

EIR Feature

The ANC leads South Africa's plunge into war

by an EIR Investigative Team

On Oct. 19, Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa, startled the world with a press conference held in Johannesburg, in which he chastised the leadership of his own organization for atrocities and torture against its own members. Mandela released a report commissioned by him on documented atrocities carried out by the ANC's security over the course of the 1980s against its dissenting members and others. As the *Los Angeles Times* reported on the press conference, ANC dissidents "were imprisoned without charge and denied adequate food and water for months on end. Some of their eardrums burst when they were forced to pull out their cheeks while being repeatedly slapped on the face. Others were lathered in pork grease and forced to crawl through colonies of biting red ants." These incidents, as Mandela reported, took place under the supervision of the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) at its Quatro camp in Angola.

"The morality of our liberation struggle demands of us the highest moral and ethical standards," Mandela warned, adding, however, that the tortures "must be understood in the context in which they occurred."

In reality, Mandela's admission of the ANC's extreme brutality toward its own members, coheres precisely with the brutality it has used publicly, primarily against blacks, in its drive to take power in South Africa. While the government of South Africa has been negotiating with the ANC as its primary partner in the transition to majority rule, the level of violence in South Africa has been escalating rapidly. As this report will show, despite Mandela's stated desires or efforts, the promotion of such violence—which took 26,000 lives in 1991 alone—is central to the ANC's entire strategy to seize power for itself in South Africa.

This report will also present evidence showing that behind the ANC's drive for power stands not the support of the majority of black Africans in South Africa, but rather the Communist Party of South Africa, which remains alive and well despite the demise of communism in the former Soviet empire. This is possible



Nelson Mandela (l) and his Winnie Mandela (r) at a White House ceremony in Washington. Although Nelson Mandela has chastised the ANC leadership for atrocities against their own members, Winnie has spoken of liberating South Africa "with our matches and our necklaces."

because of the vast support the ANC commands from high-level political and financial sources *in the West*, including Hollywood, who appear prepared to hand over South Africa to the ANC and its communist controllers.

A few weeks before Mandela's press conference on ANC torture methods, the truth of the ANC's strategy and tactics was exposed in a report issued by the well-known anti-apartheid organization, the South African Institute of Race Relations. Released at the end of September, the report examines a report on violence in South Africa released earlier this year by Amnesty International (AI) titled "South Africa—State of Fear," and other reports by the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) (Agenda for Peace) and the Human Rights Commission (HRC) (Special Briefing on Massacres). Institute of Race Relations author Anthea Jeffrey stated that examination of the violent incidents listed in the human rights reports showed that AI, the ICJ, and HRC were presenting a "disturbing level of disinformation. All the reports are highly selective in their focus. All ignore the rules of evidence and the principle of *audi alteram partem* [to hear the other side]. All seek to elevate allegation to the level of fact."

Despite their misrepresentation of violence in South Africa, Jaffrey wrote, the cited reports were used by the ANC to "buttress its accusations against the government and to strengthen its demands for international intervention." In his July 1992 speech to the United Nations, in fact, Mandela had devoted most of his attention to the findings in the AI and ICJ reports, in motivating his call for the U.N. to send a

special envoy to South Africa. Mandela won his agreement, and since then U.N. monitors in South Africa have acted consistently to protect the ANC's campaigns of "mass action," even when the ANC has led scores to their deaths, as in the Sept. 7 ANC march on Ciskei.

Jaffrey pointedly concludes by noting that there is a "common denominator in what the reports of these organizations omit. All three organizations ignore:

- "the ANC strategy of fostering 'ungovernability' through mass action;
- "the intimidation and coercion which the ANC acknowledges commonly accompany mass action;
- "the ANC's refusal to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe (Umkhonto) or to surrender its secret arms caches;
- "the ANC's refusal to desist from the establishment of township 'self-defense units,' contrary to the provisions of the National Peace Accord;
- "the frequent incidence of attacks on members of the South African Police (SAP), which have resulted in the deaths of more than 120 policeman in the first seven months of 1992; and
- "the high number of IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] officials and members—now totaling over 1,000—who have been killed in recent years."

Recognizing the actual nature of the ANC is the first step in stopping the spiral of violence which will soon lead to civil war in South Africa. Such a catastrophe, however, is the hope of the British-dominated financial oligarchy which con-

trols the largest chunks of the South African economy. National bankruptcies, civil strife, wars, famines, and depopulation—all under the watchful eyes of the International Monetary Fund—have become the norm for Africa, as the British seek to reestablish their direct rule over the continent, including South Africa itself.

