

HISTORICAL analogies are always inexact, yet it remains true that those who will not learn from history are doomed to repeat it. Crisis-stricken South Africans would do well to ponder the parallels between the psychological war now being waged against their own system, especially against the SADF, and that waged against South Vietnam and the US Army in the late Sixties/early Seventies. There are equally striking resemblances between the Soviet-supported Vietnamese National Liberation Army (NLF) of that time and the Soviet-supported ANC of today.

All this is chillingly portrayed in a new book, *The Vietnamese Gulag* (Simon & Schuster), authored by Doan Van Toai, a prominent member of the NLF and the student opposition to the anti-Communist Thieu regime during the Vietnam War. After the fall of Saigon in 1975, Doan served briefly in the Provisional Revolutionary Government before being suddenly arrested and held in jail, without trial, for 28 months. Released in November, 1977, and later allowed to leave the country, he is now Director of the Institute for Southeast Asian Policy Analysis and a research associate at the University of California Institute of East Asian Studies at Berkeley.

Vanished

In his book, Doan tells of his wrenching disillusion when the war ended and the country he so dearly loved vanished into bloodsoaked totalitarianism, instead of the gentle egalitarianism he had so confidently expected. He recalls with painful clarity his own political and moral misjudgments, as he longed and fought for the "triumph" of the "liberation" forces. For the very last thing they brought to Vietnam was peace. On the personal side, a sadder and wiser Doan writes:

"Motivated by my hatred of the dictators, and by my view of myself as a Vietnamese nationalist, I had played my role in the weakening of the American-backed regime, and isolating it from domestic and international support. Now I understood that the passion of my ideals, combined with a belief in my own political intelligence, had led me down a trail at whose unforeseen end lay terror and destitution for my country. And I had walked that trail in company with millions of other passionate idealists, Vietnamese, French and American. Together, we had been caught up in a 'People's War,' the kind of struggle that gave precedence to the techniques of psychological warfare.

"As the American military had be-

The Vietnamese anti-war activists who got smart too late

latedly recognised, the battlefield was also the hearts and minds of those who created public opinion in Vietnam and the West. And the way to those hearts and minds, the Communists saw, was through their ideals, a hatred for colonialism, an abhorrence of violence, a belief in social welfare and liberal democracy. I now realise that Vietnam was not an isolated incident on the stage of world affairs, that the 'People's War' techniques that had been developed were applicable to every Third World conflict in which the West has an interest. Vietnam was a casebook for revolutionary strategy: a case book to be studied with the greatest care by the world's democracies and by the world's emerging nations, for whom the Communist road to national liberation is in fact a road to national desolation."

Arsenal

And Vietnam itself? "It is one of history's striking ironies that having displayed such heroic tenacity and courage against her enemies, Vietnam has fallen prey to the predatory designs of an ally. In a diplomatic triumph of profound consequence, the USSR has been able to forge Vietnam into the key link in her Southeast Asia and Western Pacific strategies. Air and naval facilities

is apparently used for debt service, which an expedient Prime Minister Pham Van Dong described as 'drinking poisoned water to keep from dying of thirst.' With a per capita income that places Vietnam among the world's very poorest nations, and with severe inflation and unemployment problems, Hanoi's leaders have no alternative but to rely on large-scale infusions of foreign support.

Devotion

"At the same time, the Politburo's devotion to what it calls 'Vietnam's international mission' has put Vietnam on a permanent war footing. Having spent their lives making war, Vietnam's septuagenarian rulers are clearly more comfortable with violent conflict than nation-building. As Pham Van Dong put it, 'Waging war is easy, but running a country is very difficult.' In Moscow's embrace, Vietnam's people are the great losers. They subsist on an average per capita income of US\$150 a year while their government maintains the world's third largest standing army. They are subjected to continuous mobilisation, while their human and natural resources are deflected into an endless military quagmire.

"To enforce its will, their govern-

DOAN VAN TOAI is not alone in his bitter disillusion. In another new book on Vietnam, *To Bear Any Burden*, Truong Nhu Tang, a founding member of the National Liberation Front, is quoted: "I was not a Communist... I believed we would consolidate our divided nation. I would not listen when my father warned me: 'In return for your service, the Communists will not give you even a part of what you have now. Worse, they will betray you and persecute you all your life....'"

granted to the Soviets in the secret protocols of the 1978 treaty are now home to a strike force of atomic powered missile and attack submarines, as well as a surface fleet that includes elements of the Minsk carrier flotilla.

