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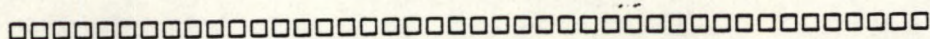
## UNITY IN ACTION

### FRONTLINE STATES & LIBERATION MOVEMENTS



# SECHABA

MAY ISSUE, 1983



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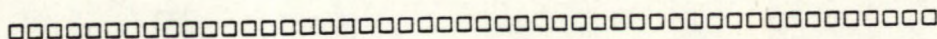
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Comrade Samora Machel, President of  
Mozambique with ANC President, Comrade  
Oliver Tambo.





# EDITORIAL

## ACT NOW TO SAVE THE ANC SIX!

For more than one and a half years three young ANC militants have been incarcerated in Pretoria prison's death row having been sentenced to die at the hand of the apartheid executioner. Their crime? The ultimate 'punishment' was again meted out to those fighting for the freedom of their people. In August 1982 three more soldiers of our people's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, joined their comrades facing the same fate. Here again we see the enemy's aim of physical liquidation and demoralisation of our militants. Terror tactics were to be repeated in order to intimidate our people and crush the will to struggle, at all costs, for a free and democratic South Africa.

The racists fail to learn from history. Four years ago they murdered Solomon Mahlangu and thousands rallied to take his honoured place in the liberation struggle. Now the ANC SIX have become the focus not only of our people's most fundamental aspirations but have been supported and defended by peoples and organisations all over the world.

The campaign to save the lives of these six militants has been waged consistently and with growing force. In an unprecedented move the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council issued two joint appeals to the apartheid regime to commute the death sentences.

Reacting to high level governmental pressure from all parts of the globe, the racists have instructed their embassies to write letters to those who have protested which attempt to put the apartheid regime's arguments for carrying out these executions in a 'factual' way. These letters, which cover the evidence presented by the state in the trials of the ANC SIX, have been refuted as being factually incorrect by the Defence Lawyers in the trials who have themselves put the facts straight in a detailed letter to the United Nations.

This attempt by the South African authorities to diffuse the international outcry against apartheid 'justice' has failed miserably. It has only spurred anti-apartheid activists to put more force into the campaign. At the same time the President of the Seychelles, Albert Rene, has issued a special appeal to the racist State President to exercise clemency.

The regime's response to the campaign has thrown out a challenge to all those who support the just struggle for freedom in South Africa. The demand for prisoner of war status for captured freedom fighters must now be put more forcefully forward 1



than ever before. We are reaching a critical stage in the effort to save the lives of our six comrades. The African National Congress has issued a call to all opponents of fascist terror to take up this campaign with renewed vigour and spare no effort in the fight to save the ANC SIX.

We must be aware that as the struggle intensifies the international community will be called upon more and more to act in defence of those who face judicial murder by the regime.

We have heard from fellow prisoners that each night the Six can be heard singing militant freedom songs, songs which raise the morale of all those incarcerated in Pretoria's maximum security prison. It is the ANC SIX who through their unstinting spirit of no surrender to racist tyranny, provide us with the greatest inspiration to strengthen the Campaign and give it greater scope and intensity.

*Campaign  
Save Lives*

# CISKEI- SEBE BROTHERS AT IT AGAIN

by Lungelo Mfana

Recently it has been reported that ten people, six of them trade unionists, have been detained in the Ciskei. They will appear before court charged with 'ANC activities.'

Two of them are none other than Thozamile Gqwetha, President of the South African Allied Workers' Union (SAAWU) and the Vice-President, Sisa Njikelana.

Thozamile has, for the past three years, been subjected to an unprecedented on-

slaught by both the South African and the Ciskeian authorities. He has been detained without trial eight times, and arrested to face terrorism charges once. In 1981 he was suspended by handcuffs from window bars and given electric shocks, while in detention. Six members of the Security Police in East London assaulted him. He was stripped before being handcuffed and suspended, then a wet canvas bag was put over his head and



tightened around his neck. Electric shocks were then applied to his toes, and cold water poured on his naked body.

In February last year, a week after Dr Neil Aggett died in detention, Thozamile was admitted to the psychiatric hospital where Dr Liz Floyd, a close friend of Dr Aggett, was also a patient. After his release from detention, his friends reported that he was "no longer the same man." Indeed, his brother Robert visited him in this Johannesburg psychiatric ward, and described him as "unrecognisable." After addressing a meeting of the Transvaal Anti-SAIC Committee recently, he was reported "much better," but he still was "no longer the same man."

Besides this physical torture, Thozamile Gqwetha has suffered other forms of torture. In late 1981 he lost his mother and uncle in a mysterious fire at their Kingwilliamstown home. A few days later he lost his girl friend, Miss Diliswa Roxiswa, when the police opened fire on a crowd of workers returning from a funeral.