In this case, the weapon of choice is the communist African National Congress.

Communist domination

In February 1990, ANC leader Nelson Mandela was freed from prison after 27 years, and the South African government lifted its ban on the ANC. At that point, all but eight members of the ANC's 35-person ruling National Executive Committee (NEC) were members of the South African Communist Party (SACP). Two years later, the NEC had expanded to 105 members, of which at least three-quarters were admitted SACP members, according to lists published in the London-based *African Confidential* newsletter and in the major dailies of South Africa. Members of the NEC's 26-person National Working Committee are almost all SACP cadre.

No one knows precisely how complete the SACP control over the ANC is, because SACP membership is still secret, and the various lists count only those whom the SACP has chosen to disclose as members.

However, as one leading South African military analyst reported to *EIR*, "More than 90% of the permanent, the full-time posts in the ANC, are controlled by South African Communist Party members. These are all your political commissars, for example, the party organizers, all the planning staff, the permanent staff. So it is *impossible* for the ANC to divorce itself from the Communist Party. If they do, there is nothing left. Their whole party machinery, their whole planning, their mechanism, the whole top structure will simply just not be there."

And if one chooses not to believe an official of the South African government, hear it from SACP Secretary General Chris Hani, speaking to a November 1991 SACP conference in the Western Cape: "We in the Communist Party have participated in and built the ANC. We have made the ANC what it is today, and the ANC is our organization."

Through its cross-membership in the ANC and its similar domination of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the SACP has over 30 members, far more than any other single party, in the working groups of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (Codesa), the "multi-party negotiations" preparing for majority rule.

From nationalism to communism

Founded in 1912 as the South African Native National Congress, the ANC's first leaders were mission-educated ministers, lawyers, and other professionals committed to superseding tribal loyalties in order to represent the interests of

all black Africans. Its strongly Christian outlook was reflected into modern times in the person of Chief Albert Luthuli, winner of the 1960 Nobel Peace Prize, ANC President-General from 1952-67, and an outspoken opponent of communism.

The SACP moved to take over the organization shortly after Lenin sent a number of communists to South Africa in 1921 to found the party. By 1928, the Comintern had instructed the SACP "to pay particular attention to the ANC" in order to establish an "independent native republic" as a stepping-stone to communist rule. When the SACP was banned in 1950, many of its leading cadres joined the ANC in order to continue their work under a new cover. According to *Comrades Against Apartheid*, a well-documented new book by British Africa specialist Stephen Ellis and a member of the ANC and SACP writing under the pseudonym Tsepo Sechaba, "During its time underground, the party made the cornerstone of its strategy the effective takeover of the ANC." In 1982, former ANC and SACP member Bernard Hlapane testified before hearings of the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism that already in the 1950s, "no major decisions could be taken by the ANC without the concurrence and approval of the Central Committee of the SACP. Most major developments were in fact initiated by the Central Committee." Several months after this testimony, the ANC-SACP's armed wing MK assassinated Hlapane in Soweto.

The 'Spear of the Nation'

In 1960, the South African government banned the ANC. Clandestine conditions afforded new opportunities for the SACP to take over the Congress. Such a step was the 1961 founding of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the Spear of the Nation, the SACP-ANC terror and assassination squad usually known as MK. According to Hlapane's testimony, the MK was "the brainchild of the SACP," and its "policy was formulated by the Communist Party, and the organization received its instructions from this party."

Longtime SACP secretary general and MK chief of staff until 1987 was Joe Slovo, son of one of the original Lithuanian Jewish Communist Party members dispatched by Lenin to found the SACP. Co-founding MK with Slovo was a young lawyer named Nelson Mandela, who earlier, in the 1940s, had bitterly complained about communist influence in the ANC. According to a Soviet intelligence operative captured in South Africa in 1980, Maj. Aleksei Kozlov, Slovo soon became a full colonel in the Soviet KGB.

Not long after the MK's founding, Slovo masterminded "Operation Mayibuye," a plan for the armed seizure of power. Its exposure produced the famous Rivonia trials. While Mandela and others were sentenced to life in prison, Slovo slipped out of the country. He continued to direct MK's training and armament throughout the 1960s, 1970s,

and 1980s from exile, including its terror attacks into South Africa. SACP documents presented in court in Rivonia stated that the SACP now “completely dominated” the ANC, but that that fact should be kept secret.

