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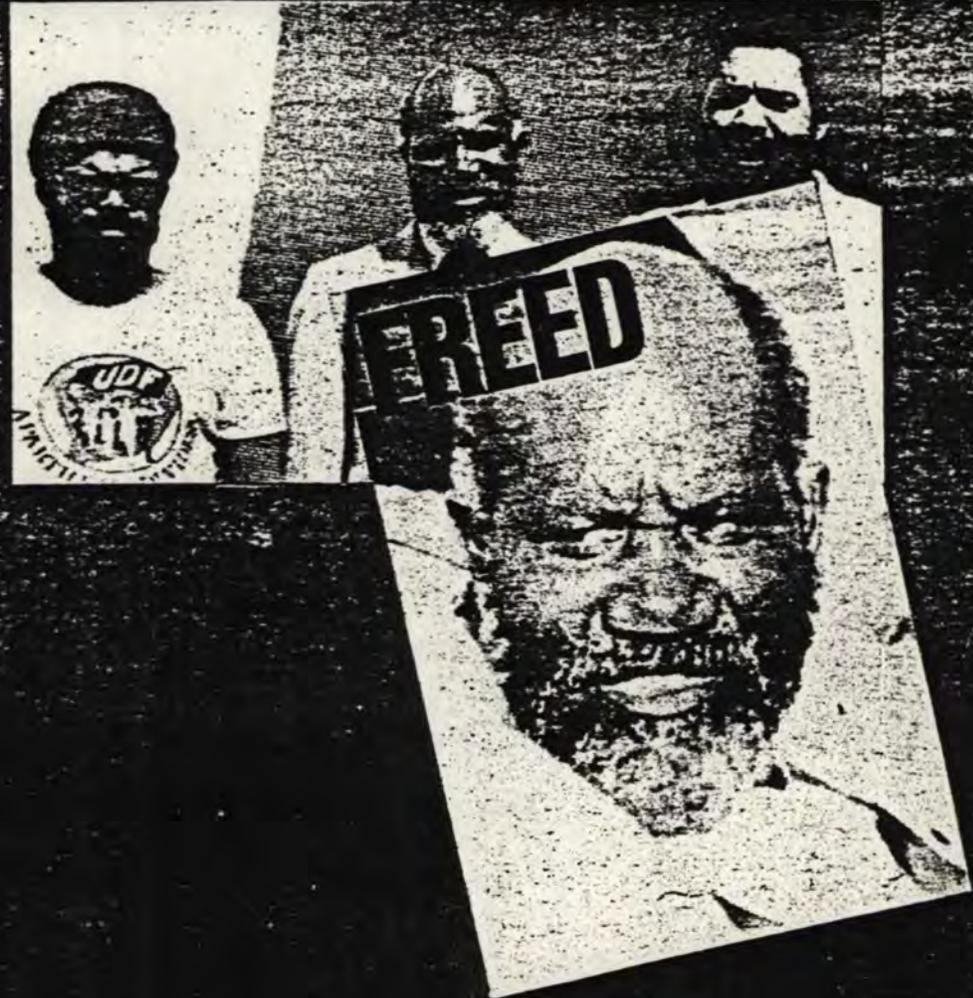
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# SECHABA

national organ of the African  
National Congress South Africa

## Toivo ja Toivo and Comrades





## EDITORIAL

# Pretoria's Dirty Tricks

In April the government-owned propaganda mouthpiece, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), threatened to cause economic havoc in neighbouring Lesotho unless Leabua Jonathan's government signs a non-aggression pact, even though it is an established fact that Lesotho can never threaten South Africa. The SABC said that Lesotho:

"... has distanced itself, apparently as a matter of deliberate policy, from the current initiatives. It remains aloof from the actions to strengthen regional security by acknowledging the sovereignty of governments acting accordingly against subversive movements that seek shelter within its borders."

It is clear that the reference to "subversive movements" is to the ANC, though the Lesotho government has repeatedly stated that there are no ANC bases in Lesotho. The Botha regime claims it is forced to act in "self defence."

It should be remembered that one and a half million people pass through the border posts between the two countries every year, and these include the main source of income for Lesotho — the 140 000 migrant workers who are employed in South Africa. They also include transporters of the vast quantities of food imports from South Africa, without which — according to the broadcast — "the Basothos would succumb to the worst famine in their history." The broadcast added that the Highlands Hydro-electric Scheme from which South Africa would obtain water from

Lesotho would have to be abandoned. South Africa is helping Lesotho develop this hydro-electric scheme.

Whilst we were still shocked by this news, the London *Guardian* of April 28, 1984, reported that the racist South African Prime Minister, P W Botha, had called on Britain to take action against the ANC, which has offices in London.

This came after some lengthy discussion in the South African newspapers and on South African TV — discussions sparked by an editorial in the Johannesburg Afrikaans daily newspaper, *Beeld*. The British Ambassador to South Africa, Ewen Ferguson, was forced to reply in an open letter. He was walking a tight-rope because the British policy on refugees "gives rise to difficult moral and practical problems." Asked by the *Rand Daily Mail* if British authorities would prosecute the ANC President, Oliver Tambo, if he was suspected of conspiring in Britain to commit "murder and violence" in South Africa, the spokesman for the British Embassy said:

"Yes, if there was evidence which could stand up in court. Until then he is innocent until proved guilty. That is the rule of law."

