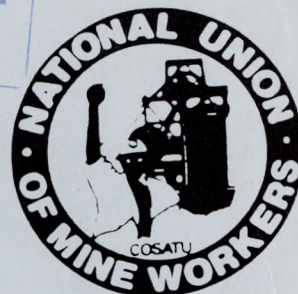


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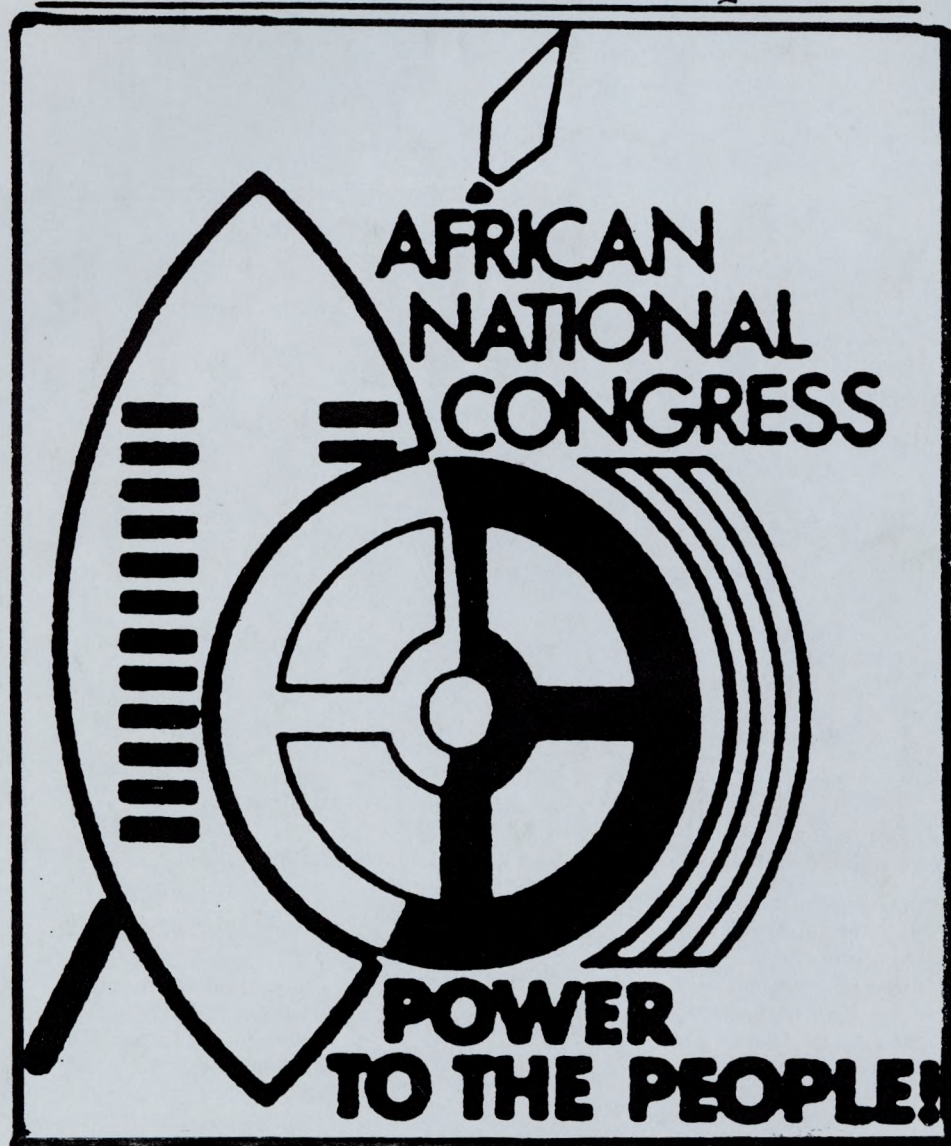


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75 YEARS OF THE ANC

8 JANUARY 1912 — 8 JANUARY 1987

THE African National Congress, 75 years old tomorrow, is no longer being written off in South Africa as "the world's least successful terrorist organisation."

The black nationalist movement, which turned to violence after it was banned in 1960, is nowhere near a classic guerilla victory in its fight for majority rule.

But after three years of unprecedented black revolt in South Africa's townships, it has won recognition from the Government as its main enemy and a major security threat.

Political analysts say this has in turn helped the outlawed ANC boost its overt political support in the townships — an increasingly important goal since it accepted how South African conditions impede conventional guerilla warfare.

South African Government sources used to pour scorn on the ANC's guerilla operations and it justified crackdowns on dissent by speaking in general terms of an international, communist-backed "total onslaught" against its rule.

But the Government now frequently names the ANC as its enemy. Imposing emergency rule in June, Pretoria said it was necessary to thwart ANC plans for large-scale unrest.

Stepped up media censorship in December was announced as a measure to counter to alleged ANC plans for a Christmas "terror campaign".

A top Government information official explained the link by saying that the ANC and its jailed leader Nelson Mandela were receiving more positive publicity than the State President, Mr P W Botha.

Mrs Helen Suzman, opposition spokeswoman on law and order, believes the Government is itself partly responsible for popularising the ANC, at least in the black townships.

"The Government is a first-class publicity agent for all organisations strongly opposed to it. The constant harassment of ANC-orientated people and organisations gives the ANC tremendous credibility among blacks," she said.

Youths

Support for the ANC — especially among youths — was fuelled by tough security force reaction in the townships when political protest erupted in 1984, Mrs Suzman said.

"The police excesses contributed all the time to keeping emotions at fever pitch ... all this has been an incentive to further violence."

An estimated 500 guerillas infiltrated into the townships are able to tap a reservoir of anti-government hostility among youths eager to be recruited either for training outside the country or to be taught very rudimentary tactics at home.

The ANC 75 years later...

FOCUS

By Sapa-Reuter

The ANC is estimated to have put 10 000 members through its training camps, although Western diplomats believe many of these may merely be refugees who have been given some military training rather than fully effective guerilla fighters.

But the organisation's formal military strength is less relevant since it apparently resolved a long tactical debate by acknowledging that it could not expect a military victory against heavily armed security forces.

Instead analysts believe the ANC has settled on a mixed strategy of attacks by its guerilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) backed by militant

mass protest, both violent and peaceful, and aimed ultimately at exerting enough pressure to force the Government to negotiate or fall.

Spy

In a recent article in the independent *Weekly Mail*, Craig Williamson, a former police spy who infiltrated the ANC with much success, challenged the view that MK, as Umkhonto we Sizwe is known, is a dismal failure.

"The correct way to judge MK and its success or failure ... has nothing to do with the number of cadres trained, armed, captured or killed ... or with the number of bombs exploded or deaths and injuries caused," Williamson wrote.

"If one defines MK as an organisation of "political fighters" which aims

to increase the degree of popular participation in the "struggle" to the level at which ANC revolutionary aims become general aims, then MK has not yet failed. The next 10 years will tell," he concluded.

Diplomats

Diplomats say emergency censorship has probably helped the security forces to pick up or eliminate ANC activists.

"It's certainly enabled them to move faster, more effectively and silently," said one source. "It's kept the lid on."

There has been a significant increase in guerilla attacks in South Africa in the past year, although analysts are sceptical whether the ANC was capable of generating quite the degree of violence which Pretoria alleged — and the organisation claimed privately — last June

and December.

They also question how far the ANC is in control of militant township youths. But one Western diplomat said: "I suspect that what they can't control they can inspire."



Mrs HELEN SUZMAN ... PFP.

Mr OLIVER TAMBO ... ANC leader. CHIEF Albert Luthuli ... former ANC leader.

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has reiterated a willingness to participate in a negotiated solution in the country. And it has joined the call for children to return to school and end the class boycott in South Africa.

In a statement issued to mark the ANC's 75th anniversary, the organisation's national executive committee reiterated its commitment to "seize any opportunity that may arise to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country" with the specific aim of creating a "democratic, non-racial and united South Africa".

"Let those in our country who in the face of our mounting offensive, have started talking about negotiating, commit themselves publicly to this perspective".

The statement is a reiteration of a previous willingness to negotiate but it appears to have slightly but significantly softened the ANC's terms for negotiations.

Previously it had insisted as preconditions that the negotiations be aimed at handing over power "to the people".

Many whites, the statement said, were feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of a non-racial order.

Democratic

It said the ANC "must pay the greatest possible attention" to the role of whites in the democratic revolution".

Whites must learn that it was not democracy that threatened their survival but racist tyranny.

The present crisis in South Africa demanded that whites make a clean break with the past and "unequivocally reject the ruling group as being unrepresentative of them".

The statement called on blacks and whites to "come together in a massive democratic coalition".

The statement rejected any ethnic distinction between South Africans.

It supported the guaranteeing of the freedoms of speech, assembly, association, lan-

ANC 'still willing to negotiate'

By GERALD L'ANGE,
SOWETAN Africa
News Service

guage, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial.

The statement committed the ANC to an economic policy of ensuring that the wealth of the country increased and was equitably shared by all.

Tribute

The ANC national executive made a point of paying a special tribute to the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique and promised to erect a monument on the spot where he died in a plane crash.

• The interests of the South African Communist Party (SACP) are being served by the South African Government's inflexible attitude towards talks with

the outlawed African National Congress, claims a new United States Intelligence report.

It says a decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the SACP because "serious policy differences could surface within the ANC".

The report contains information pooled from all of America's Intelligence agencies. It found that about half the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

Sanctions

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and de-classified, to the US Congress on Wednesday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 — the legislation containing tough economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on

American policy towards black movements in southern Africa fighting apartheid.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised "considerable influence" through its alliance with the ANC.

Military

The report noted that known or suspected communists also dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

"SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude towards negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa".

The report added that the ANC was "deeply beholden" to the SACP and the Soviet Union, as well as to the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in



Mr OLIVER Tambo . . .
ANC leader.

Angola for its arms and military training.

Serious policy differences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with the ANC, or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks".

FOCUS

13

9/1/84

Soweto

A growing boldness

THE African National Congress, which celebrated its 75th anniversary yesterday, has declared the next 12 months "The Year of Advance to People's Power".

The new slogan reflects the ANC's assessment that the time is ripe to escalate dramatically its offensive of the past three years. This offensive has aimed to destroy structures of state administration and replace them with what one senior ANC tactician called in an interview in Lusaka this week "organs of people's self-rule".

This source said his movement ruled out any retreat of the kind which occurred in the early 1960s, when state security forces smashed much of the ANC's internal organisation. The period then and the current situation were radically different, he argued. The present was characterised by a "spirit of hot engagement".

The text of the ANC National Executive Committee's annual new year address, delivered over all five Radio Freedom stations last night,

confirmed this aggressive outlook.

ANC sources in Lusaka said this week they believe they have made "a vital breakthrough", comparing its importance to that scored by Zanu in the mid-1970s in its war against Ian Smith's Rhodesian government.

And they consider that if they and their supporters succeed in fully understanding its different elements and acting appropriately, then a "rapid advance" is possible.

These sources said they saw no cause for embarrassment in the fact that 75 years after African chiefs, intellectuals, peasants and workers gathered in Bloemfontein in 1912 to form what was originally called the Native National Congress, the ANC should still be struggling for the political kingdom.

A new confidence was evident in Lusaka this week as ANC leaders talked of making a 'vital breakthrough' this year. HOWARD BARRELL reports

"Not at all," said one ANC military source. "It is remarkable that we have survived, let alone brought about a situation where the apartheid state is in deep crisis, the masses are in the ascendancy and the ANC is more powerful than ever before."

The organisation considers that the state it is attempting to overthrow is a stronger and more sophisticated indigenous power bloc than any national liberation movement has ever seriously attempted to dislodge in the modern period.

