



# SECHABA

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# MMABATHO AND PRETORIA

Mmabatho (meaning mother of the nation) has been having serious problems with its offspring. The 16-hour coup in Bophuthatswana, which took place in February, was just a tip of the iceberg. We shall not deal with icebergs; we shall deal with the tip.

The coup itself is said to have caused damage estimated at about R10 000. This is nothing compared with the R6 million charge of corruption and bribery surrounding the purchase of platinum rights from a chief. This is just one case. There are many more. There is the question of joblessness, declining job and education opportunities, and much more.

The February coup underlined the fact that the creation of the apartheid-style bantustans against the will of the majority of the people is a recipe for violent confrontation. Two things need to be said about this coup. We are told that hundreds and hundreds of ordinary Batswanas, especially in the Bafokeng region, have been harassed, hunted and arrested by the Bophuthatswana Defence Force (BDF). But it is the South African Defence Force (SADF) which actually put down the revolt. The arrests started when armoured units of the SADF, backed by elements from the South African Police Special Task Force, freed Mangope, 'President' of Bophuthatswana, and a number of other hostages, who were held captive in and around the Independence Stadium in Mmabatho. Who was helping whom?

The second point is that the coup was carried out by men in the BDF responsible for guarding key buildings, including the security-proofed part of Mmabatho, which contains the homes of Chief Mangope and some of his cabinet ministers. Entry to the enclave, which includes the parliamentary buildings and high court, is controlled by BDF guards.

The question arises: Did this 'passivity' of the bulk of BDF (2 900 soldiers including all senior officers) within striking range mean that they were 'neutral'? The dominance in upper ranks of White officers, some

of them seconded SADF officers, and the arrest of the members of the opposition People's Progressive Party after the coup, tends to suggest that the coup was more than an anti-Mangope affair. The SADF's violent suppression of the people of Bophuthatswana tends to corroborate this belief. There are broader issues involved, such as freedom of expression in Bophuthatswana, freedom of association, and the right of the people in Bophuthatswana — in fact in the whole of South Africa — to choose those they like to lead them.

While we were asking ourselves these questions, the South African regime committed yet another crime. Having silenced our people for more than two years through the state of emergency, it has now banned COSATU, the UDF and 16 other organisations. The orders imposed do not ban these organisations outright; rather they attempt to transform their function into purely administrative tasks. They cannot campaign; they are not allowed to organise stayaways or boycotts. Unable to quell our people's spirit of rebellion, Pretoria has imposed such drastic measures to emasculate these organisations which represent the democratic aspirations of millions of people.

The African National Congress has always maintained that the Botha regime has nothing to offer but violence and bloodshed. This new development confirms the simple fact that apartheid has declared war on peaceful opposition in South Africa.

The Western governments, which are reluctant to impose sanctions, are equally guilty of condoning these ugly developments. Their silence during the state of emergency has been interpreted as consent to Pretoria's brute force and information clampdown. Contrary to their much-stated claim that 'constructive engagement' — rather than sanctions — would produce results, a greater reign of terror and gagging has taken place.

We call on these governments to act now, before it is too late, by imposing comprehensive, mandatory sanctions.

# OUTRAGE AGAINST THE BANNING OF ORGANISATIONS



The restrictions imposed by the Pretoria regime in February on 18 political, trade union, community, educational, youth, and student organisations evoked indignation and anger within South Africa and among people throughout the world who support the cause of freedom.

## **United Democratic Front**

The United Democratic Front, foremost among the political organisations that had been banned, responded defiantly, with the following statement, on February 24th:

"The United Democratic Front and its affiliates warn the fascist and racist Botha regime that its latest outrageous and unforgiveable actions against the people of South Africa and their democratic organisations can only result in a further escalation of the crisis. We protest the banning and restricting of activities of our open and peaceful organisations.

"The experience of the banning of the African National Congress showed that the desire and determination of our people for freedom and justice burns stronger under repressive conditions. Nothing, we repeat nothing, will stand in the way of the United

Democratic Front as it carries out its historical task and duty of uniting the oppressed and silenced people of our country.

**"Long live the United Democratic Front!"**

## **Congress Of South African Trade Unions**

The Congress of South African Trade Unions made a characteristically militant statement on the same day. Part of it read:

"There cannot be a peaceful resolution of South Africa's crisis without freedom of expression and association, and without credible organisations which can articulate the needs and interests of the majority ...

"It is clear that the government has been encouraged to opt for the path of increased repression through the support it has received from employers and right-wing

governments of Thatcher, Reagan and Kohl, as well as through the vocal fanaticism of the right wing.

"The banning and restricting of our organisations is the action of a panic-stricken government which is unable to deal with the realities facing South Africa today. Conflict in our country is inherent, because the majority of people are denied access to the formal political institutions.

"The state is attempting to restrict COSATU to what they see as legitimate trade union functions. We reject this because there is no democracy in South Africa, and COSATU and other organisations are part of the extra-parliamentary opposition legitimately putting forward the demands and interests of our members both on the shop floor and in broader society.

"The promulgation is aimed at smashing the campaigns which COSATU has already embarked upon ...

"COSATU has convened a special Central Executive Committee meeting to discuss all possible steps to defend our democratic rights."

## **South African Congress Of Trade Unions**

Comrade John Nkadimeng, General Secretary of SACTU, issued a statement in support of COSATU and the other people's organisations:

"... This proclamation has effectively prevented COSATU involvement in any activity that the regime defines as political.

"In a country where Black people have no political rights whatsoever, all organised activity is political ...

"This short-sighted, poverty-stricken response has yet again proved to the people of our country and the international community that the White minority regime is not interested in change. This proclamation is a recipe for confrontation and will force workers to get redress by other methods from the many grievances the apartheid system causes.

"If Western governments, and some in the international community, had any doubts about the need for firm and decisive

action against the regime, this doubt can no longer be sustained.

"The policies of constructive engagement, trade and investment with apartheid South Africa must be abandoned immediately. Mandatory comprehensive sanctions must be implemented now. The international trade union movement must take a clear, active stance in defence of COSATU ...

**"An injury to one is an injury to all!"**

## **African National Congress**

The African National Congress in Lusaka gave this analysis of the situation:

"The effective illegalisation of 18 democratic organisations, trade union and civic bodies by the Pretoria regime yesterday, February 24th, demonstrates that Botha and his henchmen are irrevocably committed to the suppression of the ideals of freedom and justice in our country.

"The action that the regime has taken is a clear admission that all the draconian measures of repression it has imposed on South Africa ... have all failed to cow the spirit of defiance and determination to resist amongst the oppressed.

"Without exception, the organisations and civic bodies that have thus been banned were committed to non-violent forms of struggle and have exercised impressive restraint in the face of severe provocation from the regime and its agents. The fact that they have now been proscribed demonstrates clearly that it is not advocacy of, or engagement in, armed struggle that the regime fears, but the very expression of democratic opposition and consistent resistance ...

"We are convinced that, just as the resilient response of our people over the past two years has defeated the enemy's stratagems, it is this same spirit of **No Surrender** that will thwart Botha's attempts to crush the national democratic movement

"The ANC calls on the people of South Africa to rise to this new challenge as never before by adopting a posture of resistance and defiance to the tyrannical measures of the racist ruling circles. We must refuse to

recognise the right of Pretoria to legislate for us and our organised formations. These new bans will be effective only to the extent that we respect and observe them.

"The ANC calls upon the international community to come to the defence of the democratic movement and trade unions of our country. The organisations and persons whom Pretoria seeks to silence by these measures represent the best traditions of our country and espouse the profoundest aspirations of the majority of South Africans. Apartheid cannot be permitted to stifle their voices and crush their spirit.

"The ANC, in all its formations inside and outside South Africa, shall not be deterred by this new assault on our people. The banning orders of February 24th vindicate our often repeated conviction that only a mass movement, uniting in its ranks the broadest front of democratic and patriotic forces, and employing a multi-pronged strategy that includes revolutionary violence, can dislodge the apartheid regime."

## World Protest

A spokesman for the Government of **India** said:

*"That the South African Government has resorted yet again to such repressive measures shows its fear of the movement for freedom which is gaining ground. Government reiterates its firm support to the people of South Africa in their valiant struggle."*

In **Canada**, indignant statements came from the Inter-Church Coalition in Africa, the Rally Against Apartheid Committee and Canadians Concerned About Southern Africa. The CCASR statement said:

*"This act of desperation will not halt the forces of social change. The walls of apartheid are crumbling."*

In the **United States**, the chairman of the New York Anti-Apartheid Co-ordinating Council said:

*"The apartheid regime has taken these desperate measures because all of its repressive measures have failed to crush the South African people's struggle for human rights and democracy. These*

*measures, too, will fail. The people's struggle will not be stopped."*

In the **Federal Republic of Germany**, anti-apartheid forces, including the Anti-Apartheid Bewegung, again called on the government in Bonn to institute comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Botha regime.

