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ABANTU BEBANYE ABOSOZE BOYISWE!
ABANTU BEMUNYE ABASOZE BEHLULWE!

EDITORIAL

VIOLENCE: THE UGLY FACE OF APARTHEID, STATE TERROR AND INTOLERANCE

The violence that erupted in the East Rand (Transvaal) townships during August and September is a tragedy that will prolong the process of forging the unity of the oppressed in the struggle for liberation. Media and police reports put the number of deaths at above 700. Adult men formed the highest number of dead. So wives and children lost husbands and fathers who were the chief and often the sole bread-winners. Homes were burned to the ground. Families lost all their personal possessions.

The conflict devastated many Witwatersrand townships. The worst incidents of fighting, killing, torching of houses and shacks occurred in Tembisa, Kagiso, Thokoza, Vosloorus, Katlehong and parts of Soweto. An estimated 1 500 of 3 500 shacks in Phola Park in Thokoza were flattened. Thousands of those who lost their dwellings do not have the means or the courage to return to their destroyed homes. They are too poor, too scared and too shocked to return to what in the words of a newspaper reporter are: "piles of stinking rubbish and burnt out shacks." Thousands have little food and rely almost entirely on emergency rations. Many workers have lost jobs after weeks of fighting kept them off work.

The daily newspaper, radio and television reports focussed on the horrors, the seemingly wanton and random slaughter. But what concerns us more in this tragedy of loss of life and human suffering is the **causes**.

Media reports spoke of "Zulu against Xhosa" and headlines read: "Interneccine warfare between the ANC and Inkatha". The scenes on television showed hostel-dwellers armed with an assortment of weapons. Yet reports by people who live in the townships show that there was no evidence of a tribal conflict. On the other hand there was much evidence that automatic guns and pistols were being sold in the townships by individuals from outside these areas.

SOCIAL CAUSES

The news media reports invariably focus on the sensational. Very few analyse the causes of the violence: the inhuman, anti-social nature of township life and the migrant labour system. In South Africa, the Apartheid laws force human beings who are

classified "black" to live in townships. "Blacks" do not enjoy freedom of movement. "Blacks" do not have the democratic right to live where they please.

Capitalism, the "Free Market System", needs to employ millions of workers at low wages so that profits can be maximised. In South Africa the foundations of capitalism's super-exploitation of cheap labour are built on the mines, farms and parastatal enterprises such as SASOL and ISCOR (now privatised). These industries employ millions, mainly "black", who have to live within travelling distance of their workplaces. But not in the centres of any of the cities or towns. So, over the decades, townships - the diminutive of town and a less ugly name than labour camps - have been built on the outskirts of the towns. And in the majority of the townships on the Witwatersrand, near the gold mines, hostels have been constructed to house thousands of migrant workers.

The migrant workers are men. The majority are married and have children. But South African laws do not permit their wives and children to live with them. So the conditions under which they live are unnatural. They work long hours on the mines and in factories with little time for the pleasures of life. Each year they spend a month at home. And no matter how long they live in a hostel in a particular township they are always regarded as strangers, foreigners ("temporary sojourners") in these townships. By the permanent inhabitants of the township migrant workers are often regarded as being competitors for scarce jobs.

The situation breeds an absence of identity and belonging. It generates antagonism and conflict between migrant hostel-dwellers and permanent township residents.

EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC CAUSES

The causes of the present conflict are certainly multiple - social, educational, economic, political and police brutality.

The disruption of schooling over the past 14 years has spawned young people that are without the basic academic and technical skills that would

ensure productive employment and a steady income. Recently Market Research Africa, MARKINOA, and Integrated Market Research (IMR), on behalf of a group of "concerned" businessmen, canvassed 10 000 people on the question of "the black education crisis in South Africa". Some of the findings were published in a front-page report of the Cape Times (6 August 1990).

The report stated that there are 3 million "black" children out of school. Sheer poverty forced nearly 660 000 children to leave school each year! A quarter of the drop-outs reached only Grade one!

The findings painted a bleak picture of inequality, poverty and wasted human potential.

Only 2,5% of "black" adults were found to have post-matriculation qualifications. Virtually a quarter of "black" adults had no schooling at all! Sixty percent of "black" adults had no work! Thirty percent of township households did not have a single book! And 80% of homes with children had no electricity!

In all industrialised countries education is an index of progress, the key to productive employment and a meaningful life. In South Africa for children classified "black" education is almost non-existent.

Social workers and others who investigated the causes of the violence found that unemployed youths were offered money by "white" racists to provoke and stir up conflict in the townships by spreading rumours of impending attacks and by themselves starting attacks on migrant and resident workers alike.

PRESENT CAUSES

Since the unbanning of political organisations and the release of political prisoners, talk of a "new South Africa" has created heightened expectations amongst the oppressed people.

