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# SECHABA

official organ of the african  
national congress south africa



LONG  
LIVE  
THE PEOPLE'S  
REPUBLIC  
OF ANGOLA

Comrade President Dos Santos



## EDITORIAL

# Apartheid Morality

The two years of drought have pushed South Africa's agricultural industry to the brink of disaster — an unprecedented disaster — say the South African newspapers. There is below average rainfall. We are told that as long as the rains hold off South Africa will continue to lose 50,000 tons of maize a day, which represents a loss of income to farmers of R10 million a day.

Good rains would not increase the crop prospects, but would "stabilise" the situation and prevent further disastrous losses, they argue. Vast areas of the country's ranching areas of grazing are affected, and cattle losses could be calamitous during the coming winter; homelands cattle are dying in their hundreds; discussions are going on about maize prices for drought-ravaged crops. Higher prices are being demanded. This has led to a manipulation of prices: the current price is R155 but prices could go up to R380 a ton.

We are told that the drought has robbed the country of hundreds of millions of rands in foreign exchange; drought will cost South Africa an R800 million foreign exchange loss during the 1983-84 export season and



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this will have negative effects on the balance of payments; agricultural exports in a normal year constitute about 20% of all exports, excluding gold. Because of the drought the country would have to suspend its export programme and this affects the earnings of the railways and harbours, compounding the financial difficulties of the South African Transport Services. Crop farmers as well as cattle and sheep farmers are affected. Water cut backs are being introduced in areas like Natal. The threat of famine is real.

There is something very wrong here. It is not a matter of faulty logic. No one seems to care about the plight of the Africans; the pre-occupation is how the drought affects their profits and pockets!

It is true that the plight of our people cannot be adequately expressed in figures and statistics: it is suffering, starvation, exploitation, national degradation and racial discrimination, disease, emotional and psychological instability and death.

Let us take the case of our health as an example. Our people have been suffering and have been ravaged by diseases long before the drought struck South Africa. The regime's policies are to blame for the high incidence of disease in the homelands. An estimated 240 out of every 1 000 children in "resettlement camps" die before they are one year old. This compares with an infant mortality rate of 10 out of



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1000 among the white children in Cape Town. Diseases which find a favourable home in the homelands — and which are getting worse in spite of medical advancement — include tuberculosis, polio, typhoid, cholera, trachoma and kwashiorkor. The health situation in the rural areas has been steadily declining.

Population removals diminish people's resources and create much stress, inevitably leading to a high incidence of disease. Starvation and a general lack of food in the "resettlement" camps predisposes people to a number of diseases which are largely responsible for the high infant mortality rate. Inadequate sanitation responsible for water-borne diseases — an indicator of this being the cholera outbreak of the past two years — and poor housing have a negative effect on health.

Health services for "resettlement" areas are minimal, a "matter of luck"; distance from hospitals, transport to get to them or visits by mobile clinics are some of the hurdles. Yet we are told of multi-million rand casinos and hotel complexes in and around the bantustans!

These diseases are not "diseases of underdevelopment" but the cornerstone of apartheid morality. Starvation and poverty in South Africa are not a result of a natural disaster but are man made, a result of the disastrous policies of apartheid. This is genocide!



# Angola is not Seeking Peace at Any Price

The racist South African regime, with the assistance of the United States, and the Mobuto dictatorship in Zaire, which has just concluded a defence agreement with Israel, is now intensifying its campaign to 'destabilise' the government of the People's Republic of Angola. In view of this, we print here some of the statements that have been made on the situation by the Political Bureau of the MPLA, the Angolan President, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, and the Minister of External Relations, Paulo Jorge.

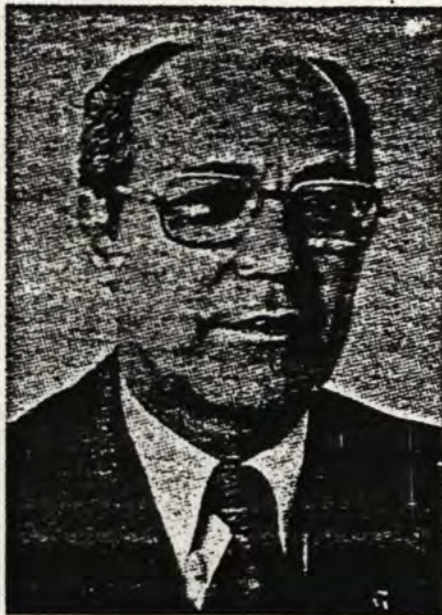
In a statement issued on the 4th February, 1983, to commemorate the beginning of the armed struggle for liberation in Angola, the Political Bureau of MPLA defined the state of affairs:

"South Africa, spearhead of international imperialism in Southern Africa, is occupying a substantial part of our national territory and supporting, training and arming puppet gangs who, apart from spreading terror and death among our people, are destroying strategic economic targets as part of the destabilising activity aimed at preventing the consolidation of our independence and the development of the People's Republic of Angola on the road to socialism."

