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The SANA Bulletin provides commentary and reportage on a wide range of political issues in the Southern African subcontinent. It attempts to produce exclusive material on subjects which either do not receive prominence in the Southern African press, or which are perceived from the viewpoint of white South Africa. SANA seeks to provide an alternative picture of Southern African politics, one which delineates more clearly the realities of everyday life for black workers and peasants in the region.

# SANA - SPY SCANDAL

Regardless of SANA's Jan/Feb 1980 statement issued on the subject of SA Security Force spies and their infiltration, suspicion has continued to build-up concerning SANA's role as a front-organisation for the BOSS Security Police. The credibility of SANA and its Directors has also been severely questioned and it is for this reason that we, in SANA, have decided to make a further full statement on this affair.

We sincerely hope that by means of this bulletin, we can re-establish not only SANA's bona fides, but also SANA's position in the ranks of those committed to the destruction of the Apartheid regime.

SANA wishes hereby to re-iterate its devotion to the revolutionary cause throughout southern Africa and to pledge its utmost support for liberation from colonialism, imperialism, racism and capitalism of all the suffering peoples of the sub-continent. SANA stands for the total liberation of southern Africa — and this means:

- (i) The liberation of the peoples of South Africa from racism and capitalism-
- (ii) The liberation of the peoples of Mocambique and Angola from Soviet imperialist hegemony-
- (iii) The liberation of the peoples of Botswana, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zambia and Malawi from ethnic based elitist capitalism and monarchic feudal domination.

However, whilst SANA is based in southern Africa, we also concern ourselves with the complete and meaningful liberation of all the peoples of the whole of Africa. We have in fact seen most of the peoples of Africa liberate themselves from colonial and racist rule. We have unfortunately also seen them replace it with Soviet or Yankee imperialism and domination via the rule of neocolonial black exploiters. SANA stands for the total eradication from Africa of white racists as well as black cattle barons, land barons, mining and oil barons. SPIES.

It is now clear that SANA was established initially with ulterior motives which were not apparent to our readership. From the very beginning 2 distinct groups

had an interest in using SANA for their own ends. We know now that these two groups were the Boss Security Police and the International University Exchange Fund. The BOSS Security Police allowed SANA to be established so that they could use SANA as a means of gathering information about Liberation Movements in Africa as well as a means of spreading false information and causing divisions and splits in the ranks of the oppressed. The CIA scandal-tainted IUEF in Geneva, in turn funded SANA in return for SANA promoting the South African Black Conciousness Movement (BCM) and its leaders as the true spearhead of SA liberation. IUEF wished to promote in particular Ranwedzi "Harry" Nengwekhulu as the leader of a 3rd force in SA politics. IUEF also used SANA to gather information about African liberation movements, to spread false information and to cause splits, confusion and division in the ranks of the oppressed.

All the past employees of SANA were involved in this conspiracy, knowingly or unknowingly, and after their stint in Gaberone they were given IUEF scholarships to Europe or trips to the USA. With the appointment of the current SANA Directors, Heinz Klug and Patrick Fitzgerald, we were told what was expected by the IUEF. In addition we were told that the BOSS Security Police agents Williamson and Edwards expected certain other confidential information, relating especially to the activities of individuals and ostensibly in order to arrange covert funding for the activities through IUEF.

Continued on 3rd page

### NEW BCM LEADERS SLAM ANC, PAC, CORRUPTION

In a sweeping shake-up of the organisation, BCM(SA) members recently purged the organisation of corrupt and power-seeking elements and slammed corruption and ineffectiveness within the SA liberation movements. The new chairman of the BCM(SA), Comrade Basil Manning spoke to SANA from London and detailed recent events.

SANA: Comrade Manning, please give our readers an insight into the recent shake-up in the BCM(SA).

Cde. Manning: Since the facist apartheid regime banned our organisations inside the country during 1977, various power hungry individuals have controlled and misled the movement. Harry Nengwekhulu was appointed by the BPC and SASO in 1976 to represent these organisations internationally and in 1977 he became the external representative of the BCM as a whole. At that time we had to operate immediately under clandestine revolutionary conditions, which means that individuals who were trusted were given much power - like Nengwekhulu. Such people, immediately began to get corrupt when they got close to the sources of the funds coming from overseas, and people like Nengwekhulu and Drake Koka of BAWU began to assemble vast amounts of money for the struggle. Until today we are not sure of what has happened to most of that money. We can see that very little has got to the struggling comrades inside the country and even some families whose breadwinner was jailed for opposing the system have not yet been supported. We have traced some funds and have found plenty at the casino in Gaberone and some which went for overseas trips and Peugeot 504 cars. We also found some which was given by the Church for a pig-farm in Gaberone which Koka never actually founded. Where the pig money has gone we do not know. At the same time the political mandate from the membership inside was not carried out. The mandate to the leaders was not only to raise money for those suffering and those projects at home, but also to negotiate with the ANC, PAC and NEUM for unity. The membership said that the exile leadership was to unite and assist the struggle at home. This has not happened. Why not? Because some leaders want to be the leaders always even though they have showed that they have failed so far and should stand aside for the new representatives of the revolution.