Gqwetha is a former salesman who learned his trade unionism by studying books on the subject in the East London public library. He attracted international attention when SAAWU was supported by more than 20 000 East London workers in 1980.

This time he is detained again with several others, including SAAWU Vice-President Sisa Njikelana, who has been detained six times by the South African and Ciskeian police. Throughout his ordeal, Gqwetha has never been convicted of an offence, or had detailed charges levelled against him. Now the Ciskeian security chief, Charles Sebe, says Gqwetha and his colleagues — four of them are unconnected with trade union activities — will appear before a court, charged with ANC activities.

#### Who is Charles Sebe?

Charles Sebe is the head of the Ciskei Intelligence, and brother of Lennox Sebe, Ciskeian Chief Minister, called President. The Ciskei Intelligence Service was previously run from the offices of the Ciskei 'government' as a

branch of the former Bureau of State Security (BOSS) of the South African regime. It has now been converted to a full intelligence service branch for the Ciskei force, which numbered 500 in 1980.

Sebe, a self-proclaimed zealot in the fight against 'communism,' or what he calls the "communist-inspired African National Congress," rose through the ranks of the South African Police, where he served in both the uniformed and security branches, and later through the Bureau of State Security to his present position as chief of the Ciskeian Central Intelligence Office.

He is a militant anti-trade unionist. In 1980 Charles Sebe told Thozamile Gqwetha that he (Sebe) was personally against black trade unions, and went further to say that the Ciskeian "government" was a trade union in that whenever there was a misunderstanding between workers and employers the Ciskei "government" always intervened! He told Thozamile Gqwetha that the trade unions would not get any offices in the Ciskei, and that they would be denied access to public facilities such as halls. He warned Thozamile to "do his thing" in the "Republic" of South Africa, and only come back to Mdantsane in the evening to sleep, and stop "interfering" with Ciskeians.

Charles Sebe says he is also interested in poetry because during the time of black consciousness poets "had a method of putting across their ideology through poems and plays." That is why aspiring poets in the Ciskei have to apply to his intelligence service for a licence to write poems! He has files and files of these poets and their works.

It is no wonder that his anticommunism takes a concrete form of being anti-ANC and anti-trade unionism. But despite this, SAAWU is growing in strength and credibility.

#### The Ciskei Reality.

There are no official figures for unemployment in the Ciskei. Ciskei spokesmen are hardly certain what the population of the Ciskei is. But we know that of the 2 100 000 people identified as Ciskeians by the racist



South African regime, two thirds live and work in 'white' South Africa. Estimates are that unemployment is at 25 to 30 per cent, that is, 130 000 people are jobless in the Ciskei, and this figure is expected to increase by 21 000 each year.

More than 100 000 people have been dumped along the Ciskei 'belt of shame' in the past decade, most of them from the Western Cape, which is being cleared for white and coloured people. A report by the Christian Consultation on resettlement in the homeland — with representatives of ten churches and ecumenical organisations — charged that more than 500 000 people face removal to the already overcrowded Ciskei in the next ten years, if this policy is pursued. About nine new settlements have been created in the Ciskei for people from 'white' areas of South Africa. The population at Ndevana alone a camp outside Zwelitsha, was 45 000 in 1980. One resettlement camp in the north, Ntabethemba, once provided a living for 17 white farming families — it now houses 50 000 Africans of Ciskei origin, from all over South Africa.

Overcrowding? Comprising little more than 500 000 hectares, or 0.4 per cent of the South African land area, the Ciskei supports a de facto population of no less than 660 000. This is equivalent to a South African population of 165 million.

Despite a high infant mortality, numbers are increasing at the phenomenal rate of nearly four per cent annually. The average is 126 people per square kilometre, and in South Africa the figure is 25. The area consists of heavily overgrazed pastures, severely eroded soils, and resettlement camps, which house hundreds of thousands of displaced Ciskeians.

#### Health

There is high incidence of pellagra resulting from an exclusive maize diet. Infant mortality is estimated at 50 per cent but this is probably higher as many child deaths are not reported. This figure compares with an infant mortality of 1.9 per cent in the

white population. Half of all the two and three year olds in the Ciskei are malnourished according to the survey conducted by doctors in 1978. But the figures may well be worse now due to the drought that has gripped the Eastern Cape. The survey only counted those children who had survived while it was known many Ciskeian children did not reach the age of one. Most were just stunted like mielie plants in a drought stricken field: one in ten in the towns and one in six in the country were actually suffering from sickness forms of malnutrition — kwashiorkor and marasmus. Ciskei faces a threat of typhoid and typhus epidemics because of water shortage caused by the prolonged drought. People in the rural areas are drawing water from foul and stagnant pools.