The statement went on to accuse the press and other information services in the west of misrepresenting the situation in Angola:

"From the ideological standpoint, and within the context of this imperialist political and military offensive, a vast international disinformation campaign has been unleashed, aimed not only as discrediting the People's Republic of Angola, but at dividing our people and confusing Party members by putting out false reports."

In the same month, the Minister of External Relations, while on a visit to London, moved to counteract the 'disinformation campaign' by holding a press conference, at which he accused some of the western countries of putting out reports intended to "deform the reality of our country." In this connection, he dealt with two matters — reports that at the Sal talks in Cape Verde



*Angolan Foreign Minister, Paulo Jorge*

the South African representatives had proposed a ceasefire, and reports that the Angolan Government had been negotiating with the Pretoria-backed rebels of UNITA.

#### **Fabrications in the Western Press.**

He declared that all these reports were fabrications. In answer to a question about ceasefire proposals, he said:

"...we saw the proposal you are referring to in the western press. At the meeting in Sal between the two delegations the South African delegation did not propose any ceasefire. The meeting between official Angolan and South African delegations took place at the request of the South African government. And the proposal for that meeting was merely an exchange of views to see what steps could be taken to find a solution to the war situation prevailing in Southern Africa. And these ideas were clearly also related to the independence of Namibia. And the South African delegation in fact proposed a further meeting between the two delegations. That meeting has not yet taken place, although the western press has already

announced that it took place and that there was such a ceasefire agreement, which is not true."

He dismissed the suggestion that the Angolan government had been negotiating with UNITA:

"The position of the Central Committee of our Party and the position of the Angolan Government is that there is absolutely no question of any conciliation, or reconciliation, as we now hear, between the Angolan Government and that band of puppets and traitors. And if that group of bandits is still able to do anything in our country, it is thanks to the massive support it is given by the racist Pretoria regime. That group of bandits does not have the military capacity to face up to a confrontation with our armed forces. And we are convinced that with the independence of Namibia, this problem will be gradually solved."

#### **Racist Mercenaries**

The Minister was asked some questions about the foreign mercenaries now imprisoned in Angola, and one in particular, whose children have no relatives to care for them. He replied:

"...in making...a gesture of clemency, the Angolan Government must also take into account the feelings of the Angolan people, insofar as many members of the Angolan population also lost their relatives who were killed through the dreadful activity of these mercenaries...And we have parents who lost their children through the activity of these mercenaries."

#### **'Contact Group' and 'Linkage'**

At the conference, the position of the Western Contact Group concerning 'linkage' between the withdrawal of South African troops from Namibia and Cuban troops from Angola, was touched on more than once. In answer to various questions put to him on the subject, Comrade Jorge said:

"...that question has been put to me very often and I have answered it very often. If answering it today means that I will not

hear the same question in times to come, I shall be very pleased. The question of the presence of Cuban forces in Angola has to do with the twofold invasion carried out by two regular armies a few weeks before the proclamation of independence in 1975. And when this double invasion took place the problem of Namibia's independence was not involved. It should be recalled that the Contact Group was set up in 1977, two years after these events. Security Council Resolution 435 was adopted in 1978, three years after these events, and it does not refer to the presence of Cuban forces in Angola...

"The Angolan position is as follows. We consider that once a ceasefire has been established — a ceasefire between SWAPO and the Pretoria regime, since the Pretoria regime is illegally occupying Namibian territory — which would mean the first step towards the implementation of the United Nations plan, in accordance with Security Council Resolution 435, and this plan has four aspects — a ceasefire, the gradual reduction of South African forces in Namibia, the participation of United Nations forces, and free and fair elections for Namibia's independence... We were therefore saying that once a ceasefire has been established and once the United Nations plan is under way, in our view the possibilities of aggression and armed invasion by the racist Pretoria regime will have been considerably reduced. And on the basis of the process under way for Namibia's independence, the Angolan Government will examine, with the Cuban Government, the drawing up of a new programme for the gradual reduction of Cuban forces in Angola.

*"The Cuban forces are in Angola on the invitation of the Angolan Government, and the same is not true of the South African forces, whom we did not invite..."*

"What we fail to understand is how it can be that an American delegation, knowing that the African continent clearly rejects the attempt at 'linkage,' knowing also that the Non-Aligned Movement rejects the attempt at 'linkage,' and when the Americans also know that the General Assembly of the

United Nations itself — recently in December — adopted a resolution clearly rejecting that attempt, should come and talk about that same problem again."