"This ongoing build-up indicates the extent to which Vietnam leaders now accept their country's role as a weapons arsenal and staging area for Soviet military planning. For the Russians, Vietnam has become the lynchpin of their strategy, both to contain China and become the dominant force in Southeast Asia and the Western Pacific."

Economically? "Postwar Vietnam carries a heavy burden of debt to the Soviets, estimated by most analysts to be accruing at a rate of approximately US\$6 million a day. Part of this amount

ment must rely on a rigid and doctrinaire authoritarianism, complete with a network of prisons and re-education (concentration) camps. How the Vietnamese people feel about the grim conditions imposed on them is manifest in the continued outpouring of refugees from both North and South, a phenomenon of staggering magnitude considering traditional attachments to land and ancestral graves. To achieve national independence and economic development, Vietnam has no choice but to separate herself irrevocably from Soviet geo-politics. Without that, her people, for all their courage, are condemned to an Orwellian future." Unfortunately for his fellow Vietnamese, Doan was one of the many who got smart too late.

Illuminating look at how US political system works

THE argument about whether Dr Chester Crocker, US Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, did indeed describe the ANC as "freedom fighters" and advocated "majority rule" in SA continues unabated. Now, courtesy Howard Phillips, chairman of the US Conservative Caucus, I have received the full transcript of a White House press briefing where Presidential Press Secretary Larry Speakes attempted to set the record straight. With considerable under-statement, Howard remarks: "This, I am sure, will much enhance your understanding of how the American political system works..."

MR SPEAKES: "There (has been) some stir in the newspapers about what Secretary Crocker testified ... about what he said about the South African Government and majority rule there. I think it would behove all of you ... to examine what the Assistant Secretary said in its entirety, which was not reported ... in the newspapers. Secretary Crocker agreed to an assertion by a Congressman that in a general sense the African National Congress is one of many organisations engaged in a struggle for freedom in South Africa. They're using a variety of means. He also noted ... and this was not pointed out ... our long-standing opposition to the policy of violence of the ANC and our concerns about the ties of that organisation to the Soviet Union. The question of majority rule ... we have consistently called for a system of government that recognises the rights of all South Africans, including their political rights ..."

QUESTION: Well, did he call them freedom fighters? — The SA Government itself has recently acknowledged the need to provide for universal franchise. It ... is up to the South Africans to negotiate a constitution. A truly democratic constitution by definition, provides for majority rule with protection for minority rights. As the State Department (has) pointed out ... Jeane Kirkpatrick made a similar statement to the UN Security Council about majority rule on August 16, 1984, and this provided the response for the (Crocker) statement. That takes care of that.

QUESTION: Are they freedom fighters ... the Mandela people? — We certainly don't agree with their practice of violence and their standing with the Soviet Union.

QUESTION: Well, did he say they were freedom fighters in the text? — I think you'd have to look it up. I think he responded to a question in which the Congressman posed ... in my opinion, it was not a question to find out the Administration's view, but to elicit a specific answer from him ... that the Congressman wanted to play up.

QUESTION: Are you saying they're not freedom fighters? — I didn't address the question.

QUESTION: Well, the question is, are you saying they're not freedom fighters? — Certainly they have certain goals, but I don't agree with the methods they use to achieve the goals. Those are my own words and not yours or the Congressman's.

QUESTION: Well, you say they asked him a question to elicit a position? — No, they did not. They asked a question that was loaded to get a specific answer from him that they could hype, which they did.

QUESTION: So you're accusing his questioners and that when he said they were freedom fighters, you feel he was trapped? — Yes, I do.

QUESTION: Is that what he says? — I haven't talked to him.

QUESTION: Well, how do you know that? — Because I read the testimony. Simple as that.

QUESTION: What do you mean, "simple as that"? Is he backtracking from his testimony? — No, he's not backtracking from his testimony.

QUESTION: But you are. — No, I'm putting it in the context in which it should be recognised by the press.

