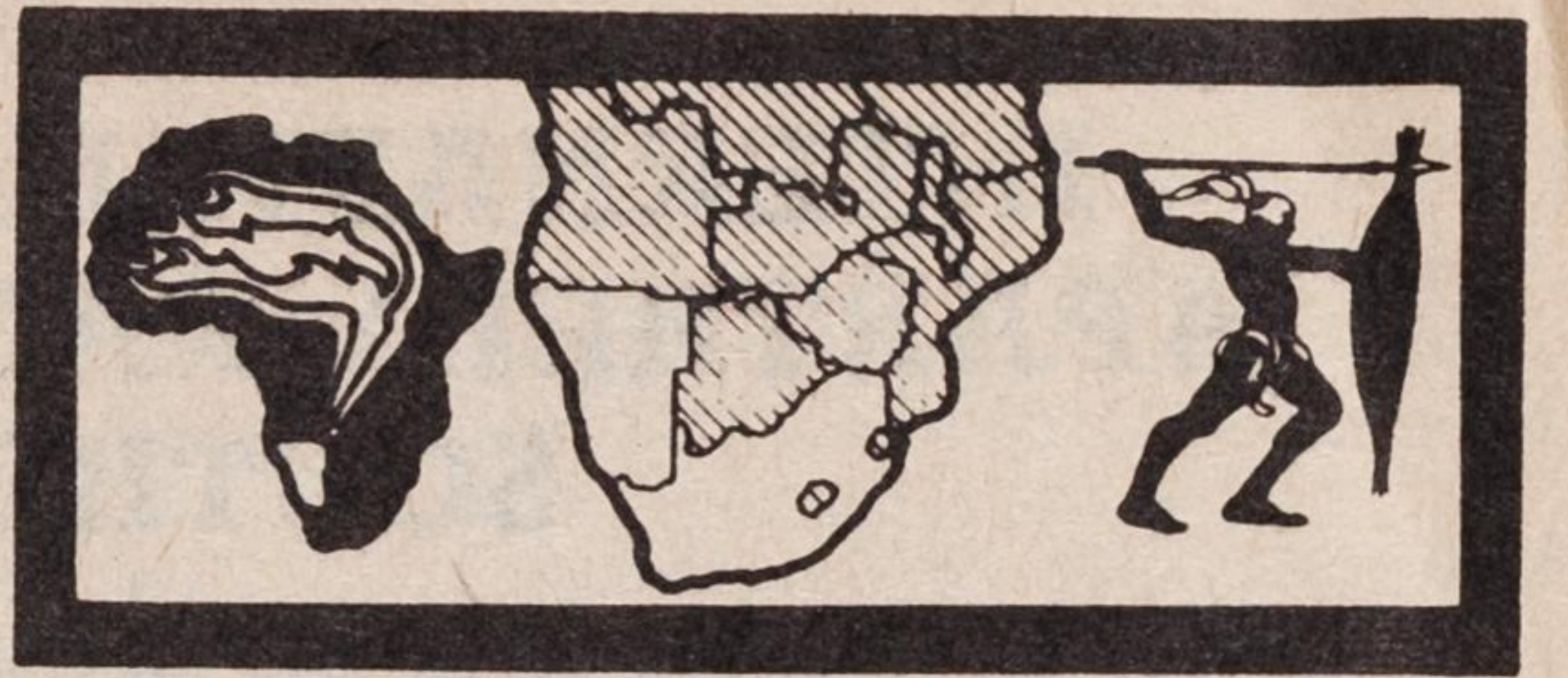


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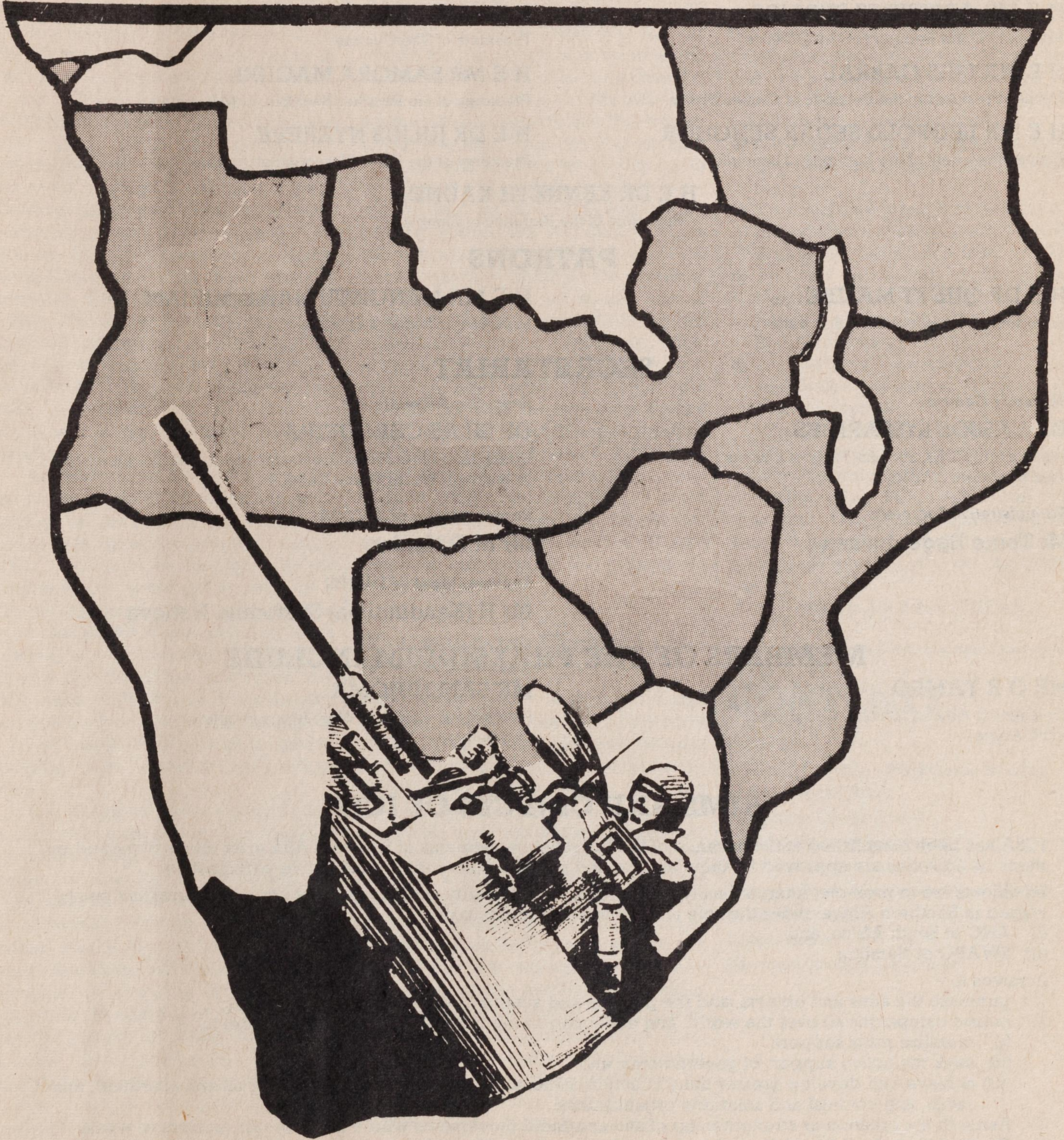


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Apartheid Terror: Frontline States Under Attack

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, RACISM AND COLONIALISM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA (ICSA)

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AIMS AND OBJECTS OF ICSA

- * ICSA has been established at the instance of the liberation movements of Southern Africa; its role is designed by them; its activities are approved by them and carried out with their support and active participation.
- * Its objects are to promote, internationally, support for and solidarity with the national liberation struggles being waged in Southern Africa under the sole and authentic leadership of
 - (i) ANC of South Africa; and
 - (ii) SWAPO of Namibia
- * It strives to –
 1. publicize the aims and objects, and the policies and actions of the liberation movements.
 2. initiate campaigns all over the world, and especially in the imperialist countries, in order to: –
 - (i) mobilize mass support;
 - (ii) seek the active support of governments; and
 - (iii) achieve and develop greater unity in action, nationally and internationally, among all anti-apartheid, anti-racist, anti-colonial and solidarity organisations.
 3. Assist in the creation or strengthening of anti-apartheid movements where they are non-existent or weak.
 4. Co-operate with all the national, international, governmental and non-governmental bodies and organisations which support the above-mentioned liberation movements.

EDITORIAL

Frontline States under Attack

The campaign of terror and brigandage launched by racist South Africa, with the support and connivance of her imperialist allies, is now openly being escalated. It is time for us to ponder over these acts of callous murder and unprovoked aggression against Southern Africa – particularly in light of the recent criminal raid by Pretoria against Maseru, the capital of Lesotho. What is alarming about this developing undeclared war against the Frontline States of Southern Africa is the wind of quietude and hypocrisy blowing from the major Western capitals.

It is imperative from the outset to give an anatomy of the social forces in conflict in the Southern African theatre of war. Having been plunged into an unfortunate situation of struggle and strife ever since the advent of colonialism, the region is still being prevented by racist South Africa from attaining peace and stability, genuine independence and social progress. The winning of independence by Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the imminent liberation of Namibia has thrown the racist minority regime in South Africa into a state of panic. The wall of apartheid rule, both in Namibia and in South Africa itself, is beginning to crack. It is from this crisis that the infamous doctrine of 'total strategy' emanates.

At the heart of this 'total strategy' lies the objective of imposing the principles of racism and the programme of exploitation upon the people of South Africa. This is to be coupled with the simultaneous, violent enforcement of a heinous system of domination over the entire region. All means and efforts are to be used – systematically. In the case of those countries whose economies are intertwined with that of Pretoria, the powerful economic muscle of the regime is to be used. Failing which, armed blackmail and terrorism will follow suite.

The graph of mass political and revolutionary armed struggle in Namibia and South Africa has been rising in the interest of the forces of change as represented by the ANC of South Africa and SWAPO of Namibia. While South African acts of aggression, such as the Maseru massacre, will surely fail in their objectives of crushing the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, of terrorising the peoples of South Africa and Namibia into submission, and of compelling Lesotho and the other Frontline States to abandon their principled position of opposition to the apartheid system, a dangerous phase is unfolding in the Southern African struggle. Acts of war against Southern African states by the white minority have been increasing both in scope and fre-

quency. Even before the barbarous raid against peaceful Lesotho, the *Rand Daily Mail* reported that South Africa is preparing for a new invasion of the People's Republic of Angola. The set strategy is to extend the occupied southern part of Angola and subsequently create a so-called 'state' run by Angolan dissidents and Namibian puppets. This is aimed at undermining the independence of Angola and the decolonisation of Namibia.

Pretoria's aggressive and bellicose acts of destabilisation follow the same pattern and pace evidenced in Israel's campaign of terror which has left the Middle East in a state of insecurity and bloodshed. Pretoria is learning from Tel Aviv. Just like its mentor, the apartheid regime is beginning to follow the strategy of transforming invasions into occupations. Indeed, the only lesson that could be learned from this is that these unprovoked 'operations' against neighbouring states spell the danger of an intensification of the undeclared war – a war increasingly taking on the character of Zionist Israel's aggression against Lebanon – thereby transforming the subcontinent into a hotbed of international tension. It is becoming clear that it is not simply the regular and friendly relations between two 'outlaw states' which is strengthening economic and military ties between Israel and South Africa. The two states are increasingly becoming pawns of the US in the dangerous chess game (in support of reaction and the maintenance of vast economic interest) that it is playing out in the region.

What role is the US playing in Southern Africa?

The fascist South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha has admitted to the existence of an agreement between South Africa and the US relating to the stationing of cruise missiles in South Africa. The concentration of weapons of large scale war both within and near the borders of racist South Africa is clearly an act of unforeseen consequence in the war against Angola, Mozambique and the other Frontline States. In the case of this one million dollar cruise missile, we need to note that this weapon is entirely offensive, can go undetected by radar and is capable of hitting a target with great precision. This development must be judged as a possible prelude to large scale invasion of neighbouring states by racist South Africa. With the current machinations of the Reagan administration to link the independence of the Namibian people with the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist forces from Angola, this sinister development can be seen as part of a high-handed attempt by

the US to blackmail the region, with the objective of preventing genuine independence in Namibia, and of maintaining in South Africa a bulwark of imperialism on the African continent.

Encouraged by this support the Pretoria regime feels strong enough to continue backing dissident forces in Zimbabwe and Mozambique, trampling on the sovereignty of Angola and Lesotho and maiming and killing countless numbers of innocent civilians. On their part, the liberation movements of Southern Africa – ANC and SWAPO – draw inspiration from the resolution of the Arusha Frontline Defence Ministers' Conference decision to step up political and military support for the struggle for national liberation. For its part, the international community needs:

- to condemn in the strongest terms the unprovoked war against the Frontline States;
- To reject any attempt at linking the independence of Namibia with the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola;
- To step up moral, political and material aid to the liberation movements and the Frontline States of Southern Africa;
- To enforce comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against the Pretoria regime.

In the light of this alarming and dangerous situation, the international community must rally to the defence of the ideal of a safe, stable and free Southern Africa, thus continuing the heroic legacy bequeathed to us by that great 'poet with a gun' – Dr. Agostinho Neto.

THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES...

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Tripoli declaration on Namibia

We, the Heads of State and Government and delegation of 31 African countries assembled in Tripoli, Libya, from 23 to 26 November, 1982, to participate in the 19th Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government,

Recalling all previous resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations and all African declarations and communiques, in particular the final communique adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and the President of SWAPO in Lusaka on 4 September 1982,

Emphatically reiterating that the continuing illegal and colonial occupation of Namibia by South Africa in defiance of repeated resolutions adopted by the Organisation of African Unity, by the Movement of the Non-Aligned Countries and by the United Nations constitutes an act of aggression against the Namibian people and a challenge to Africa and to the authority of the United Nations, which has direct responsibility for Namibia until its independence,

Reaffirming their full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), their sole and authentic representative, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia,

Expressing their full indignation at the South African racist regime's intransigence in its refusal to comply with resolutions repeatedly adopted by the United Nations, in particular, Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978), and at its dilatory tactics aimed at perpetuating its brutal domination and exploitation of the Namibian people,

Extremely concerned at the hegemonic attempts by the United States and the South African racist regime to link the negotiations for the independence of Namibia to extraneous issues such as the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola,

Strongly condemning the South African racist regime's continuing acts of aggression and sabotage against independent African States in Southern Africa, in particular the occupation of parts of Angola's territory, the support of armed bandits and mercenaries in these countries, and the sabotage of the infrastructure in the Frontline States,

Noting that preparations are under way by the United Nations in co-operation with the OAU and in consultation with SWAPO for the convening at UNESCO House, Paris, of an International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence, from 25 to 29 April, 1983:

- **REAFFIRM** the inalienable right of

the people of Namibia to self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, the Charter of the OAU;

- **STRONGLY CONDEMN** the South African regime for its continued illegal occupation of Namibia and oppression of the Namibian people;
- **REAFFIRM** their full support for the armed struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people, to achieve self-determination, freedom and national independence in a united Namibia including Walvis Bay and offshore islands which should be fully secure in the exercise of its sovereignty;
- **REITERATE** that in accordance with Resolution 2145 (XXI) of the

International Seminar on the Role of Transnational Corporations in Namibia.

Washington, DC
29 November – 2 December, 1982.

Organised by the American Committee on Africa,
198 Broadway, New York,
NY 10038 with the support of
the United Nations Council
for Namibia.

United Nations General Assembly, Namibia is the direct responsibility of the United Nations until genuine self-determination and national independence are achieved in the territory, and, for that purpose, strongly support the mandate given to the United Nations Council for Namibia under Resolution 2248 (S-V) of 19 May 1967 and subsequent resolutions of the General Assembly of the United Nations as the legal Administering Authority for Namibia until independence;

- **SOLEMNLY REAFFIRM** that United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 (1978), endorsing the United Nations plan for the independence of Namibia, remains the only basis for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian question and call

for its immediate implementation without modification or qualification;

- **DECLARE** that the genuine independence of Namibia can be achieved only with the direct and full participation of SWAPO in all efforts to implement the United Nations Plan for the independence of Namibia and reaffirm that the only parties to the conflict in Namibia are: South Africa as the illegal occupation power on the one hand, and the Namibian people, under the leadership of SWAPO, on the other;
- **EXPRESS APPRECIATION** to the Frontline States and SWAPO for their constructive and statesmanlike attitude throughout the consultations to implement UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978);
- **ENDORSE** the final communique adopted by the Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and the President of SWAPO in Lusaka, Zambia, on 4 September 1982;
- **CONDEMN** the United States of America and the South African racist regime for their attempts to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola, that being a contravention of Article 2, paragraph 7 of the UN Charter and a contradiction of UN Security Council Resolution 435 (1978) in both letter and spirit;
- **FIRMLY REJECT** all attempts to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and emphasise unequivocally that the persistence of such attempts would only retard the decolonisation process of Namibia, as well as constitute not only hegemonic manipulation of the situation in and around Namibia, in order to prolong the illegal occupation of Namibia and the oppression of Namibians, but also a blatant interference in the internal affairs of Angola;
- **CALL UPON** the United Nations Security Council to reassume its responsibilities under all relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter with a view to the implementation of the United Nations Plan for the independence of Namibia without further delay;
- **STRONGLY CONDEMN** the South African racist regime's continuing acts of military aggression, and economic sabotage against independent African States and demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces which continue to occupy a

part of Angola's territory and that an end should be put to the support of armed bandits and mercenaries in several countries;

- **DENOUNCE** all fraudulent constitutional and political schemes through which the illegal regime of racist South Africa may attempt to perpetuate its colonial domination in Namibia and, in particular, urge all States to ensure non-recognition of any administration or entity installed in Namibia by the South African illegal regime in contravention of UN resolutions on Namibia and in particular Security Council Resolutions 435 (1978) and 439 (1978);
- **RENEW** our pledge to render increased material, financial, military, political, humanitarian, diplomatic and moral assistance to SWAPO for the intensification of the struggle to secure the total liberation of Namibia;
- **FULLY SUPPORT** the preparations which are being undertaken at present by the **United Nations**, in cooperation with the **OAU** and in consultation with **SWAPO**, for the convening at **UNESCO House, Paris**, of an **International Conference in Support of the Struggle of the Namibian People for Independence**, from 25 to 29 April, 1983.