Later, he added:

"What we fail to understand is the concern expressed, especially by some of the western press, about the presence of Cuban forces in Angola, when they do not show the same concern about the presence of South African forces in the People's Republic of Angola, illegally occupying part of its territory. At the same time, one cannot understand why they do not have the same concern about the presence of multiple American military contingents in various parts of the world. Why are they not also concerned about the presence of American contingents on Cuban territory?"

He laid the blame for the present deadlock over 'linkage' on the United States:

"As we see it, the United States bears the main responsibility for the present impasse in the solution of the problem of Namibia, which responsibility is also shared, in our view, by the Pretoria regime."

#### President dos Santos' Statement.

In a speech made on the occasion of the visit to Angola of the United Nations Secretary-General, the President of Angola accused the Reagan government of causing this deadlock and of deliberately bringing about the failure of the 1981 Geneva talks on the independence of Namibia:

"The conference failed for reasons independent of our will and at a time when the United States Government was changing administration. Then, on the initiative of that government, there came into being the concept of phases of implementation of Resolution 435 and that of regional security problems, in a veiled attempt to introduce into the negotiating process elements extraneous to Resolution 435, the internationally accepted basis for the solution to the Namibian problem. One of these extraneous and utterly unacceptable elements is the artificial 'linkage' of the decolonisation of



Namibia with the presence of Cuban internationalists in Angola."

The President then added:

*"The People's Republic of Angola is not seeking peace at any price."*

**PEOPLE'S  
WAR —  
the task is  
to make  
these words  
a reality**



**Interview with  
Comrade Joe Slovo**

Below SECHABA publishes an interview which first appeared in DAWN, the journal of Umkhonto we Sizwe, armed wing of the African National Congress. The interview was conducted with Comrade Joe Slovo. He was asked first for his assessment of the main features of the current politico-military situation in the Southern African region and he replied:

In general, it can be said that today in Southern Africa we are witnessing perhaps one of the most intense and co-ordinated offensives by imperialism. The purpose of this offensive is clear: it is to destroy Angola and Mozambique because of the advanced social systems which are being built there; to delay Namibian independence and when it comes to ensure the installation of a puppet regime; to destabilise all the surrounding states and make sure that they are compliant with the sub-system of imperialism which is centred on South Africa in the South; and above all to strangle our struggle.

This offensive shows itself in a number of ways and the world has seen in the recent period the kind of activities which are being undertaken in pursuit of this offensive. There is open aggression by South Africa against Angola. There has been the invasion of Lesotho with the massacre of not only ANC refugees but local Lesotho citizens; there are the Zimbabwe incursions; and apart from these direct acts of aggression there is aggression through the proxies of the South African racists and of imperialism generally.

There is Unita in Angola, MNR in Mozambique. There is the preparation of vast numbers of ex-Selous Scouts in various parts of South Africa, some of whom have already committed aggressive acts within Zimbabwe, admitted by the South African Defence Force. There is the encouragement, arming and support for the BCP based in South Africa which regularly makes raids into independent Lesotho.

Particularly sinister is the recent

development in the region in terms of which the Zairean government has embraced the regime whose actions in the Middle East have horrified the world, i.e. the Israel fascists. Recently, Shamir visited Zaire with a band of 90 military advisers and it is clear that what is intended there is to create another front against the embattled government of Angola if there should be a settlement in Namibia. In other words, to create military forces for the purpose of lending more support for the old, discredited FNLA.

Apart from these direct and open acts of actual military involvement there is also the economic and diplomatic offensive by imperialism, which uses its most important sector, i.e. racist South Africa. There too the purpose is clear; to undermine the resolve of independent Africa in support of our struggle. We have recently witnessed the pressures and threats against countries like Swaziland, and there are many other examples. It is clear in general that imperialism has chosen South Africa as one of the zones of time-strategic importance in the world, not only in Africa. And imperialism is devoting its considerable and many-sided resources to attempt to reverse the gains of the independence process and more particularly to destroy the new social systems that have emerged, and even more especially to destroy the revolutionary movements like Swapo and the ANC. It clearly must not be allowed to succeed, and one can say that it can be stopped, that with the continued, growing and necessary support of the socialist world, of the progressive forces in the rest of the world, and above all through our own struggle, this process can be stopped.