The Foreign Ministry of **France** stated:

*"This attack on freedom constitutes a new obstacle to ... the inspiration in South Africa of a democratic society where the legitimate rights of all communities would be respected."*

Public protest in France came from Socialist and Communist Parties, the Movement Against Racism And For Friendship Among Peoples, the General Confederation of Trade Unions and the Catholic Committee Against Hunger and For Development, among other organisations. The National Organisation Against Apartheid condemned the bannings, reaffirmed its solidarity with the struggle for freedom in South Africa, and added:

*"It will not hinder the South African people from affirming their will to finish with apartheid and to build a new South Africa."*

In **Britain**, condemnation came from leaders of the Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress. Archbishop Trevor Huddleston, President of the Anti-Apartheid Movement, issued this statement:

*"Today's draconian banning orders against the United Democratic Front, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and other organisations in South Africa must be condemned by the entire international community. The Pretoria regime is once again prohibiting non-violent resistance to apartheid and has slammed the door on any prospect of genuine negotiation over the future of South Africa."*

*"Britain and South Africa's other major trading partners must act decisively. I am writing to the Prime Minister and have appealed to the United Nations Security Council to meet immediately, so that there can be a concerted international response."*

# INTERVIEW

## WOMEN ARE ORGANISING



Women in South Africa are involved in every aspect of the struggle for freedom; this is well known. Sechaba spoke to a South African woman activist.

**Can you specify exactly what women are doing inside the country, and how they are organising?**

Do you want me to specify a certain group of women or include all the women in South Africa?

**All the women in South Africa; a general picture of all the women in the country.**

The role of the women and how they are? I think the women in the country are very much aware of the situation in the country. The different groups of our women, besides the progressive ones, are involved in discussions on the situation. For instance, we have a group of women under the Home and Family Life desk of the South African Council of Churches. The SACC includes all the church women, and it would be a very nice thing if our women were involved in this group, so that they can know

what other women are thinking of the situation. It's not only our women alone who are worried about the situation; all the mothers in the country are worried about what is happening.

I happen to be one of the executive members of Home and Family Life. I have been with this group for quite a long time in my church. I discovered that in fact — it was a thing I didn't know — that church women, together with ordinary women, are very much worried about the situation. Some discussions are very important.

For instance, for the past two years, we have been worried about the family crises, what is happening to the families, what is happening to the children, the displaced children and the exiled children and the children who are roaming around. What are we to do, how are we to help the mothers to be meaningful mothers to these children? They are seen roaming from one

place to another; some of them are from Transkei, some of them from elsewhere in the Cape. They trek to Johannesburg in groups, looking for accommodation with other school children and other comrades.

And that gives the women very much worry; though the children are in Johannesburg, their mothers are in different places. Sometimes we get children from the Free State just roaming around. They have done something at school and they feel they must run away, and that they must come to Johannesburg. These children — we call them displaced children.

At a conference, we discussed the problems of such children. We had problems with the children when they started not going to school, and they were holding meetings and going to funerals, and their mothers were refusing to let their children attend these meetings, especially those mothers from the rural areas. We will never forget the day when we called a meeting to advise them as to what they must do when their children behave like that.

One of the most important things we discussed that day was that it does not matter what your child does — it still forms a part of the family, and therefore mother, father and the child must be together. There is a need for the parents and children to understand one another. That day it was as if there was a light thrown into the minds of those women, because they did not know how to behave when their children decide, and take actions, on their own.

So, from that day onwards, the parents said, "We are very grateful that we have been able to come here and listen to some of the good advice we have been given as to what we must do as parents. From today we are going to be with our children, because they are our children." Those were just ordinary women, not belonging to the struggle, and those are the women we women belonging to the struggle must try and help all the time, meet with them and help them.

Then we had another conference dealing with homelessness. People are displaced, are removed from one place to another and that affects the family. What do we do in that case, what do we do in conditions like that? I went to one of the seminars,

composed of people around Durban, just ordinary people who had come to listen to the problem. Some films were shown of different kinds of homeless people. Some are lying in the streets, some of them live in tents, some women in hostels, and we decided to look at this thing and take it up.

In Johannesburg we speak about the rent boycott. The rent boycott is a very serious thing. We have not paid rent for about 18 months now. There have been evictions in areas like Jabavu, where so many people live. Quite a number of people have died through eviction.

At this very conference of the Home and Family Life we also discussed the situation in Jabavu and we, the parents, wanted to know what we must do. How must we deal with our children, and what is it that they really want?

We said to the parents that the children are affected by the high rent. The children are unable to go to school some distance away because the family are paying very high rents and the children are starving. Children have no clothes and that is why they say to the parents, "Do not pay rent because the rents are very high and they are affecting us as children," and those are the things that as parents we felt they should listen to.

Many people have died. When eviction takes place it is not only a person being evicted, he is being evicted with his belongings, and he does not get his belongings back again. That goes on, and it came to a point where some of the people did not know what to do about paying rent because we were threatened every day by the councillors. Not all of them, but most of the people are not paying rents up till now.

Lights were switched off. We had the problem of our lights being cut off. Our children — I don't know where our children got the knowledge from — they connected the lights. In fact we should have no lights according to the council, but we got lights because of our children connecting the lights, unknown to them.

That is the position about the rent boycott. We are at a time now when we are looking at what we can pay, and even there we have got to know how much we must



pay for those essential things like water, electricity and so on. That is a very serious thing, that actually made people stop paying rent, because we pay a lot of money for electricity. So we are beginning to see where we can start and what we can pay for and we are not just going to accept anything they tell us. We are going to investigate and find out what is the correct amount to pay for water, sewerage and other things. So that is the position.

**So the Federation of Transvaal Women is becoming a nation-wide organisation. Is it going beyond the Transvaal region?**

It definitely does. I am happy to say that FEDTRAW is now very well-organised. It has been launched in the Transvaal and in different areas. We are now waiting to launch the Federation of South African Women. We are busy on that one. We have organised women in the rural areas, in towns and all over. We are conscientising the women. We are making them aware of the situation especially those women who are involved in the struggle.

How we manage to get some of these women to join FEDTRAW is that we feature at funerals of our comrades and we work there and peel vegetables, bake and stay there with those people until they wonder where these women come from and we tell them that we are the comrades of these people and that is how we are managing to get women from Soweto who did not know anything about us. We are drawing them from attending the comrades' funerals, and doing whatever we can do to help the family of that deceased. We also visit our people who are in courts. We go up and down to different areas and some of our women go as far as Messina and spend days there with the families of the people in court.

I happen to be one of the women who have been visiting Robben Island for the last 23 years. I more or less know what has been taking place there and the changes that have affected us all. People in Robben Island now — I would say they are all right. Their health is all right, except for those people who visit doctors because of certain ailments but they are well looked after according to what we hear. Serious things

have happened to them — so serious that we were also very affected by them — but fortunately those people have recovered from those diseases. But not Gwala.

We understand Robben Island has the best treatment.

Robben Island is a place where our young comrades are, I would say, educated. It is more or less a college, because when one comes out from there he is a different person. It is a lot of work for the senior comrades there, to teach these children, to correct them when they make mistakes and to lead them in the right direction. It does take time, because some children are young (1976 prisoners), which means a man is dealing with a young boy of 23-30 years. But it is pleasing to know that they come out just the right man you want to see, as if this young man is just out of school.

There are problems, there are quite a number of them, family problems, because these are young people. They have left their wives, sometimes their girl friends, and sometimes their ailing parents, and again the responsibility is for senior people in Robben Island to try and comfort, counsel, these young people. They also get messages from outside and, when these problems come to them from their homes, it means the elderly people must sit down with the particular prisoner and settle the problems with them.

We, the mothers who visit Robben Island, also have the responsibility of visiting the families of these young people whenever there is a message that calls for the parents to come, and the need for these young men to be visited. Some of them don't have regular visits; even there it is our duty to go to that family and counsel that family.

FEDTRAW — the group around the Transvaal — sits down and looks at the families that are very needy, and every week they collect groceries and go and deliver to those families by way of supporting and comforting them.

**And these groceries come from donations?**

Yes, they come from donations. Each woman will bring tea, sugar, whatever she

can bring, and all these are quite a lot. The women have been visiting the Sharpeville Six several times taking their prayers, taking their dinners, collecting cooked food and fruit, having it with them to console them. Besides FEDTRAW, other women from the South African Council of Churches have also been involved with the Six. They arrange a prayer for those people. Which means it is not only FEDTRAW people are concerned about the Six, but all women are concerned.

**Of course, besides the Sharpeville Six, there are more than 40 people sentenced to death.**

The Federation of Transvaal Women are very much concerned. They wrote a letter to Mrs Botha and the other woman, Mrs Malan, asking them and telling them that, as mothers, they should have sympathy, as we have sympathy with our children, and they must remember these are children, and all children are the same. A child is so connected to the mother that you just cannot cut the bond that brings the mother and child together.

It was at a press conference, so I remember we did send the letters but never got a reply.

**On a slightly different note, there have been problems in Natal, Pietermaritzburg. Can you tell us something about Inkatha and Gatsha Buthelezi? What are the problems?**

There are problems between Inkatha and the UDF. That has been going on for quite a long time. If you remember, it started long ago. It has been coming up and growing. There have been fights at KwaMashu in Inanda, fights at Umlazi, fights at Lamontville. So this kind of war has been going on until it spread to Hammarsdale, and now it has gone to Pietermaritzburg.

There is now a very serious situation. Our people there are fighting the vigilantes. The vigilantes are Gatsha Buthelezi's police, who are well-armed and given weapons by Inkatha from the government. But our people say, "We are not fighting Inkatha as such, but we are fighting the government, because they get the weapons to shoot from the government."