The African National Congress (ANC) has attempted to project itself locally and internationally as "the sole representative organisation of the oppressed". Its unbanning on February 2 enabled the organisation to engage in open political debate, to address thousands of people and to recruit members for a "mass-based" political organisation.

But other organisations are also engaged in recruiting members. There has always been a broad liberatory movement - New Unity Movement, ANC, PAC, AZAPO, WOSA - opposing oppression and fighting for full democratic rights.

And within the collaborationist camp there have been organisations that have tried to draw the oppressed into working with the government oppressors.

When, then, the ANC commenced open recruitment, it came into open conflict particularly with Inkatha in Natal. Buthelezi, the leader of Inkatha and the Inkatha warlords have always been intolerant of and antagonistic towards any other influences in the land areas that make up KwaZulu in Natal. Inkatha became a political party this year and commenced a recruitment campaign throughout the country.

Reports from the townships reveal that those engaged in the membership drives both for the ANC and for Inkatha were intolerant of opposing political views. Many of the migrant hostel-dwellers on the East Rand are from KwaZulu. Buthelezi and Inkatha simply regarded these workers as their members.

Given the social and economic conditions, the thousands of youths out of school, the intolerance of alternative political views and debate, the situation was ripe for the violent conflagration that followed. And into that situation entered the "white" racist forces violently opposed to the promised political changes that would threaten their lives of luxury and privilege. And into that situation entered also some members of the police antagonistic towards "blacks" in general and the ANC-SACP alliance in particular. Here was an opportunity to settle scores with Umkhonto we Sizwe whose members had been told by the ANC leadership to lay down arms.

During the fighting there were numerous accounts of police not doing anything to stop roving groups of armed men. Some reports alleged that "whites", some of whom were members of the SAP, were involved in the atrocities. Police spokespersons denied these accounts. Future commissions of inquiry into police conduct may prove these denials wrong.

ATTEMPTS TO END THE VIOLENCE

The government, as always, introduced drastic measures to end the violence. In terms of "Operation Iron-Fist" curfews were introduced in the affected townships. Thousands more policemen and -women were put on patrol.

But these measures will only reduce tension and conflict while they last. They cannot be a permanent solution. Only a new political order that tackles and resolves the political, socio-economic and educational conditions that generate the conflict can change the situation.

Townships must be abolished and eradicated. The Land Acts, the Bantustan policies, the Group Areas Act and other laws that restrict freedom of movement and people's right to live where they please must be abolished. And the economic conditions have to be created that will allow an adequate dwelling for every family in an environment conducive to social development and security.

Educational standards for all people must be improved, so that academic and technical skills are developed in the widest possible sections of the South African population. There must be the total release of the productive, social, creative and cultural potential of every person.

Talks between representatives of the ANC and Inkatha and top-level conferences of representatives

of the various political organisations may result in a reduction of the violence. But the primary function of all organisations in the struggle for liberation and true democracy is to **build UNITY** of the oppressed. And there must be tolerance of democratic expression of political views. The oppressed as one people, undivided, must strive to throw off the yoke of oppression and exploitation and establish one, non-racial central parliament comprising members elected on the basis of the full franchise for all without regard to colour, "race", gender or religious belief.

**WE MUST ALL STRIVE TO:
DESTROY RACISM! DESTROY TRIBALISM!
BUILD UNITY!
BUILD ONE SOUTH AFRICAN NATION!**

THE GREAT "REHABILITATION" SCHEME

Ever since F W De Klerk took over as leader of the National Party, there has been the tendency amongst a certain section of the liberatory movement to put a new label on the old and ugly face of the oppressive system. Quite a number of people were taken for a ride by the new rhetoric of De Klerk and other members of the ruling class. People started to talk about "a new South Africa" and "liberation is around the corner". They are now so hypnotised by the new style and new promises of the oppressors that they cannot see that De Klerk is but the leader of and spokesperson for a racist ruling minority. They cannot see that De Klerk cannot effect any major changes without consulting his ruling party and that his bottom line is that "white minority rights" must be protected in any new dispensation, capitalism must stay and there can be no united South Africa with the full franchise for all.

One of the first persons to be rehabilitated was De Klerk. This happened when he released Nelson Mandela, whom he and his predecessors had kept in jail for 27 years. Mandela described De Klerk as "a man of integrity" and at a later stage also as "my good friend". De Klerk and his government were further rehabilitated when he and his entourage were enthusiastically welcomed in Europe, America and certain countries in Africa. De Klerk reacted like a good schoolboy when his "teacher", George Bush, the boss of Imperialism, praised him by saying that "change in South Africa is irreversible".