Racist South Africa is blackmailing Britain on the IRA: what would be the attitude of Britain if Pretoria were to be used as the nerve centre of the Irish Republican Army's "terror attacks" on Britain?

There was a long diatribe about a need for distinction between political asylum being granted to a refugee leaving his country for

political reasons, and political asylum for members of an organisation like the ANC, "whose declared objective it was to overthrow the South African Government through acts of terror." The problem here is that racist South Africa is not qualified to speak about "political asylum" or "refugees" or any of those categories.

But why this enthusiasm to get the British Government to expel the ANC from Britain or to have the ANC expelled from any Western country? Why at this time? Is racist South Africa preparing to sign a non-aggression pact with Western countries which have allowed the ANC to open offices? Is opening an ANC office in Western Europe or for that matter anywhere, tantamount to encouraging commission of "acts of terrorism?"

Racist South Africa has been very active in Western Europe. The racist Prime Minister, P W Botha, is preparing to visit West Germany and then Britain in June. One can guess what is going to be discussed. Anti-ANC propaganda has been stepped up sharply in South Africa - recently a radio documentary purporting to expose the links between the ANC London office and "world terrorism" was given an award in an annual ceremony in South Africa. This is the rationale behind alleging that Britain is "providing an infrastructure for ANC terrorism."

There is another aspect to this problem. Apartheid South Africa wants to discredit the ANC internationally, and therefore break the international isolation of apartheid. They are even using international sportsmen and sportswomen to this end. The scandal surrounding Zola Budd's being granted British citizenship in a period of a few weeks is a case in point. The minimum period of residence for citizens of non-Commonwealth countries to qualify for British citizenship is five years. In other words, Zola Budd is going to run for South Africa under the British flag!

Whilst all this was going on, British TV transmitted, on May 8, a documentary, *The British Desk*, which looked at the activities of South Africa's intelligence operations in Britain. These operations are conducted by the information section at South Africa House, the South African embassy in Trafal-

gar Square.

Eschel Rhoodie, the former Head of the South African Department of Information, says the South African Government appointed him to "do a major propaganda effort" against the Anti-Apartheid Movement. He reveals that the apartheid regime, without parliamentary knowledge, gave him at least 60 million pounds for this. Two unnamed Labour MPs were bribed to the tune of £2 000 a year to pass on information on the plans and activities of the Anti-Apartheid Movement. Arthur McGivern, a former "evaluator" for the BOSS reveals that BOSS gathered a "lot of stuff" in Britain about Ruth First's activities in Britain, before she was assassinated by a letter bomb in Maputo. And Gordon Winter, a self-confessed BOSS agent, admits:

"My assignment in Britain was to monitor South African exiles, members of the African National Congress ... to send information back to Pretoria."

Says Winter:

"Just about any South African activist in London is on those files, and I photographed them."

He infiltrated the National Union of Journalists (NUJ), gained access to NUJ files, submitted names to Pretoria and "I damaged many British journalists."

There are also cases of burglary, break-ins, theft and bombing of ANC offices, illegal arms deals and export from Britain to South Africa of parts of machine guns; the right-wing Club of Ten was secretly founded to the tune of £500 000 to carry on pro-apartheid propaganda in Britain; there were schemes to buy the *Guardian* and the *Observer*, and much worse.

All this is cause for concern. This is international terrorism. We only hope the British Government will also take the activities of the South African Embassy in Britain into consideration in its renewed concern about diplomats misusing their diplomatic immunity and abusing their position.

# **Peace is Incompatible with Racism and Colonialism**

## **Final Communiqué of the Front Line States Summit**

The Front Line States' Summit Meeting was held in Arusha, Tanzania on Sunday 29th April 1984 to consider the recent developments in Southern Africa. The Heads of State and Government present were: President Eduardo dos Santos of the People's Republic of Angola; President Quett Masire of the Republic of Botswana; President Samora Machel of People's Republic of Mozambique; President Julius K Nyerere of the United Republic of Tanzania; President Kenneth Kaunda of the Republic of Zambia and Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of the Republic of Zimbabwe. Also in attendance were Comrade Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress; Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of Swapo of Namibia.

The leaders stood for one minute of silence in tribute to the late Edward Moringe Sekoane, whose very valuable and practical contributions to the liberation struggle of Southern Africa will be greatly missed by the Front Line States and the Liberation Movements.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of Liberation Movements reaffirmed their total and unqualified commit-

ment to the liberation struggles of the people of Namibia against colonialism and of the people of South Africa against apartheid. They reasserted their conviction and that of the Organisation of African Unity, that the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism is essential for the security of all the independent states of the continent and in particular of the Front Line States.