Unfortunately our people have no means of fighting. They are just fighting bare-handed and by any means they have to fight with. What I can say is that we are very proud that they have maintained this up till now. According to the strength of the Gatsha people with the weapons, we should long have been wiped out. But our people have kept up with the fight and they are very, very strong.

About three weeks ago, we visited Pietermaritzburg to meet solely with them and hear what the position was. We met comrades there and they told us they are prepared to fight for as long as Gatsha is fighting them, because what else can they do when they are attacked? — they must fight also. What they want is to be helped.

They say they have organised many people that are on our side; they have mobilised just ordinary people who do not know anything about politics, but, because they have seen what Gatsha is doing, they have sided with us. They say these are the people who must now be given political education and also the means of helping them to fight, if they have to fight.

**Recently, there was a coup in Bophuthatswana and Mangope appealed to the Pretoria regime. What does it mean in political terms: Mangope, who claims to be independent, appealing to South Africa, and what were the reasons behind the coup?**

Bophuthatswana is a thing that one just couldn't understand, because not very long ago Bophuthatswana was celebrating its tenth anniversary and what one saw was that people were united in what they were doing. Everybody was happy and everybody participated in such a way that one cannot understand that it took place. What surprises us is that, just before, there was a coup in December in Transkei. The South African government didn't participate, didn't do anything. But immediately there was a coup in Bophuthatswana they took sides. Which means Bophuthatswana is the South African government's biggest baby, and of course being somewhere our people can use to enter South Africa, it must be so nasty as to never allow our people coming in.

**The clampdown, that is, the new government measures to ban organisations — COSATU, UDF and others — what do you think are the implications of this and how are our people reacting to it?**

We have been having a state of emergency for some time, and we have been doing our things under the state of emergency for some time now. There is nothing that we stopped doing. At the funerals, when we are burying our comrades, we have been told that there must be only about 20 people there, and we are given little cards to enter the graveside and we are told that there must be no address of any kind except by the minister.

But our people have defied that order. We have recently buried that young man, Sicelo Dhlomo, and hundreds of people were at Regina Mundi, standing outside, and others were inside. When the coffin came out the regime arranged the Casspirs in between the people. They knew they had allowed only 200 people to get to the graveside. But the procession was not 200 people; it was all the people who were standing outside and inside.

All drove in the procession to the graveside. When we got to the graveside, near the entrance, we were stopped and asked to produce the papers, and it was only those people who had the papers who were allowed in.

The procession turned back and went home and the comrades sang and marched and everybody joined and followed. It was a procession that was like when we were going to that graveside, it was a complete defiance. The war planes were flying so low over our heads.

**So banning cannot stop our struggle?**

The banning will not stop our struggle. Some of our people were actually told not to address the gathering. They stood up at the funeral and addressed the people. There are many ways of addressing the people in the church. For instance, one of them just stands up and says, "Let's pray. I am now praying," and then, when he stands up, he speaks about the movement, the people who have gone or passed away, people who are away, and mentions all of

those people, and that is addressing the people. It is not just praying. So that is complete defiance.

**Nelson Mandela will be 70 years old this year, on July 18th. What does this mean to our people?**

What must I say? Mandela must not die in jail. We are going to call for his release. We will still call even during the banning orders, we will call for the release of Mandela and all political prisoners. We will go on calling for his release and the release of all political prisoners.

**And this call has become a mass movement?**

It has. People haven't forgotten them. No. We have even been reminding the people of Rivonia. The Release Mandela Committee keeps on picking up on calendars. We are faced with the government taking away our calendars which of course we raise funds with. Every year we have a new calendar with something new. Last year and the other year we had all the Rivonia people on the calendar and that calendar was a threat.

But it was sold, and you would still find it in many houses. Some of the people have not met our leaders, and the calendars showed them one by one and it was an interesting thing for them to know that here was Mandela, Mhlaba, Kathrada and so on. They did not know, so that is what RMC does.

This year we had, "Remember Rivonia" on the calendar. We enumerated one by one all those who are serving life imprisonment. That is how we conscientise people and remind them of our leaders.

**And of course Rivonia means ANC?**

Yes! Not very long ago we asked the government to release Harry Gwala from jail. We have stickers of his pictures circulating all over. We hoped it would have an impact but we don't know.

The question of stopping the execution of our people is a very serious question in South Africa. And we are appealing to the world to do something about it. Everybody is very much concerned in about it in South Africa.

# YOUNG DETAINEES IN SOUTH AFRICA A FIRST-HAND ACCOUNT

By Solomzi Davashe



*Racist security forces arrest children during a raid on a school in South Africa*

In South Africa there is special legislation concerned with the so-called security of the state, and this legislation covers all those young people who have filled the South African gaols.

Detention is basically intended as intimidation, to discourage people from engaging in protest — stayaways, for example, bus boycotts or school boycotts. What the law calls 'public violence' involves any activity — like the burning of a school, house or vehicle — even if this is the result

of a power failure somewhere.

The Criminal Procedure Act, dealing with common law offences, is used to criminalise our political demands. Then there is the notorious Internal Security Act of 1982, formerly known as the Terrorism Act. Section 29 of this Act allows for indefinite incarceration in the jungle of horror, without contact with the outside world. People are locked up literally for months, if not for years, even without access to a courtyard.

## Inside the Cell

On the cement floor are mats and blankets. I wouldn't like to describe the mats, blankets or the floor, except to say it's horror. The blankets are coarse and dirty, in most cases with lice. There are no pillows — you use your own clothes, or a spare blanket.

There is also a dirty toilet bowl which you have to wash before you can use it. It serves three purposes: to relieve yourself (which is a problem because food is a privilege); to quench your thirst, as there is no water inside the cell; and as a wash basin. You wash yourself with your own clothes, because there is no washing cloth for you. If there is 'soap' your body will itch, and not only that. You get cracks and scratches, and if your body is not resistant you will look like somebody who is suffering from scurvy.

The barred windows, right at the top, allow for just a ray of light inside. The steel and grilled doors are a source of annoyance, to say the least.

As for food — those who have access to families and lawyers are lucky. We could have been stranded, except that our friends inside gaol helped us, for we ate communally. The usual food — if that is the right word — comes in a bucket-like bowl, perhaps with something that looks like strong but cold coffee in a container which had fish in it before. If, by chance, it's hot, it's hard luck, because you can't pick it up.

Breakfast is at four in the morning, while you are still sleeping. The reason they bring food at that time is because the courts open early and there are many prisoners to be 'catered for.'

## Torture

Torture involves physical and psychological torture. I have personally suffered both, and in fact I am still suffering the after-effects. I have been arrested and held in solitary confinement. I was detained for three months in John Vorster Square in 1984.

The police alleged that we threw stones

and petrol-bombed buses during a local bus boycott. We were arrested without stones or petrol bombs in our hands. Because they didn't have the evidence, and were not going to have it as it was not there, the security police beat us up physically in the hope that we would plead for mercy. Nothing of the sort happened. The result was ear damage, headaches, migraine, insomnia, epilepsy and many of the man-made diseases.

During the 1985 state of emergency I was detained for six months in Johannesburg Prison. As we entered the reception hall the prison warders were already on top of us, demanding that we take off our clothes for inspection of bodily marks, and then they told us that this was prison procedure. We told them we were not convicted prisoners, but detainees.

The enemy, flabbergasted and not believing all this, resorted to its usual methods against us, using the batons at their disposal. The matter was reported to the press, lawyers, and later to the representatives of the Progressive Federal Party, who paid us a visit.

We were taken to the cells, told to move in twos, and we refused. This resulted in a confrontation, and we got badly injured. As we didn't have batons, we decided to take their batons and beat them with them, and thereafter left the batons next to them when they had blue eyes like us.

Then the security police came the following day to take us for questioning about our activities and our non-activities — that is, it is not a matter of question whether or not you're known as a member of a student or youth organisation, or whether you did a thing or you didn't. If you didn't, the question is: why didn't you do it? If you weren't there, the question is: why were you not there?

You'll be beaten up by fists or batons — but they're very careful with this, because there'll be marks. Alternatively, you'll be subjected to electric torture, where special electric wires are clipped on to your hands and fastened to your private parts in a tender way, and then, at lightning speed, an on and off button will be pressed. You lose consciousness for a while, and the impact of the pain remains with you afterwards as the body recuperates.

## **You No Longer Care**

Then you'll be threatened with another one, but, because you've already suffered, you say to yourself: they've already injured or wounded me; I no longer care. Your mind is then occupied by some of the small sayings, like, "the struggle is a sacrifice," which comrades and non-comrades always say, but not in detailed explanation. Then, when this happens, you realise or understand that your stand is in fact nothing compared to that taken by the thousands of our brilliant old and young, who gave themselves completely, selflessly, to their people, their country and their dignity. And, in fact, what you're doing is a drop in the ocean.

## **Get Arrested in Public**

I am advising comrades to make it a point that if they get arrested it must be in public, as the enemy would like to arrest us out of public sight in order to get away with callous murders, like they did with Simphiwe Mthimkhulu, an organiser of COSAS in the Eastern Cape, and those of our comrades who are still missing today, notably Siphon Hashe, Gondolozzi, and so on.