This rehabilitation scheme is being conducted on all levels: political, educational, homelands, sports. The scheme is being conducted by the leaders of the ANC, especially by its internal leader, Nelson Mandela. They have bestowed on themselves the power to forgive the political sins of some of the worst political criminals in South Africa and to proclaim organisations with a history of betrayal "progressive". Their theme is "forgive and forget".

POLITICAL SUPPORT FOR COLLABORATORS

Besides trying to make the ruling class more acceptable amongst the oppressed, the ANC leadership has gone out of its way to rehabilitate the quislings (collaborators) of the tricameral system. Many an oppressed person must have been severely shocked when Mr Mandela, soon after his release, met with Allan Hendrickse and other quislings from the House of Representatives of the Tricameral System. He met them not to criticise them for participating in the system or to ask them to get out of it. Instead he shook hands with them and sent greetings to the other "MPs" in the tricameral system. This was done barely 5 months after the tricameral elections of 6 September 1989, in which Hendrickse and the tricameral system were boycotted on a large scale. The sacrifices of students and workers who stayed away from school and work in protest against the tricameral elections were simply ignored. Also ignored were the massive anti-tricameral-election-campaign of 1984 and the

revolts(1985-86), on a national scale, against the system of oppression and exploitation.

When earlier this year the people of Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage revolted against Hendrickse and the Labour Party, Hendrickse appealed to Mandela and Vlok to intervene and to stop the revolts. The Labour Party and the "House of Reps" (HoR) were also given special status on the Mier land issue when the ANC appealed to the former not to pass the "Mier-Law". The HoR ignored the ANC and Mandela's special plea by passing the law. An ANC spokesperson afterwards appealed again to the Labour Party to reconsider and said that "the future relations between the ANC and the Labour Party will be determined by the the Labour Party's response". This shows the special relationship existing between the two organisations.

No wonder that the stooges in the tricameral system and the community councils all eagerly look forward to the "new South Africa" and can confidently proclaim the "vital role" that they will play in this "new South Africa".

HOMELANDS LEADERS WELCOME TOO

The ANC has met almost all the homeland boss-boys, now called homeland leaders. An indaba with all of them was held recently. A meeting with Gatsha Buthelezi, leader of Inkatha, is planned for the near future. Forgotten is the fact that these collaborators were prepared to carry out the dirty work of the rulers in "homelands" which are nothing else but barren labour camps. They became rich through the special privileges given to them by the ruling class.

Forgotten too is the fact that 80 % of the oppressed population were forced to live in the "homelands" which comprise but 13% of the land area of South Africa. Is this why the land question does not feature high on the agenda of those who want to negotiate with the ruling class?

These homeland tribalists who have kept the divide and rule policies of the ruling class going are all getting ready for a place at the negotiating table. At a time when thousands of oppressed people are dying because of fighting between ANC supporters and Inkatha supporters Mandela dares to say: "Buthelezi was my friend and still is my friend."

The same Buthelezi who is widely regarded by the ANC and others to be the main perpetrator of the slaughter of thousands of people in Natal and hundreds in Transvaal. The same Buthelezi who recently said that his "Zulu nation" will remain a "nation" within the "new nation" in the "new

South Africa".

A "homeland leader" such as Bantu Holomisa of the Transkei is nowadays also regarded as progressive because he has unseated the Matanzimas (with the help of the South African ruling class). The fact that he is still administering a homeland on behalf of the ruling class and in that way helping to oppress millions of people is ignored. Holomisa also received some credibility through harbouring Chris Hani, Chief of Umkonto we Sizwe (MK). There was even talk that MK and the Transkei Defence Force would amalgamate.

Holomisa and Zwelitini ("King of the Zulus") were recently also granted special status as "peacemakers" when they addressed warring factions in Transvaal townships.

EDUCATION SELL-OUTS FIND ANC HOME

As a section of the liberatory movement are getting ready for "the new South Africa", the educational field is being geared up for "people's education" in a new South Africa. "Experts" are feverishly busy working out a "blueprint". But with the ruling class insisting on protection of minority rights and the ANC prepared to allay "white fears" education will be a major casualty in the new deal. Even the "education ministers of the homelands" must be consulted about the nature of education in a "new South Africa", as illustrated by a conference recently held at the Peninsula Technikon to which they were invited but did not turn up.

A new alignment of forces on the teacher front is taking place. A new teacher organisation called the South African Democratic Teachers' Union is being formed. This Union will align itself with Cosatu and therefore also with the ANC. Some of the organisations forming this Union are DETU, WECTU, CTPA and TASA.

Not so long ago CTPA (Cape Teachers' Professional Association) was generally regarded as a reactionary, collaborationist organisation. CTPA (with its predecessor the TEPA) has a long history of working the system. It assisted in the implementation and administration of separate schools for "Coloureds". It collaborated in government machinery such as the CRC and the tricameral system. How then did CTPA come to be regarded by a certain section as being progressive?