Further, they reiterated that the root cause of the problems in South Africa is apartheid itself; apartheid is the cause of Africa's hostility to the South African racist regime and of the existence of South African and Namibian refugees. None of these things is caused by the Front Line or other States neighbouring South Africa. Apartheid has been condemned in categorical terms by the United Nations, and by the leaders of Europe, America, Australasia and Asia as well as by Africa. It cannot be made acceptable by the use of South Africa's military power and economic strength, nor by the use of mercenaries and traitors.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements discussed the understanding reached by the

People's Republic of Angola and the Pretoria Regime, and they hoped that South Africa will honour its commitment to withdraw its troops from Angola. This withdrawal will constitute an opportunity for the immediate and unconditional implementation of Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978. They welcomed Angola's reaffirmation of its continued commitment to the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of Swapo. The Heads of State and Government expressed their support for the Angolan actions against the externally supported armed bandits who are causing death and misery to the Angolan people and destruction of the economic infrastructure of the State.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements exchanged views on the Nkomati Accord between Mozambique and the South African Government. They expressed the hope that the South African Government will live up to the commitment to cease its acts aimed at the destabilisation of Mozambique through the use of armed bandits, and gave their support to the Mozambican actions aimed at the total elimination of these vicious bandits. They expressed appreciation of Mozambique's commitment to continued moral, political, and diplomatic support for the ANC in the struggle against apartheid and for majority rule in South Africa.

The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements declared that the immediate objective for Namibia is and must be the rapid implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978, in order that Namibia may attain full and internationally recognised independence on the basis of self-determination by all people of that country. They reiterated the continuing role of the UN Security Council and Secretary General in the implementation of Resolution 435. The leaders of the Front Line States again reaffirmed their support for Swapo as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

4 For South Africa, the objective of the

Front Line States and Liberation Movements is the abolition of apartheid by whatever means are necessary. The Leaders present again reiterated their strong preference for apartheid to be brought to an end by peaceful means. This can be achieved only through a process agreed upon in free discussions between the present South African regime and genuine representatives of the people of South Africa who are unrepresented in the present government structure of that country.

A prerequisite for any such discussions would be the unconditional release from prison, detention, house arrest or 'banning' of Nelson Mandela and all other political leaders. Difficult as this step may be in the eyes of the present South African Government, there is no way to peace in Southern Africa except through discussions between the South African Government and the African people of South Africa.

To avoid any misunderstanding, they stressed that the phrase 'African People' includes all those who have been classified as being citizens of the so-called independent homelands in South Africa; the denial of their South African citizenship is not recognised in international law, nor by any independent state apart from South Africa.

The alternative to free negotiations within South Africa aimed at the ending of apartheid will inevitably be continued struggle against that system by other means, including armed struggle. This struggle is being waged and will be conducted and led by the people of South Africa themselves, on their own initiative and within their own country. However, their struggle is, and is seen by Africa to be, a struggle for the freedom and security of all the peoples of this continent, and for the human dignity of all men and women regardless of colour. It therefore receives, and will continue to receive, the full support of the peoples and the nations represented by the Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States.

Involved in this struggle for the total liberation of Africa from colonialism and racism



*Comrade Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO, Julius Nyrere of Tanzania and President O R Tambo of the ANC, at the Front-Line Summit in Dar-es-Salaam in June 1982.*

is the consolidation of the freedom and the security of the states which have already achieved independence. To that end, and in the light of the difficult circumstances which do from time to time confront such states, the leaders of the Front Line States and the Liberation Movements reaffirmed their understanding of steps which are taken for this purpose by states which are fully committed to the liberation struggles. They also reaffirm-

ed their commitment to the internationally recognised boundaries in Southern Africa as these were defined when the free states achieved their political independence.

The Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements condemned without reservation the open and the covert aggressive actions of South Africa directed at the destabilisation of African states, and those aimed

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against refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa. There is no excuse in international law or civilised practice for these actions. The Heads of State and Government and the leaders of the Liberation Movements also repeated their rejection of the attempt to link the freedom of Namibia with any Angolan Government decisions relating to its security requirements and its internal political structures.

The political and the armed struggles being waged by the peoples of Namibia and South Africa led by Swapo and ANC respectively, are taking place inside those two countries. The struggle is between the people of Namibia and the occupying power, and between the people of South Africa and the apartheid régime. Therefore, the strategy of the Liberation Movements is that of internal struggle, firmly based on the people's will and determination.

As the denial of human rights, and the ruthlessness of the oppressor, has made it impossible for many active leaders of the Liberation Movements to live and work inside their own countries, it has been necessary for both Swapo and ANC to have an external wing. The international implications of the problems with which the Liberation Movements are contending also require international diplomatic and political activity, together with offices and representatives in other countries.

The Front Line States reaffirm their recognition of these external operations of the Movements, and reassert their intention to give shelter to them. The Front Line States also reaffirm their right and duty under international Conventions to accord hospitality to refugees from Namibia and apartheid South Africa. They appeal to the international community for diplomatic and economic support and protection as they carry out these international responsibilities.

The Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements represented at the  
6 Arusha Meeting, in reasserting their commit-

ment to the struggle for freedom in Namibia and South Africa, also draw attention to the burden they are carrying on behalf of the world conscience and the international condemnation of colonialism and apartheid. They therefore appeal for active participation in the struggle by all other nations, other organisations and institutions, and all people who accept the principles of human dignity and equality.