There is an incident that occurred on my way to the Northern Transvaal, prior to the funeral of our leader, Peter Nchabaleng. I was arrested at a road block, dragged out roughly by a contingent of the Lebowa police with their SADF masters. They saw my UDF T-shirt. I was trampled down for a long time, my spectacles got broken, my wrist watch as well. I was later taken to the tents where you find SADF fascists. I wish to mention that from the road block I was driven over bumps into a remote place, while in the back of the van. It was nice for the servants of terror, as they were laughing at me as I was going up and down and from side to side, there in the back.

On our arrival, as it was late in the evening, I was given two mats to use for sleeping — that is, one below, on the floor of the van, and one to cover myself with. The van was locked.

In the morning I was taken to the police station, where the police said there was no

charge against me. I refused to say that I knew my companions in the car I was travelling in, and I got out, without any money, back to the Transvaal. My colleagues reported this matter to my lawyers and we awaited a reply from the Minister of Police. Up till now, there has been none.

## **Comrades Go Missing**

There was a similar incident when we got arrested in 1986. We were surrounded by police, and, through the use of force, bundled into the boot of their car and driven like that first into the open veld and then to the police station. Fortunately, this was in the morning, and people in the street saw us from a distance. As a result of this, perhaps, we could not be murdered.

There was one of our comrades who went missing in gaol. Because the police don't consult each other on strategies, or fear to do so if they may be opposed, they decided to kill and not expose the body. Another comrade was taken up from his hospital bed in Baragwanath, and it was said he was taken to the First Military Hospital in Pretoria, and we're still waiting to hear. Another one was in hospital with us and because of his critical brain condition doctors transferred him to Rietfontein in Johannesburg, a mental hospital, but it later turned out he was not there. Where did they take him? What did they do with him? Another of our colleagues who was in prison on the East Rand was taken to hospital, where he died as a result of severe torture.

It's worth mentioning here another event in Pietersburg prison in the Northern Transvaal, where our comrade, Josephina, who came from Diepkloof and was a student at the University of the North, was severely tortured. She was taken to Baragwanath for brain haemorrhage, and later released on those grounds. When we met her, she could no longer recognise us, and was no longer normal. Soon after that, she died.

This is my experience at the age of 20. It is also the experience of my generation — a generation that has known nothing but torture and suffering.



# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## Federal Republic of Germany

The Bremen Solidarity Prize for 1988 was awarded by the State of Bremen to Nelson and Winnie Mandela, who are the first people to be so honoured, as the prize is newly instituted. Irene Mkwayi, wife of Wilton Mkwayi, the imprisoned ANC leader, travelled from South Africa to receive the award, which was presented by the mayor of the city of Bremen at a well-attended ceremony in the Bremen Town Hall. The ANC was represented by Comrade Gertrude Shope.

The torture and imprisonment of children in South Africa has become an important subject of discussion in the Federal Republic of Germany. An exhibition of 50 posters was prepared by the ANC office in Bonn; and 1 500 copies of this exhibition and thousands of pamphlets have been sold and exhibited all over the Federal Republic, Austria and the German-speaking section of Switzerland. Demand for the exhibition continues.

ANC speakers addressed over 20 meetings held to celebrate International Women's Day in March. There is a demand for exhibitions, pamphlets and other material dealing with the life of women in South Africa, and 35 exhibitions were shown at public places and at meetings throughout the country.

## New 'Amandla!' Record Released in Soviet Union

In November 1987, *Mokgosi Walla*, a new disc from *Amandla!* the cultural group of the ANC, was released under the 'Melodia' record label of the USSR.

In a statement, the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the USSR said:

*"The disc enables listeners to become acquainted with the new developments in the revolutionary art of the people of South Africa, and confirms the great creative potential of Amandla! It serves as convincing evidence of the fact that this art, so much appreciated by the people of South Africa, is on the rise, bringing closer the fall of the apartheid regime, and the time when the songs of Amandla! will be sung openly in the concert halls, in the streets and on the squares of the future united, democratic, non-racial South Africa."*

## UK Solidarity Conference

On January 8th, hundreds of people attended a solidarity conference organised by the ANC office in London. The conference discussed the material that had been presented at the Arusha Conference, and ways in which the decisions taken at Arusha could be implemented in Britain.

Afterwards, the office received a number of letters from people who had attended the conference and had been deeply impressed. Some wanted to collect and contribute material aid. One wrote:

*"I learned a great deal, and came home with renewed commitment to do everything in my power in supporting the struggle in South Africa and Namibia."*

Another told us:

*"The Freedom Charter must surely be an attainable reality when there is so much good will and determination."*

# ANC STATEMENT

## PRETORIA'S TERRORISM

**"The grisly record of assassinations and murders bears grim testimony to the escalating levels of violence the Botha regime is prepared to employ to cling on to power."**

On Thursday, February 4th, in Brussels, at about 18.30 hours, an attempt was made on the life of Comrade Godfrey Motsepe, the ANC representative in the Benelux countries.

Comrade Motsepe was alone in his office at the time. Two shots were fired from an automatic pistol directly at him. He narrowly escaped serious injury or being killed, sustaining only a small wound below his ear.

The attack on the ANC representative to the Benelux countries occurs in the context of a stepped-up campaign against the ANC in the mass media and other public fora in the Benelux countries.

On more than one occasion in recent years, spokespersons for the regime, including such high officials as the racist Foreign Minister, Roelof 'Pik' Botha and Defence Minister Magnus Malan, have openly declared their intention to attack and physically eliminate the ANC and its personnel, even if this required them to violate the borders of other countries. In Southern Africa, Pretoria has on innumerable occasions suited these words with violent deeds that have already left a trail of death and destruction stretching across the country from Mozambique to Angola.

The most recent instance was the murder of Comrades Cassius Make and Paul Dikeledi in Swaziland during August 1987. Inside South Africa, the grisly record of assassinations and murders perpetrated by murder squads and individual hired assassins acting at the direct behest of the regime bears grim testimony to the escalating levels of violence the Botha regime is prepared to employ to cling on to power.

The most recent act of brazen terrorism in Brussels cannot be regarded as an isolated incident. It forms part of a pattern of attacks and acts of terrorism that has begun to unfold throughout the world, affecting every country in which the ANC has diplomatic and organised presence. Two weeks ago, in Lusaka, a bomb planted at the gates of an office complex occupied by the ANC was detonated in broad daylight, and missed injuring or killing Comrade Alfred Nzo, Secretary General of the ANC, by a matter of seconds.

A similar bomb devastated the ANC offices in Stockholm on September 8th 1986. In London, the rear portion of the ANC office, plus adjoining buildings, were wrecked or demolished by a bomb explosion in October 1984. Earlier that year, a storage facility in Stockholm, employed by the ANC office in that city to store materials

**"We expect the authorities in every country where these crimes have been committed to investigate each case thoroughly and prosecute the culprits to the full extent of the law."**



donated towards the upkeep of South African refugees, was destroyed by a bomb.

Attacks on ANC personnel working in Europe and North America have also mounted in the past two years. Our representatives in Denmark, Italy and the United Nations, and in the Federal Republic of Germany, have all received written and telephone threats from rightist groups and neo-nazi groups ranging from the Ku Klux Klan to the Danish Nazi Party.

In France, on two separate occasions, in September and October 1986, the ANC representative was tear-gassed and physically assaulted by unknown assailants. Her handbag was also snatched on the latter occasion.

Most sinister of all was the conspiracy to kidnap and abduct leaders and members of the ANC from London, uncovered by the British police in 1987. This conspiracy, hatched by a group of mercenaries in the employ of the racist security services, actually resulted in formal charges and court arrangements. Under inadequately explained circumstances, the British Attorney-General decided not to proceed with the prosecutions, amidst press speculations that a public trial would bring to light links between the conspirators and Britain's own security services.

In calling attention to these events, we underscore once again that the permissive attitude adopted by certain states towards

**"The ANC reiterates its call for comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa for its continuing violations of international peace."**

the apartheid regime's acts of aggression has given Pretoria the confidence to extend its activities so far afield. Only concerted action on the part of the international community will demonstrate that apartheid aggression — whether perpetrated in Southern Africa or in any other part of the world — will be rebuffed with the full weight of the international law.

The ANC reiterates its call for comprehensive sanctions against apartheid South Africa for its continuing violations of international peace. In the meantime we expect the authorities in every country where these crimes have been committed to investigate each case thoroughly and prosecute the culprits to the full extent of the law. We expect the Belgian authorities will also take the appropriate measures to ensure the safety of Comrade Godfrey Motsepe and any other ANC members in their country.

**Alfred Nzo**  
Secretary General  
African National Congress  
February 5th 1988.



*Maseru massacre. 1982*



**BANNINGS  
WILL NOT STOP  
THE STRUGGLE**





**BANNINGS  
WILL NOT STOP  
THE STRUGGLE**



# MNR

# THE US—SOUTH AFRICA

# CONNECTION

By Jeffrey Khensani Mathebula



MNR bandits

The so-called Mozambique National Relief Agency, based in Durban, is known to be a recruiting front for the MNR. Writing on behalf of this organisation, Jaime Manate said in a letter to the editor of the *Weekly Mail* of December 18th-23rd 1987:

*"Today, Renamo remains one of Africa's few independent African nationalist movements. It owes nothing to anybody (sic) and is controlled by no foreign power. It is for that reason it finds no support from any quarter other than the Mozambican victims of Soviet oppression and international capitalist slavery."*

Apart from its anti-Sovietism and gross ignorance as to the difference between socialism and capitalism, this statement shows how much the author has become a willing victim of the South African disinformation campaign. For the sake of the record, and for the sake of the friendship and fraternal relations which exist between the South African and Mozambican peoples and their vanguard organisations, the ANC and Frelimo, it is more than necessary to correct this false image of the MNR.