Among others, the power of the

French *pieds-noirs* in Algeria, the French and US-backed governments in Vietnam, the colonial Portuguese administrations in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as well as the Smith government in one-time Rhodesia were all considerably weaker regimes than is the South African government.

Representatives of the organisation are not particularly forthcoming on the specifics of the breakthrough they believe they have scored. But an ANC military source said in an interview this week that 10 years after the Soweto uprising and three years of insurrectionary tactics later, the organisation had brought matters to the point where "our assessment is that we can see the proto-revolutionary organs of people's power emerging". The ANC's concern was to help

people "consolidate and extend their control over their own affairs", he added.

He predicted the more formal development of what he termed "people's self-defence militias" in both urban and rural black areas. The ANC foresaw both a defensive and an offensive role for these militias in confrontations with the state, as well as a high degree of specialisation among different units of the militias. In some areas, he added, the beginnings of these militias had been established with Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas involved in training and organising.

This strategic perspective and phase has, according to ANC sources, been made possible only by what has gone before: a slow process of building and rebuilding, the construction of what one source called "the political army of the revolution", and the 1977-83 period of armed propaganda designed to develop a combativeness among a broad spread of people.

A 75-year thorn in the flesh of white power

A YEAR ago, African National Congress president Oliver Tambo set his outlawed movement the task of further activating its underground army, Umkhonto weSizwe, and of "drawing in millions of our people into combat".

Today, on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, not even the most assiduous ANC propagandist could claim Tambo's task has been fulfilled.

ANC guerrillas launched more than 200 attacks last year, considerably more than the 136 carried out in 1985 and more than four times as many as the total for 1984.

But, against that, the movement suffered major losses, with — according to the Pretoria-based Institute of Strategic Studies — 160 guerrillas either killed or captured by security forces.

Moreover, a shadow was cast across the ANC on the eve of the 75th anniversary of its foundation in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912: six of its officials were expelled from Mozambique on Wednesday at the behest of the South Africa government, while the new Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, announced the capture of the suspected ANC guerrilla who killed two policemen on Boxing Day.

According to an apparently authentic document, entitled "1987: What is to be done?" and distributed by Vlok, Tambo conceded that the

How does one describe a 75 year struggle which shows no signs of ending? As a tragic and bloody failure? Or as a triumph against all odds? PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the 75th anniversary of the ANC

ANC had not fulfilled the objectives it set itself a year ago.

"At the beginning (of 1986), in the January 8 statement, we set out the tasks we had to achieve in the area of armed struggle," Tambo said last October.

"Nine months on, it is clear that, despite all our efforts, we have not come anywhere near the achievement of the objectives we set ourselves."

Tambo went on, according to the document released by Vlok, to admit failure to build up links between small cells of trained guerrillas and large numbers of discontented black youths.

The objective, as Tambo made clear in his January 8 statement last year, was to transform the low-key guerrilla war into a popular insurrection or people's war.

The movement suffered a further blow in 1986 when the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan in neighbouring Lesotho was toppled on January 20 and replaced by a military government more sympathetic to South Africa's white rulers.

The Pretoria government also pressured another neighbouring state,



Botswana, into expelling the ANC mission — having already signed non-aggression pacts with both Mozambique and Swaziland.

As Tambo acknowledged in his assessment of what has to be done in 1987: "In the last two-and-a-half years we have suffered serious reverses in Mozambique, then in Swaziland and recently in Lesotho as well as Botswana."

In his January 8 statement last year Tambo contended: "... Strategically the enemy is on the defensive."

Conceding that "the oppressors" might launch counter offensives to gain "tactical advantages", he concluded: "Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the (strategic) initiative until we have emancipated our country."

Any assessment of the ANC on its 75th anniversary must therefore confront the question: has it retained the strategic initiative, even if it has lost ground tactically?

It is difficult to answer, partly because ANC setbacks have to be measured by those suffered by the government. There is the start of international sanctions campaign, the outflow of white emigrants despairing of the future, and the continuing problems of unemployment and inflation.

But there is no doubt that the momentum of guerrilla activity has increased since 1976, the first year of black student revolt, rising from a mere four then to more than 200 last year.

There have been fall-offs, as in 1984 when South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, thus depriving ANC guerrillas of an important external base. In that year the number of attacks fell to 44, compared to 56 the year before. But the overall trend is up.

While South African security forces have undoubtedly intercepted and killed or captured many guerrillas, there is no evidence that the flow of recruits has dried up. Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, has estimated that 40 to 50 guerrillas are entering the country each month, exceeding the number captured or shot dead by police.

Moreover there is no evidence to show that the ANC has lost its position as the pre-eminent national movement

of resistance. However much Pretoria may castigate it as a "terrorist and communist-dominated movement", it remains — according to a wide range of opinion polls — the most widely backed black nationalist organisation.

Founded 75 years ago by essentially elitist black leaders, its aspirations during the first three decades of its existence were largely bourgeois and certainly non-violent.

Later, with the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, it rejected the "language of supplication" and sought to mobilise the masses for a militant but non-violent campaign against minority white rule, as manifest by the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

It only turned to armed struggle after it was banned in April 1960 in the wake of the Sharpeville shootings on March 21, when 69 black people were killed by police gunfire.

It survived first the arrest and imprisonment of most of its national leaders in 1963-64 and then a period in exile when South Africa was surrounded by hostile white-controlled regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

It endured setbacks and survived to fight another day, as it did after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984 which saw the sudden, almost calamitous expulsion of its guerrillas.

If the ANC has not been able to ignite a people's war involving "millions" as a prelude to overthrow of the South African state, the government seems powerless to destroy its old adversary.

Its ability to endure for 75 years is proof of that — and of its political stamina and determination.

● Oliver Tambo is banned and may not be quoted. All quotes in this article are from excerpts of his speeches released by government officials.

From the Ciskei to Lusaka

STEVE TSHWETE, former president of the United Democratic Front Border region and in exile since October 1984, has re-emerged as the head of the ANC committee organising the worldwide celebrations of the movement's 75th anniversary.

Tshwete said in an interview in Lusaka this week he was not surprised at being given the task, as he had been a member of the ANC in the late 1950s; had spent 15 years on Robben Island for ANC activities; and had been in the prison leadership of the outlawed movement.

ANC sources disclosed this week that Tshwete was not yet a member of the organisation's National Executive Committee. But observers believe he is showing a distinct upward mobility in the movement.

After his release from Robben Island in 1979, Tshwete was banished for two years to a small town in Ciskei. When elected Border UDF president in 1983, Tshwete was in detention



Steve Tshwete ... months in hiding

Picture: VUYI MBALO, Afrapix

in Ciskei. And when he was re-elected to the post a year later, he was under a banishment order — also in Ciskei.

In 1984, he moved underground to evade police. His last public appearance inside the country came when he emerged dramatically from hiding to address thousands of

mourners gathered in Duncan Village to bury 19 people killed in confrontations with police. He went into exile shortly afterwards and, he said, "immediately joined the ANC external mission", leaving on an extensive Scandinavian tour.

"I told people there about the persecution of progressive forces, particularly the UDF, in our country," he said.

In March 1985, he addressed a session of the United Nations Committee against Apartheid, and travelled to West Germany with ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He said this week the anniversary celebration would take place in scores of countries worldwide. Heads of state and government, including some royal families, would be involved in the Scandinavian countries, India, Zambia and elsewhere.

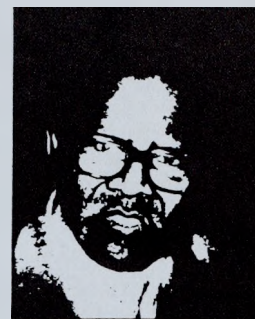
He expected people in South Africa to mark the event "in a way appropriate to the conditions inside".



NELSON MANDELA

75 YEARS OF THE ANC

The Star 9/1/87 (13)
8 JANUARY 1912 — 8 JANUARY 1987



OLIVER TAMBO

The Bureau for Information and the SABC have recently bombarded the people of South Africa with distortions and untruths about the ANC.

On the occasion of the ANC's 75th Anniversary we demand of the government:

LET THE ANC SPEAK FOR ITSELF

"The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act... For 37 years until 1949 — it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But White governments remained unmoved..." — **NELSON MANDELA ON TRIAL — APRIL 1964.**

"Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all." — **ANC PRESIDENT CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI — 1950s.**

IN 1960 THE ANC WAS BANNED

The ANC embarked on its present struggle only after all else had failed and when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to it.

TODAY — 27 YEARS AFTER ITS BANNING:

- * The ANC continues to be supported by many South Africans, both black and white.
- * The ANC is internationally recognised and has offices in over 39 countries around the world.
- * The ANC is a signatory to the Geneva Convention Protocol on Prisoners of War.

These and many other factors clearly show that there can be no solution to this country's problems without the participation of the ANC.

We, the undersigned organisations, therefore say:

UNBAN THE ANC

AND OTHER BANNED ORGANISATIONS

Issued by:

United Democratic Front (UDF)
National Education Crisis Committee (NECC)
South African Council of Churches (SACC)

c/o Khotso House
42 De Villiers Street
JOHANNESBURG

Supported by:

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)
Black Sash
National Soccer League (NSL)
Health Workers Association (HWA)
Call of Islam
Release Mandela Committee (RMC)
South African National Students Council (SANSCO)
Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (TIC and NIC)
South African Rugby Union (SARU)
Transvaal Anti-PC Committee
Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTROW)
Democratic Lawyers Association (DLA)
National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)
National Taverners Association of South Africa
Southern Transvaal African Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SOUTACOC) — an affiliate of NAFCCO

The ANC 75 years later

9/1/87 STAR 13
By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The oldest surviving political movement in Southern Africa, the African National Congress, celebrates its 75th anniversary today.

After three-quarters of a century, the ANC's international stature is growing, while it continues to be regarded as an evil by the South African Government.

Two significant documents published last year give opposing accounts of the ANC story.

The first was the publication of "Mission to South Africa", the report of the visit to South Africa of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which boosted the international standing of the ANC by saying its leaders stood out for their "reasonableness, absence of rancour and readiness to find negotiated solutions".

The EPG report said: "There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the ANC; the breadth of its support is incontestable; and this support is growing."

The second, "Talking with the ANC", was published by the Bureau for Information. It said the ANC had a formal alliance with the SA Communist Party and that "both are committed to the violent overthrow of the present system of government for the purpose of seizing total power ... the Government ... it clear that it will negotiate only with South Africans who renounce violence."

While both these documents focus on the ANC, in 1987 the power struggle in South Africa cannot simply be explained as a clash between the ANC and the Government.

The exiled Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) is a rival to the ANC. After nine months of existence, the PAC was banned in 1960 along with the ANC.

Black consciousness adherents are also strongly critical of the ANC.

The ANC, originally called the South African Native National Congress, was formed in 1912. Its first major struggle was its opposition to the 1913 Natives Land Act, which consolidated white possession of land.

Black rights dwindled in South Africa with the passing of legislation such as the 1936 Land Act, but the ANC continued to operate within the political system.

The National Party victory in South Africa in 1948 further eroded black rights.

Black opposition continued, and in 1952 the African National Congress and the SA Indian Congress launched a national passive resistance campaign.

The Government took tough measures to end the campaign, and charged 20 of its leaders in the Transvaal under the newly enacted Communism Act.

In 1955, the ANC helped organise the Congress of the People with the Indian National Congress of SA, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats. This culminated in the holding of a Freedom Congress in Kliptown in 1955, which drew up the Freedom Charter as the blueprint for a nonracial South Africa.

Of significance was the charter's call for the "sharing" of the national wealth.

In 1956, the Government arrested 156 members of the Freedom Congress, who were charged with treason. The trial dragged on for five years before they were acquitted.