In 1985-1986 CTPA was generally rejected and was put under severe pressure by pupils, students and parents. Because it is basically an opportunistic organisation, it grabbed the opportunity "for instant

progressiveness" by accepting the Freedom Charter of the Congress Movement. But the leopard did not change its spots, because basically the CTPA continues to harbour both present and past collaborators from the HoR as members of its organisation. No wonder that CTPA is not prepared to give up its identity in the new teachers' body.

It was ironic, if not tragic, that CTPA was allowed to sponsor a COSAS rally this year in commemoration of JUNE 16. The leaders of COSAS either do not know or simply ignore the part played in 1976 by the President of CTPA, Franklin Sonn. This role was so acceptable to the ruling class that the Cillie Commission praised his "positive and outstanding" role. In 1976 Sonn helped to draw up the "De Lange Commission Report" which planned a new form of apartheid schooling.

The track record of TASA (the "Indian" teacher organisation) is basically the same as that of the CTPA. Their collaboration with "Indian Council", "Indian Education" and the House of Delegates in the tricameral system is well known.

Even the "Ethnic Universities" or Bush Colleges have been rehabilitated. They are now called "people's universities" or "universities of the left". "Radical" activity has been allowed on these campuses in order to give them the necessary credibility and acceptability. The fact that educational standards have been lowered is submerged in these "radical activities". The ruling class has allowed this to happen because it fits into its masterplan. Today these bush colleges, assisted by the liberal "white universities", are in the forefront of the race for negotiations.

DELUDING THE SPORTSPERSONS

On the sports front the NOSC (National Olympic Sports Congress formerly, NSC), the sport-wing of the ANC, has played a major role in rehabilitating racist sportspersons and sport collaborators. Because of the role of the NOSC racist sport is on the threshold of being accepted back into international sport.

Through the work of SACOS racist sport was isolated internally and externally. Racists such as Craven, Bacher, Pamensky were regarded as enemies by the oppressed sportspersons. The "Coloured Rugby Federation", one of the unions which participated in racist sport, was boycotted and sports-collaborators like Loriston, Cupido, Abe Williams, Omar Henry were rejected by non-racial sportspersons.

Along came the NOSC. They see as their major task bringing about unity with the racist sports bodies. This they are prepared to do even to the extent that they cause major divisions in non-racial sport. Now one sees racist sportspersons being embraced by former non-racial sportspersons. The leadership of SARU shook hands with Cupido and Dyers of the South African Rugby Federation with which they want to unite. Danie Craven can radiantly declare that Sam Ramsamy, his enemy of yesterday, is today his best friend. And one is severely shocked when the NSC, leaders of the Anti-Gatting Tour Protest Campaign, make up with Bacher and Co and agree to "forgive and forget" the past.

The latest racist sports organisation to receive the blessing of the NOSC is the "white" Professional Golfers Association (PGA) of South Africa. The NOSC has given the PGA permission to break the sports moratorium (the trick it is using to bluff "white" sport organisations that it can get them back into world sport) and continue with its 1990-91 Sunshine Tour. And the NOSC will "oversee" unity talks between the PGA and the "black" TPA (Tournament Players Association). A news item on the 4 pm news broadcast 30 October stated quite blatantly that the PGA had decided on unity "in the hope of getting back into International Golf."

CONCLUSION

What the oppressed people have built up over many years of struggle is now simply being destroyed and reversed. The weapons of the oppressed that were so potent against the machinery of oppression are now blunted or simply "thrown into the sea". There is a major attack on the policy of non-collaboration and the boycott as a political weapon. Organisations such as the ANC, which never accepted non-collaboration as a policy and the boycott as a political weapon, have gone all out to misuse and discredit these weapons. Instead of using the boycott consistently against the political machinery of oppression they have used it extensively in keeping children out of school through their "school boycotts", to make townships "ungovernable" or simply to "force the government to negotiate".

It was through non-collaboration and the boycott that the machinery of oppression such as the NRC, CRC, Tricameral System, Community Councils and Homeland System were destroyed or vehemently rejected. The quislings (collaborators) who worked this machinery on behalf of the oppressors were boycotted and ostracised. Why should they now be rehabilitated? They retarded our struggle and there can be no place for them in the structures of a truly new South Africa. One should never take the dirt of the old house into a new house. All these

collaborators will be sitting at the negotiating table and the ruling class will make sure that their former boss-boys will be given a place in the sun in the "new South Africa".

The ideas of non-racialism and one South African Nation are also being misrepresented by these organisations. Their concept of non-racialism and the Nation is the same as that of the liberals and the oppressors. To them non-racialism is nothing else than multi-racialism. They believe that "the separate races" can have equality in their new system. They also make provision for "national groups" in their

"new South African Nation". That is why Mandela could say at an ANC rally that there will be a place for "Zulus" in the "new South Africa".