A message to the people of the United States

We, as representatives of non-governmental organisations from twelve countries, met in your capital city from 29 November to 2 December. We were reminded of your struggle for independence and self-determination. We gathered to discuss the plight of the people of Namibia who aspire to the same rights for themselves and who have been struggling both politically and militarily to achieve them.

Justice, equality, freedom, and the rule of law are values for which Americans continue to struggle; they are at the very heart of democracy. Namibians have been denied these rights, first by Germany and later by South Africa. They suffer violations of individual and political rights, arbitrary detention without trial, torture, imprisonment for political beliefs and military rule, all at the hands of the South African government, which rules them illegally by force. **There is no case in international law where a more decisive judgement as to the illegality of occupation of a land by a foreign power has been rendered.**

We are distressed that a combination of economic interests and political misconceptions by the Government of the United States has caused it to take actions which have prolonged the struggle of the Namibian people for their

independence and delayed the holding of free elections by the United Nations in Namibia. It introduced demands that the Angolan government expel its Cuban allies before a cease fire can take place between South African forces and Namibian patriots fighting under the leadership of SWAPO. **Yet it condones South Africa's constant attacks on Angola, and in 1981 was the only Government to veto a Security Council resolution condemning South Africa's invasion of Angola.**

We appeal to you to reject a policy of collaboration with racism and violent repression and to call on your government to support the aspirations of the Namibian people for independence and self-determination, including the holding of free elections under United Nations supervision and control.

We urge you to demand that your Government:

- Insist that the South African Government bring about an immediate cease fire and the implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 435 of 1978 designed to bring Namibia to internationally-recognised independence.
- Separate completely its concern about the presence of Cuban troops in Angola from the just claim of the

mental organisations from twelve countries, affirm that the basic problem concerning Namibia is the illegal South African occupation of the territory, in defiance of the decisions of the United Nations and the International Court of Justice. The just struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO is the response of people seeking their freedom, and deserves the fullest international support.

The role of Transnational Corporations

Information provided at the Seminar showed conclusively that the South African regime has, in recent years, and with the collaboration of transnational corporations, accelerated the process of the exploitation of Namibia's natural resources. Their activities have gained momentum despite strong protests by the international community and numerous resolutions of the United Nations against such exploitation.

The transnational corporations most active in Namibia are of North American, West European and South African origin. Their activities are directed at the major sectors of the Namibian economy, in the mining,



Namibian people for independent nationhood as upheld by the United Nations and by international law.

- In the event of South Africa continuing its intransigence in the matter, support mandatory sanctions in the Security Council of the United Nations.
- Give effect in the United States to the Decree of the United Nations Council for Namibia for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia.

Final Declaration

We, as representatives of non-govern-

Contrary to Decree No 1 of the UN Council for Namibia, multi-national companies continue to illegally plunder Namibia's natural resources.

financing and agricultural sectors.

Mining in Namibia has proved highly profitable for the transnational corporations. The easy repatriation of profits has allowed the home countries of the transnational corporations to systematically remove thousands of millions of dollars of Namibia's wealth from the country. The Namibians themselves have not benefited from their enormous mineral wealth. But the shareholders of companies such as

Consolidated Diamond Mines (South African), Rio Tinto Zinc (British) and AMAX and Newmont Mining (American) have made spectacular profits, out of all proportion to their original investment. These intensive mining operations are depleting the mineral resources of Namibia, which can never be replaced. The uranium mining has been done with minimal safety and health provisions, resulting in the slow poisoning of both land and people.

The involvement of foreign **banks** in Namibia has assisted the South Africans in financing their illegal administration of the territory. This has resulted in the expansion of the oppressive administrative structures, and it is also used to attract new foreign investors to Namibia to share in the exploitation of the country.

In the **fishing** sector the desire for excessive short-term profits by transnational corporations has led to the virtual collapse of the Namibian fishing industry, the exhaustion of another of Namibia's natural resources. Karakul sheep and cattle **farming** have led to excessive over-grazing resulting in the creeping extension of desert areas, further damaging Namibia's natural environment.

Throughout the years the transnational corporations have benefited from the apartheid labour laws and customs enforced by South Africa in Namibia. They have been allowed to underpay and neglect the social conditions of their employees. This direct and brutal exploitation of Namibian workers is also part of the negative influence transnational corporations have had in Namibia.

In the light of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia, the Seminar found that the continuing operation of the transnational corporations has serious **political and strategic** consequences. All mining operations in Namibia occur in defiance of Decree No. 1 of the United Nations Council for Namibia which prohibits mining operations while the territory is illegally occupied. This means that the **transnational corporations collaborate with South Africa in defying UN decisions** and that **the transnational corporations fear that an end to the illegal occupation will mean an end to their excessive profits**. In addition, the political influence of the transnational corporations in their home countries and in some cases the strategic importance of their operations in Namibia – as for instance the production of uranium – has led the governments of such countries to obstruct the struggle for Namibian independence. The involvement of the transnational corporations with South Africa has also strengthened South Africa's military capacity. All five members of the Western Contact Group

have major transnational corporate involvement in Namibia. The lack of progress by the Contact Group since 1978 has not only prevented Namibians from attaining their independence, but has also given the transnational corporations the chance to operate unhindered for a few more years in an illegally-occupied Namibia.

The Tripoli Declaration

We welcome the Tripoli Declaration on Namibia issued by thirty-one African heads of state on 26 November 1982 and we commend this declaration as an expression of Africa's concern with the lack of progress in the negotiations by the Western Contact Group. It particularly 'rejects all attempts to establish any linkage or parallelism between the independence of Namibia and any extraneous issues, in particular the withdrawal of Cuban forces from Angola and emphasises unequivocally that the persistence of such attempts would only retard the decolonisation process in Namibia.'

The Western Contact Group

Considerable concern exists in Africa and throughout the world over the activities of the so-called 'Contact States': USA, Britain, Canada, the Federal Republic of Germany and France. The activities of this five NATO states have not only failed to achieve the stated objectives but served to permit further procrastination by South Africa. Accordingly this International Seminar calls upon the United Nations Council for Namibia to resume its full responsibility concerning the future of Namibia, including matters arising from the negotiations. The liberation of Namibia pursuant to the decisions of the United Nations and international law is the sole responsibility of the United Nations; it should not permit these five 'Contact States' to usurp the functions of the Council for Namibia.

The International Seminar urgently recommends to the UN Council for Namibia to take effective measures to secure the implementation of UN Decree No. 1 for the protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia. With this end in view, it is recommended that a Special Prosecutor, or Prosecutors, be appointed to direct and supervise the implementation of the Decree. It is further recommended that groups of lawyers should be formed in different countries to assist in the implementation of the Decree at national level; such lawyers' groups should work in contact with existing Namibia support groups.

Recommendations

The working groups of the conference examined the opportunities open to governments, United Nations agencies, and primarily non-governmental organisations for political and economic

action, for material aid to SWAPO, and for the exchange of information.

Political action should be aimed at isolating South Africa on all levels, ensuring political support for SWAPO and the Frontline States, pressurising the Contact Group countries to drop the linkage of Angolan politics to the Namibian liberation question, and ensuring recognition of the UN Council for Namibia as the legal authority of Namibia until independence.

On the national and local level political campaigns on Namibia should be centered on the local presence of transnational corporations operating in Namibia, and strategic harbor facilities. The information presented to this conference should be edited, indexed, and presented for consideration to the United Nations and Organisation of African Unity Conference on Namibia to be held in Paris in April 1983.

Economic action should be aimed at forcing corporations to cease their activities in Namibia, especially in regard to the expropriation of Namibia's mineral resources, and campaigning for mandatory comprehensive economic sanctions against South Africa. The mandatory arms embargo must be strictly enforced and extended. Further campaigning issues aimed at policies of divestment, an oil embargo, South Africa's links to the International Monetary Fund, etc. should also include local trade union participation.

Material aid to SWAPO should be stepped up in this crucial phase of the struggle. Aid projects should be aimed not only at supplying essential food and medicines, but also at assisting SWAPO in building up its structures in line with its responsibilities as a national liberation movement.

A system for the exchange of **information** on political developments, political and economic action and material aid programmes should be established.

The Militarisation of Namibia's Economy by Brian Wood

The purpose of this paper is to highlight an aspect of the war in Namibia which despite its current significance and, particularly, its implications for the future of Namibia, has remained poorly documented. This war, now claiming an average 100 Namibian and Angolan lives each week, has been examined and documented in terms of the apartheid regime's regional aggression, the role of the Western powers' military and nuclear collaboration with apartheid, South Africa's growing nuclear armaments industry, the thwarting of United Nations efforts to impose an effective arms embargo, the Namibians' resistance led by SWAPO, and the unspeakable effects of the war on Namibians and

the Frontline States, particularly the People's Republic of Angola. Such documentation is necessary and valuable, and should be pursued in order to deepen our understanding of the war and its effects. However, it is also important to study the role of Namibia's multinational-dominated economy in the war, not least because SWAPO intends to restructure the economy once the South African occupation is ended, but also because the continuing decade-long breach of United Nations and International Court of Justice decisions banning the activities of foreign companies in Namibia has had terrible consequences for Namibians as South Africa's criminal militarisation of the international territory is stepped up.

The so-called South West Africa Namibia Information Service, an apartheid propaganda body, recently published a pamphlet entitled 'Counter Insurgency - A Way of Life' (1980). It argues for a 'Total Strategy', to uphold 'western Christian civilisation' as developed by white South Africa. 'Total Resistance' 'requires a continuous and controlled reciprocal relationship between the economic, political, military, diplomatic and cultural facets of the state'. A section on the economy states 'War is a costly process... the soldier fighting at borders threatened by insurgents (sic) provides a safe climate for internal economic growth... In this climate, for instance, a farmer who is experiencing problems with his labour force is still prepared to contribute by doing military service or making it possible for his son to do so... firms must make employees available for military service without any detriment regarding their financial welfare'...

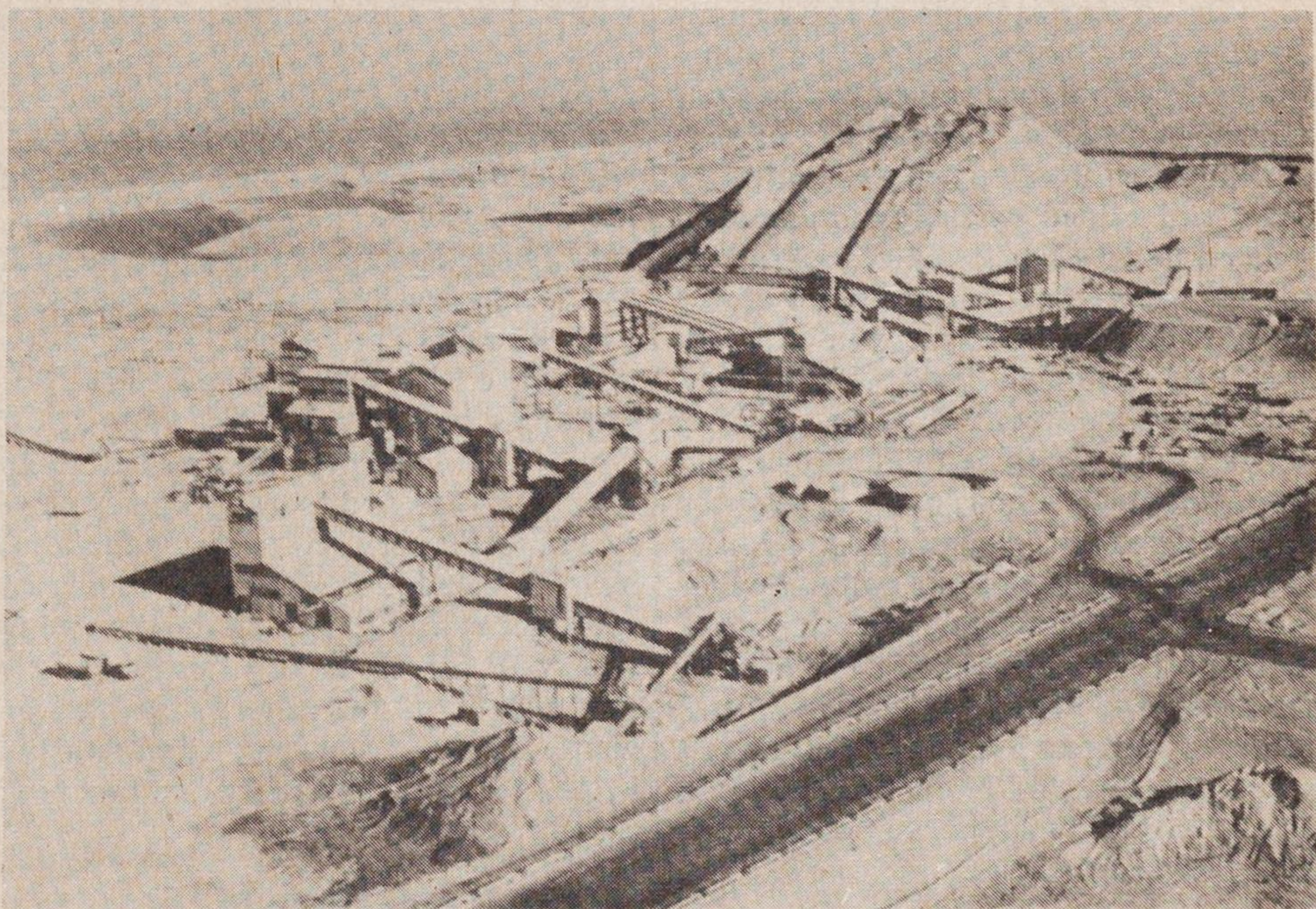
With this kind of legitimisation, Namibia has become not only what one local newspaper calls 'In proportion to number of citizens... the world's greatest military occupation'¹ (one South African soldier to every 6 Namibian adults), but also a country where the entire white population and an expanding number of paid black allies are heavily armed. 'G3s are to be found everywhere... wherever you cast your eyes'. The G3 is the standard NATO automatic assault rifle made by Koch and Heckler,² and is used by most SADF ground forces. Apart from the 80,000 odd troops under SADF and SAAF command, and 10,500 police,³ and the reserves of these forces, there is a growing number of mercenary and vigilante forces used by the regime. While the 'official' forces depend on state finance and infrastructure, into which multinational companies in South Africa and Namibia inject enormous contributions, the latter 'private' armed units are sustained mostly by 'private' enterprises and individuals encouraged by the regime. These include extreme right wing

vigilante units or 'white terror groups' (Wit Weerstandsbewing, Blankswa, Eenheidsfront, ERA and Turnhalle Teenstand) as well as the 'security guard' forces of large private companies. In between the mainstream state forces and the privately organised forces, are the South African state's secret units (UNITA, 32 Battalion, Keovoet) and the 'commando units'. These commando units are white volunteers organised into local militias in towns, parastatal companies, and on farms, and receive training and equipment from the SADF.⁴ These forces, in particular, have mushroomed since 1980. The net effect has been to transform practically all Namibia's white population, as well as growing numbers of blacks, into a fragmentary auxiliary army, perhaps over half the size of the official army of occupation. This has major ramifications for a United Nations supervised election because of likely intimidation by these forces.

The foreign companies operating illegally in Namibia⁵ sustain all these forces through direct and indirect payments to the state revenues, contracts for military and security forces and infrastructure, by employees and arming their own staff and by generally sustaining the economy as a whole. The South African

light when SWAPO obtained a copy of a secret security document from Rossing in 1980. This was about the same time that the National Key Points Act came into being (1st July 1980), empowering the South African Ministry of Defence to designate major installations 'key points' and therefore subject to commando style 'protection' financed by the parastatal or private company concerned. SWAPO presented the secret document to the United Nations Council for Namibia Hearings on Namibian Uranium during that year, but Rio Tinto Zinc, the majority owner of Rossing, only acknowledged the existence of the scheme to the Namibia Support Committee in May 1982. What is revealing about this is that the Rossing manager claimed after questioning at the Rio Tinto Zinc AGM that the security measures were no different from any other major installation in Namibia. The Rio Tinto Zinc Chairman justified the action in terms of 'civil strife' in Namibia, the security document stating as its objective 'to maintain a state of preparedness against civil or labour or terrorist attack...'

The following is a brief and provisional overview of the militarisation of Namibia's colonial economy according to its main sectors.



state also performs these functions. So, for example, in 1981/2 the South African state (out of a Defence Budget of R2,800 million) provided about R600 million directly to the SADF and SAAF military forces in Namibia, R134 million for the SWA Territorial Force and R330 million in support grants to the SWA Revenue Fund. Companies in Namibia provided total taxes and duties of R233 million.⁶

One example of multinational companies' private commando forces is the 69-strong Rossing Uranium Ltd. 'Security Force'. The existence of this force and its considerable arsenal first came to

Mining

Unlike many other sectors of the economy, mine produce in itself is of no direct use for counter insurgency. However, the major mining companies still manage to play a supportive role in the 'total strategy'. For example, when People's Liberation Army of Namibia (PLAN) forces put Windhoek's Van Eck power station out of action on 1st January 1982, both Tsumeb Corporation (TCL) and Rossing Uranium sent in engineers and cranes respectively to repair the damage as quickly as possible.

However the mining companies are vitally important for South Africa's war because of the revenues they directly and indirectly contribute to the state. Of the total revenue generated inside Namibia, taxes on Consolidated Diamond Mines (CDM) constituted about 40 per cent (R133 million). The other mining giants, Rossing and TCL in particular, contributed very little directly (neither, for special reasons, payed any company tax) but they contributed significant sums in non-residents' shareholder tax, income tax and sales tax. Rossing alone boasted an expenditure of R100 million in Namibia's economy, underlining its tax as well as its strategic value. Revenues from Rossing and TCL will become a major factor in the regime's ability to fight on in 1984.