A group of Africanists then broke away from the ANC and formed the Pan-Africanist Congress under the leadership of Mr Robert Sobukwe.

Resistance continued in the 1960s. For the Government, the crisis point came after police shot dead 69 protesters outside the Sharpeville police station.

Countrywide demonstrations were held and both movements declared March 28 a day of mourning. On the same day the Government banned the ANC and PAC and two days later declared a state of emergency.

In 1961, ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela formed a guerilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

The PAC also formed a guerilla group, Poqo.

In 1963, the Government notched up a major security success with the arrest of the ANC leadership in Rivonia, Johannesburg.

At his trial in 1964, several articles in Mandela's handwriting were submitted to the court, including one titled "How to be a good communist".

After the Soweto riots in 1976, many young blacks fled the country and joined the ANC or PAC. In 1977 the Government outlawed black consciousness organisations and banned many activists.

Continuous unrest in South Africa in the last 10 years has brought world attention to the sub-continent. Increasingly, the international community, white businessmen and politicians in South Africa have called for the unbanning of the ANC.

A major coup for the ANC was the visit to Lusaka by a group of white businessmen and Afrikaner students in 1985.

In "Talking with the ANC", the Government said the Communist Party's influence on the ANC had grown steadily. It identified 23 out of 30 members of the ANC executive in 1985 as being members or supporters of the SACP.

Mandela ceremony disrupted

SYDNEY — A ceremony making jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela the first Freeman of Sydney took a bizarre turn yesterday when an actor dressed as a clergyman disrupted the proceedings.

A city council spokesman said that halfway through the ceremony South African-born actor Christopher Short stood up and yelled at the deputy Lord Mayor Mr William Wartup:

"Shame on the city of Sydney for giving this freedom to that man."

Short, who said he belonged to the Federated Christian Church of Australia, left the council chamber after being shouted down by the audience, many of whom chanted Mandela's name during the ceremony. — **Reuter.**

Govt challenged over Mandela

7/1/86 B-DAY
GOVERNMENT should release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said in a New Year statement issued yesterday.

He said the institute was not reiterating its earlier calls for the release of political prisoners as a sop to Western opinion, but because it was necessary for SA's internal politics.

This was especially so if there was to be any chance of getting fully representative constitutional negotiations with black leaders off the ground.

"The government is known to be worried that Mr Mandela's release might precipitate violence. Obviously it would generate such excitement that there would be a risk of a spill-over into violence. However, bold

ALAN FINE

moves in politics are seldom without risk, and Mr Mandela's release has become a necessary symbolic political act.

"It is also precisely the kind of gesture that the government should make in response to the widespread calls from black political organisations for children to go back to school. These calls have been made without preconditions, which is all the more reason for such a gesture.

"Moreover, since the government's own figures claim that political violence has greatly diminished, it should feel confident that it can release Mr Mandela from a position of strength, and not because its back is to the wall," Kane-Berman said.

ANC members and supporters in South Africa and abroad celebrated the outlawed ANC movement's 75th anniversary this week.

Former United Democratic Front Border President Steve Tshwete, who went into exile in October 1984, re-emerged at the celebrations.

The mood in Lusaka this week was festive – though there was tight security.

Tshwete told *City Press* this week that the ANC's 75th anniversary was being celebrated by ANC members and solidarity organisations in scores of countries.

Heads of state – including some royal families – would be involved in the celebrations in Scandinavia, India, Zambia and other countries, Tshwete said.

Inside the country, Tshwete said, he expected people would celebrate the occasion in a way which was appropriate to the present circumstances of emergency regulations.

ANC celebrates its 75th anniversary

ANC President Oliver Tambo addressed a Press conference in the Zambian capital yesterday. And last night a cultural event was scheduled at an undisclosed venue in Lusaka.

Celebrations are expected to continue over the weekend.

ANC sources said it was "remarkable" that the outlawed movement had managed to survive 75 years of confrontation with white rule in South Africa – "let alone bring about a situation where the apartheid state is in deep crisis, the masses are in the ascendancy and the ANC is more powerful than at any time in its 75 years," according to one source.

A major feature of the

celebrations in Lusaka is a recollection of the ANC's past "heroes" – from its founding leaders such as Reverend John Dube, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, Sol Plaatje to Nelson Mandela.

A central message to emerge has also been the need for unity between all black people and anti-apartheid forces – an echo of the call made by Seme when he delivered the keynote address in 1912 at the Bloemfontein meeting of African Chiefs, intellectuals, workers and peasants that resulted in the formation of what was then known as the Native National Congress.

The ANC remains intent on keeping unified within its ranks both the nationalist and socialist tributaries of SA black politics which are encapsulated in the alliance with the SA Communist Party and the SA Congress of Trade Unions which the ANC leads.

The ANC is also determined to win as many whites as possible over to its side and to render as isolated as possible the die-hard supporters of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the United Democratic Front said it reiterated the call for the unbanning of the ANC and

other banned organisations.

"It is significant that as we celebrate this historic movement in our history, the UDF – itself born of that great tradition of Congress – is also today faced with what the ANC faced at the hands of the successive white governments until it was banned in the 1960s," a UDF statement said.

The statement added: "We know that the State considers us to be a front for the ANC. But that is the State's problem and not ours. Our recognition of this anniversary is nothing more than a recognition of a milestone in our people's long history of resistance against white domination and capitalist super-exploitation."

The UDF said it believed the SA government, "like all such repressive states, will sooner or later have to come to terms with the fact that there can be no solution of this country's problems without the active participation of the ANC. And that is a plain cold fact".

To mark this day, the UDF said it had taken out adverts in almost all the major newspapers countrywide between 8 and 11 January.

Barclays met ANC

STAFF (13) The Star Bureau

12/1/87

LONDON — Barclays Bank has confirmed that it had talks with the African National Congress, as reported by a British newspaper at the weekend, but denied the claim that the meetings were tied to its recent withdrawal from South Africa or its desire to protect its R2 450-million loan exposure to the country.

The last meeting was in July, a bank spokesman said.

It also said Barclays' loans to South Africa were subject to the same 18-month repayment moratorium as loans by other banks.

A meeting took place with the ANC in Lusaka in 1985 and other contacts were made in London with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, the bank said.

LONDON — The ANC is expected to set out policy on a wide range of SA issues when it celebrates its 75th anniversary tomorrow.

Africa's oldest nationalist movement is preparing for its biggest public celebration ever — to mark its formation on January 8, 1912.

The celebrations will be held worldwide at the ANC's 25 foreign missions.

The major event will be the address by exiled ANC President Oliver Tambo in Lusaka.

He is expected to spell out in detail the organisation's position on conditions for negotiation with the SA government, its attitude to minority guarantees and its commitment to a multi-party system.

ANC to set out policy

Own Correspondent

Tambo is expected to respond to the proposals of the Durban Indaba for power-sharing in Natal and deal with the education crisis and the position of black youth in SA.

The major policy statement will add flesh to the bones of the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955.

The ANC's 75th anniversary follows two years of unprecedented resistance and turmoil in SA's black townships and some major international diplomatic breakthroughs for the ANC.

Last year Tambo was received for

the first time by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, and later this month he is to hold his first meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz.

The ANC has scored increasing success with its campaign to win recognition from major Western governments and to convince the international community that its participation is a pre-requisite for lasting political settlement in SA.

The aborted initiative by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group put pressure on the ANC to spell out its bottom line for negotiations for the first time in May last year.

ADS, REPORTS ON BANNED GROUPS CURBED

By SAPA, TONY STIRLING and DICK EPSTEIN

ORDERS restricting reporting on banned organisations were gazetted at midnight last night.

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launched as a result of numerous complaints over the advertisements by members of the public.

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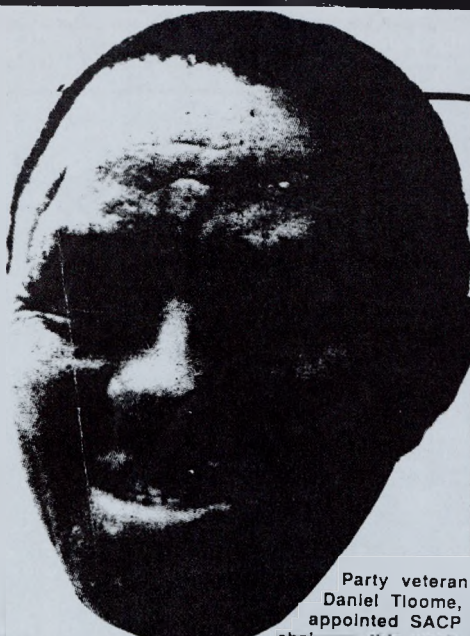
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The startling verdict of
the US intelligence study
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Radicals? Not the Communist Party, says Shultz report

W. Mail.
23-29 [1987]



Party veteran
Daniel Tloome,
appointed SACP
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PATRICK LAURENCE on the surprises in the American document

MEMBERS of the outlawed South African Communist Party are dominant in the leadership of Umkhonto weSizwe, the armed wing of the proscribed African National Congress.

The SACP, however, acts as a restraining influence on Umkhonto — or MK, as it is known in the townships — countering pressure from young recruits for the deployment of “indiscriminate terrorist tactics”.

These are two of the salient points contained in an American intelligence report on communist influence in South Africa, the full text of which was made available to *Weekly Mail* by the US Information Service.

The report, mandated under the US Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 which imposed wide-ranging sanctions on South Africa, was coincidentally released to the US Congress on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC.

The report was drawn up by secretary of state George Shultz or, more accurately, by members of US State Department. It can thus be taken to reflect US foreign policy on the ANC.

Shultz meets ANC president Oliver Tambo in Washington next week for talks, the first between a US secretary of state and an ANC president.

A careful study of the full text of the report shows that US and South African government views on the ANC converge in some respects, despite the present chill in relations between Washington and Pretoria.

What they have in common is the belief that the SACP is a powerful force within the ANC but that it may be possible — and is certainly desirable — to split black nationalists in the ANC from communists.

The report says that half of the 30

strong ANC national executive are “known or suspected” SACP members. The South African government says that two-thirds of the ANC executive are “active members or supporters” of the SACP.

The US report contends that if the South African government started negotiations with the ANC, or if the ANC relations with Western countries improved, “serious policy differences could surface in the ANC”.

The text of the report makes it quite clear that the “policy differences” would be between the communist and nationalist factions within the ANC.

It can be assumed that the Shultz meeting with Tambo is prompted, at least in part, by pursuit of that objective.

The US belief that the South African government should negotiate with the ANC is founded on the belief that it will help reduce communist influence in the ANC, as well as facilitate peaceful resolution of the present conflict.

“The SACP is only one element, although a very important one, in the coalition of interests represented in the ANC,” the report says.

“SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude toward negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC’s focus of increasing military pressure on South Africa.

“Should broader options become available for the ANC leadership, the question of the extent and direction of SACP influence could become a major issue.”

The South African government shares the view that the ANC consists of a communist and a potentially hostile nationalist faction.

President PW Botha has repeatedly offered to negotiate with nationalists in the ANC, provided they repudiate their communist allies and renounce

violence as a means of achieving political ends.

The difference between the US and South African government views appears to be one of timing.

The US thinks the South African government should open negotiations with the ANC, contending that in the process strains might surface between nationalists and communists.

Botha, however, wants ANC nationalists first to repudiate the SACP and sever ties with the Soviet Union, the ANC’s main supplier of arms.

Whether either of these strategies will succeed in splitting the historically forged ANC-SACP alliance is debatable. But the US report makes a strong case that the continuing guerrilla war strengthens the SACP’s influence.

“The usefulness of the SACP in facilitating ANC access to Soviet bloc arms supplies and funding grew steadily during the exile years,” the report says.