Mdantsane, the so-called "best" health area, recorded that one in ten die in their first year. This figure compares with one or two children out of 100 dying in privileged societies. Figures from another survey which involved weighing 70 children in the eight year old group, were even more startling: in Mdantsane three out of four, and in the rural areas 8 out of 10 were found to be undersized. Dr. Charles Bikitsha, the director of Health Services in the Ciskei, said it was important to remember that for every one of the clinical cases reported, there were several with marginal symptoms discernible only to the most astute eye. Starvation and death of man and beast has struck the Ciskei.

Ciskei is a vast and teeming rural slum. At Oxton, in the Whittlesea district near Queenstown, children faint or throw fits and they are referred to the camp's only clinic where they are given vitamin syrup. "So many fall asleep in class that we can do nothing about it," said a teacher. They are malnourished. Further north at Thornhill it is a fortunate mother who can beg or borrow sufficient mealie meal to give her children one meal a day. The old men, the abandoned women and the employable





*The anguish of forced removals*

who cannot find work say with one voice: "We have come to die here."

Even the Cecilia Makiwane Hospital in Mdantsane, the largest hospital in the Ciskei with 40 of the Ciskei's total of 50 doctors serving the rural and urban communities, cannot alleviate the situation. The 4 hospitals that are supposed to serve the needs of the Ciskei and the 70 clinics scattered throughout the area actually prove that the distribution of health facilities does not match that of the population which has been reinforced by enforced resettlement.

As for Fort Hare which was once a pride of the African people, it no longer serves as an institution of learning - at the most it is a practising ground for young white graduates.

In the education field one hears only of scandals: in 1982 it was reported that an education department circular called on teachers to "donate" R2, principals R3 and inspectors R5 to a fund to send two of Lennox Sebe's children to Columbia University in the USA!

#### White Controlled Irrigation Schemes

Shiloh, one of the Ciskei's handful of expensive and white controlled irrigation schemes, is surrounded by a high security fence to keep out the hungry and destitute thousands from the nearby resettlement camps of Sada, Oxtou and Zweledinga.

The Shiloh scheme grows mainly vegetable crops with the aid of sprinklers and labour from the established Shiloh village. But the nearby squatters without land or jobs and with erratic cash incomes from a few migrant workers, are not allowed to buy Shiloh vegetables. As with all Ciskei commercial farming ventures, the produce is channelled through the centralised Ciskei Marketing Board, for sale primarily in urban complexes.

The security fencing at Shiloh was erected to prevent neighbours from conducting nocturnal raids to strip the newly sprouted crops. As happens at the schemes at Tyefu and Keiskammahoe, a carefully selected group of farmers, rapidly becoming an elite benefits from quarter 5



hector subsistence plots, while on the fringes of the projects thousands in the villages and squatter camps live in abject poverty. Much newer but smaller irrigation projects next to the most squalid resettlement camps seem also to benefit the few, usually handpicked and rewarded for loyalty to the local chief. Appalling poverty in these places has prompted private efforts to place those who cannot survive on some sort of basic subsistence with self-help garden projects.

By the way the Whites in the Ciskei do not live badly. Rowan Cronje, a former Rhodesian Cabinet Minister under Ian Smith and Abel Muzorewa, who later became Lennox Sebe's adviser, was receiving a R5 000 monthly salary. He was later sacked.

#### Citizenship

Just before Ciskei "independence" the 8 man Quail Commission worked for 14 months at a cost of R160,000 and thereafter submitted a 150 page report which stated that 90 per cent of the Ciskeians rejected "independence". The Sebe brothers reacted by arresting and detaining more than 300 people, mostly trade unionists. Now they are doing all they can to disorganise and control contract workers: no strike, no break of contract otherwise there will be victimisation.

Then there was the van der Walt Commission which recommended a "white" corridor from Queenstown to East London and this involved the relocation of nearly 250,000 Africans into the homeland.

This resulted in a state of affairs where King Williamstown is completely surrounded by the Ciskei except for a narrow strip of land to the east which links it to the "white" corridor running from East London to Queenstown. King Williamstown is therefore not part of Ciskei but Zwelitsha is. Zwelitsha is no longer the "capital" of Ciskei but Bisho. (Bisho is a traditional name for the whole King Williamstown magisterial area including King Williamstown but today

it means a small part of this area which is Sebe's seat).

Bisho, the "capital" just outside King Williamstown was described during the "independence celebrations" as a tent city, an independence stadium, piles of building rubble, a half-completed parliament and a hotel that Sol Kerzner's builders are rushing to complete for a banquet tomorrow night: no piped water or proper sewerage, electricity was tricky all the time, cooking being done in portable kitchens. Everything literally anything had to be bought in in King Williamstown.