As mentioned above, the training and arming of their own 'commando forces' now places these key companies more directly in league with South Africa's militarisation. TCL, for instance, has been advertising for 'security guards' with at least 2 years' experience in the South African armed forces.⁸ Other mines north of Windhoek owned by Bethlehem Steel (USA), Consolidated Goldfields (UK) and ISCOR (SA) are also likely to have such draconian 'security schemes'.

One recent example of the security co-operation between state and multinational corporations is given by the story of the consultant computer analyst working for Rossing whose home was one night raided by 2 Rossing security officers and 3 security police looking for sensitive material.⁹ According to an ex-union organiser at Rossing who was subsequently detained, there is 'close collaboration between Rossing security officers, the South African Police and the (armed) white employees against the black workers, particularly during industrial unrest, and the company uses informers to constantly vet the black workforce.'¹⁰ This kind of activity augments the efforts of the SA armed forces to suppress SWAPO. It also poses great danger of likely intimidation against SWAPO supporters during any UN supervised election.

Settler agriculture

Since 1975, the SADF and SAP have seen the 5,000 or so white settler farmers as a second line of defence and have placed a premium on keeping them there.¹¹ The Generals are aware that the white population in Namibia has dropped nearly 35 per cent since the war picked up in the 1970s – down now to 71,530. White farmers and their sons and wives have been integrated into the SADF/SAP command structures as reservists, commandos and auxiliary intelligence and communications units. Since 1980 the authorities have subsidised the fortification of farmhouses

with double security fencing, dogs, security lights, radio alarm systems to SADF bases (push button alarms) and even anti-landmine vehicles. The SAAF have even formed 'Air Commando Squadrons' from farmers with light aircraft.¹²

From 10 May 1979 martial law was extended to the whole white farming area north of Windhoek. Nevertheless in February 1980 the Chief of SWA Command admitted he was unable to guarantee the safety of transport for white farmers.

Confronted recently by drought, low prices, market restrictions and increasingly successful attacks by PLAN (especially mining roads) a growing number of northern ranchers have opted to live in town and to sell up altogether. In 1980 the number of ranchers registered with the SWA Meat Board dropped by 404 (12 per cent). This has reached crisis proportions in outlying northern, western and eastern areas. For example, by May 1978, 40 per cent of farmers had left the Grootfontein district. The South Africa government response has been to pour massive subsidies in to stabilise the settlers. In 1980 two 'land settlement schemes' were launched to stop the exodus, one specifically aimed at 888 farms in the northernmost white areas. This included interest free loans and grants of R2,000 annually just to reside there, provided applicants were 'an approved asset in regard to security', were commando members and resided there for at least 10 years. In addition, emergency drought aid to white farmers was a massive R54 million in 1980/1 – over R10,000 per farmer. These measures have not stemmed the tide. For example, by August 1981 only 32 of Outjo's 273 empty farms had been resettled. Prices for rural property close to military bases (eg near Okahandja) have rocketed, leading to increased speculation in such land. Even the basing of SADF forces on key farms and the recruitment of mercenaries abroad by white farmers has not dramatically helped to stem the tide of the ranching settlers' exodus.¹³

Banking and finance

Two British owned banks, Barclays National Bank Ltd with 26 branches and Standard Bank SWA Ltd with over 30 branches, holding over 70 per cent of all bank deposits in Namibia, are the major private financiers of the economy, both of private and public sector projects. They are followed by SWABANK, a new associate of Dresdner Bank of FRG and the new Bank Windhoek (formerly Volkskas Bank of SWA) plus occasional overseas-based financing like Hill Samuel Bank of the UK, Citibank of the USA and Credit Lyonnais of France. In the 1981/2 budget, revenue of R755,000 in loans and interests was contributed

directly by the private finance companies, quite apart from other revenue collected through taxes and duties (Standard Bank for example paid R1.3 million in tax for 1981) and general services of financial flows. The financial capital sector also includes a host of insurance companies, building societies and other finance houses, mostly British and South African.¹⁴

Specific functions regarding military related projects are kept secret, but some examples show the tip of the iceberg. Volksas Insurance, for example, have given personal life insurance to members of the infamous 32 Battalion.¹⁵ Windhoek City Council approached Lloyds of London in 1980 to ensure their entire portfolio, which includes a high proportion of security related infrastructure. Standard and Volksas Banks participated in a R20 million loan to the 'SWA Government' in February 1980,¹⁶ and, following shareholder questioning by the Namibia Support Committee at Standard Bank's May 1981 AGM, the Company refused to give an undertaking that its financing in Namibia would not be for military related projects. A similar refusal to give such an assurance came after NSC questioning at the April 1982 Barclays Bank AGM.

Barclays have even placed adverts in the South African media advertising the fact that the SADF in Namibia will hand out forms to the national servicemen which will enable Barclays to transfer their army pay from Barclays' Ondangua branch to other branches in Namibia and South Africa. The Barclays Chairman, Sir Timothy Bevan, refused to stop such practices or to close branches servicing the SADF in northern Namibia. He said the servicing and advertising would continue.¹⁷

Transport and communications

The SWATF and SWAP spent over R14 million in 1981/2 on transport and communications and the central authority spent nearly R130 million. This excludes any such expenditure directly by the SADF in Namibia, as well as the expenditure on such security-related items by private companies and individuals. It also excludes expenditure by the SA Transport Services on harbours, railways and airways. The SADF, SWATF, SWAP and the many other forces under SA command use a wide variety of lorries and 4 wheel drive trucks purchased in Namibia, including such makes as Ford, Toyota, Land Rovers, Datsun, Suzuki and Isuzu. The latter were sold to the SADF in April 1982. Sales and some servicing are conducted through the various retail outlets and workshops in Namibia. These vehicles must be maintained with imported spares, Dunlop tyres and others, as well as retreads; and BP, Shell, Mobil and Caltex oil products and fuels. The Wash-

ington Post reporter, Richard Harwood, a UNITA supporter who visited their hideouts, commented on the many 10-ton Ford trucks and Landrovers used by UNITA and said diesel fuel from Namibia was supplied by the SADF to UNITA.¹⁸ Apart from supplies brought in by rail from SA (much of which BP and Shell deliver)¹⁹ the supply of oil and petroleum products via Walvis Bay's BP and Shell installations is taken to a national network of service stations in Namibia, including the war zones, mainly by tankers (road). The strategic importance of this for the war is underlined by the fact that most of the oil tankers going to the far north are given SADF escorts and travel in army convoys.²⁰

In the war zones north of Windhoek it is often difficult to separate 'defence' from 'civilian' transport and communication. This applies to the road transport of whites (usually in civil and defence and commando units) as well as to air transport. The proliferation of privately owned light aircraft used for security began after 1975 when the war really stepped up, mainly because of the growing problem of landmines. This is despite the massive expansion in road building in the areas north of Windhoek. Cessna, Titan and Piper aircraft and even small Bell helicopters are often part of the white farmers' equipment, now incorporated into the 'Air Commando Squadrons'. Large companies like TCL, CDM and Rossing as well as the main parastatal companies increasingly use medium light aircraft. SWAWEC, the electricity corporation, owner of the largest private fleet, when purchasing a new Kingair 200 turboprop 11 seater in the USA for R2.2 million explained that it was necessary because 'it is no longer possible to travel by road in present conditions'²¹ (to Ruacana and other places in the north where SWAWEC skilled white staff must regularly travel and whose installations are regularly made inoperable by PLAN).²² This is such an acute problem that companies and individuals use SAAF Dakotas to transport cargo and passengers to the war zones.²³

Construction and manufacturing

A wide range of locally supplied services are required by the SA Army and airforce and police,²⁴ but contracts are guarded by the Official Secrets Act. For example on 31 October 1981 it was announced that the SADF had tendered for another 6 military bases to be constructed.²⁵ The value was concealed. However a bush clearing 'security zone' contract worth R630,000 at Ruacana was given without tender to 'a civil engineering firm'. The firm's names are usually not disclosed. An exception was Karoo Meatpackers, one of the 2 largest SA based meat processing firms in

Namibia, which was given a R250,000 contract to supply meat products to the SADF.²⁶ The same firm imported 2,800 tons of beef from Belfast's Slaney Meats International and other firms in N Ireland. Once again we find military and civilian projects interwoven – eg the upgrading of some of the low volume roads and culverts to farms and villages in the north to facilitate movement of both conventional armed forces and the settlers' reservist units; the provision of small farms generators (advertised as being useful during 'blackouts'); security fencing and lighting; water supplies and drainage, etc. Much of this work is done by small local firms. However, multinational companies often supply the technology, equipment and spares (eg Kohler generators, Babcock International road-making equipment, GEC refrigeration) and occasionally do the work (eg William Bain of the UK provides extensive security fencing,²⁷ Galion SWA, operating under US licence, uses armoured plated Galion graders and cranes in the north).

The SWA Tender Board continually issues contracts for public works and stores ranging from prefabricated buildings for government offices in the north, to essential items like footwear and blankets, much of which is related to security operations. In this way a great variety of firms with operations in Namibia are constantly benefiting from the escalating war, and therefore have an interest in sustaining it.

Recommendations for the UN Council for Namibia

According to UN General Assembly Resolution 32/9D of 4 November 1977, the United Nations declared that South Africa is liable to pay reparations to Namibia for the damages caused by its illegal occupation since the termination of South Africa's Mandate in 1966. In view of the above preliminary evidence, those companies operating in Namibia which have materially supported South Africa's military campaign in the Territory, should be made liable to specific claims for damages by a future lawful government of Namibia, should it choose to exercise this right.

This measure could take place initially as an act of decree by the UN Council for Namibia and adopted by the UN General Assembly similar to the Decree No 1 of 1974 on Namibia's natural resources. The measure would be consistent with international law, since it would conform to UN Security Council Resolution 301 of 1971. This has the backing of the International Court of Justice Opinion of June 1971.

Clauses in the Decree to strengthen the UN arms embargo and the oil embargo against *apartheid* South Africa could be included, so that a future lawful government of Namibia could claim

reparations from all those in breach of these embargoes should it choose to do so. This would, in this instance, cover military and related equipment and oil products entering Namibia illegally. Once again, these measures would not be dependent on any future Security Council Resolutions, which the Western states would seek to veto, since they would be obligatory in terms of existing international law.

Although these measures would fall short of the comprehensive mandatory sanctions against South Africa which must be pursued in tandem, but which would in present circumstances face a Western veto in the Security Council, the measures would act as a deterrent for those who are assisting South Africa's military occupation of Namibia with respect to relations with Namibia itself.

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70 Years of the ANC – the Future is brighter

'The battle lines have been drawn up. There can be but one result: Victory over the fascist oppressors and the establishment of a democratic state in South Africa! Toward this victory we shall fight to the bitter end. Our battle cry is, and shall continue to be Victory or Death! We shall win!' In 1982, this confident, inspiring and militant message from President O.R. Tambo had a special significance for the oppressed people of South Africa. January 8, 1982 marked the 70th anniversary of the African National Congress of South Africa. This historic occasion found the ANC better placed to carry out its historic mission of destroying the apartheid system and laying the basis for the creation of a non-racial, democratic and non-exploitative society in South Africa.

On the occasion of its 70th anniversary, the ANC reflected not only on the revolutionary advances made in Southern Africa, but also on the counter-revolutionary offensive spearheaded by the Reagan administration. Today the task of preserving the revolutionary advances already achieved, as well as the destruction of the final bastions of racism and colonialism in Africa, has an added urgency because the Southern African revolution is approaching a decisive stage.

The apartheid regime's role as gendarme of imperialist interests in Africa, the Indian Ocean and even as far afield as Latin America is arrogantly being accelerated by the Reagan administration. The US's brazen intervention in the internal affairs of independent countries – the propping up of repressive militarist regimes in El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala; the subversive activities in Nicaragua; the constant interventionist threat against Cuba; the attempts to destroy the just struggle of the Palestinian people; US connivance in the Zionist massacres in Lebanon; the creation of Rapid Deployment Forces; the establishment of US military bases in Africa and the accelerated arms race, have all created an international climate for the Reagan-Thatcher-Begin axis to openly, directly and actively encourage and support the apartheid regime. The policies pursued under the smokescreen of 'anti-Sovietism', 'anti-terrorism', 'constructive engagement', 'peaceful and gradual change' and so forth are basically the same as that of previous US administrations. The guiding principles of the recommendations of the National Security Council Memo 39, initiated by Kissinger and approved by Nixon in 1970, are to ensure:

concomitant containment of 'communist' influences in Southern Africa;

- Continued use of air and naval facilities in South Africa and the Portuguese colonies in support of US naval presence in the Indian Ocean and other activities;
- Easy access to South Africa's raw materials; and
- Protection of vested economic interests.

All major US policy statements and actions today reflect the same positions. Reagan, on becoming President, said 'Can we abandon a country which has stood beside us in every war we've fought, a country that strategically is essential to the free world.' The nomination of Mr Kenneth Adelman as head of the US Arms Control & Disarmament Agency is also a cause for grave concern. He is on record as having strongly advocated that if South Africa acquired nuclear anti-submarine weapons, these could help the West protect the Cape route. He also argued that such weapons could be armed with nuclear warheads to deter a land attack. This blatant support encourages the racist regime to intensify its terrorist aggression, not only against the people of South Africa, but against all neighbouring countries. South Africa's role in Africa was to be similar to that of Israel in the Middle East. In the final analysis it was to be an instrument of imperialism's global strategy of counter-revolution.

The Summit of the Heads of State of the Frontline States held in Maputo in March, 1982 noted 'the ever increasing aggressiveness of imperialism perpetrated by the racist regime of South Africa, **its instrument of aggression** in the region. The invasions and military aggressions, the utilisation of armed bandits and agents, the acts of sabotage and blackmail, the massive and subversive propaganda campaigns conducted by South Africa, are proof that there is **currently an undeclared war situation** engendered and supported by South Africa'. Since then the situation has deteriorated sharply. Military aggression, systematic destruction of the socio-economic infrastructures of neighbouring countries, and wanton killing is reaching crisis proportions.

We must immediately launch a massive international campaign to halt this aggression. This is essential because South Africa's intentions (which coincide with those of imperialism) are to:

people's democracies in Southern Africa;

- Stop revolutionary advances in South Africa by isolating the ANC from its allies in the region; In February of 1981 the South African Minister of Defence warned that 'the slogan in Africa should be – obtain communist assistance and terrorist organisations to launch so-called liberation movements and the end result is perish in misery.'
- Physically destroy the ANC. In his New Year's message, Botha warned that 'No UN hypocrisy will stop us destroying terrorists on their way to our country'.

This counter-revolutionary offensive has been intensified at a time when strategically the initiative has shifted into the hands of the oppressed and super-exploited South African and Namibian peoples.

In South Africa, resistance has reached a new quantitative and qualitative stage. Never before has white supremacy been challenged so sharply. This situation has not been reached 'spontaneously' or by accident, but is a consequence of 70 glorious years of struggle. In the course of this struggle we have come to learn that a people united and totally committed to the cause of liberation cannot be defeated.

The fight for unity of all genuine patriotic and democratic forces is deeply embedded in South African history. In 1911 Dr Pixie Ka Isaka Seme, (one of the founding fathers of the ANC) wrote 'The demons of racialism, the aberrations of Xhosa-Fingo feuds, the animosity that exists between the Basuto and every other native must be buried and forgotten... we are one people.' This cry for unity came after almost 250 years of resistance to colonial and imperialist domination had ended with the defeat of the Bambata rebellion in Natal in 1906. The people were defeated militarily and totally disarmed, robbed of their land by foreign invaders, and denied any political or economic or social rights. Imperialist tactics of divide and rule played a significant role in achieving this.

New forms of united struggle and resistance had to emerge. The founding of the ANC on 8 January, 1912 was a major step in this direction. The years that followed 'was not a period of resignation or of acceptance. It was a period of development and re-grouping under new conditions; a period in which newly created political formations of the people continued to struggle with the enemy and grow into maturity; a period in which, above all, national consciousness began to assert itself against tribal sectionalism. This was a period of organisational growth. It was punctuated by struggles involving techniques ranging from orthodox mass campaigning to

general strikes to mass acts of defiance.¹

The formation of the ANC Youth League in 1943 and the subsequent adoption of the Programme of Action of 1949 played a major role in transforming the ANC into a mass militant organisation. A turning point was the Defiance Campaign launched by the ANC and the South African Indian Congress on June 26, 1952. Over 8000 volunteers (representing all sections and strata of the oppressed and some revolutionary whites) defied the apartheid laws and courted imprisonment. This campaign 'inspired and aroused our people from a conquered and servile community of 'yes-men' to a militant and uncompromising band of comrades in arms. South Africa had become a battle zone where the oppressed were locked in conflict with the oppressor. The Congress flag flew in every battlefield both in urban and in rural areas'.² The Defiance Campaign also helped to concretise the ANC's call for 'Unity in Action' of Africans, Coloureds, Indians and democratic Whites, and strengthened the role of the Black working class within the ANC. In the wake of the Defiance Campaign, and in response to new repressive legislation, the Congress adopted the 'M' Plan.

Basically its aim was

- to consolidate the Congress machinery;
- to transmit important national decisions without calling meetings, issuing press statements and printing circulars;
- to build and strengthen local branches; and
- to consolidate Congress leadership and ties with the people.

Armed with this new style of work and militancy, Congress launched a campaign to get 50,000 volunteers to work amongst the masses and to collect demands to be incorporated in a common programme. This culminated in the historic Congress of the People (1955) which was attended by thousands of delegates representing every section and area of the South African nation. From this emerged the Freedom Charter (a blueprint for a future South Africa), a programme that today enjoys the undisputed support of the people.