QUESTION: What is the distinction between the violence that the ANC uses and the violence that the Contras use? — I'm not going to make those types of comparison.

QUESTION: Well, wait ... I mean, you said that you don't agree with their practices of violence or their — the methods they use, but we are ... you want \$70 million for an organisation that uses similar methods? — I'm not going to make those kinds of comparisons.

QUESTION: Well, why not? — Just not. Okay?

QUESTION: You compare Nicaragua with the Philippines ... you make all sorts of comparisons? — Any other questions?

QUESTION: Yes, back on this for a minute. I'm confused ... — That's too bad.

QUESTION: You're agreeing that we favour Black majority rule? — I made my statement. I'll be glad to make it again.

QUESTION: No. Could you just answer my question? — No, I'd prefer you refer to my statement.

QUESTION: Why won't you answer questions? What are you doing up there if you won't answer question? — I would prefer you to read the statement.

QUESTION: Why do you only read things that people feed you? — Why can't you understand what I said?

QUESTION: I don't know — because you are very confusing. I thought you came out here to answer questions? — I'll give it to you in written form if that will help you.

QUESTION: On the question of Black majority rule which came up last August ... every time it was brought up, there was a reluctance on your part ... — The reluctance on my part was not to be drawn into specific statements by you during a particularly volatile situation in South Africa.

QUESTION: Okay. Now it may not be so volatile. Is there some reluctance to ... come out and say that we favour majority rule? — We favour ... constitutional reform there that would recognise the right of minorities and the majority in there. And so let the South Africans work out their own constitution and let the will of the people take its place.

QUESTION: Is there something about the phrase "Black majority rule" that presents a problem for the US? — No.

QUESTION: So why don't you just say that you favour it then? Do we understand majority rule as one man, one vote? — The South Africans have to work out the specifics on their constitution.

QUESTION: What kind of protection for minorities do you envision? — Pardon?

QUESTION: What kind of protection for minorities do you envision in SA? — To certainly protect their political rights ... protect their ability to vote, protect their ability to participate in the constitutional process, to participate in the democratic process.

QUESTION: So some weighted formula that would presumably guarantee their participation in whatever their ultimate government might be? — I wouldn't think that we would attempt to micromanage anybody's government from here.

QUESTION: Oh, no?

Counter-action: and the time to strike back is ... now!

LET's not beat about the bush. After years of relentless international and domestic political pressure, far too many South Africans for comfort suffer an extreme crisis of confidence. What we did not need at this time, then, was the emergence of a foreign-subsidised, tele-guided psychological warfare weapon such as the End Conscription Campaign: a campaign aimed, no matter what the organisers piously proclaim, at gutting our defences and delivering us, bound, to our foe. Still, these are early days yet. The ECC has not yet got into full stride and there is no need for us, by inaction, to sit idly by while these people attempt to tear down and ruin a good country. With a good counter-campaign, we can still nip the ECC and its mischief smartly in the bud. To business.:

1. The Americans lost the war in Vietnam because they were hit with a new weapon: psychological warfare. With us, that is not the case. Today, we know the tactics: and it is our job to be AWARE of the ECC's insidious "peace" propaganda campaign. Knowledge is the battle half won. Knowledge and informed, critical appraisal that will assess the "peace" slogans, statements and arguments for what they really are: fraudulent, slanted half-truths intended to deceive, demotivate, demoralise.

2. The issue at stake is NOT whether you favour conscription or not, or even if you favour this Government or not. The issue at stake is whether a civilised SA can survive: nothing more complicated than that. Ignoring all their hype, we must seriously ask ourselves: Would surrender change SA for the better? True, our society may not be perfect. Which one is? But (much as our enemies may challenge this) the fact remains that the human cost of SA's failures is far, far less than the human cost of what Soviet-supported revolution has brought elsewhere. Our system right now is working badly in terms of our expectations and in terms of the problems we face, but nowhere nearly as badly as would the threatened alternative.

3. Events of the past two years give

little cause for confidence in what ANC rule would bring. Today, in the townships, we have Black police, moderates, councillors, businessmen, all living in mortal terror of ANC/UDF "rule by necklance." Already, we know what happens to those who "refuse to serve the revolution." At ANC instigation, its "warriors" have been committing incredible and quite Satanic atrocities against their own people, and with Oliver Tambo promising more of the same. What is the probability that SA, ruled by murderous thugs such as these, would prove a bastion of peace and democracy? The truth is: under an ANC terrorist regime, controlled and supported by Moscow, there would be NO hope of change. If the communists take over, everything else becomes academic.