The exile years coincided with the years of “armed struggle”, except for the brief period between the banning of the ANC in 1960 and the capture of its underground high command in Rivonia in 1963.

The establishment of a pro-Soviet MPLA government in Angola in 1975-76 further strengthened communist influence in the ANC.

As the report notes, Angola “provided a secure regional base for Soviet-bloc military assistance to liberation movements in Southern Africa”.

The Angolan camps diminished the importance of military facilities provided by the Organisation for African Unity and “reinforced the predominance of the SACP members and Soviet-Cuban advisors in the ANC’s military councils”.

The report contends that the SACP is fearful of a negotiated settlement between the ANC and Pretoria because the SACP has no mass following in South Africa.

After quoting a speech which SACP central committee chairman (now general secretary) Joe Slovo made in response to Botha’s attempt to woo black nationalists, the report says: “The sensitivity of the SACP indicates genuine concern that a more flexible approach by Pretoria could find a favourable reception by elements in the ANC.”

If — as the report avers — the SACP favours guerrilla war until Pretoria is forced to transfer power to the ANC-SACP alliance, the SACP also opposes growing pressure from young recruits for the use of terrorism against civilians.

It fears that indiscriminate terrorism could damage its “multi-racial strategy for transforming the struggle against apartheid into a war against capitalist oppression”, presumably by triggering an all-out racial war.

US Intelligence report says SA 'inflexibility' aids Reds

ANC talks 'weaken SACP'

By Alan Dunn, The Star Bureau

Washington

The interests of the South African Communist Party (SACP) are being served by the South African Government's inflexible attitude towards talks with the outlawed African National Congress, claims a new United States Intelligence report.

It says a decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the SACP because "serious policy differences could surface within the ANC".

The report contains information pooled from all of America's Intelligence agencies. It found that about half the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and declassified, to the US Congress yesterday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 — the legislation containing tough economic sanctions on South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on American policy towards black movements in southern Africa fighting apartheid.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised "considerable influence" through its alliance with the ANC.

The report noted that known or suspected communists also dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

"SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude towards negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments, and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa."

The report added that the ANC was "deeply beholden" to the SACP and the Soviet Union, as well as to the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in Angola for its arms and military training.

Serious policy differences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with the ANC, or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent to which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks."

The SACP had been alarmed in 1984/5 at rumours of the South African Government putting out feelers to elements of the ANC. The communists had been genuinely concerned that a more flexible Pretoria approach could find a favourable reception in certain parts of the ANC.

The SACP appeared to have little or no influence on political and labour groups inside South Africa. This lack of support gave non-communist ANC leaders considerable counter-leverage against SACP efforts to dominate the group.

Referring to the United Democratic Front — held by the South African Government to be a front for the ANC — the report found there was "little reliable evidence on the extent of SACP influence within the UDF".

It said a number of UDF officials had long-standing ANC affiliations, but the UDF contained an even wider range of views than the ANC.

"To the extent that a generalisation can be made, the influence of the UDF in the ANC tends to weaken SACP influence," the report said.

● See Page 13.

Tambo talks 'not approval'

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — The American Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, says his meeting tomorrow with African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo is not an endorsement of the ANC's goals or tactics.

Mr Shultz was replying to a letter from conservative congressman Mr Jack Kemp of New York who had objected to the meeting taking place.

(Paragraphs have been deleted because they infringe the emergency regulations. The report also quoted Mr Oliver Tambo, who is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa in terms of other legislation.)

Page 9.

Call for movement to be unbanned

Political Reporter

The United Democratic Front and other anti-apartheid organisations today placed full-page advertisements in many of the country's newspapers calling for the unbanning of the African National Congress on its 75th anniversary.

The advertisement, published in The Star, was placed in 22 newspapers on behalf of the UDF, the National Education Crisis Committee and the South African Council of Churches.

It appeals to the Government to "let the ANC speak for itself".

Attorney Mr Krish Naidoo, who was commissioned to place the advertisement, said the cost was about R120 000, which was shared by the organisations issuing it and many of those supporting the call.

The advertisement was refused by all the Afrikaans newspapers and one English daily, The Citizen, he said.

Some of the newspapers in which it will appear are The Star, Sowetan, City Press, Ilanga, Natal Mercury, Daily News, EP Herald, Evening Post, Cape Times, The Argus, Diamond Fields Advertiser, Natal Witness, Business Day, Pretoria News, Daily Dispatch, New Nation, Weekly Mail, Sunday Times, The Sunday Tribune and The Sun- day Star.

ANC plan published

The Star Bureau

LONDON — African National Congress plans to increase violence in South Africa have been set out in a report in The Guardian today.

The report, from the paper's Lusaka correspondent, quotes the ANC's military commander, Mr Joe Modise.

Mr Modise is banned and may not be quoted in South Africa.

A hot-and-cold call from ANC

(13) W. Mail

9-15 [1] 87



Oliver Tambo

On the banned movement's 75th anniversary:

- Whites urged to oppose racism
- Warnings of stepped-up war

By HOWARD BARRELL
in Lusaka

THE African National Congress has issued a strong appeal to whites to abandon apartheid and join their black compatriots in a fight for a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

As the banned ANC marked its 75th anniversary at a ceremony in Lusaka yesterday, the movement announced an amnesty for all state security agents it had captured infiltrating its membership.

The ANC also invited back into its ranks those people it had previously expelled — provided they recanted. These moves have been presented by the ANC as part of its drive to build maximum unity in its struggle against apartheid.

Last night, the movement's five Radio Freedom stations began broadcasting the annual new year's address of the ANC's National Executive Committee (NEC).

The NEC statement calls on whites to "make a clean break with the past and themselves declare war on racism as the enemy of all the people of our country."

"The call of the day is that both black and white should come together in a massive democratic coalition to oppose the racists and to struggle side by side, as equals, for the birth of the new South Africa."

But this conciliatory call was offset by a highly aggressive ANC commitment to step up its military assault against the government.

This, according to ANC sources, is the key to the declaration of 1987 as the "Year of Advance to People's Power".

Zambian president Kenneth Kaunda and other top Zambian government officials joined Tambo, scores of diplomats and journalists, and hundreds of ANC members at Lusaka's Mulungushi hall and conference centre to celebrate the ANC's anniversary.

In his speech to the meeting, Tambo predicted massive demonstrations against the forthcoming white election.

Kaunda told the meeting he regarded the ANC as the "legitimate representative of all the people of South Africa". Addressing a press conference at midday, Tambo told about 60 foreign journalists he believed whites had been "misled" into believing there was any future for white minority domination in South Africa.

He made it clear that it was the ANC's "earnest wish" to create a society in which the colour of a person's skin did not matter.

Tambo repeated the movement's rejection of the targeting of civilians in military actions by the ANC.

He also indicated that the ANC had never been in favour of necklacing but had been reluctant to condemn those who felt themselves compelled to use this method.

Tambo also indicated that the ANC still stood by its call for a blanket academic and cultural boycott of South Africa. But this was being reconsidered.

First, it has failed to condemn the anarchic cruelty of the "comrades" in the townships and the civilian casualties in bombings. Second, its leadership overlaps with the hierarchy of the South African Communist Party and many of Umkhonto we Sizwe's weapons are from the Soviet Union.

It is plainly absurd to picture the ANC as a purely Christian democratic organisation, he says. But nor is it a certainty that communists would automatically seize power from their more moderate colleagues once the first phase of a nationalist victory was achieved.

He thinks these questions of the future eventually boil down to a view of the mind of one 68-year-old man, Nelson Mandela, whose image dominates the entire ANC.

"His views — apparently moderate ones — on these questions are likely to prevail if he ever gets out of jail."

Stability is ANC's strength — Times

The Star Bureau

LONDON — The African National Congress's long and relatively stable history is one of its most important strengths, and has been crucial in making it the centre of political gravity for South Africa's blacks.

This is one of the points made in a major article in *The Times* today marking the organisation's 75th birthday this week. It is headlined: "One man, one vote, one ANC".

The author, George Brock, says when other organisations have been weakened or destroyed by the debilitating rivalries which flourish in the inactivity of exile, the ANC has held together.

The ANC's actual support is impossible to measure with any accuracy. But it is beyond question that the last few years have seen an upturn in its fortunes, taking it to a peak of influence and activity it has not enjoyed since the 1950s.

Its greatest coup, he thinks, was the visit by a group of powerful white businessmen to Lusaka in September 1985.

MEETINGS

It was only one of a string of meetings between its president, Mr Oliver Tambo, and businessmen in Europe and the United States.

And the corporate ambassadors have been followed at a distance by the British and American Governments, who have dropped their insistence that the ANC renounce violence before talks.

Brock says the ANC faces two serious problems in its push for support outside black South Africa.

*The startling verdict of
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ANC members and supporters in South Africa and abroad celebrated the outlawed ANC movement's 75th anniversary this week. Former United Democratic Front President Steve Tshwete, who went into exile in October 1984, re-emerged at the celebrations.

The mood in Lusaka this week was festive – though there was tight security.

Tshwete told *City Press* this week that the ANC's 75th anniversary was being celebrated by ANC members and solidarity organisations in scores of countries.

Heads of state – including some royal families – would be involved in the celebrations in Scandinavia, India, Zambia and other countries, Tshwete said.

Inside the country, Tshwete said, he expected people would celebrate the occasion in a way which was appropriate to the present circumstances of emergency regulations.

ANC celebrates its 75th anniversary

ANC President Oliver Tambo addressed a Press conference in the Zambian capital yesterday. And last night a cultural event was scheduled at an undisclosed venue in Lusaka.

Celebrations are expected to continue over the weekend.

ANC sources said it was "remarkable" that the outlawed movement had managed to survive 75 years of confrontation with white rule in South Africa – "let alone bring about a situation where the apartheid state is in deep crisis, the masses are in the ascendancy and the ANC is more powerful than at any time in its 75 years," according to one source.

A major feature of the

celebrations in Lusaka is a recollection of the ANC's past "heroes" – from its founding leaders such as Reverend John Dube, Pixley Ka Isaka Seme, Sol Plaatje to Nelson Mandela.

A central message to emerge has also been the need for unity between all black people and anti-apartheid forces – an echo of the call made by Seme when he delivered the keynote address in 1912 at the Bloemfontein meeting of African Chiefs, intellectuals, workers and peasants that resulted in the formation of what was then known as the Native National Congress.

The ANC remains intent on keeping unified within its ranks both the nationalist and socialist tributaries of SA black politics which are encapsulated in the alliance with the SA Communist Party and the SA Congress of Trade Unions which the ANC leads.

The ANC is also determined to win as many whites as possible over to its side and to render as isolated as possible the die-hard supporters of apartheid.

Meanwhile, the United Democratic Front said it reiterated the call for the unbanning of the ANC and

other banned organisations.

"It is significant that as we celebrate this historic movement in our history, the UDF – itself born of that great tradition of Congress – is also today faced with what the ANC faced at the hands of the successive white governments until it was banned in the 1960s," a UDF statement said.

The statement added: "We know that the State considers us to be a front for the ANC. But that is the State's problem and not ours. Our recognition of this anniversary is nothing more than a recognition of a milestone in our people's long history of resistance against white domination and capitalist super-exploitation."

The UDF said it believed the SA government, "like all such repressive states, will sooner or later have to come to terms with the fact that there can be no solution of this country's problems without the active participation of the ANC. And that is a plain cold fact".

To mark this day, the UDF said it had taken out adverts in almost all the major newspapers countrywide between 8 and 11 January.

Barclays met ANC

STAMP (13) The Star Bureau 12/1/87

LONDON — Barclays Bank has confirmed that it had talks with the African National Congress, as reported by a British newspaper at the weekend, but denied the claim that the meetings were tied to its recent withdrawal from South Africa or its desire to protect its R2 450-million loan exposure to the country.