In particular the leaders of the Front Line States and Liberation Movements appeal for political, moral, material and diplomatic support to be given to the Liberation Movements. They appeal also for concrete support to be given to the efforts of the Front Line States aimed at the consolidation of their independence and their fragile economies, as these are of direct relevance to their ability to play a constructive role in the search for peace and freedom in Southern Africa.

For the Heads of State and Government of the Front Line States and the leaders of the Liberation Movements repeat a truism: **Peace is incompatible with racism and colonialism.** Man is so constituted that men and women will die for freedom and human dignity if they are prevented from the peaceful pursuit of these basic human rights. Neither military might nor devious political machinations, whether directed against the peoples inside Namibia and South Africa or against the free States of Africa, can defeat the idea of freedom and racial equality.  
**The struggle will be long and hard.**  
**It will be carried on until final victory.**  
**A luta continua.**

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# ANC INTERNATIONAL

## ANC REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES THE UNITED NATIONS

The Director of the International Department of the ANC, Comrade Mfanafuthi Makatini, addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations on the 18th November 1983. He spoke in response to Resolution A/38/L.15, which rejects the new constitutional arrangements of the Pretoria regime as being intended to divide the people of South Africa, and welcomed "the united resistance of the people of South Africa against these 'constitutional' manoeuvres."

Comrade Makatini recalled that it was nearly ten years since racist South Africa was suspended from the United Nations. Suspension, he said, had been decided on only after decades during which the regime had defied numerous resolutions calling on it to permit the establishment of a non-racial democratic society in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration of Human Rights.

The African Group at the United Nations had taken the initiative in sponsoring the resolution, and Pretoria had reacted instantly by declaring that, "the majority of these countries do not know the meaning of democracy, have little knowledge and understanding of the United Nations Charter," and that the new constitution is "entirely consistent with the promotion of the central principle of the Charter."

Comrade Makatini commented, "The P W Botha regime has once again forwarded proof of the fact that it lives in the past and remains as adamantly hostile to the cause of black liberation today as its predecessors were to the abolition of slavery in 1883 ... Their statement also proves that the lofty ideals enshrined in the Charter have a different meaning to them, and that there can never be a true meeting of minds between them and those in this hall who truly subscribe to the principle of racial equality and non-racial democracy."

"The facts before us are that the so-called new constitution does not deal with the fundamental issue confronting South Africa, namely, the need to transfer power from the minority to the entire population regardless of race. What we have witnessed these last few weeks and months has been a glaring example of the pattern of apartheid political process in which Whites proposed, Whites debated, Whites differed, Whites consulted and Whites decided. However, we refuse to dignify the monstrous subject matter of the racist referendum with the term 'new constitution,' and a discussion of its provisions. For throughout history new constitutions have embodied the spirit of liberty and a new socio-economic order expressing the hard-won sovereignty of people liberated from bondage."



*Comrade Makatini of the ANC addresses the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN photograph 162953)*

Comrade Makatini asserted uncompromisingly that, "the racist regime's so-called constitutional proposals are designed precisely to restructure apartheid rule and racial tyranny." To show the real attitude of the Pretoria regime to the United Nations Charter and to the 'new constitution,' he quoted a statement made a few months ago by the Pretoria Minister of Constitutional Affairs, who said, "the Africans are not adequately developed to comprehend the complex democratic process."

"This is the rationale," he continued, "for forcibly removing millions of African people from their urban and rural dwelling places and herding them to the barren, poverty-stricken so-called homelands and having them stripped of South African citizenship, while the qualification for naturalisation for white immigrants is reduced from five to two years, all in the bid to make South Africa a white man's country in which the Blacks can only remain as migrant and temporary sojourners for the exclusive purpose of ministering to the needs of the Whites."

#### **The Regime Has Never Changed**

He quoted from statements made over thirty years by three prime ministers of racist

South Africa, J G Strijdom, J B Vorster and P W Botha, to show that the regime has never changed in its "firm opposition to one man, one vote in South Africa." He went on to say that it is "the progress made by the ANC in the unification of all the democratic forces under its leadership," and "its truly non-racial strategy" that has forced the racists into changing their declared position, and that this pretence of change was intended "to split this fighting alliance" of Africans, Coloureds, people of Asian descent and white democrats, based on the principles of the Freedom Charter.

Comrade Makatini said, "It is the menacing problem of the shortage of white military manpower resulting from its continued illegal occupation of Namibia, the occupation of parts of Angola, and the low-keyed but widespread war situation in South Africa itself, as well as the repeated and intended future Beirut and Grenada-types of invasions of independent African countries. It is precisely for this reason that the Pretoria regime intends to co-opt the so-called Coloureds and the people of Asian descent in order to make them liable for compulsory military conscrip-

tion ... the regime intends to deploy them for internal repression and external aggression against African states.

"The Pretoria regime's future plan is to bring the racially-constituted and racially-segregated parliament into association with the bantustans in the form of a so-called constellation of states, for which new titles are being touted, such as Confederation or Conso-ciation. At the same time, the illegal occupation of Namibia continues, and the aggression against and destabilisation of independent African states are being stepped up, so that these too can be cowed into becoming client states of apartheid bantustans beyond the borders."

He spoke of the acts of aggression committed by Pretoria against neighbouring independent states: the murders, the massacres, the violations of air space.