The so-called Mozambican National Resistance Movement, otherwise known as Renamo or the MNR, was formed some 11 years ago in 1976 on the initiative of Ken Flower, a former head of the Rhodesian

Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO). In this action, Flower gladly received the wholehearted support of right-wing Portuguese elements, including some PIDE agents and businessmen as well as some disgruntled and malcontent Mozambican nationals.

Ken Flower died from a heart attack in September 1987 in Harare at the age of 73. At the time, he had been retired from the CIO since 1982, two years after Zimbabwe received its independence from Britain.

Before his death, Ken Flower had revealed that initially the MNR had been formed simply with the aim of harassing the Frelimo movement and impeding its most resolute support for Robert Mugabe's ZANLA guerrillas. He added that:

*Food supplies are continually guarded*



*"... none of us was ever deluded that this was going to overthrow the Machel government ... It was a thing for the hour. It suited us that it was a thorn in the side of Frelimo. It gave us access to the same areas where ZANLA was."*

For over two years, that is, between the year of its founding and mid-1978, the MNR existed almost entirely on paper, its only physical presence being its undercover radio station, "The Voice of Africa," broadcasting from Gweru (formerly Gwelo) in central Zimbabwe. However, this radio station, run by the CIO, had, through the use

of rumours, lies, slander and outright misinformation, succeeded in creating the impression that Frelimo was unpopular in Mozambique and that there existed a viable alternative organisation to it.

## Figurehead Leader

In fact, it was only after Andre Matangaidze, a former Frelimo platoon commander, had escaped from a re-education camp at Gorongosa in the central province of Sofala, joined the Rhodesians, was given a small group of armed men, successfully led an attack against his old re-education camp and released about 500 inmates (300 of whom went back with him to Rhodesia) that for the first time the MNR had any significant number of men. This is how Andre Matangaidze became the figurehead leader of the organisation.

In January 1979, the Maruze hydro-electric power station on the Chicamba Real Dam was attacked, and a vast part of Mozambique was left without electricity supply. From then on, the MNR was to carry out numerous joint operations with the Rhodesian Special Air Service (SAS) against economically strategic targets in Mozambique, always under the guiding hand of the CIO. In fact, most of the operations were carried out by the SAS, while the MNR served mainly as an intelligence-gathering force on the field, providing guides and scouts for the Rhodesian elite force.

By this time, the SAS had put up its tactical headquarters in a deserted farm at Odzi near Mutare (formerly Umtali) and close to the secret MNR training base inside Rhodesia. To this base small ad hoc groups of SAS officers were attached to provide training and advice, and from it other groups were sent to the MNR mountain stronghold at Gorongosa and to other secret camps inside Mozambique. Soon afterwards, the CIO was to comment that:

*"The presence of the SAS with their expertise has advanced the MNR in both training and operational fields, and accelerated their progress beyond nature."*

Of particular interest here is the presence

of a US mercenary soldier called Bob McKenna (real name Robert Mackenzie), a Vietnam war veteran in the MNR camps from the first days of its real existence.

## US Tactics From Vietnam

He brought with him the personal experience of having served in the US 'special forces' during the Vietnam War. In addition, he was a regular contributor to the mercenary magazine, *Soldier of Fortune*, published by Robert K Brown in Boulder, Colorado, USA. McKenna brought along a collection of US 'special forces' pamphlets and field manuals which were to serve as a blueprint for the SAS instructors in MNR camps.

This is why the MNR tactics of beheading, torturing, mutilating, raping and burning their victims as a form of psychological warfare are reminiscent of the infamous Operation Phoenix in South Vietnam, during which a total of 26 369 civilians were murdered while most of the 33 350 imprisoned in US-built 'provincial interrogation centres' were tortured.

## Role of SADF Military Intelligence

In mid-1980, when the MNR had between 2 000 and 5 000 trained and armed men and just before the independence of Zimbabwe, South African military intelligence decided to move in, with the help and co-operation of the Rhodesian Army. In particular the SAS and CIO carried out a rescue operation. Using Hercules transport planes, the MNR infrastructure and personnel in Rhodesia, including the radio station, were transferred, lock, stock and barrel, to the Phalaborwa military base in the eastern Transvaal in South Africa.

Then came the period 1981-1984, during which the MNR was built up to about 15 000 men, a manpower strength almost as big as that of Frelimo. This force had undergone secret and extensive training in the eastern Transvaal, and South African military intelligence established a wide radio com-

munications system for it, as well as a supply network and airstrips.

All this was facilitated by the 3 000-kilometre-long border Mozambique has from the south to the north, and the fact that by the time Zimbabwe gained independence in 1980, Frelimo had administrative control over an estimated 15% of the land surface of Mozambique — thus leaving 85% of the territory without much physical protection.

According to the most recent information from Trish Hanekom, this seems to have been the period in which "Operation Mila," (the code-name Pretoria gave to its programme of heavy support for the MNR) started.

Trish Hanekom, a Zimbabwean citizen, was arrested in 1983 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment for passing to the Mozambican government documents containing "highly sensitive" military secrets on South African plans for aggression and destabilisation against Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Her South African husband, Derek Hanekom, was released from prison last year after serving two years. Roland Hunter, who was personal assistant to Colonel Cornelius (Charles) van Niekerk, the head of "Operation Mila," and who was leader of the three-person group which divulged the secrets, is still serving a five-year sentence for the same offence.

According to Trish Hanekom, the documents also contained secret information on how the SADF and specifically its military intelligence:

- used a civilian organisation of the post office tower in Johannesburg to broadcast MNR propaganda for the "Voice of Free Africa;"

- sent to the MNR consignments of brand new AK 47 assault rifles, with their serial numbers erased, taken from a huge stock of weapons stored in boxes in a warehouse near Pretoria;

- used a company known as "Frama Intertrading," which owns an airfield outside Johannesburg, as a front to transport officials taking part in "Operation Mila;"

- spent R5 000 to buy clothes and other personal needs for the MNR leader, Alfonso Dhlakama, and his aides, on their way

to attend a conference in the Federal Republic of Germany in 1983;

- paid wages to MNR officials in Malawi;
- co-ordinates and decides dates for air-drops of weapons and other supplies to MNR camps in Mozambique.

Trish Hanekom is of the opinion that the divulging of this secret information may well have played a significant role in South Africa's decision to sign the Nkomati Accord of "non-aggression and good neighbourliness" with Mozambique some few months later, in March 1984.

## The Nkomati Accord

There were other factors leading the apartheid regime to sign the Nkomati Accord.

- Some of the strategists of Pretoria felt that its policy of destabilisation had had some success in 'softening up' a number of neighbouring countries, and therefore it had become necessary to apply economic 'incentive levers.'

- The financial cost of expanding the policy of destabilisation, as well as sponsoring the MNR single-handed, was being borne in the face of the worst recession the South African economy had ever experienced since the 1930s.

- The major western allies of Pretoria — and in particular the United States, which had encouraged Pretoria to embark on the policy of destabilisation in the first place — had expressed the fear that the victims of destabilisation might increasingly find themselves forced to turn to the socialist countries to seek military and economic assistance to defend themselves. The role the Reagan administration played in this instance was shown by the assurance Colonel van Niekerk gave to the MNR when, as quoted in the Gorongosa documents, he said that:

*"South Africa, under pressure from the USA, will ensure negotiations between Machel and Renamo before November."*

Before the Nkomati Accord was signed, however, the military strategists of the apartheid regime made sure to provide the MNR with at least two years' military sup-

plies and other provisions.

## SADF Infiltration

In addition, they infiltrated into Mozambique a greater number of trained MNR men as well as a team of SADF officers, which included two colonels and two military doctors. This took place in the period between late January and immediately after the signing of the Nkomati Accord.

In spite of the Nkomati Accord however, and in spite of the Mozambican Government's strict adherence to its terms of agreement, the apartheid regime stopped only certain forms of direct support for the MNR, and has continued to offer military support in different forms and ways.

For instance, SADF personnel stopped entering Mozambique to give direct support to the MNR in its camps and to take direct charge of certain field operations as they had previously done on many occasions. The "Voice of Free Africa" went off the air from its usual transmission point, but continued to broadcast for a while from the supposedly independent bantustan of Bophuthatswana in an attempt to bluff world public opinion. Still, the apartheid regime continued to maintain the entire radio communication system between itself and the MNR until August 1985, when the MNR headquarters in the Gorongosa mountain stronghold were captured.

This was resumed soon afterwards, until, as far as is known, August 1987. South Africa continued to send the MNR vital information through radio signals, forewarning them of each impending danger, and advising them what to do. For instance, in only one month — August — Zimbabwe and Mozambique recorded over 450 intercepts by South Africa.