For these reasons the membership decided that we must take a new direction. Barney Pityana was resigned as London Chairman and Nengwekhulu was resigned as External Director.

**SANA:** Comrade, what then will your new leadership be doing in the near future?

Comrade Manning: Our immediate task is to consolidate. We must now tell all those that are not with us that they are against us and we will destroy them along with the facist apartheid regime. The revolutionary youth of Azania is now united and determined to succeed where our parents have failed. We will liberate Azania.

SANA: Comrade, can you give us some more details of what to expect?

Comrade Manning: I cannot reveal our strategies because of our operational secrecy. This was the failure of the ANC and PAC who in fact are so full of the racist agents that they do what the racists instruct - nothing. And when they do do something the racists are waiting. BCM will be the political front and the military front will come from South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO) which is already advanced in training special armed forces at secret bases in Nigeria. The SAYRCO forces are under the command of Cde. Khotso Seathlolo and we are liasing in London with his representative Cde. Ratsiraka Nzondo. All I can tell you is that the apartheid facists and the whole world will be shocked at our forces success when we release them. We have learnt the lessons of history and will avoid our fathers' mistakes. Our sophisticated forces, supported by Africa, will challenge and crush the apartheid monster.

One thing I can say is that we have thrown away the failed strategy of the ANC and PAC. They are killing our people needlessly in order to try and prove that they are fighting inside the country. But they lose every battle and if the cadres are not killed there on the spot they are hanged or imprisoned. What point is that? We have had recent discussions with some comrades of Soweto who joined the ANC and we discussed strategy and tactics. They were in fact sent to ask us to join ANC, but we managed to get them to see that ANC is not going to win. The top leaders are corrupt — Tambo has three big houses, one in London with three floors upwards and one in Lusaka and one is in Sweden. He has his wife and family outside and even all at private school or university. He is like many others — very rich on the blood of the struggle.

Our Cadres have also told us that the ANC have a new strategy for advancing the struggle which they call internal re-construction and developement. The name itself admits their failure over the past 20 years on December 16th 1981. On that day in 1961 they were sent to start the armed struggle and today they have less inside the country than before. We can ask why? It is because of the communists of the SACP who are trying to protect their brothers — white and indian who are exploiting our people. Who is running the people's army? The white communist Joseph Slovo of Russia. Who is running the internal re-construction and developement? The Indian communists Mac Maharaj Mohamed Timol, Moosajee and Phyllis Naidoo, with the White communists Ray Simons and Marius Schoon and with some black puppet communists like John Matshobi (Pule), Henry Makgothi (Squires) and Thomas Nkobi. The instructions came direct to Tambo from Mandela and Laloo Chiba. Those instructions were to harness the revolutionary spirit of the Soweto generation of youth. But we will not be harnessed for the glory of the corrupt and the failures — we will succeed and we will destroy the apartheid regime along with its collaborators in the so-called liberation movements.

Continued from page 1

We decided to co-operate with the IUEF, knowing its motives, because we believed that we could use their money to build up SANA into our own organisation which would, sooner or later, become independent of the IUEF political directives. We also co-operated with Williamson and Edwards. There is no point in denying it. Of course had we known that they were spies we would have denounced them immediately. At the time we had no option but to co-operate. Williamson controlled the IUEF and its financial assistance for the SA struggle and Edwards controlled the SANA/IUEF communication and information network inside SA.

Our previous statement about breaking off contact with the two spies in August 1979 can be misconstrued. We did not mean that we broke off contact in the sense that we severed contact entirely but in the sense that we no longer from that time provided them with all the sensitive information they demanded. Our statement that we suspected Williamson and Edwards for years has also been misconstrued. We have been criticised on the basis of our statement by people who have said that we should have ceased all co-operation with the spies long ago or even never have started it at all. We made a genuine error of judgement. Over the years the two spies were suspected — especially due to the fact that they were both so-called ex-policemen. There was,

however, also much suspicion about other people, including ourselves we now learn. This is a normal hazard of SA political life.