For the New Unity Movement there is not going to be any rehabilitation of the collaborators and their organisations. There is no place for them in the new South Africa that we are struggling for. There is also no place for "race groups", national groups, minority groups or tribal groups in our new South African Nation. All people in South Africa will be members of the one nation and all will be regarded and treated as full and equal citizens.

IMPERIALISM INVADES THE MIDDLE EAST

THE GULF CRISIS

On 2 August 1990 Iraq invaded Kuwait. Imperialism's response was rapid and drastic. Bush invaded the Middle East with 300 000 American troops. All suggestions that the Arab nations reach a settlement among themselves were spurned as 100 warships converged on the region. Certain of these, carrying nuclear weapons, were allowed through the Suez canal with the permission of Egyptian President, Mubarak. These ships have been deployed in and around the Persian Gulf as a direct threat to Iraq. And they are policing the Gulf to ensure that sanctions against Iraq, hastily pushed through the United Nations by the United States with the single dissenting voice of Cuba, are maintained.

loyalty to Bush by having its \$7 billion arms debt written off. The Gulf states are scrambling for military equipment. Saudi Arabia alone has placed an order of \$21 billion for a variety of death machines. And Israel is calling for arms and war machines in an attempt to offset any advantage that the Arab world may have gained through its recent acquisitions.

WHY DID SADDAM HUSSEIN INVADE KUWAIT?

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR

Imperialism supported Iraq in the 8-year war against Iran as it was keen to teach the Khomeini regime a lesson for unseating its decades-long puppet, the Shah. Moreover, the Iranian revolution fostered an anti-Americanism and held the potential to destabilise the Middle East and to threaten imperialism's hegemony. Furthermore, the war allowed the French (but also the USA, West Germany, Britain, Belgium, Austria and Switzerland) to sell billions of dollars of arms to both Iraq and Iran. The conflict was used as a human laboratory in which the imperialists experimented with their most heinous inventions, including chemical weapons. Imperialism made a fortune, paid for by the Arab people in oil and blood.

The emirs of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, aided and abetted by the Arab League, bankrolled the Iraqi war effort. For they, too, recognised the threat of the Iranian revolution to their corrupt regimes. We must emphasise, though, that the Iranian revolution was never anti-capitalist. Indeed, the mullahs systematically destroyed the left wing forces inside Iran, executing thousands of radicals in the process.

F15, 16 and 17 fighter planes and a multitude of other bombers and transport planes criss-cross the skies of the Middle East as the rumble of thousands of tanks and other armoured vehicles shatters the desert silence. The American troops are supported by Egyptian, Syrian and Moroccan troops. These, Bush hopes, will give credence to his lie that the imperialist invasion has the support of the Arab people. Significantly, the Arab troops are placed between the US army and the Iraqi troops. They will be used as cannon-fodder.

The US army of occupation stationed in Saudi Arabia is being supported by Saudi and Kuwaiti petro-dinars, Japanese yen, German marks and British pounds. The cost of the invasion is estimated to be hundreds of billions of dollars. It will ultimately be paid by the Arab workers and peasants and their counterparts throughout the "Third World". The American arms industry, flagging in the wake of perestroika, has been revitalised. Billions of dollars of arms are pouring into the Middle East. The Egyptian government has been rewarded for its

And, in the final analysis, the material welfare of the Iranian workers and peasants has not improved significantly since the ousting of the Shah.

THE DEBT TRAP

Iraq purchased arms from imperialism on a cash basis using loans from its neighbours. Thirty billion dollars poured into the coffers of imperialism. Kuwait alone paid \$12 billion of this sum. But Saddam Hussein had been assured by his Arab "brothers" that Iraq's debt would be written off. However, when the war ended in a stalemate following Khomeini's death, Iraq (and Iran) found itself in a debt trap. Imperialism, eager to woo the new leadership in Iran, turned on Saddam Hussein. The multinational corporations called for immediate payment from Iraq while the imperialist governments prevailed upon their puppets, the al-Sabahs of Kuwait and the Saudi family, to call in their debts.

These oil aristocrats did not need much to be persuaded. For they have for decades depended for their money and power on Exxon, BP, Shell, Socal, Gulf, Texaco and the other oil companies. Rather than to develop an industrial base they used their petrodollars on luxury imports and investments in real estate and other socially worthless projects in Britain, Europe and the USA. The situation in Iraq was different. Here the oil revenue was used to develop industry and for other large parastatal projects. But the ruling emirs fear the political consequences of industrialisation. The citizens in these countries are privileged and enjoy the benefits of the oil revenues while underpaid migrant workers from the Philippines, India, Pakistan, Egypt and Palestine do all the work. Foreign technology, machinery and technical skills are imported from the West. The al-Sabahs and Saudis are therefore well-paid and willing servants of imperialism. The Kuwaiti emirate alone cost imperialism \$80 billion! And thus Kuwait has been aptly described by Halliday as being "a viciously reactionary state with an untarnished record as a supporter of imperialist interests."