## Attacks on Mozambique Through Third Countries

After the Nkomati Accord had been signed, and especially after the capture of Gorongosa, the regime decided to channel most of its logistical support for the

MNR bandits through third countries, such as Malawi. It is believed that the apartheid regime began using Malawi as a staging post as far back as May 1982, when reports clearly showed heightened military activities in the Zambezi Province and some parts of Tete Province, both of which are on the border between Malawi and Mozambique.

At this time, it had become difficult for the SADF to continue providing support for the MNR without putting the apartheid regime in an embarrassing diplomatic situation. Faced with this difficulty, the South African military intelligence decided to resort to a well-tested CIA tactic of dubious 'civilian' front companies, a number of which were controlled by former Portuguese colonialists through their South African subsidiaries and associates. Frama Intertrading, registered as an export-import firm but known to have undertaken its airdrop missions using a Dakota plane supplied to it by the SADF, is one such company.

The signal for the turn to this covert and dangerous tactic was given by one Brigadier van Tonder. When Alfonso Dhlakama made an urgent request for 'war material' in a radio message to Colonel van Niekerk on June 16th 1984, Van Tonder replied that South African military intelligence was, for the time being, unable to use the giant C-130 transport planes and naval vessels without getting into lengthy and costly arguments with the South African Air Force (SAAF) and Navy. Instead (as is shown in the minutes of a meeting held between an MNR delegation, Van Tonder and Van Niekerk in Pretoria on August 16th of the same year), Van Tonder explained that in order to:

*"... overcome this difficulty we are going to use civilian aircraft that can land, and not drop parachutes, so as to avoid under-using capacity."*

Before this meeting had taken place, Van Niekerk had already radioed back to Dhlakama on July 20th and told him:

*"The Secretary-General (Evo Fernandes) and two of our men, with 26 tons of baggage, will jump from 18.8.84 onwards at the DZ (dropping zone) east of Inhaminga."*

This explains why, in fact, the material arrived at Gorongoza a day before Van Niekerk was supposed to meet with Dhlakama on 22nd August. According to the MNR diarist, this contained 25 cases of AK-47 ammunition, seven gallons of oil, 23 rucksacks, three blankets ... building



*This child is safe with a soldier of Frelimo*



material for a landing strip and a substantial amount of stationery.

## **Comoro Islands — Launching Pad for Attacks**

Towards the end of 1986, pressure from the Front Line States succeeded in stopping Malawi from serving as a launching pad for MNR supplies and attacks against Mozambique. Since then, the apartheid regime has increasingly turned towards the Comoro Islands, about 160 kilometres away from the Mozambican coast, as both a sanctions-busting zone and a staging-post for arms supplies by sea and air for the MNR.

At that stage, South African military intelligence seems to have ironed out its problem with the Navy over the use of vessels. There is much clear evidence that the South African Navy delivered a consignment of 250 tons of weapons and ammunition to the MNR in the northern province of Mozambique while South African military intelligence once again began infiltrating larger numbers of armed bandits across the common border with South Africa into the Gaza province, around May and June 1987.

The despatch of more weapons and ammunition by the SADF to the MNR by land, sea and air around that period seems to be directly related to the failure of the bandit group to cut Mozambique into two parts towards the end of 1986. In fact, this seems to have constituted a rescue mission after the MNR found itself in a serious military situation following the entrance of Zimbabwean and Tanzanian forces into the battle to help rout out the bandits.

## **Homoine Massacre Exposed**

Then came the Hoinine massacre on July 18th in the southern coastal province of Inhambane, in which 424 innocent civilians were brutally shot and hacked to death by the bandits.

Unfortunately for the MNR, its paymasters in Pretoria and its supporters in the US, Mark van Koevering, an American agron-

omist working there as a volunteer, witnessed the atrocity. In a letter to the central committee of the Mennonites, a US religious organisation to which he belongs, Van Koevering describes how, from his hotel window, he saw seven helpless women from among the victims huddled on the sidewalk and murdered in cold blood. Copies of the letter were also sent to some 30 other religious groups in the US and Western Europe, to Bob Carr of the US House of Representatives and Senators Riegle and Griffin from Michigan State.

Before the Hoinine and other massacres, several airdrops made by light 'civilian' aircraft using US army surplus parachutes (most probably supplied by US 'private' sources) were spotted flying in from the South African border.

US 'private' sources supply not only the MNR but also UNITA, Inkatha and other reactionary forces inside South Africa, with such material, counter-insurgency experience, logistic supplies and funds, under the guise of 'humanitarian aid.'

## **US Right-Wing Propaganda**

Among these are the Heritage Foundation itself, the so-called US Council for World Freedom under "retired" Major-General John K Singlaub, and CAUSA International, the political arm of the Unification Church founded by the self-styled Reverend Sun Myung Moon (the 'Moonies').

The Unification Church owns the newspaper, the *Washington Times*, which once referred to the late President Samora Machel as a "tin pot dictator" and Mozambique as a "basket case" nation. On President Machel's death in a plane crash caused by a false radio beacon operating from South African territory, the *Washington Times* had this to say:

*"With the death of Mozambique's President Samora Machel, the world has lost a prime example of Third World tyranny. There were worse ones, but not many, despite what you may have been led to suppose."*

The *Washington Times* seems to rely wholly and solely on the so-called Mozambique



*Most of these children lost their limbs in mines laid by MNR rebels. Their new limbs are being fitted at a Red Cross clinic in Maputo.*

Information Office (MIO), run by one Tom Schaaf out of the Heritage Foundation building in Washington DC, for its information on Mozambique.

As is almost always the case, such information' does its best to sweep under the carpet the almost daily atrocities committed by the MNR against innocent and harmless Mozambican civilians, and the untold suffering caused by its destruction of the economic infrastructure of Mozambique, its health and education facilities. Last year, Arnaud de Borchgrave, the Washington Times editor-in-chief attended, and led a talk on "US Political Attitudes to South Africa" at an investment conference sponsored by the *Financial Mail* at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg on November 12th and 13th 1987.

Judging by the increased number of massacres and brutalities committed by the MNR against civilians not only in Mozambique but also in Zambia and Zimbabwe, and by Inkatha against its opponents, especially in Pietermaritzburg, since then, it does not need much imagination to understand what type of destructive

engagement message Borchgrave may have brought from the CIA via either his overall boss, Sun Moon, or his immediate one, Bo Hi Pak, to Dhlakama and Gatsha Buthelezi.

## **Heritage Foundation**

The Heritage Foundation has a long record of hostility, against not only Mozambique, but also the Front Line States as a whole. For example, in March 1979, Samuel T Francis, one of its policy analysts, wrote that the so-called Freedom House "places Mozambique in the least free category" of countries. And with a characteristic racial bias which pardons the apartheid regime for its mismanagement of the South African economy, widespread corruption and many other malpractices, Francis went on to write:

*"The widespread corruption, instability and outright tyranny in several of the Front Line States raise questions of how these governments would use increased assistance ... The Front Line States*

*need Western assistance more than the West needs them, regardless of their importance, and the Western States must have some assurance of change before they renew their economic and political commitments to them."*

Samuel T Francis' conclusion on both Mozambique and the Front Line States was based on information drawn from a *World Survey of Freedom*, published by "Freedom House" (already mentioned above), a right-wing organisation based in New York and sponsored by, among others, the Smith Richardson Foundation of North Carolina. "Freedom House" has made it its business to monitor human rights in socialist and developing countries, without looking into how successive US administrations have provided — and still provide — economic, military and political support to regimes that are gross violators of human rights, such as those in Chile, South Africa, South Korea, El Salvador, Guatemala and the Somoza regime in Nicaragua.

## **CIA, MNR and UNITA**

The Smith Foundation was established by the late Smith Richardson, son of the founder of the Vick Chemical Company. About seven years ago, the Smith Richardson Foundation sponsored a television programme favourable to the Central Intelligence Agency, called "Two Cheers for the CIA," to the tune of \$47 000. In 1978 alone, the Foundation provided \$850 000 to its Centre for Creative Leadership, which offers leadership courses to about 100 organisations in the US, and is known to have a special relationship with the CIA and Defence Department, each of which sent 35 staff personnel to its first training programme. One course developed by the Centre has now been taken over by the CIA for its own in-house training programme. Of late, "Freedom House" has been notable for its support of Jonas Savimbi's UNITA in Angola and Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha in South Africa.

The Homoine massacre was followed by secret trips made by General Magnus

Malan, the South African Minister of Defence, to the Comoro Islands in August and September of 1987. While there, General Malan is said to have vowed to make the defence of the Comoros "my business." It was at this time, when it was revealed that, though the government of President Ahmed Abdullah Abderrmane continues to receive substantial aid from France, the apartheid regime provides between four and five million dollars each year to the Comoros' presidential guard, the strongest military force on the islands, led by the mercenary, Bob Denard.

The advice given by Van Niekerk on 20th June 1984 was:

*"Renamo must continue to squeeze Machel, but in such a way as to use as little war material as possible (and) avoid combat with the FAM (Mozambican armed forces), giving more attention to destroying the economy, infrastructure, and controlling the population."*

The ultimate results of South African support for the MNR has been the cold-blooded and gruesome murder of several thousand people, many of them hacked to death with axes and machetes, beheaded and burned beyond recognition. About 400 000 people have been forced to flee as refugees into Zimbabwe, Zambia, Malawi and South Africa itself. Four million are threatened with death and starvation, while eight million are suffering from hunger. Two million have been forced off the land and are unable to receive relief aid because of MNR attacks against aid workers and the looting and destruction of food convoys.