"The pretext given that the ANC has bases there has no validity whatsoever. In fact, the regime's own Chief of the Defence Force, Magnus Malan, when campaigning for the extension of the draft age from 35 to 65 years for Whites, and for the so-called winning of the hearts and minds of the Blacks, makes this point when he says, "The ANC is not waging a border war but area psychological warfare." Our bases are amongst the people of South Africa in the urban and rural areas and throughout the length and breadth of our country, which we are determined to liberate. It was from these bases that our armed combatants struck twice at the Koeberg nuclear power station, a thousand miles from any border; it was from these bases that we hit Voortrekkerhoogte, the regime's military headquarters on the outskirts of Pretoria; and it is from there that we are hitting hard targets all over the country, such as police stations, oil-from-coal plants, electric power stations, and the regime's air force headquarters in Pretoria. In any event, the regime's big-lie technique aimed at justifying barbaric acts such as the Lesotho invasion and the massacre of defenceless men, women and children, is exposed by its own act of twice

invading Seychelles where the ANC does not even have an office, refugees, students or children."

#### War Has Been Forced On Us

Comrade Makatini told the General Assembly that it is neither the ANC nor the people of South Africa who are the aggressors in the war that is now being fought.

"No people in the world long more for peace than the oppressed people of South Africa, who have always lived under the tyrannical rule of violence, and no organisation has worked more patiently for a peaceful solution than the ANC. But the massacres to which our people have been subjected, the refusal to let them participate in any democratic process, the tribal fragmentation of our motherland into bantustans whose tribal armies are to be set against the liberation efforts, the forced removal and denationalisation of millions of black people, the hangings of our people, reaching a level of 129 in the year of 1980 alone, the continued imprisonment of our leaders such as Nelson Mandela, the prohibition of public meetings, the muzzling of activists and leaders at present exiled or under house arrest in remote areas, the frantic war preparations and full-scale militarisation, the gigantic campaign to isolate the ANC through massive dissemination of forged printed matter purporting to be by ANC and espousing intentions to kill men, women and children and strengthen the ruthless apparatus of the police state — all this has taught us one thing, namely, the apartheid regime and its policies are the obstacle to peace, security and stability in Southern Africa and to liberty, justice, peace and prosperity in South Africa itself."

#### The Pretoria-Washington Axis

The Pretoria regime would never be able to sustain its aggressive policy, Comrade Makatini pointed out, without the economic, military and nuclear co-operation of certain western countries, especially Israel and the United States. In particular, he accused the

present administration in the United States.

"The position taken by the Reagan administration in embracing the Pretoria regime ... calls for strong condemnation. Almost a hundred years ago the Berlin Conference carved our beloved continent into colonial and personal belongings; but it is no exaggeration to say that since the second world war the most calamitous development, which today poses the most serious threat to the African continent, is the Pretoria-Washington axis, publicly announced by President Reagan shortly after he took office.

"A lot has happened since then. Matola in Mozambique was attacked, and then came the attack on and occupation of parts of Angola; the attempted repeal of the Clark Amendment prohibiting covert action by the Central Intelligence Agency in Angola; the continued occupation of Namibia; the linkage of Namibia's independence with the withdrawal of the Cuban forces from Angola; the assassination of ANC leaders and activists; the loan by the International Monetary Fund to help the regime subsidise its wars of oppression and aggression; the secret visits and discussions between Pentagon officials and the regime's high-ranking military and intelligence officers; the visit to South Africa by the head of the CIA; the extremely negative voting pattern on the anti-apartheid resolutions before the General Assembly and the vetoes in the Security Council; statements offering to reward the African countries that befriend South Africa and threatening to punish and even topple those that assist ANC and the South West Africa People's Organisation; the holding of hearings in South Africa and Washington allegedly to investigate the ANC-SWAPO relations with Cuba, the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic; the granting of permission to seven United States-based transnational corporations to provide fifty million dollars' worth of technical and maintenance service to racist South Africa's nuclear plants.

"The list is long and includes a series of 10 violations of the arms embargo, the branding

of the liberation movements as terrorist and the subjecting of SWAPO and ANC to harassment on the question of visas, as well as demands to inspect our books and files."

#### Our Allies Thanked

Comrade Makatini paid tribute, on the other hand, to the independent states of Southern Africa for resisting the pressure put on them by Pretoria, to the broad masses of the people in other countries, who have come out in support of the struggle against apartheid, and to those responsible for financial, material and moral assistance being given to the ANC. He thanked those governments — especially African, Non-Aligned, Scandinavian and Socialist — who maintain "close bilateral relations" with the ANC, and made particular mention of the Government of Australia, which has recently expressed its support for the sports and cultural boycott of South Africa, and has invited the ANC and SWAPO to open offices in Melbourne. He said he saw this as part of a "process that should lead to the total isolation of the Pretoria regime."

He went on, "Despite the much-vaunted military might and the repressive and oppressive character of the now desperate apartheid regime, which continues to enjoy the full collaboration of the Reagan administration and the administrations of other western countries, especially Israel, we are confident that victory over the racist minority rule in South Africa is inevitable. We have no illusions, however. We know that the struggle will be long and bloody. There is growing international support; yet it is still grossly inadequate. The long-awaited imposition of comprehensive mandatory sanctions against the apartheid regime, in particular, would immensely help to shorten the duration of this struggle and reduce the loss of human life."