Inspire

4. But being AWARE of the truth is not enough. We must inspire our people to rise to their obligations and opportunities. How? There are many ways in which we, the citizens, and our organisations can work together, can contribute towards ensuring the survival of SA and of Western, Christian civilisation in this corner of a suffering continent. This boils down to one thing: MAKE YOUR VOICE HEARD. Take lessons from the enemy. Till now, the ECC has operated on an incredibly narrow budget, but succeeds because it concentrates on whipping up the emotions and energies of the Left. In the war of words, they have made all the running, their noisy rhetoric giving them an importance they do not deserve. But, if theirs is the only version heard, then that is the version that will influence the attitudes and perspectives of the silent majority, nonsensical as most of their proposals undoubtedly are.

5. Take the ECC's current "Alternative Service Project." While the ANC/UDF strive to make SA "ungovernable," while the USSR seeks to become No 1 military power on the African sub-continent, the ECC calls on young South Africans to do "community" rather than military service, to "plant parks" because this "will help bring about a just peace in our country." What would happen if our young men opted (or were allowed to opt) for such inanity? Nothing then would block the ANC's "march to victory" —

and, maybe, we could indeed find ourselves "planting parks" in the ensuing "just peace." But don't bet the house on it. Recent history does not present that as a credible scenario, not under Soviet domination.

6. What is vital is that we UNDERSTAND the methods and motivation of the ECC. They arrange meetings where hand-selected speakers present their siren songs of "peace," one-sided arguments presented to audiences who, knowing no better, accept what they are told at face value. "Peace" pamphlets and brochures are prepared and distributed in their thousands. Special efforts are made to target school children: because high school boys are the National Servicemen of two to three years hence. The school cadet system is under sudden attack, because this is viewed as preparation for national service.

7. Knowing how they seek to subvert us, recognising this concerted effort to discredit national service, concerned South Africans MUST get into the counter-struggle; MUST fight back through our own social clubs and associations. Of the utmost importance are school-connected organisations: Parent/Teacher Associations, sports and culture groups, and the like. It is EVERYBODY'S responsibility to watch over the schools, to prevent undue and destructive influence by groups such as the ECC.

8. From Government, we MUST demand much greater effort to market the TRUTH. In such wars the truth does not "out" by itself. The real reasons for the presence of the troops in the townships must be spelt out, over and over again, by every possible means and at every possible opportunity. The real reasons why we need a Defence Force must, equally, be spelt out, over and over again. There are people, like the dotty Rev. Rob Robertson, who argue that a country does not need a defence force because, without armed forces, you "cannot invite violence." Such inanities must be ruthlessly exposed for the dangerous drivel that they are.

The saying, "Peace Through Strength," has never been more relevant than now. Peace, democratic development and prosperity can be restored and assured ONLY if we remain strong, both militarily and in our resolve.

'E'

Many whites opposed to apartheid, French told

HERALD REPORTER
EASTERN Cape End Conscriptio Campaign chairman, Miss Janet Cherry, says she told an anti-apartheid congress in Paris that there were many white South Africans opposed to apartheid.

She said she made this point at an SOS Racism congress held in France two weeks ago where she had been invited to speak on the situation in South Africa over the last 18 months and the role of the ECC in the country.

Miss Cherry said she also spoke about the state of emergency, the role of the South African Defence Force in the current unrest and read affidavits by poli-

tical detainees to over 500 SOS Racism delegates from throughout Europe who attended the congress.

At the end of the congress delegates concluded that a stronger stand should be taken against the South African tri-cameral parliament and that they would try to persuade their respective governments to do so, according to Miss Cherry.

This included sports boycotts, cultural isolation and increased sanctions, Miss Cherry said.

The conference was attended by human rights activists, prominent academics and actresses, she said, one of whom was South African poet, activist, and political prisoner, now resident in France, Breyten Breytenbach, who proposed a policy of total isolation towards South Africa.