The last meeting was in July, a bank spokesman said.

It also said Barclays' loans to South Africa were subject to the same 18-month repayment moratorium as loans by other banks.

A meeting took place with the ANC in Lusaka in 1985 and other contacts were made in London with ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo, the bank said.

LONDON — The ANC is expected to set out policy on a wide range of SA issues when it celebrates its 75th anniversary tomorrow.

Africa's oldest nationalist movement is preparing for its biggest public celebration ever — to mark its formation on January 8, 1912.

The celebrations will be held worldwide at the ANC's 25 foreign missions.

The major event will be the address by exiled ANC President Oliver Tambo in Lusaka.

He is expected to spell out in detail the organisation's position on conditions for negotiation with the SA government, its attitude to minority guarantees and its commitment to a multi-party system.

ANC to set out policy

7/1/87 B Day
Own Correspondent

Tambo is expected to respond to the proposals of the Durban Indaba for power-sharing in Natal and deal with the education crisis and the position of black youth in SA.

The major policy statement will add flesh to the bones of the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People in Kliptown in 1955.

The ANC's 75th anniversary follows two years of unprecedented resistance and turmoil in SA's black townships and some major international diplomatic breakthroughs for the ANC.

Last year Tambo was received for

the first time by British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe, and later this month he is to hold his first meeting with US Secretary of State George Shultz.

The ANC has scored increasing success with its campaign to win recognition from major Western governments and to convince the international community that its participation is a pre-requisite for lasting political settlement in SA.

The aborted initiative by the Commonwealth's Eminent Persons' Group put pressure on the ANC to spell out its bottom line for negotiations for the first time in May last year.

The ANC 75 years later

9/1/87 STN2 (13)

By Colleen Ryan, Political Reporter

The oldest surviving political movement in Southern Africa, the African National Congress, celebrates its 75th anniversary today.

After three-quarters of a century, the ANC's international stature is growing, while it continues to be regarded as an evil by the South African Government.

Two significant documents published last year give opposing accounts of the ANC story.

The first was the publication of "Mission to South Africa", the report of the visit to South Africa of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group, which boosted the international standing of the ANC by saying its leaders stood out for their "reasonableness, absence of rancour and readiness to find negotiated solutions".

The EPG report said: "There can be no negotiated settlement in South Africa without the ANC; the breadth of its support is incontestable; and this support is growing."

The second, "Talking with the ANC", was published by the Bureau for Information. It said the ANC had a formal alliance with the SA Communist Party and that "both are committed to the violent overthrow of the present system of government for the purpose of seizing total power ... the Government ... it clear that it will negotiate only with South Africans who renounce violence."

While both these documents focus on the ANC, in 1987 the power struggle in South Africa cannot simply be explained as a clash between the ANC and the Government.

The exiled Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) is a rival to the ANC. After nine months of existence, the PAC was banned in 1960 along with the ANC.

Black consciousness adherents are also strongly critical of the ANC.

The ANC, originally called the South African Native National Congress, was formed in 1912. Its first major struggle was its opposition to the 1913 Natives Land Act, which consolidated white possession of land.

Black rights dwindled in South Africa with the passing of legislation such as the 1936 Land Act, but the ANC continued to operate within the political system.

The National Party victory in South Africa in 1948 further eroded black rights.

Black opposition continued, and in 1952 the African National Congress and the SA Indian Congress launched a national passive resistance campaign.

The Government took tough measures to end the campaign, and charged 20 of its leaders in the Transvaal under the newly enacted Communism Act.

In 1955, the ANC helped organise the Congress of the People with the Indian National Congress of SA, the Coloured People's Organisation and the Congress of Democrats. This culminated in the holding of a Freedom Congress in Kliptown in 1955, which drew up the Freedom Charter as the blueprint for a non-racial South Africa.

Of significance was the charter's call for the "sharing" of the national wealth.

In 1956, the Government arrested 156 members of the Freedom Congress, who were charged with treason. The trial dragged on for five years before they were acquitted.

A group of Africanists then broke away from the ANC and formed the Pan-Africanist Congress under the leadership of Mr Robert Sobukwe.

Resistance continued in the 1960s. For the Government, the crisis point came after police shot dead 69 protesters outside the Sharpeville police station.

Countrywide demonstrations were held and both movements declared March 28 a day of mourning. On the same day the Government banned the ANC and PAC and two days later declared a state of emergency.

In 1961, ANC leaders such as Nelson Mandela formed a guerilla wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation).

The PAC also formed a guerilla group, Poqo.

In 1963, the Government notched up a major security success with the arrest of the ANC leadership in Rivonia, Johannesburg.

At his trial in 1964, several articles in Mandela's handwriting were submitted to the court, including one titled "How to be a good communist".

After the Soweto riots in 1976, many young blacks fled the country and joined the ANC or PAC. In 1977 the Government outlawed black consciousness organisations and banned many activists.

Continuous unrest in South Africa in the last 10 years has brought world attention to the sub-continent. Increasingly, the international community, white businessmen and politicians in South Africa have called for the unbanning of the ANC.

A major coup for the ANC was the visit to Lusaka by a group of white businessmen and Afrikaner students in 1985.

In "Talking with the ANC", the Government said the Communist Party's influence on the ANC had grown steadily. It identified 23 out of 30 members of the ANC executive in 1985 as being members or supporters of the SACP.

Mandela ceremony disrupted

SYDNEY — A ceremony making jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela the first Freeman of Sydney took a bizarre turn yesterday when an actor dressed as a clergyman disrupted the proceedings.

A city council spokesman said that halfway through the ceremony South African-born actor Christopher Short stood up and yelled at the deputy Lord Mayor Mr William Wartup:

"Shame on the city of Sydney for giving this freedom to that man."

Short, who said he belonged to the Federated Christian Church of Australia, left the council chamber after being shouted down by the audience, many of whom chanted Mandela's name during the ceremony. — Reuter.

Govt challenged over Mandela

GOVERNMENT should release Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, Institute of Race Relations director John Kane-Berman said in a New Year statement issued yesterday.

He said the institute was not reiterating its earlier calls for the release of political prisoners as a sop to Western opinion, but because it was necessary for SA's internal politics.

This was especially so if there was to be any chance of getting fully representative constitutional negotiations with black leaders off the ground.

"The government is known to be worried that Mr Mandela's release might precipitate violence. Obviously it would generate such excitement that there would be a risk of a spill-over into violence. However, bold

ALAN FINE

moves in politics are seldom without risk, and Mr Mandela's release has become a necessary symbolic political act.

"It is also precisely the kind of gesture that the government should make in response to the widespread calls from black political organisations for children to go back to school. These calls have been made without preconditions, which is all the more reason for such a gesture.

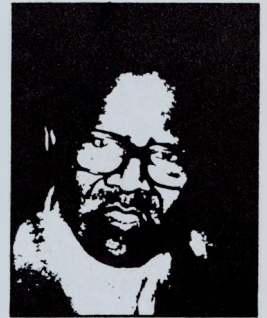
"Moreover, since the government's own figures claim that political violence has greatly diminished, it should feel confident that it can release Mr Mandela from a position of strength, and not because its back is to the wall," Kane-Berman said.



NELSON MANDELA

75 YEARS OF THE ANC

The Star 9/1/87 (13)
8 JANUARY 1912 — 8 JANUARY 1987



OLIVER TAMBO

The Bureau for Information and the SABC have recently bombarded the people of South Africa with distortions and untruths about the ANC.

On the occasion of the ANC's 75th Anniversary we demand of the government:

LET THE ANC SPEAK FOR ITSELF

"The African National Congress was formed in 1912 to defend the rights of the African people which had been seriously curtailed by the South Africa Act... For 37 years until 1949 — it adhered strictly to a constitutional struggle. It put forward demands and resolutions; it sent delegations to the government in the belief that African grievances could be settled through peaceful discussion and that Africans could advance gradually to full political rights. But White governments remained unmoved..." — **NELSON MANDELA ON TRIAL — APRIL 1964.**

"Who will deny that 30 years of my life have been spent knocking in vain, patiently, moderately and modestly at a closed and barred door? What have been the fruits of moderation? The past 30 years have seen the greatest number of laws restricting our rights and progress, until today we have reached a stage where we have almost no rights at all." — **ANC PRESIDENT CHIEF ALBERT LUTHULI — 1950s.**

IN 1960 THE ANC WAS BANNED

The ANC embarked on its present struggle only after all else had failed and when all channels of peaceful protest had been barred to it.

TODAY — 27 YEARS AFTER ITS BANNING:

- * The ANC continues to be supported by many South Africans, both black and white.
- * The ANC is internationally recognised and has offices in over 39 countries around the world.
- * The ANC is a signatory to the Geneva Convention Protocol on Prisoners of War.

These and many other factors clearly show that there can be no solution to this country's problems without the participation of the ANC.

We, the undersigned organisations, therefore say:

UNBAN THE ANC

AND OTHER BANNED ORGANISATIONS

Issued by:

United Democratic Front (UDF)
National Education Crisis Committee (NECC)
South African Council of Churches (SACC)

c/o Khotso House
 42 De Villiers Street
 JOHANNESBURG

Supported by:
 Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)
 Black Sash
 National Soccer League (NSL)
 Health Workers Association (HWA)
 Call of Islam
 Release Mandela Committee (RMC)
 South African National Students Council (SANSCO)
 Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses (TIC and NIC)
 South African Rugby Union (SARU)
 Transvaal Anti PC Committee
 Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW)
 Democratic Lawyers Association (DLA)
 National Medical and Dental Association (NAMDA)
 National Taverners Association of South Africa
 Southern Transvaal Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SOUTACOC) — an affiliate of NAFCCO

A growing boldness

A new confidence was evident in Lusaka this week as ANC leaders talked of making a 'vital breakthrough' this year. **HOWARD BARRELL reports**

"Not at all," said one ANC military source. "It is remarkable that we have survived, let alone brought about a situation where the apartheid state is in deep crisis, the masses are in the ascendancy and the ANC is more powerful than ever before."

The organisation considers that the state it is attempting to overthrow is a stronger and more sophisticated indigenous power bloc than any national liberation movement has ever seriously attempted to dislodge in the modern period.

Among others, the power of the

French *pieds-noirs* in Algeria, the French and US-backed governments in Vietnam, the colonial Portuguese administrations in Angola, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique, as well as the Smith government in one-time Rhodesia were all considerably weaker regimes than is the South African government.

Representatives of the organisation are not particularly forthcoming on the specifics of the breakthrough they believe they have scored. But an ANC military source said in an interview this week that 10 years after the Soweto uprising and three years of insurrectionary tactics later, the organisation had brought matters to the point where "our assessment is that we can see the proto-revolutionary organs of people's power emerging". The ANC's concern was to help

people "consolidate and extend their control over their own affairs", he added.

He predicted the more formal development of what he termed "people's self-defence militias" in both urban and rural black areas. The ANC foresaw both a defensive and an offensive role for these militias in confrontations with the state, as well as a high degree of specialisation among different units of the militias. In some areas, he added, the beginnings of these militias had been established with Umkhonto weSizwe guerrillas involved in training and organising.

This strategic perspective and phase has, according to ANC sources, been made possible only by what has gone before: a slow process of building and rebuilding, the construction of what one source called "the political army of the revolution", and the 1977-83 period of armed propaganda designed to develop a combativeness among a broad spread of people.



Botswana, into expelling the ANC mission — having already signed non-aggression pacts with both Mozambique and Swaziland.

As Tambo acknowledged in his assessment of what has to be done in 1987: "In the last two-and-a-half years we have suffered serious reverses in Mozambique, then in Swaziland and recently in Lesotho as well as Botswana."