Comrade Makatini appealed to member states of the United Nations to urge the three western member states of the Security Council to cease protecting racist South Africa by abusing their power of veto.

He concluded by saying, "We wish to declare solemnly from this rostrum that the ANC, on its part, will relentlessly pursue this struggle until final victory. In doing so, we pay a tribute to the valiant people of Namibia who, under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole authentic representative, are waging a heroic struggle which for some years now has had a positive effect on our struggle. Now that we have embarked on the intensification of this, our common struggle against the common enemy and for a common objective, we are confident that victory is certain."

#### OFFICIAL VISITORS TO SOMAFCO

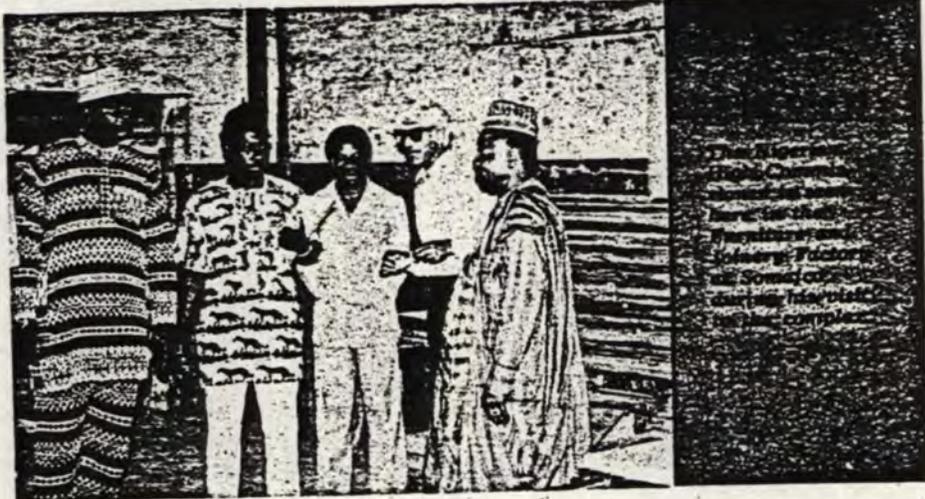
The first official visit from Nigeria to the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College at Mazimbu near Morogoro in Tanzania took place when His Excellency the Nigerian High Commissioner in Tanzania formally handed over a number of gifts from his government. The

gifts included storage bins, electric kettles, pots, pans, crockery, dust-bins and so on, and they were very much needed and welcomed by the whole community.

Somafco also welcomed the growing bonds of solidarity and support between the ANC and the Federal Republic of Nigeria.

Margit Niederhuber, an Austrian anti-apartheid activist, also visited the Somafco complex, and promised a donation of video facilities for showing films. Under the 'Cows for Morogoro' scheme, Austria has already provided fifteen cows for the dairy project at Somafco, to supply milk for the children.

Other visitors to Mazimbu have been members of the Secretariat of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation in Cairo (who are also looking into projects for raising funds and material aid) and Paul Klindt, Director of the Danish Volunteer Service.



#### VENEZUELAN SOLIDARITY

Following on the conferring of the Simon Bolivar Award on Nelson Mandela at a ceremony in Caracas, Venezuela, in 1983, a Permanent Committee for the Freedom of Nelson Mandela has now been set up in Venezuela. The committee has already written to

Comrade Mandela in Pollsmoor Prison, expressing its support. Among other activities, it plans to hold a public meeting and a concert, to collect signatures demanding the release of Mandela, and to establish contact with other bodies identified with the same cause.

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# PRETORIA'S GENOCIDE BILL

Part 3  
by David Riga

*This is the third and last part of an article examining the background to the Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons' Bill, and its implications.*

It is now time to see how the OMSB fits into the government's general economic and political strategy. To do this it is not necessary to look in detail at the Bill's provisions. But it will be necessary to look at the four main areas of social relations which will be affected by the Bill.

Firstly, the OMSB directly attacks Section 10 rights. Not only will it be far more difficult to gain these rights in future (and for people from TBVC it will be impossible), but even for people who do get 'permanent urban resident' (PUR) stamped in their pass-books, this right will be conditional on approved housing and a job. Children born in urban areas will only qualify if they can prove that both parents are PURs.