Coming to our country, I think to give the main characterisation in brief, one would say that first of all there is at the moment a serious economic crisis with the main burden of the crisis clearly falling on the black people and in particular, the black working class. For a short time (about 8 a year ago) the rise in the price of gold

interrupted this decline in the economy. But now it is admitted on all sides that South Africa is in trouble. There is a negative growth rate, a decline in investments in the manufacturing sector, a growing deficit in the balance of payments — it had to be rescued recently by the International Monetary Fund which interestingly enough did not impose in South Africa the kind of conditions which it always attempts to impose on developing countries. It is only too ready to give South Africa an enormous loan without insisting on any of those conditions which we know usually amount to interference in the internal affairs of the country who accepts the loans.

In addition, there is a decline recently in foreign investments. If one leaves aside these high-sounding phrases about growth rate and so on and so forth, for the people it really adds up to one thing: A GROWING MISERY.

Unemployment is reaching the 3 million mark, the wage packets people are getting are buying less and less, consumer goods, rents are rising, transport costs are rising etc. In the military sphere, I think it is obvious to all that what we are witnessing in South Africa is the militarisation of the whole state. The defence costs are rising; there is the rising influence of the military apparatus at every level of the government; every white from the age of 16 to 60 is expected to answer the military call-up; and in general one can say the influence of the military as evidenced by the elevation of Malan, is rising and will continue to rise in a state which can really only depend for its survival, in the end, on brute force.

Basically, one can say the most important process taking place relates to the new constitutional proposals we have been hearing about in the recent period. We know that these proposals are basically designed to split the growing unity of the black people. I think that it is sad indeed that the Labour Party, which in the past has played such a positive role in the struggle against apartheid, has become tempted to

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collaborate in what we can only describe as 'this grand design' of apartheid. And it is interesting to note in this regard, that no sooner was the decision taken from the Labour Party conference, than Botha himself, the government press, the US State Department, the British Foreign Office and other similar groups welcomed it with joy and celebration. We are confident that in the long run the Coloured people will not allow themselves to be used in this way. The only future of all the people, including the Coloured people, lies in black unity.

In general it can be said that in South Africa there is no way the racists can maintain their rule without black collaboration. Their strategy of survival rests on this: to win the Coloureds on their side, to win the Indians on their side, to build the power of their African puppets in the Bantustans, to fill the army, the police force and their security services with African, Indian and Coloured collaborators, and to win the Black middle class to their side by a few concessions.

Looking at the situation in South Africa, one can say that it is the special irony of South African history that the perpetuation of the whole structure of white domination — economic, military and political — depends upon the very people who are oppressed and exploited by it. When this truth is fully realised by all people and acted upon, there can be no doubt that racist power will crumble like a structure which is built on sand.

On the sharpening contradictions within the ruling Nationalist Party of Botha and Malan, Comrade Slovo had this to say:

Every serious revolutionary movement takes advantage of all divisions that may emerge within the ruling camp. For us too, the divisions we have seen developing within white politics are something we have to take into account very seriously. It is of advantage in the long run to the revolution-

ary struggle. There have been very important new divisions which have emerged particularly in the Nationalist Party. What is at the bottom of these divisions?

There is no time to make long analyses about this in the course of this short interview. In general, one can say that some of the divisions have an economic cause because although all classes within the white group benefit from white domination, they do not all benefit to the same extent and in the same way and therefore you have occasional policies advanced by the ruling class which may do a little bit of immediate damage say to the white working class, or to other groups within what one will broadly call the white ruling class, its appendages and its supporters.

There are of course other divisions which are not based in pure economics and these are connected very often just with the political power struggle which goes on inside and outside the ruling National Party. So one could say much more on this. But for us really the important question is whether we can conclude that within the sphere of white politics there is any hope of a fundamental change of course in favour of the people, I think the answer that we must give is an unqualified NO. There is no such prospect.

For example, our movement is trying to bring about a revolution, to put it simply. To put it simply again, ranged against us are forces who are trying to stop that revolution. Now, we know that even within our ranks, within the ranks of the revolutionary movement, we debate. We sometimes even disagree on how to make that revolution. But we are in one camp. We eventually reach a consensus and whatever differences of emphasis emerge from time to time, as to what is the best way of making the revolution, of advancing it at any given movement, we belong to the same camp. And in a sense, from a reverse point of view, it is the same with the enemy. There is basic agreement between them that the purpose is to try and stop that revolution.

Whether it is Treurnicht, whether it is Botha, whether it is the Republican Party, whether it is the PFP — the one thing that is common to all of them is that they belong to that group which is trying to stop our concept of the revolution.

Of course there are differences within their camp as there are differences within our ranks. There are differences between them on what is the best way of stopping that revolution, what is the best way of maintaining white domination. And therefore, much of the division within the camp of white politics relates to the very polemic, to the very debate on tactics, a debate on how far they must go at every given moment in pursuit of something which is common to all of them, i.e. to stop the creation within South Africa of one united non-racial democracy. And every serious force in white politics has a policy which is based on that objective, on that there can be no doubt.

