

greatly intensify the struggle and advance towards victory.

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

#### *Black Traitors Shall Be Crushed*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

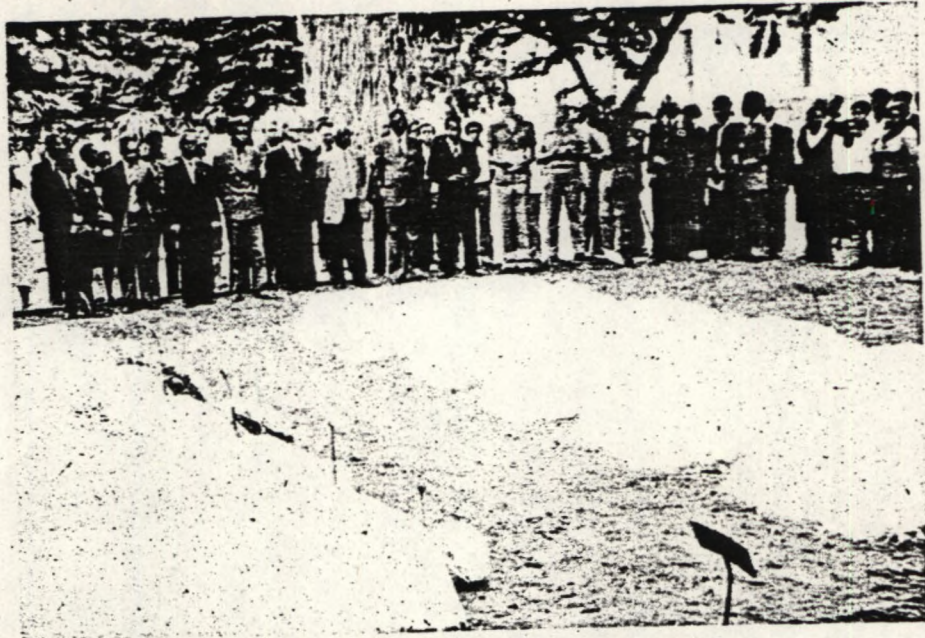
This is the daily experience of Namibia; and Angola is in a permanent state of war. But the Botha regime is not acting in isolation. Its criminal role in Africa is an expression of the determination of international imperialism, led by the United States, to defeat the forces of progress and impose its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

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

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



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



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

### *Botha-Reagan Alliance*

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

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

### *Anti-Imperialist Unity*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### *Day of Friendship*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Amandla Ngawethul!

Maatla ke a rona!

A luta continua!

Venceremos!

## ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA

# TWIN OUTPOSTS OF IMPERIALISM

"... as long as Israel exists we have hope. If Israel should, God forbid, be destroyed then South Africa would be in danger of extinction."  
General Van den Bergh: Yediot Aharanot  
16.8.1973

"I cannot stress sufficiently how we in Israel cherish relations with South Africa, which has been consistent in her friendship towards us ... South Africa must be seen as having special values for the free world ... It would be a disaster if South Africa were lost as a constructive and active member of the free community of nations."  
Itzhak Unna, Israel Ambassador to South Africa: To the Point 27.7.1979

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

### Economic Collaboration

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Military Collaboration

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

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

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

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

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

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

"General Dayan indicated to me that

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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





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# SUN CITY-PALACE BUILT ON POVERTY

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

#### Vast Profits

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

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

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

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

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



attracting overseas performers and delegates to conferences.

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

#### Hypocrisy and Racism

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

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

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

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

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

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



# WHITE FRONT SHATTERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

co-responsibility".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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**Collection Number: AK2117**

**DELMAS TREASON TRIAL 1985 - 1989**

***PUBLISHER:***

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

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

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