Bisho is about 5km from Zwelitsha but the problem is that these 5km are "South African territory". A special transit visa is required. The reality of this situation hits you in the face when you consider the cases of Charles Nqakula, MWASA's acting president and Malusi Mpumwana, a theology student at Pietermaritzburg. They had been prohibited to move or confined to Zwelitsha by order. Their homes are in Zwelitsha. This did not only mean that Ciskeians are not South Africans - they needed a transit visa to travel from one side of the town to another - that is 5km.

Charles Sebe in a cynical way said applications for visas to visit another country were an international norm:

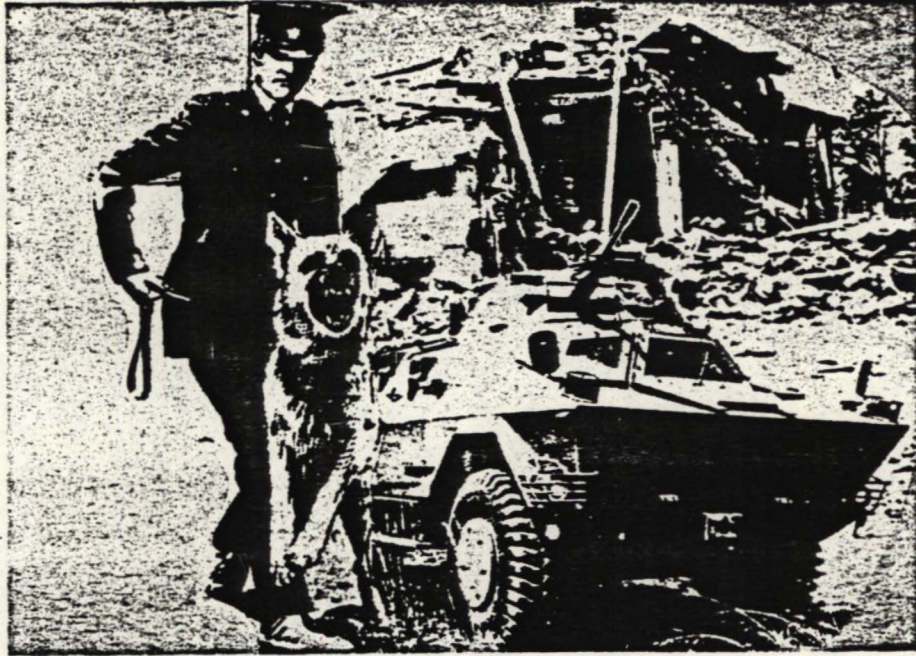
"If I visit America I must have a visa."

The same thing happens everywhere in the Ciskei. Mdantsane which is a location in East London belongs to the Ciskei and another location in East London, Duncan Village, belongs to South Africa. Families are therefore divided because they live in different locations: people from the same family can be South Africans and others "foreigners" - Ciskeians.

#### Conclusion

The Ciskei is a disaster area. The drought is only part of the problem. The water shortage has become so severe that the South African Defence Force and the Ciskei Defence Force are cooperating to distribute water as part of the drought





relief programme. Dams are dry, rivers stopped flowing, crops are almost a total failure, grazing is virtually non-existent and many head of livestock are unlikely to survive the winter, water restrictions are imposed. The situation is critical. The Ciskei has always had to import food — the drought has merely served to aggravate the already serious socio-economic problems in the area.

The authorities react to this situation by banning countless numbers of people who complain about this state of affairs. Others are deported to "white" South Africa or Transkei and back again. Others are simply silenced by decree — the Ciskei Legislative Assembly has barred the registration of a political party with less than 10,000 members.

Under these circumstances involvement in the resettlement issue means personal contact with uprooted people and to assist families wishing to oppose enforced resettle-

ment, making representations to the authorities at regional and other levels to halt removals. Even this is a crime.


All the Ciskei authorities know is to lie and this they do well. Rev. W.M. Xaba, then Minister of Agriculture, told some French businessmen in Paris that he was a founder member of the ANC. But the truth of the matter is that this gentleman was born on August 16, 1930!

Ciskei's policy of adherence to the concept of the constellation of Southern African States and Ciskei's fight against communism, the ANC and trade unions means that the Ciskei is aping Pretoria, especially the worst of racist South Africa's repressive legislation and uses it to the full for detention without trial. Even this latest arrest of Thozamile Gqwetha is an aspect of this. Let us protest about these arrests.



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## SECHABA REPORTS



The successful conclusion of the 7th Summit meeting of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in New Delhi on March 12 1983, represented a major defeat for imperialism and strengthened the progressive forces in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The clarity with which members of the Movement have consistently identified imperialism as the main impediment to political independence, economic development and peace has provoked various attempts to undermine the unity of the Movement, and diffuse its common purpose. These attempts reached a shrill crescendo in 1979 on the occasion of the 6th Summit in Havana, and have been continued with greater vigour by the Reagan Administration.