The regime responded by arresting 156 Congress leaders and charging them with treason. More repressive legislation was enacted and a period of naked repression followed, resulting in hundreds of arrests, banning orders and banishment. On 21 March, 1960 the police opened fire on unarmed and peaceful anti-pass demonstrators, massacring 69 people.³ The ANC called for a national strike and the burning of passes. Millions of people responded to this. The regime retaliated by outlawing the ANC.

Decades of mass militant action had played a significant role in galvanising,

educating, uniting and organising the South African people. However, in the light of the objective and subjective situation obtaining in the country, the resort to armed struggle had become a revolutionary imperative.

On December 16, 1961 the arrogant confidence of white South Africa and its imperialist collaborators was shattered by a wave of sabotage attacks on all major centres of the country. A leaflet announcing the birth of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), the people's revolutionary army, stated 'The time comes in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices – submit or fight. That time has now come to South Africa. We shall not submit and we have no choice but to hit back by all means in our power in defence of our people, our future and our freedom'.⁴

The transition to armed struggle was

political prisoners languishing in South African prisons today have all helped to ensure that the legal, semi-legal and illegal work of the liberation forces for the organisation and mobilisation of the people, the general raising of political consciousness, the intensification of activities through strikes, protests, demonstrations, civil disobedience and armed actions has reached a highly developed stage. This makes it possible for the ANC to confidently proclaim that it has never been better poised for making decisive advances in the struggle to destroy the apartheid system. The black working class continues to grow in maturity, consciousness and organisational strength. The entire country and almost all major industries have been hit by waves of industrial action. This, in spite of growing recession, unemployment and vicious police and employer



not an easy process. New methods of organisation and activity had to be mastered. Because of the years of legal work, the exposed nature of leading cadres, the unprecedented fascist terror unleashed by the regime and the support given to it by Western countries, and the total domination of the region by South African and Portuguese colonialism, the period that followed was one of great difficulties and some serious setbacks. However, the enemy failed to destroy the liberation forces. Cadres of the movement working legally, semi-legally and illegally both inside and outside the country continued to consolidate and strengthen the people's resistance.

The activities of those who died on the battlefields of Zimbabwe and other regions of Southern Africa, those tortured to death, the hundreds of

intimidation and victimisation.

In the first 6 months of 1982 there were 182 strikes, involving 51,000 workers, a marked increase on the 1981 period. These strikes are not merely for higher wages or better working conditions but in many instances has been linked to the issues of trade union recognition, solidarity action with other workers and opposition to apartheid.

Under the banner 'Not only must we speak of freedom but we must be prepared to act for freedom', the youth and students continue to confront the system at various levels. Arrests, closing of academic institutions, expulsions, banings, all have failed to curb their militancy. Women's organisations continue to grow and consolidate themselves. The churches, people resisting conscription, the dispossessed in the

rural areas, professionals, are all becoming part of this mighty force of liberation. The various campaigns that have taken place recently, for example the Release Mandela campaign, the anti-Republic Day campaign, the anti-SAIC (South African Indian Council), housing and rents campaigns, the campaign against increases in bus fares, the campaigns against bantustans and forced removals, the students' campaign, and so forth, involved hundreds of thousands of the South African people.

This upsurge of mass (legal and semi-legal) activities has been accompanied by a steady escalation of armed actions. Today, few can deny that the organisational and combat capacity of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) is being strengthened. Not only is MK able to withstand the enemy's onslaught but it is able to hit back politically and militarily. ICSA Bulletin No. 22 gave a detailed account of recent MK activities. Since then MK has carried out one of its most daring actions. In December of 1982 the top security nuclear installation at Koeberg was seriously damaged by a series of explosions, causing millions of pounds worth of damage. The enemy is now openly admitting that 'low intensity guerilla warfare has started' and has responded on the one hand by putting the entire South African white society on a war footing; conscription for whites has been extended; large sectors of the economy have been incorporated into the militarisation process; the army is increasing its influential role in all aspects of decision making; internal control is to be tightened up after the findings of the Steyn Commission (on the press) and the Rabie Commission (on security). A very important aspect of this strategy is the physical elimination of the ANC. Over the last few years the specially created assassination squads have murdered several ANC cadres, both inside and outside the country. The incur-

sion into Lesotho by over 100 South African troops and the subsequent cold-blooded mass-murder of 41 innocent men, women and children signified a new and dangerous escalation. In mourning the massacred, the ANC draws inspiration from the fact that the enemy is resorting to such terrorist methods because the resistance of the people is reaching new heights and the crisis of apartheid is deepening.

On the other hand, an image of 'moderation' is being cultivated by subterfuges such as the President's Council, local self-government for Africans, self-determination for the bantustans, etc. The Western media has embarked on an orchestrated campaign to convince international opinion about this. The ANC rejects all such manoeuvres. It is not interested in tinkering with the apartheid system, but is committed to the total destruction of it and the creation of a new socio-economic order. While there are no illusions regarding the difficult tasks ahead, which will see successes as well as setbacks and which will undoubtedly call for greater sacrifices, the ANC faces the future with confidence, because it has seized the initiative and has become the determinant of South Africa's destiny. Today the battle lines are drawn and preparations are advancing for a determined onslaught for the armed seizure of power. Those that want to be counted amongst the forces of national liberation in the country should extricate themselves from the shifting sands of illusion that freedom can be won by dialogue and conciliation. Experience has shown that it is only through all forms of militant mass struggle – legal, semi-legal, armed and non-armed, that genuine national and social emancipation can be won.

In a message recently smuggled out of Robben Island, Nelson Mandela stated 'We face the future with confidence. For the guns that serve apartheid can not

render it unconquerable. Those who live by the gun will perish by the gun'. Armed with this rallying call, the South African people enter the decade of the 80's ever more confident of their final victory. It is this fact that has compelled imperialism to intensify its support for the regime and resort to aggression.

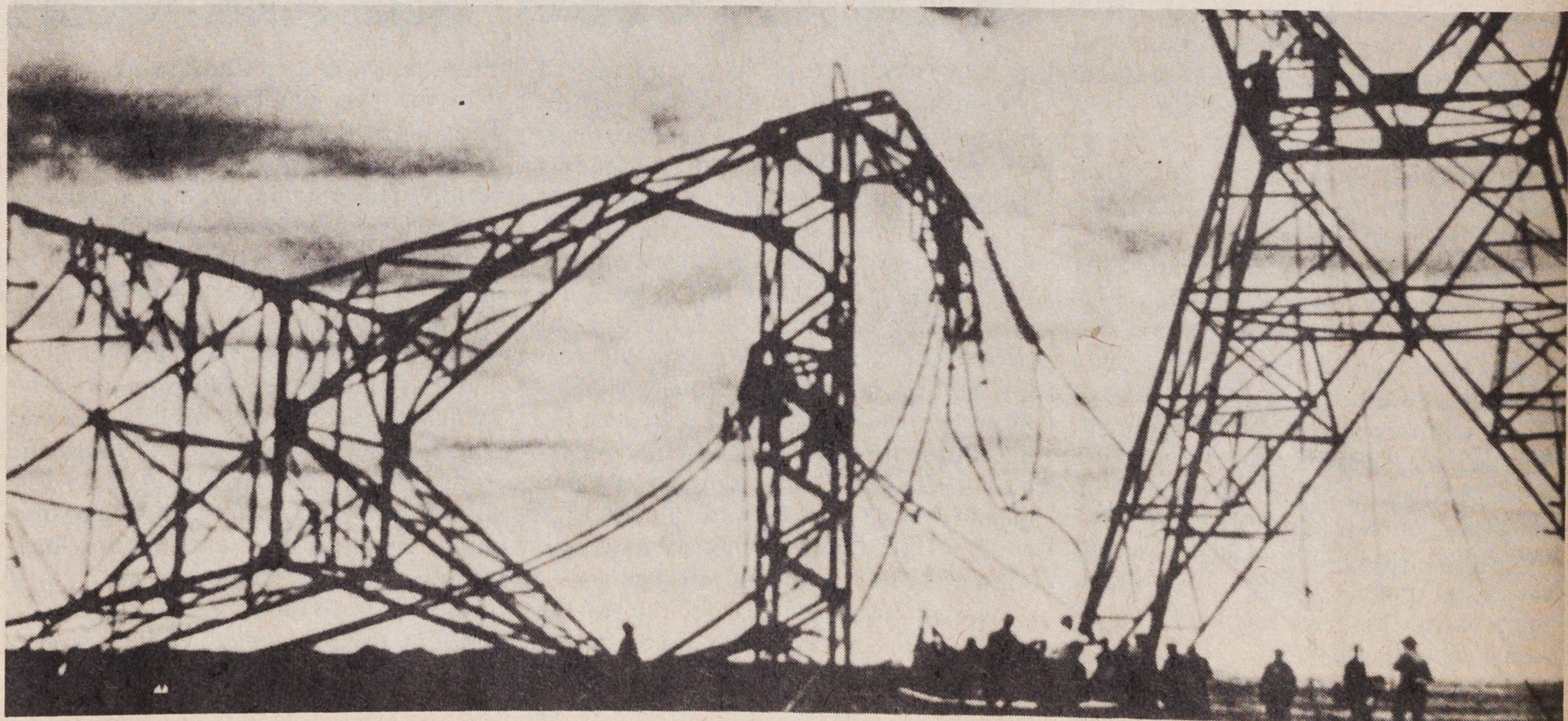
It is therefore a challenge to all progressive, peace-loving and democratic mankind to ensure that international solidarity is raised to a much higher level. Urgent action must be initiated to:

- Stop apartheid aggression against the Frontline States;
- Save the lives of the 6 ANC cadres awaiting execution;
- Increase political, material and other assistance to the ANC and SWAPO, and to the Frontline States;
- Fight for the release of Mandela and all other political prisoners;
- Campaign for the total isolation of South Africa in every sphere of life.

'What we are determined not to do, cost what it may, is to acquiesce in a status quo that makes us semi-slaves in our country... No expression of concern, no platitude about injustice will content us. The test is **action**...' If we, the international community, fail to respond to the urgent challenge confronting us, future generations will not absolve us.

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L. John Collins MA

*Grand Companion of the Order of Freedom (Zambia)
Commander of the Order of the Northern Star (Sweden)
Holder of the United Nations' Gold Medal for work against Apartheid
Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's Cathedral 1948-1981*

CANON Collins, who died on 31 December 1982 at the age of 77, first set up a fund to combat racialism in Southern Africa more than 30 years ago. As president of the International Defence and Aid Fund he became internationally known as an untiring and determined opponent of apartheid.

The floral tributes for Canon Collins' funeral, which took place in St Paul's Cathedral, London, on 11 January, 1983, included wreaths from Nelson and Winnie Mandela, the accused in the Treason Trial, and all South African political prisoners.

TRAGIC and untimely death has taken John Collins away from us and from our daily world.

Canon Collins of St Paul's and Amen Court belonged to a much bigger and broader family: the ANC, the liberation movements in Southern Africa, millions of people suffering under the evil system of apartheid have lost a dedicated and resourceful supporter, a great humanitarian who has made an outstanding and lasting contribution to the struggle for justice and human

dignity in South Africa.

Oliver Tambo, President of the African National Congress.

WE learnt with great sadness of the highly regrettable passing away of our respected and beloved friend Canon L John Collins.

The Central Committee and the entire membership of SWAPO sincerely lament over the death of that great friend of ours. Canon L John Collins was a great freedom fighter, a consistent defender of the oppressed peoples and a champion of democratic liberties and peace among nations.

Sam Nujoma, President of SWAPO of Namibia

THOSE of us who were in detention clearly remember how the International Defence and Aid Fund during his time so generously extended substantial and extensive assistance to many of us by paying legal fees for those who had to defend themselves in court against political offences, giving aid to our destitute families, and paying our study fees.

Robert Mugabe, Prime Minister of Zimbabwe

ON behalf of the struggling workers of South Africa, the National Executive Committee of the South African Congress of Trade Unions wishes to pay tribute to Canon Collins – an indomitable fighter against apartheid. SACTU National Executive Committee

With acknowledgments to FOCUS, IDAF News Bulletin No 45.

BOOKS

NAMIBIA: THE RAVAGES OF WAR by Barbara König

This book describes the effect of South Africa's military occupation of Namibia on the daily life of Namibians. It gives an account of the transformation of northern Namibia into a military zone, and details the repressive regulations under which civilians have to live. It provides detailed evidence of the violence inflicted on the civilian population by the South African police and their local recruits. It draws attention to the serious disruption of social services, agricultural production and commerce caused by the war and highlights the consequences of this large scale damage to human and material resources for a future independent Namibia.

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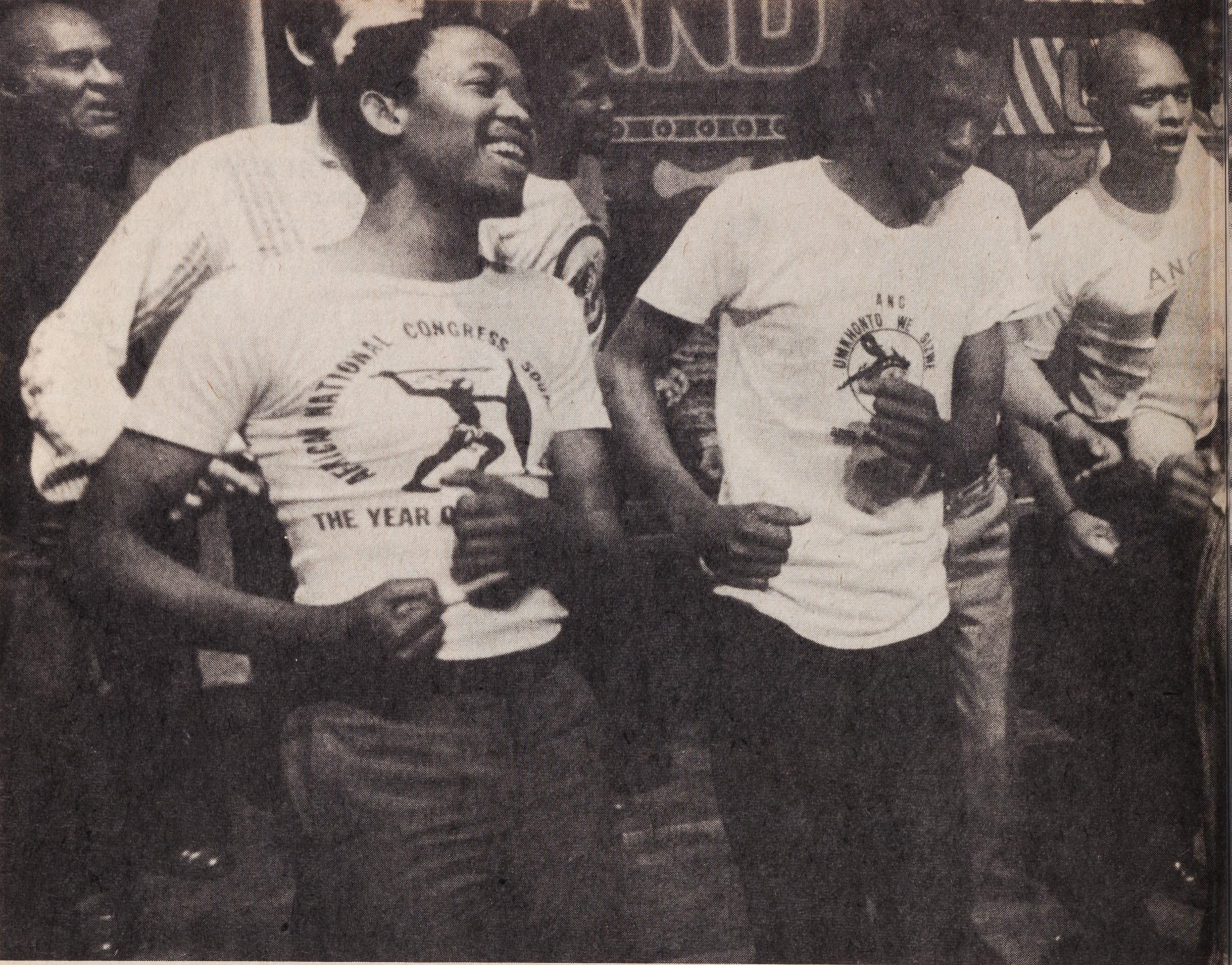
War and Conscience in South Africa

War and Conscience in South Africa, a study of conscientious objection amongst young South African Christians, is published by the Catholic Institute for International Relations and Pax Christi. It appears as new proposals are being put before the parliament in Cape Town that attempt to divide the war resister movement. The proposals of the Naude Commission would make concessions to 'religious' objectors while facing objectors on 'political' grounds with at least four years imprisonment.

The book traces the growth of Christian resistance to conscription from the early opposition of Jehovah's Witnesses to the selective objection by members of the major denominations. It analyses the debate in the major Churches which has brought them increasingly into confrontation with government, and notes the increasing influence of 'just war' argument to justify a refusal to support the military underpinning of apartheid.

War and Conscience in South Africa contains testimonies from four South African war resisters who have been imprisoned and statements on conscientious objection from church leaders. Its documentation makes it an important contribution to the growing peace debate, as well as a survey of a movement which may be of great long term importance in South Africa's militarised society, now increasingly geared to intervention in neighbouring states.

Available from: CIIR, 22 Coleman Fields, London N1 7AF, UK.



The Cultural Voice of Resistance

'There are these fakes, pimps and prostitutes who run around the world pretending to be artists who like to tell everyone how sensitive they are; that they cannot allow themselves to be involved in social issues; that one is committed to art for the sake of art and more such escapist nonsense expressed in a complaining tone. Their vile masks must be torn off by those artists who have a sense of duty and a clear social vision.'

This was the message of the South African writer and poet Keorapetse Kgotsile to the participants of the first meeting of the Conference 'The Cultural Voice of Resistance' (Amsterdam, The Netherlands, December 1982). It sounded harsh, perhaps, but it provoked participation. The lively discussion that followed examined the role of artists vis-a-vis apartheid; the question if, in their work, they should or should not take sides in the struggle between the apartheid regime and the liberation movement; should this be within or parallel to the liberation struggle of the ANC; and what is the meaning of a cultural boycott of South Africa.