The French were of the opinion that during the Second World War and the Nazi occupation they experienced racialism in the form of Hitler's campaign against the Jews, Miss Cherry said.

After the conference she met several student organisations and the French Anti-Apartheid Organisation.

On her return to South Africa last Friday, Miss Cherry learnt that the State had decided not to prosecute her following her arrest and overnight detention as a result of drugs allegedly being found in an outside bathroom on her premises on the eve of her departure to France.



Miss Janet Cherry, Eastern Cape End Conscriptio Campaign chairman, on her return from an anti-apartheid campaign in France.

HERALD 2/4/76

ECC couple will not face mandrax possession charge

HERALD REPORTERS
THE Eastern Cape chairman of the End Conscriptio Campaign, Miss Janet Cherry, will not be charged with possession of drugs following her arrest after mandrax was found in an outside bathroom on her property two weeks ago.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gerrie van Rooyen, SA Police liaison officer for the Eastern Cape, yesterday said that the public prosecutor had decided not to press charges. No reasons have been given for the decision.

Charges will also not be brought against Mr Dominic Souchon, an ECC campaign member, who was arrested with Miss Cherry.

The pair were arrested and held for questioning on March 17, after mandrax tablets were found in an outside bathroom. They were released next day.

The decision not to press charges was welcomed by Mr Souchon, and church and community leaders who came out in support of the pair after their arrest.

Mr Souchon said the apparent attempt by whoever placed the drugs in the bathroom to frame Miss Cherry and himself, was in keeping with a pattern of events apparently aimed at discrediting the ECC prior to their launch of national campaigns — the ECC is due to launch a "Work for a just peace" campaign tomorrow.

"By creeping into their outside bathroom with drugs", those responsible, he said, were obviously desperate to incriminate people working peacefully against apartheid.

Mr Souchon said that both he and Miss Cherry had been subjected to months of harassment during which their car tyres had been slashed, over-inflated, sugar had been put into the petrol tanks, and Miss Cherry's car had been burnt out.

The Right Rev Bruce Evans, Anglican Bishop of Port Elizabeth, said he felt "what appeared to be a plant" had led to the allegations of an offence.

Bishop John Murphy, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Port Elizabeth, said he at no time believed the couple was guilty, and added that they were community-minded and "would not involve themselves in drugs".

The Rev George Irvine, head of the Methodist Church in the Eastern Cape, said he was thrilled that the couple had not been charged.

Mrs Judy Chalmers, chairman of the Black Sash in Port Elizabeth, said the couple had suffered an "unjustifiable" attack on their characters as a result of their stand against apartheid. Miss Cherry is in France, attending a conference organised by a French anti-apartheid organisation.

WITNESS POST

'Working for Just Peace Campaign'

By KEVIN UDEMAN
THE Conscriptio Campaign (ECC) will mark on its second major national project when it launches the "Working for a Just Peace Campaign" next week.

The campaign, which will continue through April, is aimed at demonstrating through action what the ECC sees as being real "national service".

The ECC is aimed at ending conscription under the current apartheid system. Mr Laurie Nathan, national organiser of the ECC, said: "The reasons for this are clear."

"White South Africans are being conscripted into the SADF to fight fellow black South Africans and we feel that people should be given the right to choose how to serve South Africa, entirely free of Government institutions if they so see fit."

"But through the 'Working for a Just Peace Campaign', we hope to demonstrate the numerous ways in which a community and a country can be served without resorting to military means."

The campaign will involve an extensive process of consultation with various community organisations to determine

how they feel about the ECC's project. It will also involve a survey of various welfare and religious groups to find out how they feel about the idea of alternative service in such organisations.

In some areas, a survey of the feelings of conscripts or potential conscripts about the issue of alternative service will be made.

During April, groups of volunteers all over the country will go out and involve themselves in various actions after consultation with the communities concerned.

In Port Elizabeth the campaign will be launched on Thursday and, on Friday at 6pm, volunteers will meet at the Catholic Centre in Cape Road, Newton Park, to discuss the renovation of the creche. The work will begin the next day.

The local branch has also organised a Peace Workshop on Sunday, April 27, at the Trinity High School, where, among other things, toys and benches for creches will be made.

Other possible projects include making benches for pension pay-out points in the townships and running first-aid courses

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