Addressing the Summit, ANC President Oliver Tambo summarised the views expressed by the majority of delegates:

"The world has become more turbulent in the years since the Havana Summit. The Non-Aligned Movement has been subjected to stresses and strains calculated to tear it assunder, and subjected also to hostile manoeuvres aimed at its inner cohesion. But its resilience has triumphed and its collective might enhanced; and today, New Delhi is playing host to the largest number of countries and Heads of State or Government in the history of the movement.

8

"This is in no small measure due to

the dynamic and skilful leadership of the outgoing Chairman of the Movement, the great revolutionary, Comrade President Fidel Castro Ruz, whose stubborn refusal to bow to imperialist blackmail constitutes a concrete expression of a fundamental principle of Non-Alignment."

The 7th Summit brought together the largest gathering of Heads of State or Government the world has ever seen, and the "New Delhi Message" adopted there was unambiguous and clear:

"Our world is increasingly turbulent and insecure. International economic relations continue to be characterized by inequality, domination and exploitation. The gravity of the situation is evident in the intensification of the arms race, in the resistance of the strong to the initiatives for change in favour of the weak, in great power involvement in regional conflicts and in the threat of a world wide nuclear catastrophe.

"Peace and peaceful co-existence, independence, disarmament and development are the central issues of our time, but peace must be based on justice and equality, because the intolerable inequality and exploitation established by colonialism and imperialism remain the most important causes of tension, conflict and violence in the world."



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# NON- ALIGNED SUMMIT

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→ President Tambo set out the role of national liberation movements in addressing these central issues. Referring to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's characterisation of the NAM as "history's biggest peace movement" he said:

"The national liberation movements, though engaged in armed struggle, are an intrinsic part of the international struggle for peace: for security, the right to social and economic development and peace are dependent upon the attainment of independence.

"It was this common understanding between independent sovereign states and national liberation movements that took the ANC to Bandung and Belgrade and has led to our continued participation in your deliberations since then. Thus the struggle against colonialism has been a primary objective of this Movement, and must remain on the agenda until the last vestiges of alien rule are removed.

"By definition we are fellow combatants of people fighting for national independence, peace and security everywhere."

By acclamation, the Conference adopted a message of support and solidarity with the National Liberation Movements proposed by the newly elected chairperson of the NAM — Prime Minister Indira Gandhi. (see box).

The Conference devoted considerable attention to the deteriorating economic situation in many developing countries, and noted that under the present iniquitous world economic system the levers of power are firmly in the hands of a few developed countries and are often used to the detriment of the developing countries. It demanded immediate steps to save the developing countries from the combined effect of the world economic crisis and the inherent inequity of the existing world economic order. The Conference declared:

"Never before have the economic fortunes of the developed and developing countries been so closely linked together. Yet many rich nations ... still refuse to recognise that the economic revival of the North is simply not possible without the economic survival of the South. Solutions to these problems must necessarily be global."

The Conference set as one of its immediate tasks the struggle for a new economic order through global negotiations.

#### Assessing destabilisation in Southern Africa

In Southern Africa, the people are confronted by an incontrovertible truth recognised by the founding fathers of the Non-Aligned Movement: that the defence and consolidation of independence is inextricably linked with the removal and destruction of colonialism and racism.



All the leaders of the states neighbouring apartheid South Africa provided examples that geographically illustrated that so long as settler colonialism and racist exploitation persist in South Africa and Namibia, economic development and social emancipation in the region will be retarded.

The Prime Minister of Lesotho drew attention to aspects of the apartheid regime's destabilisation policies in the region.

"Being close to the situation, Lesotho has watched with concern the gradual ascendancy of the military, and security establishment to political prominence inside South Africa. The army seems to have acquired a free hand in carrying out acts of aggression against neighbouring states. Incursions into our countries by South African military are carried out under various code names such as the so-called LLA in the case of Lesotho, MNR in Mozambique and UNITA in Angola. The aggressive moves are part and parcel of South Africa's total strategy to force us into submissiveness.

"A new and sinister problem is being posed in our region. Pretoria is now busy seeking to bring her Bantustan satellites into conflict with the neighbouring majority ruled independent states. These Bantustans, with which Pretoria has signed so-called "non-aggression pacts"; are being fed with malicious propaganda manufactured by South Africa that the internal problems of sabotage they are facing derive from operations of the ANC in neighbouring countries such as Lesotho. But South Africa and the Bantustans themselves know that this is not true. What is the truth is that the majority of those who have been forced into the Bantustans, militantly reject the policy of apartheid and Bantustanisation. As such, it is they who are mounting the acts of sabotage from inside South Africa and from inside the Bantustans, not from Lesotho, which is only a scape-goat.