Secondly, the Bill gives the Minister of Cooperation and Development vast new powers to direct the flow of labour. He can declare an 'unemployment area' and stop all movement into that part of the country. He can order squatters to be removed and individuals to be endorsed out on grounds so broad as to be virtually arbitrary. The courts

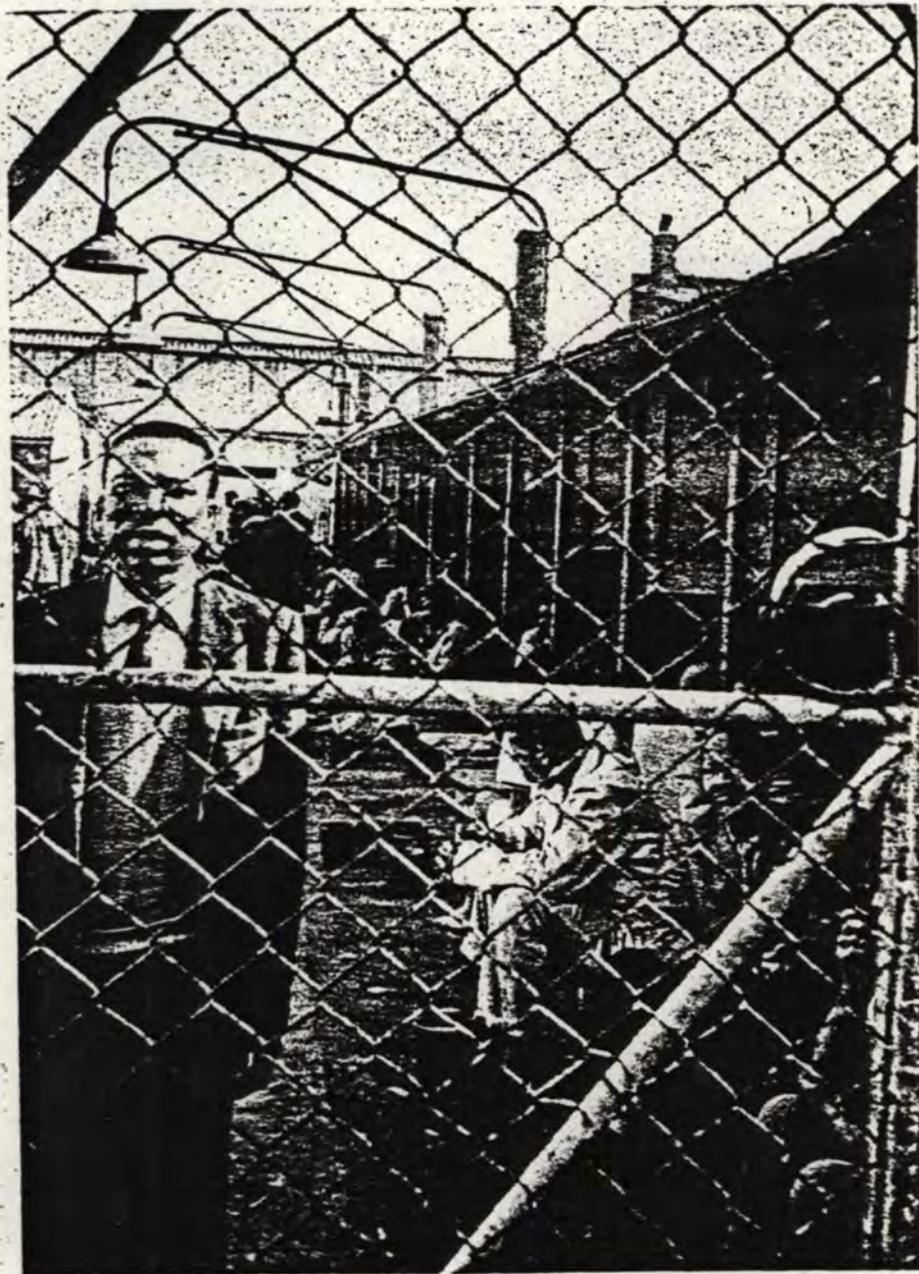
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cannot stop him.

Thirdly, the Bill tries to shut off all loopholes and safety valves by which people in the Reserves manage to find work. The 72-hour rule is abolished and a curfew from 10pm to 5am is imposed on all non-PURs. Employers who hire 'illegal' workers will be heavily fined. So will anyone who dares to give a bed or rent a room to an 'illegal resident'. The Bill tries to force the PURs to act as policemen over their own brothers and sisters in the Reserves. It will inevitably cause even more overcrowding, joblessness and starvation in the Reserves. Vast numbers of those living in shanty-towns near to urban centres depend on 'illegal' jobs to survive. Their situation will become even more desperate.

#### Total Control of People

The OMSB adds up to a system of total people-control on a scale greater than anything seen before in South Africa. How did this monster emerge from the 'rational' arguments of the Riekert report? Basically, Riekert aimed at solving two problems. Firstly, bottlenecks in the supply of labour-power and high unemployment among urban Africans had to be overcome. Secondly, an answer had to be found to the political threat posed by the urban Africans, especially the Section



*A beer hall, that looks more like a concentration camp than a place for relaxation.*

10 rights holders. If possible, the disapproval of South Africa's friends abroad, which had increased as a result of the 1976 events, had to be appeased.

Riekert's answer to the economic problem was the 'two pillar' policy - shifting the main focus of influx control onto jobs and housing. On the political front, Riekert argued that Section 10 should not be attacked and that certain concessions should be made to those with Section 10 rights. The new, tighter controls would make this 'safe'.

The OMSB adopted Riekert's 'effective control' strategy and made it even tougher. But on the question of Section 10 rights, the Bill rejects Riekert's timid approach. It has chosen to attack Section 10. And the Bill also directly contradicts the findings of the report, by extending prescribed areas to cover the 'white' countryside.

