particular the spectacular successes scored by many liberation movements through the use of it, has led to a great deal of writing on the subject. Books on the theory of guerrilla warfare, manuals on the tactics and organisational details of how to conduct it, and accounts of the struggles themselves comprise a veritable library from which new and developing movements can benefit.

Africa, in recent decades and at present, has produced some of the most remarkable examples of the guerrilla form of struggle, an historical phenomenon deriving from the fact that the African continent has been subjected the most thoroughly of all continents to colonial wars of conquest and to tenacious colonial systems of domination. Guerrilla warfare has had to be employed as the most feasible way of resistance and rebellion against very powerful well-armed adversaries.

Basil Davidson, whose many studies of African history and social development are well-known and valued, has sought in this present book to give modern African

guerrilla wars their proper historical setting. He has traced a resort to this type of struggle back at least to the 16th century, to the war of resistance by the people of the Songhay empire, led by Askia Nuh, against conquest by Morocco.

The imperialist seizure and division of Africa in the 19th century, as Dr. Davidson relates, gave rise to numerous episodes of guerrilla resistance: by Chief Nana in the Benin River region; by Sandile, Dingiswayo and Shaka in southern Africa; by Jacob Morenga and the Hereros in South West Africa, by Sayyid Mohammed in Somalia; by Abd al-Krim (in the 1920s) in Morocco. There are many others, touched on by the author.

Most attention, however, is given to the great guerrilla struggles associated with the liberation of Africa, from 1945 onwards. Discussed in some detail are the armed liberation struggles of the Army of National Liberation of Algeria, the Land and Freedom Armies of Kenya, the rebellions led by Gaston Soumialot and Pierre Mulele in the Congo, and finally the triumphant guerrilla campaigns of the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau, the MPLA in Angola and FRELIMO in Mozambique.

If there is one conclusion that can be drawn in regard to all of these guerrilla

struggles it is that the politics of armed struggle was the overriding factor in their outcome. The French saturation tactics of counter-insurgency almost annihilated the FALN within Algeria, but it was the solidity of the mass political base that forced the French to capitulate. In both Kenya and the Congo the guerrilla forces were suppressed largely because their nationalist political cause failed to become prominent and to supplant tribal divisions in one case and primitive superstitions in the other. The guerrilla armies of the PAIGC and FRELIMO came closest to clear-cut military victory, while the politicalisation of the people in Angola assured the success of the MPLA in Angola. In all of the Portuguese colonies, liberation came in the wake of a political revolution in Portugal.

Although Dr. Davidson recognises and emphasises the political factor (guerrilla warfare, he says, "has been above all a political and social enterprise with specific characteristics"), he somehow fails to understand and appreciate the nature and significance of the Ethiopian revolution, and how an Eritrean guerrilla struggle for independence could change under that new

circumstance into a reactionary phenomenon aided by imperialist and pro-imperialist forces. Dr. Davidson even takes the unsavoury course of slandering the Soviet Union, the great ally of African liberation, for aiding the Ethiopian revolution against Eritrean rebellion. The author, it would seem, makes this error because of a tendency to equate guerrilla warfare with genuine national liberation, whereas reactionary forces also make use of guerrilla methods.

In the concluding section of his book, Dr. Davidson appends to his historical survey some examples of guerrilla strategy and tactics -- guerrilla organisation, ambush techniques, conduct of operations, planning, weapons employed -- based chiefly on personal observations during trips in the field with the PAIGC in Guinea-Bissau.

Unfortunately Dr. Davidson gives no more than a passing glance of a couple of paragraphs to the armed struggle in South Africa and does not even mention Umkhonto we Sizwe. Perhaps he will remedy this in future writings on African liberation.

*William Pomeroy*



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