"In this way the stage is being set whereby South Africa will use these

Bantustans as proxies in her attacks against the neighbouring countries. The axis of Pretoria and her Bantustans needs to be watched with vigilance because it is part of a threat to peace in Southern Africa. In fact, as I speak, South Africa has opened up new fronts of military aggression in Bantustans such as Qwa Qwa in the north-west of Lesotho, and southeast in the Transkei. The use of Bantustans is intended to force Lesotho to negotiate directly with them whilst at the same time inducing their recognition by the International community."

The Conference noted that continued collaboration of western countries and Israel with racist South Africa encouraged its intransigence. The Conference condemned the US policy of 'constructive engagement' which "is aimed at countering the international campaign for the total isolation of apartheid South Africa." Earlier President Kaunda had aptly labelled this policy as effectively "destructive engagement" and President Tambo summarised the consequences for Southern Africa of the Reagan/Botha alliance:

"Strengthened by this new alliance, the racist regime went on the offensive:  
+ it aborted the Geneva talks on Namibia, increased its military presence in that country, committed new atrocities against the population and became impervious to international pressure;  
+ inside South Africa repression has been escalated with more frequent detentions, torture, murder in prison, and new restrictions on freedom of movement and expression, the banning of persons and publications. Even you, Madam Chair, have not escaped the attention of the racist police. Just as this Conference was about to open, a message you sent to South Africans of Indian origin was banned and students distributing it were arrested, because that message was fully supportive



**NON ALIGNMENT MOVEMENT  
MESSAGE OF SUPPORT AND SOLIDARITY WITH  
NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS**

In opening the Seventh Summit Conference of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries at a time when peace is seriously threatened and is totally non-existent for many who are struggling for their sacred rights to independence and to build a better future, the Heads of State or Government meeting in New Delhi India, paid a heartfelt tribute to the Palestine Liberation Organisation, PLO, the South West People's Organisation, SWAPO, and the South African Liberation Movement, for the indefatigable and heroic struggles waged by their leaders and members during the three years elapsed since the Sixth Summit Conference and saluted the important victories scored by these freedom fighters during this period.

The Heads of State or Government solemnly renewed their staunchest support and solidarity with their struggle and the commitment of the Non-Aligned Countries with the attainment of Namibia's independence, the elimination of the opprobrious apartheid regime in South Africa and the realisation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to establish their own sovereign State.

The Heads of State or Government stressed and thanked these National Liberation Movements for their valuable contribution to the realisation of the common objectives of the Non-Aligned Countries, first and foremost, the attainment of independence, peace, security and the right to economic and social development for all peoples.

of the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa;

+ assassination has become an instrument of policy and members and leaders of the ANC have been kidnapped or murdered in South Africa and across the borders.

+ countries bordering on South Africa and in the Indian Ocean have been subjected to an intensified campaign of destabilisation in which large numbers of bandit groups have been used to direct aggression and sabotage by racist forces.

*and continued:*

"The sole and exclusive aggressive force in the region, the racist regime is offering to sign non-aggression pacts with the victims of its aggression even as it escalates its offensive. But it is not peace that Pretoria offers its neighbours. Emulating the

zionists in Lebanon, who are also part of a strategic alliance with Washington, the apartheid regime demands the acceptance of continued racist domination throughout Southern Africa, as well as the expulsion of the ANC from the region. The political and economic price it demands for ending its aggression would render valueless the hard won victories of the liberation struggles in Southern Africa.

"As a result the last and final stage of the struggle for total decolonisation of Africa has become more than a struggle in 1 or 2 countries - it has embroiled the entire Southern African region. Perhaps nowhere is the independence of so many sovereign governments threatened simultaneously as in Southern Africa. Some countries have never known peace.



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"All of them are members of this Non-Aligned Movement. Madam Chair, on no occasion has it been more important than now to reassert the founding principles of the Movement, and take united and collective action in support of these member states."

The Conference condemned Pretoria's acts of open aggression and attempts at destabilisation in Angola, Lesotho, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe and other independent African countries, and it "commended the Frontline States and other neighbouring states for their courage and determination in the face of the brazen intimidation of South Africa and called upon the world community to provide all possible assistance and support to these countries to strengthen their defences as well as creating conditions to avert bloodshed in the whole of Southern Africa."

Concluding his statement, President Tambo expressed appreciation for the support that members of the Non-Aligned Movement has consistently given to the African National Congress and said:

"The Namibian and South African people owe a profound debt of gratitude for the sacrifices that have been and are daily being made by the people of this region and we urge support for them.

"But we emphasise that their independence and sovereignty, and prospects for development will have meaning, only, when the South African regime will have been destroyed.