Polarisation grew around questions

like: should culture be regarded as an expression of political struggle? and around the position of internationally famous South African authors. Several Dutch participants – writers among them – felt offended, especially by the views of Kgotsile. Gerrit Kouwenaar (author) decided not to take part in the conference and Bernlef (author/poet) considered withdrawing from participating in the poetry evening. Fortunately, in the end he did not withdraw. 'Incidents' like these typified the seriousness and commitment of the discussions during the conference. On some issues no consensus could emerge. However, the response was unanimous to the question of how to replace the cancelled cultural accord between The Netherlands and the apartheid regime: an alternative cultural accord must be formed with the ANC.

Literature as a battlefield

The focus was not only on the role of the artist but also on the role of his work. Kgotsile in his contribution illustrated this with the words of his fellow-writer Alex la Guma. 'When I write in a book

that somewhere in South Africa poor people who haven't got access to water have to buy this by the bucket from one or other local exploiter, then I nurture a secret expectation that when someone reads this he will be motivated to do something about the activities of these thieves who have turned my country for the majority of its people into a material and cultural desert.' In other words, argued Kgotsile: **'Literature is a battlefield. It must serve the interests of the people in their struggle against a culture whose message is that the people should be robbed.'** Apartheid is the negation of the existence of one undivided South Africa, of one undivided South African culture in all its diversity.

The participants of the conference deplored that a whole generation of new artists gets little or no chance to develop, not only in South Africa but also internationally. Only a small group of authors is promoted internationally. But they operate within the parameters of a culture divided and qualified by race, as laid down by the apartheid regime. They are not part of the liberation movement. This creates a distorted picture of the



situation in South Africa and of the struggle against apartheid policies. Literature is a battlefield in South Africa; and the central choice for all writers in that country is: does one take the side of the liberation movement or does one follow the path set out by the regime? For the tragedy of apartheid is that writers like Fugard and Brink are becoming isolated. Whilst Fugard opposes a cultural boycott of South Africa, Brink spurns the liberation movement. Lindiwe Mabuza of the ANC said: 'Brink says that the blacks in South Africa must be patient, and that the armed struggle does not solve anything.'

During this discussion several Dutch participants expressed concern that judging the positions taken by South African artists would run the risk of wanting to force the artists to walk in an ANC harness. 'Not at all', said Cosmo Pieterse, a South African poet: 'A South African artist, committed to the ANC, leaves his individualism, but obviously not his individuality. For, after all, that determines his specific qualities as a cultural worker.'

Magazine of arts

After the official opening of the conference by Clr Roel Walraven on behalf of the Lord Mayor and Council of Amsterdam on Monday, 13 December (1982), the chairperson of the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement made an impassioned plea for the establishment of a cultural accord with the ANC. Connie Braam said: 'Dialogue with the racists is impossible and meaningless: also a (so-called) critical dialogue, because it is between the wrong partners... For thirty years the Dutch government has been involved in support for the cultural-political complex of the apartheid regime. For thirty years the government has spent millions of guilders on this. We say now: COOPERATE WITH THE ANC and support the initiatives of groups of Dutch artists and institutes, including financially.'

The importance of the alternative cultural accords referred to by Connie Braam was emphasised by Barbara Masekela, secretary-general of the cultural section of the ANC: 'For the

people of South Africa, the liberation from the colonial yoke means also an emancipation from oppressive and humiliating forms of culture. To regain our right to national independence we must also rediscover our free and authentic cultural expression.'

But how can one achieve that, in a country where one cultural product after the other is banned by a sickly excessive censorship? How can one break the real position of isolation of the hundreds of liberation-artists who have fled South Africa and who now live in exile? Of course, the conference in Amsterdam provided an excellent platform for a number of them, but the follow-up is important too.

The ANC, therefore, made a request during the conference for the raising of funds for a MAGAZINE OF ARTS. This will be a mouthpiece in which discussion will be stimulated about the whole range of South African liberation-culture, and which will publish the work of these artists.

Riot squad

'The Cultural Voice of Resistance',

organised by the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Movement, Political-Cultural Centre 'De Populier' and the Dutch Organisation for International Development Cooperation (NOVIB), was characterised right through by a sense of vitality and commitment on the part of organisers and participants alike. This was, perhaps, also due to the many activities, planned and spontaneous. Already during the opening session this became apparent, when the South African James Madhlope Phillips started a liberation song from the platform and the audience, Dutch and South African, responded.

This feeling of unity remained during the whole week. Another stimulating factor was that the theatre DE BALIE (the venue of the conference) was sold out every evening (13–18 December 1982). Already by December 14th this became clear, when 12 South African musicians (living in different parts of the world), after only one day of practising, gave a rousing concert. Hugh Masekela, Dudu Pukwana, Peter Radise, Jonas Guangwa and Sean Bergin on brass, Lucky Ranku and John Selowane on guitar, the vocalists Pinise Sauli and Harriet Matiwane, bass Johnny Dyani, Gilbert Matthews on drums and Deez Afrika on percussion provided a foretaste of where the future cultural accord with the liberation struggle could lead to. After the interval a number of Dutch jazz-musicians, amongst others Hans Dulfer and Theo Loevendie, joined this exciting formation which was called ANTI-APARTHEID RIOT SQUAD. Sold out too, were the plays as well as the poetry-reading, where especially Cosmo Pieterse made a great impact.

Bachana Mokwena and Imanuel Rametsi performed the play SHADES OF CHANGE of the Medu Art Ensemble of Botswana about political detainees at the mercy of the South African security branch. A group of students of the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Tanzania enacted their own play DEAR SIR. (Subsequently, this was performed in several schools in different towns throughout The Netherlands.) On the evening of 16 December, a special programme on women took place in Centre Amazone which featured the Surinam poetess Astrid Roemer and where Barbara Masekela and Rose Motsipe read South African poems of resistance. Simultaneously in DE BALIE a large number of the South African participants inspired their public with a swirling song-and-dance-programme to mark Heroes' Day (commemorating the found of the armed wing of the ANC, Umkhonto we Sizwe, in 1961).

In all, during the entire week, the conference participants were confronted with concrete examples of the culture of the South African resistance; perform-

ances which had a direct influence on the discussions of the morning sessions.

Medu conference

Several of the South African participants had also taken part in the conference organised by the Medu Art Ensemble in Botswana in July 1982, when over 900 South African artists, from inside as well as from outside their country, declared: 'that art should be used as a weapon of the struggle against repression and exploitation'. Medu itself is a collective of South African artists living mainly in exile. Not only do they fight to preserve and expand the culture of resistance, but many are also students of art in Botswana. Bachana Mokwena of Medu provided the conference with a picture of the developments experienced by the culture of resistance in his country. He stressed that cultural resistance has always been there. The upsurge of resistance in the early seventies provided an enormous spur, but 'the culture of resistance in that period took on the form of protest and themes like suffering, misery and pain dominated the theatre in the townships and the graphic arts. The artists did not relate to the masses of the people,' according to Mokwena. The Soweto uprisings in 1976, however, became a spark. 'Suffering and protest were replaced by struggle and resistance, and the isolation of the artists disappeared. At meetings, at the funerals of fallen freedom fighters and on days of remembrance poems were read and plays were performed. Exhibitions appeared in Soweto like 'A new day'. Cultural groups were formed everywhere. Popular musical groups, e.g. Malombo, Afrika, Zakhile and Juluka, played at benefit concerts for striking workers, boycott campaigns and committees in support of detainees,' said Bachana Mokwena (one of the actors of 'Shades of Change').

Workshop

With discussions in the mornings and public performances in the evening, over 10 afternoon workshops concentrated on different forms of art: such as a discussion on language in DE MELKWEG entitled 'Language as Oppression – Language as Liberation'; a workshop on poetry; theatre at school; the theatre of immigrants; a theatre workshop concentrating on 'Shades of Change'; four workshops on the graphic arts (murals, silkscreening, a discussion at the Centre for Chilean Art and a visit to the RIETVELD Academy in Amsterdam); workshops on film and photography; a workshop on women in solidarity and resistance art in AMAZONE; and the musical projects to prepare for the grand finale on Saturday evening concluding the conference. The workshops on immigrant theatre and photography

especially were very successful. Over twenty South African, Surinam, Turkish, Brazilian and US actors discussed the work of immigrant organisations in the Netherlands, the position of theatre under apartheid and the role of theatre in the liberation struggle against the South African system. In a combined improvisation of a 'Bantu Registration Office' it was demonstrated how apartheid as a system differs from racism. The photographic workshop made a number of practical proposals (endorsed with acclaim by the conference as a whole) to concretise an alternative cultural accord. By the way, it 'rained' concrete proposals from all the workshops.

Parliamentary majority

The cultural boycott of South Africa was discussed on 16 December. The ANC emphasised the need for such a boycott and pointed out that, for example, when foreign artists perform in South Africa it always turns out to be support for apartheid, collaboration with a fascist regime. Shows like Frank Sinatra's performance in Sun City (rightly called 'Sin City') in the homeland Bophuthatswana are nothing else but a legitimisation of the bantustan policies and lend apartheid respectability. The question of strict adherence to a cultural boycott came up here. Barbara Masekela of the ANC said: 'We cannot predict everything; we don't know if a book could be written in South Africa which follows the right direction. However, there should be no channels left open which could be seen as recognition of apartheid institutions. The situation in our country is in constant development, therefore, the ANC and related cultural organisations (like Medu, ed.) should be constantly consulted.'

It became apparent from the discussions that the participants of the conference wanted this cultural boycott of South Africa and – very important – that they regarded this as inexorably linked to the realisation of a cultural accord with the ANC. People looked forward with great anticipation to the debate on Friday morning, where the standpoints of 'political The Hague' would be revealed. Is there a chance that such a cultural accord with the ANC will be realised? Cosmo Pieterse of the ANC, Hans Boswinkel, chairperson of the Union of Artists in the Dutch TU Federation (FNV), and the members of parliament Jan Nico Scholten (Christian Democrat), Gijs Schreuders (Communist Party) and Jacques Wallage (Labour Party) participated in the debate. Pieterse launched the plan for the above mentioned 'Magazine of Arts'. Boswinkel followed with an argument that was as penetrating as it was exciting. He indicated that the conference, if it decided to establish a cultural accord with the liberation movement, could rely on

the full support of the FNV. He was strongly in favour of cooperation between the Union of Artists and the ANC, and offered the services of his Union to the supervision of the exact implementation of the conference decisions, emphasising that the initiative should come from and remain with the artists themselves (the political establishment can then join in). Wallage agreed with this. He said that the Dutch government should now move towards an alternative cultural accord and to this end should use the money that has become available since the closure of the Institute of Cultural History in Pretoria on 1 January 1983. To spearhead a new cultural policy he envisaged support for the activities of Dutch artists against apartheid and direct material aid for the liberation struggle in South Africa, especially in the area of radio equipment. The government, however should take an unobtrusive position, said Wallage: 'The Dutch government should make funds available and, in addition, act as a channel of communication for the Dutch people and the ANC'.

Scholten shared the views of Schreuders that more money should be made available for alternative cultural relations than Wallage originally indicated. But the audience felt that he was too vague about what he meant exactly with 'the resistance' in South Africa. Scholten, in the beginning, felt that an exclusive orientation towards the ANC was going too far, but he admitted that in practice in The Netherlands, the ANC is regarded as the sole representative of the South African people and that contacts with the resistance are through the ANC. In this connection, Wallage reminded him of the meeting between the former prime minister Van Agt and the ANC president Oliver Tambo. The debate was interesting and promising, because the (Dutch) Labour Party, the (Dutch) Christian Democratic Party and the (Dutch) Communist Party seem to concur in establishing an alternative cultural accord with the ANC... Schreuders, pointing at Scholten and Wallage said: 'They represent a majority in parliament'.

Declaration

The organisers of the conference, working till the early hours of the morning, prepared the declaration which was submitted to the plenary on Saturday morning and which was adopted with great enthusiasm. It was decided that all Dutch artists and cultural organisations should be mobilised to strengthen the cooperation already established with the liberation movement of South Africa, ANC, by supporting cultural workers in the struggle by providing equipment and facilities for training, and by publicising and exhibiting their work, with the aim of promoting the authentic culture of

South Africa and the formation of a democratic South Africa.

In addition, the conference demanded that the Dutch government sign an alternative cultural agreement with the ANC in order to ensure the realisation of the above mentioned. To do this, states the declaration, the Dutch government should make funds available; at least the amount that was previously allocated to the (cancelled) cultural agreement with the apartheid regime, but preferably more.

Mr Brinkman, Minister for Social Welfare and Culture, who attended the closing plenary and to whom these decisions were submitted, provided the least inspiring moments of the conference. In a rather pathetic manner he showed little understanding of the present situation, which demands a clearcut and consistent policy against the aggressive apartheid regime (the conference paid a lot of attention to the brutal attack by the South African army in Maseru where 41 ANC members and Lesotho citizens were murdered). On the one hand, he reverted to the outdated formula of 'dialogue' with South Africa; on the other hand he told the conference that the government is not clear yet as to how it could be enlarged upon. He was prepared to raise the decisions of the conference in consultations between his department and the departments of foreign affairs and of education; as well, he regarded further discussions with the organisers of the conference and the ANC as useful.

Committee

As noncommittal as the minister was (not to mention the absence of the VVD – a conservative party, coalition partner in the present government – during the political debate), just as unforgettable was the closing evening of the conference. In three theatres around Leidse Plein in Amsterdam varied programmes ran simultaneously with some hundreds of artists participating gratis. In DE BALIE Jantine de Jong presented a programme in which Dutch and South African poets excelled. Ivo de Wijs was the anchorman of the programme in DE MELKWEI where Herman de Wit and his Octopedians provided the rousing climax. Willem van Beusekom introduced the most unique part of the conference in PARADISO: the performance of the South African singer James Madhlope Phillips and seven Dutch choirs who sang a marvellous repertoire of liberation songs (in several African languages). The Anti-Apartheid Riot Squad performed as well and the evening ended with a pop-improvisation around the song 'The Lion Sleeps Tonight'.

The conference 'The Cultural Voice of Resistance' was a major step forward in the direction of a cultural agreement between The Netherlands and the ANC.

Not only the participants, but also the more than three thousand (sic) visitors to the public activities had been able to experience what real South African art signifies. This applies also to the estimated thousand visitors to the cultural events in Groningen, Wageningen and Rotterdam where, among others, the play DEAR SIR was produced. In addition about 1500 pupils of different schools saw this play...

To guarantee that the decisions of the conference will be concretised into an actual cultural policy, a committee has been established with the organisers of the conference, a number of Dutch artists who contributed greatly to the conference and the chairpersons of the discussion meetings as members.

The importance of culture as a weapon in the struggle against apartheid was highlighted by Alderman Tineke van der Klinkenberg in her address during the official reception given for the South African participants in the conference by the town council of Amsterdam: 'Perhaps there are people who think that it is not proper to sing, play music or dance when dealing with such a serious struggle. I want to conclude with a response to this question with the words of Bert Schierbeek "A bomb explodes once, a public reading of a poem is every time an explosion".'

(This article was translated by ICSA from the original report in ZUIDELIJK AFRIKA NIEUWS, issue 119, February 1983, published by the Dutch AAM). For further information, please contact: Anti-Apartheid Beweging, Postbus 10500, NL-1001 EM Amsterdam, The Netherlands

The anthology HEARTPRINTS, a collection of 16 poems by Keorapetse Kgotsile with 7 drawings by Dumeli Feni, is dedicated to the South African women in the struggle against apartheid and in particular to the Women's Section of the ANC. The anthology is bi-lingual, i.e. the poems are in English with a German translation. It is available from the Dutch Anti-Apartheid Beweging (Price 12.30 Dutch Guilders). Proceeds are for the ANC's *Voice of Women*.



International Conference in Solidarity with the Frontline States and for National Liberation and Peace in Southern Africa

Communiqué – Frontline States Conference

The third meeting of the International Preparatory Committee was held in Amsterdam (The Netherlands) from 28-30 January 1983, to examine the actual state of preparations for the **International Conference in Solidarity with the Frontline States**, now scheduled to take place in **Lisbon, Portugal, from 25-27 March, 1983.**

The meeting was chaired by Lt. Col. Vítor Alves (personal adviser to the Head of State of Portugal), the President of the International Conference. It was addressed by Jan-Nico Scholten MP (Christian Democratic Party of The Netherlands), G. Bersani MEP (Christian Democratic Party of Italy and Joint Chairman of the ACP-EEC Consultative Assembly) and Afonso Van Dunen, Secretary for Foreign Relations of the MPLA-PT (Angola), on behalf of the Frontline States. The meeting was attended by representatives of the Frontline States, Lesotho and Nigeria, the National Liberation movements of Southern Africa, the UN Council for Namibia, 25 national and international non-governmental organisations, parliamentarians from France, Italy, The Netherlands and Portugal, and the officers of the International Preparatory Committee. Nationals of a total of 26 countries participated in the work of the meeting.

This meeting took place against the background of the seriously deteriorating situation in Southern Africa. The dramatic escalation of South Africa's policies of aggression and destabilisation aimed against the Frontline and neighbouring independent African States, highlighted by the brutal massacre in Maseru on 9th December, 1982, the continuing occupation of part of southern Angola and recent acts of terrorism against Mozambique and Zimbabwe underline the urgent necessity for intensified solidarity with the Frontline States and Lesotho.