Our final decision to work with the two spies was made because we saw an opportunity to build-up a worthwhile political organisation in Botswana. We could not do this on our combined refugee allowance which did not even cover our food bills. For this reason we needed the P500 per month as well as the car and house the IUEF offered. Finally we have also been criticized because the original statement about the SANA spies which we issued, was printed on SANA letterheads which included two of Williamson's European cover addresses. This was an oversight and we ask our readers to cease sending any material to the SANA Geneva or London addresses. SANA will continue to fight on but we can only do this with the support of our friends and readership. Please write to us and express your support as well as give ideas for our future role and direction. We need your letters to show our overseas donors. With your support we will be able to get more funds and so continue our work.

#### VIVA SANA

### VIVA REVOLUTION IN AFRICA

## SACP STALINISTS STRIKE. DRAMA IN SACTU AND THE ANC. TRADE UNIONISTS EXPELLED.

The stalwart trade unionists Paula Ensor, Rob Peterson, Martin Legassik and David Hemson have been expelled from the ANC by order of the NEC. They have also been expelled from SACTU and associates of theirs such as Dave Davies and Darcy du Toit have been frozen out of ANC support activities. This harsh action against dedicated comrades was ordered by the Central Committee of the SACP after the release of the recent publication "The Worker's Movement and SACTU — a struggle for Marxist Policies".

According to Peter Collins, the split between the stalinists of the SACP and the revolutionary marxists of the Legassik/Peterson group has developed over a period of years — particularly since the expelled group took over the SACTU technical sub-committee in London and effectively took over the SACTU journal "Workers Unity". With Peterson at the helm, "Workers Unity" rapidly became the most important SACTU activity and was responsible for moving SACTU in a revolutionary direction with the goal of mobilising the working class in SA on political grounds.

The revolutionary group was also responsible for the 1978 SACTU publication "Looking Foreward — SACTU's view of the political situation and the tasks facing the workers' movement in SA". This statement was adopted by the SACTU NEC as a statement of policy but not until after a severe internal struggle which was won by the revolutionary group after some adroit politiking. The stalinists were defeated but only temporarily — Solly Smith in London was caught asleep by the revolutionary manoevre and John Gaetsewe supported the revolutionary group in exchange for their support against the stalinist Moscow puppet Aaron Pemba. Pemba wants Gaetsewe's Secretary-Generalship.

In their formal suspension letter the revolutionaries were told by the ANC Chief representative in the UK and Chairman of the UK Regional Political Committee, Cap Zungu, that "...you have seriously breached the code of conduct governing membership of the ANC in that ....you have seen it fit to attack the policies and leadership of the revolutionary alliance led by the ANC..."

This is a clear reference to the revolutionaries strong attacks on the SACP and its stalinist policies which they see as retrogressive and detrimental to the SA revolution. The revolutionaries demand firstly that SACTU should become an independant working class trade union mobilisation organisation which should not be subservient to either SACP or ANC policy. In particular the revolutionaries do not subscribe to the stalinist notion that all non-SACTU trade unionists inside the RSA are "yellow" or that the only way to liberation is via the SACP directed "armed struggle". The stalinists wish SACTU to behave as a "sign post" for Umkhonto We Sizwe and like a Soviet style trade union which obeys blindly CP policy directives — even those designed to the detriment of the working class.

The revolutionaries have been described as "reactionaries" by various SACP hacks — especially Jimmy Corrigall and Solly Smith. Smith even travelled to Holland where he instructed the Zuid-Afrikaanse Diensweigeraars Projek (ZADP) to purge Darcy du Toit for all connection with ANC/SACP controlled activities. The ZADP complained about the autocratic and stalinist way in which Smith acted. The stalinists have been suspicious about du Toit for some years — especially due to his sympathy for ultra-left groups, and his accusations that the ANC is controlled by a bourgeois stalinist SACP element which is in fact counter-revolutionary and right wing.



#### State Censorship.

Mr. Dave Dalling, the spokesman for the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) has described South Africa's Directorate of Publications as being part of a "repugnant State censorship system". This followed a statement by the Directorate of Publications in which they said that they would soon issue a ruling which would allow certain libraries to make available to certain persons certain publications listed as "undesirable". Most observers see this statement as bringing no change whatsoever into the strict censorship system in the RSA.