By 1969, the SACP’s secret domination of the ANC became public at the ANC’s famous Consultative Conference in Morogoro, Tanzania. The ANC adopted a series of SACP-authored resolutions, including:

- The Slovo-authored “Strategy and Tactics” document, a watered-down version of the SACP’s own 1962 program, “The Road to South African Freedom.”

- The creation of the Revolutionary Council charged with directing the struggle day-to-day. The council’s chief executive was an SACP veteran.

- The opening of the ANC to non-blacks. The first whites to join were all SACP members, including Joe Slovo, the first white on the ANC’s NEC.

- A formal declaration of alliance between the SACP and the ANC.

Soon, purges of nationalists began. In 1975, eight leading ANC members declared that the ANC had been “hijacked” by the SACP, that the communists in the ANC suppressed freedom of speech, and thus, that “Criticism of official ANC policy has come to be regarded within the leadership circles as nothing less than treason.” The so-called “Gang of Eight” was expelled from the ANC in October 1975; their leader, Tennyson Makiwane, was hunted down by the MK and murdered in Transkei in 1980.

Trained in torture

ANC brutality toward its opponents, both within the organization and without, took a major step for the worse following an SACP-arranged trip by the entire ANC leadership to Indochina in 1978. Its purpose, said one former ANC member, was to “learn how the revolutions had triumphed” and to apply the methods of the Indochinese communists to Africa. This included the Maoist Khmer Rouge, whose brief four years in rule (1975-79) resulted in the death of 40% of the Cambodian population.

Moise Twala, former ANC member and chairman of the Returned Exiles’ Coordinating Committee, told *EIR* (see interview), “It was only after learning from the Khmer Rouge . . . that they came back, and it was only then, in 1979, in January, that they sent us to go and erect that prison, the notorious Quatro [in Angola]. It means they went to learn.” Upon their return, the ANC executive mandated the construction of prison camps in Angola, Tanzania, Zambia, and Uganda to hold members who questioned being sent to fight in Angola, Zimbabwe Rhodesia, or Mozambique. There, such “dissidents” were tortured and often killed.

According to informed estimates, some 600 ANC members disappeared or were murdered in these camps, while another 1,000 or so were killed in “liberation wars” outside

South Africa, this from an MK force estimated at only around 6,000. The pro-ANC U.S. State Department reported in their 1990 annual human rights survey, “Numerous, credible reports of torture and mistreatment by ANC security personnel of ANC defector-detainees at ANC refugee camps continued in 1990.”

The Maoist influence on the ANC was also reflected in the ANC-sponsored “people’s courts” in the black townships, where youths were encouraged or even forced, to turn on their elders. As in Peru, where the Maoist Shining Path terrorists make everyone in a village cut a piece of flesh from a living victim, the informants in the townships were forced to flog their friends or family members with iron bars or wire, or even to “necklace” them with a rubber tire which was then set aflame.

ANC Security began to recruit from 12- or 13-year-old youngsters who can be brainwashed to kill on command—youths who, as Moise Twala put it, “don’t ask questions, but just carry out orders.” The pool of such youngsters grew massively, as the ANC-SACP put forth the slogan of “Liberation before Education.” Students were forcibly kept from attending school, and following Pol Pot’s example in Cambodia, many schools were burned to the ground. According to one estimate, 5.4 million children, an entire generation, is entirely illiterate because of this ANC-SACP policy.

‘Mass action’

Since its legalization in February 1990, the ANC has been in talks with the government and other parties for transition to majority rule. But in its systematic campaign of assassinations, necklacings, and terror, the ANC shows itself to be in strict line with SACP policies, as enunciated in the SACP house organ, *The African Communist*. The magazine asserted, right at the time of the legalization, “The ultimate goal for the national liberation struggle is the seizure of power. There can be no peaceable or friendly seizure.”

In July 1990, just before the planned second round of talks with the government, police uncovered massive computer files which demonstrated the existence of “Operation Vula,” an ANC plan to build a mass underground armed structure for the near-term seizure of power.

Though that plan, overseen by the seven-man ANC President’s Committee, was set back, the ANC has announced its intent to seize power in the black homelands not favorable to them, in particular KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, and Ciskei. Several SACP leaders including General Secretary Chris Hani and SACP Politburo member Ronald Kasrils, both of whom are on the ANC’s NEC, on Oct. 5 led the ANC march on the homeland of Ciskei, which resulted in 28 dead and several hundred wounded. The march was to culminate, said Kasrils, in the “peaceful overthrow” of Ciskei head of state Brigadier General Gqozo.