In his January 8 statement last year Tambo contended: "... Strategically the enemy is on the defensive."

Conceding that "the oppressors" might launch counter offensives to gain "tactical advantages", he concluded: "Thus the central task facing the entire democratic movement is that we retain the (strategic) initiative until we have emancipated our country."

Any assessment of the ANC on its 75th anniversary must therefore confront the question: has it retained the strategic initiative, even if it has lost ground tactically?

It is difficult to answer, partly because ANC setbacks have to be measured by those suffered by the government. There is the start of international sanctions campaign, the outflow of white emigrants despairing of the future, and the continuing problems of unemployment and inflation.

But there is no doubt that the momentum of guerrilla activity has increased since 1976, the first year of black student revolt, rising from a mere four then to more than 200 last year.

There have been fall-offs, as in 1984 when South Africa signed the Nkomati Accord with Mozambique, thus depriving ANC guerrillas of an important external base. In that year the number of attacks fell to 44, compared to 56 the year before. But the overall trend is up.

While South African security forces have undoubtedly intercepted and killed or captured many guerrillas, there is no evidence that the flow of recruits has dried up. Tom Lodge, of the University of the Witwatersrand, has estimated that 40 to 50 guerrillas are entering the country each month, exceeding the number captured or shot dead by police.

Moreover there is no evidence to show that the ANC has lost its position as the pre-eminent national movement

of resistance. However much Pretoria may castigate it as a "terrorist and communist-dominated movement", it remains — according to a wide range of opinion polls — the most widely backed black nationalist organisation.

Founded 75 years ago by essentially elitist black leaders, its aspirations during the first three decades of its existence were largely bourgeois and certainly non-violent.

Later, with the formation of the ANC Youth League in 1944, it rejected the "language of supplication" and sought to mobilise the masses for a militant but non-violent campaign against minority white rule, as manifest by the Defiance Campaign of 1952.

It only turned to armed struggle after it was banned in April 1960 in the wake of the Sharpeville shootings on March 21, when 69 black people were killed by police gunfire.

It survived first the arrest and imprisonment of most of its national leaders in 1963-64 and then a period in exile when South Africa was surrounded by hostile white-controlled regimes in Angola, Mozambique and Rhodesia.

It endured setbacks and survived to fight another day, as it did after the signing of the Nkomati Accord in 1984 which saw the sudden, almost calamitous expulsion of its guerrillas.

If the ANC has not been able to ignite a people's war involving "millions" as a prelude to overthrow of the South African state, the government seems powerless to destroy its old adversary.

Its ability to endure for 75 years is proof of that — and of its political stamina and determination.

● Oliver Tambo is banned and may not be quoted. All quotes in this article are from excerpts of his speeches released by government officials.

THE African National Congress, which celebrated its 75th anniversary yesterday, has declared the next 12 months "The Year of Advance to People's Power".

The new slogan reflects the ANC's assessment that the time is ripe to escalate dramatically its offensive of the past three years. This offensive has aimed to destroy structures of state administration and replace them with what one senior ANC tactician called in an interview in Lusaka this week "organs of people's self-rule".

This source said his movement ruled out any retreat of the kind which occurred in the early 1960s, when state security forces smashed much of the ANC's internal organisation. The period then and the current situation were radically different, he argued. The present was characterised by a "spirit of hot engagement".

The text of the ANC National Executive Committee's annual new year address, delivered over all five Radio Freedom stations last night,

confirmed this aggressive outlook.

ANC sources in Lusaka said this week they believe they have made "a vital breakthrough", comparing its importance to that scored by Zanu in the mid-1970s in its war against Ian Smith's Rhodesian government.

And they consider that if they and their supporters succeed in fully understanding its different elements and acting appropriately, then a "rapid advance" is possible.

These sources said they saw no cause for embarrassment in the fact that 75 years after African chiefs, intellectuals, peasants and workers gathered in Bloemfontein in 1912 to form what was originally called the Native National Congress, the ANC should still be struggling for the political kingdom.

A 75-year thorn in the flesh of white power

A YEAR ago, African National Congress president Oliver Tambo set his outlawed movement the task of further activating its underground army, Umkhonto weSizwe, and of "drawing in millions of our people into combat".

Today, on the 75th anniversary of the founding of the ANC, not even the most assiduous ANC propagandist could claim Tambo's task has been fulfilled.

ANC guerrillas launched more than 200 attacks last year, considerably more than the 136 carried out in 1985 and more than four times as many as the total for 1984.

But, against that, the movement suffered major losses, with — according to the Pretoria-based Institute of Strategic Studies — 160 guerrillas either killed or captured by security forces.

Moreover, a shadow was cast across the ANC on the eve of the 75th anniversary of its foundation in Bloemfontein on January 8, 1912: six of its officials were expelled from Mozambique on Wednesday at the behest of the South Africa government, while the new Minister of Law and Order, Adriaan Vlok, announced the capture of the suspected ANC guerrilla who killed two policemen on Boxing Day.

According to an apparently authentic document, entitled "1987: What is to be done?" and distributed by Vlok, Tambo conceded that the

How does one describe a 75 year struggle which shows no signs of ending? As a tragic and bloody failure? Or as a triumph against all odds? **PATRICK LAURENCE reports on the 75th anniversary of the ANC**

ANC had not fulfilled the objectives it set itself a year ago.

"At the beginning (of 1986), in the January 8 statement, we set out the tasks we had to achieve in the area of armed struggle," Tambo said last October.

"Nine months on, it is clear that, despite all our efforts, we have not come anywhere near the achievement of the objectives we set ourselves."

Tambo went on, according to the document released by Vlok, to admit failure to build up links between small cells of trained guerrillas and large numbers of discontented black youths.

The objective, as Tambo made clear in his January 8 statement last year, was to transform the low-key guerrilla war into a popular insurrection or people's war.

The movement suffered a further blow in 1986 when the pro-ANC government of Chief Leabua Jonathan in neighbouring Lesotho was toppled on January 20 and replaced by a military government more sympathetic to South Africa's white rulers.

The Pretoria government also pressured another neighbouring state,

From the Ciskei to Lusaka

STEVE TSHWETE, former president of the United Democratic Front Border region and in exile since October 1984, has re-emerged as the head of the ANC committee organising the worldwide celebrations of the movement's 75th anniversary.

Tshwete said in an interview in Lusaka this week he was not surprised at being given the task, as he had been a member of the ANC in the late 1950s; had spent 15 years on Robben Island for ANC activities; and had been in the prison leadership of the outlawed movement.

ANC sources disclosed this week that Tshwete was not yet a member of the organisation's National Executive Committee. But observers believe he is showing a distinct upward mobility in the movement.

After his release from Robben Island in 1979, Tshwete was banished for two years to a small town in Ciskei. When elected Border UDF president in 1983, Tshwete was in detention

Steve Tshwete ... months in hiding

Picture: VUYI MRALO, Afrapix in Ciskei. And when he was re-elected to the post a year later, he was under a banishment order — also in Ciskei.

In 1984, he moved underground to evade police. His last public appearance inside the country came when he emerged dramatically from hiding to address thousands of

mourners gathered in Duncan Village to bury 19 people killed in confrontations with police. He went into exile shortly afterwards and, he said, "immediately joined the ANC external mission", leaving on an extensive Scandinavian tour.

"I told people there about the persecution of progressive forces, particularly the UDF, in our country," he said.

In March 1985, he addressed a session of the United Nations Committee against Apartheid, and travelled to West Germany with ANC president Oliver Tambo.

He said this week the anniversary celebration would take place in scores of countries worldwide. Heads of state and government, including some royal families, would be involved in the Scandinavian countries, India, Zambia and elsewhere.

He expected people in South Africa to mark the event "in a way appropriate to the conditions inside".

LUSAKA — The African National Congress has reiterated a willingness to participate in a negotiated solution in the country. And it has joined the call for children to return to school and end the class boycott in South Africa.

In a statement issued to mark the ANC's 75th anniversary, the organisation's national executive committee reiterated its commitment to "seize any opportunity that may arise to participate in a negotiated resolution of the conflict in our country" with the specific aim of creating a "democratic, non-racial and united South Africa".

"Let those in our country who in the face of our mounting offensive, have started talking about negotiating, commit themselves publicly to this perspective".

The statement is a reiteration of a previous willingness to negotiate but it appears to have slightly but significantly softened the ANC's terms for negotiations.

Previously it had insisted as preconditions that the negotiations be aimed at handing over power "to the people".

Many whites, the statement said, were feeling their way towards acceptance of the inevitability of a non-racial order.

Democratic

It said the ANC "must pay the greatest possible attention" to the role of whites in the democratic revolution".

Whites must learn that it was not democracy that threatened their survival but racist tyranny.

The present crisis in South Africa demanded that whites make a clean break with the past and "unequivocally reject the ruling group as being unrepresentative of them".

The statement called on blacks and whites to "come together in a massive democratic coalition".

The statement rejected any ethnic distinction between South Africans.

It supported the guaranteeing of the freedoms of speech, assembly, association, lan-

ANC 'still willing to negotiate'

By GERALD L'ANGE,
SOWETAN Africa
News Service

guage, religion, the Press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial.

The statement committed the ANC to an economic policy of ensuring that the wealth of the country increased and was equitably shared by all.

Tribute

The ANC national executive made a point of paying a special tribute to the late President Samora Machel of Mozambique and promised to erect a monument on the spot where he died in a plane crash.

• The interests of the South African Communist Party (SACP) are being served by the South African Government's inflexible attitude towards talks with

the outlawed African National Congress, claims a new United States Intelligence report.

It says a decision by Pretoria to negotiate with the ANC could shatter the SACP because "serious policy differences could surface within the ANC".

The report contains information pooled from all of America's Intelligence agencies. It found that about half the ANC's executive were known or suspected communists.

Sanctions

The 11-page study was sent in two versions, classified and de-classified, to the US Congress on Wednesday after lawmakers ordered it in the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986 — the legislation containing tough economic sanctions against South Africa.

It is likely to have far-reaching effects, serving as a guideline on

American policy towards black movements in southern Africa fighting apartheid.

Probing communist infiltration in black anti-apartheid groups, the report said the SACP lacked a mass following but had exercised "considerable influence" through its alliance with the ANC.

Military

The report noted that known or suspected communists also dominated the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the South African Congress of Trade Unions (Sactu). But SACP membership was not conclusive in several cases.

"SACP interests are served by an inflexible South African attitude towards negotiations with the ANC, by isolation of the ANC from contacts with Western governments and by the ANC's focus on increasing military pressure on South Africa".

The report added that the ANC was "deeply beholden" to the SACP and the Soviet Union, as well as to the Soviet-backed MPLA regime in



Mr OLIVER Tambo . . .
ANC leader.

Angola for its arms and military training.

Serious policy differences could emerge in the ANC if Pretoria reconsidered its stand on negotiations with the ANC, or if ANC relations with Western countries continued to improve.

"The internal stability of the ANC and its main political tendency will be shaped by the extent which Pretoria tests — or fails to test — its shaky cohesion. If the South African Government pursues a purely repressive policy, the ANC will be able to enjoy the luxury of postponing or avoiding the real issues in its own ranks".

FOCUS

(13)
9/1/84
Soweto

PINKO-BLACK MOTHERHOOD

16-2261387 W Mail (13)

THE kind of society the African National Congress would create in South Africa — if it came to power — would most likely depend as much on its path to power as on its claimed loyalty to those political equivalents of motherhood and apple pie which find general acceptance internationally.

A revolutionary victory after a protracted, bloody and bitter struggle of the kind waged in Vietnam would, at the end of the day, mean an ANC with a far less benign face than it is trying to project today.