"In the name of the people of South Africa — We pledge to do so!"

---

*Comrade President Samora Machel*



**WHY  
DOES  
SOUTH  
AFRICA  
ATTACK  
US ?**

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Below SECHABA publishes an extract from the address given by Comrade President Samora Machel at the Non-Aligned Summit.

What does it mean when Pretoria talks of ANC bases?

Those bases are inside South Africa itself:

- \* they are in Soweto when the Pretoria regime marches forward with all its military and police apparatus against schoolchildren;
- \* they are in every township of South Africa;
- \* each black family is an ANC base;
- \* each black man, woman and child is an ANC base;

Hence,

- \* The Pretoria regime goes to Mozambique and attacks the residences of refugees;
- \* it attacks Maseru, Lesotho;
- \* in Maputo it murders a prestigious South African lady intellectual and scientist.

When South Africa sees ANC bases everywhere and acts this way we can understand why: all those who oppose apartheid, be they White or Black, Coloured or Indian, are bases, subject to attack by the Pretoria regime.

Apartheid is the nazism of our times. Yesterday, when Hitler's nazi beast raised its ugly head in Europe and threatened to enslave the world, the whole of mankind stood up and fought a full scale war until the beast's complete destruction.

Today, when the nazi-fascist beast raises its head in Southern Africa and threatens the independent African states

there is only the guilty silence of many western countries. Why?

The homes of black families are arbitrarily turned into prisons and their bedrooms turned into cells by a simple banning order issued by the racist regime.

Citizenship is withdrawn from Blacks, their right to residence is withdrawn, they are expelled from the cities and their homes are razed to the ground with bulldozers.

South African prisons are experimental laboratories of torture, where people are murdered by the racist police, who thereafter issue a death certificate of suicide.

This is the South Africa which presents itself as the defender and bastion of western civilisation in the region.

This is the South Africa of the massacres in Sharpeville, Gugulethu, Langa, Soweto, where hundreds of South Africans are murdered indiscriminately for the simple reason that they demonstrated against the daily humiliation of apartheid.

This is the South Africa which imperialism considers to be its strategic and natural ally.

This is the South Africa which wages an undeclared war against the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Madam Chairman,

Racist South Africa recruits thieves, delinquents, drug addicts, murderers, hoodlums, whom it trains, arms, equips, finances, leads and infiltrates in the People's Republic of Mozambique.

These elements are trained in South African military bases as an integral part of the South African army. How do they act?

- \* they attack and burn down villages, steal the villager's food and livestock;
- \* they burn down schools, murder teachers and kidnap pupils;



- \* they destroy hospitals and murder the medical staff;
- \* they attack and burn down stores;
- \* they blow up railways and mine roads;
- \* they attack passenger trains and buses;
- \* they destroy fuel tanks and cut down power lines;
- \* they destroy tractors, trucks and other means of production;
- \* they attack economic development projects, and kidnap foreign technicians from various countries;
- \* they kidnap, rape and kill the wives and daughters of the peasants;
- \* they kidnap nuns. They kidnap missionaries;
- \* they spread terror among the people cutting off ears, tongues and breasts.

These are the armed bandits who attack Mozambique and other countries of the region. It is this extension of the South African army that is presented as the opposition to the Government of the People's Republic of Mozambique. It is these bandits that imperialism presents to the world as the opposition to the people's revolutionary regime.

Why does South Africa attack us?

South Africa attacks us in the name of Western civilisation, in the name of the fight to check communist penetration.

This destabilizing action is systematically extended to all the independent states of the region. This action is aimed at breaking down means of communications due to their strategic importance for the development of the region. It is aimed at disrupting the activities of the members of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) and at frustrating the efforts to create a system of regional economic cooperation which would free our countries from economic dependency on South Africa.

The world knows only what is published by international news agencies based in South Africa. But our Movement must know the real situation of the region.

South Africa has selected a part of its Armed Forces, baptized it as the Lesotho Liberation Army and infiltrated it in this country to carry out acts of terrorism and sabotage. The actions of this operational detachment are complemented by the direct and overt intervention of South Africa's regular forces. Proof of that are the recent massacre of refugees in Maseru and the blowing up of fuel tanks.

In Zimbabwe also, through armed bandits, South Africa carries out destabilisation, sabotage, terror, and directly uses economic blackmail.

Zambia, Botswana and Swaziland are not exempted from such actions by South Africa.

Seychelles, more than three thousand miles away from South Africa is subjected to repeated onslaughts of mercenaries sent by the apartheid regime.

South Africa justifies these actions by pretending to be under threat from the neighbouring states. But what is it really that threatens South Africa? The independence of the states of the region, freedom and dignity of the people, the alternative anti-racial civilisation which evolves in the region, that is the real threat to apartheid.