There is one more thing to be said and that is the division we have noticed recently; the emergence of new political forces within the white community indicates strengthening of right-wing rather than left-wing tendencies. We can say further that because of the split-away of the rightists from the right-wing National Party, we can expect that so-called verligtes like Botha are going to be increasingly tempted to move more and more in the direction of the right in order to maintain their support amongst their traditional groups in the town and countryside. We can see this process taking place in the so-called liberal elements in the white community. Even the PFP which we have never regarded as a revolutionary force, but has expressed some liberal and humane concepts in the past, is now being pushed in this direction. It was disgusting to read how their spokesmen praised the murderers of the South African Defence Force when they moved to murder the men, women and children in Maseru. It is equally disgusting to read in the columns of the

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Financial Mail, which in the past has

projected itself broadly as the supporter of Oppenheimer, the PFP etc., when it is inciting the government to hunt and murder us wherever we are.

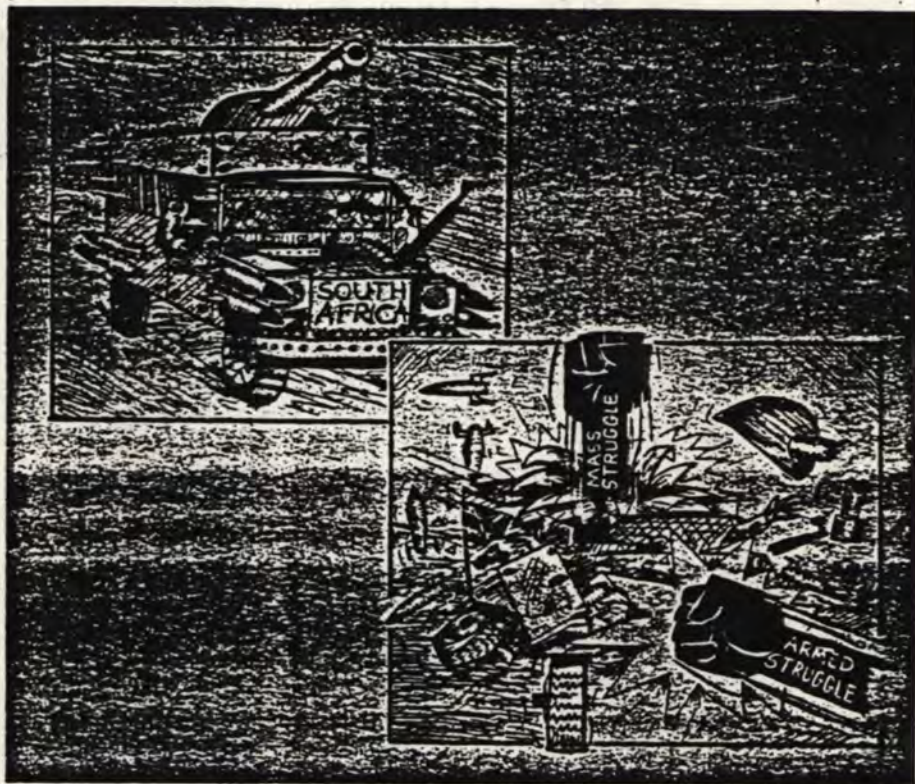
So, to end up, where there are divisions we must not ignore them — they weaken the enemy. Even divisions within the right weaken the enemy. But the dangerous thing would be for us to expect, as some people sometimes are misled to expect, that within the sphere of white politics there will be some kind of move or there is some kind of potential for a real advance in the direction of fundamental change in South Africa. That can only take place through our struggle and through our power.

Comrade Slovo explained the connection between the tasks of this year and those of last year as follows:

In brief I may say that looking at the 3 year period you referred to, it was a period of perhaps the most amazing advance and achievement in the whole history of our organisation. It is true to say that it is during this 3 year period that the ANC was accepted as never before as the only serious opponent to the racist regime. It is regarded everywhere as a viable alternative force for future power, by the world, by Africa and more importantly by our own people.

This has happened not because people have suddenly come to understand what we are and the correctness of our policies. It has happened because people have seen what we have done in action. People have witnessed the calibre of our leadership inside the country; the readiness of our cadres to sacrifice even to the extent of giving their lives in the course of liberation. It is this revolutionary practice and not just revolutionary theory which has won for us this unchallenged place.

In the political field our underground has grown and has over the period more and more been able to provide guidance to mass



struggles. In the military field we have proved that there is no target beyond our reach; whether be it Sasol, Voortrekkerhoogte or nuclear power stations. And the connection between the tasks of this year and those of last year is that we have to build on these achievements. The slogan of united action is appropriate and is the key because, as I have already mentioned, the enemy has, as never before, embarked upon a policy of dividing the black people. Therefore the struggle against Bantustans, against the new constitutional proposals, against the community council, is inseparable and indivisible.