## **Attacks Impoverish Mozambique**

Worst of all, South African destabilisation against Mozambique has turned this fraternal people into the poorest in the world, with about US\$100 as the average annual per capita income. The average life expectancy for men is just over 40 and for women is 37 years. The country has the highest rate of infant mortality in the world — higher

than Ethiopia, with 50% of children dying before the age of five. This means that 8 000 children die each day in Mozambique, and six every minute. Over 85% of the population is illiterate.

This terrible situation does not reflect any failure of socialism as a system, but is the direct result of the destabilisation carried out by the apartheid regime and compounded by the persistent drought and natural disasters. In fact, comparative figures for 1982, the year from which destabilisation against Mozambique got under way in earnest, give a better picture in virtually all spheres of Mozambican life, indicating that between June 25th 1975 and 1982 the Mozambican government had scored some successes.

Talking of the above situation, Lieutenant-Colonel Clement Gaza, Chairman of the Zimbabwe-Mozambique Friendship Association (ZIMOFSA) after visiting Mozambique's refugee camps in late August 1987, said:

*"I talked with people there who had barely enough skin to cover their skeletons. Their bones make noises under the skin ... horrific ... the most terrible situation of our generation."*

This assessment was backed by Eddie Cross, Chief Executive of the Beira Corridor Group (BCG), a powerful consortium of nearly 250 companies operating in Southern Africa, when he gave a briefing on South Africa and the war in Mozambique. During the briefing, he stated:

*"The scenes I've seen travelling in Mozambique just don't bear description. When you see whole populations with insufficient clothes for basic decency, women without any clothes whatsoever, children, men, it's absolutely horrifying ... you cannot fully appreciate the scale of the suffering — but it hits you at individual level if you travel across the border as a businessman. I saw families without clothes as well as food. I picked up an emaciated teenager in my arms as if he were a baby. I found one youth, near death, who had been eating grass."*

Finally, Cross stated clearly:

*"... the human suffering down there has*

*to be put, to some extent, at the foot of the South Africans."*

Harvey Tyson, editor of the Johannesburg Star, wrote:

*"mankind ... will remember South Africa's role as a sinister one."*

Lieutenant-Colonel Gaza concluded by saying:

*"I don't think the MNR's backers would give them any more bullets if they could see it with their own eyes."*

This goes for the Reagan administration, whose new secretary for defence, Frank Carlucci, has recently held a one-hour meeting with a group of six right-wing MNR supporters from the Republican Party, and to which the MNR's paymasters in Pretoria should be very grateful for allowing them to share US Army terror tactics as contained in the CIA manual, *Psychological Operations in Guerrilla Warfare*.

## United States Complicity

The six MNR right-wing supporters in the meeting with Frank Carlucci included Tom Schaaf already mentioned, Paul Weyrich, leader of the New Right and chairman of the Foundation for Education and Research for a Free Congress; Neal Blair, chairman of Free the Eagle, a right-wing pressure group; Grover Norquist, political adviser to Republican Party presidential hopeful Pete du Point, and William Pascoe, a policy analyst from the Heritage Foundation. Du Point dismisses the BCG project of reducing the dependence of Mozambique and Zimbabwe on South Africa by revitalising the roads, bridges and rail lines leading to the port of Beira as:

*"nothing more than a thinly disguised bail-out of governments with policies inimical to US interests in the region."*

MNR — 12

The meeting between Frank Carlucci and this group is a disturbing development of the worst kind. It appears even more so in the wake of the disclosure that the visit the late William Casey, then director of CIA, made to South Africa in March 1986 was to

make arrangements for covert arms supplies to UNITA. This was corroborated later, at the 'Irangate' hearings, by evidence of arms shipments from the US via Honduras, Switzerland and Belgium to the Angolan bandit group, and evidence that the disgraced Colonel Oliver North had paid a visit to the UNITA headquarters at Jamba.

Some observers have also expressed the fear that the supply of US arms to UNITA since the Clark Amendment was revoked could (if it does not do so already) serve as a secret conduit of US weapons and other war material to both the apartheid regime and its other surrogate force, the MNR.

## **A Puppet Group Without Politics.**

Before his death last September, Ken Flower was to confirm the widely held view that the MNR is just a puppet group involved in thuggish banditry inside Mozambique, and, with the exception of a threadbare manifesto, does not have any political programme. In doing this, he openly denied the credentials of the MNR as a genuine nationalist movement, and stated:

*"It's not a bona fide guerrilla movement because they have not got a clear political objective. I'll take it further than that: they probably couldn't have continued to exist without our (Rhodesian) assistance; they probably couldn't continue now without somebody else's assistance. We helped, we trained — inside Rhodesia — and those inside Mozambique provided the recruits. Their motivation was money."*

This expression of opinion is a bitter pill to swallow for those who are doing everything in their power to push the Reagan administration to give the MNR official recognition and support. Among these are US legislators such as Jack Kemp, Jesse Helms, Robert Dornan, Paul Trible, Malcolm Wallop and Dan Burton. The last two had proposed to the US Congress legislation which would have had the effect of providing US\$5 million to the MNR, but failed to get anywhere near winning majority support.

However, the meeting between Frank Carlucci and the six MNR supporters seems to represent the first major step taken by the Reagan administration towards giving both official and covert support to the MNR. What's more, it constitutes one more clear attempt by the Reagan administration to turn the MNR from its present status of roaming bands and, as Harvey Tyson describes it, "a changing mixture of soldiers, mercenaries, bandits and criminals" into a respectable and credible group of dedicated anti-communist fighters, at least in the eyes of US public opinion.

This is in contrast to the position held by Melisa Wells, a career diplomat and former US ambassador to Cape Verde Islands and Guinea Bissau, and now the new US ambassador to Mozambique. Wells rightly describes the MNR as bandits and terrorists, and maintains that:

*"The actions of the MNR are not those of a nationalist movement. It is politically fragmented. It has no political programme and has not shown evidence of a structure, other than military, that could be called a permanent presence in the country."*

This, more than anything else, goes to show how much the Reagan administration and its conservative supporters in the US Senate are out of step with the broad and realistic thinking found within US public opinion and in most parts of the world.

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# REVIEW ARTICLE

# THE SANCTIONS QUESTION

By Vella Pillay

Merle Lipton, *Sanctions and South Africa: The Dynamics of Economic Isolation*, Special Report No 119, Economic Intelligence Unit, London, January 1988.

The timing of the publication of this well-publicised report was, by some curious twist of fate, both politically apt and something approaching a disaster. It came out just before (boycotted by Britain) the Commonwealth foreign ministers met in Lusaka to explore further the possibilities of extending economic sanctions against the South African apartheid regime. The influence of the report on that meeting must have been felt, given the assessment of the *Financial Times* that it bears out the anti-sanctions stance of Mrs Margaret Thatcher and "represents a challenge to advocates of tougher economic measures against South Africa."

If the report has an essence — and this will need some examination here — it is that the case for sanctions largely ignores "the key question of their actual effect in securing the desired political changes within South Africa." From this emerges an extended survey and study of the positions taken by those advocating and those opposing sanctions, together with a kind of cost-benefit analysis, whose outcome is a slanted and tendentious set of conclusions as summarised in the statement that: "... external pressures may be most effective in achieving their ostensible aims when they reinforce internal pressures (apparently for 'reform') and do not arouse the security fears of the ruling Whites."

Contrary to Ms Lipton's contention, there have been a large number of studies in this respect. The United Nations Centre Against Apartheid has issued a stream of such studies since 1965. The 1963 interna-

tional conference on sanctions was similarly based on a number of research papers all bearing on this question. Similar statements and reports have been published by the Anti-Apartheid Movement in Britain.

## Anti-Sanctions Campaign: Central Plank Collapses

The timing of the report was also a disaster for Ms Lipton. Within a month of its publication, the central plank of anti-



sanctions campaigners had collapsed, with the banning on February 24th of 17 organisations within the country, including the 2 000 000-strong United Democratic Front, and the parallel restriction orders on a number of important Black political leaders who have campaigned for a negotiated settlement in favour of a unitary, democratic and non-racial South Africa. Who can now have any trust in what Ms Lipton calls "the more powerful internal socio-economic and political forces that are already restructuring society," or what Mrs Thatcher terms "dialogue with the possibility of peaceful negotiations"?

The report has all the features of a well-documented analysis, meticulously researched and designed to reveal the factors and forces which bear on the question of both the feasibility and the impact of economic sanctions against South Africa. On these aspects of the survey there will be little cause for disagreement.

And yet the report is an irritating document to read. The analysis for and against economic sanctions is examined at some *Anti-Apartheid march, London, 1987*



length but in a manner which makes unclear the direction of Ms Lipton's own thinking, let alone where the balance of evidence rests. It is an analysis peppered with 'ifs' and 'buts', words like 'omissions' and 'exceptions', and from it emerges a strong feeling that the report, in its overall effect, may be no more than a skilful attempt to subvert the cause of economic sanctions as an instrument of international policy.