Led by Kasrils, ANC marchers ignored agreements they

signed with Ciskei, broke through barriers, and charged the 150 or so Ciskei soldiers who were guarding government buildings, and who opened fire. South African intelligence sources say hard evidence exists that the plan was not to capture Gqozo, but to publicly necklance him. Of the slaughter of his own followers, Kasrils commented, "We knew it was dangerous. Sometimes people have to die."

ANC leaders are not bashful about their commitment to violence. Said Chris Hani, protégé of Joe Slovo and his replacement as MK chief until he recently took over as SACP secretary general, "We are prepared to see a wasteland, if that is the price of freedom." His friend Winnie Mandela chimed in, "Together, hand-in-hand with our matches and our necklaces, we shall liberate this country." Even the unofficial ANC foreign minister Thabo Mbeki, touted in the press as a moderate, has said, "Violence is a very important element to achieve change."

Not surprisingly, the pace of violence in the country is escalating dramatically. In 1991 in South Africa, there were 26,000 murders! From January to July 1989, attacks on the police and army had averaged 33 per month, while in the year after the ANC's legalization, they averaged 480 per month.

Terrorism complements the ANC-SACP strategy of "mass action" designed to force its way into power. At a May Day parade in 1992, Jay Naidoo, head of Cosatu, the country's leading trade union federation which is also dominated by the SACP, declared that unless De Klerk met ANC-SACP-Cosatu demands, the workers "would take to the streets in their millions to force an interim government." Black township residents know well that if they do not turn out when the ANC-SACP calls a "mass action," their house is likely to be burned down and/or they will be necklaced.

One of the country's political leaders summed up the situation: "There has been more necklacing since the ANC stopped this so-called armed struggle, than before then. More people have been killed since the ANC stopped their armed struggle, than whilst they still were busy in the 16 years of armed struggle. There is much *more* violence since the ANC has started this so-called peaceful mass campaign. And this is something which you have to see to believe, what mass intimidation is all about."

The ANC relies on terror and intimidation because, press claims notwithstanding, it does not represent the majority of the country's blacks.

The ANC has at most 500,000 card-carrying members, compared, for example, to Inkatha's 2.8 million. Based largely in the Xhosa tribe, of which Mandela is a prince, the ANC represents approximately half of the 5.5 million Xhosa. Other factions of the Xhosa people, such as those in Ciskei, oppose the ANC. The Zulus number 8 million. Of these, 25-30% are urbanized and are considered to be ANC supporters. The rest support the Inkatha Freedom Party. Major portions of other tribes, such as the Tswanas, 8 million of whom live

in Bophuthatswana, are at bitter odds with the ANC.

However, as violence escalates, the cleavages will be inevitably drawn more sharply along tribal lines. Already there are numerous reports of ANC supporters throwing people off trains, or shooting them, because they were heard speaking Zulu. There is no doubt that the Zulus feel extremely threatened. Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who has heretofore refrained from politics and recently took a Xhosa woman as his fourth wife, charged in a rally Sept. 27 that the ANC plan was "to wipe the Zulus off the face of the earth."

Deep pockets behind the ANC

Though lacking the support of the majority of South Africa's black population, the ANC is the darling of the country's dominant corporations, allied multinationals, and the U.S. and western European governments, as reflected in its balance sheet for 1991, which showed \$560 million in assets worldwide, and a cash income of \$92 million.

According to a variety of sources in South Africa's intelligence community, in non-ANC black organizations, and within the ANC itself, this largesse includes:

- Millions of dollars which Tiny Rowland's Lonrho corporation put up for the ANC to move from Lusaka, Zambia after its unbanning, to Johannesburg, and the 20 million rand purchase price of Shell House in Bramfontein Center in Johannesburg, as a joint headquarters for the SACP and ANC. Lonrho has reportedly recently purchased a mansion in the Sandhurst section of the posh Johannesburg suburb of Sandton for ANC Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa.

- Thirty million rand a year from Anglo American Corp., through the First National Bank. As of 1990, Anglo American owned 50% of all the companies whose stock was traded on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange.

- A series of full-page pro-ANC ads from Royal Dutch Shell at the time of the ANC's legalization. Shell also reportedly sold Shell House to the ANC for half its actual value.

- The Rothschilds of Paris, according to well-informed sources, virtually sustained the ANC during a brief spat the organization had with Anglo American Corp. on the question of mass action, when Anglo briefly cut its allowance.

The U.S. and European governments and the World Council of Churches have also poured in tens of millions more. According to one rumor circulating in South Africa now, the European Community plans to give the ANC \$300 million in the near future. Private foundations and governments have also provided training to ANC personnel in western universities.