CLOSURE OF IRAQ'S CREDIT LINE

The demands from all sides for almost immediate payment of its debts came at a difficult time for Iraq. They were made at a time when Iraq was rebuilding its war-torn economy. Saddam refused to accept International Monetary Fund (IMF) conditions that meant lowering the wages of Iraqi workers and peasants. In June of this year Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, the USA, Britain and France closed Iraq's credit line, effectively preventing it from importing goods on credit. This spelt disaster for Iraq's vast reconstruction programme.

THE INVASION OF KUWAIT

Historically speaking Kuwait is not an independent state. In the latter half of the 19th century Britain made treaties with several tribal leaders along the Gulf coast that gave her control over these "states". At the time the main concern of British imperialism was for the safety of its traders operating in the Middle East and to enhance the security of its colonial jewel, India. In 1899 Britain struck a deal with a member of the corrupt al-Sabah family, that allowed it to carve Kuwait off from the Ottoman Empire of which it had formed a part. Kuwait had hitherto fallen under the administration of Baghdad. Britain had acted to reduce the influence of the Turks and Germans in the Gulf and its annexation of Kuwait was designed to deprive Iraq of its port on the Persian Gulf.

Sixty years later, in 1961, in the teeth of Arab nationalism (a nationalism that had already succeeded in uprooting the pro-British monarchy in Iraq in 1958) Britain made Kuwait "independent". This drew an immediate response from the Iraqi government. It claimed that Kuwait should return to its precolonial status and that it should again become a part of Iraq. British troops were hastily flown back into Kuwait and remained there until Iraq reluctantly withdrew its claim under considerable pressure from imperialism. Kuwait therefore owes its independence from Iraq to imperialism.

This year, in addition to refusing a debt moratorium on \$12 billion dollars owed to it by Iraq, Kuwait also refused to hand over two Gulf islands that were also historically part of Iraq. And, to make matters worse, the al-Sabahs refused to refund revenue from oil drawn from a field inside the borders of Iraq.

Thus Saddam Hussein was left with one of two alternatives: to become the paid helot of imperialism and to abandon his reconstruction programmes, or to defy imperialism and to invade Kuwait. He chose the latter path. And, in doing so, he carried out his duty to Iraq. We must make it clear that we do not for one moment condone the use of chemical warfare or the brutal treatment that Saddam has meted out to his own peasantry. However, there is no doubt that the Iraqi annexation of Kuwait has the support of the majority of people throughout the Middle East and the Maghreb. (Although this sentiment is obviously not shared by their rulers.) The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait is an anti-imperialist action. That this poses a serious threat to the hegemony of imperialism in the Middle East can be judged by Bush's frantic response.

WHY DID IMPERIALISM INVADE THE MIDDLE EAST?

Despite decades of research into alternative energy resources oil remains the major fuel for the industrial motor of imperialism. Without a continuous supply of cheap oil the capitalist economies would grind to a halt. And, despite western propaganda to the contrary, the capitalist system is in a process of breakdown. Since 1970 it has been careering from one crisis to the next. The "independence" trick has not yielded it sufficient relief. Regular increases in prices and interest rates have failed to diminish these problems. Therefore, in an attempt to restore the falling rate of its profits, imperialism has mustered all the forces at its command to reorganise and restructure the world economy. And this means that imperialism has to gain and retain control of all the major raw materials and energy sources. And if this means that imperialism has to go to war to regain control over the Kuwaiti oilfields, then it will go to war. We must not forget that imperialism solved its previous major crisis with the Second World War.

Thus the spectre raised by Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, the spectre of Arab control over almost 50% of the world's oil reserves, drew a sharp response that exposed the naked aggression inherent in imperialism. That the Arabs should be allowed to decide upon an independent oil policy is particularly reprehensible to imperialists who believe that the oil belongs to them. The Arabs and other workers of the "Third World" are there to deliver the oil but not to control it. For this is the prerogative of imperialism alone.

So Bush invaded the Middle East ("invited" by his puppet regime in Saudi Arabia). Military invasion is not new to imperialism. It was common practice in colonial times. Military occupation became less necessary once imperialism had set up neocolonial regimes throughout the ex-colonial world in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. Yet Korea and Vietnam proved that its finger was never far from the trigger. But in the last decade, when the capitalist crisis has begun to bite deep, imperialism has shown the tendency to revert to naked aggression. The Falklands War, the invasions of Granada and Panama, the bombing of Libya and the war in Nicaragua all bear testimony to this fact.