Our schools, attended by children of all races and religious creeds free of charge; our hospitals where people of all colours receive free medical care; our development projects which will eliminate hunger and poverty; the building of a nation in which there is no room for racism tribalism and all forms of discrimination; that is the example which South Africa fears.



# DISCUSSION ARTICLE

## THE RISE OF THE MILITARY IN SOUTH AFRICA

### Part 1

by A.W.

Since the early 1970's the apartheid regime has faced an increasingly serious political and economic crisis. Within this climate (both as cause and result) the struggle for national liberation has advanced dramatically. These factors, together with the fundamental shift in the balance of power in Southern Africa since 1974 and the continuing actions of the international progressive community, mean that the survival of the apartheid state has been more seriously threatened than ever before.

The aim of this article is to focus on the role of the military in this process and to trace the rise of its influence since the mid 1970's. Facts and figures regarding the growth of the armed forces, military spending and military operations throughout Southern Africa have been fairly well documented and are generally known. Less precise information regarding the nature and role of the military elite has been forthcoming. This article therefore attempts to collate the available information in this sphere and raises the question

of whether it is sufficient in current analysis to ascribe to the military the role of 'increasing influence' or whether it is valid to assert that the military has effectively taken over control of state power. Is the increasingly common reference to the apartheid regime as a 'military state' useful propaganda or does it mean what it says?

The ruling National Party came to power in 1948 on the basis of a class alliance between white farmers, workers and the Afrikaner petty bourgeoisie. The subsequent development of Afrikaner capitalism and the inevitable merger of its interests with 'English' and international monopoly capital led to increasing political struggle within the ruling party and the emerging dominance of bourgeois interests within this struggle.

During the 1960s and early 1970s the escalation of national liberation struggles throughout Southern Africa led to state security becoming an issue of increasing priority on the white political agenda, and therefore brought the leaders of the armed forces into greater political circulation.



Up until 1974 these leaders remained fairly discreet in their public utterances, restricting their opinions to their role in the implementation of government policy. During the mid-1970's, however, the generals began to use their public platforms for political speeches which clearly reflected a close alliance of interests between the military and monopoly capital.

#### Swartgevaar becomes "Marxist threat"

This was not an arbitrary alliance. A number of factors can be identified as being influential in its development. First, the training and promotion procedures for officers instituted in the South African Defence Force (SADF) in the early 1950's have led to the formation of an elite grouping of senior officers which corresponds to the professional section within the ruling class. In 1950 the Military Academy was established as the SADF's university to increase the professionalism of the officer corps in an increasingly complicated and technological military structure. Graduation from the Military Academy (or at least a bachelor's degree from a civilian university) is now a prerequisite for promotion into the senior ranks and the first graduates of the Academy entered the top echelons of the SADF in the early 1970's.

Secondly, the rapid expansion of the military-industrial complex with an emphasis on 'private sector' involvement, the implementation of two key pieces of security legislation — the National Key Points Act and the National Supplies Procurement Act — and the problem of maintaining a balance in white manpower deployment between the military and the economy, led to increasing coordination and cooperation between the military and monopoly capitalists. The joint strategies that have been developed on these matters of mutual concern required not only an agreement on specifics, but had to be the result of a common approach to the economy in general.

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Thirdly, as the defenders of the state

in a time of crisis, the military is interested in militarily defensible policies. Describing the 'soldier's-eye-view', Lieutenant General Dutton (ex-Chief of Staff Operations and now Ambassador in Chile), one of the architects of military strategy in recent years, emphasises that: "It presumes a realistic approach in so far as evaluation is related to real situations, to present time and place, to the feasible rather than the desirable, and to success or failure in terms of tangible results as opposed to rhetoric and semantic apologies."

This statement, made in 1977, is a reflection of the military's commitment to dealing with crisis from a pragmatic and functional point of view, even, if necessary, at the expense of ideological sacred cows. The generals no longer talk of the defence of the Afrikaner volk from the swartgevaar (black danger). From their platforms they rally their forces for the defence of capitalism against the 'marxist threat'. As we shall see, the economic and political policies supported and propagated by the generals are almost precisely those argued by the captains of industry.

#### The rise of the generals

The modern military elite, led and symbolised by General Malan (son of the ex-chairman of Volkskas, schooled in counter-revolutionary warfare in France and the United States, ambitious politician) has entered the political arena with its class loyalties clearly pinned on the generals' shoulders.

The rise of the generals is best illustrated in a brief chronology of the past decade. At the risk of simplicity, it places the development of military ideology and strategy and the entry of the military into the struggle within the ruling class in the context of the military's primary interest: state security.

Following the economic boom of the 1960's the apartheid regime, under the leadership of Vorster and his security henchman van den Bergh, entered the



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