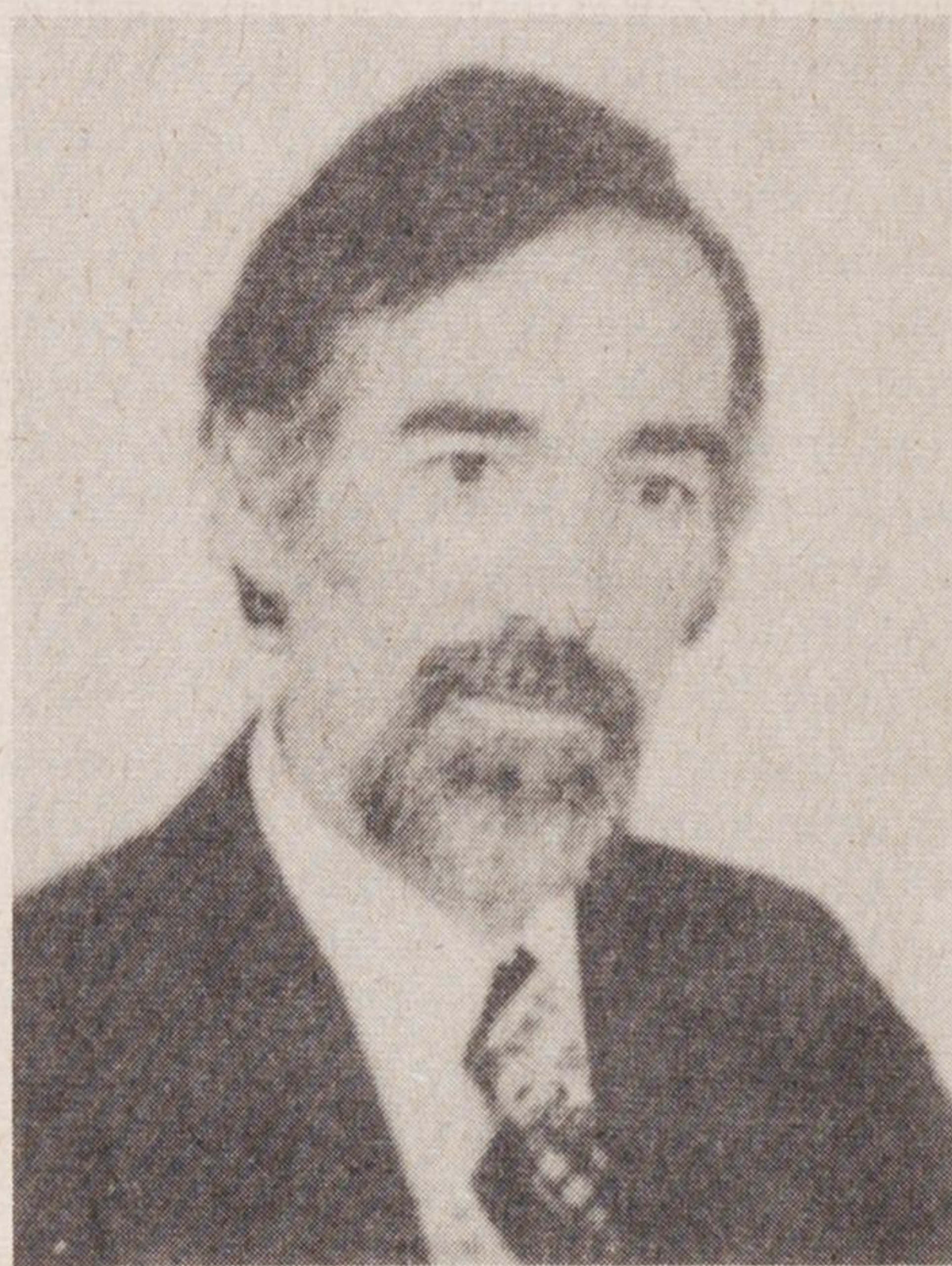
The meeting in particular condemned the continuing military, nuclear and economic collaboration by certain Western powers with the apartheid regime, which both encourages and enables it to continue its policies of aggression and destabilisation, as well as its illegal occupation of Namibia.

This meeting consequently considered the Lisbon Conference most important and timely and, therefore, decided to:

- Express its appreciation to the Heads of State and Government of the Frontline States and Lesotho, as well as the Presidents of SWAPO and ANC to serve as patrons of the Conference;
- Express its appreciation to the Governments and Parties of the Frontline States and Lesotho and National Liberation movements of Southern Africa for having responded positively to the invitation to participate in the Conference at a high level;
- Endorse the final programme of mobilisation for participation in the Conference, including the sending of delegations to capital cities of Europe, as well as the revised draft programme for the International Conference itself;
- Issue a final appeal to all national, regional and international organisations to support and participate in the International Conference.

The IPC expressed its appreciation to the host organisations and the City Council of Amsterdam for their hospitality as well as the officers of the International Conference and the International Secretariat for the work undertaken since the second meeting of the IPC.

Amsterdam, 30 January 1983



**Lt. col. Vítor Alves
President of the Conference**

Lieutenant Colonel Vítor Alves, 47, personal adviser of the Head of State of Portugal, was elected as President of the International Preparatory Committee for the Conference in Solidarity with the Frontline States.

Vítor Alves, then a Major, was one of the three main founders of the MFA, Armed Forces Movement, which gave rise to the 25th of April Revolution in 1974. Nominated to the State Council, he was a member of the first AFM Coordinating Commission. From July 74 until March 75, Vítor Alves was Minister without Portfolio in the Government headed by Col. Vasco Gonçalves, being responsible for National Defence and the Mass Media.

Before becoming Minister of Education and Scientific Research, a post he fulfilled until July 76, Vítor Alves visited the European Community States and different countries in the Third World as Roving Ambassador.

In 1976 Lt. Col. Vítor Alves headed the Portuguese Delegation to the Conference of the Non-Aligned countries in Sri Lanka, as special envoy of the President of the Republic.

Spokesman of the Council of the Revolution since 1979 and until 1982, when this constitutional body ceased its functions, Lieutenant Colonel Vítor Alves is a personality dedicated to the cause of democracy, national independence and peace.

The Portuguese National Committee proposed Lt. Col. Vítor Alves as President of the IPC and of the Conference because of his own merits and prestige, and also as a tribute to all the military who led the popular revolution of April 1974.

Statement of Lt. Col. Vítor Alves President, IPC

In a world where selfishness and the conflict of interests remain unshaken against the deepest yearnings of all people, solidarity emerges, once in a while, as the promising and vital assertion of human intelligence.

While joyfully mentioning the scope and purpose of the ideal which binds us together and the vitality contained therein, I would like, first of all and as President of the Preparatory Committee to the International Conference of Solidarity of the Frontline States, to stress the significant demonstration of solidarity shown by the Dutch Committee for Southern Africa by organising in this hospitable city of Amsterdam the third and quite decisive international preparatory meeting of the Conference. I would like to express our sincere gratitude to all its members as well as to all the distinguished Members of Parliament who are honouring us with their presence, to the

political parties and other organisations which have sponsored it and also to you all, who, with your presence here, prove your understanding and support of the cause which mobilises us all.

The continued violation of the rights of humankind; the armed aggressions perpetuated against the territory of sovereign states; the unpunished destruction of lives and properties; the economic sabotage; the financial and legal support of movements and organisations lacking representativeness; the systematic demonstration of the haughtiest contempt in regard to the rules of international rights. All these are instruments of the wide panoply of the apartheid regime which sets Southern Africa out of balance and puts international peace and security at stake.

Such despicable behaviour questions not only the rights of the states of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe to their respective territorial integrity and to the respect of their sovereignty; not only the right of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia to self-determination and to dignity, liberty and development of the national individualities to which they conform; not only the respect for legal and social rules which guarantee the very existence of the international community, but also, and above, all, **apartheid challenges our moral commitment as free men to abolish it, the will of the states to which we belong not to participate in its subsistence, the coercive conscience of all the international community not to go on tolerating the unpunished crimes it has committed.**

Therefore the solidarity which we hope to organise and demonstrate to the Frontline States should not be limited to the economic, political and diplomatic cooperation and assistance which they will always receive to the best of our ability. The most important demonstration of solidarity which we can give is to assist in developing support among other European nations. **We must expand the base of solidarity by furthering European awareness and understanding of the intolerable cruelty and oppression which is apartheid.** The raising of the European conscience and shaping of public opinion, is therefore the way in which I propose we further the aims of the peoples and liberation movements of South Africa and Namibia. We must create a powerful network of moral, political and economic support.

By calling the attention of the public to the serious problems with which the peoples and the independent states of Southern Africa struggle, we hope to reduce the number of geostrategic and geopolitical games played by government leaders and to dismantle the power base of private interests manipulating the future of the residents of these sensitive areas. **The public's misconceptions**

and lack of information has always been used by the racist regime not only to postpone a negotiated solution of the problem of Namibia but also to, in the name of its defense, to spread the chaos indispensable to maintain a conflictive situation, of which they take the greatest advantage.



Europe has too often given in before this obvious blackmail of apartheid and racism. The time has come, however, for Europeans to understand that the ability to determine their collective destiny, and maintenance of their peace and stability are substantially connected to the success of substantial communication and cooperation being established with Africa.

The time has come for Europe – which is no longer the economic centre of the world – to become one of the centres of the international ethical conscience. Therefore it does not seem possible that Europe may stand, on one hand, as defender of the great values and principals which dignify man, while on the other hand, it assists in maintaining the apartheid system because of private monetary interests.

The time has come for Europe to convey, at the international level, its solidarity with oppressed peoples and races; and this being so, the time has come for Europe and the Europeans to contribute with all the weight of their historical, cultural, economic and political influence so that the total independence course of action in Africa comes to an end and that **the real autonomy and independence of all African states, particularly those of the frontline, are no longer in the hands of a morally bankrupt regime superior only in its proficiency at killing human beings.**

The success of the aims that I have

indicated depends mainly on the favourable outcome of the Lisbon Conference which we are here and now so devotedly preparing.

The high political patronage which it has received; the engagement of innumerable multilateral governmental and nongovernmental organisations; the

interest of the mass media; the enthusiasm shown by those who are helping with its preparation – all these appear to be very promising for the carrying out of the aims which we intend to attain. In case we attain them – and I am sure we will – we will have helped ensure that liberty overcomes arbitrary powers, that dignity overcomes oppression, that peace overcomes unpunished aggression.

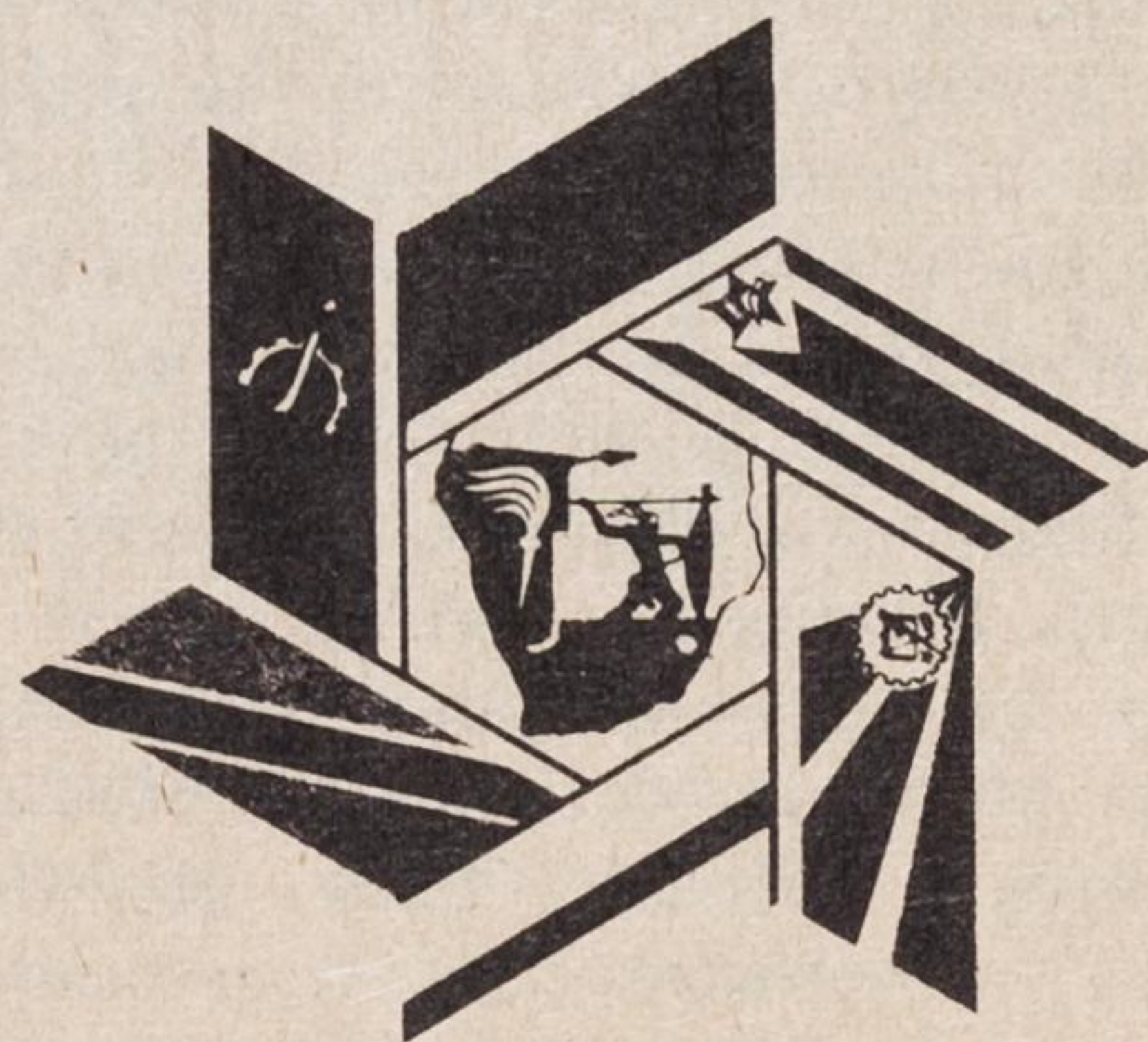
We all owe that to the Frontline States; we all owe that to the peoples of Southern Africa in the continuing struggle in which they have been engaged in order that they be the sole makers of their own destiny.

Any organisation which has not yet received an invitation to attend the Conference should immediately contact: International Secretariat

**Av. Pedro Alvares Cabral, 19
1200 Lisbon, Portugal.**

**Telephones: 65 07 47, 65 08 31, 65 29 33,
65 11 22.**

Telex: 12545 ANTAP P.



War Resisters expose

South African chemical warfare



Some months ago 'Resister' spoke to a permanent force member of the South African Defence Force (SADF). In the course of our discussions he made a number of startling claims about the use and development of chemical and biological weapons by the SADF. The three main issues raised by his allegations are:

- The SADF is making extensive use of drugs in the interrogation of prisoners in Namibia;
- ARMSCOR, the state armaments corporation, is currently developing the most advanced type of nerve gas artillery shells;
- The SADF is carrying out research into a biological 'race weapon' to which blacks would be more susceptible than whites.

Our informant spoke to us not out of sympathy for the cause of war resistance, but because he was intensely bitter about some of the ways South African national servicemen are being treated.

The allegations made by our informant could hardly be more serious. They implicate the South African state in types of warfare banned under international law. Allegations made in private by a somewhat dubious individual cannot stand on their own as conclusive proof of the SADF's machinations. There is, however, substantial circumstantial evidence which makes our informant's claims quite credible.

addicted the drugs are stopped and the interrogation begins at the onset of withdrawal symptoms. If they give enough information they are allowed another 'fix'.

Scopolamine is also used, mainly on the women prisoners. It is a drug used in abdominal surgery, but militarily it is commonly known as a 'truth drug'. The SA Medical Service has now set up Medical Intelligence Units, under the guidance of Argentinian personnel who regularly visit Oshakati, which are involved in experiments with various chemicals that might be useful in interrogation.

Intimidation is also used as an interrogation technique. On at least one occasion a prisoner has been placed at the rear end of a helicopter's exhaust. His body was blown to pieces, beyond recognition. This was done in the presence of a group of prisoners. The heads of killed guerillas are also kept in the police morgue at the civilian hospital in Oshakati. Sometimes prisoners are taken to the morgue to view these heads during interrogation.

Chemical and Germ War threat

During the first half of 1981 our informant says he spent a drunken evening with an officer who claimed to have been involved in setting up a 'Chemical and Biological Unit'.

Our informant alleges that this

ICSA reprints below an edited version of an article which appeared under the title 'Exposed: SADF War Horrors' in the December-January (No. 23) issue of *Resister*, the Bulletin of the Committee on South African War Resistance (COSAWR). For further information contact: COSAWR (UK) BM Box 2190, London WC1N 3XX, UK.

Drugs used in torture of detainees

The apartheid armed forces have a long and bloody history in the use of torture, particularly in Namibia. The information below has come from our informant but in many cases it has been corroborated by other sources.

In Oshakati there is a detention camp housing captured SWAPO guerillas and civilians suspected of collaborating with, or being members of, SWAPO. The camp is divided into three sections: One for the 'hard-core terrorists'; one for women; and one for 'tame terrorists and collaborators'. There are two interrogation centres in the middle of the camp. Prisoners are held in this camp for interrogation after which they are released or sent to other concentration camps or prisons further south.

Interrogations are carried out by the Counter-Intelligence staff attached to Sector 10 HQ in conjunction with the Senior Medical officer and the Medical Intelligence officer, both qualified doctors. Interrogation of wounded prisoners is also carried out in the

civilian hospital in Oshakati.

Initial interrogation is carried out with the application of physical torture. This includes extensive use of shocks administered from a field telephone. A new technique that is being extensively used is to inject ether under a prisoner's fingernails. Our informant told us:

'I have personally seen Dr X, the son of one of South Africa's top neurosurgeons doing these things. He worked in conjunction with Commandant Kassoff, head of Counter-Intelligence of Sector 10. A wounded terrorist was brought into the sick bay. As soon as he had been stitched up the interrogation started. Dr X injected ether and the prisoner passed out. He was revived with ice water and the interrogation continued. I've also seen Dr X supervise the use of the field telephone. One of the electrodes was stuck right up a guy's penis once.'