#### Bricks in the wall Banned

A record which has been on the SA hit parade for over 20 weeks has been banned. Although the South African Broadcasting Corp. must have believed the record to be morally suitable for sensitive SA ears it appears that the Publications Directorate had other opinions. SANA hears that the reason for the banning is that the coloured school children recently boycotting their schools used the song as a march ditty. So 30 000 copies later the record company has had to remove the record from sale.

#### PM warns Press.

The SA Prime Minister, P.W. Botha has warned SA newspaper editors to draw up a policy "that will prevent radical and revolutionary elements getting the headlines you are giving them at the moment". General press reaction was strongly against the PM's directive and is summed up by Mr. Jimmy MacMillan of the Natal Mercury who said: "Disturbing headlines are part of the price one pays for living in a free society, but it is nothing compared to the price one eventually pays for trying to sweep the dirt under the carpet or minimise the importance of significant events. The Prime Minister has an "ostrich like" instinct regarding news he does not like".

#### China bid for Africa?

Ambassador Yang Shouzeng, former Chinese Ambassador to Mozambique has recently been appointed as the new Chinese envoy to Moscow. He goes to Moscow during a troubled time in Sino-Soviet relations. The recent "peace" talks being held in the USSR between Soviet and Chinese delegations have stopped and the Afghanistan occupation by Soviet troops caused a further cooling of already strained relations. However the interesting point about Shouzeng's appointment is that he is regarded as the top Chinese Africa expert. It appears that the Chinese wish an expert in Moscow who will be able to accurately interpret Soviet designs and moves in Africa. Shouzeng was a major factor in getting good relations established between China and Mr. Robert Mugabe's ZANU, which has recently paid off and means that China is better established with the new Zimbabwean Government than the Soviets are. The Soviets backed Mr. Nkomo and his Zapu party.

#### Hero Mahlangu tombstone drama

Before the unveiling ceremony of the tombstone over hero Solomon Mahlangu's grave in Atteridgeville cemetary, a night- long vigil was attended by over 1000 people. Solomon Mahlangu was executed last year for his part in the shooting of two whites in Johannesburg by ANC freedom fighters. The ceremony at his grave was marred by the fact that the tombstone failed to arrive on time and therefor had to be unveiled in its absence. Also 34 persons attending the ceremony were unceremoniously arrested and charged under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

#### Lions Tour

The Chairman of the British Sports Council, Mr. Dicky Jeeps, who was recently on a tour of the RSA, has warned SA that of the 60 UK pressmen who will accompany the British Lions rugby team on their SA tour, only 25 are sports-writers. The other 35, according to Mr. Jeeps, are journalists who will be seeking to emphasise the political aspects of the tour. Mr. Jeeps warned SA that these journalists will be seeking to create sensational racial incidents which they will then "splash" in overseas newspapers in order to justify the anti-lions tour movement which tried to get the tour cancelled.

#### Surplus People Project.

A group of concerned individuals and orginisations in the RSA have come together in order to conduct a "Surplus People Project" which will examine "resettlement, relocation squatting, influx control, black spot removals, betterment schemes and strategic military/ infra-structural removals". This project will deal with those blacks who have been and who are being relocated around the RSA according to white whims and needs. The project will emphasise the historical and class background to black "resettlement" in the RSA, especially the effects of the State intervention on behalf of white miners and settlers during the white/black labour/land conflict. Whites have moved or relocated blacks in South Africa since 1652 in order to suit labour requirements and this project hopes to explain why and how this relocation has and is happening and how it is a vital prop to the capitalist system.

#### Transkei lift Dispatch ban.

After a meeting between Mr. George Farr, the editor of the Daily Dispatch, and the Transkeian Prime Minister Mr. George Matanzima and the State President Chief Kaizer Matanzima, the ban against the Daily Dispatch in the Transkei was lifted. SANA sources report that a condition was in fact set by the Transkeian Government which was that the Dispatch publish an apology for a story printed concerning an assassination plot against the Transkei State President. Such an apology duly appeared. However the Transkei Government continues to hold the newspaper's Transkei journalist in detention.

#### Corruption alleged in Transkei.

Mr. Cromwell Diko, chief whip of the ruling party, alleged that certain Transkeian Government Ministers were abusing their official cars. He told the National Assembly that some Ministers use the cars on the weekends for private jobs such as transporting girlfriends and collecting groceries. A more serious allegation is that some Ministers have arranged for the purchase of official cars costing R17 000 which are then used by the Government department concerned for a few months, after which they are "scrapped" and sold to Ministers for about R2 000.