The purpose behind the Bush invasion is clear. Imperialism wishes to lay its hands on the oil resources of the Middle East and, if necessary, to administer it directly. It will not permit the interference in its affairs of "upstarts" like Saddam

Hussein. But it can ill afford the expensive emirates in these times of crises. The other reason for the imperialist invasion is to teach a hard lesson to all the Gulf countries. And if this means a war in which hundreds of thousands will die then so be it. For imperialism's concern is neither for the people of the Middle East nor for the American soldiers. It has only one aim: to control the oil fields. And, therefore, Saddam's threat to destroy oil refineries in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in the event of an imperialist attack is a major deterrent to the imperialist warmongers.

The imperialists are capable of achieving a military victory in the Middle East only at a tremendous political and economic cost. The anti-American, anti-imperialist and anti-Zionist hatred in the region would soar to fever pitch. The puppet emirs might well be wiped off the face of the desert in the ensuing conflagration to be replaced by elements hostile to imperialism. And Israel, the imperialist policeman of the Middle East, would find itself confronted by a united Arab force the likes of which it has never witnessed.

And so Bush and the other imperialist aggressors find themselves in a difficult position. He has committed the US to a very expensive military operation and he cannot back down at this stage. The reputation of the US as the international policeman of imperialism is at stake. And as for Mr Bush, his political future and presidency are at stake. Curiously, Saddam Hussein finds himself in a similar position. In the event of being forced to make an unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait Saddam would suffer a tremendous loss of face that would probably spell the end of his political career.

However, a peaceful resolution to the conflict could be reached as a result of Saddam's making an Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait conditional upon Israel's withdrawal from the West Bank, Gaza and Golan Heights - territories that it seized after the 1967 war. A further condition could be the withdrawal of both Israel and Syria from Lebanon.

Whatever the eventual outcome of the present "Gulf crisis", we must reiterate our standpoint: imperialism has no business in the Gulf. The oil reserves of the Middle East belong to the workers and peasants of that region and not to the imperialist predators. Imperialism's invasion of the Middle East is a violation of the sovereignty of the Arab people.

IMPERIALISM! OUT OF THE GULF!

THE SPORTS SELL-OUT:

PART OF THE DEAL IN THE NEGOTIATIONS SCAM

A major sell-out in sport is imminent. The present spate of unity talks in Cricket, Rugby and Soccer is a clear indication that sport is about to become the first casualty in the negotiations between the State and the ANC. The De Klerk regime has to be rewarded for the present "wave of reforms" sweeping the country. For the unbanning of political organisations, release of political prisoners (only those willing to co-operate with the ruling class) and the scrapping of some apartheid laws (which will have no fundamental effect on the lives of millions of oppressed and exploited people in this country), the ruling class and the white electorate is being rewarded and placated with promises of a return to participation in International sport.

A *quid pro quo* situation has arisen between the ruling class and the ANC, whereby "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours!" The only precondition seems to be a temporary and (lately) a selective moratorium on tours in and out of this country. Temporary in the sense that all sport must first be unified under the National Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC), the sport-wing of the ANC, previously known as the NSC (alias, the UDF sports desk). Danie Craven can now confidently predict that the next Rugby World Cup Competition will be played in South Africa and that the ANC had signalled an intention to withdraw opposition to international rugby tours of South Africa next year.

The deal made between the NOSC and Sun International to allow multi-million dollar golf tournaments to take place in the Boputhatswana and Transkei homelands indicates to what level the NOSC has sunk. These homelands, ravaged by unemployment and starvation, have now been given the blessing to become the playground of the rich. Sun International not so long ago was involved in a protracted dispute with its workers for refusing to pay a living wage and now the NOSC has the temerity to justify this sell-out on the grounds of the "enlightened attitude of Sun International."

What treachery! What price? In the wake of this, Peter Hain ("in consultation with NOSC") calls for the selective lifting of the sports boycott without delay.

NOSC Creates Confusion and Division:

Since its inception the NOSC (previously NSC) has created confusion and division in the ranks of non-racial sport. It initially gained acceptance by its promises to take non-racial sport into the so-called African townships - a difficulty experienced by SACOS for many years for definite historical, political and economic reasons. The NOSC claimed to have no difficulties with the principles of SACOS but that it merely wanted a change in tactics.

The New Unity Movement, right from the outset, saw through the lies and deceit. Two years ago we argued that the NOSC was "a product of political opportunism and duplicity, set among the oppressed like a wooden horse - to undermine and divide SACOS." So far, all our predictions have been accurate. Instead of organising the unorganised, the NOSC has hived off from SACOS, through whatever devious means possible, major codes such as Rugby, Soccer and Cricket. The NOSC has yet to form a single new sports club or union.