Negotiations on the South African conflict of the Lancaster House type which brought ZANU(PF) to power in Zimbabwe in 1980 would probably mean a gradual transformation of South African society — though the pace would probably be much faster than in Zimbabwe.

The key to the pace and nature of changes would depend on the balance between the relative powers of the South African Defence Force, Umkhonto weSizwe, the trade unions, the Communist Party, and township and rural organisations. Not to mention the attitudes of the United States administration, the Soviet Union, the international financial and commodity markets, neighbouring African states and the like.

Until history answers those questions, it is possible only to examine the rhetorical colour of the ANC's motherhood and the disclosed ingredients of its apple pie. That colour and those ingredients, as is well known, are pure poison to the government, its supporters and some others.

The ANC's vision remains a collection of generalities largely. The ANC says it wants to build a "non-racial, democratic and united South Africa". In that, it differs, say, from Inkatha of the Progressive Federal Party, which say they want a non-racial, democratic but federal South Africa.

The ANC maintains it is sincere in its non-racialism. Its admission of whites as full members, it points out, is evidence of its sincerity: Marion Sparg, sentenced to 25 years in prison last year, is the latest and most visible case. And the ANC National Executive Committee made an impassioned appeal to whites last week to break

Talk of the need for a diverse media. But the press would have to substantially change its character ...

with the past and apartheid, and to join their black compatriots in the fight against white political supremacy. The cynics, of course accused them of putting on a "charm show".

The ANC executive said: "We reaffirm that in the new South Africa, the people — all the people — shall govern. We shall, together, translate that fundamental democratic principle into practice whereby each person shall have the right both to vote and to be voted to any elective organ in the new, united, non-racial South Africa".

The ANC's accession to power would, they said, "guarantee the individual and equal rights of all South Africans ... and include such freedoms as those of speech, assembly, association, language, religion, the press, the inviolability of family life and freedom from arbitrary arrest and detention without trial."

That's the grand scheme. What of the small print?

The ANC puts an important restriction on all this liberality. It would outlaw the organised propagation of ideas of "fascism, racism and ethnicity". That would mean any newspaper, political party or organisation putting forward these views would be outlawed.

On the press, a top political leader of the ANC said in the middle of last year that a view developing within the outlawed movement was that the ANC was keen to have a healthy divergency of views between different media, but that existing press monopolies would have to be broken — perhaps by nationalisation. He foresaw that the ANC would have its own regional press, charged with putting across its "line".

He rejected having a slavish commercial press. And he responded favourably to some Scandinavian models for guaranteeing a viable multiplicity of newspapers, magazines and other media. These Scandinavian models provide for the taxation of advertising in major news organisations and the use of this revenue to

Imagine that you wake up tomorrow to discover that the ANC executive is in the Union Buildings. Should you flee? Should you pray?

What kind of rulers will they make? Authoritarians? Democrats? Racists? Non-Racists?

The answers depend a great deal on the means by which the ANC gets there. If they ever do. HOWARD BARRELL conjures up the scenario



Oliver Tambo ... 75 years on

Picture: VUYI MBALO, Afrapix

subsidise and encourage younger publications' viability. He particularly favoured this for the trade union and community press.

But there was a corollary to all this. He ended by warning that the press would have to substantially change its character, and embrace the broad objectives of the new society, as well as find ways of democratising its inner workings.

Winning over whites, splitting the white bloc and isolating the government is also a tactical imperative for the ANC. Logically, it must weaken the ranks of what can be termed (although it does not use the term itself) its "generalised enemy". This causes some suspicion about the sincerity of its professed non-racialism in some quarters.

The central meaning of "national liberation" for the ANC is the creation of a situation where black South Africans achieve that access to state and administrative power, economic resources, education and other fruits which it considers are warranted by black numbers, labour power and needs.

National liberation for the ANC means primarily black liberation. It has said repeatedly in its policy documents that a formal acquisition of state power is not enough. The economy will have to be transformed. The ANC favours a "mixed economy", its spokesmen again confirmed this week, which may come as a surprise to radicals hoping for instant socialism.

For the ANC a mixed economy means, in particular, that South Africa's mining, banking, farming, food, news and other monopolies will have to be broken — where necessary, by nationalisation.

Below these "commanding heights", small businessmen, traders and professionals would be free to continue ringing up their tills. The ANC says the welfare of the working class, its representation in the post-apartheid state and access to resources are paramount in its view.

The "new state" would be "representative of all the people of our country, and especially the ordinary working people who own neither land nor factories and neither the mines nor the banks", the ANC executive said last week. Hence, a

transfer of power "must be accompanied by the democratisation of the control and direction of the economy so that indeed the people share in the wealth of our country".

An ANC constitution for South Africa would be "an elaboration of the freedom charter which lays down the guidelines for a post-apartheid South Africa", official ANC spokesman Tom Sebina said in Lusaka this week. This means, in effect, a South African variant of social democracy. In the ANC's terms, it means building the political and economic blocks of "national democracy".

A cornerstone of liberal policy, such as that of the PFP, is the protection of individual rights. The National Party's major concern is the protection of ethnic group rights.

ANC spokesmen have said previously that the movement has no objection in principle to a bill of individual human rights. What it would reject completely, however, is any guarantee of ethnic or racial group rights. Protecting rights on this basis would, for the ANC, mean entrenching some form of neo-apartheid and be a betrayal of its 75-year fight.

For similar reasons, ANC spokesmen say the organisation is suspicious of any form of federalism or confederalism, which it sees as a device to create zones of white or black dominance, again entrenching some form of neo-apartheid.

An interesting discussion between a group of ANC members overheard recently concerned the advisability of "group rights" along class and stratification lines other than race or ethnicity. The idea put forward was: what about entrenching special rights for groups such as workers, both employed and unemployed; for farmers; for religious people; for craftsmen, retailers and tradespeople; for white collar workers; for intellectuals and cultural workers; for the youth; and for women? The idea was put forward more as a question than a proposal.

The ANC has, as the government so often points out, long-standing traditional ties with the Soviet

The grand scheme: Freedom of speech, assembly, religion, language. But what of the small print?

Union and other Eastern-bloc countries. But the officially stated policy of the ANC is not pro-Moscow, but non-aligned. Whether an ANC-ruled South Africa might diverge from this policy would depend both on the international "balance of forces" and the political and electoral pressures that develop inside the country.

As a self-conscious "national liberation movement", the ANC has been careful to bring together as broad a spectrum of anti-apartheid forces as possible within its ranks. It is, currently, in only a few ways comparable to a political party. It contains ideological divergencies from militant liberals to communists united — for the time being — around this essentially social democratic programme. But it can safely be said that it is the more militant left which gets more powerful and numerous with each passing day.

It is not impossible that an ANC government could, some years into its life and after the achievement of its agreed political and economic programme, spawn several different political parties putting forward different policies.

Assuming the impossible: that the ANC would be allowed to take part in an election tomorrow, its party manifesto would revolve around:

- Majoritarian parliamentary democracy in a unitary state structure.
- One person, one vote.
- Individually guaranteed human rights, actionable in the courts.
- The direction of the vast bulk of the state's energies towards re-allocating resources towards black political, social and economic advancement.
- A non-aligned foreign policy, with membership of the Organisation of African Unity.
- A whole lot of people going around calling each other comrade.

It is a measure of present South African society that to achieve this would probably require little less than a revolution — such is the level of distaste in government and some other circles of the ANC's pinko-black motherhood and the way it wants to slice the pie.



SILENCED PICTURES

(5) 16-22/197 W Mail

We can't tell you what they said. But we can show you what they looked like. Here, a group of portraits of silence from the important ANC 75th birthday conference last week which may or may not have had considerable significance ...

TOP LEFT: Showtime, Lusaka. A youth group goes through its paces, beneath the stern gazes of ANC leaders, past and present.

CENTRE LEFT: Terrible triplets? A rare picture of the trio Pretoria would most dearly love to lay hands on: Communist Party chief Joe Slovo, Umkhonto We Sizwe commander Joe Modise and (centre) his deputy Chris Hani.

BOTTOM LEFT: Soul brothers. Oliver Tambo has been in exile almost as long as Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda has been in power. And if there's ever to be peace in South Africa, it could well be Kaunda who acts as middle-man.

BELOW: A cake for the ANC, but what it really wants is the whole bakery. The 75th birthday cake is presented to Oliver Tambo as Kenneth Kaunda plays master-of-ceremonies.



ANC — SHULTZ INDABA HERALDS NEW U.S. LINE

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State George Shultz meets African National Congress leader Oliver Tambo tomorrow, highlighting a new approach by the United States to the conflict in South Africa.

Washington has recently shifted into high gear in its new policy, which Mr Shultz has described as talking to all sides in the hope of being in the right place when the opportunity for negotiations arises.

"Translated, that means Washington is trying to mediate," one diplomat said.

United States officials and diplomatic analysts say the last three weeks have brought the new US approach into sharp focus. Mr Shultz has just toured black Africa to explain the policy and to prepare for his meeting with Mr Tambo.

The talks will take place in the political hotbed of Washington to a shrill chorus of conservative anger.

Conservative legislators and lobby groups have appealed to Mr Shultz not to meet a man they say supports terrorism and heads a communist organisation that would be legitimised by the talks.

Mr Shultz does not hide his distaste for the ANC and says frequently he worries about its Soviet ties and the influence of the South African Communist Party (ASCP) on it. But he views the ANC as a coalition of disparate views and a major player in resolving the South African problem.



Mr OLIVER TAMBO

Sapa-Reuter

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Officials say the new US approach evolved out of Washington's much-aligned policy of "constructive engagement" — a phrase no longer heard here — calling for diplomatic and economic involvement to persuade Pretoria to make sweeping reforms.

Since Congress imposed limited economic sanctions on South Africa last September, Pretoria has barely been on speaking terms with Washington, diplomats say.

That meant whatever influence the United States did have with Pretoria — and it was always exaggerated — faded to almost nothing and dictated a new approach," said one diplomat who asked not to be identified.

The United States knows that South Africa and the ANC have to talk sometime — that it is a hurdle that has to be got over sometime — so anyone who wants to help has to be in contact," he said.

After his eight-day tour of six African nations earlier this month, Mr Shultz appeared pleased with the reaction in the region to his efforts to upgrade contacts with opponents of South Africa's apartheid system of racial separation.

One official who attended many of the meetings told Reuters that for the first time he felt black Africans understood and approved of what Mr Shultz was trying to do and that at last they took him at his word that Washington wanted one-man-one-vote in South Africa.

High hopes for Schultz meeting

HARARE — The meeting between United States Secretary of State, Mr George Schultz, and the president of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo, is expected to lay the foundation for a negotiated settlement to end apartheid, Ziana the semi-official news agency reports.

Former US Ambassador to the United Nations, Mr Andrew Young, said in Harare yesterday he hoped Mr Schultz, who was very sensitive about the situation in South Africa, would reach agreement with Mr Tambo on a plan for negotiations between the ANC and Pretoria to begin this year.

Release

"If Schultz can secure the release of jailed ANC leader Nelson Mandela, the ANC will be willing to talk with Pretoria," Mr Young said in reply to a question at a meet-the-people gathering after a township church service in remembrance of the birth of the late civil rights campaigner Martin Luther King, Jr.

The top-level meeting between Mr Tambo and Mr Schultz is expected to take place in Washington at the end of the month. This is the first forum the United States has given to the ANC to begin dialogue to sus-



GOERGE Schultz



OLIVER Tambo.

pend the proliferation of bloodshed in South Africa.

Mr Young told the gathering: "I am here to celebrate Dr King's birthday not only to let you know about his life

but to see if we cannot use his teachings to end the violence in South Africa. In some way it was his teachings that brought about independence in Zimbabwe," he said. — Sapa.