The 'hard core' prisoners in the camp often refuse to talk under physical torture. About 40 per cent, maybe more, of the information got out of this section is through the use of drugs. Morphine is regularly administered to the prisoners until they are addicted. Once they are

officer told him that the SADF was developing a 155mm artillery shell which has two compartments that contain 'clear liquid chemicals... The two chemicals mix when the shell is in flight and when it explodes the effect is deadly.' According to the officer a lot of the research for the weapon was carried out at the Institute for Aviation Medicine, previously known as the Military Medical Institute, in Pretoria. There are 20 underground stories in the institute, used for 'ultra-secret research'.

The description of the artillery shell fits only one type of weapon - that of a 'binary nerve-gas projectile', the most advanced chemical weapon currently available. A binary bomb had been designed in the United States by the mid-sixties, but the development of a 155mm binary projectile was only completed in 1977. Production of this weapon at the Pine Bluff Arsenal in the United States will begin in 1984.

The binary weapon contains two separate cannisters of relatively harmless chemicals. When the weapon is fired, a membrane ruptures, the chemicals mix and produce a toxic agent. The agent

most likely to be used in a South African projectile is Sarin, a highly toxic nerve gas developed in Nazi Germany in 1938. The binary Sarin shell contains one canister of methyl phosphynol difluoride and another of isopropanol plus a 'promoter'. When mixed the chemicals form

unlikely that guerilla forces can obtain CB defensive equipment. Lethal C or B agent attacks over large areas by aircraft ... offer optimum means for destruction of these forces ...'

No binary shell has yet been used by the SADF. There have, however, been a

destructive effect similar to that of a nuclear bomb of 20 megatons. These gases are ten times more poisonous than any other substance you can name'.

In March, 1965 then Defence Minister Fouché announced that South Africa had received 'from a Western government a licence to produce in SA a bomb of the most modern type'. Various experts concluded at the time that Fouché was referring to a more accurate method for the dispersal of chemical agents.

In September 1978 the Zimbabwe People's Voice reported that 'informed sources have reported the completion of a chemical weapons plant in the Orange Free State'.

An inspection of the South African chemical industry provides further circumstantial evidence of potential nerve gas production. Almost all the chemicals required for the production of nerve agents are also very common chemical compounds found in civilian chemical industries. However, the production of nerve agents requires a reaction between elemental phosphorous and chlorine. This reaction is also used in the pesticide industry to produce organophosphorous insecticides which are structurally similar to nerve agents.

Until 1967 South Africa produced no elemental phosphorous and relied on freely available imports or organophosphorous insecticides. By 1969, however, South Africa was producing 6,000 metric tons of elemental phosphorous annually. To develop its own



South African soldier inspecting skull in Angolan village.

Sarin (methylphosphonofluoridate) and hydrogen fluoride.

The military importance of the development of binary weapons lies in the increased safety given to troops handling nerve gas munitions. A concentration of 100 milligrams of Sarin in a cubic metre will kill a person in 60 seconds. A dose as small as one milligram can be lethal.

Nerve agents are odourless, colourless and hard to detect. They are absorbed into the body by breathing, through ingestion through the mouth, or through the skin. They inhibit the production of an enzyme essential for controlling muscular movement, acetylcholinesterase. This causes the nervous system to lose control, resulting in uncontrolled contraction of the muscles, fatigue, paralysis and disorientation. The symptoms are pin-point eye pupils, bronchial constriction, running nose, salivation, nausea and diarrhoea. Without proper treatment death occurs between a few minutes and half an hour, depending on the size of the dose and its method of penetration. An area contaminated by Sarin remains a hazard for only two days. (The more toxic VX gas, which might also be produced in South Africa, can persist for up to 16 weeks.)

Sarin can thus be used without the danger of long-term hazards to the surroundings. In the words of the US General Rothschild, 'Nerve gas is a clean kill as it flushes out the people and leaves everything else intact'.

According to the US Marine Corps Field Manual on Counter-Insurgency Warfare (1967): 'Toxic and non-toxic chemical shells are ideally suited to counter-guerilla operations ... it is

number of reports of the use of 'poison gases'.

In May 1978 over 600 Namibian refugees were massacred at Kassinga in Angola. Representatives of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Health Organisation visited the site of the massacre and produced a joint report which noted that a paralysing gas had been used in order to incapacitate a number of the victims prior to their being killed with a single shot to the head.

In August 1978, according to an ANC statement, the SADF used 'chemicals, napalm, defoliants and teargas' in the Rustenberg area of the Transvaal in an attempt to flush out a detachment of ANC guerillas.

On 18 November 1981 poison gas was used in an attack on the village of Techipa in Angola. The Angolan Ministry of Defence further reported that in battles between the SADF and the Angolan Army which lasted from the 2 to 5 December 1981, poison gas was used which resulted in the death of one Angolan soldier and paralysis of about a dozen others.

In November 1963 Professor LJ le Roux, a vice-president of the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), told a meeting of the Association for the Advancement of Science in Pretoria that a group of scientists attached to the SA Defence Research Council were examining the utility of further developing the nerve agents Tabun, Sarin and Soman. He stated that 'these poisons are capable of being delivered in vast quantities by aircraft or long-range missile and they can have a



organophosphorous insecticide the chemical industry required less than 1,000 tons of elemental phosphorous to produce an excess of insecticides. Given that, according to experts, there is no

other civilian use for elemental phosphorous beyond the production of pesticides, it is reasonable to assume that phosphorous production was primarily geared towards the military industry.

ARMSCOR manufactures a variety of incendiary weapons which contain phosphorous. It also has the resources to manufacture tons of nerve gas.

'Ethnic Weapons' – apartheid's final solution?

According to our informant the same officer mentioned previously told him that the SADF was researching into the use of 'viruses and things like that – chemicals or diseases that will only affect blacks'. He claimed that somewhere near Louis Trichard in the Northern Transvaal there is an 'ultra-secret experimental station'. It is located in an unpopulated area 'so that accidents wouldn't cause too much of a problem'.

This allegation might at first sight appear to be outrageously fantastic. Outrageous it is, but research carried out in the last decade indicates that it is theoretically quite feasible.

In November 1970 an article under the title of 'Ethnic Weapons' appeared in 'Military Review', the professional journal of the US Army. The author states: 'In brief, human populations can be characterised by frequencies of distinct genes. Sometimes, gene frequencies agree fairly well between widely dispersed populations, but more often there are great differences.' He cites an example, 'Recently a series of widely debated observations have revealed an enzyme deficiency, in southeastern Asian populations, making them susceptible to a poison to which Caucasoids are largely adapted', and concludes that 'the prospect may tempt an aggressor who knows he can recruit from a population largely tolerant against an incapacitating agent to which the target population is susceptible'.



During the Vietnam war the 'Advanced Projects Research Agency', an elite group of scientists working for the Pentagon, was employed to carry out blood tests on selected groups of Asians with a view to 'preparing a map portraying the geographic distribution of human blood groups and other inherited blood characters'.

A US Army manual published in 1975 stated: '...it is theoretically possible to develop so-called "ethnic chemical weapons" which would be designed to exploit naturally occurring differences in vulnerability among specific population groups.' This is more than theory. The US Department of Defence has been involved in research on coccidioides immitis, commonly known as Valley Fever. In its secondary and progressive form it can result in a mortality rate of 50-60 per cent. However, only 1-11 per cent of whites will develop the fatal form while 20-59 per cent of blacks will do so. For Philipinos the percentage is even higher.

Research into 'ethnic weapons' began on the premise that naturally occurring genetic diseases can be used to

exploit differences in population groups. The development of genetic engineering technology has opened up a whole new field. In 1969 a US Department of Defence spokesman told a Congress committee that 'within the next five to ten years, it would be possible to make new infective micro-organisms which could differ in certain important respects from any known disease-causing organisms. Most important of these is that it might be refractory to the immunological and therapeutic processes upon which we depend to maintain our relative freedom from infectious diseases'.

To add further credence to our informant's claims there are a number of pieces of circumstantial evidence:

- In June 1978 an article appeared in 'Liaison Letter', a SADF circular, which stated that the SADF was prepared for a 'gogga' (bug) war. The letter pointed out that the advantages of biological warfare were becoming increasingly apparent as its possibilities increased and the cost of other weaponry became prohibitive. It stated: 'The possible use of such weapons tends to be minimised because the consequences are too awful to contemplate. We must, however, be prepared to counter every threat that could be aimed at us'.

- Based on the top of the mountain at Red Hill above Simonstown is the SA Navy's Nuclear, Biological, Chemical Defence and Damage Control School. The location was chosen because, according to 'Paratus', 'prevailing winds during summer and winter will carry all noxious fumes well clear of human habitation'.

- The SA Army's ageing Centurion tanks have recently been converted with the aid of an Israeli-supplied modification package and renamed 'Olifants'. The package includes nuclear, biological and chemical protection as an optional extra.

- Finally, there is a large genetic engin-



earing establishment in South Africa, part of which is openly involved in military work. The Department of Genetics of the University of Pretoria works closely with the SADF Dog Centre in a project aimed at creating a 'super honderas' (super-dog race). The research is being supervised by Professor JM Geerthsen, Head of the Department of Genetics, and is geared towards assimilating the 'positive characteristics' of wolves and German Shepherds. The state scientific body, the CSIR, established a Standing Committee on Genetic Experimentation in 1977. The majority of the CSIR's wide-ranging institutes and projects are involved in military work.

● In the past eighteen months there have been epidemics in South Africa of cholera, typhoid and polio, as well as an outbreak of bubonic plague. The apartheid system is itself a 'biological weapon' against the poverty-stricken majority and the wide-spread occurrence of fatal diseases is to be expected in a state where class and social disease are prevalent. However, the existence of an ultra-secret biological research establishment in the same region as two of these epidemics raises the horrifying possibility that there is more at work than poverty.

International Implications

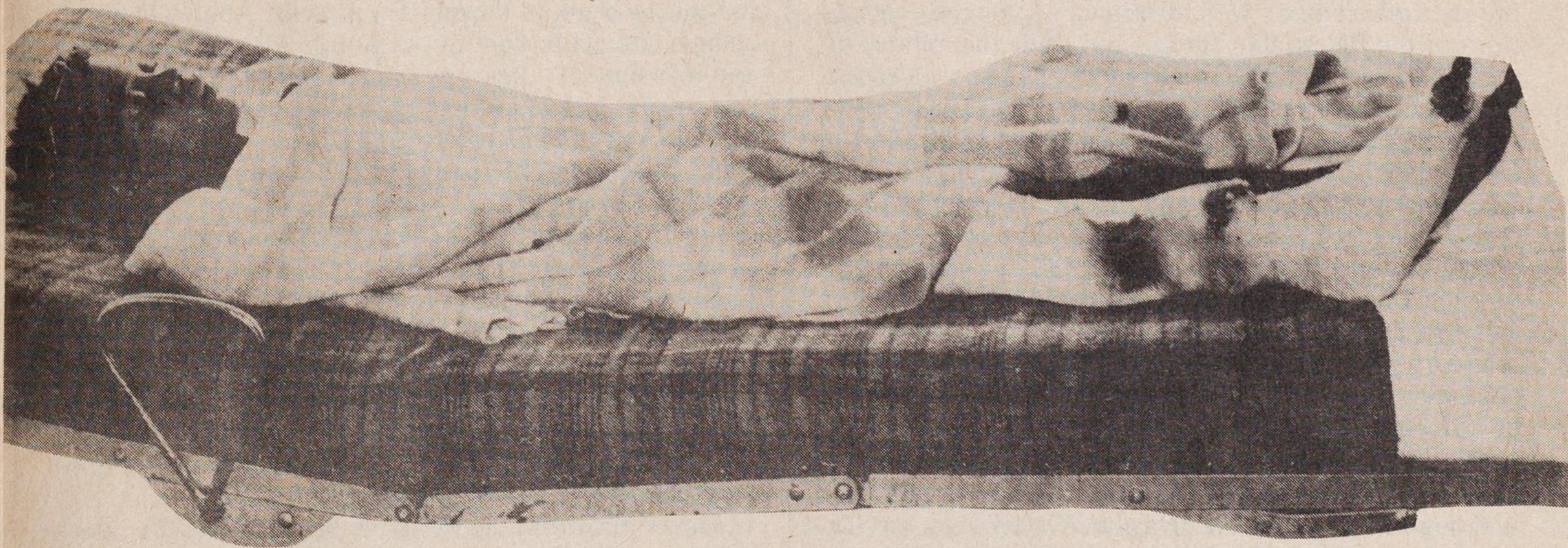
The 1925 Geneva Protocol outlaws 'the use in war of asphyxiating, poisonous or



A unit of the South African Cape Corps, deployed in Namibia.

this field, 'The Biological Weapons Convention was a triumph, because unlike many other arms control agreements which merely restricted the development and deployment of new weapons, it removed one category of armaments from the world arsenals altogether'.

is acting in direct violation of international law. The SADF's chemical and biological warfare potential, added to its conventional and nuclear strength, highlights the increasingly grave threat the regime poses to regional and world peace.



Victim of a South African raid

other gases, and of all analogous liquids, materials and devices'. It also prohibits 'the use of bacteriological methods of warfare'. South Africa became a party to this treaty in 1930, reserving the right to retaliate in kind if it was itself attacked with chemical or biological weapons.

The 1972 Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention outlaws the development, production, stock-piling and international transfer of biological weapons. South Africa ratified this treaty in March 1975. According to J. Paxman, an authoritative journalist in

The SADF also has in its arsenal a variety of weapons which, while not currently outlawed, are regarded as inhumane by most member states of the United Nations. These include:

- Agent Orange, a deadly herbicide widely used by the US in Vietnam;
- Napalm – regularly used by the SA Air Force in Angola;
- Incendiary bombs and grenades – largely based on white phosphorous;
- Plastic anti-personnel mines – shrapnel cannot be removed by standard X-ray techniques.

From evidence presented in this article, it is clear that the apartheid state

News in Brief

A Rotary Club in the USA has selected Johan Gervias, a projects engineer in Telecommunications at ARMSCOR (the armaments industry of South Africa), as a recipient of a bursary to spend a year studying in the USA. He will study for a MBA degree at the State University of New York. He is expected to regularly address Rotary branches, to develop friendly relations and to act as an unofficial ambassador of South Africa. ARMSCOR has decided to enable him to spend a second year in the USA to complete his studies.

The Invasion of Lebanon: implications for Southern Africa

Issue 20 of *ICSA Bulletin* carried an Editorial on 'South Africa, Israel, USA – Allies in Imperialism', looking at the connections between developments in the Lebanon and southern Africa. This article develops that analysis of the implications for southern Africa of the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon has grave implications for southern Africa. Ostensibly a military operation to attain 'peace in Galilee', by driving PLO bases from South Lebanon, and creating a *cordon sanitaire* of 40 km inside the Lebanese territory, it turned into a full invasion of the country.

This invasion has been characterised by the high number of casualties. The Lebanese sources believe that they amounted to some 18,000 persons killed. This was the outcome of indiscriminate shelling from land, sea and air of Lebanon's cities such as Beirut, the capital, Sidon and Tyre and many other towns and villages. Residential areas, hospitals, hotels, civic buildings, were continually bombed by the Israeli forces. A siege was established around West Beirut in order to starve people into surrendering. Water, electricity and fuels were denied to that part of Beirut, hampering emergency activities, and stretching the degree of human suffering beyond conceivable limits.

The atrocious activities of the Israelis were not confined to the times of military combat between the invaders on the one part and the Lebanese patriots and Palestinian freedom fighters on the other. The Israelis promised to withhold their attack against West Beirut if the PLO forces would leave the Lebanese capital and if the patriotic militias were disarmed. After the evacuations of the Palestinian forces, and while the militias of the Lebanese patriots were surrendering their arms to the Lebanese Government, the Israelis unleashed their forces and those of their agents which they controlled in the Phalangist party and similar organisations, to attack West Beirut. In Chatila and Sabra, two Palestinian refugee camps near Beirut, one of the most horrible crimes of our times was perpetrated by the Israelis through their Lebanese stooges. Hundreds of women, children and old men were massacred. To hide this crime, the Israelis and their local stooges tried to bulldoze the camps into rubble. The Israelis described this barbaric deed as a 'cleaning up operation'.

The Western condemnation of this invasion has been muted – weaker than it would have been a few years ago. Although stretched by the invasion, Western support for Israel remains firm. The USA and its Western allies continue to supply Israel with arms, which they know will be used against the people of Lebanon and other neighbouring Arab countries. As previously planned, Israel will receive no less than 2.5 billion dollars this year from the USA. This financial aid will cover part of the costs of the invasion of the Lebanon.

The situations in the Middle East and southern Africa are similar in a number of respects. Firstly, both South Africa and Israel practice racial discrimination against sectors of their population and ruthlessly suppress political dissent. Furthermore, their respective policies towards neighbouring states are based on the same aggressive strategies. The increasing dominance of the military in both Israel and South Africa has led to a search for military solutions to what are essentially political issues.

To this end, Israel and South Africa are trying to

create 'buffer states' on their borders – Israel in Lebanon, parts of Jordan and Syria and South Africa in Namibia and southern Angola. Both countries also carry out systematic attacks on neighbouring states in order to try and destabilise them. Moreover, just as Western condemnation of the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon has been muted, so too was their condemnation of the South African invasion of Angola last year. Both Israel and South Africa are strengthened by the favourable climate of Western opinion.

The current foreign policies of the right-wing administrations in the USA and Britain revolve around the need to halt what they see as Soviet 'expansionism' in areas like southern Africa and the Middle East. Israel and South Africa, by beating on an anti-communist drum, thrive on continued Western patronage. At the same time, they are engaging in a game of brinkmanship with the West, launching massive attacks on neighbouring territories to take full advantage of the support offered them. Israel's invasion of the Lebanon is a clear case of pushing the limits of Western acceptability.

In Southern Africa, the policy of South Africa towards its neighbours has always had a history of aggression, but this has intensified recently. Pretoria wishes to destabilise the region to prevent the consolidation of economic and political independence by the Frontline States, and to try to force them to end their support for the liberation movements.

Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Zambia have all recently felt the heavy hand of the racist South African Defence Force, while Angola and Mozambique continue to bear the brunt of the military attacks. Angola in particular is subject to continuous South African aggression and invasion. At the same time, South Africa has stepped up its individual acts of terror, assassinating two leading ANC members in the past year – Joe Quabi and Ruth First – and increasing attacks on SWAPO and ANC offices in the West.

It is in the light of these developments that the Israeli invasion is so significant for southern Africa. Previous incursions into Lebanon by the Israelis have taken the form of limited 'clearing up' operations against PLO bases and Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon. This time the Israeli Defence Force penetrated right into the heart of the country, attacking and besieging the capital Beirut, and getting away with it, with virtually no repercussions from their Western allies.

The implications cannot have been lost on the South African military chiefs. They must surely understand that the way could be open for them to act in a similar way in southern Africa, again without repercussions. The prospects for the sub-continent are thus extremely grave, with the possibility of destruction and death on an even greater scale, as the apartheid South African regime desperately tries to ensure its own survival.

Nevertheless, we know that history is on the side of the liberation movements and the just struggle for freedom of the Palestinians and the people of Namibia and South Africa. It is to be expected that both the Israelis and the South Africans will continue to intensify their desperate attacks on civilians and neighbouring countries as the liberation struggles against them grow in strength. Though many may be lost in the struggle, their sacrifice will not be in vain, for the ultimate victory will belong to those who struggle for peace and justice.

International

Brasil

ABRASSO (Association of Brasil in Solidarity with the people of Mozambique) has collected fourteen hundred signatures on a petition. This petition, in response to a call by the ANC to the international community, condemns the use of the death penalty in South Africa and pleads for the release of all political prisoners. Among those who signed the petition were members of parliament, the well-known Jose Montserrat Filho and other leading personalities.

ABRASSO, Rua Sud Menucci 69 (V. Mariana), 04017 - Sao Paulo (SP)

Finland

The Finnish Africa Committee has been engaged in a very successful campaign to obtain signatures to the international declaration for the release of Nelson Mandela and all other political prisoners in South Africa. The list of well-known Finnish personalities who have signed the petition includes: the Archbishop of Finland; the Minister of Labour and President of the Communist Party of Finland; the Minister of Culture and Science; the Justice of the Supreme Court; the Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party of Finland; Secretary-General of the Centre Party; Secretary-General of the Coalition Party; Vice-President of the Liberal Party; as well as leading officers in the trade unions, the youth and student movement and the peace movement; and many other important public figures.

Finnish Africa Committee, Bulevardi 13 A 9 00120 Helsinki 12

Namibia

The Catholic Bishop Haushiku (Windhoek) said in an interview (Kritisches Christentum, November 1982, Austria):

'In its negotiations with the Western Contact Group SWAPO moves in the right way. SWAPO, as a political movement, needs to be very careful in the negotiations so that the other negotiating partners do not push it aside or betray it. It is recognised among the majority of the Namibian people that, if there would be free and fair elections in Namibia today controlled and supervised by the UN, SWAPO would win these elections with a high percentage. About SWAPO's ability to govern the country I can only say that the hope and expectation of the Namibian people is that SWAPO will lead the country well after independence, because these people have been prepared for that. The first priority is that Namibia must be given its true independence and only then will one see how SWAPO will lead

and govern the country.'

Jamaica

The Jamaica Council for Human Rights has withheld comment on the reported tour of racist South Africa by West Indian cricketers pending information of their arrival in that country.

We view with utter abhorrence and condemnation the decision of the entire cricket team.

We are particularly saddened by the action of the three Jamaicans who have belittled themselves, our country and black people everywhere in the world who have regarded Jamaicans as leaders in the anti-apartheid struggle since the days of National Hero R Hon Marcus Mosiah Garvey.

Their action represents a significant victory for the illegal racist regime and is a betrayal of the millions of our brothers and sisters who are forced to exist under a regime devoid of any semblance of human rights, equality and justice.

The cricketers' decision cannot be condemned in isolation from the hypocrisy of many of the developed countries who subscribe to resolutions and mouth condemnations of apartheid in international forums, but who, through their trans-national corporations reap lucrative profits from the apartheid system and the continuous human rights violations associated with it.

The cricketers' decision which involves their acceptance of the status of 'honorary whites' is the ultimate act of self degradation and can only be regarded as a rejection of their heritage, their lack of self respect and makes a mockery of our assertions of sovereignty as Caribbean Nations.

Their involvement as 'honorary whites' makes them dishonourable blacks participating in a system in which 24 million blacks are denied all basic and fundamental rights - are denied the freedoms of movement, association, speech and are subjected to arbitrary imprisonment and death - A system which violates all the principles which the Caribbean nations and other countries of the world subscribe to as signatories of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The narrow self interest which motivates the cricketers is of course but a reflection of the policies and philosophy which place priority on economic considerations, which pervades our country and threatens to wreak economic and social havoc nationally and internationally.

The Jamaica Council for Human Rights joins with all others who have condemned this treacherous action. We welcome the decision taken by the Jamaican Cricket Board of Control and

the Government to ban those involved from playing representative cricket at international, national or individual club level.

The Jamaican Council for Human Rights reminds the public that 1982 was proclaimed as the **International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa** by the United Nations General Assembly on December 17, 1981.

The actions of our cricketers can be regarded as the first public major blow in 1983 - 13 days after the ending of the year - which negates the United Nations programme in which all Caribbean nations participated. The Council calls on all conscious Jamaicans, individually and collectively through their organisations, to regard the actions of the cricketers as a challenge.

Let us embark upon an education and information programme on South Africa which will fully expose to our people the heinous crimes the system of apartheid inflicts daily on 24 million of our brothers and sisters.

Let us take steps to ensure that our national integrity and honour can never ever again be sullied by such base actions.

Jamaica Council for Human Rights

131 Tower St Kingston, Jamaica.

UN Association of Sweden

The UN Association of Sweden has a membership, on the national level, of 145 organisations, with 132 local branches. It has well established contacts with different Governmental bodies, as well as with other national and international organisations.

Fulfilling its task to support the ideas of the UN Organisation, the Association promotes interest for international questions in general within its member organisations and within public opinion. Southern Africa, and the anti-apartheid issue, have always received a special attention from the Association, but in recent years information activities have been stepped up. Southern Africa has been the theme of several issues of the magazine Världshorisont (World Horizon). Cooperation has increased with anti-apartheid organisations such as the Africa Groups in Sweden and the coordinating Isolate South Africa Committee (ISAC) even though the Association, as an 'umbrella organisation', has refrained from formal membership of ISAC.

The Association has taken a strong stand on the question of sanctions against South Africa. At its 1981 annual meeting the UN Association of Sweden called upon the Swedish Government to work internationally for a total isolation

of racist South Africa and to implement national legislation to that effect. The continuing transfer of weapons and weapons technology, through indirect channels, to South Africa was especially mentioned as an area for immediate actions. The Association also called upon its member organisations and the Swedish public to campaign for the isolation of South Africa, and to support the liberation movements ANC and SWAPO.

Switzerland

The Mouvement Anti-Apartheid de Suisse has started to collect money to send parcels containing clothing and school furniture to SOMAFSCO. About 20 parcels have been sent to date. The MAA is continuing to emphasise the campaign to break the links between Swiss Banks and companies and South Africa in its activities.

MAA, CP 218, 1217 Meyrin 1, CCP Geneva, 12-12140.

Dominica

The Dominica Conference against Apartheid and rebel West Indian Cricketers adopted the following resolution in the public debate on South Africa under the auspices of The National Workers Union, The National Youth Council & The Dominica Association of World Affairs.

We the public and participants in the *Public Debate On South Africa* held at the auditorium of the Waterfront Allied Workers Union in Roseau, Commonwealth of Dominica on Friday, January 21, 1983;

HAVING deliberated on the situation of the Caribbean Cricketers Tour of South Africa and bearing in mind that the evil system of apartheid has been condemned as a crime against humanity by the United Nations General Assembly and the International community in general;

TAKING NOTE of the fact that a number of Non-Governmental Organisations, Trade Unions and Governments in the Caribbean have condemned the current tour of Caribbean Cricketers to South Africa, and that a number of important resolutions and declarations adopted in the past gave further impetus to the struggle and encouragement to the struggling Black people in Southern Africa.

BEARING IN MIND the resolute and positive actions of the Dominican people during 1978 and 1979 against the then Government of Dominica which attempt-

ed to establish trading links with South Africa, we reaffirm the commitment;

TAKING NOTE of all the activities held in Dominica and throughout the world to mark the United Nations International Year of Mobilisation for Sanctions Against South Africa 1982; the public and participants of this debate express satisfaction with this active solidarity which has once again made it possible to mobilise and arouse the awareness of the masses of Dominica as regards the causes and objectives of the struggles being waged in Southern Africa;

BEARING IN MIND that by Resolution 3068 (XXVIII) of 30th November 1973 the General Assembly adopted the *International Convention On the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid* and appealed to all states to sign and ratify it as soon as possible.

AND BEARING IN MIND that certain Caribbean States have not signed and ratified this instrument which was entered into force on July 18, 1976.

AND BEARING IN MIND THAT the governments of Antigua, Grenada, Dominica and St. Lucia have not signed and ratified this instrument which is designed to deter any extension of apartheid and to contribute to the efforts of the United Nations and the International Community

BEARING IN MIND the fundamental role that Barclays Bank International has played and continues to play in the

- a. development of South Africa's Nuclear Capability
- b. development of South Africa's Military Forces and capability
- c. provision of credit for the importation into South Africa of strategic goods, especially in the areas of telecommunications and computers;

BEARING IN MIND that sports is an essential aspect of our national life and character and therefore should not be prostituted against the national interests for economic reasons.

WE THE PUBLIC AND PARTICIPANTS IN THE PUBLIC DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA

DECLARE our unflinching support for, and solidarity with the black people of South Africa and Namibia and all the people fighting for their inalienable right of freedom and self-determination in the world;

NOTE with satisfaction the general response of Trade Unions, Non-Governmental Organisations and the Caribbean Governments to the call of solidarity

action programmes with the people of Southern Africa and the momentum which the campaign is gaining;

DENOUNCE all efforts of the regime in South Africa to undermine and divide the Caribbean Community over the issue of Apartheid through this sporting farce;

DEMAND that immediate positive action against the Caribbean Cricketers and their organisers who have sold the dignity of the Caribbean people for money, and CALL upon Caribbean Governments to ban all Caribbean Cricketers who are presently participating in the tour of South Africa or who have in the past played in South Africa without action taken from re-entering states other than their birth states. Where legally possible the funds they earned to be confiscated and donated to ANC.

CONDEMN IN the strongest terms possible the shame brought to the Caribbean people by the rebel cricketers who in defiance of world public opinion on South Africa have decided to and are participating in an athletic tour of South Africa.

CALL upon the Governments of Antigua, Grenada, Dominica and St. Lucia to immediately sign and ratify the *United Nations International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid* and we condemn any duplicity in this matter.

CALL upon all Caribbean Governments to ratify and implement all United Nations Resolutions and conventions against apartheid and racism.

CALL upon Caribbean Governments to invite representatives of the African National Congress (ANC) and the South West Africa Peoples Organisation (SWAPO) to establish liaison offices in major capitals of the Caribbean for the purposes of coordinating political and material support to their liberation movements;

CALL upon Caribbean governments to establish national funds for the liberation of South Africa, under government administration, to aid the liberation struggles in Southern Africa.

CALL for the establishment in Dominica of a permanent coordinating committee for the support of the liberation struggle in South Africa.

CALL UPON the Governments of Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados, Curacao, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, St. Lucia and St. Vincent and the Grenadines to nationalise Barclays Banks operating in

these territories and to divest all holdings of these banks in South Africa.

CALL for the establishment of a Caribbean Sportspeople's Hall of Fame to give permanent recognition to the outstanding contributions of sports people to the cultural development of our nations.

CALL for the establishment of national and regional benefit funds for sports persons and for supplying the families of outstanding sports persons adequate funds for the maintenance of a satisfactory standard of living.

CONDEMN all Caribbean newspapers, radio stations and televisions who give coverage of the present tour of rebel Caribbean Cricketers in South Africa and call for a complete and total black-out of news coverage of sporting activity in South Africa.

AND FINALLY

WE RESOLVE to send a copy of these conclusions to all South African Liberation Organisations; Committees, Groups, Non-Governmental and other organisations in support of the liberation of South Africa, including the OAU, and the Supreme Council of Sports in Africa so that these interested parties may know the views of the freedom loving people of Dominica on the issue of isolating South Africa.

WE RESOLVE to send a copy of these conclusions to the United Nations Centre Against Apartheid so that these rebel cricketers may be placed on the register of sporting contact with South Africa.

AND WE RESOLVE to send a copy of these conclusions to all Caribbean Heads of States and Governments.

UK

The international campaign against

banks lending to South Africa has continued to hold its own over the past year, despite the willingness of many Swiss and German banks to collaborate freely with apartheid. In the UK, the main thrust of the campaign has continued to be directed against Barclays, the largest bank in South Africa. Other British banks however have continued to be involved in loans, including Standard and Hill Samuel, both of whom have large South African interests. Lloyds, National Westminster and Midland have also all participated in loans to South Africa in the last 18 months.

The most successful dimension of the action against Barclays has been the increasing number of City and Borough Councils withdrawing their accounts. In 1981-2, the cities of Coventry and Norwich withdrew, as did the London Boroughs of Lambeth, Brent and Lewisham. Another Council in Greater Manchester is also considering withdrawal, as are two more London Boroughs. In addition, church organisations, community groups, trades union branches and individuals have pulled out of Barclays. ELTSA estimates that the bank has lost £5 billions in annual turnover because of withdrawals.

ELTSA published Shadow Reports on Barclays in 1981 and 1982. The 1982 Shadow Report concentrated on Barclay's links with the military, and how strongly supportive the bank is of the terrorist SADF. It advertises frequently in the Defence Force's magazine 'Paratus', and has opened branches in the larger army camps. Barclays has also managed two large loans to ESCOM (the South African Electricity Supply Commission) in the last two years. ESCOM is producing nuclear substances which many observers feel are being used to manufacture nuclear weapons.

In other countries the campaign continues with American church and labour organisations bringing Resolutions to

ten banks urging them to take up a more radical policy on South Africa. In Canada too, bank groups are alert and continuing to press the Canadian Government to bring in legislation to limit the loans.

Perhaps the most astonishing occurrence last year in the realm of external support for the South African economy was the massive loan made by the IMF. This made over a billion dollars available to South Africa, and was strenuously opposed by many anti-apartheid organisations. Among those who wrote to the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the UK to express their disgust at Britain's support for the loan were the Bishops of Liverpool and Manchester, the General Secretary of the British Council of Churches, the Dean of Kings College, London (Chairperson of ELTSA), and the Social Responsibility Secretaries of the Baptist and Methodist churches. Observers have remarked that the loan went a long way towards relieving the South African balance of payments deficit caused largely by the massive arms budget brought on by the war South Africa is conducting against its own people.

ELTSA c/o 467 Caledonian Road, London N7

The SWAPO Women's Solidarity Campaign was formed as a response to the demands of the SWAPO Women's Council. Since 1975 it has been working with women in Britain, to raise understanding of the nature of Namibian women's oppression under South African occupation and of their role in the struggle for national liberation. It also concentrates on Britain's collaboration with the illegal occupation of Namibia and Britain's implicit role in reinforcing the oppression of Namibian women. The work of the campaign group has included material aid appeals, and the raising of funds to send out a landrover for SWAPO Women's Council in 1980. It also campaigns for the release of Namibian women political prisoners. SWSC is part of the Namibia Support Committee, UK.

SWSC, 96 Gillespie Road, London N5

The NSC Health Collective is launching its second major appeal for support for its Medical Kit Campaign. These kits cost £120 each and are prepared by the Health Collective together with volunteers and then air-freighted to Angola, where most of the 70,000 Namibian refugees who have been displaced by the war, are now living. During 1982 the Health Collective dispatched 130 of these kits. The campaign is in response to an urgent request from SWAPO for another 200 to be sent immediately.

Namibia Support Committee,
53 Leverton Street, London NW5





Support SWAPO Women's Council Literacy Campaign

The system of "Bantu education" imposed by South Africa in Namibia is designed to perpetuate white supremacy. Schools for black Namibians are overcrowded, oversubscribed and have to make do with poor resources and facilities compared with those available to the white minority. Recent statistics show annual expenditure per pupil by the regime was R615 (£307) for whites and a meagre R68 (£34) for blacks. A Namibian woman said in 1980: 'As a teacher... I was afraid that if we continued with the Bantu education system my nation would be divided for ever, and we would have our future determined by the South African government.'

Namibian women are by far the worst off in regard to educational opportunities. A 1980 SWAPO Women's Council survey based on refugee settlements showed that the illiteracy rate for women over the 35-60 age group was over 99%. The average years of schooling for the 15-35 age group was 9.

Part of the work of the SWAPO Women's Council is done among refugees in SWAPO settlements in Angola – over 22,000 of them women. The struggle for education among the

refugees takes place against enormous physical obstacles – lack of shelter, food and clothing. There are over 10,000 children needing schooling, and only 53 teachers, one text book between about 20 and a desperate shortage of tents, exercise books, pens, pencils, chalk, blackboards: the list is endless. But adult literacy training is also seen as a priority. SWAPO's 1978 literacy seminar emphasised the need for a programme which would liberate the majority of the oppressed and the people in the national liberation struggle. SWAPO Women's Council, at its 1980 Congress, declared its intention to encourage literacy among women, set up literacy classes, mobilise for vocational training, adult education, and better education opportunities for women generally.

The SWAPO Women's Council appeals to supporters internationally to provide material aid for its work.

YOUR SUPPORT IS NEEDED

- Collect: pencils, rubbers, exercise books, blank sheets of paper, markers, sharpeners, paints, chalk. Send funds to SWAPO for the purchase of duplicators, blackboards, tape recorders and other teaching aids;
- Get your organisation to arrange a meeting with a speaker or film;
- Arrange a fund-raising event;
- Get your women's group, trade union or political party to support SWAPO and the SWAPO Women's Council.