Typical is the New York-based African American Institute (AAI), which from 1962-77 provided an estimated \$20 million for schooling of members of various African "liberation movements," inclusive of the ANC. The institute's first president Waldemar A. Nielson, a member of the New York Council on Foreign Relations, was forced to admit in congressional testimony that the institute's major source of funds

was the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

In 1971, then-AAI President William R. Cotter also told the U.S. Congress: "I personally am in complete accord with those who call for the strongest measures by the U.S. to accelerate the process of change within South Africa. Nor would I automatically rule out violence as an instrument for obtaining the rights of the non-white majority."

An AAI brochure says:

- "Scholarships for training should be awarded where possible to students affiliated with a liberation movement, and the training program and efforts to assure trained students' utilization on return, should be planned and carried out as much as possible in cooperation with liberation movements."

- "Whatever steps are taken to solve short-term problems, there is only one ultimate solution to the overall problem: That is the overthrow of minority regimes in southern Africa and the liberation of the southern tier of the continent."

South African corporate giants such as Anglo American and the country's largest industrial firm Barlow Rand, are also working to shape the political process to the advantage of the ANC-SACP. The Codesa negotiating process is a case in point: Its chief executive is Zach de Beer, longtime Anglo American executive and protégé of old Anglo head Harry Oppenheimer. The country's liberal press is also largely owned by Anglo American.

Barlow Rand has added its weight to the ANC scales through the National Peace Committee, chaired by Barlow Executive Director John Hall. Hall and fellow business executives marched in the front ranks of the ANC demo against the Ciskei government Sept. 7, right next to leaders of the SACP.

Barlow and Anglo American also helped found the South African Co-ordinating Committee on Labor Affairs (Saccolla), an employers' confederation which negotiated a draft "Charter for Peace, Democracy and Economic Reconstruction," with the SACP-dominated Cosatu, the country's major labor confederation. The charter committed labor and industry to a program of action "to force the pace of transition," including a national one-day strike, scheduled for last Aug. 3.

According to the London *Financial Times* of Sept. 21, the strike fizzled out at the last moment, because other firms got cold feet: "The private sector also appears to have balked at the last moment at the idea of business and labor 'ganging up' against the government, in favor of the ANC."

Two Anglo American executives offered an explanation for all of this corporate charity in candid discussion with journalists in Johannesburg a couple of years ago. "Let the blacks rule," said the first. "We'll make a lot more money out of a black government than out of a white one, because they would be a lot easier to manipulate." Added the second, "It doesn't bother us if a radical black regime comes in. We'll just put up the fences and keep pulling the minerals out just the same."

Interview: Moise Twala

ANC dissident tells of torture and terror

Moise Twala, chairman of the Returned Exiles' Coordinating Committee in South Africa, granted this interview to EIR on Oct. 8. The Returned Exiles' Coordinating Committee represents ANC dissidents who were tortured, put in detention, or driven out of the ANC for questioning policy.

EIR: Could you tell us about the torture and detention camps run by the ANC?

Twala: The most notorious detention camp and the first one that was created was Quatro in Angola, built in 1979. Immediately it was put up, a lot of dissenters and people who were critical of the leadership were rounded up. But the largest number rounded up was in 1981, the year there was a general purge within the ANC. A lot of people were sent to Quatro, and disturbing news started reaching us, that there was a mass slaughter of people that went on. Torture, beatings, a lot of people died there. Most of the people who were rounded up in 1981 we never saw again.

This was to be a continuous thing for anyone who dissented, or who was critical of the leadership. Another development occurred also in Zambia. They started putting up some prisons, private houses, where they were killing people. One was the Green House, another was called RC, for Revolutionary Council. There was also a farm where people were killed and thrown to the crocodiles, an ANC farm. . . .

There were other detention centers. One was in Dakawa in Tanzania. Another was at Somafco, the so-called ANC college in Tanzania (there was also a prison camp there). It stands for Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College. There is a prison there. There was also, is even now, one called Kigwa, it is towards the Ugandan border, in the north of Tanzania. There are still some detainees being kept there, up till now. There are also some detainees in various prisons, they are said to be imprisoned by the ANC in Ugandan prisons. That is, government prisons. And some are being kept in some houses in Uganda which are owned by the ANC.

EIR: How many of the atrocities were due to the SACP control over the ANC?

Twala: The effort has taken the SACP many years to consolidate control over the ANC, but the takeover took place