It is not enough to just keep on saying: we are one people in one country, we must ensure that we act in that way. We have to ensure that the one people in South Africa,

consisting in the first place of the black oppressed, of the African, Indian and Coloured people, together with those sections of whites who are prepared to come in, in an unqualified manner, and join the revolutionary struggle, act in unity. It is the united action of these forces which is the key to this coming period. And in general, although it has been rephrased and reworded, it is now the slogan of united action, it is basically the continuation of what we set ourselves in 1982, only more so.

Comrade Slovo looked at the question of the organisation of trade unionism in South Africa and assessed the problems confronting our revolution in the vital field of working class mobilisation in the following way:

Like all projections into the future, the prospects depend upon our liberation movement. Left to itself, without the participation and leadership of our revolutionary movement, we cannot expect great things from the great events that are happening in South Africa, i.e. the growth in the organisation of the black workers. I say this advisedly and let me explain why. We know that there has been an enormous and unprecedented leap forward in the field of trade unionism in the past few years. It is difficult even to catch up with the statistics. The last time I came across them I counted that there were over half-a-million black workers organised into trade unions. I believe it is not being unrealistic or over-optimistic to say that within a year or two we can expect this figure to jump to over a million, an immense force. And its not only trade union organisations. We have seen in the past year, as a result of the deteriorating economic situation to which I have already referred, the growth of militant strike action. I think we can also project in the coming year that this process will be deepened, because the economic conditions are going to continue to deteriorate and the workers will of necessity be thrown into struggle, to win back the pay rise which they have achieved in the past and which has now been eroded by inflation and other factors, and to improve their conditions generally.

So it is clear to everyone that all this creates an enormous potential for the advance of the revolutionary movement because we know, and we have said so over and over again, that is the working class which is the backbone of the alliance of classes which constitute the liberation forces. It is the working class which is the only force that will guarantee that our victory will lead to real social emancipation, will lead to the abolition of that kind of exploitation which is at the foundation of racism, and not just a regime which will just replace the one set of exploiters for another, even though they might be of

a different colour. So we all understand that the working class has this most profound and fundamental role to play.

When we look at the figures of growth in trade union membership, or even the increase in strikes, we must understand the deeper meaning of what is happening. There have been more strikes in the United Kingdom in the same period, and in France than in South Africa. They have not led to any basic leap forward in the participation of the working class at the political level. The social democratic trade unions in Europe are among the most powerful in the world but trade union organisation in itself has not led to the revolutionary advance of the working class or its ideology. So what I am trying to say is that on its own the trade union movement does not spontaneously generate revolutionary politics. It does not lead to more advanced revolutionary action. The fact that it is there, and it is growing, that the workers are organised, are embattled with the bosses, provides an enormous potential for the future.

But whether that potential is exploited or not depends upon the politics of trade unions and the ideology of trade unionism, and that in turn depends upon the role of political movements. It depends on our role as the revolutionary movement to provide leadership and guidance to this mighty force which is emerging amongst the workers. It depends on us having the capacity of injecting the right kind of politics and thinking into the working class; and helping to make it understand that it is not there just to engage in what is basically the famous struggles for higher wages, which we support and which are necessary, struggles for better conditions which in themselves can become schools for making the working class receptive to a deeper understanding of the workings of the system that they need to overthrow. But basically if we leave it at that, it is even possible that trade unions which are not motivated by correct politics can

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become collaborationist groups. They can become part of the so-called reformist lobby in South Africa.

Therefore it depends on workers in South Africa, on the advanced workers, it depends on our movement, to be able to connect the struggle that is going on, the organisation that is going on, with the more long-term objective of getting rid of the racist regime and the system it upholds. Finally, trade unionism which is divided as black trade unionism is in South Africa today is trade unionism which can be more easily exploited for the very purpose I referred to, by the enemy. Therefore, one of the fundamental tasks facing us as a movement, as workers in South Africa, is to try to bring about unity between what exists and to go forward in unity; and to create that kind of trade union movement in South Africa which will really mould the working class into a force which in the long run is unconquerable.