Ms Lipton views the importance of sanctions as merely "symbolic" — a piece of symbolism which "has overshadowed the question of their actual impact on South Africa." And yet, in her analysis of the South African economy, she accepts that South Africa is a substantial "open economy" — that foreign trade, the supply of foreign capital and the inflows of foreign technology and migrants have been, and remain, critical for the stability and growth of the economy. If logic has a role here, then evidently all notions of self-sufficiency, 'siege economy' and autarchy must be myths, and, next, the economic isolation of South Africa through sanctions can and must have a powerful impact on the socio-economic and political formation of racist South Africa.

## Where Are the 'Reforms'?

The report gives pride of place to the anti-sanctions position of South African White liberals and the business and mining companies. Ms Lipton believes that they have become increasingly influential proponents of 'reform', and goes on to suggest that the present regime itself has been moving in the direction of 'reform' in line with the pressures coming from the growing impact of market relations on the economy. And yet, as her own study shows, a substantial majority of the White population has systematically voted for precisely maintaining this unique racist formation in a situation of ever-increasing subordination, division and compartmentalisation of the 85% of the population who are Black.

What is particularly disappointing is the failure of the report to discuss in some depth the structural aspects of the apart-

On March 7th 1988, a resolution came before the United Nations Security Council, calling for the following sanctions against South Africa:

- Bans on investment and loans
- Bans on trade
- Bans on the sale of oil
- Bans on the importation of iron and steel
- Bans on the sale of krugerrands
- Bans on military, police and intelligence co-operation.

Britain vetoed the resolution, and it was therefore not passed.

Japan, France and the Federal Republic of Germany abstained from voting.

heid system, in particular the centrality of the system of cheap labour mobilisation and its organised deployment in the various sectors of the economy. This has determined the process of capital accumulation and the growth of the apartheid economy since its formal foundation in 1910, and particularly in the post-war years.

Ms Lipton acknowledges, but without in any way examining its implications, the fact that some 83% of the shares quoted on the Johannesburg stock exchange are controlled by four major conglomerates with wide-ranging interests in gold and in other mineral mining (premier centres of cheap labour employment) as well as in all the major sectors of industry, agriculture and finance.

A recent study<sup>1</sup> of one of these conglomerates provides ample evidence to suggest that seven companies in South

Africa comprise a cartel, and possess such a degree of capital concentration and monopoly control over the economic life of the country as to make them decisive in both managing and shaping the apartheid economy. (They are: the Anglo-American Corporation, Nedbank, the SA Mutual group, Barlow Rand, CGS Food, SANLAM and Liberty Life.) They will soon be able to take over the planned privatisation of the parastatal corporations, thereby further concentrating wealth in their own hands and expanding their influence and power in the economy and over the direction of state policy.

The conglomerates are unlikely to sustain the profitability of their massive operations without an international market for their gold, coal and other minerals, or the cheap labour which the system guarantees.

## **What Are The Interests of Big Business?**

Alas, Ms Lipton does not extend her analysis to these highly relevant questions with a view to defining more clearly where the interests of big business reside. She merely seeks to convince us, as she has done in her earlier writings, that capitalist market relations require a mobile labour force, and that hence, by definition, South African employers are opposed to apartheid and must be among the foremost exponents of 'reform'.

What is equally lacking in Ms Lipton's report is an assessment of the other key developments which bear on her central arguments. Had she done so she would have been more cautious about the alleged process of 'reform'. Colin Stoneman takes up this latter issue with justifiable anger in his review of the report by detailing the forced upheaval and eviction of some 1 000 000 people from their traditional areas of abode, the clearing of so-called 'black spots' and much else.<sup>2</sup>

The apartheid economy takes the form of an inverted pyramid. The narrow base is the gold and other mineral mining industries. That base upholds a burgeoning industrial economy and with it the high-cost



privileges of the White minority. In this respect, the apartheid system is considerably more than a system of institutionalised racism, namely the denial by law and regulation of the most elementary human rights to sections of the population on the basis of their race and colour. The base of the economy has always depended on the massive application of what in South Africa has been called, "low-grade human energy," that is, the mobilisation and press-ganging of Black labour, made cheap by a comprehensive structure of racist land, property and labour laws.

Yes, trade unions have been legalised, but every strike has been met with lock-outs, mass sackings and police violence. The struggle for higher wages has been bitter, involving many deaths and ending in no more than a slow upward movement in wage levels in an overall situation marked by price inflation of 16% or more a year. However, mining profits remain some 400% of the wage costs of the Black labour force of over 400 000.

Sustaining this situation in the past decade has not been easy in the face of rising political consciousness and opposition, the increasing militancy of the workers and, of course, the profound changes in the overall southern African political region.

The instruments of coercion and repression had to be further developed and paid for, the armed forces expanded through conscription, and the bureaucracy massively increased to manage the institutions of apartheid. Today, in South Africa, a full 40% of the adult Afrikaner work force is in the employment of the state. The bloated bureaucracy employs one civil servant to every 27 people in the country, excluding those working in the homelands and who are in the pay of Pretoria. The corresponding ratio in the United States is 1:80.

## **Budget Deficits And Overseas Borrowing**

On top of these costs come those of the wars of destabilisation in Angola and Mozambique and the armed occupation of Namibia. The resultant massive growth of

the apartheid state machine has led to substantial state budget deficits which now approach almost 5% of the GDP. Rising volumes of the economic surplus have thus had to be placed at the disposal of the state and its war machine. This has caused an aggravating disequilibrium in the economy. Borrowings from abroad partially helped to contain this situation, and prevent it from turning into a full crisis. That crisis erupted with full force when new lending from the banks came to a stop in 1986.<sup>3</sup>

Had Ms Lipton looked at these fundamentals she would have shown a greater appreciation of both the scale and the depth of a crisis whose source lay in the growing costs of sustaining the structures of apartheid. Perhaps she would have also found the real reasons for South Africa's heavy external borrowings in the period up to 1986, and why that country's net foreign liabilities have now reached well above 50% of the GDP. She is correct in seeing the escalating impact of sanctions as a direct result of the internal upheavals and the pressures generated through international anti-apartheid movements for the ending of bank loans and for other trade and cultural embargoes.

However, what is lacking is an appreciation of the structural nature of the economic crisis, and that profits — the *raison d'être* of the apartheid system — have been irretrievably undermined by the rising costs of maintaining that system in place. International sanctions, incremental or otherwise, have played a notable supporting role in generating this crisis. Its further development is certain to add immensely to these costs and produce more far-reaching changes than the mere rearrangements of the furniture of apartheid which the 'reform' process represents.

Ms Lipton assesses that some 58% of South Africa's exports, mainly gold and other minerals, are unlikely to be vulnerable to sanctions, either because they are fungible (gold) or sufficiently strategic to be immune from sanctions.

This is a questionable assumption. Peter Robbins and Ian Lepper have developed a mechanism for an international embargo on South African gold which takes account of the several known difficulties in this area

of international sanctions. And, perhaps, as with the campaign against bank loans and the Krugerrand, so a campaign against apartheid gold could become feasible given the possibilities for generating formidable pressures on the major central banks in this respect.<sup>4</sup>

Peter Robbins has also done much work on other minerals to prove that South Africa is not in any way critical for meeting global requirements of certain metals and minerals for which South Africa is allegedly a monopoly producer.<sup>5</sup>

## What Debate? What Dialogue?

Perhaps it is the widespread concern of the South African business community that sanctions are biting<sup>6</sup> and that further measures for sanctions can and will hasten the demise of White minority rule, which move Ms Lipton to come off the fence in the concluding paragraphs of her report. She suggests that incremental sanctions reduce the "political space" for debate and dialogue — a line which Mrs Thatcher uses to justify her anti-sanctions stance, and this despite the closing of all doors to such a debate through the banning and repression of the Black opposition organisations and their leaders. Ms Lipton argues that further measures for sanctions are more likely to impede than accelerate 'reform' — a proposition which is powerfully contradicted by the historical experience of the systematic enlargement and perfection of the structures of apartheid and repression during the relatively sanctions-free decades since the 1950s.

More significant is Ms Lipton's worry that sanctions "might contribute to the erosion of White control," which is "likely" to lead to partition or a divided South Africa. She does not analyse this latter proposition — had she done so she would have quickly realised that a White enclave in a Black South Africa is a pipe dream, unless she has in mind something like the present 87% of country being retained by the 16% of the population who are White. This is, of course, what the struggle against apartheid is largely about.

These conclusions do touch on the kernel of Ms Lipton's problem, namely the difficulties of the business community and White liberals alike in contemplating a future South Africa except on terms which guarantee that all the essential levers of power and creation of wealth remain fixed in the hands of the White minority. That position has been singularly threatened by the liberation struggle — a struggle in which the face of the current repression totally enhances the prospect of uncontrollable explosions of civil unrest and violence and hence of a more acute economic crisis and collapse.

The Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group, in its seminal report on the situation in South Africa came to a conclusion profoundly different from that of Ms Lipton. It held that in the absence of appropriate measures for sanctions — measures advanced at the Nassau Commonwealth Summit of October 1985 — "Pretoria will defer change." It went on to declare that only such measures "may offer the last opportunity to avert the worst bloodbath since the second world war."<sup>7</sup>

This stands as perhaps the most trenchant riposte to Ms Lipton's basic contention that there exists a "virtual absence of serious debate of the effects (of sanctions) on South Africa" — a riposte which she blithely ignores in her 122-page report.

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