What accounts for these changes? In the first place they were due to the changed situation the South African government found itself in by the time the second draft of the Bill was released in 1982. Secondly, they were the result of a struggle between different forces inside the white 'establishment'.

The Riekert commission was set up shortly after the 1976 events and did its work at a time of semi-insurrection and mass mobilisation on the part of urban black youth and workers. At the same time, the South African economy was thrown into recession and the 1976 events had shaken the confidence of foreign investors in the future prospects of South African capitalism. It was in this context that Riekert advised concessions to urban Africans.

#### Token Verbal Promises

By the time the OMSB was published, much had changed. For the time being, the insurrectionary condition in the major cities had been contained. The school boycotts seemed to be coming to an end. The international situation had also changed in favour of the white regime. The Thatcher government in

14 Britain - still South Africa's largest foreign

investor - and the Reagan administration in the USA were much more pro-South African than those before them. The Reagan policy of 'constructive engagement' meant the biggest possible effort to aid and protect the South African government, in return for token verbal promises of 'meaningful change'.

A strong right-wing counter-offensive was mounted by these governments and their supporters. The South African government was one of the main beneficiaries of this change in the international climate of opinion. These changes at home and overseas encouraged the government to harden its attitude to urban Africans. But there was another side to the coin. Though the urban uprising had been contained, South Africa had entered by 1982 into a stage of incipient civil war. The government reacted to this new, long-term and potentially much more dangerous challenge in two ways.

Firstly, it decided to push ahead with a more 'radical' version of its 1977 plan for constitutional reform. The aim of these reforms is to broaden the base of the white power bloc by including Coloured and Indian South Africans as junior partners of the whites (and cannon fodder in their wars). In a second stage, this enlarged bloc would enter into a constitutional arrangement with the 'independent homelands' on the basis of formal equality.

In other words, the white government's real domination over the peoples and resources of South Africa was to be cloaked in the disguise of a confederation of 'sovereign states'. But there was a big problem - the urban Africans.

Already in October 1976, Dr G Viljoen, the National Party's chief ideologue and long-term thinker, had begun to draw the lessons of 1976 for the National Party. One of them was that the Africans living in the urban areas 'will do so for a long time'. The policy of making the locations as unpleasant as possible so as to drive people back to the Reserves had failed. Another lesson was that the locations had become so large and com-



*Women left to till the soil in the Bantustans*

plex that the whites were no longer able to enforce 'law and order' from outside. They needed black help.

"[Die stedelike swartmense] moet 'n vorm van selfverantwoordelikheid kry vir die handhaaf van hulle interne wet en orde en vir beheer teen boewery binne die swart stedelike gebiede. (The urban blacks must get a form of self-responsibility for maintenance of their internal law and order and for control of hooliganism inside the black urban areas.)"

This meant a departure from the principle of 'no political rights in white areas'. But national political rights were 'out' and local rights would as far as possible be on an ethnic basis. Viljoen's conclusions led first to the Community Councils Act and later to the Black Local Authorities Act. Both had the aim of winning African collaborators to help police their own people.

A leading article in an Afrikaans newspaper put this very clearly. The Black Local

Authorities Act seemed likely to be acceptable to 'responsible leaders' of the 'black community', it wrote. It went on:

"Klaarblyklik sou die regering dit wensliker vind om met hulle te onderhandel as met 'n spul van meestal selfaangestelde heethoofde. (Obviously the government would find it preferable to negotiate with them than with a load of mostly self-appointed hot-heads.)"

The question the government would be negotiating with these 'responsible leaders' was — the OMSB! Thus the government tried to turn recognition of the permanence of urban Africans to its own advantage. But the new situation caused serious problems for their plans for constitutional reform. Accepting that urban Africans were a distinctive social group (and not temporary strays from the Reserves), inevitably raised the question of their place in the 'new dispensation'. The myth that urban Africans were culturally bound to their 'tribal heartlands' became



*A cargo of mine workers leaves to work in the South African mining industry.*

even harder to defend.

#### **Urban Africans are not South Africans**

The dangers were clear. In April 1982 the Prime Minister told parliament that the urban Africans could never be part of a unitary South African state. 'That would mean a surrender to numbers,' he said. Secondly, the government was afraid that so long as any chance remained of urban Africans being included (eg in a 'fourth chamber'), it would be much harder to persuade more bantustan leaders to accept 'independence'.

The position of the urban Africans was also closely tied to the constitutional proposals for Coloureds and Indians. On the one hand, the exclusion of Africans from the new constitutional plans made it more difficult for collaborators in the Coloured and Indian communities to accept the proposals. On the other, the government believed that

16 only when the reforms for Coloureds and In-

dians had been fully pushed through, would Africans accept the situation and be ready to negotiate on the confederation.

The government is aware that the path of constitutional reform is a slippery one. At an early stage they emphasised the importance of the order of steps to be taken, and the necessity of not going on to the next step before the previous one had been completed. The urban Africans are the trickiest step of all.

By the end of 1983 the government had not yet reached a final decision on this question. But a number of broad principles had come out in speeches and press articles in the past few years. There was agreement that the urban Africans would not get a 'fourth chamber' in parliament. Instead they would be represented at the level of the confederation. But how this would happen was still uncertain. A top level Cabinet committee on

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