And finally he saw the further unfolding of our people's war, particularly its military aspects, as follows:

I am pleased you have used the words people's war because it is these very words *people's war* that define our tasks in the further unfolding of the armed struggle. Our tasks are more and more to involve the people in actual participation and not just as sympathetic onlookers, not just as masses who welcome what we are doing, not just as people who cheer the brave deeds of our cadres and who weep when any of them are caught and destroyed by the enemy. If we are talking in terms of people's war as we are talking in terms of people's war, the task in the unfolding of the struggle is to make those words a reality. What we have done in the last few years has made this possible more than ever before. It has made possible for us to transform what we are doing into something which approaches much more closely the

words *people's war*. I've already referred to some of our great achievements in the operations we have carried out, but in every struggle we know that the very success of your actions by the use of a specific set of tactics changes the situation and poses new tasks and even new tactics.

President Tambo has spoken about this at a number of meetings and public declarations in the recent period. He has made clear in recent speeches (one example is the funeral of our comrades in Lesotho) that we are entering a stage in which we have to answer the enemy's murderous and terrorist tactics against civilians, against women, against children, against unarmed refugees, by more than just hitting their economic targets.

We have been very patient. It is the history of the ANC, which some have criticised that it has a lot of patience. For the first 50 years of its existence, it had the patience to hope, and to organise the people in an attempt to bring about a change without illegalities, without violence. In the first phase of our armed struggle there has been the patience — and we have been praised for it — to try to carry out our activities trying to minimise the loss of innocent blood. Indeed, this burden which we have imposed on ourselves has prevented us from doing even greater things. There is no example the enemy can point to of us having killed or murdered a white woman, or a white child as they did in Maseru. There is no example the enemy can point to where we have in our actions deliberately fired into residences, being completely impervious to who is in there, even whether the people there have anything to do with the enemy. We have conducted ourselves in this way.

But as the Manifesto of Umkhonto we Sizwe says, the people's patience is not endless and clearly the time has come when we must raise our struggle to a qualitatively higher level.

# REJECT dummy institutions

*Below, Aziz Pahad assesses the implications of racist South Africa's constitutional proposals.*

In 1981, the apartheid regime announced plans to bring about constitutional "changes" in South Africa. Simultaneously, a massive propaganda campaign was launched in South Africa and internationally to show that South African politics had entered a new era of "liberalisation".

Today the Reagan and Thatcher administrations are spearheading this orchestrated campaign. They argue that the constitution "dispensation" vindicates their policies of "constructive engagement" and "gradual" evolutionary change. This in turn has become a further pretext for openly and defiantly violating the campaign to isolate the apartheid regime, and fulfilling their long-cherished ideal of bringing South Africa "in from the cold".

For us and those genuinely concerned with our aspirations and ideals, the questions we must seek to answer are: *Why have these changes been initiated? What are their contents? Do they herald in a new era of change for the oppressed?*

#### **Apartheid in acute crisis**

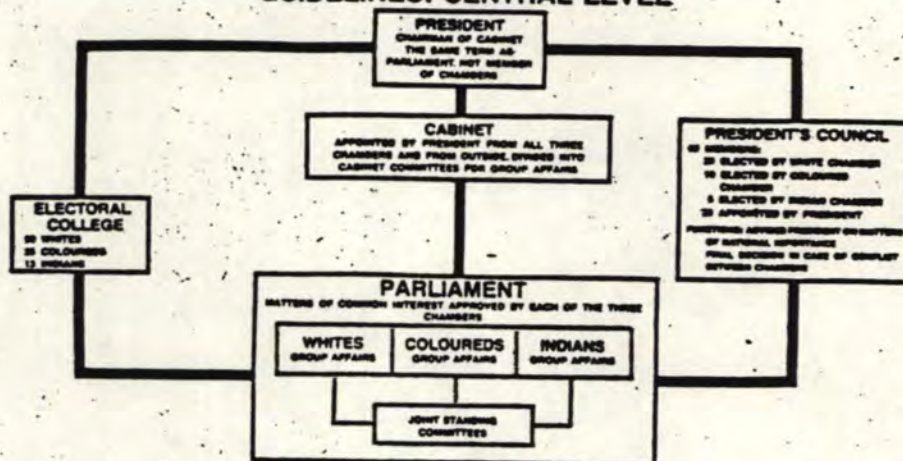
The constitutional proposals come at a time when the regime is experiencing deep contradictions and is in a state of acute

crisis. This has basically been brought about by:

- a) the change in the balance of forces internationally and specifically in Southern Africa with the collapse of Portuguese colonialism and Rhodesian racism;
- b) the heightened mass upsurge at all levels in South Africa and Namibia. Under the banner of "unity in action" the black working class, the leading force of our revolution, continues to grow in strength, organisational unity, consciousness and maturity. Major sectors of the oppressive and exploitative system are being shaken by militant industrial actions; political, community, women, youth and student organisations continue to consolidate themselves; the church-state confrontation is sharpening; a small but growing number of democratic whites are joining the liberation front; an increasing number of white youths are refusing military conscription; the political work of the ANC (legal, semi-legal and illegal) has reached new heights and this has been complemented by brilliant actions of our army, Umkhonto we Sizwe. The attack on the top security Koeberg nuclear plant being the most "sensational" of the latest series of armed actions.