Report may embarrass Shultz

7/1/87 248 STAR 12
The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — American intelligence agencies have contributed to a report on communist activities in South Africa that could prove embarrassing for the Reagan Administration.

The tightly guarded report will be sent to the Congress perhaps today or tomorrow, just weeks before the Secretary of State, Mr George Shultz, is to hold talks in Washington with the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Oliver Tambo.

According to informed sources, the report examines the extent of communist infiltration in many black and non-white organisations in South Africa fighting apartheid, but its main focus is on the African

National Congress.

If it concludes that the SA Communist Party is manipulating the ANC in an effort to gain future influence in or control of a black SA government, it could make things awkward for Mr Shultz.

Administration officials say they are disturbed about communist influence in the ANC and about its use of violence for political purposes, but that the banned organisation has to be taken into account because of its strength in South Africa.

The report was written as a requirement of the comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act last year. Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina insisted on the report because he felt the sanctions Bill was one-sided in its criticism of the SA Government.

US voices its concern at
ANC's communist links

Shultz warns Tambo: stop the violence

STAR 29/1/87

(13)

(245)

(249)

By Neil Lurssen, The Star Bureau

Washington

United States Secretary of State Mr George Shultz has warned African National Congress leader Mr Oliver Tambo that violence will lead to catastrophe in South Africa.

He also told Mr Tambo of the US Government's deep concern over Soviet influence in the organisation.

These two concerns — the ANC's use of terrorism against innocent civilians and the extent of its commitment to communism — were at the top of the Mr Shultz's agenda during his 50-minute meeting with the veteran ANC leader in Washington yesterday.

In response to a request by Mr Tambo — which cannot be reported in South Africa because he is on the banned list — Mr Shultz spelt out the Reagan Administration's continued opposition to sanctions on South Africa.

Before the meeting, Mr Shultz had been under pressure from American conservatives not to meet Mr Tambo because of the ANC's communist links and use of terrorism, and moderates were demanding a disavowal of violence as a precondition for future talks.

There is also growing concern among some American Jewish leaders that the Reagan Administration's rationale for yesterday's meeting — the importance of the ANC in the South African equation — could be used for meetings with terrorist chiefs such as Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Mr Yassar Arafat.

'Necklace' a hot issue in US

The Star Bureau

WASHINGTON — A demonstration here against "necklacing" proved disturbingly realistic for the fire department.

Firemen rushed to the pavement outside the State Department when they received reports 'terrorists' had a tyre round the neck of a victim and were to set it alight.

Police intervened too, but they discovered it was gruesome play-acting by black conservatives protesting at yesterday's meeting between Secretary of State Mr George Shultz and ANC leader Mr Oliver Tambo.

Concern over ANC condoning of necklacing is believed the biggest problem facing the organisation in effort to win US sympathy.



Demonstrators hold a symbolic "necklace" outside the State Department yesterday.

Indications are that Mr Shultz received little satisfaction from Mr Tambo on the issues of communism and terrorism.

Their discussion took the form of an exchange of views rather than an attempt to negotiate agreements.

Both sides said afterwards that they wanted discussions to continue.

On the American side, future talks are likely to be conducted at ambassador-level as part of the new US policy of seeking contacts with all parties in South Africa — not only the ANC.

US State Department spokesman Mr Charles Redman, who attended the talks yesterday said Mr Shultz had made it clear to Mr Tambo that violence from any party was not the answer to South Africa's problems and that there were other options.

"He also stated that terrorist actions against innocent civilians are totally unacceptable.

"He encouraged the ANC to spell out its vision of the future with more specificity, and expressed our opposition to the replacement of the apartheid system by another form of unrepresentative government."

ANC 'strategy explanation' in Press curb action

By CATHY STAG

A DEBATE on whether or not an explanation of ANC strategy, mentioned in court papers, could be published in a newspaper, developed during an urgent application brought by two newspaper groups challenging Press curbs.

The Argus Printing and Publishing Company Limited and SA Associated Newspapers Limited (SAAN) launched the application against the Minister of Law and Order and the Commissioner of the SA Police. Argument, before Mr H Daniels, began in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Mr Denis Kuny, SC, who appears for the applicants, launched a "multi-pronged attack" on an order in terms of the security regulations promulgated on June 12 last year, and a notice, in terms of the media regulations imposed on December 11.

He contended they went beyond the powers given to the Commissioner, were so unreasonable that it could not have been intended to give him so much power and they were so vague that the people who were supposed to abide by them could not understand them.

As an example of how difficult it was to decide what could, or could not, be published, Mr Kuny asked if a newspaper could use the portion of the commissioner's replying affidavit in which he dealt with ANC strategy.

Mr Kuny answered the rhetorical question by saying the wording prohibited any explanation of the ANC's strategy — which meant it was irrelevant whether that explanation showed the ANC in a good, or in a bad light.

Mr P C van der Bijl, SC, was asked during his reply if this was correct that the commissioner's explanation could not be reported. At first Mr Van der Bijl said it was correct. He said if the ANC's strategy was explained, it could lead to other people using that information.

The judge asked if the commissioner published the explanation in a book-

let for the instruction of recruits, whether that would also be wrong. Mr Van der Bijl felt the word "explain" was used in the sense to defend. For example he said the advertisement which was published shortly before the media regulations were imposed "explained" why the ANC had turned to violence in a way that defended the organisation.

The judge asked if it would then be permitted to write that the ANC leant towards violence because they were a bunch of hooligans. Mr Van der Bijl said it was extremely difficult to say.

"That's just what Mr Kuny's point is," the judge said, "How do you know where to draw the line?"

Other examples cited by Mr Kuny were Archbishop Desmond Tutu who said publicly that he supports the ANC, but deplores violence. This could be interpreted to encourage certain people to support the ANC.

Mr Justice Daniels asked whether the SABC could be prosecuted for broadcasting the interview in which this statement was made and Mr Kuny replied that it could. The notice said "no person shall" which shows how extensive the wording is, Mr Kuny said.

Mr Kuny said the State President has said he would speak to the ANC if it renounced violence. This could be calculated to encourage a section of the public to support the ANC because it was given a certain stamp of approval. If this was reported in newspapers, it could be said to have improved the ANC's image, Mr Kuny said.

Under the new regulations it would also be an offence to report on talks between the Secretary of State for the USA, Mr George Schultz, and Oliver Tambo, he said.

Even a recent edition of the SA Law Reports could be seized and the editors could be prosecuted because their report of the judgment contains transcripts of a prohibited tape in which

ANC debate can now resume

PRESS WINS CASE

A COUNTRY-WIDE order imposed after several English language newspapers published advertisements commemorating the 75th anniversary of the African National Congress was declared invalid in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday.

Two English language newspaper groups — South African Associated Newspapers and Argus — challenged the order issued by the Commissioner of Police on January 8 which prevented newspaper editors from publishing almost anything about the ANC.

Mr Justice H Daniels said the Commissioner had exceeded his authority by issuing the blanket order which included a prohibition on any advert calculated to improve the public image of an unlawful organisation.

"LET THE ANC SPEAK", the advert stated in bold capitals and ac-

cused the Bureau for Information and the South African Broadcasting Corporation "of bombarding the people of South Africa with distortions and untruths about the ANC".

Afrikaans language newspapers and the English-language Johannesburg-based *Citizen* newspaper rejected the advertisement.

Mr Justice Daniels said General Johan Coetzee derived his powers from Regulation 7 (B) under the emergency regulations which gave him jurisdiction to prohibit actions in a "particular area" — and he imposed the prohibition on the whole of South Africa.

Newspaper lawyer Paul Jenkins said the whole ANC debate could now be resumed.

He also said the judgment on the order had wide implications for a number of organisations, including the order preventing the National Education Crisis Committee from discussing "people's education".

Oliver Tambo explains ANC strategy to an interviewer. This may seem ludicrous, Mr Kuny said, but if the media regulations are interpreted strictly, this could be the consequence.

During his reply, Mr Van der Bijl spoke of the background to the imposition of the state of emer-

gency. Experience has shown that even when certain organisations are banned, they do not give up.

If the media continues to report on them, their image can be improved and they are still in the public eye. This is why it was necessary to have this type of reporting stopped, Mr Van der Bijl said.

What NUM RIP Dept does

INTRODUCTION

Quite often unions continuously commit the mistake of withholding information from their members. Most unions uphold the principle of worker participation but usually deny them easy access to information.

Research is usually a much neglected function in the activities of union. Lack of research can make a union stagnant.

Union Publications are so hard to find yet workers' experiences are so unique, original and worth of publication!

WHAT OUR RESEARCH, INFORMATION AND PUBLICATIONS DEPARTMENT IS ALL ABOUT

We intend to put right the mistakes and weaknesses mentioned above! For that purpose a full time functioning Research, Information and Publications Department was established. The RIP Department's OBJECTIVES are:

- *to do RESEARCHES for the benefit of members;
- *to GATHER and DISSEMINATE information;
- *to COMPILE and PUBLISH information.

However the primary objectives of the RIP Department is to equip members, and all levels of our union's leadership with knowledge to strengthen their hand in struggles with the bosses.



Produced by RIP

WHAT RIP DOES AND INTENDS TO DO:

- a monthly press analysis service and disseminate this to the shaft stewards;
- buys and distributes relevant books and publications to shaft stewards;
- analyse various Acts and distribute them;
- collect information on HEALTH and SAFETY for distribution to our shaft stewards;
- collect codes of conducts, disciplinary codes and grievance procedures for dissemination on request;
- collect Industrial Courts decisions for distribution on request;
- collect bargaining agreements for reference and they are available on request;
- collect mining companies reports and reports of their subsidiary companies
- encourage workers to write about their experiences for our news letter;
- collect relevant information for our shaft steward briefing.

Please contact : Monoko Nchwe or Irene Barendilla

or Marcel Golding at

(011) 402-3432/9 or call personally at

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Johannesburg

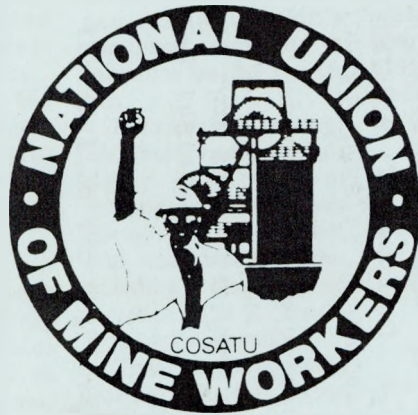
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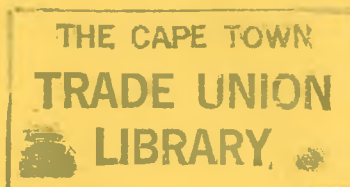


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NATIONAL CAMPAIGNS COUNCIL MEETING

Wilgespruit
1 - 2 September 1990

P R O G R A M M E

SATURDAY - 1ST

- 1) INTRODUCTION
- 2) OPENING SPEECH
- 3) INTRODUCTION ON CAMPAIGNS DEPARTMENT
 - 3.1 STRUCTURES
 - 3.2 PROGRAMME

L U N C H

- 4) LIVING WAGE
- 5) L.R.A
- 6) RETRENCHMENTS
- 7) WORKERS CHARTER
- 8) COMMISSIONS
 - S U P P E R
- 9) REPORT BACK FROM COMMISSIONS
- 10) GOODS AND SERVICES
- 11) BARLOW RAND
- 12) MINING HOUSES

SUNDAY - 2ND

- 13) RECRUITMENT CAMPAIGN
- 14) COSATU CAMPAIGNS
- 15) COMMISSIONS AND REPORT BACK
- 16) DISCUSSIONS ON THE PROGRAMME OF ACTION
- 17) SUMMARY
- 18) CLOSURE

L U N C H