With the assistance of unprincipled, opportunistic bureaucratic administrators (motivated by greed) from within the ranks of SACOS, it has sown havoc and division. It has destroyed what was painstakingly built up through years of sacrifice. The actions of previous sports collaborators like Varachia and Loriston pale into insignificance compared to what is being perpetrated by their counterparts today. Instead of taking sports to the masses in the townships, NOSC wheeling and dealing is taking place in the corridors of Newlands, Ellis Park and the Wanderers - well-known symbols of racist sport in this country. The same sort of deals are being made at Groote Schuur, Tuynhuis and the Union Buildings.

An editorial in the Cape Times of 15 October 1990 correctly sums this up by declaring that:- "The recent series of discussions and agreements between the NOSC and sports administrators is welcome news indeed..... Both sides need to be congratulated for taking such a pragmatic stand in their negotiations relating to future international competition in cricket, tennis and golf The willingness of both sides to enter talks in a spirit of give and take bodes well for efforts to unify rival

sports bodies and speed up South Africa's return to international competition." Welcome news for racist establishment sport, yes. But what a sell-out for non-racial sport and the liberatory movement as a whole!

SACOS's Position Vindicated:

What SACOS has been saying for all of its 17 years of existence has been vindicated by the resolutions taken at the recent International Conference Against Apartheid in Sport (ICAAS) in Sweden.

The ICAAS conference has reaffirmed that

- 1. A distinction cannot be made between the struggle against racist sport and the struggle against apartheid itself.***

A vindication of SACOS's principled struggle and the slogan No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society. This is clearly at odds with the NSC's present position of forming single sports bodies in a society where the majority of its people do not even enjoy the right to vote!

- 2. The suggestion of rewarding the government for so-called "change" was an affront to the oppressed and beneath contempt.***

It would seem it is not only the government that is being rewarded but that there are also some lucrative kickbacks for the collaborators. For years SACOS has been hard pressed to gain sponsorship for rudimentary projects such as coaching clinics, for example. The hat had to be passed around in order to enable SACOS to send two delegates to the ICAAS conference. The NSC on the other hand could afford to send four people on an extended 3-week overseas trip despite its having only a fraction of the SACOS membership.

- 3. There cannot be a sport by sport lifting of the international sports boycott nor can it even be eased and ICAAS was perturbed at such suggestions.***

The NSC's deal to allow the million-dollar golf tournaments to go ahead and Peter Hain's selective boycott option is a clear contradiction of this agreement.

- 4. The sports boycott to remain in force until the genuine representatives of the oppressed have determined the process of change is both profound and irreversible.***

- 5. A National sports federation should not be politically aligned.***

For years SACOS has adopted the principled position of not selling out the political freedom of the

oppressed in this country. Its membership made supreme sacrifices in the process. They were denied sponsorship and facilities and yet continued successfully to organise fixtures and tournaments - often at great personal expense to the players. The players sacrificed with honour and dignity, and in recognition of this two highly successful SACOS sports festivals were held in 1982 and in 1986.

The moratorium on sports tours in and out of South Africa has always been upheld and popularised by the SACOS codes. This is not a new idea as we are being made to believe by the NSC, racist sport and the ruling class press. Nor was SACOS's application of this principle the adulteration now being practised in the selective boycott strategy.

Quo Vadis the Sports Struggle?

SACOS's position has been vindicated. Despite the division and disunity created by the NSC and the opportunistic defection by cricket, soccer, table tennis and squash bureaucrats, SACOS still enjoys significant and majority support amongst the ranks of the oppressed. SACOS with the support of all progressive and principled organisations needs to consolidate this position.

A home has to be created for all players who by the devious manoeuvres of the NSC find themselves within the ranks of the ruling class and amongst sell-outs. New cricket, rugby and soccer clubs need to be established in areas where no such alternatives exist. At the same time SACOS needs to close its ranks against all opportunists and collaborators. It must isolate them completely. History will deal with them. The oppressed need to be informed that there are no easy solutions to the problems in this country and certainly no short cuts. Solutions in sport cannot be found in isolation and at the expense of political solutions.

Seven million jobless, homeless and starving people are in no position to even consider sport as a priority. And the inequalities in education, health and the absolute lack of recreation and sports facilities in our communities make a mockery of merit selection in sport for the next ten years. The fundamental problems of employment, housing, education and health need to be addressed first. These will not be solved by the simple removal of some apartheid laws. Their solution is going to require the complete redistribution and control of the wealth (including the land) of this country by the masses. These are our priorities. Until such time, the sports boycott and the moratorium must continue. And therefore the need for SACOS to continue to exist and to grow is vital.

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