## SCHEMATIC PRESENTATION OF GUIDELINES: CENTRAL LEVEL



- c) the acute economic crisis which has gripped the capitalist world, and an integral part of it, the South African economy, which is experiencing stagnation; adverse balance of payments, massive and rising unemployment etc;
- d) the increasing isolation — political, economic, diplomatic etc — of the regime.

It is in this context of the regime's growing contradictions and the intensified resistance against it, that we must look at the present subterfuges to maintain that system.

### Origins of proposals

The present proposals have their origins in Vorster's 1977 announcement of plans to create three separate parliaments for Coloureds, Indians and Whites, each with their own Cabinet and Prime Minister. This announcement came in the wake of the 1976 uprisings and the collapse of Portuguese colonialism. Each parliament would have full legislative powers over its own affairs, while joint issues would be dealt with by a 'consultative Council of Cabinets' under an executive President.

The strong rejection of these proposals both from the oppressed as well as sections of the white constituency, led to the setting up of the Schlebusch Commission to look into this matter. After two years of deliberations it recommended that a President's Council be set up to deal with the issue.

The President's Council, set up in 1980, was loaded with Nationalist Party supporters, representatives of industry and the military and a few discredited Coloureds and Indians. Its vague proposals served as a basis for the Botha "coup de grace" in July 1981. The proposals included:

- † One parliament with separate chambers for the Whites, Indians and Coloureds. (The white chamber to have more members than the other two put together);
- † An executive President elected by an electoral college consisting of 50 Whites, 25 Coloureds and 13 Asians. Each chamber to select its own representative only.
- † A "multi-racial" cabinet elected by the President and will be divided into "cabinet committees for group affairs";

† Joint committees to "iron out differences" on matters of mutual interests. (Obviously the only "mutual interests" of any significance is the preservation of white supremacy);

† Disputes not resolved by the joint committees to be referred to the President's Council made up of 25 members nominated by the President; 20 Whites by the white majority party, 10 Coloureds by the Coloured majority party, and 5 Indians by the Indian majority party.

There are also proposals on provincial and local government. These are crucial aspects of the regime's whole constitutional strategy and deserve full analysis in further articles.

Any lingering doubts that these anachronistic racially-determined and white-controlled structures are absurd and farcical are quickly dispelled by a look at how the legislation is to be enacted.

The President is the sole arbiter of whether a particular Bill is a matter of "exclusive interest" to one community or a matter of "mutual interest". If the former, a cabinet committee consisting of the members of the community concerned will initiate the Bill. If the latter, then the Bill is introduced into the Joint Committees of the three chambers manned by "specialists" from the majority and opposition parties of each chamber on a proportional basis.

If there is failure to reach agreement, the matter is then referred to the President's Council. Bills are drafted by white civil servants and have to be approved by the President.

"Community interests" have been defined as "matters which are considered by a group as part of its identity, for example religious worship, education, its community life in its own residential areas, and aspects of welfare such as care for the aged."

In a major interview (Sunday Express 23.1.83), Heunis, Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning, gave some hint

of the regime's real motives. He stated that any changes were in the context of certain fundamental principles - "the *community basis* of the South African society should be reflected and maintained in any new political dispensation," and:

- \* the self-determination of each group over its own affairs and co-responsibility over matters of common interest must be maintained;
  - \* order and stability may not be endangered;
  - \* own residential areas for each group is non-negotiable;
- the government does not regard the whites as expendable; on the contrary the safeguarding of the political rights of whites is the prerequisite for peaceful evolutionary political reform and for the maintenance of civilised standards.

This then is the essence of the much heralded "constitutional changes".

#### Reactions to proposals

It is a tragic fact that some, albeit a limited number, of stooges within the Coloured and Indian communities have accepted the proposals. These are largely discredited and opportunist elements who previously collaborated with dummy institutions like the Coloured Representative Council (CRC), and the South African Indian Council (SAIC).

Rajbansi, the executive Chairman of the SAIC, said that the Council would give the proposals a "fair trial" and added that "we must get in and push for changes. I don't think our consciences will suffer." On whose behalf is he speaking?

The SAIC has been totally rejected by the Indian community. In 1981, after a massive boycott campaign initiated by the Natal Indian Congress and the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee, a mere 10.5% voted in the elections to the SAIC. Even this figure is an exaggeration as it represented a percentage of registered voters and not the community as a whole.

**Collection Number: AK2117**

**DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989**

***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

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